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Senator Barry Goldwater had an important message for conservatives on October 23 when he appeared on CBS television's "Face the Nation." Pertinent extractions from that telecast are printed below.

STUART NOVINS: Senator, have you been campaigning for conservatism or for Richard Nixon?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I've been campaigning for Richard Nixon and Cabot Lodge and the Republican party and conservatism, because I feel the Republican party is the only vehicle of conservatism today. There is no such thing anymore as a Jeffersonian Democratic party anywhere in this United States, except the South, and I can't, for that reason, understand Southern Democrats for one moment embracing the Democratic Platform or the Democratic candidates. If they couldn't go for Truman, I don't see how in the world they can go for Kennedy in 1960.

WARREN ROGERS, JR.: Well, how about another possibility of an entirely new party, a third party, a conservative party?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: I would resist that. If we can create a third party in this country, then we can have dissidence appear in the third party, and we can create a fourth and a fifth party. I would much rather see us struggle to get a real two-party system going again.

WILLIAM S. WHITE: ... Senator Taft used to say often that he thought the Republicans lost elections because, as he put it, so many people, Republicans, stayed at home. Now, who are these stay-at-homes this time, in your judgment? You imply there are many. Who are they?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: They are in both parties. Unfortunately, the conservative mind, whether it's Democratic or Republican, takes an absolute position, and I think this is a mistake. They say—if the man does not fill their mold down to his finger tips, then they are not going to vote for him. Now, I find many, many people in the Democratic party who will not vote for Kennedy, and, on the other hand, they don't want to vote Republican, because their fathers haven't done it and their grandfathers haven't done it. It's just become a family tradition with them.

In the Republican side, well, in 1958, we had eight million fewer people vote for Republican candidates for the Congress or the House of Representatives ... than in 1956. Now, the normal difference should have only been about three and a half million. So we might say that there are four and a half million people who were trying to express their dissatisfaction with the candidates by staying home. But when they do that, they always get the man whose philosophy they disagree with the most.

Now, I don't know why they can't understand that, but—that prevails, and I know that there are large groups of conservatives in this country, in both parties, organized conservative groups, whose leaders are telling them daily—don't go to the polls.

MR. WHITE: Don't go?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Don't go to the polls. And, I think it's a dreadful mistake; if we don't go to the polls, we always wind up with the candidates who are the worst for the country.

MR. WHITE: Senator, by definition, doesn't that situation give you more alarm, your party more alarm, than the Democratic party—more cause for alarm?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: Yes, because there are far more Democrats than there are Republicans.

MR. WHITE: And far more conservatives who are Republicans, are there not?

SENATOR GOLDWATER: No; I think you will find in this country that there are more conservatives than there are so-called liberals. I don't call them liberals because I find very few who really follow liberal philosophy. I would say they are radicals today but not the bomb-throwing type, but the type that want to go back to a centralized bureaucratic government. I can't relate them with liberalism.
I speak as a Catholic and out of a sense of outrage. I charge that those running the Kennedy campaign are deliberately keeping the religious issue alive and inflamed—apparently in the hope that this will produce more votes for Senator Kennedy from among our fellow Catholics. The campaign is calculated, nationwide and extremely well financed.

Vice President Nixon and the Republican Party have tried to keep religion out of the campaign by not mentioning it and by forbidding any discussion of it by those working in the campaign. In the third television debate before millions of American families, Vice President Nixon declared:

"I repudiate anybody who uses the religious issue. I will not tolerate it. I have ordered all my people to have nothing to do with it."

If the Kennedy forces had gone along, there would have been a minimum of religious strife. They did not—they have been playing up Kennedy's religion in ways which they think will get him votes.

The campaign to win the Presidency for Senator Kennedy by exploiting the religious issue actually began at the Democratic National Convention in 1956. It was used with telling effect in the primaries in 1960 and again in the Democratic Convention this year.

It is being used today as a massive "bigotry in reverse" propaganda campaign the purpose of which is to imply that any vote against Kennedy is a vote for bigotry.

I believe that the intelligence and patriotism of Catholic voters is insulted and damaged by assertions that they are gullible enough to vote for a candidate for high office merely because he is a fellow Catholic.

We are certain that Catholics, like other Americans, will vote in 1960 for the man best-qualified to administer the affairs of state in this critical age of the 1960's.

But efforts still continue by supporters of Senator Kennedy to keep this religious issue alive. In Detroit, the United Automobile Workers distributed a pamphlet saying the issue is not the men, Nixon vs Kennedy, but "liberty or bigotry." This was promptly and properly denounced by President Eisenhower as "distortion, falsehood and wrong-doing." Senator Kennedy, when asked about it, replied that he had not seen it.

The Senator has been endorsed by the sponsors of this appeal to religious bigotry and he has not repudiated them.

The Michigan Fair Election Practices Commission, made up of a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi and a Protestant bishop, has condemned this leaflet distributed by the United Auto Workers as "Bigotry in reverse." Representatives of these great religious groups have stated that the leaflet distributed by the UAW attempts to raise the religious issue to the political advantage of Senator Kennedy.

This leaflet carries on its cover a picture of the Statue of Liberty and a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Behind the cover is a transcript of the very same message by Senator Kennedy for which those managing the Kennedy campaign have been buying expensive television time.

This does not appear to be coincidence.

The UAW smear sheet is not merely a Michigan matter. We have obtained an identical copy of this sheet published by COPE, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, which has endorsed Kennedy.

COPE's venture into this smear campaign makes it a national issue as COPE is a national organization—the powerful and well-financed muscle of the Democratic party, more important and more influential than the Democratic National Committee.

In addition to Michigan, the smear sheet has turned up in Philadelphia and undoubtedly is being distributed elsewhere in the country by the AFL-CIO and COPE.

I challenge George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, to repudiate the publication of this discredited sheet by COPE and to stop its distribution by COPE.

Walter Reuther and COPE are merely the latest of Senator Kennedy's supporters to try to win votes for Kennedy with the religious issue.

The history is a long one:

Senator Kennedy's staff circulated a memorandum in 1956 and in 1960, which argued with cold statistics that Kennedy on the ticket would recover the Catholic vote and win the big states of the north for the Democratic ticket.

McGregor Burns, Kennedy's friendly biographer, has written that Kennedy's strategy to win in 1960 is based on an appeal to a supposed Catholic vote in the big cities.
The Michigan Mess
By Holmes Alexander

One man digs the grave—another lies in it. This is the approximate situation between Michigan's Governor G. Mennen Williams and his successor, Lieutenant Governor Swainson (D), or Professor Paul Bagwell (R).

As the five-time head of the State Government, now spavined with debt and foundered with over-stuffings of "welfare" and bureaucracy, Williams has almost inevitably doomed the next man to be a miserable one-termer. To the itinerant reporter, the wonder is that either party was able to find a serious candidate.

Michigan is a ramblin' wreck. The Democratic party is indistinguishable from the Laborite Movement which is dominated by Walter Reuther and Gus Scholle. The result is a soak-the-corporation philosophy which is running big companies over the border to other Lake States. When a new plant is announced for construction, it will almost surely be a small one with little effect upon the job hunger. The gone-crazy welfare system has brought about such lulus as building more university dormitories than the enrollment warranted—requiring a tearing down of the academic standards to fill up the empty bedrooms. There are so many people on the State payroll that Michiganders pay $1,000 per capita to support them, as against $400 in neighboring Ohio. With a sales tax limited to three per cent by the constitution, no income tax and a sinking base for corporation taxation, the State will ballot this year on a proposition to permit the legislature to raise consumer taxes.

Democratic and Republican candidates are essentially divided along the lines indicated by this economic crisis. John Swainson, a handsome and personable 35, who unexpectedly got the Democratic nomination after Secretary of State James Hare offended the Labor Barons, appears to be a bosses' boy. He manages to take positions against realistic taxation and a Constitutional Amendment leading to legislative reapportionment which is gerrymandered for Republican domination. The Labor bosses want to do it much faster. Swainson is the prisoner of the Laborite propaganda machine which cannot admit that anything much is wrong with Michigan after ten years of Williams.

Paul Bagwell, a somewhat loquacious ex-professor of public speaking and "communications," takes the other side on most debatable points. He is pro-sales tax, pro-reapportionment and promises to bring 90,000 more positions to Michigan. In 1958 Bagwell held Williams to a 147,000 majority, very low among Democrats, and harped on the "economic climate" which makes big companies feel like convicts in a death cell—discinclined to read continued stories or make long-term commitments. The GOP candidate now rejoices in the motto: "Bagwell Means Jobs."

Most people want to work, but many feel that a Demo-Laborite Governor will take better care of them in case of a depression. The Iron Law of State paternalism has been fastened upon this Reutherian stronghold to a degree that makes self-liberation an uncertainty. A German-American told how a relative in East Germany has joined the Communist party—it was a case of join or starve. A Michigan Negro, when pressed by a Bagwell manager to defy the UAW-CIO and come out for the Republican ticket, used almost identical language, saying: "Without a union card, I don't work." The Laborite disciple in bloc votes teaches straight-ticket voting.

But this year there is a possible counter-force in action. Congressman Alvin Bentley, GOP Senate candidate, told your reporter: "Win or lose, I'm going to teach them to split a ticket." The lean and keen Congressman spent 9 years in the Foreign Service before entering Congress. Having served behind the Iron Curtain in Hungary, he made contacts throughout East Europe and has been most helpful to the Hungarian, Polish and German groups which have substantial votes that usually go to the Democrats.

Bentley, 41, is pitted against US Senator Pat McNamara, 67, once head of a plumber's union and still an unpretending Laborite hack with a record of never opposing a spending bill. In a speech at... (Continued on Page 534)
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Gold Crisis: Nixon starkly set the stage for the biggest campaign issue of all in Pittsburgh last week when he said, "The gyrations of the London gold market are flashing an important message to Americans: We must keep the dollar sound."

The Vice President went on to charge that the very policies (high spending) pushed by Kennedy are enough in themselves to "cause a run" on the American gold reserves that could have "grim consequences" for the whole free world.

Is this just "campaign oratory"? On October 24 the authoritative London Times said editorially that "gold comes into its own when faith is being lost in currency, and last week's flurry [in the gold market] was a culmination of doubts about the American dollar.> The dollar has been under suspicion for some time and the feeling that Senator Kennedy, with a far more inflationary program than Vice President Nixon, was gaining ground in the Presidential election campaign added considerably to the doubts." On the same day the Daily Mail reported evidence that some of the buying (which forced up gold on the market) was by "American financiers fearful that Kennedy will defeat Nixon in the campaign."

The well-informed Financial Editor of the New York Journal-American, Leslie Gould, wrote on October 24 that the sharp rise in the gold price "was touched off by London reports Senator Kennedy has hinted privately that if elected he will revalue the dollar" (that is raise the US purchase price in gold, a highly inflationary measure). This would be in line with the inflationary thinking of his No. 1 economic adviser—Harvard Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, who is also rumored as Kennedy's leading choice for Secretary of the Treasury.

Raymond Moley, Newsweek and syndicated newspaper columnist, commented that to stop this gold crisis and developing fear among investors, Kennedy "must give specifications about how he can give away all he has promised to interest groups and still balance the budget, prevent inflation, and keep the dollar sound. What will be use for money? What new taxes, and on whom? How much would his program cost?"

Old-timers in the Capital's press corps wonder if the culmination of the campaign might not prove similar to the situation during the gold crisis in Britain late in 1921, when Prime Minister Ramsay McDonald won in the general election campaign on the slogan "save the pound." McDonald dramatized the alternative by displaying worthless German marks issued during the catastrophic German inflation of 1923—a device which Nixon might consider.

Democrats and Bigotry: Unproven charges by John Kennedy's younger brother, Robert, that the Republicans were openly distributing bigotry sheets in San Diego, California, have brought a sharp response from Vice President Nixon's press secretary, Herbert Klein. Robert Kennedy so far has failed to prove his accusation, and Klein said a check with the San Diego office confirms that his attack is "untrue."

Klein then lambasted the Democrats for obviously attempting to "exploit the religious issue to solidify what they regard as the 'Catholic' vote." He denounced the continued use of the film of Kennedy's Houston speech—ostensibly shown to ease Protestant minds regarding the relationship between Rome and American Catholics—in largely Catholic areas.

And he warned that "if this type of smear continues, Richard Nixon may have no choice but to discuss the tactics of our opponents."

• The Democratic-controlled Senate Privileges and Elections subcommittee is investigating the distribution to ministers of a Dallas sermon by the Rev. W. A. Criwell which expressed opposition to the election of a Catholic President. The Democrats have been intimating that pro-Nixon sources are responsible for its distribution.