

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
69	3	05/05/1961	Memo	Excerpts from Address of Richard Nixon before The Executives' Club of Chicago. 4 pages.
69	3	08/26/1959	Newsletter	Human Events- Nixon vs Rockefeller.
69	3	10/01/1960	Newsletter	Battle Line- Democrats Ready To Spend What It Takes!
69	3	09/30/1960	Newsletter	Battle Line- Soviet Prestige Plastered But Democrats Continue 'Operarin Downgrade' of US.
69	3	10/01/1960	Newsletter	The Kiplinger Washington Letter.
69	3	n.d.	Newsletter	The Top of the News with Fulton Lewis, Jr. - Great Debate.

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69	3	n.d.	Newsletter	Nixon-Lodge Newsletter.
69	3	10/06/1960	Newsletter	Human Events -- Commentary.
69	3	10/06/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- Why nixon Over Kennedy.
69	3	10/06/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- The Washington Newsletter.
69	3	10/06/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- Fourteen Million Stockholders Deserve A Break.
69	3	08/13/1959	Letter	To: HR Haldeman. From: Walter Barlow, VP of Opinion Research Corp. Re: Gov. Rockefeller's opinion poll researcher.
69	3	07/16/1960	Newsletter	The Kiplinger Washington Letter.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
69	3	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- You Bet I Am A Republican.
69	3	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- Reflections On FDR. Not scanned.
69	3	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- The Kennedy Revolution: Part 1
69	3	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- Kennedy for President?
69	3	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Human Events-- Railroad Workers Ride Gravy Train. Not scanned.
69	3	07/28/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- The Washington Newsletter.
69	3	07/23/1960	Newsletter	The Kiplinger Washington Letter.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
69	3	07/21/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- The Washington Newsletter.
69	3	07/21/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- Commentary.
69	3	07/21/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- Catholicism and Labor Unions. Not scanned.
69	3	07/21/1960	Newsletter	Human Events- The Senate's Free-Spending McNamara. Not scanned.
69	3	07/18/1960	Newsletter	Political Memo From COPE.
69	3	n.d.	Newsletter	The Top of the News with Fulton Lewis, Jr.
69	3	07/18/1960	Newsletter	The Top of the News with Fulton Lewis, Jr.

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69	3	05/05/1961	Memo	Exerpts of Remarks of Richard Nixon at the Ceremonies Inagurating The Republican Citizens League of Illinois.
69	3	05/06/1961	Memo	Statement of Farm Policy by Richard Nixon.
69	3	05/09/1961	Memo	Exerpts of Remarks of Richard Nixon at the Detroit Press Club Luncheon.
69	3	05/09/1961	Memo	Exerpts of Remarks of Richard Nixon at Detroit, Michigan.
69	3	05/05/1961	Memo	Exerpts of Remarks of Richard Nixon before The Executives' Club of Chicago.
69	3	05/10/1961	Memo	Exerpts of Remarks of Richard Nixon at Columbus, Ohio.
69	3	n.d.	Memo	Exerpts of Remarks of Richard Nixon delivered from May 5 to 10, 1961.

Excerpts from Address of
RICHARD NIXON
before
The Executives' Club of Chicago
May 5, 1961

My first speech on national issues since the election presents a difficult problem. It isn't that I am not receiving plenty of advice. As Governor James Byrnes told me on his 82nd birthday Tuesday, unsolicited advice is the cheapest commodity you can find because the supply is so great and the demand so little.

The trouble is that no one agrees as to what I should do. Some say -- continue to be a good loser; speak but don't say anything controversial. Others say -- pour it on. Still others say -- don't make any speeches -- the new Administration has been in power for only 100 days, the new President is popular and, therefore, it would be very unpopular for the losing candidate to make public statements that might be interpreted as critical of the Administration.

I must admit that this last type of advice is tempting, to say the least. It has been somewhat of a relief to be out of the arena -- to be free from the attacks of the political opposition. And, in any event, the role of a defeated candidate, if he does choose to speak, is not an easy one to define. He has no official position. As a result, the members of his own party who do hold elective offices understandably believe that they, rather than he, should speak for the party. And he always runs a risk that the members of the other party will accuse him of bad sportsmanship if he does anything other than compliment the new Administration.

I shall have to admit, therefore, that the more popular course for me to follow would be either to be silent or, when I do speak, to limit myself to the generalities and pleasantries which satisfy everybody and displease no one.

This course would be an easy choice if the situation were normal -- that is, if our problems, no matter how pressing, were of the type that could be solved in time without serious risk to our existence as a nation. The situation is far from normal. Our existence is threatened and in recent weeks the threat has manifestly increased.

I have therefore reached the conclusion that the time has come for me to speak out on national issues. But, in doing so, I want the country to know exactly the role in which I shall be speaking.

I do not speak as a candidate or as one planning to be a candidate for any public office.

I do not presume to speak as the self-appointed leader of the Republican Party.

Nor do I speak as the representative of the Administration in which I was proud to serve.

I shall speak as a private citizen, saying those things I believe are in the best interests of the nation, without presuming to claim that my views represent those of my party or of the Administration of which I was a member.

I am convinced that in this independent role, I shall best be able to serve the nation.

Among the guidelines I intend to follow are these:

Our criticism of the Administration should be responsible, constructive, on issues of real substance. This is no time for nit-picking.

The type of fundamental issue that I have in mind is how our national effort is being mobilized to meet the threat to our existence. For example, the new Administration has made proposals which would impose upon the nation, over a two-year period, an additional five billion dollars burden in Federal spending, an additional ten billion dollars in new obligational authority, with the result that we shall have a new deficit of at least five billions even if revenues are estimated on the optimistic side.

Of this new total of 15 billions in spending and obligations, less than one-third is to be spent for defense and national security over and above the Eisenhower estimates. Fully 11 billions are budgeted for spending and obligational authority in non-military areas such as health, welfare, education, housing and public works.

These programs include an education bill which in providing Federal subsidies for teachers' salaries would, in my opinion, inevitably mean Federal dictation of what is taught in our

schools; a housing act that would stifle private initiative; a farm program that will make the American farmer hopelessly dependent upon and controlled by Federal bureaucrats; a health program for the aged that will, in my opinion, inevitably lead to compulsory health insurance for all.

During the recent campaign, I set forth in detail alternative programs in the fields of health, education, housing and agriculture which I deeply believed then and now were more consistent with our American principles because, as distinguished from the Kennedy programs, they recognize individual and private enterprise rather than government action as the primary instrument of progress on which we should rely.

I shall continue to fight for those principles in the domestic area which I believe are so important for the future of the country.

At a time when the frontiers of freedom are under constant attack abroad, I believe that the national interest requires that we resist such programs as I have described which would chip away at the freedoms we enjoy at home.

And, before we embark on any new spending programs at home, we should put first things first and be ready and able to do what is necessary to strengthen America and the Free World so that we can meet the increased threat of Communist aggression which now confronts us abroad.

In view of recent world developments, there is an obvious need for us to develop more effective programs to meet this threat. How can those of us in the loyal opposition play a constructive part in developing such programs?

The easiest and, on the surface, most popular course would be simply to abdicate any responsibility in this regard and endorse the programs past, present, and future of the new Administration in the name of bi-partisanship. I submit that such a course on my part or other members of my party would not be in the national interest. Bi-partisanship once a decision is made and the nation's prestige is committed is one thing. The situation is entirely different in the period when policies are developing and before a final decision is made.

President Kennedy speaking on September 20, 1960, during the period that Mr. Khrushchev was visiting the United States endorsed this principle in this way: "Some people say it is wrong to say that we could be stronger. It's dangerous to say that we could be more secure. But in times such as this, I say it is wrong and dangerous for any American to keep silent about our future if he is not satisfied with what is being done to preserve that future."

With these principles in mind, I should like to make some general observations with regard to the conduct of our foreign policy during this critical period.

From having served eight years as a member of the National Security Council and the Cabinet, I know the perils of recommending or criticizing specific decisions, without all the relevant facts, including the classified information which entered into the making of those decisions.

And I also consider it the height of irresponsibility when our President makes a decision which backfires, to gloat over the country's misfortune and to give our enemies abroad the verbal ammunition they want to fire at us around the world.

I have been glad to note that members of my party have not resorted to the disgraceful tactics used by some members of the other party after the U-2 incident last year, proclaiming to the world that our prestige had fallen to a new low as a result of President Eisenhower's policy with regard to that program.

The test in each instance is whether criticism is going to help or hurt America. We certainly do not help America by running her down in the eyes of the world. Further, I believe that the current obsession about the level of America's prestige in the world obscures the principles that should guide us in developing foreign policy. Those who talk constantly of our prestige would seem to believe that we are in a popularity contest with other countries to see who was most liked and admired.

What we must remember is that we are in a fight for our lives. Public relations and popularity will have some bearing on the outcome of that struggle. But what will count in the long run is not how popular our policies are in the short run but how right they are.

The United States is the leader of the Free World. Many of our good friends and allies

might like us better if we did not lead as strongly on critical issues as we may believe it necessary to do. But it is the responsibility of the leader to do more than simply take counsel of the fears or follow the wishes of those who lack the power or desire to lead effectively.

These are some of the principles which I believe should govern American policy in the critical years ahead:

We must become accustomed to living in a time of crisis. The Communists are determined to conquer the world. Our problem this week is Laos. Last week it was Cuba. Next week it may well be someplace else. We must be mature enough to understand that we are not going to succeed in every venture we undertake in the foreign field. This does not mean that we should ever be satisfied with our failures. It does mean -- and this I say with particular reference to the Cuban operation -- that we must not allow a failure to paralyze our will to undertake decisive action in the future.

The worst thing that could flow from our failure in Cuba is not the temporary drop in prestige which seems to obsess too many observers but that this failure may discourage American policy makers from taking decisive steps in the future because there is a risk of failure.

I have noted that some political commentators have suggested that President Kennedy cannot risk action which might involve a commitment of American forces because of the fear of political criticism he would receive for being another Democratic war President. I can think of nothing more detrimental to our national interest than for a consideration of this type to have any effect in the high councils of the Administration. That is why I gave to President Kennedy the assurance that I now reiterate to you -- that I will support him to the hilt in backing positive action he may decide is necessary to resist further Communist aggression.

In deciding what our action should be, however, we should not forget one lesson we learned from recent events. Whenever American prestige is to be committed on a major scale we must be willing to commit enough power to obtain our objective even if all of our intelligence estimates prove wrong. Putting it bluntly, we should not start things unless we are prepared to finish them.

In the propaganda area we must recognize that what we say can have a great effect on the outcome of our struggle with world Communism. Words do count and the new Administration has set an exceptionally high standard for its words. But in the end when the balance sheet of history is added up, our deeds must match our words. We must never talk bigger than we are prepared to act. When our words are strong and our actions are timid, we end up appearing aggressive and weak at the same time.

As we plan our long range policy, I believe the time has come for a searching re-appraisal of the Free World's ability, and particularly America's ability, considering the strategy and tactics to which we are presently limited -- to deal with the kind of aggression in which Communists are now engaging.

Present Soviet strategy rules out world war. The Communists are trying to pick off smaller nations one by one, without war if possible, but willing to risk war if necessary. To implement this strategy Mr. Khrushchev says he will openly support a Communist revolution anyplace in the world and that he will openly support those resisting a revolution against any Communist government not with just words, not with a plea for collective action but with arms, unilaterally and instantly provided.

There is no easy way to meet this threat.

We can't wish away the problem by brushing off nations like Cuba and Laos as "unimportant peripheral areas." If the smaller nations get the idea that we don't consider them important enough to fight for and that the Communists do, they will go down the Communist line like a row of dominoes.

Billions more in economic assistance will not, by itself, meet this threat.

Moral support is important and necessary but it is a poor shield against Communist tanks and planes.

A fortress America with inter-continental jets and missiles which could destroy the Soviet Union can't deal with this type of threat.

A giant propaganda offensive to make people understand us and like us better won't do this job.

Such programs are necessary and have their place. But, beyond this it is imperative that we develop new programs that can deal more quickly and decisively with the political, subversive and para-military tactics which the Communists use so effectively in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Collective action through the United Nations, the OAS and through our various treaty organizations is preferable where possible. But in many cases by the time collective action is agreed to the Communists will have taken over.

Where the situation is critical and the only way a Communist victory can be avoided is through fast action, we must find methods through which we can act on our own and hold the line until collective support can be obtained.

America must eventually face up to the fact, as President Kennedy implied in his speech before the nation's editors, of whether we can continue to be limited to multi-lateral action where the Communists can always act decisively on their own.

I would add that we must also face up to another terribly difficult decision -- whether in a case like Cuba we can continue to follow a policy of giving only moral or covert support to the forces of freedom when the forces of slavery have open support from the Communists.

While we should continue to negotiate with the Communists wherever there appears to be any reasonable chance for success, we must always assume that when the Communist negotiates he is not negotiating for the purpose of reaching an agreement but he is using the negotiation as a camouflage for a Communist take-over. It has often been said that talking is always better than fighting. But we must remember that when we are talking with Communists, they usually are continuing to fight.

In this connection, there is one current situation which disturbs me greatly. While it is not now occupying the same headline space as Cuba and Laos, in the long run it could be far more fateful in solving the issue of survival of the United States as a nation and of freedom as a fundamental human concept than any other.

I am thinking of the newest breakdown of nuclear test negotiations at Geneva. It is becoming increasingly obvious that Mr. Khrushchev has no more intention of coming to a workable agreement with the new Kennedy Administration on this question than he did with the previous Eisenhower Administration.

As I have warned before, time is running out with alarming rapidity on this question. It is now more than two years since we have advanced our own atomic technology by testing and simple prudence cannot have us believe other than that the Soviets have concealed nuclear tests in the innumerable seismic disturbances recorded during this time in their territory.

The pace of technological advance in this area is fully as rapid as it is in rocketry and we now know to our dismay what happened when we let the Russians get ahead of us in rocketry. If we permit them to get ahead in nuclear weaponry the result will be no mere humiliation of us as a great world leader but can put us completely at the mercy of the Kremlin. It is enough simply to say this to know that it is unthinkable. And I assure the President he will have my fullest support in whatever action he deems necessary to break this fateful stalemate.

Speaking in Chicago last Friday, President Kennedy said: "... Our greatest adversary is not the Russians. It is our own willingness to do what must be done." In his inaugural speech, he said: "... Ask not what your country can do for you -- ask what you can do for your country." I believe the great majority of Americans, regardless of party, applaud this ideal. Up to this time, however, the Administration has sent program after program to the Congress which would have the government do more for the people.

Now is the time for the President to tell the American people what they can do for their country.

I say today that the American people are ready for action, ready for sacrifice and President Kennedy will have overwhelming support in a program of action to deal with the deadly threat which confronts free men everywhere.

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HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XVI, No. 34

Wednesday, August 26, 1959

Washington, D. C.

News Section

ROCKEFELLER: *Two strategy blunders*.....(page 1)

US REDS: *Making hay from Khrushchev trip* (page 1)

LABOR BILL: *What really happened*.....(page 1)

IMPORTS: *Unions howl for tariffs*.....(page 2)

REUTHER: *Bees in the Flower Fund*.....(page 3)

✓ **Nixon vs Rockefeller:** The first round in the "battle of the century" has ended, with professional politicians agreed that the Vice President won it decisively. The New York Governor has had to run to cover in a none too dignified manner and repudiate his side's propaganda. Two matters highlight this development.

Point 1. Rockefeller has had to disavow the widely publicized stand he reportedly took two weeks ago: that his decision to run for the Presidential nomination would depend on what public opinion polls show by next November. Now he says he never said so. He did say so. The "polls" stand was attributed to him by all the press "on the highest authority" (confirmed by the *New York Times*, August 18).

This "polls" tack by the New York Governor was widely criticized as an abdication of the normal primary process, placing the nomination campaign in the hands of controversial pollsters. The criticism provoked a crisis in the GHQ of the Rockefeller forces. The Governor, it seems, had been counseled to take this line by the "amateurs of Park Avenue" around him. The old "pro," former Governor Thomas E. Dewey, then stepped in to tell young Rockefeller that such tactics would not do, and that he had better eat crow, and fast. Hence, the Governor's repudiation of his "polls" talk.

Point 2. Rockefeller, through his "amateur" propagandists, had been seeking to place on Nixon the responsibility for inviting Khrushchev to America, to criticize the Vice President's handling of his recent trip to Russia and to spread the impression that Rockefeller remained aloof from the plans for the Khrushchev visit.

✓ **In the Midwest and South, this "smear" maneuver sought to turn conservative Republicans against the Vice President.**

Nixon's G-2 spotted this maneuver early and leaked details of it to various newspapers which came out with the story of the Rockefeller "smear" drive (*New York Herald Tribune*, August 16). The *Herald Tribune* also pointed out that "Mr. Eisenhower has explained several times that he himself initiated the correspondence leading to the invitation before he ever informed the Vice President what was in the wind."

The reaction to the *Herald Tribune* piece was swift. Again the old pros moved in on Rockefeller and elbowed the Park Avenue crowd out of the way. Nelson had to come out and deny that he had ever looked with disfavor on Nixon's journey to Moscow, during which the Ike-

Khrushchev visit exchange jelled. Rockefeller announced that he wanted to "completely disassociate" himself from "extremely unfair" accusations that Nixon went to Moscow mainly to boost his 1960 stock. And finally, the New York Governor proclaimed that he would take an active part in welcoming the Russian dictator when he came to New York. In short, as the chess players say—"check."

Khrushchev Visit: Hush-hush and police agencies centering in Washington express no little alarm about the consequences of the Russian dictator's coming trip here. They note the jubilations in the Communist *Worker*, and all reports coming in to them indicate a great burst of confidence among the subversive elements.

Last week, the *Washington Daily News*, a Scripps-Howard paper, reported that the American Reds believe that the Khrushchev visit "will launch a new 'era of good feeling'; will give them a chance to infiltrate many American groups. Party functionaries have been ordered to work quietly, not to stir up suspicion."

First sign of the Commie drive to exploit the Khrushchev visit is new activity by the American Communist party's "Educational Section." According to information reaching HUMAN EVENTS—this section, in recent weeks, has been holding "leadership" meetings among the comrades in New York, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. Police have had difficulty in shadowing and getting details about these gatherings. The comrades set up rendezvous at certain street corners, then (to make tailing by police difficult) whisk members away in several autos by different routes to a house in some remote area.

How Victory was Won: Whatever the disposition of the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill by the Senate and House conferees, the measure's passage in the House continues to excite Capitol Hill. Politicos study the steps leading up to the event, and make mental notes on how to handle even more effectively labor reform legislation in the future.

First of all, they dismiss as a complete myth the version put out by "liberal" pundits that the job was done by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and trade associations. Actually, these organizations—knowing they would be under fire—voluntarily abstained from lobbying on the Hill at the request of conservative political leaders. As the *Washington Star* put it, August 15, "It was not the efforts of the NAM and the Chamber which did the trick There was just one thing . . . and that was an overwhelming demand from the public" to correct abuses.

The public was alerted—in the opinion of the best observers—by Senator McClellan and President Eisenhower (in his TV speech). GOP House leader Halleck and Southern Democratic leaders did the necessary spade

Battle Line

Republican National Committee

VOLUME IV, NO. 70
OCTOBER 1, 1960

DEMOCRATS READY TO SPEND WHAT IT TAKES!

The Democratic National Committee is again playing its worn-out record of being broke. The Democrats have used this tiresome line for so many years they are trying it once more.

Isn't it really asking too much for the American voter to believe that the Party of the Kennedys, the Johnsons, the Harrimans, Lehmans, Stevensons, Symingtons, Kerrs and other multi-millionaire Democrats is hard up for petty cash?

Actually, the Democrats are spreading this fake story once again to cover up what appears to be the biggest-financed final push in history. The Kennedy-Johnson headquarters are pumping out millions of pieces of mail, buying all the television time they can get, using every campaign gadget ever invented and even taking Kennedy's voice on costly long-playing records into thousands of homes. Such expensive campaigning has never been seen before and is on even a bigger scale than the Kennedy campaign for the Democratic nomination. That campaign set an all-time record. In the middle of it, Senator Humphrey, a Democratic colleague, said the Kennedys "are spending with wild abandon." And Adlai Stevenson was quoted: "The amount of money being spent on Kennedy's campaign is phenomenal, probably the highest amount spent on a campaign in history." (Newsweek, 2/29/60)

If all the organizations supporting Kennedy, including the AFL-CIO, COPE and Walter Reuther are taken into account, it is obvious the Democrats outspend the Republicans 2-1.

A Mr. Lawrence O'Brien says that the Democratic National Committee has been forced to cut back on some of its spending and cites as one example the demise of the party publication "New Frontier." Actually the reason was the publication was so dreary that not even the proofreaders or typesetters could go through it.

The Democrats are ready to spend what it takes!

Battle Line

Republican National Committee

VOL. IV, NO. 69
September 30, 1960

SOVIET PRESTIGE PLASTERED BUT DEMOCRATS CONTINUE 'OPERATION DOWNGRADE' OF U.S.

Democrats, in their dream world of making "issues", cry out that the United States is losing its international prestige while that of the Soviet Union is soaring.

In the real world of fact, the reverse is true.

Recent days have dealt Nikita Khrushchev a shattering series of reverses in which the Free World nations, allies and uncommitted stood with the United States in victory while the Soviet Union stood alone in frustrated defeat.

Unwillingness to admit such facts is the basis of the Democratic campaign to sell America short -- "Operation Downgrade".

Evidence is mounting that the Democratic downgrading of America as "second class" is backfiring because of facts like these: First, the United Nations forces in the Congo forced all the Soviet technicians, subversionists and propagandists to leave. This was a big blow to Soviet goals.

Second, the United Nations supported its Congo mission -- under attack by Khrushchev -- by landslide vote of 70-0. New nations voted with U.S.

Third, the U.N. Steering Committee refused a Soviet demand for an immediate debate on alleged "aggression in the Congo".

Fourth, the Steering Committee refused for the 10th straight year to put admission of Red China on this year's agenda for the General Assembly.

Fifth, Khrushchev boorishly interrupted British Premier Macmillan's address and thereby sunk further down in the opinion of other delegates. The UPI reported: "Soviet Premier Khrushchev's angry heckling from the floor of the U.N. General Assembly gained him little sympathy or support today from the neutral nations he has courted so fervently. Some of the newly admitted African nations expressed amazement at the Premier's performance yesterday and other Afro-Asian diplomats described it as 'outrageous'."

Henry Cabot Lodge, who knows, commented after the Red China vote that it was "the fourth major defeat of the Soviet Union since Khrushchev stepped off the boat last week."

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON LETTER

Circulated privately to businessmen

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS

1729 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Washington, Saturday, Oct. 1, 1960.

Now it is clear that we have a recession to reckon with...
that the worst of it will come early next year, now three months off.
The length and the depth of it are not very clear at this time,
but the probability is that it will not be long and not be deep.

The first half of next year is likely to show a downgrade.
The second half is likely to bring the start of recovery.
That's the sort of business pattern which is generally expected.
Of course, at this time there is no way to be certain how it will go,
for the conditions that are now bringing it on are quite a bit different
from those that preceded other recessions. Consequently, when it hits,
it may not act precisely the same as the others...in length or depth.
Like a storm coming...you see it, but can't tell how bad it will be.

The next few weeks will be the time to watch it and judge it,
and to make your own business plans to meet it...quite well in advance.
The effects will be different for different lines, and you must avoid
either too much caution or too little caution. There's no GENERAL advice
that is suitable for all. You must watch and study the developing signs.

Consider two conflicting phenomena:

(1) Fall improvement is under way. Some things are better.
These make headlines on the optimistic side, and that's as it should be.
But they should not mislead you into thinking of clear sailing ahead,
for some gains are less than were expected, or even less than seasonal.
They are like warm days in the fall...not typical of what's to come.

(2) Some businesses are already in recessions of their own.
They have been low for months. Talk of "recession ahead" strikes them
as merely obvious confirmation of what they already knew from inside.
But the difference is that the recession ahead looks more widespread.

One theory is that we are "already in it." This could be true.
It is quite possible that when the statistics are pulled together later,
the evidence will seem to show the beginnings of decline this midyear.

In 1957, for example, the faltering actually started in August,
and by technical or statistical measurements the recession started then.
But it was not until late in the year 1957 or early in the year 1958
that the signs multiplied and showed up the whole landscape of recession.
We had been in it a long time before the signs were fully appreciated.

Similarly on recovery in 1958: It really started in late spring,
but the signs were not apparent to the naked eye until the late summer.
Often there's such a lag in discernment, and we may be in such a lag now,
not generally realizing that weakness began some time ago.

But let's be realistic, not too hair-splitting. The evidence is
that the more general economic downturn is approaching...PROGRESSIVELY.

All this is no sudden surprise. We have told you repeatedly, even as long as a year ago, about the possibilities of recession in 1961. Now our judgment is based on a fresh survey. Here's how it came about:

In traveling and talking with businessmen during recent weeks, we noted that practically all of them were shaving their expectations for the remainder of the year. Earlier hopes were not being borne out. They were latening the pick-up. It has come, but it isn't up to par. The hopes got lukewarm, then cool. We heard of expansion plans put off, orders for machinery deferred, programs for economy made and held ready.

Profit estimates for the year were being scaled down. This led to a slow and reluctant decision to put cost-cutting plans into force.

Inventories were still too heavy, contrary to the plans.

New autos held hopes, but no promise of any spectacular rush.

Housebuilding was perking up, but builders were being cautious.

It didn't appear that the plus there would balance the minuses elsewhere.

And always the talk of steel and how it was STILL running slack.

Looked in on retailing at grass-roots levels. Found it not bad, but without the oomph that the merchants had expected and stocked up for. People felt "all bought up," weren't rushing to buy...with prices stable, and goods in ample supply. People were cautious and choosy in attitude. Many told merchants that they were working off their old instalment debts before taking on new commitments. Wanted things, but could put them off.

Got in touch with machinery & equipment makers on their orders.

A number anticipated drop-off in orders later this year and next year.

This was the tip-off on capital expenditures in near future.

It reflected the skid in corporation profits. Company men told us this:

"We won't borrow more money to expand when our profits are dwindling."

"We can't spend what we haven't got...we don't operate like the gov't."

"We already have unused capacity, so we'll pull in our horns a while."

Out of such firsthand reports came the evidence of slowdown. Might not be so bad IF there were new forces of stimulation coming along. But the hope of sustained capital expenditures seemed to be falling down. And there wasn't anything else in the picture to make any EXTRA push... to compensate for the gradually waning momentum on all the other fronts.

Went looking for an upswing in gov't orders, mainly for defense.

Found a movement under way in Washington to expand gov't outpourings... nice to talk about as a sustainer...but actually minor in whole picture.

So there you are...there are some of the reasons why recession.

Stock market drop has been widely attributed to trouble at UN. Probably true to some extent, but largely a coincidence that it occurred when Khrushchev came to town, and Mr. K. isn't really THAT influential. Talked with many groups that had sold stocks, and found the basic reason was concern over the shadow of lower profits for the year. That's MAIN.

Stock market, now at lower pegs on its stilts, is a bit safer than it was, which is relatively reassuring on the eve of a recession.

There are some overly financed large real estate situations which will bear watching during the recession. They have thin margins, not enough cash assets to carry them through a period of stringency. They include a number of hotels, development syndicates and Florida land.

Some other ticklish situations...we'll keep a check and report.

Why aren't people buying better than they do? This is a question on all minds these days, and it has a lot to do with the slowing-down.

People DO have money to spend. Average income is highest ever. The heavy instalment debt restrains some, but not most. The unemployment is a drag, but not much more than usual. People still have pet wants, even if they aren't desperate needs. As for great big black clouds, none. Thus the answer to the question is not readily apparent.

We have a partial explanation of our own, based upon delvings, intimate talks with merchants, servicemen, salesmen, and many others.

It is that people are grumbling about the goods and services. This is not new, but the wider extent of it is a new factor.

No. 1 grumble, "Quality is poor." "Things aren't made as well." This is said of home appliances, autos and other forms of hard goods. Whether it's true or not is not the question. Point is, people THINK so.

We took this to manufacturers to get their slant on the charge. Oddly, surprising us a bit, many said that it was true... "unfortunately." They've had to cheapen on details...to offset their own higher costs, and to keep the unit prices from seeming any higher to the customers. "Are your complaints from consumers rising?" Answer in most cases, YES.

Here are gripes on retail service, standard almost everywhere:

"Ads are misleading." Big sales are often of second-rate stuff, bought especially for the sale, but made to sound like first-rate stuff.

"Stores don't have what they offer." People say this often. They try to buy what's advertised, but they are told it's sold out.

"Clerks are indifferent"...that's a rather universal refrain.

"Clerks don't know stocks." Shoppers say that in many stores they find the clerks don't even know about the ad specials for the day, and try to charge the regular price or push a low-quality substitute.

"Phone service poor." Orders don't get filled, or wrong stuff.

We took these gripes to merchants, and here is what they said:

Both true and untrue. True in spots, not generally. Due to pressures: Costs rising, prices at ceilings because of the hot retail competition. Cutting corners on costs makes for less-good service. Clerks hard to get. Adequate training expensive. As for ads, "They've got to be extravagant to shake people out of their shells. But some may be too extravagant."

The remedies aren't exactly clear, but there ARE some trends:

Private brand names at lower prices, as against national brands. More & more manufacturers are making both...their names and other names.

Collaborative advertising by merchants & manufacturers, featuring a single product. Example...refrigerator trade-in campaign coming soon.

More night selling...often stores sell higher priced items then.

"Home entertainment" things usually respond to good promotions... TV, portable radios, stereo, records. For many families they are MUSTS.

New emphasis on quality, less emphasis on the competitive price. Many stores are shifting their policies, very gradually, unspectacularly.

"What's the use of the rat race to get volume if the profits evaporate?"

"When we cut throats on prices, everyone soon finds his own throat cut."

Even mild recession is going to be a test. Strong will survive. Some weak won't. Then, when that weather gets itself over, a new phase: Less competition on price alone...more on the quality which people WANT.

In UN the Russians are usually credited with clever strategy, but Khrushchev is showing up in eyes of neutrals as just plain stupid. We get it from the inside that he is alienating some newly-come Africans with his lack of dignity and his attacks on UN. They say he overplayed.

Also, Castro offended them by his too-obvious play to Negroes.

Guantanamo: The talk behind the scenes by delegates to the UN is that Castro won't attack it. (1) It's more valuable as talking point. (2) It would be well defended...and might set off a counterrevolution.

Hammarskjold will stay as Sec. General, but will find it hard to be-or-appear neutral in the next flare-up. He'll be on thin ice THEN.

Sec. of the Treasury Anderson hints we HAVE been in recession, and now are coming up & out. He wanted to sound optimistic with bankers, the world bankers. Anything else would have sounded pretty sour abroad. Besides, analysis of his speech showed he didn't make a very firm case.

Am. Bankers Assn. meeting in N.Y. was notable for self-criticism of bankers by bankers...for stuffiness, lack of aggressiveness, tightness. No wonder, it was said, that savings & loans run rings around the banks.

Drug manufacturers: Score of them will get Fed. Trade complaints charging price advantage to certain wholesalers by ads in drug catalogs.

Tire makers are under scrutiny by Fed. Trade on ads for "sales" which violate the law by being "misleading." Tyrex especially under fire.

Food chemical makers will get more time...beyond next March 6... in which to prove to FDA's satisfaction that their products are harmless.

Waterway users are organizing against tolls on inland waterways, which they now use free. Congress is not likely to act at next session.

The Teamsters' acquisition of a big Miami hotel by foreclosure on a mortgage loan previously made will be aired by Senate committee... along with other big financial transactions out of union pension funds.

Inauguration stands are being built. New east front of Capitol is all finished, white & gleaming. Hotels are already getting orders, but policy of most is not to confirm reservations until after elections.

To get in on inauguration events, the ordinary citizen had best rely on congressman or senator, who'll be in touch with those in charge.

TV debate may have been a draw, but Republicans don't feel so. Many of them gave the edge to Kennedy on points...narrowly, reluctantly. Kennedy proved better than they'd thought...Nixon did a bit of fumbling.

Nixon isn't ill...they just gave him too much make-up for TV.

The Big Seven key states still seem to be close & undecided... NY...Pa...Ohio...Mich...Ill...Tex...Calif. Neither party claims them.

Democrats are doing a better job of getting voters registered.

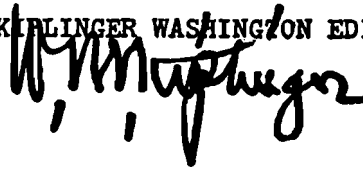
Republicans at headquarters complain privately that local workers are acting complacent merely because Nixon has slight lead in many polls.

The prospects of business recession are noted by both parties, but neither one thinks it will show any widespread evidence soon enough to be a great force in elections. After all, there's only a month left. And awareness of recession exists only within the business community... it has not yet spread to the masses of people, the millions of voters.

Yours very truly,

Oct. 1, 1960

THE KIRTLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS



The Top of the News



with *Fulton Lewis, jr.*

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Vol. 2

WEEK OF: September 26 – September 30, 1960

No. 39

Monday September 26, 1960 - Washington, D.C.

GREAT DEBATE: This is the night of the great radio-TV debate between the two presidential candidates but whether or not the occasion has been so hamstrung by artificialities and rules and red tape as to take the life out of it remains to be seen. . . .bureaucracy in radio and television can be thwarting, you know, as it is in government and as frustrating.

Just why it was not possible for the two men to appear on the same platform together, just the two of them, and slug it out according to all the accepted rules of debate will always be a mystery as many other things in this jungle of the radio media are mysteries but the network vice-presidents must have something to do so we get this strange formula for the night, with each of the candidates speaking for 8 minutes to open the program, Mr. Kennedy being first having won that position on a toss of a coin. Thereupon the questioning of the two is taken up by four newsmen, a representative from each of the four networks, who will direct the questions at one or the other of the candidates. The questioner will get three minutes for a direct answer and the other candidate will get a minute and a half for his own comments on the subject, and that will continue until 8 minutes before the end of the hour. At that time Nixon will be given three minutes for a closing statement and Kennedy will be given the same amount of time and that will constitute the program.

I personally question the desirability of having the reporters and their questions, in the first place because they are likely to insert nuances and innuendoes into their questions regardless of how unbiased they are supposed to be; nobody is unbiased, and that includes reporters, and anybody who purports to be, in an informed position in a national presidential campaign is likely to be a fraud in his pretense. In the second place, these debates should be personal contests between two men, each the head of one of the parties and each a potential President of the United States, and the picture should not be diluted by four other candidates and a monitor, about whom the general public couldn't care less.

The general pattern of this debate looks, at the moment, to be painfully like that alleged debate which Senators Kennedy and Humphrey put on in the West Virginia primary campaign which was probably the worst turkey that was ever staged in political television and radio. That was so terrible that I found myself fascinated into listening to it all the way through, to see whether perhaps it might turn out to have some redeeming features before it got through which, I assure you, it did not.

Tonight's performance is on the subject of domestic affairs and policy and from that standpoint should be of advantage to Senator Kennedy, because in that field the Republicans are in the position of having to defend the record, which they have been doing, while Senator Kennedy can be on the attack side, which he has been.

Mr. Nixon upset the advance status quo a little over the

weekend by issuing one of his so-called "position papers" about 3 thousand words long on the subject of Federal Aid to Education in which he goes somewhat farther than the Eisenhower Administration has been willing to go in the past, and thus upset the Democratic equilibrium today, causing some of the Democratic spokesmen to scream that Mr. Nixon is repudiating the Eisenhower Administration.

Mr. Nixon's new stand holds fast to the existing administration policy that the Federal Government must not give any direct loans or grants for increase in teachers' salaries, or for the payment of teachers' salaries for that matter, on the grounds that it is a dangerous policy because it might lead to federal control of the local school systems, the teachers and what they teach. But it does provide that the Federal Government shall give generous loans and grants to local schools for the building of new classrooms and other facilities, which, it is contended will release funds that otherwise would go to these ends, for the improvement of salaries.

Nixon also called for a system of scholarships for students and some aid for research and development as well as for limited housing where it is needed in Universities, although this was not emphasized in the paper today.

There has been much anticipation on the part of the Nixon followers, looking toward tonight's performance, particularly among those who have felt that he has been fighting with heavily padded gloves in the campaign thus far and who have been hoping to see him tear in with both fists and put up a real fighting performance. I have my own doubts that that is going to materialize to the satisfaction of the extremists, because the older Nixon advisors—notably Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall—have been counselling that it is not possible to hold the tempo of a full fighting campaign for more than a month and thus, the present occasion is immature from that standpoint by about ten days.

We shall see what we shall see, however, when the time comes, and it is improbable that the outside importunings of those who want to see a fighting spectacle are going to have much impression on the overall strategy and timing of the campaign.

Senator Kennedy doesn't seem to be too worried about such timing and strategic considerations. His seconds have been telling him to wade in with both fists from the very beginning and he has been doing so.

UNITED NATIONS: Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations, took the floor of the General Assembly today to reply to Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev's onslaught against him of last Friday, with dignity and calm, and won a tremendous ovation that infuriated Khrushchev and set him to banging furiously on his desk in the Russian version of the American practice of booing. His bald head was crimson and his hands trembling as he went through the process of furiously smashing his desk-top to the incredulous dismay of Indian Prime Minister Nehru who was standing only a few feet away and who looked on as if

he could not believe his eyes.

The other members of the Soviet bloc took up the pounding and reporters said that it sounded for a while like the Anvil Chorus. What seemed to particularly infuriate Khrushchev was Hammarskjold's statement that he would rather see his office "break" as he put it, meaning be destroyed, while upholding a fair and impartial adjudication and administration of the wishes of the General Assembly, than to see it drift on the basis of compromise.

Highly significant to the onlooker was the fact that in very large degree, the neutral nations of Asia and Africa, whom Russia has been depending upon for support, joined in the applause for Hammarskjold and added their cheers to the ovation. When the showdown came, Khrushchev and his all out communist crowd were the only opponents of Hammarskjold and several of those were following in the desk pounding only because Khrushchev was leading the way.

By way of getting a perspective on this Khrushchev explosion of last Friday and this show that he put on today, there are some puzzling facets of the matter if you are prone to take Mr. Khrushchev seriously and believe that he really meant to make a proposal that would be seriously considered as an amendment to the UN charter.

There hasn't been much of this perspective thinking done, thus far, in the panic that has followed the Khrushchev proposal, because everyone in positions of UN seniority or authority can only see that if his proposals were to be accepted, it would be destruction of the United Nations.

That is true, it would be. But if you sit down quietly and look at the situation you come to the inescapable conclusion that Khrushchev never had the slightest idea that his proposal would be or could be accepted or even that he could cram it down the throats of the Western World by any sort of force, but that rather his proposal was a Halloween pumpkin head scare which he made for the headlines and the effects he could produce and for no other reason.

Forget the panic and the horror and the indignation for just a moment and just look the picture over from the standpoint of facts.

In order to amend the United Nations Charter, as Khrushchev proposed to do, two things are necessary. In the first place, it is necessary to get a two thirds vote of the General Assembly approving the change in the charter and never in his wildest imagination, even with the addition of the new African States which were taken in shortly before he made his proposition, could he hope to get any such support. As it turned out after the Hammarskjold speech of this afternoon, he has perhaps ten votes behind him, maybe twelve at the outside including Ghana and Guinea, but that is a far cry indeed from the 67 votes he needs to put the proposition across. But even if he could have done that, he then has to get approval of the amendment by the Security Council, in which the Western Powers alone have four veto votes, any one of which could stop the show, and Khrushchev knew this all the time. . . it comes as no surprise to him. . . he knew it when he was making the speech. The proposal was just part of his pattern of propaganda and what he thinks is showmanship. . . anything to grab the headlines and frighten the opposition and this effort had that exact calculated result.

CASTRO SPEAKS: Cuba's Castro, in green shirtsleeves took over the rostrum of the United Nations shortly after three o'clock this afternoon for a speech that was expected to run at least four hours, with a thermos bottle next to him with, presumably, hot coffee to sustain him through the ordeal.

The speech started off as expected with a diatribe against the United States, which will probably continue

through the duration. He was particularly bitter about the hotel fiasco and charged that the State Department tried to have him boycotted in the various hotels of Harlem where he wanted to stay all along. He said that when he and his delegation moved to Harlem "it was bruited about that we had found ourselves a home in a brothel" but that instead, the Hotel Theresa, where he is staying, is a "humble hotel", a hotel of Negroes in Harlem "who sheltered us." The General Assembly floor was pretty well empty when he began, but gradually it filled up as the speech wore on, and Khrushchev several times applauded and motioned to his communist stooges to do the same. Generally speaking, however, the assemblage looked and acted bored, and was.

Tuesday September 27, 1960 - Washington, D.C.

GREAT DEBATE: The first of the four Great Debates of the 1960 Presidential campaign is now a matter of history, leaving behind it a variety of reactions and comments mostly critical and many of them—from the ranks of the Nixon supporters—fraught with misgivings in contrast to what they expected to be an outstanding performance of Nixon superiority.

It should be said first of all, perhaps, that the staging of the performance on the part of the network in charge was a sorry spectacle from the point of view of appointments, chairs, background, reading stands, etc., and certainly did not contribute anything to the listenability or the watchability of the performance from the standpoint of either contestant. This left them on even ground, of course, so there was no advantage to accrue to either contestant, but why it was not possible to provide some chairs that at least looked comfortable, and some lecterns that gave them some ease of posture, is unexplained.

So far as comparative performances of the two men were concerned, both headquarters here are maintaining a smiling face today, insisting that reaction for their candidate has been highly favorable, which may be the case in the telegrams that have come in from those who would like to curry favor with the candidates. So far as the private advices are concerned, from political and technical experts and advisors of the two men, they were better on the Kennedy side than they were on the Nixon side, largely because Kennedy's performance was better than most of his backers had expected it to be.

Or perhaps it was that Nixon's performance fell far short of what his backers expected it to be, thus making Kennedy look good by comparison.

The video was unmerciful to Nixon. He has lost considerable weight and somebody induced him to allow himself to be made up for the occasion by a professional makeup man who obliterated the normal shadow of beard which Mr. Nixon has and which the public has come to associate with his face as part of his personality so that he looked, to all practical purposes, like a warmed over cadaver.

This, of course, did not show up on radio and I am informed by those who listened by radio instead of television that his performance came through very effectively on the audio. To those who could see him, it was not Richard Nixon but some bloodless imposter in the last stages of starvation and his appearance transformed the technique of gentlemanly tolerance, which he was trying to get across to his audience into a picture of feebleness and total lack of spirit which his words, however effective from a debating standpoint, could not overcome.

On a debating point basis, Mr. Nixon proved himself very much the master of the occasion. His factual material, particularly when he was dissecting the things that Senator Kennedy was saying and the claims Senator Kennedy was making, was incisive and very much to the point, and showed a tremendous amount of advance study and preparation. He

had his facts on his fingertips and he was very deft on the offense in throwing them in at the strategic times. For example he took the Kennedy theme—oft-repeated in the campaign thus far—that the Republicans are a do nothing party in regard to school aid, housing, and a whole list of other lines in which Kennedy is promising big things for the future if the Democrats get in, and he cited statistics to show that during the 7 1/2 years of the Eisenhower Administration, all of these lines have flourished far more—in actual statistical figures—than they did during the Truman Administration, of the previous 7 1/2 years. He cited the fact that wages have gone up five times as much and the cost of living has gone up only one fifth as much during the past 7 1/2 years as they did during the Truman Administration.

Senator Kennedy attempted to explain away his own failure to get any of his legislative program through the Congress in the past special session by blaming it on the threat of a Presidential veto and the opposition of the Republicans, whereupon Mr. Nixon pointed out that the Democrats had a two to one plurality over the Republicans in both Houses of the Congress and enjoy an eight to four standing over them in the Rules Committee of the House—on which Senator Kennedy also placed much of the blame—and Mr. Nixon said he could not see how the Republicans were to blame for Senator Kennedy's failure to get his program through.

Mr. Nixon let Senator Kennedy's first answer, in which he was defending himself against the charges of immaturity and naivete in national affairs slide through without a comment, but otherwise, the factual side of the debate was pretty much Mr. Nixon's way.

The difficulty was that his performance was negated and discounted in large measure by his defensive attitude and manner and by the fact that he appeared not to have any strong convictions on anything.

For example he repeatedly said, apparently as a preconceived strategy to set a tempo for the whole debate, that he and Senator Kennedy agree on the goals and objectives of the campaign and that their only difference lies in the means by which those goals should be attained. They did bring out between them pretty well the fact that Senator Kennedy believes that the way the goals are to be accomplished are by direct operations of the federal government, and that the federal government alone can do the job. That unless the federal government does the job of housing and old age health insurance and improvement of teachers salaries in the schools, the accomplishment of those goals cannot be considered to have been done.

Mr. Nixon, on the other hand, contended that the way for the goals to be accomplished is for the federal government to use its facilities and its encouragement and implementation to encourage private enterprise and local and State facilities to do a major part of the jobs and he pointed out that the production facilities of private enterprise are about four times as large as those of government.

But the line about the goals being the same sounded always defensive. It sounded like me-tooism. It sounded like a man playing it pat, and the physical appearances which I have already described simply contributed and tended to build up the illusion of another Thomas E. Dewey, playing it smug, trying to avoid offending anybody, so careful not to make any enemies that he had no time to make any friends.

I realize that this is a line which the Nixon strategists have agreed upon as the wise way to start the campaign but I suggest that those strategists are rank amateurs and don't know what they're doing. If Mr. Nixon's goals are really the same goals that Senator Kennedy holds, the campaign can well be decided on the basis of a personality or a popularity contest, and everything considered, Senator

Kennedy would have been the winner on that score last night. His general mood, even though he got clobbered with the facts upon occasion, was vigorous and aggressive while Mr. Nixon's seemed to be defensive.

PROFESSIONALS: To the professionals, the long and short of it is that Mr. Nixon ought to be thinking that his goals are not the same as the Kennedy goals but are far superior. If he doesn't believe that, and if he doesn't make the public know that he believes it, he might as well fold up his tent and sleep his way through the rest of the Presidential campaign. The public couldn't care less about the means by which these goals are to be accomplished. It's the end result that they are interested in and they want the man who can produce those results. And Senator Kennedy's pattern for getting those results is a lot simpler and a lot easier to explain than Mr. Nixon's, even though to people who believe in the principles of freedom and free enterprise, the Nixon formula is the more sound.

The debate also was interspersed by Mr. Nixon by repeated statements of how he is confident of the high integrity and sincerity and the statesmanship of Senator Kennedy. Certainly, he should not have said anything derogatory, but Senator Kennedy didn't say any of those things about Mr. Nixon and indeed there are many people over the country who are highly critical of Mr. Kennedy after the performance at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, because they believe that Mr. Kennedy and his family bought that presidential nomination.

These are very frank comments, I know, but they need to be made, and there is no service performed on my part by sitting up here and saying that both men did a wonderful job last night and that the great debate was a tremendous success for both of them. The long and short of it is that Senator Kennedy lost badly on the facts of the debate last night, but he came up fighting and showed some spirit and made an emotion appeal to his tremendous audience while Mr. Nixon was way ahead on the facts but all but dissipated his advantage by a negative, defensive attitude and an apparent fear of being criticized for being too aggressive and hard hitting in his campaign.

In politics, as in other contests, you're going to be criticized by the opposition whatever you do and if you can't stand the heat, as Mr. Truman said, get out of the kitchen. The whole thing is painfully reminiscent of the days of the Dewey campaign in 1948, when he insisted upon that high road of the campaign that was so high that Mr. Truman undercut it and it fell in collapse on election day just because Mr. Dewey would never get in and fight.

CASTRO GOES HOME: President Eisenhower met in New York today with Prime Minister Macmillan of Great Britain and a half dozen other national leaders, most from neutralist countries, discussing the Khrushchev proposal for the deposing of Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold and the substitution for him of a three member presidium which would administer UN policy in his place. . . and Fidel Castro, disgruntled and unhappy over his reception in the United States, leaves New York tomorrow for Cuba, although his aides say that he will return if any crisis develops that seems to call for his presence.

Just a big, phony punk and I am glad that I, for one, spotted him at the outset, for all of the punishment I took from some listeners who thought he was wonderful and the savior of Cuba. An opportunist, a mountebank, a charlatan, and more than that a physically repulsive guy. You don't have to be mangy in order to be a hero and soap is cheap, even in Cuba. He charges that Yankee Imperialists hired the anti-Castro pickets who surround his Harlem Hotel. The Cubans in exile charge that he spent 2 million dollars in publicity money in trying to make a world splash of his New York visit.



NEWSLETTER



AMERICAN NATIONALITIES FOR NIXON-LODGE DRIVE

BOX 7398 • WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

Charles S. Rhyne, Chairman Peter H. Flanagan, Director

Number 7 -- October 1960

50 STATES ORGANIZED; NEW CHAIRMEN APPOINTED

All 50 states of the nation now have Volunteers state committees established and in operation. Achievement of this goal was announced by national chairman Charles S. Rhyne, who also released the names of five new state chairmen and four co-chairmen.

Among the newly appointed state chairmen and co-chairmen are F. Ross Brown, a Denver real estate developer and former assistant to Democratic and Republican governors; Mrs. Will Pirkey of Denver, former state legislative chairman of the League of Women Voters; James S. Shropshire, prominent Kentucky Democrat and tobacco farmer; Democrat Fred L. Morlidge, Reno, Nev. mining executive and civic leader; Nevada state chairwomen Mrs. Mary Eisele; Rogers Aston, New Mexico independent oil producer, farmer and rancher; Mrs. Lillian Dolde, vice president of the Albuquerque National Bank and chairman of the Women's Chamber of Commerce.

In New York State, an enlarged organization called the New York Independent Citizens for Nixon-Lodge is headed by co-chairmen Francis P. Gallagher and Mrs. John L. Loeb, New York civic and charity leaders.

AMERICAN NATIONALITIES LEADERS LAUNCH NIXON-LODGE DRIVE

As Soviet Premier Khrushchev arrived in New York on September 19, over 200 leaders of nationalities groups, many of them from Iron Curtain countries, met in Washington to launch an American Nationalities for Nixon-Lodge campaign throughout the country. The conference delegates from 19 states, representing 28 foreign origins, were

addressed by Vice President Nixon, Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, and later met with President Eisenhower in the White House.

Shown with Vice President Nixon are American Nationalities delegates Mrs. Stella Abraitis, New York, Lithuanian; 7-year-old Boris Dragan of Jersey City, Ukranian; Mrs. Claire Chennault of Washington, Chinese, widow of the late commander of the World War II "Flying Tigers"; and Mrs. Danga Bartkus of Chicago, Lithuanian.



Mr. Nixon told the group: "You cannot answer an offensive idea which is on the march simply with defensive tactics. . . . The only answer to those who boldly work for and arrogantly say that they stand for the victory of communism over all the world is to stand for the victory of freedom throughout the world."

The committee will conduct campaign activities in support of the Nixon-Lodge team at the state and community level. A former State Department official, Horace Henderson, was recently appointed executive director of the committee to work

with its co-chairmen, John Richardson, Jr., a New York attorney, and former Governor Theodore R. McKeldin, Jr., of Maryland.

VETERANS COMMITTEE FOR NIXON-LODGE NOW ACTIVE

Seven prominent veterans organization leaders, including five past national commanders, a current officer and former veterans administrator, are heading a nationwide Veterans Committee for Nixon-Lodge program to activate former servicemen in the Nixon-Lodge campaign.

The national chairmen are: George N. Craig of Brazil, Ind., past national commander of the American Legion; Louis G. Feldmann, Hazleton, Pa., past commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Edgar C. Corry, Glencoe, Ill., past national commander of the Amvets; Maj. Gen. Julius Klein, Chicago, past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans; Richard P. Golick, Washington, D. C., past national commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart; Harvey V. Higley of Marinette, Wis., former administrator of Veterans Affairs in Washington, and Sylvester Hoffmann, Los Angeles, national judge advocate of the Disabled American Veterans.

The co-chairmen are mobilizing former servicemen from Independent, Republican and Democratic ranks to conduct widespread membership activities and channel manpower into Volunteers community clubs.

SENIOR AMERICANS GROUP FORMED

The activation of a Senior Americans for Nixon-Lodge organization has been announced by Vice President Nixon, as he called upon the experience and skills of persons 60 years and over to promote the principles of the Nixon-Lodge ticket.

Mrs. Caroline Werner Gannett, of Rochester, N. Y., and Mr. Frank J. Wilson, of Washington, D. C., were named co-chairmen of the Senior Americans. The purpose of the organization will be one of educating and promoting the medical care and non-inflationary economic programs of the Administration as best suited to afford healthy, prosperous and active lives for older citizens.

Mrs. Gannett, widow of the late noted newspaper publisher, Frank Gannett, is a director of the publishing firm, Gannett, Inc., member of the Board of Regents of New York State University, and holder of a number of honorary degrees. Among her other awards for civic and educational achievement, she received the 1959 Monroe County, N. Y., Achievement Citation for promoting better understanding between religious faiths.

Wilson is former chief of the U.S. Secret Service and recently retired as president of the National Association of Retired Civil Employees. He was deputy food



75-YEAR-OLD USES TELEPHONE TALENT FOR NIXON—Said Mrs. Daisy Bender, 75, who lives in a trailer in Athens, Ga.:

"After what that man Kelly said (she meant Kennedy) I'm going to vote for Nixon and I've been a Democrat all my life! Kelly or Kennedy, why, he said on a nationwide broadcast that he hoped to be elected without the aid of the South! That should turn all of us against him." Forthwith, Mrs. Bender called up Mrs. John P. Tillinghast, Chairman of the Women's Division of the Georgians for Nixon. In a twinkling, Mrs. Tillinghast, shown at left, was knocking at the trailer door with telephone lists, stickers and buttons for her new recruit, who is now an active—and forceful—Nixon campaigner.

(Bob Dendy, Atlanta Journal-Constitution photo)

administrator under Herbert Hoover during World War I, and later joined the Bureau of Internal Revenue, becoming prominent as a crime fighter in the 1920s and '30s.

THREE CO-CHAIRMEN HEAD WOMEN FOR NIXON-LODGE COMMITTEE

The Women for Nixon-Lodge Committee, under the co-chairmanship of three civic leaders, has launched a drive to activate what the Vice President describes as "the largest and most important voting bloc in American politics".

The newly-appointed co-chairmen are, Mrs. Daphne Robert Leeds of Atlantic City, N. J., Mrs. Andrew Williams, Jr., of Seattle, Wash., and Mrs. Oscar A. Ahlgren of Whiting, Ind.

Mrs. Leeds, a former Young Democratic national committeewoman from Georgia, is a past president of the Georgia Association of Women Lawyers and National Association of Women Lawyers. She has served as assistant commissioner of patents in the Department of Commerce. She is the wife of Atlantic City attorney Robert W. Leeds. Mrs. Williams, granddaughter of former President Theodore Roosevelt, has been active in political work in Seattle, where her husband is an attorney. Mrs. Ahlgren is past president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Her late husband was an attorney and former speaker of the Indiana House of Representatives.

WOMEN VOLUNTEERS ACTIVITY GROWING: STATE CO-CHAIRMEN NAMED

Thirty-four states have named co-chairmen to head their Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge women's activities, and new co-chairmen are being reported daily. Carol Arth, national director of women's activities, explains that women are assuming an active role in all volunteer efforts, with special emphasis on coffee caucuses, TV debate parties, shopping center programs, and get-out-the-vote campaigns. Volunteer clubs in many communities are appointing women co-chairmen to handle these activities at the local level.

Women's campaign work in the volunteer drive will be highlighted during the week of October 3-8, which has been declared "Pat Week" as a nationwide salute to Mrs. Richard Nixon. For this event, a popular campaign brochure, "Ten Reasons Why We Should Elect Nixon President" is being distributed with an addendum: ". . . And No. 11--because we want Pat for First Lady!"

"OPERATION SNAP" BEGINNING TO POP

"Operation SNAP" - a program under which millions of individual Americans and their neighbors can participate in "do-it-yourself" politics--has been officially launched on a nationwide scale. In response to thousands of orders already placed for the Operation SNAP kit of sample campaign materials and literature and step-by-step instructions, national headquarters volunteer workers are rushing packets to every corner of the nation.

Operation SNAP--for "Support Nixon At the Polls"--is designed to reach into the homes of all Nixon supporters who want to do "something" in this crucial campaign, but whose business or other activities prevent them from joining political clubs or devoting extensive volunteer time in support of the Nixon-Lodge ticket.

The kit, described in the last issue of the NEWSLETTER, is available free from Volunteers National headquarters to anyone interested in spearheading Nixon-Lodge activity in his or her neighborhood.

"POSTCARDS-FOR-NIXON" A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN PROJECT--Special postcards, featuring the Vice President's photograph, are flooding the mails with thousands of personal expressions of Nixon-Lodge support. Local clubs and "Operation SNAP" neighborhood groups are using the picture postcards in an organized campaign project. Cards can be ordered directly from the supplier, Kaufmann Printing, Inc., 8351 Central Ave., Washington 27, D. C. Price for 100 to 500 cards is \$3 per 100.

MEN OF TOMORROW

One of your most serviceable weapons for campaign action in the days before election is the truth about Nixon-Lodge strength and experience. Here some facts to carry with you.

Thumbnail Biography of RICHARD M. NIXON

RICHARD M. NIXON, the Republican Nominee for President, has carried more and heavier executive responsibilities, taken part in more executive decision, and "sat in" for the President on more critical occasions, than any Vice President in American history. He is the only candidate who won't need "on the job" training for the Presidency.

His training for the White House has been thorough, rigorous and extensive. Selected by President Eisenhower as his running mate in 1952, and again in 1956, Dick Nixon quickly earned the Chief Executive's endorsement as, "the most valuable member of my team."

Vice President Nixon has been a strong right arm of the White House in foreign policy, in helping to direct the national economy to its record level in stemming inflation, and holding living costs to reasonable levels. He has worked effectively as a leader for the President in Congress, and as the President's representative on official travels in 32 foreign countries. With his wife, Pat, the Vice President has won millions of friends for the United States throughout the world, and gained experience which few government leaders possess.

The Vice President served in the U.S. Navy during World War II, and spent fifteen months in the Pacific where he earned two battle stars and two commendations.

Born in Yorba Linda, California, on January 9, 1913, he worked as a boy in his Quaker family's general store, learning early the lessons of hard work, thrift, and high moral standards. The Vice President completed elementary and secondary schools in Whittier, California, and finished second in his class at Whittier College. He received his law degree, with honors, from Duke University in 1937.

Like her husband, Pat Nixon learned the lessons of work and thrift early. Her parents died when she was very young, and Mrs. Nixon worked in hospitals and department stores to gain a college education. The Nixons met in Whittier, where Pat had begun teaching school, and were married in 1940.

Richard Nixon practiced law for five years in Whittier before going into World War II service. He was elected to Congress in 1946, and was re-elected in 1948 with the nominations of both Republicans and Democrats. His voting record, service and outstanding ability won him election to the United States Senate in 1950.

The Nixons have two children, Tricia, born during his first political campaign in 1946, and Julie, born in 1948.

Thumbnail Biography of HENRY CABOT LODGE

HENRY CABOT LODGE of Massachusetts has broad experience in world diplomacy, and a legislative and military background. He is a mature government and political leader of great stature and ability. These attributes make him the ideal running mate for Republican Presidential nominee Richard M. Nixon.

For seven and one-half years, Ambassador Lodge has served as permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. During this time he has led the UN Free World forces battling the Communist world menace at close quarters—and usually has come off the winner. Since his appointment, Lodge has provided the leadership which has maintained Free World initiative in the UN forum. Since he took office, no Communist attacks on free peoples have gone unanswered.

Ambassador Lodge will bring to the Vice Presidency seventeen years of legislative experience—thirteen in the United States Senate; four in the Massachusetts State Legislature—and a notable military record.

With five years remaining in his third term as a U.S. Senator, Ambassador Lodge resigned, to fight with the first American tank detachment in the British Eighth Army in Libya. Later, he served in Italy, southern France, at the Rhine, and in southern Germany earning six battle stars.

Prior to his legislative, diplomatic and military career, Ambassador Lodge worked as a newspaperman with the *Boston Transcript* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, traveling widely throughout the world.

In the U.S. Senate, the Republican Vice Presidential nominee was author of the Lodge-Brown Act which created the Hoover Commission, resulting in governmental economies of more than seven billion dollars. His deep interest in foreign affairs began in the Senate, also, where he was a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Born on July 5, 1902 at Nahant, Massachusetts, Ambassador Lodge is a grandson of the late Henry Cabot Lodge who served in the United States Senate for thirty-one years. He was married on July 1, 1926, to Emily Sears of Beverly, Massachusetts. They have two sons, George Cabot and Henry Sears Lodge, and eight grandchildren. Their home is in Beverly, Massachusetts.

1. **They are Experienced.** Both men have long experience in two of the highest offices of the country: Nixon as Vice President handling every variety of national problem involving Congress, the executive agencies, national defense, the budget—plus presiding over many Cabinet meetings and National Security Council sessions. Lodge, the American Ambassador for 7½ years to the United Nations, directing Free World strategy in dealing with Soviet Russia.

2. **Both are qualified** by education and training that began in their earliest youth. Nixon received honors in school, won a law degree, two terms in the House and one in the Senate before the 7½ years as Vice President that took him to all parts of the world. Lodge won college honors, was a newspaper reporter in foreign affairs and served two terms in the Massachusetts Legislature and three terms in the Senate before starting his 7½ years as American delegate to the United Nations. Together, they have spent 46 years in high public service.

3. **They Know World Leaders:** Probably no team of Americans knows more world leaders—the numerous chiefs of government Nixon has met in his capacity as Vice-President, the foreign leaders whom Lodge knows in the U.N., including every Soviet leader of the last 10 years.

4. **They Understand Soviet goals and tactics.** Vice President Nixon, as member of the National Security Council, has been aware of every secret development of American policy. Ambassador Lodge as the team's U.N. member and member of the cabinet has had the same information.

5. **Both are young and vigorous** and tireless because of their zeal for serving in public affairs. Both accept the hard work and long hours of high office as a welcome duty and way of life.

6. **They are trusted** by the leaders of foreign nations and by the leaders in our own public life. Both have the respect of American labor and the trust of American business.

7. **They are sympathetic** to the problems of the average man: Nixon, as a man who had to earn his living early in life, learned the viewpoint of the working man. Lodge earned a reputation in his native Massachusetts and in the U.S. Senate for deep concern for the welfare of his fellow citizens.

8. **They understand** the problems of every department in the executive branch of the federal government because both served in the Senate, that writes the laws for the agencies, and then in the cabinet where all the chiefs of executive agencies meet to exchange information.

9. **They are informed** of every military fact concerning our nation or Soviet Russia which bears on the nation's security. They shared every fact known to the President or the National Security Council over the past 7½ years.

10. **They know** the importance of a sound fiscal policy through years of service on Congressional committees and in the Cabinet where the financial health of the nation has been a daily concern.



THEY'RE TURNING OUT FOR DICK AND PAT—40,000 in Indianapolis (above), 100,000 in Louisville, 15,000 in Mount Clemens, Mich., 40,000 in San Francisco, 100,000 in Dallas. That's the story of the opening campaign swing across the country . . . enthusiastic, record-breaking crowds, turning out to greet Vice President and Mrs. Nixon at every stop.

NEW FILM AVAILABLE TO CLUBS--

"Nixon Volunteers", a 23-minute, 16-mm film available to clubs and club organizing committees. The film depicts the role of Volunteers in the campaign, shows the national headquarters operation and community club activities. It includes highlights of Richard Nixon's life and career, and closes with his personal message to the thousands of volunteers working in his behalf. Club leaders are receiving instructions for ordering the film.

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EDITORIAL SUPPORT ACROSS THE NATION

SATURDAY EVENING POST: In an editorial endorsing the Nixon-Lodge ticket, S.E.P. says: ". . . Nixon has the maturity, the experience, and, above all, the toughness . . . to stand up to . . . the frenzied hate campaigns of the Red dictators in Moscow and Peking and all the little Castros who echo their mouthings against this beloved country of ours. With Nixon in the White House, we can be sure that defense will be under constant scrutiny, and . . . there will not be a negotiated Munich to humiliate us".

DAYTON, OHIO, JOURNAL HERALD: "Vice President Nixon has begun to win this campaign . . . What is happening is that the maturity that characterizes Dick Nixon has already displayed itself in contrast to the immaturity of his rival . . . Dick Nixon again has shown himself steady on the road, bold enough yet solid and consistent. Kennedy, on the other hand, has seemed to us almost frantic, searching so hard for victory that he undertakes to be all things to all men. It almost seems that both of them are bent on proving Nixon's claim that he is a man of experience."

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"This country was founded by the bold and cannot be maintained by the timid."

—EMERSON

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October 6, 1960

'Liberals' Employ Double Standard

From the Tulsa Tribune

Traveling through the East recently we enjoyed reading editorials in many of the "liberal" newspapers indicting the Republicans for having kept William H. Martin and Bernon F. Mitchell, the two mathematicians who fled to Russia, on the payroll of a sensitive intelligence department. The editorials [and we agree with them] said it was an outrage that the traitors were hired and stayed hired in spite of common knowledge that at least one was a notorious homosexual.

But weren't these the same newspapers that were crying "witch hunt" a few years ago whenever any government bureaucrat lost his job on the mere suspicion that he might misbehave? Weren't these the same newspapers that wept for Robert Oppenheimer, who was severed from his sensitive job in A.E.C. merely because he had been known to associate with Communists? Weren't these the newspapers that defended as victims of "McCarthyism" that shabby group of pinks and reds who had infested the seams of the New Deal and who cried "Murder!" when they were let out or demoted after the real dimensions of the Communist conspiracy began to be understood?

There is an emotional [and questionable] axiom: "Better 1,000 guilty men go free than one innocent man convicted." But the "liberals" carried this over into the realm of government and claimed that any security system in which one innocent person might be wrongfully severed from his or her public office was indefensible. This was silly. It confused a public job with an inalienable right. It assumed that severance from a public job was cruel and unusual punishment. Most citizens never held a public job.

As a result of this hysteria by the "liberals" government agencies grew very chary of firing anyone against whom they had less than an airtight case of wrongdoing. Yet the best spies are not going to be easily incriminated. They don't often get caught with their fingers in the safe.

So far as we know there was no solid information that Martin and Mitchell were spying before they took off for Moscow. Sure, if there had been suspicion of a homosexual relation they should never have been hired, and they should certainly have been fired as soon as it was known. For such people are most easily blackmailed. But such a relationship

"Gently, Their Friends May Not Like Your Methods!"



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is hard to prove, too. No government official could charge such a relationship unless he had proof. And what a howl might have arisen from the "liberals" if Martin and Mitchell had been fired for no apparent reason!

Around the World in 90 Days

From the Wall Street Journal

We see where Senator Kennedy has said that "within 90 days" after he is President, if he is, he will reassert US leadership at home and abroad.

Within that space of time he will propose a program to deal with "wiping out poverty here in the United States," a plan for getting the country a "nuclear capacity second to none" which will make us "invulnerable to surprise attack." In the same short span he promises to rally all our prosperous Western allies in a regional program to get long term capital into underdeveloped countries all around the world so they will be prepared for self-government.

That's an ambition for the New Frontier of commendable proportions. But we are old enough to remember that it took Franklin Roosevelt a hundred days to fashion his New Deal. And even so, look what that got us.

Why Nixon Over Kennedy?

By RALPH W. GWINN
Former Congressman from New York

I WAS A strong supporter of Barry Goldwater at the Republican Convention in Chicago, a man having no sin of compromise with political principle in him.

Now I am asked why I, a staunch conservative, support Richard Nixon for President.

Today we have three choices: (1) to support Nixon, (2) to support Kennedy, (3) to sit it out. This latter choice should not be confused with "neutrality." As Senator Goldwater pointed out at the Convention, conservatives do not remain neutral when they "sit it out." They cast HALF A VOTE for Kennedy.

Nixon and Kennedy are far from being like two peas in a pod. There are sharp, well-defined differences between them.

The first question is: How will each handle the Communist conspiracy on November 9th? How has each handled it so far? Khrushchev has predicted that our grandchildren will live under communism, and here we are going to the polls this very fall with those grandchildren! Shall we reject decisively or timidly embrace compromise with communism by our vote?

Which ticket does Khrushchev favor? Do you have any doubts on the subject? He is definitely interested in our election. He indicated that another summit conference waits on the outcome. For Secretary of State he prefers Stevenson, reputed to be Kennedy's choice for that critically important post. He might be equally glad to have Chester Bowles, one of Kennedy's principal advisers on foreign affairs.

Kennedy's friends say it is impossible that the Senator could be soft on communism. "Kennedy is a Catholic," they explain. But, is he the vigorous anti-Communist that we believe most Catholics are? Does he not rather incline toward those groups who insist that we can do business with the Kremlin and, before long, that we must recognize Red China? These are powerful groups. It takes power to defeat them. That is why I can't be neutral or indecisive in my vote. I don't want Mr. Kennedy in the White House leading such groups in and out of Congress.

Now, with regard to the domestic issues.

Both parties promise a 5 per cent annual increase in business. I am strongly **OPPOSED TO THAT KIND OF POLITICAL PROMISE NO MATTER WHO MAKES IT.** It implies that government can,

by political manipulation, determine sound prosperity and the solid employment of people.

The difference between the two candidates is that Mr. Kennedy continues to resort to still bigger doses of government spending and, of course, more taxes or inflation. Mr. Nixon promises tax incentives, tax relief to stimulate more production and thus increase business and the income of the people. One way is through bigger government. The other is through free enterprise.

Don't forget a Republican Congress reduced tax rates under Eisenhower. They are lower today than those in force at the end of the Truman Administration. And we have greater prosperity as a result. We need a new Congress to support this Nixon policy.

The American government today wields the greatest financial power ever known. Every technical sounding decision made on balanced budgets, deficit spending, repayment of the public debt, monetary policy and credit controls, is not only a technical problem. It affects every aspect of human life. Kennedy's economists talk of welfare goals as the reason for even greater government costs, powers, and controls. The very air is full of uncertainty about what Mr. Kennedy intends to do. He uses technical words of government to strengthen the "public sector." All this means impoverishing the "private sector," where most of us live. I, for one, want to hold on to what little "private sector" there is left.

Where do the candidates stand on the labor problem?

ONE BILL WHICH has a high priority to Walter Reuther and the AFL-CIO is the Kennedy-Karsten bill. Under this bill the states are required, whether they like it or not, to pay unemployment benefits for 39 weeks. They would be required to pay as much as \$2,300 in benefits to persons who have earned as little as \$1,700 during the qualifying period. This is designed to federalize the unemployment insurance system of the country. The Federal government will dictate the amounts paid the unemployed and the duration of those payments regardless of what the state legislatures may wish. Under such a Federal law, the states will become mere administrative agencies of the Federal government. Competition between them will be gone.

Now if a state like Michigan becomes impossible for industry, it can move to Indiana. But if Mr.

Kennedy and an AFL-CIO-controlled Congress are elected, industrial freedom will come closer and closer to the end.

One of Reuther's goals is to extend unemployment benefits to 52 weeks, and eventually to 104 weeks. Benefit payments are to be raised to 80 per cent of take-home pay.

If workers can collect 80 per cent of take-home pay for 104 weeks, why not just stay home? They will be money ahead by loafing. When they work they must pay a 20 per cent tax, deducted from their wages. The temptation will appeal to many kinds of marginal workers—married women who do not really need to work, seasonal workers in hotel and other industries, agricultural workers, even workers in the seasonal garment industries.

Strangely enough, laws giving "something for nothing" seem never to be repealed. They move in only one direction. Eisenhower and the Republicans in Congress have held the line against the "right to loaf" bill. Kennedy wants this bill. HE INTRODUCED IT. His supporters in the AFL-CIO want it.

Do you want to work and pay social security taxes to keep people from working for as long as two years at a time? That is just like paying farmers not to raise corn. It's like being paid for going into the non-raising hog business.

DO YOU WANT to elect a President who increases and leads more and more mobs against the treasury? We've got too many now. Mr. Kennedy follows new pressure groups, in the making everywhere, bent on taking more of something for nothing. For he is their acknowledged leader.

Mr. Kennedy is the representative of the great labor leaders who are bent on repealing the Taft-Hartley Act by amending it out of business. One amendment, called the "situs picketing bill," provides for picketing against products of any company coming on to the job listed by labor unions as "unfair." For example, if Kohler plumbing fixtures were coming on to a building job, any union on the job could automatically stop all construction at the site where Kohler products are being delivered. This is an extension of the violent head-cracking business of stopping the crossing of the picket lines. This is more of taking the law out of the courts and putting it into the hands of the labor bosses.

By this bill labor bosses become the sole arbiters of what constitute "unfair labor practices" so as to justify the rejection of any company's products by order of the union boss. There can be no practical appeal. Mr. Kennedy introduced the bill. Mr. Nixon has advocated nothing like it.

Having gone thus far to set up labor unionism as a law unto itself, if Mr. Kennedy is elected with

an AFL-CIO-controlled Congress, the next step is already indicated. Labor will exact the right to make decisions heretofore reserved to management.

Some unions have already compelled the insertion of a provision in labor-management contracts prohibiting companies from moving their plants without union consent.

THE HICKORY COMPANY in New York went out of business. Its equipment was shipped to a new company in Mississippi. The arbitrator held that such a move was a deliberate violation of the labor contract. The court upheld him and ordered the firm to re-establish a New York plant of the same size and capacity as the one built in Mississippi, and also to pay \$204,681 damages to its employees in New York. Management no longer has the right to decide where to invest its capital in New York or in Mississippi.

It follows, too, that if management decides to withdraw its investment, in a plant, government will insist on the right to treat the plant area as a depressed area entitled to government funds at taxpayers' expense. Government, in effect, says, as an excuse for taking other people's property, that private industry is unable or unwilling to provide capital. If rents are too high, then rent control must be imposed by government because private capital will not provide adequate housing according to government standards.

How much farther can we go to impose the will of one side on the other in a contract? If it can be done in a contract, it can, of course, be done by law.

The Crescent Company had agreed, in its collective bargaining, that if the plant or any of its operations were moved, or if the name of the firm was changed, the contract would continue in effect until the expiration date. The court ruled that the United Auto Workers could not bar the firm from moving to Georgia, but it could insist that the company must hire its old workers, pay existing rates in the new community, and hire new workers only under the conditions set in the contract.

In a third case, the Supreme Court itself ruled that the Chicago and North Western Railway had violated the law by trying to regroup its little-used freight stations so as to reduce its losses. The road claimed that some of the station employees were getting a full day's pay for less than an hour's work. The Order of Railway Telegraphers demanded that the Chicago and North Western bargain with them over the closings. They said: "job security" is a proper area for bargaining. It sounds reasonable to say that "job security" is a serious concern of the unions. But what kind of "job security" can be achieved by compelling management to continue unprofitable, even outrageous, operations? In the

long run this policy can lead only to government protection and operation of business. If free enterprise won't keep the unprofitable stations open, the government must, or compel the railroads to do so. That is the end of free employment and free enterprise.

Thus, we may go "whooping and hollering" down the road to bigger and bigger government, with smaller and smaller people more helpless in managing their own affairs.

There is a bill in Congress, the Dirksen Bill, S. 3548, which would offset the Supreme Court decision on the Chicago and North Western case above. The bill did not have a ghost of a chance in this session. What chance would it have in the next session if Mr. Reuther's candidate, Senator Kennedy, is elected President?

I'm for free enterprise. I cannot want Senator Kennedy for President. Mr. Nixon has committed himself to achieve greater individual responsibility and freedom of the people from the compulsions of government. I must be for him.

IF YOU VOTE FOR MR. NIXON WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT CONGRESS?

TALK TO GOP CONGRESSMEN REPRESENTING THE 50-OR-SO MARGINAL DISTRICTS—those which can go either way. They know they will be defeated if Kennedy wins, and their replacements will be Reuther-controlled Big Spenders. We will have labor boss-made law with violence.

Here is an example. The Republican Senator from Michigan a few years ago voted roughly 50-50 on issues involving conservative principles. In 1958, he lost to a Soapy Williams associate, Philip A. Hart, who had married \$20 million of the Briggs Body fortune. Do you know that Hart, the new Senator from Michigan, has YET TO CAST ONE VOTE, according to the ACA Index, against inflation or government ownership or government intervention or for any sound conservative principles? What else could be expected from Reuther's obedient servant? Thus, we lost a 50 per cent conservative Senator, to get a Senator who was rated ZERO on the ACA-Index.

Dare conservatives "sit out" this election without a try?

YOU CAN FIND out the record of every Senator and Member of Congress by consulting the ACA Index. It is published by HUMAN EVENTS, and sells for \$15. That is a very inexpensive way to get a full report on the work of some 530 members of Congress.

While talking about Michigan, let me mention the 1954 race between Senator Ferguson and McNamara. Though a conservative, Ferguson

voted against the Bricker Amendment and in so doing, he angered a number of conservatives. As a result, he lost to McNamara by a fraction of one per cent of the total vote. The Senate got six years of McNamara, one of Reuther's puppets who was also rated at ZERO by the ACA Index. In five and a half years McNamara has yet to cast one vote which conservatives could approve. What do those who sent Ferguson to defeat think now? There is little doubt that they did it. Stay-at-home conservatives who fail to vote for candidates for Congress can give the left-wing extremists FIFTY MORE PLACES IN CONGRESS. They will have no one to blame but themselves if those fifty seats are lost in 1960.

A Kennedy victory will be construed by our representatives in Congress as a mandate for Big Spending. Of course! The extreme New Deal Democrat from Pennsylvania, Senator Clark, another heir to millions, who is given a rating of 4 per cent on the ACA-Index, is talking about "Another Hundred Days"—like F.D.R.'s. Doesn't this mean they will pass spending bills faster than money was ever spent, even in Roosevelt's Hundred Days?

Kennedy's election will be considered by the two-thirds Democratic majority in each House as assurance that they can, with impunity, get rid of any obstacles to the quick passage of measures making effective the KENNEDY REVOLUTION. Senator Clark says that the Seniority System for committees in Congress must be emasculated. That will get rid of the few conservative Democrats. Don't forget it has been the seniority rule which has delayed some of the biggest spending programs so far, and helped to uphold President Eisenhower's vetoes.

Resistance in Congress to Reuther's labor bills will fade out like resistance to big spending. What will the pitiful remnant of conservatives in Congress be able to do if, instead of an Eisenhower, there is a Kennedy in the White House?

It will not do a bit of good to be sorry on November 9th, or any time in the next eight years after that. It is better to be sure now. For only two months the voters have a choice. Then they will have virtually no choice for eight years. Defeating a President in office seems to have gone out of style ever since Roosevelt won his third term in 1940.

The reason for Goldwater's decision to support Nixon, however great the difference in their philosophies, was summed up by George Sokolsky, in his statement that Goldwater "is not interested in winning the little battles when there is a great war to be fought."

I have tried to show why I think we have a great war to win or lose between now and election day. This is the war for survival or defeat of conservative principles. I do not believe conservatives can do their duty by "sitting it out," while the war is being decided against them.

- NIXON:** *Do we fight back—or Dewey?* (465)
UN: *Appeasement pitfalls face Ike* (465)
GOLDWATER: *Soundly scores Democrats* (466)
SOUTH: *Two leaders for Nixon* (467)
KENNEDY: *Surrounded by Fabians* (468)

That Disappointing Debate: The nation-wide GOP dinner hook-up on TV—starring Ike, Dick, Barry, Rocky, etc.—proved a smashing success and restored much GOP morale. Ike's forthright praise of Dick's experience emerged as a major forensic victory in the campaign. The big closed-circuit TV show erased some of the GOP losses sustained in the disappointing Great Debate (Nixon-Kennedy) of three days before.

Despite the lift in spirits, GOP pros and faithful in Washington have raised delicate questions—and tossed around embarrassing answers—in an effort to find out what went wrong with the Debate and to correct strategy and tactics. Here, in question and answer form, is what's being said about it all:

• *Why wasn't Nixon "himself"?* Rumor had it that he was ill. Not true. What is true is that on debate night the VP had not yet shaken off the lethargic aftermath of those anti-biotics he took for his knee infection. It often requires weeks to regain bounce, as cold sufferers will agree.

• *What about that Nixon make-up?* No doubt the make-up was responsible for Nixon's grim facial look. Much talk of "sabotage." Much weight is given to a UPI report that make-up union officials believe he was "sabotaged." They suggested that a "Democratic make-up artist made him up." Washingtonians think there's something odd about it all.

• *What was Nixon's big mistake?* He did not cut an image sufficiently different from Kennedy. That's another way of saying he "agreed" too much with the Massachusetts Senator. Veteran newsmen recall that Willkie missed a big opportunity at the opening of his 1940 campaign. By then he had come abreast of Roosevelt, reported the polls. But, at the Elwood (Indiana) opener, he lost a lot of supporting sentiment by talking about the many points on which he agreed with F.D.R. That may be swell "high level" stuff—it doesn't pay on the radio or TV.

• *Why was the VP so "defensive"?* He temporarily forgot that the best defense is offense. Thus, he could have handled the nasty question about his own "experience" and role in "making decisions" in the Administration by tossing the ball back to Kennedy. Why didn't the Senator himself play a role in making many decisions in his capacity as a member of the Senate? In the last session Kennedy failed to cast record votes 134 times out of 206. To answer

this, Kennedy might have had to say, lamely: "I was campaigning away from Washington."

• *Was Kennedy successful in offering himself as a "1960 version of F.D.R."?* He got away with it only because Nixon, in his lethargy, failed to offer his opponent the following devastating fact: F.D.R.'s famous policies, so like the "New Frontier" dream-stuff, did not do away with the depression (in 1933, unemployment totaled 10 million and it remained at that figure until 1940, when the approaching war and arms spending bailed out the New Deal).

• *What is his posture—the "old Nixon" or the "new Nixon"?* Neither, so far. Sometimes the VP cuts loose in his old style (as in Minneapolis), then he retreats to the "high level." Trouble is, he's too much affected by gratuitous, deceptive advice from the claue of "liberal" correspondents. They relay the notion that revival of "old Nixon" forensics (which won campaigns) will offend voters. Kennedy feeds out the story that he's puzzled by "old Nixon" speeches "which lose votes." Actually, the Kennedy forces fear intensely a regular "old Nixon" style campaign—for it does win voters.

• *Will Nixon cut loose on Big Labor?* He made a start, with his courageous speech to the Machinists union. But why should he waste time and energy addressing unions at all? The AFL-CIO is spending millions in money and manpower to organize a Nixon defeat. Thus, the VP has nothing to lose by attacking, not "appealing" to, Big Labor; and it's better pay-dirt just now, with recession clouds on the horizon. He can justly blame idle steelworkers on Labor Boss ambitions for costly strikes and settlements, with the result of pricing American business even out of the domestic market. It's a natural in October, 1960, perhaps better than "foreign policy" as a bludgeon in the necessary "low level" (not "high level") forensics which win elections.

Eisenhower Phenomenon: The amazing phenomenon of Ike's popularity—illustrated by the million-person turnout during his ride through New York last week—fascinates (and concerns) GOP pros. They think great political mileage can be obtained from the argument: "Under the Democrats, three wars in our time; under the GOP none." In short, peace; but it has to be "peace with honor" (in other words, peace but no appeasement).

Problem is: If Ike meets Khrushchev and makes some sort of deal, it can't prove popular, unless it emerges untainted with appeasement. The main worry is that the Herter-Bohlen-lace-handkerchief set in the State Department might wheedle him into some arrangement which contains hidden—and dangerous—jokers.

Labor Bosses told their Congressmen outside of labor areas to "save your own hides." If a left-wing Congressman represented an anti-labor farm district, his chances for re-election might depend upon fooling the farmers into believing that he was "anti-labor."

Apparently, when the Labor Bosses need McGovern's vote, they get it. That's why they actually wanted him to vote in favor of Landrum-Griffin "on final passage."

Press: The newspaper which provides Adlai Stevenson with much of his income will support Nixon, despite the fact that Stevenson has been "promised" the Secretary of State post by Kennedy.

The Bloomington (Ill.) *Pantagraph*, one of America's best (and fighting conservative) newspapers, is owned 51 per cent by the Merwin family, descendants of Grover Cleveland's Vice President, the first Adlai Stevenson. The present Adlai and his sister each own 24½ per cent. Adlai's share alone is worth considerably over a million dollars. The *Pantagraph* reluctantly supported Adlai in 1956 and did not express any opinion in 1952.

Tides of Battle: Two prominent Southern figures have come out for the Nixon-Lodge ticket, and their example may prove important in the current campaign. Conspicuous is James F. Byrnes, one of the most prominent Democrats in recent history. Byrnes was Roosevelt's Senate leader in the Thirties, a big wheel in the F.D.R. Administration's wartime setup, a member of the US Supreme Court and (under Truman) Secretary of State. Later he became Governor of South Carolina.

Byrnes, in embracing the GOP ticket, states his strong opposition to the Democratic platform, and by that he does not mean the civil rights plank alone; he says the radical platform adopted at Los Angeles is repugnant to a conservative.

Insiders in the Capital are all the more impressed with the Byrnes stand, for it was reported in informed circles several years ago that Byrnes had at that time been boosting Kennedy for President.

The other is former Texas Governor Allan Shivers, who sat in the State House chair from 1949 to 1957. Shivers, although a Democrat, supported Eisenhower in 1952 and was regarded as one of the big forces that enabled Ike to win that state. His influence this year cannot be discounted.

In Ohio, maverick Senator Frank Lausche has just come out for Kennedy. His silence regarding the ticket was noted in HUMAN EVENTS two weeks ago. Two major factors are seen for the action by Lausche, who is a shrewd pro, in giving in and endorsing the Democratic ticket. One is that he comes up for re-election in 1962 and cannot afford to alienate the party machine and the union bosses any more than he has. The other is that Lausche, a political realist, detects a strong Kennedy tide in Ohio, and doesn't want to appear to be bucking it.

Education: While a bill for Federal aid to education failed to pass the Congress, it was through no lack of effort by the National Education Association, which spent \$77,913 during the first half of 1960 in lobbying for this measure. The importance NEA attaches to Federal aid to education, which would eventually bring public schools under Federal control, dominated by NEA-spawned "educationists" and "life adjusters" in the Health, Education and Welfare Department, is seen by the fact that NEA is now the biggest spending lobby in Washington. (Figures from *Congressional Quarterly*—second biggest spender, the AFL-CIO; third, Teamsters union.) NEA spent \$12,000 more in the first half of 1960 than it did for lobbying during the first half of 1959.

While some take solace because the Federal aid bill did not pass and feel, therefore, that NEA's lobby may be ineffective, the fact is that school bills did pass in the House and the Senate; passage of a final education measure by the whole Congress was prevented only by conservatives on the House Rules Committee, who refused to permit a compromise bill to reach the floor. If "liberal" Senator Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) wins his fight to remove conservatives from control of the Rules Committee at the next session, there will be no firm blockade against the Federal aid to education drive that is sure to begin again.

Capitol Camera: Kennedy, in the Great Debate, criticized the Administration for "doing nothing" about Africa. As chairman of a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Africa, he failed to say that his subcommittee has never held a hearing or rendered a report. In short, he has done nothing.

• *Senator Paul H. Douglas (D.-Ill.) was recently evicted from the parking lot area of the American Machine & Metals Co., where he was campaigning for re-election during the company's working hours. Douglas claimed the company was an ingrate because he had helped it get sizeable defense contracts "that it otherwise wouldn't have got," and added, "I'll even help them get another contract." His opponent, Samuel Witwer, is now wondering what sort of influence Douglas possesses that he can obtain a contract for a company that ordinarily wouldn't receive one.*

• *Former Democratic National Chairman Jouett Shouse, now a Washington attorney, has broken with his party and come out for Nixon-Lodge. The reason: "Labor Bosses" control Kennedy.*

• *Lyndon Johnson, now running for Vice President, had this to say about the job when he was seeking the Presidency: "The Vice Presidency is a good place for a young man who needs experience. It's a good place for a man who needs training." (Los Angeles, July 8).*

HON. JOHN DOWDY, Member of Congress from Texas:
"HUMAN EVENTS is always welcome to my desk. You are making a courageous fight in our battle for the preservation of America and American freedoms."

Fourteen Million Stockholders Deserve A Break

By SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES

AMERICANS who are true believers in the free enterprise system had better realize that there is a basic difference between the Republican and Democrat parties.

It goes without saying that most of the material blessings in the way of wages, housing, schools, household appliances, the clothes we wear, the food we eat, automobiles and the other consumer goods which we enjoy are a result of the competitive free enterprise system developed in this Nation.

In order to build factories, hire workers and produce products, capital has to be invested. Needless to say, there is a considerable risk to such investment.

If the product which is produced is unacceptable to the public, bankruptcy is inevitable and those who have put up the money for the operation must suffer the loss.

If the business is successful and the product is accepted by the public, it seems only fair that those who have risked their capital be entitled to a fair return on their investment.

The manner in which most American industries secure equity or risk capital is by the sale of stock to the public. The way in which they pay profits to those who have invested in American industries is through the payment of dividends to the stockholders.

It is perfectly clear to all (save those who have difficulty with thinking) that if the American people cease to buy stock, or if American corporations cease to return to the stockholders a fair dividend on their investments, the free enterprise system, as we have known it, will be throttled.

In 1954 in this country there was a dearth of risk or equity capital. Individuals who possessed some extra cash were more inclined to invest it in government securities where there was no risk involved. Patriotic though the purchase of government securities may be, it still constitutes payment on debt—it builds no factories, it creates no jobs and it does not in any way expand our economy.

The situation became alarming to those who desired our free enterprise system to expand and flourish, and so the Republican Congress amended the Internal Revenue Code to provide some incentive for people who invest in our industrial system. The incentive provided was the so-called Dividends Credits Against Tax in Section 34 of the Internal Revenue Code.

This amendment permitted an individual to deduct \$50 from the dividends which he received (in the case of a joint return of \$100) and then to subtract from his tax liability 4% of that portion of the amount of his income which had been received from dividends.

The logic of such an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code seems clear. In the first place, the money which an individual uses to buy stock has already been taxed as his income; second, the dividends which he receives (and we must add: IF he receives any, since there is no guarantee that the business in which he invests will be successful) have already been taxed at the corporate rate of 52%; and finally, without such equity capital available (as has previously been stated), our economic system will wither and die. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that those Americans who have purchased stocks have made sacrifices in order to accumulate their savings. These are the provident people who have put aside a portion of their earnings for a "rainy day."

On June 25, 1959, the Democratic majority of the Senate attacked this incentive provision of the Internal Revenue Code and, led by Democratic Senator McCarthy of Minnesota, by a vote of 47-31, adopted an amendment to eliminate this incentive provision of the Revenue Code.

When the tax bill went to the conference with the Democratic House of Representatives, the Democratic amendment was stricken and the Revenue Code in this respect remains as it did in 1954, as passed by the Republicans.

With the usual demagoguery that has become associated with certain "liberal" elements in American politics, it is now maintained that this provision of the Internal Revenue Code is a tax loophole which enables the rich to escape their fair share of the taxation.

For those who are interested in the facts, let us note that there are twelve to fourteen million Americans today who own shares in American corporations. One out of every eight American

adults is now a shareowner in our free enterprise system.

The average shareowner has a median household income of \$7,000 per annum. Almost 50% of the shareowners are in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 per annum income tax bracket. The average age of the American stockowner since 1956 is 35 years. Four million housewives are major shareowners, and one out of every five shareowners first acquired stock through an employee stock purchase plan.

Furthermore, over 1,300,000 shareowners are members of labor unions and over 140,000 are members of the armed services of the United States. The facts, therefore, demonstrate that the American people as a whole have faith in our free enterprise system and are investing a portion of their own savings in its future. To claim that there should be no incentive for such an investment is in a sense to advocate that the free enterprise system be curtailed or replaced.

AFTER AN INDIVIDUAL has already been taxed on the money which he has risked in purchasing stocks, to then deny him the right to deduct 4% of his dividends as a tax credit will kill his incentive to take all the risk when there is nothing to be gained. Let us note in comparison that Canada, for example, in this precise situation, in order to promote its industrial system, grants a tax dividend credit of over 20% to its citizens.

Now let us examine the platform of the Democratic party. After promising to give everything to every pressure group both at home and abroad, it then states:

"We shall close the loopholes in the tax laws by which certain privileged groups legally escape their fair share of taxes. Among the most conspicuous loopholes are . . . special consideration for recipients of dividend income . . ."

One may either believe what the party platform states or be entirely skeptical of the promises therein. If you don't believe anything in the Democratic platform, of course you should vote Republican. If you do believe what it says, you have all the more reason for voting Republican.

According to the language of the Democratic platform, its sponsors intend to abolish any tax credit incentive for the American people to invest in our economic future. They intend to kill the goose of free enterprise which furnishes the

revenue to support all of the other programs. In fiscal 1958, for example, of a total Federal revenue of \$71 billion, over \$20 billion was derived from corporate taxes and a great portion of the \$34 billion raised from personal income taxes came from the earnings of corporation employees. This is not therefore a program to tax the rich; this is a proposal to destroy the incentive of millions of Americans to invest in the future of our economic system.

Thoughtful Americans should compare this statement of Democratic policy with that contained in the Republican platform which states:

"The only effective way to accelerate economic growth is to increase the traditional strengths of our free economy—*initiative and investment, productivity and efficiency.*"

There is every reason to believe that the Democrats who constantly favor more government control of industry are in dead earnest. When we examine the vote of June 25, 1959, which would have repealed the 4% dividend tax credit, we find that Senator John Kennedy of Massachusetts and Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas voted in the affirmative.

It is peculiar, to say the least, that Mr. Kennedy—a man to whom financial problems are unknown—would deny a small incentive to the millions of Americans who have faith enough to take a risk on the future of our free enterprise system. But the fact is that he and Johnson and all the Democratic candidates for election or re-election to congressional seats are on record. The vote occurred on June 25, 1959; the promise of future action is contained in the Democratic platform. We suggest that those of you who have money invested in America's future read the Record and ask Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson and every Democratic candidate for office to explain.

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WALTER G. BARLOW, *Executive Vice President*

August 13, 1959

*Wrote Finch
Aug 19*

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
J. Walter Thompson Company
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Haldeman:

At the Arden House Conference earlier in the week you asked who had been doing Governor Rockefeller's opinion polls for him.

I did a little checking around, and as nearly as I can gather, the bulk of the work is being done by Dr. Joseph E. Bachelder. Joe is a very competent researcher who holds down the job of Managing Director of Industrial Advertising Research Institute, a branch of National Industrial Advertisers Association.

I gather without being able to verify this exactly that Joe is doing this on a separate basis from his current professional connection.

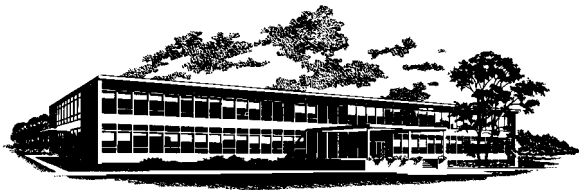
In view of the fact that the above is somewhat on heresay, although quite reliable heresay, I'd suggest you handle the information on a somewhat confidential basis.

It was nice making your acquaintance.

Regards,

Walter Barlow

WGB:cw



DEDICATED IN 1958, OUR 20TH YEAR

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON LETTER

Circulated privately to businessmen

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS
1729 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Washington, Saturday, July 16, 1960.

What's Kennedy really like? And what does he think about things?
People are now finding that his deeds are better known than his ideas, and they are groping around to find what makes the man tick.

We've studied him, can give a few clues.

Note his quick tongue...his words go tripping over themselves. This comes from a quick and nimble mind, and it is a genuine basic trait. Not impulsive, not that...no shooting from hip. He's cool & calculating, without much sign of the fire that comes from heartfelt convictions.

He listens well and takes advice, he's like a sponge at it. He has very good sense of the limitations of his knowledge on matters. But he assimilates counsel and makes it his own...then acts on his own.

Knowledge of economics, for example. He has studied it more than the average public man. He knows his way around in the maze of it, but he still seeks advice, and he has his eyes open when he follows it.

In the complexities of foreign policy, pretty much the same. He has a fairly good knowledge of foreign from experience and travel.

He lives, works and plays hard. He drives an open car FAST. A "regular guy." Drinks a little but not much. Wears natty clothes, changes often to suit the occasion...usually plain styles, not extremes. A "family man," and his family life is often gay. Plays with his child, and has another on the way, due to arrive about the time of elections. Close to brothers and sisters in all matters, even outside of politics. The whole Kennedy family would doubtless take part in the Presidency.

He's rich (from father), does not know what deprivations mean. And yet he has never been aloof from ordinary folks of lesser means. By these standards his friends are "miscellaneous." He has money sense. Not exactly frugal, but doesn't throw money around...not a spendthrift.

Organizing ability has been demonstrated. He plans it all out, assigns jobs, delegates freely, then rides herd to see things through. His friends say he'd undoubtedly run the Presidency in much the same way, he'd drive it hard. As organizer and administrator he has NATIVE ability. If called upon to run Congress from White House, he'd have a card file to record all the angles, so they say. If he were to be Chief Executive, he would pay much attention to better administration of the gov't.

He has STUDIED labor and unions. He opposed Taft-Hartley in '47, but was an admirer of Sen. Taft. Unions find him sympathetic but tough. Union men have sometimes grumbled because they couldn't push him around. He's for most of the things that labor wants, but not all by any means. Thinks gov't should play more of a hand in preventing national strikes, but not by compulsory arbitration. Union men are for him, except Hoffa.

Johnson as VP: He strengthens the ticket, especially in South. Alienates labor & liberals, but they must swallow...nowhere else to go. Still the blitz did leave sour taste in many mouths. "Kennedy compromised."

Johnson is a skilled strategist, a technician, a craftsman. As a leader he is rough, tough and ruthless, which is what the job takes.

Well known on the inside of politics, but not among the people. In this sense not a "popular" public figure. His speeches are old style, full of cliches. He's adept at dirty digs and sly demagogic inferences.

He is personally vain and careful to cultivate the right people. Associates respect him, but say his main interest is in the career of LBJ.

How much ill feeling among the Democrats after the convention? We talked this with delegates on the spot. At first the bad temper ran high over Johnson, but by the end of the week it had simmered down. Democrats "bruise easy but heal quick." They are fairly well united.

The Southerners feel much better now that "their man Johnson" is in on top party strategy. Most will quit cussing and go to work.

Very few Southern states will go Republican...and perhaps none. A few are still hostile over the civil rights plank, but the prospects of heavy Republican inroads there are now dimmed by Johnson's candidacy.

How do the parties stack up as parties? Obviously the Democrats have better organizations, better machines, and more effective energy. In many localities they run rings around the Republicans in campaigning.

Also the Democrats have the labor leaders...or most of them... and the unions have great political machines of their own...and funds. Leaders hate Johnson, but hate Nixon more. Some will shift, most won't.

How about money? Both parties are going to have more dough than ever before in history. Democrats have been "poor" since Truman, but Kennedy-Johnson combination will be able to attract plenty of money. While most wealthy fat-cats are Republicans and will kick in to Nixon, they will also contribute to the Democrats much more generously now. Neither party will be able to say it suffered any from lack of money.

Which is the more attractive TV personality, Kennedy or Nixon? We are inclined to think Kennedy will have edge on PERSONAL popularity. He woos people, they respond and like him, as was shown in the primaries.

But Nixon is the tougher campaigner...he's the harder slugger, and this campaign is going to become an old-fashioned pounding match.

Which will inspire more DEPTH of confidence? Hard to figure, but we think that Nixon's greater experience will weigh in many minds, especially in the handling of foreign policy...which is THE major issue.

More affection for Kennedy, more impersonal respect for Nixon.

What about church issue? First note that one out of four voters is a Catholic. But also note that most Catholics are confirmed Democrats. They'll vote for Kennedy, but as Democrats...and not for church reasons. Thus no net gain for Kennedy. Some Republican Catholics may swing to him, but the numbers are not great and not significant in any big way.

As for anti-Catholic feeling, it is probably less than formerly, especially among the younger generation, but it IS a lurking factor, and it WILL swing votes in certain sections...the South and Middle West. How many? Impossible for anyone to know, for people don't talk frankly. Net, we figure the church issue as slightly against Kennedy, for Nixon.

Who are Kennedy's economic advisers? He has many on the string, but listens most to Galbraith of Harvard, Samuelson of MIT, Harris of Harvard, Schlesinger of Harvard. They are all regarded as "liberals." He has enough horse sense to avoid academic theories that are TOO fancy.

He belongs to the "growth school," thinks gov't should stimulate by pouring out money when needed, especially for public services.

Thus he's for education, health, welfare...as an "investment." So is everyone, but he'd do more than conservatives or most Republicans.

He'd use surplus in good times to pay off debt, and run deficits in bad times without apology. This is standard thinking of all groups, but it's hard to achieve in practice because Congress insists on tax cuts when there's a surplus, leaving no offset or cushion for the deficits.

He's for low interest rates and easy money...to boom business.

More for defense, but not necessarily higher taxes to cover it, for the theory is that growth stimulation would give higher tax yields.

His advisers insist these proposals are not inflationary, but... in actual practice in political atmosphere they HAVE led to inflation.

We believe BOTH parties want things that add up to inflation, even though the Republicans are inclined to fight harder against it.

How about civil rights? Plain truth is, Democrats promise big, promise more than can be accomplished in less than a couple of decades. It's easy to sling the rhetoric, but hard to get the realistic results.

The Southerners recognize this and make their allowances for it, which is why they can manage to get along within the party's house.

Votes of Negroes in Northern cities will be largely Democratic, partly because of platform, partly because they are already Democrats, herded and manipulated by city machines. They don't like Johnson as VP, but can be persuaded. Some will shift Republican, but not in droves.

Congress is likely to be Democratic...both House and Senate.

Only a landslide for Nixon could change this, and we do not expect it.

The Senate in August session will have two Democratic leaders, Johnson, the regular, and Kennedy...plugging jointly to make a record. And, presiding over both of them, Nixon. Three exhibits in one tent. The maneuvering in late August is sure to be a great political spectacle.

Where does Truman stand now? He has absolutely unique position, unrivaled, of being in step most consistently with the losers.

Where does Stevenson stand? We'd say HIGH. He made no enemies at the convention, but gained in respect, and may be Secretary of State.

Where does Papa Joseph Kennedy stand? He has been the power behind his son John, supplying most of the money and some of the brains. He had the reputation of being "soft on Hitler" at start of World War. We think son John can take care of himself on this, as he has on others.

Now for Nixon's Republican show...less hoopla, less marching, less business for sign painters, but the same hand-picking of the VP, and the same spirit of extravagance in the promises of the platform.

The election can not be doped out now. Too much uncertainty about the issues of foreign policy, experience in this, civil rights, farm programs, personalities. Many voters have NOT made up their minds. It is NOT predetermined. Prospects will fluctuate. A passionate period.

Now look abroad: It may seem we are closer to war with Russia.
But NO, not really. The scowling and name-calling back-&-forth are dangerous, of course, for they might accidentally trigger a war. But the danger of that is probably no greater today than it has been.

What's happening is just what was expected after Summit mess. Red leaders decided the peace-&-friendship line wasn't working for them, so they have gone back to belligerence...to make themselves look strong and to make us look weak, and to undermine our prestige in the world.

The shooting down of our plane is in line with the new policy, for there is evidence that the reds went out of their way to attack it, well beyond their borders. They want to create another "spy" incident to scare our allies, weaken their trust in us, and display red power.

In Cuba, Khrushchev's threats against us are merely a bluff. Russia certainly won't risk war with us over Cuba, but as propaganda Mr. K. is showing that he doesn't hesitate to tell us off on a matter smack in the Western Hemisphere...or show contempt for Monroe Doctrine.

He'll tell Castro to throw us out of Cuba, out of Guantanamo Bay, our big naval station. Some Castro men are already mouthing this line, and it will grow louder. We WON'T get out, even if it means fighting, for Guantanamo is one of our most important bases in the Caribbean.

Castro is growing weaker in Cuba, losing his hold on the masses, and particularly on important groups of people who influence the masses. They're talking out against him, warning of economic collapse.

U.S. is putting pressure on him, along with Latin Amer. nations, through the Organization of American States, where he'll be denounced.

He may resort to terror tactics to hold on...a commie technique by which unpopular leaders force their will on people, as in Hungary. But it takes a strong loyal military for that, and the Castro forces are not that good. Top men in our gov't think he will fall by year end.

In Africa, the uprisings are sure to spread beyond the Congo. Reds are maneuvering for position all over Africa, stirring things up, but colonial settlers will dig in and hold their ground, if new riots. The Europeans are becoming more convinced that the native populations are not ready for independence. They had been willing to gamble on it, but now they fear the loss of their businesses, so they are stiffening.

The U.S. is affected by the African trouble in two ways:

Politically it's touchy, for we want to befriend the new nations springing up there, but we mustn't offend our older allies in Europe.

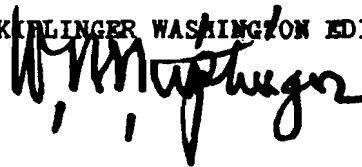
We want African raw materials...cobalt, chrome, bauxite, asbestos, diamonds, copper, iron ore, manganese, uranium. Also coffee and cocoa. We can get most of these elsewhere, but if we had to, prices might go up. Also many U.S. firms own millions of dollars' worth of property in Africa. Thus spread of the riots would be bad...and Khrushchev knows that well.

At present our gov't really has no positive policy on Africa. The next President will HAVE to frame it...organize it...and direct it. Both parties call this election crucial. They are not exaggerating.

Yours very truly,

July 16, 1960

THE KIRTLING WASHINGTON EDITORS



You Bet I Am A Republican

Because Now I Know the Difference Between the Parties

By JOHN J. SYNON

ALONG WITH A NUMBER of my more erudite friends, I have sat in the petulant's corner wondering what difference there is between the Republican and the Democratic parties; why should I support either?

Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee. I have said, and felt a bit righteous and above it all in doing so.

And now I wonder, Conservative that I am, if a large measure of my concern has not been the result of my own political hysteria. For the facts do not bear out my convictions. I have learned, indisputably, that the Republican party—as a party—has lent little aid and comfort to the collectivists and is little to be damned for our plight. Republicans are not responsible; *IT IS THE LACK OF REPUBLICANS.*

That may surprise you as it surprised me. Yet I am prepared to prove it.

For six weeks now I have been pouring over the ACA-Index, an extraordinarily illuminating work put out by Americans for Constitutional Action, a non-partisan trust. This great book is a deep-down study of the voting record of each member of Congress. It takes the Senate back through 1955 and the House back through 1957; *every critical vote of record on every crucial issue—79,500 entries.*

As might be expected, the ACA-Index is as full of surprises as a bear cub in the springtime, yet nothing it contains is so striking as the difference it spells between the parties. An honest appraisal of the book will convince any fair-minded person *the Republican party has held true to constitutional principles. While the Index doesn't say this in so many words, the implication is clear and if the 5,000,000 Conservatives who have "taken a walk" can be made to appreciate this fact, they can of themselves make of their party a majority party and reverse our movement to collectivism.*

It is that simple.

Let me show you how the ACA-Index, in its dispassionate way, proves this: Assume that every member of Congress voted for constitutional principles every time he cast a ballot. If that were so, the "median" of Congress would be 100 per cent. If, collectively, the members of Congress voted half the time for constitutional principles and half the time against them, the "median" would be 50 per cent. As a matter of fact, the "median" of Congress, as disclosed by the ACA-Index, is 33 per cent. Coincidentally, it is the same for the Senate as the House.

Admiral Ben Moreell

Americans for Constitutional Action

20 "E" Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

Dear Admiral Moreell:

Your ACA-Index is the finest work of its kind ever put between covers

Sincerely,

Barry Goldwater

US Senator

Now in the House of Representatives:

REPUBLICANS

Above the Median	151	100%
On the Median	0	0
Below the Median	0	0

DEMOCRATS

Above the Median	58	21%
On the Median	6	2%
Below the Median	213	77%

Look at it a little differently. There are 277 Democratic members of the House. Of them, the ACA-Index discloses, 200 have records of 29 per cent or less. This means that 70 per cent of the time, 200 Democratic Congressmen are voting for welfarism. *Not one Republican votes that poorly.*

Or to be more specific, the Democratic Majority Leader in the House, McCormack of Massachusetts, has not cast a single vote of record that Conservatives would term a "good" vote. Not since 1956, at least, as far back as the Index takes him. McCormack is rated zero, zero, zero. His voting record shows him to be totally for centralization of power in the Federal government and in complete opposition to the principles spelled out in the Constitution. And this is the Democratic party's Majority Leader in the House of Representatives, a cypher.

On the other hand, the Republican House Leader, Halleck of Indiana, subject to identical analysis, rates 87 per cent. A great record.

And the story is no different in the Senate:

REPUBLICANS

Above the Median	31	94%
On the Median	1	3%
Below the Median	1	3%

DEMOCRATS

Above the Median	15	23%
On the Median	2	3%
Below the Median	47	74%*

The Democratic Senate Majority Leader, Lyndon Johnson—whom many people think is a Conservative—rates 10 per cent. The Democratic Whip, Mansfield of Montana, rates eight per cent.

Conversely, the Republican Senate Minority Leader, Dirksen of Illinois, rates 79 per cent. And Senator Kuchel, as Republican Whip, rates 58 per cent.

But this is only the beginning. You Conservatives who stayed away from the polls, look at your party:

There are 437 members of the House of Representatives. Of these, 13 have never, not once—at least, not since 1956—*have never cast a vote of record on a critical issue that was in violation of the principles written into our Constitution. Every one of these 13 members of Congress who have earned a 100 per cent rating is a Republican.* There are no such Democrats—North, South or East of Suez.

Of the 113 “best” members of the House (i.e. those who have voted least for collectivist measures.), *every one of them is a Republican.*

Turn it around. The lowest-rated Republican in the House rates better than 221 Democrats. That means exactly what it says: The record shows the “worst” Republican is better than 221 Democratic Congressmen. And of the 21 Representatives who have *never* cast what a Conservative would call a “good” vote (those the ACA-Index rates at zero), *every one them is a Democrat.* Of 151 Republican members of the House, only three rate below the 40-per-cent-Conservative level; there are 233 (of 277) such Democrats.

SUCH IS THE DIFFERENCE between the parties. It is a deep and abiding difference and those Republicans who have continued to fight for the God-given rights of the individual are due a sincere expression of gratitude from the country at large

*Senator Langer (deceased) and the two new Senators from Hawaii are not included in the study by ACA.

and a sincere expression of apology from those of us who walked away—because we couldn’t tell the difference between a Republican and a Democrat.

It seems apparent, our Republican members of Congress have been “good.” They can be better, but to be better, they need help—your help and mine.

For more than a year, the technical staff of Americans for Constitutional Action worked industriously to gather these facts and bring them to light. (Ben Moreell, Herbert Hoover, Charles Edison and Edgar Eisenhower are members of the non-partisan board of ACA.) Now they have produced them—for your benefit. Our country is worth saving and it is within our power, within the power of those of us who have dragged our political feet, to save it. *The answer lies in supporting the Republican party; do so and you will strengthen the constitutional principles upon which our liberty is based. The ACA-Index proves this fact.*

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The Kennedy Revolution: Part I

By JAMES L. WICK

JACK KENNEDY will pick up where FDR left off—screamed big ads in West Virginia newspapers.

The ads beat Hubert Humphrey, but enraged Harry Truman who thinks that HE “picked up where FDR left off.” Personal feuds have changed election results.

The advertising slogan promising a Great Leap Forward in FDR’s New Deal was coined by the young man himself. To him, it was not just another campaign promise lightly tossed off to win votes in West Virginia. Jack means this promise.

His favorite topic when he is addressing college audiences is “America’s Need for a Strong President.” He tells them, if elected, he will not be restrained by the traditional limitations of the Constitution.

The Massachusetts Senator confidently expects THE KENNEDY REVOLUTION to be rated by historians as equalling or excelling THE ROOSEVELT REVOLUTION.

What then is the background of this not-so-modest young man who is so compulsively promising to be a Strong President?

How is he rated by those who know him best, the politicians in Massachusetts and his fellow-Senators?

If he should be elected, what would be the nature of THE KENNEDY REVOLUTION?

The essence of Jack’s character is that, like many a person born to doting parents of great wealth, he has never had to think of anybody but himself, what he wanted, what would please him.

His entire training has been to receive, not to give. Jack’s father, Joseph P., possessing \$400 million, has given him from infancy everything his heart could desire.

The people about him were placed there to jump at his slightest command, anticipate his wants, conform to his whims and fancies, tell him what he wanted to hear. He does not understand the principle which poorer people have to live by: that society is a system of reciprocal relations; “to win a friend, you must be a friend.”

Jack’s schooling was in accordance with his status. The private schools which attract the sons of the very rich tend to be the “advanced progressive” schools whose teachers indoctrinate their students with the Freudian ethic that “man cannot and should not be expected to be provident, self-reliant and venture-some; that he must and should be supported, protected and socially maintained.”

In all his 43 years, Jack has never had to handle money. Agents appointed by his father handle his investments. The family fortune has paid for his political campaigns. Even when Jack ran for the

House of Representatives, he commanded an array of talent which would arouse the envy of a Presidential aspirant. Incidentally, Jack’s first campaign for Congress was to represent a slum district in Boston, though his home for many years in the recent past had been in New York City.

The cynical belief was growing that the use of money and the power that comes through family connections makes wishes come true.

In seeking political office, he was quickly warned of the dangers incurred in passing out \$5 bills. Bribing voters with your own money will land you in the penitentiary. It is far more effective to apply the basic principle of mass bribery: tell the pressure group to whom you are promising something-for-nothing that it is for the good of the whole Nation that they be given the special privilege they want.

At the 1956 Democratic convention, Jack found himself launched in a contest for the Vice Presidential nomination when Stevenson, without warning, announced that the delegates should choose the Vice Presidential nominee. The Kennedy clan conferred and decided to make religion their appeal. They drafted a memo distributed to the delegates which argued: The Catholic vote—and there IS a Catholic vote, said the memo—is indispensable to the success of the Democratic party. It constitutes more than half the Democratic vote in a dozen pivotal states. But in recent years, said the memo, Catholics in droves have been deserting their old party. Get them back by naming a Catholic, Jack Kennedy, to second place, concluded the memo. (For obvious reasons, the memo omitted an important reason for the Catholic defection: the Democratic party’s record of softness toward communism.)

After the dramatic-photo-finish, the Presidency became Jack’s overriding ambition. He quietly began to change his voting pattern. Up to then, on farm legislation, for example, he had voted the interests of Massachusetts. He now became an active rival of Hubert Humphrey to woo those among the farmers who are willing to sell their votes to the highest bidder.

BEFORE 1956, Jack was vividly conscious of the fact that heavily Catholic Massachusetts was strongly anti-Communist. Discussing communism in his speeches, he did not hesitate to put the blame upon Roosevelt and Truman for Communist gains. In 1949 in Salem, Massachusetts, Jack said a “sick” Roosevelt at Yalta followed by Truman “frittered away what had been won in the Far East” (namely, China). Again on January 25, 1949, just before the collapse of Nationalist China, he blamed Acheson for having taken bad advice from “the Lattimores and the Fairbanks.”

The *New Republic*, now supporting Jack for the Presidency, carried a remarkable article on October 12, 1952, by John P. Mallan. The article was a report of Kennedy’s speech at a Harvard seminar

on November 10, 1950, attended by Malan. Jack made the following points: (1) there was no reason why we were fighting in Korea; (2) we would eventually have to "get all those foreigners off our backs" in Europe; (3) not enough was being done to rid the government of Communists; (4) he knew Joe McCarthy well and respected him; (5) he had no respect for Dean Acheson or for almost anybody else in the Truman Administration; (6) he was delighted that Richard Nixon had beaten Helen Gahagan Douglas for the Senate in California [issue: Mrs. Douglas' softness toward communism].

But when he became a Presidential aspirant Jack changed this tune. He decided to backtrack on communism. The appeasement bloc in the Democratic party can veto any candidate who is not anti-anti-Communist. To them, a devout Catholic is automatically a suspect. A current witticism in the literary world says that "anti-Catholicism is the anti-Semitism of the 'intellectuals.'" The son of pro-McCarthy Joseph P. Kennedy has been doubly suspect. Jack decided to go the whole distance to win the anti-anti-Communist ADA intellectuals, who are powerful in opinion-molding circles. If, as a consequence, he should be charged with softness toward communism, he could point to his Catholic faith. The two are irreconcilable, he would insist.

Carrying out this program, Jack opposed any commitment on the part of the USA to defend the Matsus and Quemoy. He became sympathetic toward the "two Chinas" proposal of Chester Bowles, his foreign policy advisor. Bowles wants Chiang Kai-shek recognized as ruling no more than Formosa.

Jack has "promised" to make Stevenson his Secretary of State and Adlai has repeatedly said that the United States should "not veto" the admission to the UN of Red China.

Jack suggested the Red Chinese be invited to participate in the nuclear test bans at Geneva—the camel's nose inside the recognition tent.

These carefully calculated attitudes have chilled some members of the Catholic clergy and the editors of the Catholic press. Some had long been dubious about the qualifications of Kennedy for the Presidency. Others, feeling that Catholics have been excluded from their right as Americans to aspire to the Presidency, believe that Kennedy might be the man to change this American tradition.

But today many high ranking Catholics have reversed their hopes and pray nightly for Kennedy's defeat. Several lay Catholic publications have frankly expressed their vehement opposition to Kennedy. Others will remain silent, not wishing to antagonize the rank and file, many of whom are emotional about the second-class citizenship of Catholics in America.

Almost alone, the two "liberal" small-circulation Catholic weeklies, *America* and *Commonweal*, will be supporting Kennedy—and they, with mixed emotions frankly expressed in their columns.

Jack has repeatedly denied that in his current campaign he has used his religion to win Catholic votes. Others disagree, asserting that he has simply

"Thanks for the nomination!"



switched his 1956 plea. The ugly word "blackmail" is frequently used to describe the Kennedy tactics. Protestants in West Virginia, the Kennedy campaign implied, should vote for him to prove their tolerance. The West Virginia bigotry blitz shocked many voters in that 95 per cent Protestant state into voting for Kennedy "to prove that West Virginia was not populated by bigots." But Catholics and Protestants alike also had second thoughts afterwards. The reaction was so negative that many objective observers believe that Jack would have been summarily rejected by the Democratic convention if the delegates could have voted their innermost convictions.

How is Kennedy liked by those who know him best, the state political machine back home, his colleagues in the House and Senate?

JACK KENNEDY'S reputation among Massachusetts politicians is one of utter ruthlessness. At 39 years of age, when he saw that it was to his advantage, he rudely shoved aside the revered dean of the Massachusetts congressional delegation, Democratic Leader John McCormack, in his fight for control of the state organization. Said a Boston newsman who watched him closely for a dozen years: "Jack is hard as nails; he is mean and tough. Nobody—short of the voters—is going to stop him from getting what he wants."

His fellow-Senators say Kennedy has no sense of fair play whatever. One of the many stories they tell is about Kennedy's report to the waiting press when the Senate-House conference on the Landrum-Griffin labor-reform bill was breaking up in disagreement. Jack boldly told the press of offering concessions he had never mentioned in committee. He implied the conservatives were unreasonable—because they had rejected concessions they had never heard of. This false implication was considered unforgivable—by Democrats as well as Republicans. One of the members of the committee put it this way:

"Jack is a typically spoiled rich man's son. He thinks everybody on earth is here solely to do for him. But that curly-headed little kid is no weakling. Throughout his entire career, he has proven that he will run roughshod over anyone who gets in his way."

When the contest for the Democratic nomination began, Democratic Governors

Brown of California, DiSalle of Ohio and Tawes of Maryland expected in traditional fashion to be favorite sons. Before long, however, they all received ultimatums to knuckle under to Kennedy or face a no-holds-barred fight for their state delegations. They surrendered, but will joyfully join together to tar and feather their Conqueror if he loses the Presidency.

Jack's arm-twisting of Stevenson is considered typical. Wooing the Adlai clique in the Democratic party—Kennedy repeatedly said that Stevenson would be offered the post of Secretary of State.

However, after his Wisconsin-West Virginia-Oregon victories, the front-runner thought he could browbeat Adlai into coming out for him. Knowing that, next to the Presidency, Stevenson most wants to direct the Nation's foreign relations, Jack sent an emissary to him with this message: "Announce your support of me by June 1st or you don't become Secretary of State."

But the Squire of Libertyville refused to be panicked. Instead, he leaked the ultimatum to the press. Stevenson fans instantly flooded Jack with messages to the effect that "if you don't want Adlai, we don't want you." The young man hastily backtracked. But he is unforfeiting. After election, he would be sorely tempted in revenge to give the coveted post to the man who has shrewdly been unswerving in his support, Chester Bowles. To the country, this would be no gain. Bowles' views on appeasement of Russia, early recognition of Red China, and mammoth foreign aid to Africa, Latin America, India and Southeast Asia are identical with Adlai's.

The second article, delving into the nature of "The Kennedy Revolution," will appear in an early issue.

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Kennedy for President?

A Catholic Priest Says 'No'

By REV. JUNIPER B. CAROL, O.F.M.

FOR THE NEXT FEW MONTHS the predominant concern of every thoughtful American will center, no doubt, on the forthcoming Presidential election. This year the election-consciousness of our people is bound to reach unprecedented depth, coupled with unusual apprehension. Under the circumstances, this is as it should be, for the approaching contest may well be of crucial significance not only to Americans, but to the world at large. It is even felt in certain quarters that on the decision made by the American voter on November 8 may well depend the survival of the United States as a free nation, and that of Western civilization as a whole. Hence, the tremendous responsibility weighing upon our conscience.

How are we going to meet the responsibility? Obviously, I cannot presume to tell you whom to vote for. That is a decision to be made by each individual after consulting his own conscience. But perhaps I may be permitted to indulge in a frank discussion with you as to the type of candidate we should *not* vote for. This I will endeavor to do, not prompted by partisan motives, but solely as a fellow-citizen who shares your concern for the welfare of our beloved country.

Stated briefly and bluntly, my earnest contention is this: To cast our ballot for a candidate who is imbued with the philosophy of "liberalism" would constitute a serious disservice to this Nation and to those depending on it for leadership. This bold assertion should become self-evident to anyone who reflects on the hopeless inability of our "liberals" to meet our foreign and domestic problems intelligently and realistically. To proceed in an orderly fashion, however, let us, first of all, analyze this nebulous ideology known as "liberalism."

Like modernism in the realm of theology, "liberalism" is actually a congeries of pernicious fallacies, a strange combination of muddled thinking and ill-defined, misty attitudes on such heterogeneous subjects as economics, sociology, politics, philosophy and even religion. Hence the impossibility of defining it in one short sentence. As a practical substitute, however, the following description may prove helpful and enlightening.

A "liberal" is one who favors Bigger Government at the expense of individual freedom. Thus he views with satisfaction the Federal Government's increasing intrusion in our private affairs. He enthusiastically endorses all "welfare" legislation, though it threatens to stifle individual incentive and paves the way to statism and socialism. He promotes the idea of World Government at the expense of national sovereignty. He is a fervent apologist of the United Nations, fails to grasp its dangers and minimizes its colossal failures. He

regards the Constitution as an obsolete document which should be brought up to date—by the "liberals," of course. He favors curtailing big business, but sees nothing wrong in union monopoly and despotism. He upholds compulsory unionism regardless of the moral problem involved, and frowns on right-to-work laws. He feverishly defends academic freedom for fellow-"liberals," but inwardly rejoices when conservatives are denied an opportunity to present their views.

He adopts an unrealistic approach to the gravest issue confronting us today, namely, the Communist menace. Thus he champions tolerance of subversives. He congratulates the Supreme Court when it rules in favor of Communists. He decries congressional committees and the F.B.I. when they try to expose the enemies of our country. He demands more hand-outs to so-called "neutralist" countries and even to Communist governments. He heartily approves of more "cultural" exchanges with the Reds. He trumpets the current propaganda against resumption of nuclear tests. He urges more summit meetings, more negotiations with the masters of deceit. He faithfully parrots the Kremlin's slogan about the desirability of peaceful co-existence—all this is on the cockeyed assumption that the result will be blissful harmony and enduring peace within the community of nations.

HAVING DWELLED at some length on the general premise of the thesis, let us now consider its application to a concrete case by focusing our attention on one of the leading Presidential contenders. His name: John F. Kennedy, United States Senator from Massachusetts. I single him out for discussion here mainly for these reasons: (1) He embodies the "liberal" ideology to a remarkable degree, (2) I believe he stands a fair chance of being elected, and (3) owing to his religion, he is bound to enlist a high percentage of Catholic support throughout the land. Here, then, are some of the relevant facts which you might bear in mind—regardless of your party affiliation—before you decide to cast your ballot in favor of this man.

In general: Kennedy's voting record in the Senate during the past two years and a half reveals that on 97 roll calls on key issues he voted 93 times in perfect agreement with Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, admittedly the most obnoxious "liberal" egghead in Congress (See "Kennedy's Record Is Like Humphrey's," by Willard Edwards, in HUMAN EVENTS for March 10, 1960).

Specifically: Kennedy has voted consistently to condone the dictatorship of union bosses. He has voted to support increased Government interference in housing, education and other fields, thus further-

ing the cause of state socialism. He has voted for inflationary measures, regardless of the staggering Budget deficit. He has voted against curbing the Supreme Court in its endeavor to nullify existing legislation protecting us from Communist treason. He has voted to pour more millions of your dollars on Communist governments like Yugoslavia and Poland. He has voted to abolish the loyalty oath in the educational aid program. He has voted to resume the sale of farm surpluses to the Communist bloc. He joined the smear campaign which led to the rejection of anti-Communist Lewis L. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. He voted in favor of "liberal" appeaser Charles E. Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia. He favors the repeal of the Connally Amendment, without which our constitutional sovereignty would be left at the mercy of unscrupulous International World Court judges.

The above is all a matter of public record. It is further corroborated by the testimony of the ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), an organization of notorious left-wingers who make it their business to influence the voting of our Congressmen. It may interest you to know that for the past two years the annual ADA report has given Senator Kennedy a 100 per cent rating, a dubious honor reserved for those who have voted according to ADA promptings on every single issue that counts.

I submit that this fact, in and by itself, constitutes the most damaging evidence against this darling of the "liberal" Establishment. Do you wonder now why the Senator during his campaigns cautiously avoids bringing up the matter of his voting record? This clever strategy has served him well in the past; it may again prove valuable in the future.

ANOTHER FEATURE of the Senator's political physiognomy little adverted to, is his tendency to play the opportunist when faced with potentially harmful decisions. The incident of the McCarthy censure in 1954 is particularly revealing in this context. As is well known, on the final roll call to decide this highly controversial issue, every Senator present or absent took a definite stand, either by voting or pairs. The only exceptions were Senator Alexander Wiley and Senator Kennedy. For five long years Kennedy could not be prevailed upon to commit himself. Then, under pressure from Eleanor Roosevelt particularly, he disclosed that he would have voted against Joe McCarthy. The point here is *not* that he was against McCarthy (all "liberals" had to be), but rather that he waited until *after* the 1958 elections to make his position known. He was well aware that, had he committed himself before the election, he would have lost the substantial support of thousands of Massachusetts voters who regarded the junior Senator from Wisconsin as a martyr.

Another interesting phase of Senator Kennedy's political career is his close relationship with Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers. It is scarcely a secret that Reuther is a ruthless labor dictator and one of the most mischievous Socialist leaders in the country. But he is also the unchallenged king-maker in the Democratic party. Hence, it is understandable that Kennedy, for obvious reasons, should always be eager to use his senatorial influence to protect the interests of

this radical left-winger. Only a few weeks ago the Republican members of the Senate Rackets Committee filed a report showing tangible evidence of "corruption, misappropriation of funds, bribery, extortion and collusion with the underworld" in the United Auto Workers. Of course, nothing was done about it. Who was primarily responsible for the committee's failure to act upon the evidence? Jack Kennedy's mouthpiece, his own brother Bob, chief counsel of the committee.

As to the Landrum-Griffin bill, which was calculated to correct some of the most glaring abuses of labor bosses, it is now established that it was considerably weakened before being enacted into law as a result of the frantic efforts of none other than Senator Kennedy. All of this is bound to pay dividends. For you may be sure that the beneficiaries of such tender solicitude will see to it that, at the critical moment, a mighty army of over a million shop stewards and union officers will be swiftly mobilized to bring victory to their knight-errant from Massachusetts.

WHAT WOULD BE some of the salient features of an Administration headed by Kennedy? This is what you can expect: more Government interference and control; more spending on welfare measures; the eventual admission of Red China to the United Nations; the gradual surrender of our constitutional sovereignty to a World Court made up mostly of our enemies; the probable appointment of visionary Adlai Stevenson as Secretary of State, with its consequent crawling appeasement of the Reds; and, of course, the packing of the Supreme Court with "liberal" ideologues who will make shambles of our security laws. But why go on? The foregoing should be enough to chill the enthusiasm of the most fanatic Kennedy backer.

Now I ask you: is this the kind of leader our country needs in the decisive encounters now being schemed by the Russian Bear? No matter how formidable our military resources; no matter how intrepid our men in the armed forces; no matter how irrepressible our will to survive, if the men at the top are found wanting in vision, realism, courage and stamina, our crushing defeat as a free nation seems to me inevitable, under the circumstances. Remember: an army of bears led by a sheep hasn't got a chance with an army of sheep lead by a bear.

Father Carol, a Franciscan priest, is editor of the Catholic publication *Marian Studies*, Paterson, N. J.

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Stop Rockefeller!

If you object to Rockefeller as Nixon's running mate, let your voice be heard at the GOP convention—by your own POLITICAL ACTION.

"Liberal" Rocky would draw not one vote to the ticket. You can't outbid the "liberal" Kennedy-Johnson ticket. Goldwater or Morton should be the Second Man.

Say so by telegram right now, addressed to Vice President Nixon, Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Illinois. Wire your delegates. An avalanche of telegrams is needed to STOP Rockefeller and ensure victory in November.

Goldwater Rides in Front: If there were no Barry Goldwater, the Republican party would have to create one—so ran one remark on the eve of the GOP convention in Chicago.

Pros in the Nation's Capital believe that Goldwater, if given a place on the GOP ticket, could uniquely serve to split the South and strengthen the GOP in the whole country.

In the South, where grumbles against the Kennedy team are growing louder, the man from Arizona has a special prestige—as a confirmed believer in states rights—capable of swinging Southern Democratic leaders away from the "house of their ancestors."

In all of the country, he can feed the fuel of revolt among rank-and-file labor union members against the bosses who spend their dues money for Democratic politicians; he can provide the emotional, crusading element essential to getting out the vote and inspiring people to vote for the GOP ticket. All observers agree that the Republicans have been suffering from a public lethargy similar to that which afflicted all Democrats at Los Angeles (save the Stevenson followers). This kind of contribution by Goldwater might, indeed, prove even more important than corraling Southern votes.

Such considerations—many in the Capital think—outweigh the objection to a Nixon-Goldwater ticket on the ground of geography ("you shouldn't have two candidates from contiguous states"). In this jet-and-atomic age, geography shrinks in importance and the impact of dynamic political ideas and voter fervor assumes a higher position.

Indeed, even the "geographical" objection to a Nixon-Goldwater ticket is downgraded by pros who remind us: "Truman from Missouri in 1948 took as his running mate Barkley from contiguous Kentucky, and won."

However that may be, one conclusion is widely drawn: that, as a result of the left-wing victory by Kennedy and Reuther at the Democratic convention, Nixon has to be anchored on the right of center. He can scarcely outbid Kennedy, for the latter is virtually promising everybody everything. Nor could Nelson Rockefeller, as running mate, outdraw Kennedy and his ultra-left-wing, big spending appeal to voters.

Only Goldwater can supply the colorful attraction to conservatives—Democrats as well as Republicans—and to the great reservoir of 45 million "stay-at-home voters," the really decisive factor in the election. It was from this massive group that Ike picked up 12 million votes that gave him his big majority in 1952 (its momentum carried over into '56, adding 2 million more). Students of election statistics say that these 14 million probably included few dissident Democrats or so-called independents, because in 1952 Stevenson practically duplicated the largest vote ever polled by Roosevelt (in '36) and in 1956, when his vote declined from that of '52, he still exceeded the vote for Roosevelt in '44 and for Truman in '48. Some of this "out-rush" of the stay-at-homes probably was the attraction of the victorious General's personality, but no small part was the response of conservative voters who had chosen to stay at home when me-too Willkie and Dewey stood for election.

Today, it is assumed that Ike will actively fight for the GOP ticket, since his record is under fire (both from the Democrats and from Rockefeller). Nixon will ride high as the poor boy who stood up to Khrushchev in that "kitchen debate" in Moscow last year. Add to that the glamorous conservative, jet-pilot Goldwater—and the GOP will have an irresistible ticket to steam roller the Democratic opposition. Thus runs the thinking of many Republican pros in the Nation's Capital, and they add: "This is the combination the Democratic pros fear most."

Developing Southern Bolt: When the New York Times on July 20 ran a story with the headline "Southerners Beginning to Talk of Bolt," it was news. For the Times, editorially unsympathetic to a bolt, lists an impressive array of Southern political leaders evincing great discontent with the Democratic ticket and platform, and making noises which sound very much like an outright bolt.

Governor Barnett of Mississippi is on the warpath and, according to correspondents of HUMAN EVENTS in the South, he has already been conferring with Senator Strom Thurmond (head of the States Rights ticket in 1948) about an independent ticket of Southerners. It is understood that the South Carolina Senator told Barnett, that he (Thurmond)

would head such a ticket, if the states righters could not get anyone else.

For the Dixiecrats are talking about approaching Senator Harry Byrd to assume such a role. Byrd (who, significantly, has not commented as yet on the Democratic ticket) is cautious, and may stay silent for some time. It is known on Capitol Hill that privately Senator Byrd told friends (before the Democratic convention) that he would probably support Nixon for the Presidency.

Meanwhile, Governor Vandiver of Georgia has indicated that his state might withhold its electoral votes from the Democratic nominees and seek to throw the election into the House of Representatives. Similar thoughts emanate from Louisiana, where right-wing Democratic leader Leander Perez reportedly is in revolt against the outcome at Los Angeles. In South Carolina, Governor Hollings thinks the Democratic ticket is "better than anything the Republicans can offer." But, he adds that his state's course won't be decided until the state convention is held next month.

Eyes are on Alabama which in May elected a states-rights majority of its Presidential electors pledged to remain uncommitted, if the Democratic ticket proved repugnant to the South. Bruce Henderson, prominent states righter of Alabama, has remarked that the addition of Johnson to the ticket only made matters worse from the Southern view.

Finally, it has not gone unnoticed in Texas that Lyndon Johnson swallowed the radical Democratic platform which promises to cut down the famous oil and gas depletion tax allowance, a "sacred cow" in that state. Johnson (and his friend Speaker Rayburn) for many years has posed as political protector of this valuable economic privilege.

Johnson: Evidence emerges that it was LBJ himself who, far from taking the Vice Presidential nomination at great personal sacrifice, actually muscled his way into the second spot under threat of an open floor fight and possible Southern bolt.

In a signed AP article, publisher John S. Knight (of the powerful Knight chain of newspapers) reported that, after Kennedy's nomination, Brother Bobby was handed the Johnson ultimatum while paying a courtesy call on the Texan. When Jack heard the news, he was stunned and asked Bobby whether he had gotten his story straight. After Jack huddled with Johnson, the Presidential nominee met with his equally astonished labor and big city party boss benefactors. These Northern leaders wanted Stuart Symington on the ticket, and it took almost five hours of conferences between Kennedy and the leaders before it was decided that the Texas "riverboat gambler" had all the aces up his sleeve—they could not risk a party-shattering fight.

In his signed article, Knight stated that there would be many versions of how the Kennedy-Johnson link was forged, but "you can rely on this one. Our information came from a trusted source. As a matter of fact, the source was there."

Reportedly the Democratic high command, realizing that the politically powerful South is far from in the bag for the coming election, is fearful that the respected Knight's version of what happened will receive wide circulation in Dixie. (The Democratic high command has been busy feeding "liberal" columnists contradictions of Knight's report.) What will the South think, Kennedy aides reason, if it becomes known that Lyndon "used" his position as their leader for personal gain to blackmail his way onto the ticket—much as a faithless husband throws the mortgage into a poker game without his family's knowledge. Not a few now think the South will see Johnson as a "paper Texan," and that the coming battle cry south of the Mason-Dixon will be "Stay Away From LBJ."

Rockefeller: Nelson Rockefeller leaves no doubt that he will attempt to grab the brass ring from Nixon this week. His Chicago convention headquarters are the plushiest in American political history. The communications and press setup alone is enough to give the Army Signal Corps an inferiority complex.

Rocky's task force of analysts, speech writers, and publicity men (including the Milton Eisenhower of Albany, Rocky's leftist braintruster Emmet John Hughes) is entrenched in eleven suites in the Sheraton-Towers hotel at a rent of \$1,000 each day.

The New York delegation has taken over most of the hotel's 443 rooms. Twenty-three private phones have been added to the rooms of key staff members, and a special switchboard has been set up on the 14th floor with numerous lines to key points.

The regular Rockefeller press room at the Sheraton-Towers is equipped with 30 typewriters and ten phones. The well-heeled Rockefeller volunteers have opened a separate press headquarters in the Conrad Hilton hotel, as well as a "hospitality headquarters" in the Blackstone theatre. Rocky has rented a huge indoor swimming pool and an expensive penthouse porch for the purpose of entertaining delegates and party leaders.

Lodge: Republican pros seasoned in the tough business of winning elections are not sharing the talk of some in Chicago hotel lobbies that UN Ambassador Lodge would be Nixon's strongest running mate. They note that those trying to sell Lodge are quickly hushed at first mention of the Massachusetts senatorial campaign of 1952, when Jack Kennedy soundly whipped Lodge in a Republican landslide year. No one expects Lodge to pull the Bay State away from Kennedy, and his appeal in the Midwest and South is microscopic.

Connally Amendment: Forces opposed to repeal of the Connally amendment are now girding for a fight in the upcoming special session of Congress in August. They are seeking to block the one-worlders who want to wreck US sovereignty by granting compulsory jurisdiction to the World Court.

A National Committee to Preserve the Connally Amendment and American Sovereignty has been formed and is headed by two past presidents of the American Bar Association, Frank E. Holman (famous as legal champion of the Bricker Amendment) and Cody Fowler. The new committee is counted on to offset Judge Learned Hand and his committee which seeks to eliminate the Connally amendment. The Holman-Fowler group is expected to expand and strengthen the forces which earlier this year, with a massive flood of letters to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, blocked Senator Hubert Humphrey's repeal attempt.

Drumfire of the friends of the Connally amendment is being trained on another threat to American sovereignty, which is "Executive N, or Annex V," a protocol to the recent law of the sea conventions which came before the Senate in May. The protocol to the conventions would bind the United States, without reservations, to compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court; the passage would, in effect, so far as the subjects involved are concerned, negate the Connally reservation. It would give the World Court compulsory jurisdiction to decide the ownership of valuable mineral deposits in the waters of coastal states.

It was Senator Russell Long (D-La.) who proved a veritable "Horatius at the Bridge" by offering reservations to the various conventions similar to the Connally reservation. As columnist Raymond Moley describes it: "They [the Long reservations] would, if attached to the conventions, reserve to the US the determination of what matters would properly be within the domestic concern of the US and hence not be subject to the compulsory jurisdiction of a 15-judge court on which the US has one member and the Communists two. There the subject rested when Congress recessed."

Moley draws attention to some fantastic claims by which Senator Javits (R.-N. Y.) has sought to drum up sentiment for the anti-Connally cause. Javits claimed that, if the Connally amendment were repealed, the US could drag Castro's Cuba into the World Court. According to international lawyers, that is not so, since Cuba has never declared her adherence to the Court, with or without reservations.

Javits went on to claim that the US would have been helped enormously in its imbroglio with the USSR, over the U-2 plane, if we had not been hampered by the Connally amendment. Since the Soviets have not agreed to the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, the US could not possibly have brought the USSR before the Court.

"This sort of unilateral legal disarmament," says Moley, "is almost as perilous as unilateral military disarmament But there is great danger of such legal folly in the dog-days session in August." (To protest repeal, write your US Senators in Washington, D. C.)

Capitol Camera: The unexpected \$1.1 billion surplus derives in large part from Ike's crusade against wild spending, and for the sound dollar—as financial

experts analyze it. Revenues do not account for it. The President's brave vetoes of "spenders' bills" and firm hand (through Maurice Stans, his Budget Director) on Administration spending have racked up a big victory for GOP fiscal responsibility.

- Although the ADA wing of the Democratic party controlled the platform committee, Senator James Eastland extracted, after a fight, one concession—a reference to communism as "atheistic."

- Jack Kennedy dubbed his follow-up to the New and Fair Deals as the "New Frontier." Now Kennedy's phrase makers have been hit with the realization that the "New Frontier" is the name of one of Las Vegas' biggest gambling casinos.

Reds in the Congo: The revolution now going on in the newly independent Congo is definitely considered to be Communist inspired, according to informed dispatches emanating from Leopoldville.

The attack on church property and the reported violations of nuns are in accord with past practices of the Communists there, who have done almost everything to heap abuse on the Catholic Church and generally discredit it. The Catholic Church represents one-third of the population.

According to a dispatch from Leopoldville in the *Catholic Standard*, Communists are taking advantage of the present situation. But the Reds have been active for some time.

Last December, for example, Fides, a mission news agency, reported that Red propaganda was spread on orders from Moscow, and this is "undeniably threatening to ruin the confidence of a part of Congolese public opinion" with regard to the church. Even Catholics, said Fides, have been influenced by the propaganda.

Father Adhemar De Pauw, a representative of the Belgian government at the United Nations, has also said that the Reds have been at work in the Congo in the past. In last year's rioting, he charged, Red saboteurs were responsible for the destruction of Catholic churches, schools, and information centers. The saboteurs, says the dispatch quoting De Pauw, "were trained at Stalingrad in the Soviet Union."

Father Carol's Article: "Kennedy for President? A Catholic Priest Says No," an article by Father J. B. Carol, published in the June 2 issue of HUMAN EVENTS, may prove to be one of the most influential documents of this Presidential campaign. Up to the date of Kennedy's nomination, orders for 30,000 reprints of the article had been received. Within two days following the nomination, additional orders for about 10,000 came in. It will not be surprising if the reprint score passes 100,000.

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, Member of Congress from New York: "Ever since I have been in the Congress I have been a constant reader of HUMAN EVENTS. This newsletter is independent, factual and courageous. There are very few that can equal it today."

Father Carol's writings have long been known and esteemed throughout the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood in the US, and among Catholic scholars abroad. He is listed as Father Juniper B. Carol on page 961 of the 1960 (May) Official Catholic Directory (published by P. J. Kenedy Company, New York). A member of the Order of Franciscans, he lives at Saint Bonaventure Monastery, 174 Ramsey Street, Paterson, N. J.

May we suggest that you distribute reprints of Father Carol's article in your area? Prices are listed on the back of the article, which is reprinted in Section III-B of this issue (folded inside of "The Kennedy Revolution" article).

A Fading Star is Born

By James J. Kilpatrick
Editor of the Richmond News Leader

In a town that is geared to show biz, Mr. Kennedy . . . laid a large fat egg.

This was to be the grand and glorious finale to the Democrats' National Convention of 1960—it was to start the party upon its campaign with a demonstration of enthusiasm intended to throw the Republicans in knuckle-biting dismay, but the performance flopped, and it is interesting to speculate upon this lack-lustre affair as an omen of things to come with the Kennedy-Johnson team.

The event attracted an enormous crowd. There must have been 50,000 on hand in Los Angeles' vast Coliseum. They began coming at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and sat patiently in 92 degree heat, not helped by a trace of stinging fog, to watch some high school band maneuvers and to witness the Los Angeles motorcycle police in a precision drill. Comedian Steve Allen, flipping wise-cracks as deftly as a short order cook at a griddle of hot cakes, kept the crowd warmed up.

At 6:30, without advance notice, two convertibles, bearing Senators Johnson and Kennedy, entered the arena from the west. Carefully skirting the Dodgers' fenced-off infield, they made what should have been a triumphal circle. The applause was lively, but it was far from unrestrained. At the ¾ pole, the applause died altogether. There followed some remarkably pedestrian speeches.

Hubert Humphrey forgot Mr. Kennedy's middle initial. As Florida's Governor Collins launched into an introduction of Adlai Stevenson, a rump faction of the high school band, beating drums, made a straggling march down the whole of the field; a hovering helicopter provided a mosquito distraction. Following Senator Kennedy's acceptance speech, an absent-minded parson delivered the clumsiest benediction ever delivered before any audience anywhere. Mr. Kennedy himself drew precisely 85 seconds of applause. Mr. Kennedy's acceptance address, to state the matter charitably, was a fiasco—he began by

praising the convention's extremely liberal platform—and this is something Virginians should remember—as "a platform on which I can run with enthusiasm and conviction." He then embarked upon some partisan political insults aimed at Richard Nixon personally; at one point in his text, he insinuated that Mr. Nixon was the sort of man who would cheat (before he deals, someone had better cut the cards) and having thus engaged in precisely the customary passions of political debate for which Mr. Nixon is so constantly denounced, Mr. Kennedy, in his prepared text, asserted piously that the times are too grave to commit the customary passions of political debate.

The candidate undertook to suggest that people should forget his religion by reminding them of it. He observed profoundly that "the world is changing," and he added the novel comment by way of explanation that "the old era is ending." He proclaimed the existence of a New Fronteash and called for a victory in a race for mastery—ominous thought—"of the inside of men's minds." He misquoted a passage from Isaiah, and concluded with a ringing assertion that "we shall prevail." That was all.

Senator Johnson smiled his riverboat-smile, Messrs. Humphrey, Symington, and Stevenson crowded around to have their pictures taken. The band played: "Happy Days Are Here Again," but one chorus was enough. A crowd that should have been jubilant, ecstatic, wild with adulation, simply sat on its hands—it was as if the Dodgers, behind 10-0 with 2 out in the 9th, had managed at last to get a man on base.

In the whole of Mr. Kennedy's address, there was none of the eloquence, the freshness of image, the statesmanship or high purpose that might have electrified both the country and the Coliseum crowd. There was no deep comprehension of the American tradition; there was none of the blood-tingling conviction we had been led to expect. This was a major league park Mr. Kennedy was playing in, and, for once, we felt inclined to agree with Harry Truman. We wondered, as he did, if Mr. Kennedy's time indeed had come.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 408 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C., and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes.

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LOOK BEYOND THE PRESENT

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON LETTER

Circulated privately to businessmen

THE KIPLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS

1729 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Washington, Saturday, July 23, 1960.

If you want to appraise a political party, go to the politicians in the other party, the rival party, for they are practical, realistic, and they don't kid themselves. They may talk big for publication quotes, but not in private discussion. We've talked this week with Republicans, with some experienced politicians among them, and here is what we found:

The Kennedy-Johnson ticket frightens them...the Republicans. They refer to it as strong, an excellent combination, a balanced team. They had anticipated Kennedy, thought they could lick him on weak spots. Most had NOT anticipated Johnson as VP. They say he has weak spots, too, but he does bolster Kennedy and Kennedy does neutralize Johnson's faults. Republicans are extremely respectful of the Democratic ticket, which is a way of putting it mildly. You might even say they're scared. And this comes from men close to Nixon...men who reflect him.

Republicans admit privately these judgments on the Democrats:
Kennedy is personally attractive...weighs a lot in days of TV. He's a more vigorous fighter than they had thought...knows how to slug. He has handled the church issue with frankness and skill, with the result that the anti-Catholic vote, whatever it may be, will be scaled down. As for the claim that he's too young, it hasn't made the dent expected. Johnson kills the South as territory for Republican invasion. Previously they had figured they MUST get a few Southern states to win. Johnson & Kennedy put together aren't merely doubled...they're tripled. Add Jackson as party chairman...highly regarded in the West.

Now WHAT can the Republicans do to get as strong a ticket?
There's Rockefeller: For President, a noisy show but a flop, for most delegates are firm for Nixon. For VP, merely lingering hopes. Without him Republicans feel nervous...with him they think they'd win. So they persist in dreaming of a draft...by Nixon, Eisenhower & Party. Our information is that he won't do it. He is not in step with Nixon or with the party. Nixon and Rocky personalities are incompatible. And Rocky doesn't relish being vice-anything. He's No. 1 or not at all. Besides, many delegates distrust him..."he's too much like a Democrat." That's cold analysis, but as some Republicans say, anything can happen.

If not Rockefeller, then Lodge or Morton or Seaton, that order. Lodge would help on foreign...both parties running against Khrushchev. The others would help in West & Interior, which MUST be carried to win.

Nixon is still a strong man, and stronger than his party... a point often overlayered by all the chatter about VP to buttress him. And he has Eisenhower to back him...a President who still is popular...evidenced by Democrats' mild attacks on him. But as matters stand now it does seem that the Democrats hold more of the good cards.

Convention itself, not very exciting. Wednesday night best.
Decision by Nixon on VP then, and whatever he says will go.
Notice the men around Nixon who will have power in the future:
Charles Percy. Mark Hatfield. Gerald Ford. Len Hall. Herb Klein.
Robert Finch. Melvin Laird. Ken Keating. Wm. Rogers. Robert Taft, Jr.
Notice how Hoover as ex cuts more ice than Truman as ex.

Notice the businessmen who are delegates...more than before.
Some are junior executives, batting for their top bosses back home.
They do not compare in numbers and influence, however, with labor men
in Democratic convention, even though most of these kept out of sight.
The movement to get businessmen into political work started too late
to be highly successful this year, but it IS on a gradual rise.

Think we can highlight some of the Republican themes or ideas,
and if you plant them in your mind in advance you'll see them coming up,
and it may save you from getting drowned or bored with all the talk.

Note the claims that pop out again & again in the speeches,
to frame the case for the party...and make much conversation pro & con.
We'll state the main points bluntly, without the oratorical wrappings:

The Republican platform is more realistic than the Democrats'.
It promises somewhat less...recognizes the difficulties of attainment.

This is true of civil rights especially, a bit more moderate...
satisfying most Northern liberals, but not quite as rough on Southerners.

Promise of social benefits, but always with price tag attached.
Price tag emphasized, contrary to Democratic implication that benefits
do not cost anything. A matter of different emphasis.

Material progress and prosperity...and WHY make a change now?
This theme in many of the speeches...appealing to people's pocketbooks.
People are better off than they were before the Republicans came in...
this is generally acknowledged...so let's not risk a change of climate.
(Many Democrats admit this is a potent plea, a point for Republicans.)

The peace theme along with prosperity theme. We HAVE had peace.
True, there are clouds now, but there always were, even worse clouds.

Spot the evidence of enthusiasm for Nixon, demonstrating that
the party leaders will really get out and work...as he has for them.
They'll work much harder for him than they did for Eisenhower in 1956,
because they know he needs it more...for this election is no walkaway.

You'll see Eisenhower's spirit in the background of many things.
The recent effort to play down Ike and play up Nixon can't hold water.
Ike's popularity won't rub off on Nixon, perhaps, but it's a big help.

You'll see Nixon deviating from Eisenhower, calling attention
to the points of difference. (Now for the first time he's a free man.)

On health, education, welfare, agriculture: Nixon more positive
on these measures than Eisenhower has ever been...much more aggressive.

Note the frequent appeal to the middle classes, without defining
just who they are. It's carefully planned...in effort to woo & win them.

We think the surprise of the week, No. 1 topic of conversation:
Nixon's show of liberalism. He'll amaze many, even Democrats.

We now have TWO liberal parties...one a bit more so, one a bit less so.

Nixon will show a sharp rise in popularity, too. This is normal,
a product of publicity. You saw it for Kennedy. Now it's Nixon's inning.

The whole national roads program is shockingly inadequate.
Full facts are now being assembled, will break in about six months, and will suggest that spending must be nearly DOUBLED to keep pace with the growth of traffic...suburban, intercity and long distance. This means even for the close-up period of the next 10 or 12 years.
Present taxes are not enough...new sources are being studied.
A special tax on businesses that locate along superhighways is being seriously considered and will be talked in Congress next year.
Tax motels, shopping centers, factories and lots of others... on grounds that they get much benefit...this is the germ of the idea.
We think Congress will not enact such a special tax next year, but the idea will get going and is likely to come to a head later on, probably within the next three years. The one thing certain is this:
Must have more roads, must have more money, must have new taxes.

Higher railroad freight rates are coming, probably by year end, on such things as coal, stone, pulpwood, hundreds of other bulk items. But some rates will be CUT, too, due to competition from trucks & air.

Also passenger rates are going up, especially on Eastern lines. Railroads would like to eliminate many passenger trains...uneconomic, and if a fare boost drives people away, well, that's perfectly OK.

Airlines are in for a -shaking-up...forced by shrinking profits. More mergers to cut down on duplication. Fewer new major route awards will be granted by the CAB, and overlapping routes will be curtailed.

Big airlines will cut out many cities, leave them to local lines. Gov't is pushing all this, because air competition is getting too rough.

Contact lenses: Federal Trade says they cause discomfort to some, and is going after the companies that fail to disclose this in their ads.

Lipsticks that contain poisonous dyes will continue to be sold while Food & Drug has tests made to see whether the dyes should be banned.

Better ice cream...richer, cleaner, less water, less puff & air: New federal standards out soon will force upgrading of many cheap brands.

Door-to-door photography racket is flourishing in many cities. Photographers take family pictures, plus a deposit, and then disappear.

New pamphlets angled to help businessmen and their employes:

More profits for small stores via inventory controls: Practical, shows how better stock control can lead to fewer markdowns. Write to Small Business Adm., Wash. 25, D.C., for "Small Marketers Aid #57." Free.

Less paperwork on pension-welfare plans...on reports to gov't: Labor Dep't Form No. D-2 can now be used to report to Internal Revenue. "Revenue Procedures 60-14" gives the details, and you can get a copy by writing to Bureau of Labor Standards, Washington 25, D.C. No charge.

For employers of women...three new booklets are now available from the Sup't of Documents, Washington 25, D.C. All are worth while.

"Part-Time Employment for Women"...the kinds of jobs they want, the pay they usually get and the best ways to recruit them. Send 30¢.

"Minimum Wage and the Woman Worker"...how state laws work. 15¢.

"Maternity Benefits for Women"...what many companies give. 25¢.

Hoffa next month will face new hearings by McClellan committee which has uncovered shady deals not previously aired. Investigators are on his neck and in his files every day, digging up the evidence.

Mild warning on Mexico. Sympathy for Cuba there, anti-Yankee. The gov't is firmly pro-the-U.S., but some of the politicians are not. They don't amount to much now, but they could stir up trouble later. American interests not acutely endangered, but there's a bit of danger, and we advise holding up on any new business plans there...temporarily.

Castro in Cuba: Church and the students are turning against him, and the middle classes show signs of becoming vocal. Our gov't thinks that Castro will fall within six months, but it isn't sure about HOW. Also there's a chance he might be succeeded by outright commie regime.

Armed intervention gets closer as a possibility...not by U.S., but by Pan-American forces...some from U.S., but most from Latin Amer. It's something our officials don't dare talk about, but do think about. All the efforts are to avoid it..."but sometimes the best efforts fail."

Great opposition to coming tariff cuts is being expressed here without much attention in the news...other matters eclipsing this one. Hearings before Tariff Commission in preparation for GATT in the fall. GATT in Geneva will conduct a series of negotiations for tariff cuts in many countries. Our representatives will be guided by Tariff Comm., as to what the danger points are...beyond which they should not go.

The pressures here are predominantly for high tariff protection. Chemicals. Wood & paper. Textiles. Lace. Buttons. China. Glassware. Farm machinery. Metals. Hundreds of others. Much feeling, much passion. Very few spokesmen for liberal policy of cuts, and the voices are feeble.

And yet...our gov't IS moving in the direction of cuts.

The facts about business are mixed good & bad. The trouble is, many of the reports being published these days are written in a mood, too gloomy or too cheery, with items selected to fit the position.

Truth is, business is mainly good, but with exceptions.

Retail sales are doing better and will improve more this fall.

Auto sales, slow now, but the new models will perk them up.

Wages & salaries are on a steady rise that will continue.

New orders are only so-so, which tends to slow factory output.

Inventories are getting into line gradually...few distress signs.

Total output of goods & services is rising...a very good omen.

Housing is doing better and will further improve in the fall.

Exports are strong and there's no indication of any change.

Profits are not boomy, but they're holding up on the average.

Prospects for business in the fall, a political item:

Coldly and factually we foresee a gradual improvement.

Money will ease a bit. Gov't contracts will pour out.

Total of activity will rise noticeably in early autumn.

Things will be fairly good by normal business standards.

But the improvement won't be spectacular, won't get headlines.

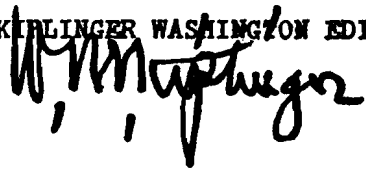
And the Democrats will be making the most of the spots that are weak, and will be intimating recession in 1961..."caused by the Republicans."

We think the business situation will help the Republicans a bit, but can not be counted upon strongly to swing the elections.

Yours very truly,

July 23, 1960

THE KIRTLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS



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STEVENSON: *Reds rally to Adlai* (292)
GOP NO. 2: *Barry Goldwater* (292)
SOUTH: *That sinking feeling* (292)
PLATFORM: *Disgrace abounding* (293)

The Real Victor at L. A.: The real conqueror at the Democratic convention last week was not Senator John F. Kennedy—it was Walter Reuther, boss of the United Auto Workers union and uncrowned king of the American labor movement.

From our correspondents on the spot, and from deliberating pros in the Capital, this stark fact transcends all the other judgments of commentators and columnists. As it becomes more fully and vividly realized, it is expected to have profound effects on various elements in the Democratic party and on the strategists of the Republican party. To the extent that the GOP brings this out in the upcoming campaign, the underlying issue of the election will be clarified for the people who go to the polls in November.

As the delegates headed for home, one remark got wide currency—"Reuther won a big rubber." Here follows the recap of the harvest of the Labor Boss:

(1) He got his best available candidate for the President, Senator Kennedy, who has courted his favor for the past four years and whose voting record is entirely satisfactory to the man in Michigan.

(2) He had to take Johnson, but that was not too difficult to swallow, after some consultations. The Labor Boss knows that Johnson's over-all voting is approximately as "liberal" as Kennedy's. (The ACA—Americans for Constitutional Action—voting Index rates Lyndon at 10 per cent in adhering to constitutional principles and Jack at 11 per cent, as compared with Senator Barry Goldwater's scoring 98 per cent.)

(3) All observers agree that the new National Chairman is Reuther-controlled. Senator Jackson is quite palatable to Reuther. His ACA voting score is 1 per cent, identical with Senator Humphrey's, while independent Democratic Senator Harry Byrd rates 92 per cent.

(4) The UAW boss, said the AP, was "jubilant" over the passage of the ultra-leftist platform. As analyzed by experts, Reuther got *his* platform made the official platform. Prominently, it contained a typically Reutherian civil rights division; promised to do dire things to the Landrum-Griffin reform

measure, to the essence of the Taft-Hartley Act and to Federal sanction of state right-to-work laws; and not the least, put the Democrats on record for Reuther's socialistic blue-prints of a welfare state, such as the planks on education, housing, care of aged, give-away of various sorts, etc. All these, say our correspondents, constituted the maximum demands of Reuther. And, as more than one observer remarked, "The labor bosses and liberals have nailed Kennedy to that platform."

(This outcome should come as no surprise to readers of HUMAN EVENTS. On February 11, 1960, we reported that Reuther had made deals with Kennedy, Symington and Humphrey, promising final and decisive support to the one who showed best; in return, Reuther got a pledge that he would name the Chairman of the party. Our interpretation was: this ensured Reuther control of the party if the Democrat won; if he didn't, Reuther would control the party for the subsequent four years through the Chairman-caretaker. All this pattern has been rather surprisingly confirmed—except one possibility mentioned in our story: that this caretaker would provide the basis for a build-up for Reuther himself in '64)

This extraordinary labor-political boss—the real "genius" of the convention, remarked our principal convention correspondent (himself an old pro, former Senator Owen Brewster of Maine)—operated decisively but very, very quietly from a suite in the Statler-Hilton Hotel in downtown Los Angeles and his successful activities were most effectively masked against any publicity.

The Ides of July, it now seems, had been predestined as Reuther's "moment of truth." The labor boss victory in the off-year election of 1958 had not brought the rewards which had been expected. The CIO-PAC political machine had achieved a sweeping victory in the balloting, but the congressional members had reneged on the labor-mortgage which they had incurred. Popular reaction plus effective work by the GOP Administration had put over the Landrum-Griffin bill in 1959, and many mortgagors had turned their back on the labor lobby and voted their constituents' will. This should not happen again; a bigger victory was necessary in 1960—such was the judgment of the AFL-CIO.

Another more timely factor hastened Reuther to his essential task in this month of July. Victor Riesel, expert commentator on labor affairs, noting the number of strikes called or in process (in which management is putting up a scrap), said "the showdown fight is on." Many of the struck firms have the same customer—the US Government. The union bosses want that customer on their side—as FDR and Truman used to be; the bosses can't trust

"South Carolinians feel they have been betrayed," was the way he put it, "and we will have to see which way the state convention decides to go."

"I feel as though I had buried a friend," was the way one Virginia leader expressed himself to HUMAN EVENTS, in speaking of the national Democratic party. "My phone has been rung off by people who have never before shown an interest in politics. We just aren't going to take this. No," he replied to a question, "I can't say what we are going to do, not yet. We will have to wait until the convention reconvenes."

Capitol Camera: Senator Styles Bridges, commenting on the costs of just "half of what is promised" in the Democratic platform, declared the American taxpayer would be "faced with a \$100 billion Federal budget." He said he, for one, would rather see the present \$80 billion budget "reduced rather than increased."

- *The Democrats turned down a platform amendment which called for reduction each year of the National Debt, although their platform calls for "fiscal responsibility."*

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Two Political Has-Beens: California's penchant for electing governors destined to stagnate in the nation's political backwash was never better pointed up than on the Los Angeles Sports Arena floor when Governor Pat Brown looked up to find his way blocked by his predecessor, Goodwin Knight, erstwhile Republican governor of the Golden State.

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As for Brown, his rapid descent into political obscurity is the talk of political circles everywhere. In the California election of convention delegates, the one-time darling of the political left lost 600,000 votes to George McClain, pension promoter. Later, at the convention, he could not even deliver a majority of his own delegation to the ultimate winner, Kennedy. His ineptness has tagged him.



The Democratic Platform: With the bold policy of a Robin Hood, the Democratic platform this year—as ever—promised to rob the rich to pay the poor. And the best way to rob the rich, according to the Democrats, is to draw up the inflationary, spend-thrift, high-tax planks demanded by the Labor Union Moguls. No one was surprised that AFL-CIO chieftain, George Meany, claimed the platform "the most progressive" in his memory.

For the platform promised Meany that the Democrats (if elected) would end the right-to-work laws in the 19 states, one of Meany's main objectives. It complained that Taft-Hartley had "seriously weakened" the unions; it attacked the GOP's administration of the 1959 labor reform act curtailing labor's monopoly powers; it called for more freedom to picket and raising of the minimum wage to \$1.25, which even Secretary of Labor Mitchell, honored recently by the AFL-CIO, feels would severely hurt many retail business concerns.

On other domestic problems, the Democrats called for restoration of 90 per cent of parity (which led to the surplus problem they also denounced). And they would spend more for defense, education, health, the aged, and urban renewal (administered by a Cabinet department) without, it is claimed, raising taxes or unbalancing the budget. How? Through closing the "loopholes" in the tax laws and "expanding the economy." Though how the economy would

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS, Member of Congress from North Carolina: "I read every issue of HUMAN EVENTS as soon as it comes to my desk and find it informative and stimulating."

"South Carolinians feel they have been betrayed," was the way he put it, "and we will have to see which way the state convention decides to go."

"I feel as though I had buried a friend," was the way one Virginia leader expressed himself to HUMAN EVENTS, in speaking of the national Democratic party. "My phone has been rung off by people who have never before shown an interest in politics. We just aren't going to take this. No," he replied to a question, "I can't say what we are going to do, not yet. We will have to wait until the convention reconvenes."

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I believe we should not veto the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

—ADLAI STEVENSON
(Next Secretary of State?)

Dubinsky Spearheads New Labor Push

Severance Contract Clauses Commit Industry to Millions

By Victor Riesel

Mr. Pins-and-Needles, better known as the peppery David Dubinsky, leader of the Ladies Garment Workers Union, has been developing new labor demands on the six-billion-dollar industry which will startle the nation.

Latest in a series of dramatic developments is the creation of a national fund from which his followers will continue to draw wages after firms for which they worked have gone out of business.

Dubinsky has been working on this for exactly ten years. Despite his political activity on a broad national and international front, this has been one of his prime projects. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union, some 442,000 strong, will call this a centralized severance fund. Employers will throw over \$6,000,000 yearly into it.

The money is funneled into health, welfare and retirement funds. Now will come a national severance fund.

The union's theory is that no employee should suffer when a firm goes bankrupt or goes out of production for any reason. Therefore, all new contracts have included a severance clause covering regional groups.

For example, earlier this month the New York Dress Joint Board leaders headed by Charles Zimmerman discussed the matter with the manufacturers just in the dress field. They already have \$2,000,000 in their district kitty for severance. There are similar agreements in the ladies' cloak field, in children's dresses, in lingerie, in sportswear, etc.

Now Dubinsky plans to merge all these pools of cash into one vast national fund. This could reach \$50,000,000 in a decade. In effect, it would mean that the entire industry would be guaranteeing continued wages of workers anywhere across the land wherever a firm liquidated.

This drive for unbroken wages is woven into unique stratagems for keeping production inside the union fold. For example, in Los Angeles the Ladies Garment Workers insist on contracts which force the employer to promise he will not go into a non-union business in the same line, nor buy goods from a non-union firm, nor even own stock in such a firm. Now one of those employers is suing to break such a contract.



This is an outfit called Lee Mar, apparel makers. They went out of business last December. But the principal stockholders of Lee Mar also own a non-union firm called Gaylore of California. The Dubinsky union says, therefore, that though it has no contract with Gaylore, that firm is subject to the old Lee Mar agreement. The case is now in the California courts.

Dubinsky has also made precedent by directing his locals not to deal with certain company officials. Thus when a Beverly Hills, California, dressmaking firm hired a tough negotiator, Mrs. Edwin Selvin, as its labor expert, the union called a strike saying she was "anti-union."

The firm fired Mrs. Selvin. She went to the National Labor Relations Board charging that this was coercion. The union had no right, said she, to get her fired as a company executive. The board upheld her.

Add all this to Dubinsky's recent victory over a Virginia firm which had started producing dresses in Ireland. In the "Irish case," Dubinsky won a fund for his workers which would continue to pay them if they were laid off because of competition from Irish dress imports into the US.

This is the making of a new era in labor relations.

Political Memo

from **COPE**



COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL
EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16th STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

No. 15-60

July 18, 1960

KENNEDY HAS PERFECT VOTING RECORD ON LABOR ISSUES

The Democratic nominee for President, Sen. John Kennedy of Massachusetts, has a perfect voting record, from organized labor's point of view, on labor legislation. According to COPE voting records, issued prior to the Democratic national convention, Kennedy has voted in the interests of trade unionists on 33 key labor-management issues since entering Congress in 1947, and against them not once.

He voted against the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, when he was a Member of the House. He also voted against the infamous McClellan amendments to the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

MEANY SAYS DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM MERITS SUPPORT OF ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

AFL-CIO President George Meany said the platform adopted by the 1960 Democratic national convention deserves the "enthusiastic support of every union member." Meany said that this "sound, liberal platform" was "the most progressive and most constructive in my memory".

IS THIS WHAT NIXON MEANS BY 'PROSPERITY'?

Nearly 1 million more workers were jobless in June than in May, the Government has reported. Figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, showing an increase of 964,000 unemployed, bear out AFL-CIO President George Meany's prediction to the Democratic National Convention's platform committee earlier that the jump in joblessness between May and June would "be so near 1 million more unemployed as to be frightening."

The rise brought the total of job-seekers to 4,423,000—or 5½ per cent of the work force. That means that 55 out of every 1,000 persons who were looking for work last month couldn't find it. And worse news can be expected: Seymour Wolfbein, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor, predicts that figures for July will show an even higher total of jobless workers. During the past two and a half years, unemployment has never once fallen below 3,000,000.

The news had heavy political overtones inasmuch as Richard Nixon is expected to be nominated by the Republican Party for President on a "prosperity" theme. The unemployment figures were released shortly after the Government reported that the cost of living hit an alltime high in May for the 43rd month of the 88 that Nixon had served as Vice President.

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman

WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secy.-Treas.

JAMES L. McDEVITT, National Director

The Top of the News



with *Fulton Lewis, jr.*

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Vol. 2

WEEK OF: July 11 – July 15, 1960

No. 28

Monday July 11, 1960 - Los Angeles, California

CONVENTION: This Democratic National Convention here in Los Angeles is all over, ladies and gentlemen, before it ever begins and the Democratic nominee for President of the United States will be Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy of Massachusetts.

The actual balloting will not come until Wednesday night after the usual round of nominating speeches and demonstrations but it is all in the bag and nobody else ever had a look in from the time the first of the delegations began arriving late last week.

Kennedy's strength, based originally on his entry into the various presidential primary races over the country plus what he was able to pick up from the professional pro's in those states where there is no primary put him so far ahead at the outset of these proceedings that no one could ever get within shooting distance of him. The final bandwagon began to develop last Thursday and Friday when the delegates began to arrive and the Kennedy lieutenants began picking up a batch of votes out of virtually every delegation except those from the deep South. By yesterday afternoon, Symington had privately thrown in the sponge and Adlai Stevenson had done the same thing. Senator Johnson held out until this morning, when he appeared before the Pennsylvania delegation, along with Kennedy and Symington as a formality to ask the support of that 81 man delegation. When Governor David L. Lawrence polled the delegation, Kennedy had 64 of the 81 votes and that settled the show once and for all. From then on it was just a matter of where the votes would come from first.

It leaves the actual convention procedure as something of an anti-climax, even in the Vice-Presidential contest, because it is an accepted fact that Kennedy will choose his own running mate. Whom it will be nobody has been told and perhaps Kennedy himself does not know at this time. There is talk of Hubert Humphrey but the pro's don't believe that will be the ticket. The party needs somebody who will have an appeal to the South and Humphrey definitely does not have that. He is, in fact, merely a slightly more extreme version of the Northern Democratic liberal school that Kennedy himself represents. Furthermore he is not a particularly personable candidate and outside of his own State of Minnesota is not a powerful vote getter. He would hardly be of much help to the ticket, and his chief recommendation would seem to be that he wants it and that once he was beaten by Kennedy in Wisconsin and West Virginia, he withdrew from the race and urged his followers to give Kennedy their support.

That is a political debt to some degree, but few believe that it is a sufficiently compelling one to cause Kennedy to pass up other more effective running mates in order to pay it off.

It is generally thought that Kennedy and his backers would like to have Senator Johnson as the number two man for a wide variety of reasons. In the first place he would have appeal to the South, where the party has been

getting kicked around by the voters in past presidential elections. In the second place, Lyndon Johnson's record as Majority Leader of the Senate commands immense respect from the standpoint of maturity, stability, and judgement on all of which scores Kennedy leaves considerable to be desired. The young man from Massachusetts has lots of personality and he packs a tremendous appeal for the women but he is young and his manner is immature and it is the job of politicians to face realities when it comes to putting together a winning ticket. The chief fly in this particular ointment is Lyndon Johnson himself because there are many who believe that he will not take the nod. He has said so, quite frankly in the past and he was still saying so when he arrived in this convention city last Friday.

It is true that such avowals frequently are made as a matter of basic tactics in the course of a campaign; it is never wise strategy for the candidate running for the number one position to say that he would be willing to accept the number two place. It tends to downgrade his stature.

But in the case of Lyndon Johnson, his job as Democratic leader of the Senate is a far more important job and carries far more prestige than that of Vice-President so, from his own selfish considerations, it would seem that he is not likely to want to be the Vice-Presidential candidate.

There is talk about Symington, who is an attractive political personality, even though he has made no dent at all on the delegate picture here. He does come from a strategic State, however, and he could add some maturity and balance to the ticket and he is in good health. That's another point in connection with Lyndon Johnson. He had a very severe coronary thrombosis several years ago, and he probably would have to trim his sails a little when it comes to the rugged rough and tumble of the final campaign.

There are, of course, all sorts of other possibilities for the Vice-Presidential nomination. . . . Democratic governors like Hershell Loveless of Iowa and George Docking of Kansas, both from the all important farm belt where the party is hoping to make a heavy indentation on which normally is a bulwark of Republican strength. And there is some talk of Senator Henry M. Scoop Jackson of Washington State.

In the final analysis, however, it is going to be the finger of Senator John F. Kennedy that does the pointing and that won't happen until sometime Wednesday night. . . . perhaps late Wednesday night.

It has been rather interesting to observe the evolution of this Kennedy bandwagon and to note that it ushers in a new technique in the selection of party candidates.

The other hopefuls played the game in the old fashioned style, basing their hopes on the traditional wheeling and dealing on the convention floor after the convention has been called to order, which is the way conventions have



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Vol. 2

WEEK OF: July 18 - July 22, 1960

No. 29

Monday July 18, 1960 - Washington, D. C.

CASTRO SHAKEN: Fidel Castro's Soviet puppet government in Cuba is running into increased difficulties with the Cuban people and popular demonstrations against his alignment with Moscow are reaching ominously open and sizeable proportions.

There was another demonstration today in a Catholic church on the outskirts of Havana, with hundreds of Catholic Church goers chanting "Cuba yes; Russia no." as was the case yesterday with 3 thousand demonstrators outside of the Havana Cathedral.

The demonstrations were sparked by a sermon by the prelate of the Cathedral, asking divine help for "all those who fight and suffer the persecutions of Communist regimes" which stirred the congregation and led to the mass meeting outside the Cathedral as soon as the mass was over.

Some 18 persons were arrested and charged with disturbing the peace. The government called them "counter-revolutionaries" and claimed that one of them is a former supporter of the Batista government.

Intelligence sources say that the Catholic Church throughout Cuba has decided to pursue a course of open opposition to the Government on the Communist issue and that this was the opening gun of the campaign. The Catholic Church is very powerful throughout the country as it is in most Latin American countries and was very helpful in molding public opinion in favor of the Castro revolution at the time when it was generally believed he was legitimate.

In the meantime, Castro's cause suffered another blow in public opinion when the Magazine "Bohemia", which is one of the most influential publications in all of Latin America, came out with a violent attack, charging that Castro has "converted Cuba into a Soviet Satellite" and announced that the editor of the magazine, who wrote the editorial, was going into exile. His name is Miguel Angel Quevedo, but the magazine did not say where he was going into exile and a check of the embassies and legations in Havana failed to turn up any clue of him.

He is a very wealthy man, and the owner of a large yacht and it is thought that he may be fleeing the island Republic aboard it.

So the pressure continues to build up against the bearded one and his Communist colleagues, economic pressure, now religious pressure, also ideological pressure on the part of the population.

There is a very subtle and quiet manifestation of reflection on the situation here in Washington in a single paragraph dispatch from the Argentine. It says that the Argentinian Government has approved the appointment of Roy Rubottom as United States Ambassador to that country which may not seem important to you but actually is highly significant.

Roy Rubottom, in case you are not familiar with him, has been Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and it was under his aegis that the State Department encouraged Castro in the early stages of the revolution and more or less engineered Castro into success in the overthrow of the Batista regime, and then insisted upon a policy of coddling and condonement of the progressive acts of the Castro Government until the President dropped the flag on the whole business about a month ago and ordered a complete reversal of policy.

It was then that the pressure began to be applied through the sugar quota program and the Cuban policy line generally was turned to hard from soft. It was wondered at the time how Secretary Herter ever got Roy Rubottom to change his point of view on Castro and it was speculated that the strongman in the picture was Douglas Dillon the Undersecretary of State and it still may be that he was. It's hard to think of Secretary of State Herter as being firm enough to be responsible for the policy reversal unless he had some very strong backing from somewhere.

Now the answer turns up in this dispatch from the Argentine. Rubottom was railroaded out of the picture. You couldn't say kicked upstairs, because the job of Assistant Secretary which he held is more important than the job of Ambassador to the Argentine. But he was removed from the picture and put into a position in which he can cause no trouble. He could not be fired because he is another one of those Foreign Service Career Officers, who have been allowed to insinuate themselves into the very top policy making jobs in the State Department.

It might be observed that under Mr. Rubottom's tenure as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, the Latin American relations of the United States throughout those countries has fallen to a new all time low. It was under him that Vice-President Nixon got stoned and spat on in Venezuela, it was under him that the trouble with Panama developed, it was under him that the debacle took place in Cuba.

In the United Nations Security Council in New York, meanwhile, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge was trying to get the whole U.S.-Cuban controversy transferred into the Organization of American States where it could be debated as an American family matter, but it looks like that is going to be difficult to achieve because Soviet Russia has veto on that move and is presumed to be prepared to exercise it.

There is a chance, however, that the result can be accomplished indirectly because Cuba is understood to be willing not to press for an immediate hearing on its charges of aggression by the United States there in the Security Council and Argentina and Ecuador are prepared to bring the matter up independently in the OAS.

If that happens, it could be the toe in the door for passage of a resolution of censure of Cuba by the Organization of American States for tolerating Communism in this

Excerpts of Remarks of
RICHARD NIXON

at the
Ceremonies Inaugurating The Republican Citizens League of Illinois
Chicago, Illinois
May 5, 1961

On many occasions I have been asked why I did not contest the presidential election in Illinois. The reason is, I think, obvious. I found that it would take at least a year and a half to obtain a court adjudicated honest count. No responsible candidate for President could under such circumstances insist on a recount and, thereby, create the administrative chaos and the unfavorable world reaction which would result from delaying the inauguration of a new president for such a long period.

The lesson of 1960 for all of us is that the time to stop stealing at the polls is before and on election day and not afterwards.

I have noted that some Democratic spokesmen have brushed off the charges of vote stealing in Cook County on the grounds that they claim Republicans are alleged to have stolen votes downstate. As far as I am concerned, I am against vote stealing period! And I am sure that the great majority of rank and file Republicans and Democrats throughout the county share my view.

The Republican Citizens League of Illinois and other volunteer groups like it will render a tremendous service, not just to the party but to the nation, by seeing that every precinct in the cities of America is adequately manned both before and on election day. This will assure an honest count and if we nominate strong candidates it will also assure our victory at the polls.

* * * * *

Our victories in 1952 and 1956 could be attributed to the fact that we had an immensely popular national hero heading our ticket. In 1960, not only was this not the case but the party was recovering from one of its worst defeats in history in the election of 1958. Yet we were able to win a majority of the states, a majority of the Congressional Districts, and run virtually a dead heat with our opponents in the popular vote.

There is no question in my mind that a majority of the voters actually would have supported us if we had had an organization equal to that of our opponents in the key states and in the big cities. Such an organization in the future will assure victory for our cause.

The key to victory in 1964 lies in the elections of 1962. I refer not only to the contests for the House and Senate but to the gubernatorial races, particularly in the major states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and California. I can say from experience that one of our greatest liabilities in the 1960 election was that our opponents had twice as many incumbent Congressmen, Senators and Governors as we had across the nation. The absolute and ruthless control by the opposition in almost all of the big cities was devastating. This meant that in many districts and states we had to build our organization virtually from scratch. If we can increase our strength in the House, Senate, State Houses and State Legislatures in 1962, we will make the task of our candidate in 1964 for the presidency much easier than was the case in 1960.

The Republican Party organization must have a massive transfusion of new blood which is ours for the asking, by enlisting on a permanent year-round basis the thousands of volunteers who participated in the last campaign. This is a problem for the party in Illinois; it is a problem nationally. One of our greatest failures as a party was that after the elections of 1952 and 1956 we failed to bring the literally millions of volunteer workers throughout the nation in those campaigns into our Republican volunteer organizations.

We cannot in the future continue to ask volunteers to make an all-out effort for our candidates in the few weeks before election and then, in effect, tell them that we don't need them or want them after election.

The Republican Party is often criticized for being an exclusive club. It is time for us to destroy the grounds for this criticism once and for all. We must open our ranks for growth or perish as a political party.

I have no patience whatever with the regular party leaders who because of their apparent fear of losing control of an organization discourage the setting up of new volunteer groups. I have just as little patience with the new volunteer groups who refuse to have anything to do with the regular organization. This rule or ruin attitude is one of the major reasons for the present weakness of the Republican Party in many of the large cities. As Republicans we must recognize that we are never going to become the majority party in the nation if we devote more time fighting among ourselves than attacking the programs of the opposition party.

Despite considerable provocation, during my 14 years of public life, I have never initiated nor answered an attack made upon me by another Republican. As a private citizen, I intend to continue to follow this practice and to use whatever influence I have to uniting our party and increasing its strength throughout the nation.

Statement on Farm Policy by
RICHARD NIXON
Des Moines, Iowa
May 6, 1961

The "First Hundred Days" have been filled with bad news for our farm people.

The higher farm prices pledged six months ago not only have not been fulfilled, but the Department of Agriculture has reported that average prices received by farmers in April were under those of a year ago. Here in Iowa the farmer acutely knows of the sharp decline in the price of corn. I believe he also knows why the price break came about. Mainly, it developed because the government itself broke the corn market in order to force farmers to comply with the new feed grain program.

I want to make clear my conviction that, in basic concept, this new program is sound, leaving aside for the moment the question of economic blackmail. The use of payments in kind to encourage farmers to retire part of their land from feed grain production was specifically endorsed by my political party last year in its Platform. I supported the idea then, during the campaign, and I do so now. But this difference I must emphasize - that we were committed to a voluntary program, not one that forces the farmer to comply by threatening to wreck his market. None of us expected that farm prices would be broken to force compliance.

All of us have long recognized the gravity of the threat to market prices of the huge commodities surpluses held by the Federal government. This is why last fall I suggested that we reorganize the Commodity Credit Corporation's inventory management operations "to reduce competition with the marketings of farmers, to withhold government stocks from sale until free market prices exceed parity levels." In the light of recent trends, I believe still that this proposal is good for America.

The new Administration's present sales policy seems to me to be at the least unfair to those who are now marketing corn produced last year. Day after day the dumping goes on, and this, I understand, despite a clear promise by the new Secretary of Agriculture not to pistol-whip the farmers in this way. I realize that the Department insists that it is selling only deteriorated corn. But, the daily sales reports of the Commodity Stabilization Service reveal to one and all that large amounts of storable No. 1 and No. 2 corn are being placed on the market.

One aspect of this matter is especially worrisome. It is not enough that farmers are being penalized in the market place by the dumping; the long-range effects will likely be harsher still. I know that thoughtful farmers and marketing experts already are fearful that cheap feed will unavoidably generate cheap livestock next year. Especially there is concern that depressed corn prices will encourage over-expansion of hog numbers. With this can only come disastrous hog prices in the fall of 1962.

All of which leads us back to the policies and purposes of the new Administration. As of today, we can conclude only that they are disregarding the warning signs as they keep the prices down. With all of you, I hope for correction of these efforts - in time.

As for the long-range farm program, now before the Congress, it is but fair to characterize it as a frontier without freedom. It is so inclusive in coverage and so loosely drawn that it could impose marketing quotas and controls upon every farmer in the nation. Safeguards against actions by one commodity group which might adversely affect other segments of the agricultural economy are not provided. Safeguards for the farmer who wants to be free of government regulation are not provided. The program's cost is not decided, and we know only that the tab could be staggering.

The controls proposed would bring unemployment both on and off the farm. Fewer farmers and farm workers would be needed to produce a sharply reduced flow of food and fiber. Fewer wage-earners would be needed to process, transport, and merchandise a restricted supply of farm products. And the problems already facing the small cities and towns of our farm states would multiply critically once such a drastic plan took hold.

No one believes more deeply than I that the government has an obligation to help farmers solve their problems. Many times I have expressed my conviction that government itself, through its tragic failure to keep farm programs abreast of changing needs, is largely responsible for creating and perpetuating these problems--and further, that it is wrong to visit the sins of government upon those it has failed. But I believe no less deeply that a decent solution of these ills is not a program which would blight the opportunities of our farm people and mire them utterly in controls and regimentation.

My conviction remains, that any acceptable farm program must be one that will protect and strengthen, not further weaken, the freedom of our men and women of agriculture to own and operate their farms.

Excerpts of Remarks of
RICHARD NIXON
at the
Detroit Press Club Luncheon
May 9, 1961

The Detroit Press Club is an appropriate forum for me to comment on President Kennedy's recent appeal for self-restraint or self-censorship of the news.

The kindest judgment that can be made about this scheme is that it obviously was not thought through by The White House staff. The whole concept of a return to secrecy in peacetime demonstrates a profound misunderstanding of the role of a free press as opposed to that of a controlled press.

At the same time, President Kennedy's remarks will inevitably encourage government officials to further withhold information to which the public is entitled. The plea of security could well become a cloak for errors, misjudgments and other failings of government. Already in its own short life, this Administration has provided enough examples of doubtful resort to secrecy to have prompted a formal inquiry from the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

In his speech before the nation's publishers, President Kennedy appeared to be building up a case which would justify official censorship.

True, he denied he was "suggesting any new forms of censorship or new types of security classification." But, he also noted war-time court rulings to the effect that in time of "clear and present danger" the first amendment -- which guarantees press freedom -- "must yield to the public's need for national security."

Then he observed that even though the United States was officially at peace "The danger has never been more clear and its presence has never been more imminent."

Here he stopped cold. He refrained from carrying his chain of logic to its natural conclusion. He denied he had any "intention of establishing a new office of war information to govern the flow of news."

This was a curious choice of words. The Office of War Information, during World War II, was essentially a propaganda organization, having nothing to do with the so-called voluntary forms of censorship imposed during the war.

Few Americans would argue with the President's assessment of the dangers facing the nation. But if these dangers are increased by the publication of certain kinds of stories, then obviously something more is needed than the President's appeal for self-restraint.

The question of what will serve the national interest is not easily answered. The many hundreds of newspapers will approach the question differently. This variety of opinion is, of course, a basic characteristic of a free press. Therefore, no plan for voluntary suppression of information through individual judgment can be expected to work.

Is there a need at this time for the drastic proposals suggested by President Kennedy? He, unfortunately, talked in generalities. While accusatory, he failed to make a logical brief in behalf of an urgent increase in secrecy. Except for one unconvincing episode, he was unable to cite any real instances of recent press abuse -- or of any governmental action harmed by open reporting.

He appeared to blame the press for recent Cuban events. But would the results have been very much different had the press failed to perform its traditional role? If a bad reporting job was done, was it entirely the fault of the press? Can it not be said that there was a deliberate intent to mislead? And how can the press be expected to get at the truth when anonymous Administration spokesmen keep contradicting each other? It has been my own experience in government that newspapermen will cooperate fully when they are dealt with honestly. No reporter worth his salt would deliberately publish information hurtful to national security. The record of patriotic self-restraint is a good one.

True, there have been lapses. But, on balance, it is much better to have a free press, even with occasional excesses, than an all-wise government giving direction as to what may or may not be published.

Excerpts of Remarks of
RICHARD NIXON
Detroit, Michigan
May 9, 1961

In a campaign a candidate is expected to talk about what he is going to do. Once he is elected he is expected to do things not just talk about them.

The first 100 days have been a continuation of the campaign. Everybody in the Administration is talking about what they are going to do. It is time for the new administration to realize that the campaign is over. Now is not the time to talk about what great things are to be done but to start doing them.

Republican criticism of the new Administration should be on issues of real substance. For example, I see no good purpose to be served continuing to harp on issues like these:

I see nothing particularly to be gained by pointing out that after complaining about President Eisenhower's appointment of political ambassadors who were not adequately indoctrinated in the languages and customs of the countries to which they were accredited, our new President has followed the same practice. In visiting 55 countries, I have seen some pretty sad specimens who were political appointees, but at the same time, I have also seen some career ambassadors who were just as bad -- men who were more concerned about keeping a good job than in doing a good job. I happen to believe that our Foreign Service needs both career and non-career ambassadors and that the President should appoint the best men he can find for the jobs.

It could be pointed out that after promising an end to so-called personal diplomacy, more traveling will have been done by the President, Vice President and Secretary of State in the first six months of this Administration than their predecessors logged in the first full year of our administration. But far from criticizing the new Administration for this policy, I applaud continuation of the practice of the Eisenhower Administration. Good will trips and exchange visits by heads of state do not by themselves solve problems. But they can be useful in paving the way for solution of problems. Events in the world are moving so fast today that the leisurely pace of the 19th Century diplomatic negotiations can no longer be relied upon as the only method for solving international disputes.

Under the proper circumstances, it is essential that those who make the final decision on policy discuss face-to-face the differences that they have. A face-to-face meeting between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev, once the proper preparations have been made for it, could serve a useful purpose apart from any resolution of issues of substance. Because of his great personal power, Khrushchev, in making decisions, is greatly influenced by his personal evaluation of those he considers to be his major adversaries. Messages sent through ambassadors and speeches made for public consumption have relatively little effect on him. He needs to see and know the one man who has the power to stop his aggressive moves toward world domination. If he assumes, because of some of the things that have occurred in the past few weeks, that our bark is worse than our bite, he may be tempted to push us too far in an area where we would have to resist. Thus he would precipitate the war neither he nor we want. I believe that a meeting between him and President Kennedy might help to convince him that he is dealing with a man he cannot risk pushing around.

We have learned from history that in dealing with a dictator the greatest danger of war arises when he is willing to risk war in order to gain his objective and he becomes convinced that his opponents are not willing to risk war to defend the areas of freedom from his aggression. Everytime an aggressor bluffs and the defenders of freedom back down, he is encouraged to become more aggressive. Eventually he pushes too far and war inevitably results.

In other words, we must convince the Communist aggressors that we are prepared to risk the possibility of war on a small scale if we are to avoid the eventual certainty of war on a large scale. In any event, it is imperative that any illusions Mr. Khrushchev may have gained as to America's determination and ability to defend the areas of freedom against Communist aggression be dispelled.

Text of Address of
RICHARD NIXON
before
The Executives' Club of Chicago
May 5, 1961

My first speech on national issues since the election presents a difficult problem. It isn't that I am not receiving plenty of advice. As Governor James Byrnes told me on his 82nd birthday Tuesday, unsolicited advice is the cheapest commodity you can find because the supply is so great and the demand so little.

The trouble is that no one agrees as to what I should do. Some say -- continue to be a good loser; speak but don't say anything controversial. Others say -- pour it on. Still others say -- don't make any speeches -- the new Administration has been in power for only 100 days, the new President is popular and, therefore, it would be very unpopular for the losing candidate to make public statements that might be interpreted as critical of the Administration.

I must admit that this last type of advice is tempting, to say the least. It has been somewhat of a relief to be out of the arena -- to be free from the attacks of the political opposition. And, in any event, the role of a defeated candidate, if he does choose to speak, is not an easy one to define. He has no official position. As a result, the members of his own party who do hold elective offices understandably believe that they, rather than he, should speak for the party. And he always runs a risk that the members of the other party will accuse him of bad sportsmanship if he does anything other than compliment the new Administration.

I shall have to admit, therefore, that the more popular course for me to follow would be either to be silent or, when I do speak, to limit myself to the generalities and pleasantries which satisfy everybody and displease no one.

This course would be an easy choice if the situation were normal -- that is, if our problems, no matter how pressing, were of the type that could be solved in time without serious risk to our existence as a nation. The situation is far from normal. Our existence is threatened and in recent weeks the threat has manifestly increased.

I have therefore reached the conclusion that the time has come for me to speak out on national issues. But, in doing so, I want the country to know exactly the role in which I shall be speaking.

I do not speak as a candidate or as one planning to be a candidate for any public office.

I do not presume to speak as the self-appointed leader of the Republican Party.

Nor do I speak as the representative of the Administration in which I was proud to serve.

I shall speak as a private citizen, saying those things I believe are in the best interests of the nation, without presuming to claim that my views represent those of my party or of the Administration of which I was a member.

I am convinced that in this independent role, I shall best be able to serve the nation.

Among the guidelines I intend to follow are these:

Our criticism of the Administration should be responsible, constructive, on issues of real substance. This is no time for nit-picking.

The type of fundamental issue that I have in mind is how our national effort is being mobilized to meet the threat to our existence. For example, the new Administration has made proposals which would impose upon the nation, over a two-year period, an additional five billion dollars burden in Federal spending, an additional ten billion dollars in new obligational authority, with the result that we shall have a new deficit of at least five billions even if revenues are estimated on the optimistic side.

Of this new total of 15 billions in spending and obligations, less than one-third is to be spent for defense and national security over and above the Eisenhower estimates. Fully 11 billions are budgeted for spending and obligational authority in non-military areas such as health, welfare, education, housing and public works.

These programs include an education bill which in providing Federal subsidies for teachers' salaries would, in my opinion, inevitably mean Federal dictation of what is taught in our

schools; a housing act that would stifle private initiative; a farm program that will make the American farmer hopelessly dependent upon and controlled by Federal bureaucrats; a health program for the aged that will, in my opinion, inevitably lead to compulsory health insurance for all.

During the recent campaign, I set forth in detail alternative programs in the fields of health, education, housing and agriculture which I deeply believed then and now were more consistent with our American principles because, as distinguished from the Kennedy programs, they recognize individual and private enterprise rather than government action as the primary instrument of progress on which we should rely.

I shall continue to fight for those principles in the domestic area which I believe are so important for the future of the country.

At a time when the frontiers of freedom are under constant attack abroad, I believe that the national interest requires that we resist such programs as I have described which would chip away at the freedoms we enjoy at home.

And, before we embark on any new spending programs at home, we should put first things first and be ready and able to do what is necessary to strengthen America and the Free World so that we can meet the increased threat of Communist aggression which now confronts us abroad.

In view of recent world developments, there is an obvious need for us to develop more effective programs to meet this threat. How can those of us in the loyal opposition play a constructive part in developing such programs?

The easiest and, on the surface, most popular course would be simply to abdicate any responsibility in this regard and endorse the programs past, present, and future of the new Administration in the name of bi-partisanship. I submit that such a course on my part or other members of my party would not be in the national interest. Bi-partisanship once a decision is made and the nation's prestige is committed is one thing. The situation is entirely different in the period when policies are developing and before a final decision is made.

President Kennedy speaking on September 20, 1960, during the period that Mr. Khrushchev was visiting the United States endorsed this principle in this way: "Some people say it is wrong to say that we could be stronger. It's dangerous to say that we could be more secure. But in times such as this, I say it is wrong and dangerous for any American to keep silent about our future if he is not satisfied with what is being done to preserve that future."

With these principles in mind, I should like to make some general observations with regard to the conduct of our foreign policy during this critical period.

From having served eight years as a member of the National Security Council and the Cabinet, I know the perils of recommending or criticizing specific decisions, without all the relevant facts, including the classified information which entered into the making of those decisions.

And I also consider it the height of irresponsibility when our President makes a decision which backfires, to gloat over the country's misfortune and to give our enemies abroad the verbal ammunition they want to fire at us around the world.

I have been glad to note that members of my party have not resorted to the disgraceful tactics used by some members of the other party after the U-2 incident last year, proclaiming to the world that our prestige had fallen to a new low as a result of President Eisenhower's policy with regard to that program.

The test in each instance is whether criticism is going to help or hurt America. We certainly do not help America by running her down in the eyes of the world. Further, I believe that the current obsession about the level of America's prestige in the world obscures the principles that should guide us in developing foreign policy. Those who talk constantly of our prestige would seem to believe that we are in a popularity contest with other countries to see who was most liked and admired.

What we must remember is that we are in a fight for our lives. Public relations and popularity will have some bearing on the outcome of that struggle. But what will count in the long run is not how popular our policies are in the short run but how right they are.

The United States is the leader of the Free World. Many of our good friends and allies

might like us better if we did not lead as strongly on critical issues as we may believe it necessary to do. But it is the responsibility of the leader to do more than simply take counsel of the fears or follow the wishes of those who lack the power or desire to lead effectively.

These are some of the principles which I believe should govern American policy in the critical years ahead:

We must become accustomed to living in a time of crisis. The Communists are determined to conquer the world. Our problem this week is Laos. Last week it was Cuba. Next week it may well be someplace else. We must be mature enough to understand that we are not going to succeed in every venture we undertake in the foreign field. This does not mean that we should ever be satisfied with our failures. It does mean -- and this I say with particular reference to the Cuban operation -- that we must not allow a failure to paralyze our will to undertake decisive action in the future.

The worst thing that could flow from our failure in Cuba is not the temporary drop in prestige which seems to obsess too many observers but that this failure may discourage American policy makers from taking decisive steps in the future because there is a risk of failure.

I have noted that some political commentators have suggested that President Kennedy cannot risk action which might involve a commitment of American forces because of the fear of political criticism he would receive for being another Democratic war President. I can think of nothing more detrimental to our national interest than for a consideration of this type to have any effect in the high councils of the Administration. That is why I gave to President Kennedy the assurance that I now reiterate to you -- that I will support him to the hilt in backing positive action he may decide is necessary to resist further Communist aggression.

In deciding what our action should be, however, we should not forget one lesson we learned from recent events. Whenever American prestige is to be committed on a major scale we must be willing to commit enough power to obtain our objective even if all of our intelligence estimates prove wrong. Putting it bluntly, we should not start things unless we are prepared to finish them.

In the propaganda area we must recognize that what we say can have a great effect on the outcome of our struggle with world Communism. Words do count and the new Administration has set an exceptionally high standard for its words. But in the end when the balance sheet of history is added up, our deeds must match our words. We must never talk bigger than we are prepared to act. When our words are strong and our actions are timid, we end up appearing aggressive and weak at the same time.

As we plan our long range policy, I believe the time has come for a searching re-appraisal of the Free World's ability, and particularly America's ability, considering the strategy and tactics to which we are presently limited -- to deal with the kind of aggression in which Communists are now engaging.

Present Soviet strategy rules out world war. The Communists are trying to pick off smaller nations one by one, without war if possible, but willing to risk war if necessary. To implement this strategy Mr. Khrushchev says he will openly support a Communist revolution anyplace in the world and that he will openly support those resisting a revolution against any Communist government not with just words, not with a plea for collective action but with arms, unilaterally and instantly provided.

There is no easy way to meet this threat.

We can't wish away the problem by brushing off nations like Cuba and Laos as "unimportant peripheral areas." If the smaller nations get the idea that we don't consider them important enough to fight for and that the Communists do, they will go down the Communist line like a row of dominoes.

Billions more in economic assistance will not, by itself, meet this threat.

Moral support is important and necessary but it is a poor shield against Communist tanks and planes.

A fortress America with inter-continental jets and missiles which could destroy the Soviet Union can't deal with this type of threat.

A giant propaganda offensive to make people understand us and like us better won't do this job.

Such programs are necessary and have their place. But, beyond this it is imperative that we develop new programs that can deal more quickly and decisively with the political, subversive and para-military tactics which the Communists use so effectively in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Collective action through the United Nations, the OAS and through our various treaty organizations is preferable where possible. But in many cases by the time collective action is agreed to the Communists will have taken over.

Where the situation is critical and the only way a Communist victory can be avoided is through fast action, we must find methods through which we can act on our own and hold the line until collective support can be obtained.

America must eventually face up to the fact, as President Kennedy implied in his speech before the nation's editors, of whether we can continue to be limited to multi-lateral action where the Communists can always act decisively on their own.

I would add that we must also face up to another terribly difficult decision -- whether in a case like Cuba we can continue to follow a policy of giving only moral or covert support to the forces of freedom when the forces of slavery have open support from the Communists.

While we should continue to negotiate with the Communists wherever there appears to be any reasonable chance for success, we must always assume that when the Communist negotiates he is not negotiating for the purpose of reaching an agreement but he is using the negotiation as a camouflage for a Communist take-over. It has often been said that talking is always better than fighting. But we must remember that when we are talking with Communists, they usually are continuing to fight.

In this connection, there is one current situation which disturbs me greatly. While it is not now occupying the same headline space as Cuba and Laos, in the long run it could be far more fateful in solving the issue of survival of the United States as a nation and of freedom as a fundamental human concept than any other.

I am thinking of the newest breakdown of nuclear test negotiations at Geneva. It is becoming increasingly obvious that Mr. Khrushchev has no more intention of coming to a workable agreement with the new Kennedy Administration on this question than he did with the previous Eisenhower Administration.

As I have warned before, time is running out with alarming rapidity on this question. It is now more than two years since we have advanced our own atomic technology by testing and simple prudence cannot have us believe other than that the Soviets have concealed nuclear tests in the innumerable seismic disturbances recorded during this time in their territory.

The pace of technological advance in this area is fully as rapid as it is in rocketry and we now know to our dismay what happened when we let the Russians get ahead of us in rocketry. If we permit them to get ahead in nuclear weaponry the result will be no mere humiliation of us as a great world leader but can put us completely at the mercy of the Kremlin. It is enough simply to say this to know that it is unthinkable. And I assure the President he will have my fullest support in whatever action he deems necessary to break this fateful stalemate.

Speaking in Chicago last Friday, President Kennedy said: "... Our greatest adversary is not the Russians. It is our own willingness to do what must be done." In his inaugural speech, he said: "... Ask not what your country can do for you -- ask what you can do for your country." I believe the great majority of Americans, regardless of party, applaud this ideal. Up to this time, however, the Administration has sent program after program to the Congress which would have the government do more for the people.

Now is the time for the President to tell the American people what they can do for their country.

I say today that the American people are ready for action, ready for sacrifice and President Kennedy will have overwhelming support in a program of action to deal with the deadly threat which confronts free men everywhere.

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Excerpts of Remarks

of

RICHARD NIXON

Columbus, Ohio

May 10, 1961

The closeness of the last election and the strength of conservative sentiment in the House and the nation has, up to this time, been a very effective brake on the big spending and big government proposals of the new Administration in the fields of health, education, agriculture, housing, and public works. But the fact that some of the extreme economic programs President Kennedy advocated in the campaign have been slightly toned down and are not being pushed harder by the Administration is due to political expediency rather than to a change in principle on the part of the Administration leaders.

That is why the Congressional elections of 1962 are so vitally important to the millions of Republicans and Democrats who believe as I do that the way to progress in America is not through increasing the size and the expense of government but through expanding opportunities for individual private enterprise. If the Democrats make significant gains in the elections of 1962, the brakes will be off and the Administration will consider that it has a green light for going ahead full throttle on programs which would lead to increased spending, higher taxes and more Federal government control in the lives of every American.

In his inaugural address, President Kennedy inspired the American people by saying in effect that he was not going to tell them what the country could do for them but what they could do for their country. These words have been compared with Churchill's famous "blood, sweat and tears" peroration at the beginning of the battle of Britain. The difference is that Churchill did not couple his demand for sacrifice with a massive program for welfare state proposals.

Since his inauguration, President Kennedy has failed to ask the American people for a single sacrifice to defend the cause of freedom so gravely threatened throughout the world. Instead, after challenging them to do something for their country, he has been comforting them by telling them what the government would do for them.

The shape of the New Frontier is becoming clearer and clearer. With every new program and every new proposal, slogans aside, it turns out to be pretty familiar territory after all: a return to the depressing old frontier of the late '30's and to the inevitable failures of a policy of systematic government intervention into the American economy. It turns out to be the old worn-out country of government controls, pump-priming, high taxes, bigger deficits, and economic stagnation.

When we look at the budget -- we find new spending programs amounting to 5 billions of dollars ---- we find requests for new obligations amounting to 10 billions of dollars ---- and, we find a new deficit of at least 5 billions, even if revenues are estimated on the optimistic side.

Of this total of 15 billions, less than a third is spending for defense and national security, over and above the Eisenhower estimates. Fully 11 billions are budgeted for spending in the areas of health, education, welfare, housing and public works.

Let me make it clear that considered entirely in and of themselves, many of the goals of these new spending programs are in some measure desirable, even though Federal action may be far from desirable. Everyone is "for" good housing and good health and good education for all the American people. But, in a period, to use President Kennedy's own words, of "maximum danger" to our national security, when the only proper criteria for defense spending are maximum deterrence, maximum strength and maximum security, at all costs, can we really justify these programs of what I would call "domestic affluence"? And when we consider, further, that this new spending is inevitably going to mean continued high taxes, mounting budgets and deficits, and a real danger of constant inflationary pressure -- then the justification that they are "desirable" goals wears very thin indeed. The whole process of spend-borrow-and-inflate is, in the end, self-defeating. And it is a positive menace to our very security as a nation and as sheet-anchor of free world strength.

The old frontier programs for Federal subsidy of teachers' salaries, for compulsory health insurance, for huge new public works programs, for housing and for agriculture, are debatable on the merits as to whether they are right ways to achieve the goals of progress which they seek. But, clearly apart from their merits, this is not the time for embarking on huge new spending programs for domestic purposes. This is a time to put America's security and solvency first. There is no question but that our expenditures for defense, for mutual security programs abroad, for space exploration must be sharply increased if we are to meet the stepped-up challenge of Communist aggression.

Khrushchev may have gained some doubts about our willingness and ability to resist Communist aggression, because of the tendency of the leaders of the new Administration to talk bigger than they are prepared to act. One way we can help remove those doubts in the future is to say exactly what we mean and be prepared to back up what we say with action. Another way we can do so, if I can use a blunt but expressive midwestern term, is for us to "put our money where our mouth is." That means keeping the expenditures for non-defense purposes at a minimum and spending every cent that we think is necessary to keep America the strongest nation in the world.

"The time has come . . . to speak out on national issues."

excerpts from speeches of

RICHARD NIXON

delivered from May 5 to 10, 1961

I: The Shape of the "New Frontier" -- and its Cost (Columbus, Ohio, May 10)

The closeness of the last election and the strength of conservative sentiment in the House and the nation has, up to this time, been a very effective brake on the big spending and big government proposals of the new Administration in the fields of health, education, agriculture, housing, and public works. But the fact that some of the extreme economic programs President Kennedy advocated in the campaign have been slightly toned down and are not being pushed harder by the Administration is due to political expediency rather than to any change in principle on the part of Administration leaders.

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II: Farm Programs: Dumping and Controlled Production (Des Moines, Iowa, May 6)

The "First Hundred Days" have been filled with bad news for our farm people.

The higher farm prices pledged six months ago not only have not been fulfilled, but the Department of Agriculture has reported that average prices received by farmers in April were under those of a year ago. Here in Iowa the farmer acutely knows of the sharp decline in the price of corn. I believe he also knows why the price break came about. Mainly, it developed because the government itself flooded the corn market in order to force farmers to comply with the new feed grain program.

I want to make clear my conviction that, in basic concept, this new program is sound, leaving aside for the moment the question of economic blackmail. The use of payments-in-kind to encourage farmers to retire part of their land from feed grain production was specifically endorsed by my political party last year in its Platform. I supported the idea then, during the campaign, and I do so now. But this difference I must emphasize - that we were committed to a voluntary program, not one that forces the farmer to comply by threatening to wreck his market. None of us expected that farm prices would be broken to force compliance.

All of us have long recognized the gravity of the threat to market prices of the huge commodity surpluses held by the Federal government. This is why I suggested last fall that we reorganize the Commodity Credit Corporation's inventory management operations "to reduce competition with the marketings of farmers, to withhold government stocks from sale until free market prices exceed parity levels." In the light of recent trends, I believe still that this proposal is good for America.

One aspect of this matter is especially worrisome. It is not enough that farmers are being penalized in the market place by the dumping; the long-range effects will likely be harsher still. I know that thoughtful farmers and marketing experts already are fearful that cheap feed will unavoidably generate cheap livestock next year. Especially there is concern that depressed corn prices will encourage over-expansion of hog numbers. With this can only come disastrous hog prices in the fall of 1962.

As for the long-range farm program now before the Congress, it is but fair to characterize it as a frontier without freedom. It is so inclusive in coverage and so loosely drawn that it could impose marketing quotas and controls upon every farmer in the nation. Safeguards against actions by one commodity group which might adversely affect other segments of the agricultural economy are not provided. Safeguards for the farmer who wants to be free of government regulation are not provided. The program's cost is not specified, and we know only that the tab could be staggering.

The controls proposed would bring unemployment both on and off the farm. Fewer farmers and farm workers would be needed to produce a sharply reduced flow of food and fiber. Fewer wage-earners would be needed to process, transport, and merchandise a restricted supply of farm products. And the problems already facing the small cities and towns of our farm states would multiply critically once such a drastic plan took hold.

No one believes more deeply than I that the government has an obligation to help farmers solve their problems. Many times I have expressed my conviction that government itself, through its tragic failure to keep farm programs abreast of changing needs, is largely responsible for creating and perpetuating these problems -- and further, that it is wrong to visit the sins of government upon those it has failed. But I believe no less deeply that a decent solution of these ills is not a program which would blight the opportunities of our farm people and mire them utterly in controls and regimentation.

My conviction remains that any acceptable farm program must be one that will protect and strengthen, not further weaken, the freedom of our men and women of agriculture to own and operate their farms.

III: A Kennedy-Khrushchev Summit Meeting (Detroit, Michigan, May 9)

Under the proper circumstances, it is essential that those who make final decisions on policy discuss their differences directly. A face-to-face meeting between President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev, once the proper preparations have been made for it, could serve a useful purpose apart from any resolution of issues of substance. Because of his great personal power, Khrushchev is greatly influenced in making decisions by his

personal evaluation of those he considers to be his major adversaries. Messages sent through ambassadors, and speeches made for public consumption, have relatively little effect on him. He needs to see and know the one man who has the power to stop his aggressive moves toward world domination. If, because of some of the events of the past few weeks, he assumes that "our bark is worse than our bite", he may be tempted to push us too far in an area where we would have to resist. Thus he would precipitate a war that neither of us wants. I believe that a meeting with President Kennedy might help to convince him that he is dealing with a man he cannot risk pushing around.

We have learned from history that in dealing with a dictator the greatest danger of war arises when he is willing to risk war to gain his objective and he becomes convinced that his opponents are not willing to take the risk in order to defend the areas of freedom from his aggression. Everytime an aggressor bluffs and the defenders of freedom back down, he is encouraged to become more aggressive still. Eventually he pushes too far -- and war inevitably results.

In other words, we must convince the Communists that we are prepared to risk the possibility of war on a small scale if we are to avoid the eventual certainty of war on a large scale. And thus it is imperative that Mr. Khrushchev get rid of any illusions he may have gained as to America's determination and ability to defend the areas of freedom against Communist aggression.

IV: Organizing for Republican Victory in '62 and '64 (Chicago, Illinois, May 5)

On many occasions I have been asked why I did not contest the presidential election in Illinois. The reason is, I think, obvious. I found that it would take at least a year and a half to obtain a court-adjudicated honest count. No responsible candidate for President could under such circumstances insist on a recount and, thereby, create the administrative chaos and the unfavorable world reaction which would result from delaying the inauguration of a new president for such a long period.

The lesson of 1960 for all of us is that the time to stop stealing at the polls is before and on election day, and not afterwards.

I have noted that some Democratic spokesmen have brushed off the charges of vote stealing in Cook County on the grounds that they claim Republicans are alleged to have stolen votes downstate. As far as I am concerned, I am against vote stealing -- period! And I am sure that the great majority of rank and file Republicans and Democrats throughout the country share my view.

The Republican Citizens League of Illinois and other such volunteer groups will render a tremendous service, not just to the party but to the nation, by seeing that every precinct in every American city is adequately manned both before and on election day. This will assure an honest count and, if we nominate strong candidates, it will also assure our victory at the polls.

Our victories in 1952 and 1956 could be attributed to the fact that we had an immensely popular national hero heading our ticket. In 1960, not only was this not the case but the party was recovering from one of its worst defeats in history in the election of 1958. Yet we were able to win a majority of the states, a majority of the Congressional Districts, and run virtually a dead heat with our opponents in the popular vote.

There is no question in my mind that a majority of the voters actually would have supported us if we had had an organization equal to that of our opponents in the key states and in the big cities. Such an organization in the future will assure victory for our cause.

The key to victory in 1964 lies in the elections of 1962. I refer not only to the contests for the House and Senate but to the gubernatorial races, particularly in the major states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and California. I can say from experience that one of our greatest liabilities in the 1960 election was that our opponents had twice as many incumbent Congressmen, Senators and Governors as we had across the nation. The absolute and ruthless control by the opposition in almost all of the big cities was devastating. This meant that in many districts and states we had to build our organization virtually from scratch. If we can increase our strength in the House, Senate, State Houses and State Legislatures in 1962, we will make the task of our presidential candidate in 1964 much easier than was the case in 1960.

The Republican Party organization must have a massive transfusion of new blood which is ours for the asking, by enlisting on a permanent year-round basis the thousands of volunteers who participated in the last campaign. This is a problem for the party in Illinois; it is a problem nationally. One of our greatest failures as a party was that after the elections of 1952 and 1956 we failed to bring the literally millions of volunteer workers throughout the nation in those campaigns into our Republican volunteer organizations.

We cannot in the future continue to ask volunteers to make an all-out effort for our candidates in the few weeks before election and then, in effect, tell them that we don't need them or want them after election.

The Republican Party is often criticized for being an exclusive club. It is time for us to destroy the grounds for this criticism once and for all. We must open our ranks for growth or perish as a political party.

I have no patience whatever with the regular party leaders who, because of their apparent fear of losing control of an organization, discourage the setting up of new volunteer groups. I have just as little patience with the new volunteer groups who refuse to have anything to do with the regular organization. This rule-or-ruin attitude is one of the major reasons for the present weakness of the Republican Party in many of the large cities. As Republicans we must recognize that we are never going to become the majority party in the nation if we devote more time to fighting among ourselves than to attacking the programs of the opposition.

Despite considerable provocation during my 14 years of public life, I have never initiated or answered an attack made upon me by another Republican. As a private citizen, I intend to continue to follow this practice and to use whatever influence I have to uniting our party and increasing its strength throughout the nation.

V: "Voluntary Censorship" and a Free Press (Detroit, Michigan, May 9)

The Detroit Press Club is an appropriate forum for me to comment on President Kennedy's recent appeal for self-restraint or self-censorship of the news.

The kindest judgment that can be made about this scheme is that it obviously was not thought through by The White House staff. The whole concept of a return to secrecy in peacetime demonstrates a profound misunderstanding of the role of a free press as opposed to that of a controlled press.

At the same time, President Kennedy's remarks will inevitably encourage government officials to withhold information, even more than now, to which the public is entitled. The plea of security could well become a cloak for errors, misjudgments and other failings of government. Already in its own short life, this Administration has provided enough examples of doubtful resort to secrecy to have prompted a formal inquiry from the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

In his speech before the nation's publishers, President Kennedy appeared to be building up a case which would justify official censorship.

True, he denied he was "suggesting any new forms of censorship or new types of security classification." But he also noted war-time court rulings to the effect that in time of "clear and present danger" the first amendment -- which guarantees press freedom -- "must yield to the public's need for national security."

Then he observed that, even though the United States was officially at peace, "the danger has never been more clear and its presence has never been more imminent."

Here he stopped cold. He refrained from carrying his chain of logic to its natural conclusion. He denied he had any "intention of establishing a new office of war information to govern the flow of news."

This was a curious choice of words. The Office of War Information, during World War II, was essentially a propaganda organization, having nothing to do with the so-called voluntary forms of censorship imposed during the war.

Few Americans would argue with the President's assessment of the dangers facing the nation. But if these dangers are increased by the publication of certain kinds of stories, then obviously something more is needed than the President's appeal for self-restraint.

The question of what will serve the national interest is not easily answered. The many hundreds of newspapers will approach the question differently. This variety of opinion is, of course, a basic characteristic of a free press. Therefore, no plan for voluntary suppression of information through individual judgment can be expected to work.

Is there a need at this time for the drastic proposals suggested by President Kennedy? He, unfortunately, talked in generalities. While accusatory, he failed to make a logical brief in behalf of an urgent increase in secrecy. Except for one unconvincing episode, he was unable to cite any real instances of recent press abuse -- or of any governmental action harmed by open reporting.

He appeared to blame the press for recent Cuban events. But would the results have been very much different had the press failed to perform its traditional role? If a bad reporting job was done, was it entirely the fault of the press? Can it not be said that there was a deliberate intent to mislead? And how can the press be expected to get at the truth when anonymous Administration spokesmen keep contradicting each other? It has been my own experience in government that newspapermen will cooperate fully when they are dealt with honestly. No reporter worth his salt would deliberately publish information hurtful to national security. The record of patriotic self-restraint is a good one.

True, there have been lapses. But, on balance, it is much better to have a free press, even with occasional excesses, than an all-wise government giving direction as to what may or may not be published.

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