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RECENT SPEECHES  
AND HIS STATEMENTS  
COVERING  
IMPORTANT ISSUES  
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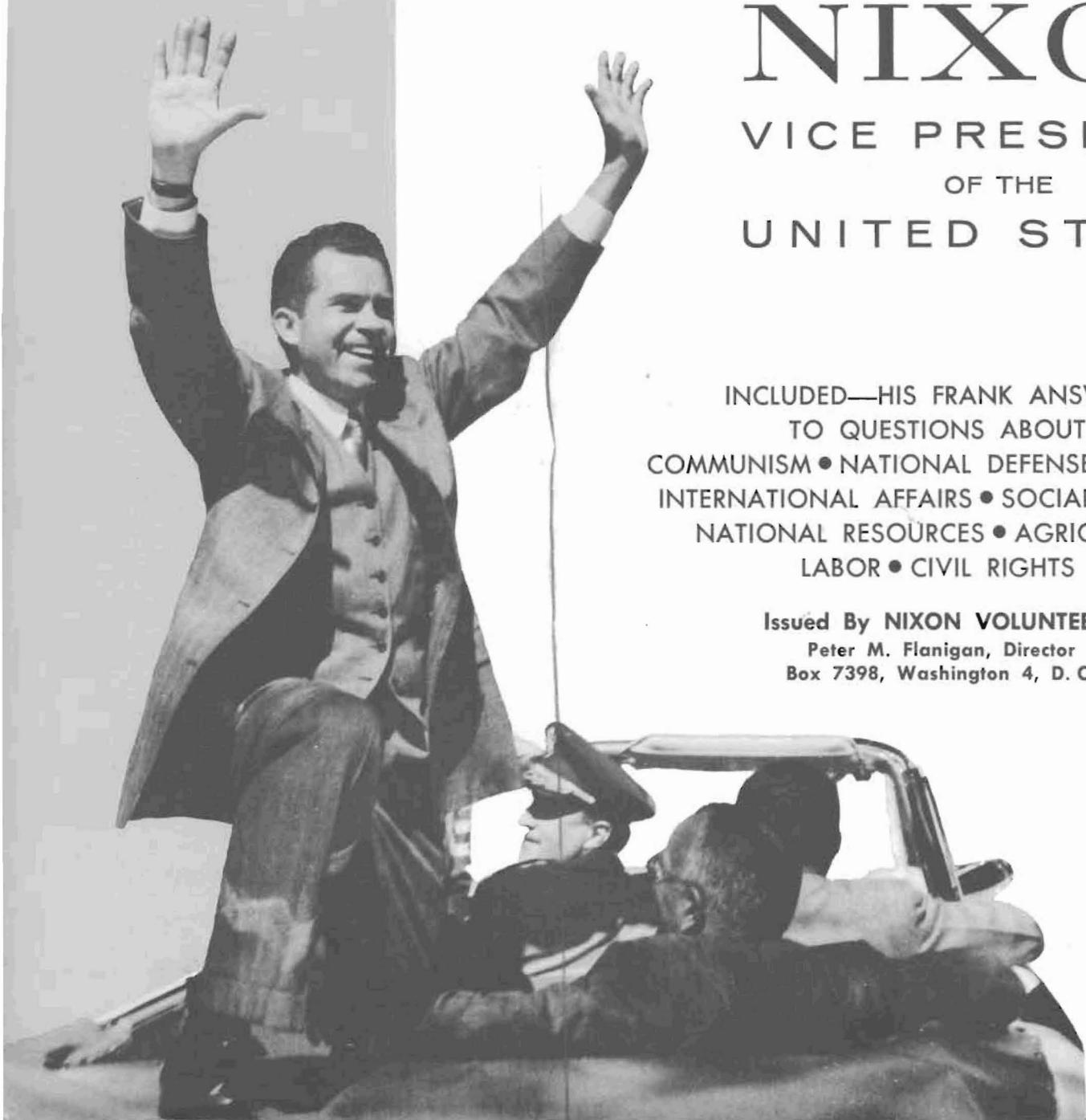
*Become Better Acquainted With*

RICHARD  
NIXON  
VICE PRESIDENT  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES

INCLUDED—HIS FRANK ANSWERS  
TO QUESTIONS ABOUT  
COMMUNISM • NATIONAL DEFENSE • POLITICS  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS • SOCIAL WELFARE  
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Issued By NIXON VOLUNTEERS

Peter M. Flanigan, Director  
Box 7398, Washington 4, D. C.



*The Nixon Family*



*Tricia Julie Dick Pat*



# A BIOGRAPHY OF

## RICHARD

# NIXON

### VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Richard Nixon of Whittier, California, was elected 36th Vice President of the United States on November 4, 1952, and reelected November 6, 1956.

Born in Yorba Linda, California, on January 9, 1913, the second of Hannah and Frank Nixon's five sons, he learned from his Quaker parents the principles of hard work and a devout and gentle faith which have been responsible for his brilliant service to his country. His mother comes from a long line of Irish Quakers who emigrated to the Pennsylvania colony from Dublin before the Revolutionary War. His paternal great-grandfather, an enlisted Ohio volunteer in the Civil War, is buried at Gettysburg.

He grew up in the Quaker community of Whittier, where his parents operated the kind of modest enterprise which is a landmark in hundreds of American communities--a combination filling station and grocery store with living accommodations in the rear. As soon as they were old enough, the boys helped out in the business. Life was not easy for his parents, but by industry and the well-known Quaker thrift they managed to provide a comfortable though far from lavish home. Personal tragedy became an early experience when a younger brother died of meningitis, at the age of seven, and his older brother died of tuberculosis at eighteen after five years of illness.

Mr. Nixon completed elementary and secondary schools in Whittier and finished second in his class at Whittier College in 1934. He was awarded a scholarship to Duke University Law School where he received his LLB in 1937 with honors.

After being admitted to the California Bar, Mr. Nixon joined a firm in Whittier for the general practice of law. Within a year, the firm's name became Bewley, Knoop and Nixon. That same year Mr. Nixon met Patricia Ryan, an attractive Whittier school teacher, when they were both performing in a little theater production. They were married on June 21, 1940. They have two children, Tricia, born during his first campaign in 1946, and Julie, born in 1948.

After practicing law in Whittier for five years, during part of which time he was Deputy City Attorney, Mr. Nixon joined the legal staff of the Office of

Price Administration in Washington. After five months with OPA, he was commissioned in the Navy as a Lieutenant (j. g.) and was assigned to active duty in August of that same year. He served in the South Pacific for thirteen months with the Combat Air Transportation, where he earned two South Pacific battle stars and two commendations. Mr. Nixon was later assigned to Stateside duty at Alameda, California as Officer in Charge of Transportation, and finally he served with the Contracts Termination Section of the Bureau of Aeronautics. He was discharged as a Lieutenant Commander in January, 1946.

Just prior to his discharge from the Navy, he was approached by a citizens committee to oppose incumbent Congressman Jerry Voorhis, a five-term Democrat who had been winning elections with little opposition. A series of debates, largely concerned with war-time economic controls, created wide interest in the District and Mr. Nixon defeated Voorhis by 15,592 votes. Mr. Voorhis afterwards wrote, "Mr. Nixon will be a Republican Congressman. He will, I imagine be a conservative one, but I believe he will be a conscientious one."

During his first year in Congress, he spent two months in Europe as a member of the Herter Committee to study the Marshall Plan. He also participated in the drafting of the Taft-Hartley Labor Relations Act. By 1948, his popularity and hard work earned him the nomination of both parties for another term under California's cross-filing system.

Mr. Nixon attracted national notice for his work on the House Un-American Activities Committee in exposing Alger Hiss. Not often mentioned are the reforms in the procedures of that committee which he introduced to protect the rights of the individual. At that time he said, "It is essential also to be extremely careful in this field, where a man's reputation can be destroyed by accusations of Communist affiliation, to distinguish between an individual who is a voluntary participant in the Communist conspiracy and one who innocently may have had contact with it."

His record as a Congressman, and his ability to present his ideas with clarity and directness, enabled him to defeat Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, the 1950 Democratic nominee for the Senate, by 700,000 votes.

Perhaps the greatest testimony to Mr. Nixon's character and ability was Dwight Eisenhower's selection of him as his running mate in 1952 and again in 1956. During his tenure the Vice Presidency has been transformed from what a former Vice President and President, John Adams, described as "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived"--to an office of great responsibility and public significance.

At the request of President Eisenhower, the Vice President has undertaken precedent-breaking responsibilities.

In addition to his Constitutional duties as President of the Senate, Mr. Nixon is a statutory member of the National Security Council, actively participates in Cabinet deliberations, and presides over meetings of both in

the absence of the President. With a friendly dignity which has brought credit to his country, he has visited over fifty countries throughout the world as the President's personal representative, and the experience gained from these travels has enabled him to recommend and help put into effect many significant changes in foreign policies. He is Chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, which seeks to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in the employment policies of firms having contracts with the Federal Government. He is also Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth.

As a spokesman for the Administration, Vice President Nixon has few peers. His understanding of Communism, based on experience, has made his voice among the most effective in stating the alternative to Communism which America offers the world.

The Vice President of the United States is a man of firm judgment with a quick and questioning mind, and a warm sense of humor, whose career has been marked by a tremendous capacity for work, great personal courage, and devotion to the principles on which this Nation was founded.

"We must revive to the fullest our pioneer spirit of adventure and growth--the vision that developed a continent--we must make known throughout the world the exciting fact that the American Revolution which captured the imagination of the world 180 years ago did not end at Yorktown but that it is a living, vital idea today; that it is the idea which we believe can most surely satisfy the aspirations of people for economic progress, individual freedom and national independence."

(--From an address by the Vice President before the 50th Anniversary Conference of the Harvard Business School Association-- September 6, 1958.)

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## RICHARD NIXON

# "Off The Record"

The following statements of the Vice President's views about politics and other matters are included in the final pages of the book, RICHARD NIXON: A POLITICAL AND PERSONAL PORTRAIT, and were taken from interviews and conversations with the author, Earl Mazo.

### POLITICS AND LEADERSHIP

Politics is an art and a science. Politicians are, in the main, honorable, above average in their intellectual equipment, and effective in getting action on problems that less practical people only talk or write about. An individual has to be a politician before he can be a statesman.

Political success comes from a combination of hard work and breaks. But unless you have the guts to take chances when the breaks come your way, and the determination and stamina to work hard, you will never amount to much more than a political hack and a perennial "almost-ran" in your political career.

As to my whole outlook on being "controversial" -- I am aware that when you take strong positions on issues, knowing that the public may not at that particular time support the positions, you run a great political risk. In the short run it may result in your defeat. But in the long run it is the only way to build a sound party position.

The political leader is important. Whether Republican or Democrat, it is his responsibility when running for office to study the issues, to determine what he believes to be in the best interest of the country, and then to take strong positions and to try to win the people over to his point of view. If leaders do not do that, the country will drift in its policies into following mass thinking that will represent in some instances the

lowest common denominator. Considering the great problems that we face in the world, that is inadequate. Our decisions must represent not the lowest common denominator but the best thinking that America can produce. I don't think that you can lead from a position of vacillation. If you are going to lead, you've got to decide in advance whether the issue is one that you feel is worth fighting about. If it isn't, then you take no position at all. But if it is worth fighting about, you've got to take a clear-cut position and get all of the advantage that comes from being out in front.

I am practical in the sense that I don't believe in fighting windmills. I don't believe in taking on issues simply for the sake of a fight. I believe a leader must always conserve his resources for the battles that count. He must not fritter away his energies by getting involved in every little struggle that comes along. In relatively unimportant matters a good public servant, an effective politician must compromise and should compromise to avoid bloodletting. He must look at the major objectives of his administration and keep them always in mind. He must never become involved in a fight on a minor issue which might prejudice his chance to win on a major issue. That is one of the best rules a politician could follow in political campaigns, too. It is one of the reasons Lyndon Johnson is so effective as Democratic Majority Leader of the Senate. They talk about Lyndon being a compromiser. But I admire Lyndon, although I don't agree with him on some things, because he is always able to keep in mind the major objectives. He will compromise on some things, but in the end he gets the major part of his program through.

In an election campaign party unity is essential. If I were asked how I can go out and support all Republican candidates for Congress if, in some instances, individual Democrats are better qualified, I would be very frank to answer that what you have to consider is the fact that ours is not a government of individuals. It is a government of majorities, of a group. An individual by himself can accomplish virtually nothing. I know that for the party to be an effective instrument of government it needs to control Congressional committees and the House and Senate organization.

I don't believe in dividing Republicans into classes, such as "Modern Republicans," any more than I believe in dividing Americans into classes. I have no desire to throw out of the Republican Party those who happen to disagree with me on certain issues. By the same token, I have very strong convictions as to what I personally believe the Republican Party should stand for and the course it should take. What I try to do, and what I believe every good Republican or every good Democrat should do, is work within my Party for the adoption of those views.

I believe that, once the majority within a party makes a decision, the best interest of the party and the nation is served if the party unites in

support of that decision. I recognize there should be exceptions. Some individuals, as a matter of principle, feel so strongly on certain issues that they would be going against everything they stand for if they supported the position of the administration or the party majority. I understand and respect that point of view. But not the view of those who say, "I can't follow my party on this issue because it is politically inadvisable."

Anyone who attacks his own party will get publicity at the moment. But in the end, if his party or his administration goes down, he will go down with it. There are very few Borahs, Norrises or Hiram Johnsons in American political history. Though it may appear, in the heat of the moment, that one who bucks his party represents and is attuned to current public sentiment, history shows that most candidates are saddled with the records of their party and its administrations whether they like it or not. The man who deliberately weakens his party almost invariably ends up by weakening himself.

If there is more than one bona fide candidate for a nomination, the only way you can find out which is the strongest is to test them in a field of battle. That is preferable to having the bosses pick the candidate. Primary contests can be kept on a constructive basis if opponents for the party's nomination direct their fire against the program of the prospective nominees of the other party, instead of against each other.

The line I draw between permissible and nonpermissible campaign tactics is a very simple one. The candidate's record is public property insofar as it indicates the position he might take on issues while in the office which he seeks. Now, this means his record in terms of all the votes he has cast if he has held public office, all the speeches he has made, all the organizations to which he has given his support. All matters of this kind which bear upon or might indicate his philosophy should be discussed openly and frankly by the candidate and by his opponent. I draw the line, however, on anything that has to do with the personal life of a candidate. I don't believe, for example, that a candidate's family is fair game. I never went along with those in the Republican Party who criticized Mr. Truman on the ground that he had Secret Service agents go with Margaret Truman when she took a trip to Europe. I have never gone along with those who criticized President Roosevelt because of some aberrations of some members of his family. It seems to me that the troubles of a man's family are, frankly, none of the public's business. But as to the record, that has got to be mercilessly exposed to light.

Television is not so effective now as it was in 1952. The novelty has worn off. There is a very early point of diminishing returns in using television. Both parties did much of it in the 1956 campaign. People probably got tired of seeing favorite programs thrown off for political speeches. I believe in personal appearances and think the personal touch

is still the most effective way of campaigning. I believe in a campaign of motion. I also think the most effective appearances of a candidate are before nonpolitical forums where he has a chance really to make converts.

Public opinion polls are having an increasing effect each year on elections and on the selection of candidates. There is no question but that a great number of what we call "swing voters" vote for the person they think is likely to win. Once this bandwagon psychology starts, it is very difficult to stop. That's why public opinion polls can have a very devastating effect on the course of campaigns. In the 1958 Congressional campaign one of our biggest problems was that the polls consistently showed Democrats all over the country leading Republicans. There's no question but that a great number of people simply believed that and paid very little attention to the issues. I should point out that polls do not affect the great majority of voters. But the people they do affect--the ten per cent minority who are swing voters--are the ones that frequently control an election.

It is obvious that people like to play winners, they like to be with winners. Winners get favorable treatment. Losers are scorned. I mean, of course, the great mass of people. Only a few, who are students of government, bother to find out "Why did he lose?" Nothing in politics succeeds like success, and nothing hurts more than failure. But it does not last in either case. A person in political life must expect that he will succeed sometimes and fail other times. Franklin Roosevelt, one of the master politicians of all time, suffered a major defeat in his Supreme Court fight. Truman was hurt terribly by what was probably one of the worst losses in recent history--the Democratic loss of Congress in the mid-term election of 1946. Everybody wrote him off; all the experts agreed that he was finished. In 1948 he was elected President on his own. Winston Churchill in 1939 was completely discredited as far as the voters were concerned. Look how he came back and then later lost again.

While the "win" psychology is very important, I always have had the feeling that where the Presidency is concerned, men who eventually come to the top in both parties are those who best understand the issues and best fit the needs of the times. I never felt that a lightweight, an individual with only a superficial understanding of the great national and international issues, could get the nomination. I don't think one will in either party next time--but, of course, it could happen. The people who nominate at conventions invariably select the man they think has the best chance to win. Those who say that Taft's supporters in 1952 were for him whether he could win or not are wrong. The Taft people were not just for Taft. They also were for him because they thought he could win.

## SOCIAL - ECONOMIC SYSTEM

What is wrong with the old Adam Smith philosophy and what should be completely unacceptable to any American (and I would say this particularly to my fellow Republicans) is the idea of the survival of the fittest. Let's put it this way: The fittest should survive, and also the fit should survive. Those who are "unfit" you have to have a social consciousness about, to take care of them. The "survival of the fittest" assumes "the hell with the rest of them." This is wrong, morally and socially, apart from being completely wrong politically.

Unless the system in which you have political freedom proves that it is the most effective in bringing about economic progress, Communism is going to gain increasing adherents throughout the world. We have to bear in mind this essential fact: the terrible poverty and misery that so many people suffer cannot continue to be endured. They know there must be a way out, and they are going to take the way that they think is the quickest and surest, in the long run.

The fear of a temporary budget deficit should not be allowed to put us in a strait jacket that keeps us from doing what is needed to insure economic growth. I am not rigid with regard to the balanced budget in this sense: I think we should approach the budget problems on a five-year basis rather than being bound to one year. There are some years--a recession year, for example, or one where you have a great international crisis--when we all know that it is inevitable and necessary for the budget to be unbalanced. There are other years when we can have surpluses to make up the over-all deficits.

With automation it is inevitable that the working day is going to be reduced. And I believe that we should plan for that day so that leisure time can be used not just for what is really the opiate of the people in the United States--television in its present form--but for developing the tremendous cultural possibilities--in the arts, music, literature--which are possible when our people have the burden of toil lifted from them.

We should not tie down our scientists to the specific inventions which military men or political leaders deem desirable. The greatest advances have been made not when scientists have been told to restrict themselves to certain objectives but when they had complete freedom in basic research to explore the unknown.

Basic research cannot be carried out on a crash basis. The practice of providing huge sums and declaring crash programs only when outside events generate a sense of urgency is dangerously irresponsible. A truth that we must never forget is that where new inventions and knowledge are concerned

there are no monopolies by any people or any nation.

There is a great tendency in this country to go to extremes on things of this kind, and to worship science as an end in itself. It would be most unfortunate for us to try to ape the Russians, to believe that scientific materialism produces the best kind of society. I think all elements of American education--the humanities as well as the scientific--need additional emphasis.

The most fundamental weakness in many of our schools is that students are not allowed to face the challenge of failure. Passing is automatic.... The educators say it is more important to help students adjust to one another and feel the warmth of success than it is to demand rigorous achievement. This approach does not measure up to the reality of life. When students leave school they will find that success is not automatic. Knowledge and achievement will count, not good intentions. In the hard competition of life they will have to face possible failures.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

Our position of world responsibility is new, and consequently we are very impatient every time anything goes wrong in the field of foreign policy. We assume that every policy, every action must immediately be crowned with success. We have to grow up in this regard. We must weigh long-range gains against the short-range defeats that we may suffer.

I would like for us to speak less of the threat of Communism and more of the promise of freedom. We should adopt as our primary objective not the defeat of Communism but the victory of plenty over want, of health over disease, of freedom over tyranny.

Our experience in Hungary is a warning of what we should not do regarding the liberation of the Communist satellites. We certainly should not encourage people to undertake violent revolutions unless we are prepared to help them, and it isn't likely that we will be because of the risk of a world war. What we can do and should do is to encourage at every opportunity those governments which do have the courage to assert some independence of the Soviet Union.

I think at the present time it is wishful thinking to predict a split between Red China and the Soviet Union. I believe they are partners with the same major objectives. That partnership will be bound together not by personal friendships between leaders but by a common adherence to the belief in the Marxist, Leninist, Stalinist theories.

## LABOR

We have not done nearly enough to encourage rank-and-file union members and local union leaders to participate and join in the party. I recognize the fact that at the national level the situation offers very little promise. I certainly don't intend to tailor my position on labor-management legislation to meet what I regard as the extreme position taken by the national leaders because I think it is not in the public interest. On the other hand, I don't think the Republican Party can make a greater mistake than to write off organized labor. It would be bad for the Party and bad for the country. We could not survive as a national party. We already start each election by virtually conceding a hundred House seats and twenty-two Senate seats to the Democrats in the South. Therefore we have to win overwhelmingly in the North and West to catch up. Those are the areas where organized labor and also unorganized labor are very potent political forces. Too many Republicans do not realize that in politics unorganized workers tend to justify themselves with the same issues and same causes as the organized workers. A candidate who gets tagged as being antilabor thereby incurs the opposition of both organized and unorganized labor which, on a national scale, can mean sixty-five million people. There was a time when the Republican Party was known as "the party of the full dinner pail." Unfortunately, the depression served to change that picture and to paint Republicans as "the party of the rich and privileged interests." The Democrats have very studiously continued in every election to charge Republicans with responsibility for the depression. But that issue is receding. In 1956 we got a substantial portion of the labor vote for the same general reason that we got the vote of other segments of the population. In 1958 we lost it because of the recession and because the much-publicized "right-to-work" issue created in the minds of wage earners generally the impression that the Republican party was antilabor, both organized and unorganized. It harmed us not only in California and Ohio and other states where it was on the ballot but also in many states where it was not.

The trouble with most politicians is that whenever they talk to labor leaders they only talk about labor. This is a great mistake. When I talk with Jim Carey or Dave McDonald or others, we talk about the world struggle. We talk about the economy in general. I don't agree with some of their ideas. But there are areas of agreement, and I find this group which represents a very large segment of our society can contribute to solving these problems. I believe that an administration in developing its policy, even though you don't have the support of labor leaders, should call them in and say, "Boys, let's talk this thing over."

I think both labor and business have a right to get into politics. Rather than complain about the political activities of labor leaders, businessmen should devote the same amount of effort to politics to see that their views are also adequately represented.

## CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE SOUTH

I realize that many in the Southern wing of the Democratic Party and some more conservative elements of the Republican Party believe all conservatives ought to get into one party, and all liberals or radicals, depending on which term you apply to the opposite economic philosophy, ought to get into another party, so we could have a clear-cut fight on the issues. I believe in the two-party system, and also that there should be room for differing opinions in both parties. This avoids violent swings from one extreme to another after elections. For the extremists to take over our two parties would encourage such trends. Furthermore, the price of such a coalition to the Republicans would be that we would have to abandon the position that we have traditionally taken on the civil rights issue. That is too great a price to pay, morally and politically, even though generally speaking we can make common cause with Southern conservatives on many economic issues.

There is too much of a tendency to leave the solution of civil rights problems to those who represent the minority groups on both extremes. If we are to progress in this field, people who are not members of either extreme would have to take the leadership.

I think it proper to emphasize that both of our political parties, Republican and Democratic, have a record in the field of civil rights that leaves much to be desired. Since the days of Lincoln a great deal of lip service is paid to the cause of civil rights during each political campaign and at the great party conventions. The same is true with legislation before Congress and the state legislatures. We have to admit honestly that too often speeches and statements supporting an enlightened attitude are made by individuals who know and are satisfied that nothing is going to be done.

Demagogues who advocate impossible legal approaches to the civil rights problem do more harm than good, and invariably set the cause back.

The bright Republican hope for making a major breakthrough in the South has been greatly dimmed by the strong position we have taken on civil rights. I believe that this is a temporary setback. It means we cannot expect to crack the South on a broad scale in the near future. But over a period of time I believe responsible Southern leaders will come to recognize that there are other issues which are more important to the best interests and to the future of the South than that one. They will also come to realize that their extreme position on civil rights is, in the long run, untenable, and it would be best for all to have a two-party system. But even now we should certainly make an effort to attract into the Republican Party Southerners who find our economic philosophy closer to theirs than the philosophy which has been imposed upon the Democratic Party by its National Committee, the ADA, and certain national labor leaders--a philosophy which both the President and I have properly described as radical rather than liberal.



VICE PRESIDENT  
**RICHARD  
NIXON**

ANSWERS QUESTIONS

ABOUT

# Civil Rights

- SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS
- FEDERAL REGISTRARS FOR VOTING
- WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD U. S.
- PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

**Q.** Do you feel that integration in the schools of the South is proceeding at a speed consistent with the spirit of the Supreme Court Decision?

If not, do you recommend any measures to facilitate integration?

**A.** To indicate that the integration program was proceeding at a speed consistent with the Supreme Court Decision I think would be certainly an exaggeration, because as we look at the situation, we realize that this decision has had an effect in the South--which we should not, of course, be surprised at--of building up massive resistance in some areas.

There has been notable progress in several states. I could mention Texas, Oklahoma, Kentucky, and North Carolina in some instances. As far as the future is concerned, I believe that the current program of the Administration is the proper one.

I believe the recommendations that the President has made in his civil rights message will provide the kind of stimulus and leadership that is needed to bring adherence to this decision.

In the final analysis I know that it is very easy for people in political life to come before a northern audience and say those southerners have got to do more about integration.

I think it is well to say here that all of us have got to recognize that this problem of racial relations is not just a southern problem; it is a northern problem too, and it is one that all of us have to recognize isn't going to be solved by a Supreme Court Decision or by a new commission. It is basically going to be solved in the minds and hearts of people.

People in positions of responsibility and leadership, business leaders, educational leaders, people in politics as well, have to provide the kind of leadership which will create the climate in which we not only have a law on the books but we have the will within the minds of the people to obey this law.

It's a long-range process. It is not going to come overnight. I know of no law that would be the solution either in the South or for similar problems that exist in the North. But I do know that when we consider the economic waste of segregation or prejudice, when we also consider what is the most important--the moral issue involved--and when we consider the devastating effect that examples of discrimination and intolerance have on our relations abroad, every American of good will should take upon himself the responsibility in his own community not to look at the other fellow but to see what he can do in his own community to develop the will for finding a solution of the problem of equality of opportunity for all Americans.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question  
of the Economic Club of Detroit in Detroit,  
Michigan, February 15, 1960

#### FEDERAL REGISTRARS FOR VOTING

- Q.** Mr. Vice President, on last September 8 the Commission on Civil Rights recommended certain items of legislation, and among these was one which I quote: "In cases where it is determined that State Registrars have refused to register voters because of race, religion or national origins, the President should be authorized to appoint a Federal Registrar who would register voters until state officials are ready to resume the

task on a non-discriminatory basis."

I would like to ask you, Mr. Vice President, do you support or oppose such legislation?

- A.** As I think all of you are aware, the problem of civil rights has been one that has been under consideration in Washington over the seven years that this Administration has been in power.

We believe that in handling this problem we have made some progress without going to extremes, and yet, progress which I realize is subject to criticism by some who, for honest reasons I am sure, believe that other approaches would have been more in the national interest.

The proposal of the Civil Rights Commission for Federal Registrars in cases where the local authorities do not carry out the law of the land or of the state in allowing voters to be registered, are now under consideration in the Administration and particularly in the Justice Department.

Until the Justice Department and the Administration resolve the policy question, it is not appropriate for me to comment with regard to whether or not this particular provision should be enacted into law. I will, however, give you my general approach to this question, and make perhaps a couple of points that will put the question in context.

Whatever we may think on the issue of civil rights I believe that the great majority of Americans will agree that there is no legal, moral or other justification for denying any American the right to vote.

How this principle can be implemented is difficult. The Civil Rights Bill which was passed by the last Congress has now proved to have been at least a constructive step. Witness, for example, the Louisiana case which was handed down a few days ago. The Civil Rights Commission has indicated that it believes that in other instances, a Registrar may be appointed or should be appointed.

Now I recognize that in answering the question in this way, I have not indicated a personal position, but I think you will understand that the Vice President of the United States, and for that matter, any member of the President's Cabinet, has a responsibility not to, in advance, prejudice a position on a decision that is still under consideration. In conclusion, may I say that as far as our devotion to the principle of the right to vote is concerned, there is no question. The only argument which will be resolved in this Congress is whether the device suggested

by the question is an effective one and whether it is one that will stand the test of constitutionality.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question  
by a student-faculty panel at the University of  
Florida in Gainesville, Florida  
January 15, 1960

WORLD ATTITUDE TOWARD U. S.

**Q.** Vice President Nixon, we're well aware of your goodwill trips abroad into many nations, and we realize that you've traveled extensively in countries where people are other than white.

We wonder what their feeling is about the United States as a leader in the world and our situation of more or less limited integration.

**A.** I recognize that the problem of integration in our schools, for example, is a difficult one in the South. I recognize too that it is not just a Southern problem. In the North, the West, and all over this country there are problems involving segregation and the like. Moreover, it is not particularly appropriate for some of those in the North to point their fingers at the South without, of course, dealing effectively with the problem in their own back yards. But, I also recognize, as I have said many times publicly, that no law can be written that is going to solve this problem in one year, two years, five years.

We know that a law is only as good as the will of the people to obey it. That is why when people talk in a very difficult field such as civil rights, in terms of a legal solution which goes beyond what is attainable, they are simply talking with, I would say, the most naive attitude possible.

And so, we have the two extremes. On the one side there are people who say, "This situation is bad. Let's pass a law which will resolve it." On the other side there are people who say, "This is a situation which we should deal with, and there should be no Federal interference in it."

I think both sides are wrong. I think the position that the Administration has taken is correct. We believe we must make progress in these various fields; that we must fit the law to the problem at hand; that we must not go so far in our legal remedies that we do not honestly expect compliance with the law that we may pass. I believe that what

the Administration attained in the last Civil Rights Bill and what it has recommended to the Congress is a program that is attainable, enforceable, and would have public support of most people.

Having said this, let me relate the problem of civil rights to my travels abroad. I have been in nearly every one of the countries of Asia, to most of those in Africa, to some in the Near East.

In this great complex of countries there are approximately a billion people, and as you have often heard the world is divided into thirds; a third in the Communist world; a third--a billion or so--in the free world; and a third in the so-called neutral world, a term which I question, because as far as these people are concerned, as evidenced by the welcome that President Eisenhower received from them, their hearts are on the side of freedom. There is no question about that.

But these people want economic progress. In addition to that, they also want recognition of their individual dignity as human beings.

Each of these countries are different in religion, dress, language, but they are alike in one respect. Ninety-five percent of them are not white. Every little instance of mistreatment or denial of rights to citizens in this country who are not white is blown up a thousandfold. I do not know of anything that does more harm to U. S. foreign policy abroad than instances of this type.

The answer, of course, is twofold: One, there has to be a better story told abroad about what we are doing in this field. We have made some real progress. The very fact that Americans are concerned about denial of voting rights, denial of adequate education, denial of employment opportunities to our Negro citizens is an indication of potential progress in the future.

If the United States expects to retain its prestige in the world we have to deal with this problem. They do not expect us to solve it magically because they have it too, somewhat in reverse, but we have to deal with it; we must be honest about it, and we must do the best we can.

I would be the last to suggest that I see any easy solution to civil rights. I can assure you that passing a law is not going to solve it. Laws can help in certain areas. In the final analysis, it is going to be solved by the young people who go into the communities in Florida and throughout the South and throughout the North and the West.

In this area of human relations, race relations, labor relations, leadership at the top helps, but basically, we have to have men and women of goodwill at the local level, who recognize the problem, and then patiently work out these very complex and difficult issues in a way that will meet the approval of the community.

The very fact that these questions have been asked tonight speaks well for the future. I am not discouraged about it. I think we have come a long way, in the last ten years particularly. I believe that the young people in our colleges and universities throughout this Nation can render tremendous service in this area and others in providing America the leadership that it needs.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question by a student-faculty panel at the University of Florida in Gainesville, Florida  
January 15, 1960

#### PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS

- Q.** What do you think about our problems in the South? Do you think we should just leave things alone and let time work it out, or do you think that some more Federal Government force should be used to bring about a solution.
- A.** The answer is, of course, we cannot leave it alone. The Federal Government is not leaving it alone; that is why we passed the Voting Referee Bill, which was written by the Attorney General of the United States, and is a very historic bill, which will protect the voting rights which are the essential for all other rights.

As far as what government policy should be though, there is a limitation on it. I have many of my friends who say:

This situation in the South is very bad. And might I just say in that respect, that we in the North and the West should not cast stones at the South without recognizing we have problems in New York and Los Angeles and San Francisco and other places as well. The problem is nationwide; it is more acute in the South, and we should be able to understand it.

But with regard to the South, people say: Why don't we just pass a law that will solve all this problem, a law with regard to lunchrooms, a law with regard to National Fair Employment Practices, etc., etc.

The answer is that, if the law goes further than public opinion can be brought along to support at a particular time, it may prove to do more harm than good. What we have to do is to find that delicate balance, where the law contributes to a solution of the problem rather than creating greater problems than it solves.

The voting-referee proposal is one; the work of the Committee on Government Contracts, where through persuasion and an educational program we convince the people who have government contracts not to discriminate in employment, is another. We must continue to work, to give Federal Government leadership, moral leadership at the top of the very highest quality in order to solve this problem.

But in the final analysis we must remember that Federal law alone will not solve it. Federal law is only a part of the way, part of the solution, and in the final analysis it can only be solved by developing the leadership at the local and state levels, in the church, in the schools, and, of course, in the information media as well. And our national leadership can help to develop it.

I remember my first day in a course on contracts in law school--I had a very distinguished professor, Lon Fuller, who is now Williston Professor at Harvard.

Professor Fuller said: "Now, gentlemen, I'm just going to tell you one rule about contracts that is more important than all the rest." He said, "A contract is only as good as the will of the parties to keep it." A law is also only as good as the will of the parties to keep it. It is so easy to say: Pass a law...and not assume the responsibility which we have to assume as citizens to develop the will among the people to keep it. I would hope that all the people here in this audience, when you go back to your communities, will help in dealing with this problem by developing in the hearts of people the will to keep the law in a field like civil rights.

Because, in the final analysis might I say, this is a domestic problem for us, but there is nothing that harms the United States more abroad than the spectacle of our failing to live up to the precepts of freedom at home. It is not easy, and we must not be intolerant of our friends and neighbors in the South who have this problem. But we must move forward with progress--but with sensible, achievable progress; not with demagoguery, but with the hard work and the leadership that the nation and this problem deserve.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question  
by students at Stanford University in Palo Alto,  
California, April 11, 1960

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VICE PRESIDENT  
**RICHARD  
NIXON**

ANSWERS QUESTIONS  
ABOUT

# Africa

AFRICA AND THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

- Q.** I wonder if you could state in a few words your policy toward Africa and toward South Africa.
- A.** First, of course, when we look at Africa, we have to understand that we can no more refer to it as simply one continent with one tradition and one culture than we can to South America. I say that because most people assume that South America can be described as simply the problem of the Americas. It is, of course, much more homogeneous, but it is also a great mistake to refer to South America without recognizing the individual backgrounds of the different countries.

Now, with that introduction, and ruling out for the moment North Africa with the problems of the Algerians, the Tunisians, the Libyans, the Egyptians, and moving to Central Africa where the spotlight now is focused and then briefly to South Africa...let me, in a few words, describe what I believe the policy of our government should be.

First, we must recognize that Africa today is as important in the world struggle as China was 15 years ago. The Communists recognized the importance of China 25 years ago and even sooner than that. They recognized the importance of Africa 15 years ago. The difficulty with too many of us in the West is that we do not have the sense of history we should have. The difficulty is that we think in terms of the problems that can be solved in 5 years rather than thinking in terms of the half-century or the century as the case might be. And if we continue to think in these ways, we will go down to defeat before people who have a longer-range view of history and who plan for the future.

Africa is potentially the most explosive and potentially, as far as the cause of the free world is concerned vis-a-vis the Communist world, the most critical area of the world today. Two hundred million people who live in Africa hold the balance of power and have great natural resources, much of them untapped. New nations are becoming independent almost month by month, year by year, perhaps ten in the next five years. Nigeria, the largest one with 30,000,000 people is becoming independent next year. The question is: What will happen to these newly independent countries in Central Africa or what is generally described as "Black Africa."

The Communists have been trying to anticipate what will happen and trying to affect it. As I said, they recognized several years ago this importance. They started to support the anti-colonial forces; they attached themselves to the leaders and those who were going to become leaders of these countries. To the extent that they could they tried to orient them towards the Communist way by bringing them to Moscow and other Communist capitals for education, for orientation, with the result that they have made considerable progress in this direction.

In contrast our activities have not been as effective, although we have a better case to sell. But, certainly, the situation is not hopeless by a long shot. While these countries, in view of their colonial tradition, have a natural antipathy in varying degrees to colonialism particularly to the countries that imposed colonial policies on them, nevertheless, the very fact that during those years they were exposed to the culture, the traditions, and the principles of free nations, meant that many of their budding leaders know the difference between freedom and dictatorship. They would prefer to have economic progress with freedom rather than to pay for it by giving up their freedom.

We have to recognize that these countries are determined to have progress and, of course, they need it vitally. Secondly, as far as the economic system they will adopt to get that progress is concerned, we cannot expect our form of economy and economic principles to work in their countries with their high rate of illiteracy and without the trained technicians we have in this country. Thirdly, we must also recognize that these people, the leaders of these countries, must be given every possible opportunity to come to the United States, and to other free countries, for the training, the technical assistance, the advice that they need in order to govern their countries and run their economies. If we give them that choice, they have an alternative, and they will not go the Communist way, in my opinion. But if we take the attitude that it is their problem to get rid of their colonial governments and let them decide it without our aid economically, technically and otherwise, there is not any question in my opinion but that the virulent, tough-minded,

Communist leaders, those already there and those that will be imported into those countries, will prevail.

And so this is the stake for us. The United States, and other nations associated with us, simply cannot leave them to this choice. That is why in the next few years our program for technical assistance, our programs of student exchange, of leader exchange, and our programs of aid through loans to these countries must be stepped up to meet this problem, so that Africa will not fall under the Communist orbit.

The problem of South Africa, of course, is a very tragic one at the moment. I know some have been critical of the position of the United States in the United Nations with regard to condemning the policy of the South African government toward Negroes. Some who have condemned us for taking the position we did have said: This is internal interference in the affairs of this government and if we do this it sets a precedent for the United Nations to say: What about your problem in the South--why aren't you dealing with it more effectively than you are?

The answer to that, of course, is that, while we do have problems in the South, very difficult and grievous ones, they are not the result of Federal Government policy. The law of the land is to the contrary; the law of the land recognizes equality of opportunity for all citizens regardless of race, creed or color. As far as South Africa is concerned, it has adopted a government policy, which, in effect, denies this equality of opportunity which we recognize.

What does the future hold for South Africa? In the long run it has to be worked out and I think it will be. It will not be worked out with the extremist elements sitting in their trenches firing at each other. It will only be worked out as men and women of good will recognize that these two great races have to live together, and over a period of time evolve the social forms that will meet the problem. I emphasize "over a period of time" because traditions that have grown up over a century cannot be changed in a year or two years or three. It will take time there, just as it is taking time in the United States of America.

In summary, then, as I look at the whole problem of Africa, I do not think that in the next 10 years any part of the world will be more important to the free world, and to the Communist world, than Africa. The Communists know it, we have begun to know it, and I am confident that proper leadership by the American Government, with the assistance of our colleagues in the free world will keep Africa from falling into the Communist orbit.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question by a  
student at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California  
on April 11, 1960

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ISSUED BY NIXON VOLUNTEERS  
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VICE PRESIDENT  
**RICHARD  
NIXON**

ANSWERS QUESTIONS

ABOUT

# Economic Policy and Philosophy

- ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY
- THE NATIONAL DEBT
- PROSPECTS FOR TAX REFORM TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC GROWTH
- ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES
- POINT OF DEMARCA-  
TION ON FEDERAL AID
- SHALL WE "DIRECT" OUR ECONOMY
- ROLE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY

- Q.** There has been a good deal of discussion in the press, as I am sure you are aware, of the dimensions of your conservatism and the proportions of your liberalism. This has taken place in the context of whether or not it would be wise for you to go along with liberal aims in order to get more of an independent vote, or a shift in the other direction. Realizing full well the flexibility of these terms and the danger of using them, I would like to ask you, sir, if you have anything other than a middle-of-the-road comment to make on this discussion.
- A.** As you implied in your question, the use of the terms conservative and liberal have been so distorted that unless we discuss specific

programs it is most difficult to classify and divide by one of those terms. As far as I personally am concerned, I believe there is probably nobody in public life today who has, by his votes and by his speeches, more clearly defined where he stands on the economic issues confronting this country and the foreign policy issues confronting this country than I have. I say that having in mind the fact that many of you have written that that is not the case.

I believe in economic conservatism. I am an economic conservative because I believe conservative economic policies provide the surest and best road to progress for the great majority of the American people.

I have often heard people suggest that, because President Eisenhower, for example, opposes a program such as the Forand Bill, which would establish compulsory health insurance for people over the age of 65, he has no concern for those people and is more concerned about the dollars that the program cost. My answer to those critics is: Whose dollars are they talking about? Not his but yours. He has a responsibility to consider the cost of programs in dollars. He also has a great responsibility to consider the cost of those programs insofar as the results to be achieved might be outweighed by the damage that would result. What is the position of a conservative with regard to medical care for the aged, education, better housing, and to all of the progress that Americans want? Our position is that we are conservative not because we are against progress, but because we are for it. We oppose the programs of our liberal friends, not because we oppose the ends to which those programs are directed, but because we know the means they advocate, however well intentioned they are, would in the end cost more than the results achieved would merit.

As a conservative I think the greatest mistake we could make, and this refers to both Republican and Democratic conservatives, for fortunately we have both, would be to leave to those who advocate the so-called liberal point of view a monopoly of concern for the problems of people, concern for better health, better housing, better schools, and all these other things in which people are interested.

As a conservative, I am deeply concerned that the American people continue to have economic, spiritual and moral progress to the maximum extent. As a conservative I oppose liberal programs or radical programs in those cases where those programs are designed and pretend to meet these ends, but where I know that they will not work and ultimately would produce more harm than good.

As a conservative, I point to the record of the last seven years, and I say that, in those seven years when we have had economic conservatism in operation, the American people have had more progress in building schools, in building more hospitals, in raising the relative income of sixty-five million American workers, than they have had in any seven years in the history of this country.

I think that is a good record. I think we should build upon that record.

The only quarrel that I would have with my conservative friends would be this: I completely reject the idea that conservatism means that we simply plant our feet in cement and resist all changes because of our fear of what change would bring.

The rule of life is change. There is going to be change. Our people are a progressive people. They want to move forward.

So conservatism at its best must be progressive. It must look at these great social and economic problems with which we are confronted, oppose the phony schemes and the panaceas, but come up with constructive alternatives which will meet and solve those problems, and produce for the future, while still preserving the best from the past.

This is middle-of-the-road; it is generalities, but that is where I stand.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions  
at the annual meeting of the American Society  
of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D. C.  
April 23, 1960

#### THE NATIONAL DEBT

- Q.** I heard a leading Republican indicate a possible figure of five billion dollars a year as the amount that the American Government and people might set as a goal to pay off the National Debt.

I would like to ask you if you think that is an entirely unreasonable objective?

- A.** It is a reasonable objective, and an appropriate one. As a goal that can be attained, it may be very unrealistic. It would be very much easier for me to say that five billion dollars a year paid off on the national debt

is something we both should and can do, and if we have another Republican President, that is the way to accomplish it.

But I am also aware of the realities of international life, as everybody in this room is. Next year, fortunately, we are going to be able to pay off, or apply on our national debt, unless the Congress does things to the President's budget we do not anticipate, perhaps three billion, or maybe four billion dollars.

However, the amount that the American people are going to be able to set aside for paying on their debt will depend to a primary extent on what happens in the international arena.

Above everything else, the United States must never place itself in the position, militarily, economically, or otherwise, where those who would destroy our freedom and the freedom of others, are looking down our throats. This means that we must pay whatever it costs to maintain our present level of strength, vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and that means enough so that in the event of an attack being launched against us we can destroy their war-making capabilities.

I am unable to say right here today what military costs will be as we move into the future.

But I will say this. If we do not make progress toward disarmament, and this state of world tension continues as it is, I can visualize that those costs, both militarily at home and economically abroad, are going to continue to remain high.

Oh, yes, we can cut some of our domestic expenditures and we shall try to do that. We can make government more efficient. But I could say nothing more misleading to this audience than to assure you that over the next five years, for example, we can pay five billion dollars a year of the national debt. We should set it as a goal, but the primary goal must be the security of America.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions  
at the annual meeting of the American Society  
of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D. C.  
April 23, 1960

PROSPECTS FOR TAX REFORM TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC GROWTH

**Q.** Mr. Nixon, I think it was yesterday you came out for tax reform

if the budget expenditures would justify it. This reform would essentially reduce taxes to raise incentive. You would cut taxes in the upper bracket in order to implement private incentive.

Would this not be a discriminatory tax in the sense that the taxes in the lower income area would remain fixed while the upper tax brackets would enjoy a mitigation?

- A.** First of all, with regard to tax reform or reduction, may I emphasize that throughout this campaign I do not intend to promise the people that if I am elected they can have either reform or reduction categorically. Before we can talk about either tax reduction or tax reform, both of which will result in a reduction of revenue, we have to be sure that we have met our national security responsibilities adequately.

By national security I mean not only defense, but the waging of the non-military campaign which I referred to a moment ago in our discussion of Africa. This is the most decisive part of the world struggle. The battle that is going on there is being won and lost now, and it is one that we cannot afford to lose.

In addition to that, of course, remember our activities in space. All of these are activities that must be taken care of before you can even consider any tax reduction or tax reform. And the reason that you cannot make any promises in this field is that your requirements in these matters depend upon the world situation. They depend on new inventions, and on the cost of space development and of missile production. We cannot predict what these costs will be even six months from now, so I want to make it clear that we are talking about a hypothetical question.

If, after adequately meeting all of our national security responsibilities, there is a surplus which will enable us to have a Tax Bill, I believe that Tax Bill should emphasize tax reform. This tax reform would have as its purpose the stimulating of economic growth.

How do you stimulate economic growth? You stimulate it by encouraging people to invest their savings in industrial plants. One of the ways we can do that is through adjusting our tax system. On this program I cannot indicate specifically what should be done, and I shall not until the campaign comes along. But here are some examples.

You move on the depreciation front. Accelerated depreciation can be most constructive in stimulating economic growth. You move on what I would call the counter-productive higher income bracket taxes. These are counter-productive because at the present time they create what I would call an expense account economy. I think you know what I am talk-

ing about here. Because taxes are so high, people live off expense accounts, in effect, and companies have to pay their top officials in terms of expense accounts as well as in terms of adequate income. Now this is counter-productive and inefficient. By reducing these rates you lose relatively little revenue, yet you release capital for investment in industrial plants. That investment in industrial plants produces progress. It produces more jobs. It produces economic growth.

Now may I say that what I have just suggested has no political sex appeal whatever. I am aware of this. The British were aware of it when they did the same thing a couple of years ago. But I feel that economic growth is essential in this country, and I think the way to economic growth is through expanding the private sector of the economy rather than the government sector. I think government has a responsibility to create a proper climate. We can see that our economy remains competitive through the enforcement of anti-trust laws, but we can also do a great deal of good through reforming our tax system and thereby encouraging and stimulating maximum investment in new plants which will produce more goods and more jobs for Americans.

If we could attain a surplus over expenditures in our national budget, would it not be the wisest thing to meet the public needs for social services, such as education, housing, urban redevelopment and medical research, as opposed to giving money back in terms of reform in the tax structure?

The needs that you refer to can be met only if we have tax income with which to pay the appropriations which those programs would require. The programs to which you refer are not in themselves wealth producing. They meet welfare needs, as you pointed out.

You cannot get the funds to do all of these things in the welfare field unless you have people in the private sector of the economy producing the goods for these programs and producing the profits which are then taxed and which will be used for these purposes.

What I am suggesting, now, is a program of tax reform which would mean a reduction in revenue at the outset, but would also mean an increase in revenue in the end, because it would increase the growth of the economy. What I want to do is get a greater tax base in the end. And the way to do that is through setting a more realistic tax program.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions by  
David Susskind on "Open-End," WNTA-TV, May 15, 1960

**□ ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AGENCIES**

**Q.** Mr. Nixon, you have repeatedly stated that you are opposed to what you call "welfare state-ism." Would you regard social security, the minimum wage and hour law, T. V. A., the Securities Exchange Commission, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and similar agencies of our government as elements of a welfare state?

**A.** No. I regard the programs to which you refer as consistent with the kind of dynamic private enterprise economy which I believe will provide the most goods and services for the American people.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions by  
David Susskind on "Open-End," WNTA-TV, May 15, 1960

**□ POINT OF DEMARCACTION ON FEDERAL AID**

**Q.** How and where then, sir, do you draw the line on the proper sphere of federal aid for social welfare and public need? What is your point of demarcation?

**A.** My point of demarcation is this: Wherever the individual, acting alone or with other people, either in a partnership or a corporation or some other group activity, can do a particular job, or render a particular service more efficiently and less expensively than government can, then I believe that should be the action that we should follow. Whenever the individual, alone or with others, is unable or refuses to render the kind of services that the people need or want, then and only then should government step in.

When government does take steps, I believe it should start at the lowest level and work up to the highest, rather than start at the highest and work down. First, we should see if the local government can do it. Then the state government. And finally, and only as a last resort, the federal government.

Now the activities that you have mentioned--social security, T. V. A. --these are all activities which neither individuals working alone nor the state government could effectively or efficiently handle. Yet they provide services that should be rendered to the people. Consequently, I feel that the federal government had a right and a responsibility to step in.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions by  
David Susskind on "Open-End," WNTA-TV, May 15, 1960

SHALL WE "DIRECT" OUR ECONOMY?

- Q.** If we should work out a disarmament agreement and therefore not have to appropriate so much for the military, what would you use the extra funds for? Would you put it in the public sector--in other words, more government spending, more government projects--or would you put it in the private sector, more for the individual and the like?
- A.** This question is basic, and I would like to say that my answer to it is categorical.

There is a great debate going on at the present time about our so-called "affluent society." There are those who twenty-five years ago, were talking about the fact that too many Americans did not have enough to eat, enough to wear, good enough housing and the good things of life, and that the end of government should be to provide all these things. Now they are saying that the American people as individuals have too much, that there is too much emphasis on materialism, too much emphasis on tail fins, too much emphasis on television, and all that sort of thing... and not enough emphasis on what we call "public needs."

The argument goes that because the American people do not know what is best for themselves, because they would spend too much on these materialistic things and not enough on, shall we say, science and education and other things which are just as important and really more important in the long run, that what we ought to do, since the people do not know what is best for them, is to have more money siphoned off to government so that government may determine what is best for the people. But the trouble with this argument is: What is government? Government, of course, is people too. I just do not accept the philosophy that Big Brother knows best.

I believe that the government has a real responsibility to maintain an adequate national defense and to deal with this world struggle effectively, not only in its military sense but also in the economic sense. And might I say right there that a portion of the savings from disarmament should go into the fight against poverty and misery and disease in other parts of the world. Because, both from the standpoint of humanitarian reasons and from the standpoint of the self-interest of the U. S., that in the long run will be more important than the missiles we buy in determining that struggle.

Once we have taken care of our international obligations, once we have taken care of our national defense, once we have taken care of the necessary requirements for education, for those projects which individuals and states and local government cannot do for themselves,

then I say that I do not believe that the way to a better life for the American people is to funnel more of our funds to government and less to people. I have basic confidence that in the long run people are qualified to make the best decisions about their future. I do not go along with those who say we should increase government spending in order to have greater growth of our economy, in order to have a better life.

I say that government should spend as much as it needs to, but no more, because individuals in our society have the good sense to spend their money in their best interest and in the best interest of the country.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions  
of students at Stanford University, Palo Alto,  
California, April 11, 1960

#### ROLE OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

- Q.** I would ask you, sir, how valid is your argument that the state and local governments are more capable and more efficient than the federal government in meeting the costly, complex, and vast problems of our times?
- A.** The closer you put government to the people, the more efficient and the more responsive government can be. When decisions are made in Washington affecting all parts of this diverse country--the people out in California or in Oregon as well--there has to be a uniformity. But sometimes diversity is a much better approach. The problems of one state vary from those of another. So whenever I can advocate government at a local level, I do so.

I must say, though, that I do this for another reason too, and not only for efficiency. I happen to be a Jeffersonian in this respect. I believe that one of the greatest guarantees of freedom is decentralization. One of the greatest potential enemies of freedom, and dangers to freedom, is centralization of power.

Now in this country we all say, "But nobody would ever dream that the federal government, with the kind of leadership we have, and with our checks and balances, would ever be tyrannical." The answer is, "No, unless you put too much power in the federal government."

I believe the federal government should have the power it needs to do the job that it and only it can do. But if the job can be done by a local or state government, it should be done there.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions by  
David Susskind on "Open-End," WNTA-TV, May 15, 1960

VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD  
NIXON

ANSWERS QUESTIONS

ABOUT

# Education

- FEDERAL AID TO COLLEGES
- THE NEED FOR LOCAL CONTROL  
AND DIVERSITY
- FEDERAL AID FOR TEACHERS' SALARIES
- LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION
- THE EDUCATION LOYALTY OATH

## FEDERAL AID TO COLLEGES

**Q.** Mr. Nixon, during the past few years the major direction of federal aid to education as an aim has been to capital expansion for education such as the Housing Act of 1950, and then in loan and scholarship under the National Defense Act of 1958.

I would like to ask two short questions.

One, do you generally favor an expansion of federal aid to education?

And, more specifically, would you favor scholarship and loan funds to be given with priority to students who were studying in the arts and humanities?

**A.** I believe first with regard to the scholarship and loan funds that we should bear in mind the fact that the national policy with regard to the granting of such funds was developed as a result of the concern in this country over the lag in the production of scientists and engineers. In other words, it was a national security consideration that brought the federal government into the picture whereby the federal government provided the necessary funds for closing the gap. (Not a gap between ourselves vis-a-vis Soviet Union, but the gap which we considered existed as far as our own needs were concerned in the United States in science and engineering.)

Now, as far as any extension of federal aid to education at the college level, I would state briefly my position in this way: First, there is a program which has been carefully worked out by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in which the aid, currently limited simply to the construction of so-called college housing, will be in effect extended also to the construction of classrooms and to other facilities which make up a complete college campus.

What the Congress will do with this, I do not know. I do think this is a constructive approach in which the federal government, through a grant program and through a guaranteed loan program, will help colleges and universities throughout the country to meet their budgets and to provide the necessary funds for construction of these very much needed facilities.

The net result, of course, is that through this kind of aid there is a very direct effect upon the ability of colleges and universities to take better care of the teachers, and to provide more help for the students through scholarships and the like. I believe that this is an effective program, and it is, I think, the best approach to this problem.

In my opinion, as far as education is concerned in this country, there are three needs.

There is a need for buildings.

There is a need as well for better compensation and recognition of teachers.

And there is also a need for better quality standards. The greatest and most important of these needs, of course, is standards.

Directly related to that and more important than buildings is, of course, raising the salaries of teachers. This is a vital need, and certainly all over the country at all levels of education it is one that our

local communities, our state legislatures and school boards must face up to and do a far more effective job than we have.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at the dinner program sponsored by the Businessmen's Advisory Committee of the School of Business Administration of Wayne State University and the Wayne University Chapter of Alpha Kappa Psi, Detroit, Michigan  
February 15, 1960

#### THE NEED FOR LOCAL CONTROL AND DIVERSITY

- Q.** We hear these days a great deal about the deficiencies of American education. We hear, for example, that we are behind the Soviet Union in education; that they are producing more and better scientists and engineers; that they have better discipline than we have. We hear that unless we do something about our educational system we are going to fall behind in this great economic, spiritual and moral competition in which we are engaged in the world today. What should our answer be?

Well, our answer obviously should be one in which we recognize the challenge, because we can never be complacent when confronted by totalitarian power which can concentrate its efforts in particular areas that it may select and make breakthroughs which could have great political significance.

But, on the other hand, in our justifiable concern about the challenge they present and the areas in which they may have moved ahead because of this ability to concentrate, we should not make the mistake of trying to judge our own institutions by their standards.

In other words, the greatest mistake we could make in this country would be to use the communist yardstick to judge the effectiveness and the quality of American education.

There are some things we may be able to learn in this process of self-examination of our educational system today, such as the need for more discipline, the need for more concentration on science and engineering where the national security requires it.

But, on the other hand, we should not forget that the needs of a free society as far as education is concerned are altogether different from those of the communist or the totalitarian society. We need men and

women coming from our colleges and our universities who are something more than simply scientific and technical automatons. They must be people who can assume the responsibilities of citizens in a free society. That is why the emphasis on the humanities and the emphasis upon the grave responsibilities that every American citizen has toward his fellow man here and abroad has been good in our educational system.

In our understandable desire not to fall behind in the technical fields, let us continue to place proper emphasis on the humanities and on the responsibilities that we have as citizens in our educational process.

This brings me, of course, to your institutions. We hear a great deal about what the federal government can do. There are some who ask: Why can't we have far greater federal responsibility for education at the primary level, the secondary level and the college level as well?

There are some things the federal government can and should do. The Defense Education Act is a good example. The College Housing Act is a good example. I believe that the President's program for aid for school construction to needy districts is a good example.

But I would also suggest that those who, with the very best of intentions, say that not only should the federal government move into the construction area but it should also move into the whole area of subsidizing the operations of our public school system are overlooking another very important principle that is one of the great strengths of a free society and of a free country--local control of our educational system.

The concentration of power is one of the major enemies of freedom, and that is why it seems to me that any program of federal aid must be one which recognizes local control.

Another very important principle for us to bear in mind is that the hallmark of freedom is diversity. We do not want our educational standards established either in Washington or, for that matter, in the state capitol, and made absolutely uniform for all of the people and all of the students in all of the schools.

There is a need for coordination. There is a need for leadership. But we must recognize that diversity in education, as in every other field, is one of the guarantees of freedom. The very fact that each one of your colleges differ in their curricula, in their approach, is one of the guarantees of freedom.

By your support of private colleges, of private universities, you are helping our educational system generally, and you are helping to preserve the principles of freedom in which we all believe.

--Vice President Nixon in his remarks to the  
Detroit Committee for Seven Eastern Women's  
Colleges, Inc., Detroit, Michigan  
February 15, 1960

FEDERAL AID FOR TEACHERS' SALARIES

- Q.** Mr. Nixon, how do you explain your recent negative vote in the Senate on the Federal Aid Education Bill several days ago?
- A.** The vote on what you have termed aid to education, as you will recall, involved an amendment which would have provided direct federal aid for subsidizing teachers' salaries in the elementary and secondary public schools of the United States.

I have often expressed the view that there is no more important problem in American education today than raising the compensation for our teachers and according them the recognition which they deserve.

I also believe very strongly in another principle, and that is that one of the great strengths of a free economy is local control of the educational process. The closer we can have the control and operation of our school system to the people, the more chance we have to avoid the development of a centralized all-powerful bureaucracy and remote control of something as important as what is taught the new generation of Americans.

Our problem in the case of federal aid to education is how do we reconcile these two problems: one, teachers should be paid more, and two, the fact that we want local control rather than federal control.

It is my opinion, and it is the opinion of the President and of this Administration, that there is a way to reconcile it. We believe that the federal government should limit its aid in the case of education to construction. Because where construction is involved, there is no color of control whatever. We believe that by limiting aid to a program of construction there will be two effects.

In the plan itself, recognition is given to those districts that make an extra effort for paying more for teachers than districts around them. In addition to that, by making money available for construction, it means

that in those states which receive the aid, money can then be diverted from construction to teachers' pay, so indirectly teachers will benefit.

In essence, my view is that the only proper position for those who believe, as I do, in the principle of local control of our educational system--and who also believe that education is of the highest priority and that raising teachers' salary is essential to realizing that objective--is through the Administration's program.

I hope the Congress acts upon it because I would say that if the approach of the Congress as it finally leaves the Senate and the House is one which provides direct subsidies to teachers, there will be no aid to education this year. There will be an issue but not progress in the problem.

There is a way to get progress in the problem, and that is through a program which follows, at least in general terms, the President's recommendations.

--Vice President Nixon at a news conference  
in Detroit, Michigan, February 15, 1960

#### LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR EDUCATION

- Q.** Mr. Nixon, what do you suggest that the citizens and industry do to follow through more completely on a program of local control and support of schools?
- A.** I can speak with some feeling on this score. I understand that as a result of this dinner, a few scholarships may be available. I can tell you that if there had not been a lot of scholarships available at the Duke University Law School, I would not be standing here today. It is only because there were scholarships made available by people in business and industry that I was able to go to school, as perhaps is the case with many of you here.

So, first of all, there is a real responsibility, which the businessmen in this area have recognized as far as this institution is concerned, to contribute time, energy and money for the betterment of the standards of teaching, and also to increase the opportunities for young people to go to school.

Now, let me also refer to another phase of the question with regard to the support of our local and primary public schools. I often have people come to Washington, members of some of our great business

associations, who say: We are unalterably against federal aid to education, period.

They are honest in this opposition. They are against the school construction provisions which I favor, which the President favors, and they say they are against it because they think even that much federal aid might result in federal control. They say this is a local responsibility.

And then the same people go back and vote against a school bond that will build the school or provide the necessary funds for teachers. That is completely irresponsible, and that is the kind of activity that has to be avoided and has to be worked against.

If we are going to have local control and local responsibility, this means that the local people have to assume it. It means that the local people must look at the scale of salaries for their teachers; they must look at the adequacy of the schoolrooms; they must look at the standards which are maintained in their schools and then do what is necessary to maintain or raise them.

It seems to me that by just such groups as The Business Advisory Committee--businessmen who could sit in their individual businesses making profits and showing no concern at all about the community around them or the state problems--recognizing they have a responsibility for better education provides an excellent example to people throughout the country.

I hope that as a result of this great debate--about teachers' salaries which are too low and about education in general--there will be a greater sense of responsibility on the part of businessmen, professional men and others in local communities throughout this country who should take the initiative in raising the standards of American education.

If the local communities won't raise the standards, the inevitable result is going to have to be, of course, a federal program--and this most of us believe would be a mistake.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions  
at the dinner program sponsored by the  
Businessmen's Advisory Committee of the  
School of Business Administration of Wayne  
State University and the Wayne University  
Chapter of Alpha Kappa Psi, Detroit, Michigan  
February 15, 1960

THE EDUCATION LOYALTY OATH

**Q.** The California Democratic Council, Mr. Vice President, adopted a resolution calling for the immediate repeal of loyalty oaths or, as they put it, non-disloyalty oaths. What would your reaction be to such a move?

**A.** I assume they might have been referring both to state and Federal law, and I think I should comment perhaps on a specific case involving the loyalty oath required for students who apply for scholarships under the National Defense Education Act.

In my opinion, where a student is receiving assistance from the government under this Act, he should sign an affirmative oath of loyalty. After all, the purpose of the Federal program in this instance is to train scientists and engineers who will, we presume, in the future work on projects that might have something to do with the national defense.

On the other hand, I believe that the Administration's position, which we have announced during the past few months, to the effect that an oath on the negative side--indicating not only that affirmatively I am loyal, but saying I also state that I am not disloyal--is superfluous and should not be required. So, my position is that we should have an affirmative loyalty oath. I do not believe the negative oath is necessary.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions  
from a panel of newsmen on Profile Bay Area,  
Station KQED, San Francisco, California  
February 19, 1960

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ANSWERS QUESTIONS

ABOUT

# Foreign Trade And Aid

- IMPORTS FROM THE FAR EAST
- FOREIGN AID OR MUTUAL SECURITY
- FOREIGN AID AND TRADE

## IMPORTS FROM THE FAR EAST

- Q.** What is being done, and what consideration is being given about the cheap imports that we seem to be getting into this country. I speak in particular about textiles particularly from Hong Kong and from Japan. There have been some instances where manufacturers have picked their factories up lock, stock and barrel--or taken their key personnel--out of areas such as Los Angeles, and moved to Japan to take advantage of the cheap labor. And their goods, of course, come back into this country to compete against the goods made here. Would you have some comments upon that, please.
- A.** This, of course, is a very complex issue, but I can give you some indication certainly of what my own thinking is and also what the Administration's position is with regard to it.

In the first place, I think we have to recognize that the days when the United States could even consider building a wall of protection around it are gone so far as our international policy is concerned. At the present time, what we are doing is retaining those tariff restrictions which are necessary to protect our industries in those instances where, because of differences in costs and rates

and so forth, there would be a tremendous hardship on industries here by failing to provide that protection. In the long run, though, the policy of the United States must be toward more trade in this world rather than less.

We, of course, are well aware of the fact that as a result of the imports from Japan, for example, there has been a growing sentiment in this country among our manufacturers--and others affected--for establishing quota restrictions or raising tariff barriers to give protection to manufacturers here.

Rather than establishing quotas--turning the clock back, in effect, away from trade rather than toward more trade--we have consulted with the government of Japan. The Japanese, in instance after instance, have themselves adopted on a voluntary basis restrictions on the amount that they will send into the United States, so that this competitive position of our own industry can be maintained. This is not, I realize, a complete answer to every case of hardship involved, but I think that when we consider the general problems involved, the United States position of working toward greater trade with countries throughout the world is the only sustainable one that we can take in view of our world responsibilities. We should take that view, however, having in mind the additional responsibility we have toward our own domestic industry and make as certain as we can that undue hardship is not worked upon them in a transition period from one type of production to another which might have to occur.

-- Vice President Nixon in response to a question at a public forum in Fresno, California on February 18, 1960

FOREIGN AID OR MUTUAL SECURITY

- Q.** Do you believe that foreign aid should be a permanent part of our foreign policy--a long-range program or do you feel it is a temporary stopgap against communism?
- A.** Well, I think I can answer that question by saying that communism is not temporary.

The communist threat, I think, is going to continue to exist for our lifetime, and one of the greatest mistakes that we in the Free World make is to fail to take the long view.

We Americans are an impatient people. We want to solve all of the problems with which we are confronted in two years, three years, four years, five years, and if they are not solved, we say: Let's get a new program to solve it.

One thing about our communist opponents is that they do not think in terms of five years or even of this generation. They are willing to wait. They have dedication. But also they have stamina, and what we need on our side is dedication, which I am sure we have, but we also need stamina, even more than they have.

In that connection, as far as the communist threat is concerned, they have presently ruled out, because of this balance of terror that exists the old philosophy of Stalin and his predecessor that called for the use of aggressive force as a means of extending communism. Khrushchev now says: We challenge the United States and the Free World to peaceful competition.

What does he mean by this? He means competition economically, ideologically and in every phase of life except the moral and spiritual, in which we have an advantage that they are never going to be able to meet. This competition is going to take place in Africa, and in the near East. It is also going to take place even in parts of the Free World. Latin America is getting, of course, its share of attention in this respect.

What do we do about this? The easy thing to do is to say: The United States should be concerned about its own defenses; we should not be spending any money helping the economies of India, Afghanistan, Ghana and these other countries.

If we made that decision, we would be surrendering to the communists much more surely than if we were to allow them not just a missile gap but a deterrent gap and resign ourselves to it.

Let me tell you why. Today there are approximately a billion people in the Free World. There are a billion people in the communist world. There are a billion people in Asia, Africa and the near East and they represent the balance of power. Where that part of the world goes will determine the world struggle.

Therefore, it is vitally important that the United States together with our allies must not leave the millions of people in India and these other nations with the terrible choice of progress without freedom or no progress at all. The choice for these people must be progress with freedom, not progress without freedom.

That is why our program of developmental loans and the rest has been adopted. It is a relatively modest one. Looking to the future, I can think of no more important phase of U. S. foreign policy than for us to continue to work with our allies not only in maintaining our military defenses, which will avoid an all-out shooting war, but also working with them in seeing to it that the countries of the great uncommitted areas of the world can have economic progress with our assistance, with our advice, so that they are not confronted with the terrible alternative of turning to the communists and becoming communist satellites.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question at a program of the Detroit Committee for Seven Eastern Women's Colleges, Inc. at Detroit, Michigan on February 15, 1960

FOREIGN AID AND TRADE

- Q.** The progress and prosperity and the fate of the unevenly developed countries in the world, and of some of the other countries outside the Communist orbit, depend primarily upon two American policies: one is the infusion of large amounts of foreign capital into the economy of these slow developing countries; and, two, the maintenance of trade policies in this country that will permit them to find markets outside of the Communist regimes. I would like to ask the Vice President to comment on this problem.
- A.** As you can imagine, this is a question which could take a great deal of time. But in order to give you an idea as to my concern in this field and of my philosophy, let me try to state my position as concisely but as directly as possible.

I noticed that one of my friends who is a candidate for the office that I hope to seek talked about the missile gap. I have already stated to you that I think it is vitally important and necessary that the United States maintain its military strength at levels which I have described. However, more important than that, from the standpoint of the freedom and the security of 170 million Americans, is for the United States to recognize that our greatest danger is that we will lose the world, not because of military weakness but because of our failure to mount a greater effort in the areas of the non-military conflict of the world struggle.

You spoke of the so-called newly developing countries of the world. I have visited most of them. I have also had the opportunity to see

parts of Latin America. I can assure you that in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America as well, the future of every American is being decided today. Our missiles are important to avoid a war in the future, or to win it if it is fought, if it can be won, but to avoid it if possible.

Your question relates to a war that is going on right now. Unless the United States recognizes the aspects of this war, that it is economic in character, that it is ideological in character, that it is political in character, and develops programs to meet it in all these aspects, we will go down to a defeat which will take longer, but which will be just as certain as if a great atomic war were started against us at a time that we were defenseless.

I do not think there is anything more unpopular today than for a man in public life to get up and say that he is for technical assistance, loans for countries abroad, so-called foreign aid, and the like. It is much easier to get up and say, "Well, I am not going to build a dam in Afghanistan until we get the one down in such and such a county in Texas." It is much easier to get up and say, "Why should we give technical assistance and aid to the hungry in India when we are not doing enough for those in West Virginia."

We are all concerned about the hungry in West Virginia and the dams in Texas and California, but I can assure you that if we leave to the people of Africa--and there will be 26 countries in Africa in ten years, more than in Latin America--Asia and South America, the grim alternative of getting economic progress at the cost of freedom, or not having it, they are going to take it at the cost of freedom.

The people and leaders of these countries do not want totalitarianism. That is why they received President Eisenhower as they did. But, on the other hand, they want progress. You have never seen poverty until you have seen it in some of these countries. So, if the only way for them to go forward is to get progress without freedom, that is what they will take.

But it is not necessary to leave them that grim alternative. It is possible to have progress with and through freedom. I do not mean by this the tremendously big handout, improperly organized, inefficient, full of graft. But I mean a sound program, one that is designed to meet the problems of these countries, one that is designed to fill the vacuum as the colonial powers move back and as they get their self-government and their independence. We must enable these people to see the vision of the future, not just one way but another way, a vision where they can have progress but still retain independence and at least a degree of freedom to the extent that they want it.

That is what foreign aid, so-called, is all about in the technical area. That is what the developmental loans are all about. That is why I would trust that in this campaign both the Presidential candidates would lead strongly in this area so that the American people will rise to this challenge, meet it effectively, and support in the Congress the funds that are necessary.

I would say one further thing with regard to trade. I had a very interesting talk recently with several labor leaders who came to see me and expressed their interest in legislation presently before the Senate. They expressed their concern about the competition of goods produced in Japan and other foreign countries by cheap labor. I said, "Does this mean that the AF of L-CIO, which traditionally has taken the position of support of reciprocal trade, is now changing its position?" Their answer was, "No". But they said, "We have to be more responsible and the foreign nations must be more responsible, in at least voluntarily establishing quotas so that we do not have terrible damage and hardship worked upon domestic industries in the United States."

I think they are correct in that respect. I think there must be developed and negotiated through our State Department voluntary action on the part of potential competitors in this respect.

But let us make no mistake about it: If the United States should turn away now from its traditional policy of reciprocal trade, if we should turn to Japan, for example, and say, "We are going to have to raise artificial tariff barriers, we are going to have to establish by law quotas on your production", then you don't have to worry about Communist China, because Japan will have no choice but to turn that way herself.

We can win. We can win because, as I have indicated, the leaders of these nations are oriented our way. They are more at home with us than they are with the communist leaders. They do not want the grim drabness and uniformity that anyone who visits the Soviet Union can see characterizes Russian life.

But, on the other hand, they must offer to their people progress. We cannot give them the progress, but we can help them develop the means to provide it, and that is why I feel so strongly that this is just as important as getting missiles, and that it must be an essential in the United States foreign policy in the next ten years.

-- Vice President Nixon in response to a question at the Annual Meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Washington, D. C. on April 23, 1960

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ANSWERS QUESTIONS  
ABOUT  
**International  
Communism**

- KHRUSHCHEV'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUMMIT MEETING'S BREAK-UP
- NON-RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO DIS-ARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS
- IS U. S. POSITION BECOMING MORE UNTENABLE
- AMENDMENT TO ALLOW VISITS OF AMERICAN NEWSMEN TO CHINA
- CAN WE TRUST THE RUSSIANS
- TRADE WITH THE U. S. S. R.
- THE WAVE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

KHRUSHCHEV'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUMMIT MEETING'S BREAK-UP

I believe it might be appropriate on this occasion to say just a word about recent world developments. I do that because I know that, if we had the time to sit and talk in detail, that the first question from your lips would be the one that is in the headlines of all the newspapers: What about the developments in Paris? What has Mr. Khrushchev done? Is our reaction a proper one? What does the future hold? I cannot cover that in detail, but since I know that each of you--if we could talk personally--would ask me that. I'd like to answer it briefly tonight.

First of all, as far as this development is concerned-- Mr. Khrushchev's breaking up the Summit Conference--I will express the opinion tonight, as I have earlier today to the press, that he has made probably the major blunder from a propaganda standpoint in his career to date as Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. And he does not make many blunders, because I know this man reasonably well, he is a very astute man, he is very quick on the trigger, he, despite

what you might think, is not one who is given to saying things that he does not mean in the heat of the moment. He thinks things through coldly and objectively, and more often than not is using his temper rather than losing it. But in this instance his using the U-2 incident, not really as a reason in my opinion, (he said it was a reason), but as an excuse to break up the Summit Conference, was a major error, and he overplayed his hand in two respects which I should like to mention.

In the first place, he thought that world opinion would be with him, because world opinion, in the first two or three days after the news of this plane being shot down traveled around the world, seemed to be on his side and he thought, apparently, that he could therefore say that because this plane incident occurred just before the Summit, that this and this alone was such a horrible thing and was so shocking to him that this gave him reason and justification for breaking up a conference which had to deal with Berlin, with disarmament, with tests and all the other great problems in which the world is interested.

But the world was wiser than he gave it credit for. And today, starting last night and proceeding through today and probably tonight as well, all over the world the reaction pours in. And the reaction is one that certainly should not have surprised him and certainly does not surprise us, because they saw through this...the people of the world recognized that here this man, this man who is no babe in the woods when it comes to espionage activities, perhaps the master espionage director in the world today, could not have been as surprised or shocked as he claimed to be, and under the circumstances, then, certainly this could not be a reason for him to do what he did. And so consequently Mr. Khrushchev finds that rather than leaving the Summit Conference with a propaganda triumph, he leaves the Summit Conference as the man that all the world looks upon as the wrecker of the Conference, the one that torpedoed it. And so he misjudged world opinion.

He made a second mistake, in my opinion. I think he misjudged his man in the insult that he gratuitously gave to the President of the United States. He apparently thought that the President was a man who, when Mr. Khrushchev confronted him with the alternative of either abjectly apologizing for attempting to protect the security of the United States through gaining information which would protect us from surprise attack and then punishing those responsible for it and the alternative of Mr. Khrushchev breaking up the conference, would back down. Of course, on the contrary the President stood his ground, as I'm sure all of the American people agreed he should, and properly said to Mr. Khrushchev that if he really was concerned about these incidents, there was a way to deal with the problem constructively and that was to

open HIS country, as we have opened and will open our country, to impartial inspection by aerial means through the open skies proposal which the President made in 1955 and which, of course, he has renewed; this time inspections to be conducted by the United Nations.

And here again the President, from a defensive position, takes the offensive. Because the responsibility, then, for blocking the road to an agreement which would remove, or at least reduce the danger of surprise attack again rests on Mr. Khrushchev.

And so, I would say finally in this respect that as far as the President of the United States is concerned, his action was justified, it was the only proper action that he could take and, as a matter of fact, if we are to talk about apologies it would seem to me that it might well be suggested that Mr. Khrushchev apologize to the United States and all of the other free nations of the world for his breaking up this conference and for the thousands of espionage agents which now and in the past he has working throughout the world and throughout the United States as well.

Now, having said this, what is the line for the future and what will happen? I can only say that I believe the course for the United States should be this: We should continue to be firm. We should be firm but not be belligerent, which has been the President's attitude throughout his Presidency and which should be the attitude of the United States in the years ahead. We should make it clear that we are willing to talk and negotiate, as we have in the final communique, at any time on disarmament, on tests, on Berlin, any one of these issues that will reduce world tension. But we should continue to make it clear that surrender, not only of ourselves but of the rights of free peoples anywhere--including the rights of the free people of Berlin--is too high a price to pay for a settlement with the Soviet Union, or any other nation for that matter.

What will his reaction be? We cannot predict that reaction. I can only say that certainly the course of action for us is clear, and that as far as Mr. Khrushchev himself is concerned, he has his own problems and he is aware, as we are, of the catastrophe that might come if he presses to the point of no return at the diplomatic table or elsewhere.

And so with that, may I conclude this portion of my remarks simply with these words. These are times in this country when we obviously are concerned for the peace of the world and for the right of men and women to be free, for the justice which we enjoy here and which we believe should be the right of men and women all over the world. As we are so concerned, let us never forget that we not only need strong and firm leadership at the top in the President of the United States, but we need stamina and determination on the part of the people of the United States.

We must recognize the fact that the United States IS a strong nation, not only militarily, as we are; not only economically, as we are; but MOST important--strong in our spirit, strong in our will: recognizing that the great strength of this country is not alone in its arms or in its factories or in its great wealth, but is in its moral and spiritual strength. This we must recognize, and if we do, and if we work to build that strength, the United States under the leadership of its President and its Secretary of State--whoever that President and that Secretary of State may be--will be able to continue to lead the free world toward peace with justice in the world.

May I just add that when we hear these days so much about the United States being a second-class power militarily, our economy being second-rate--with the Soviet Union growing faster than we are and about to overtake us--when we hear that we're inferior in education, inferior in science and all these other things; then let me say that although we need and should welcome good constructive criticism, we should not allow it to obscure the fact that America today is still, and under the proper leadership will remain, the strongest nation militarily, economically and morally in the world today.

-- Vice President Nixon at the Testimonial Dinner for  
Congressman John Taber, in Auburn, New York,  
May 17, 1960

NON-RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA AND ITS RELATIONS TO  
DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

- Q.** There has been a lot of talk lately about the failing of East-West relations, and the question raised is whether or not this means there will be any modification of the policy of the United States toward the recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations.
- A.** My answer is--No. I want to go a step further than that though and say why, because the emotional reaction that most of us would have with regard to the recognition of Red China would be: No, we should not do it. I think it is essential that we know why we do not recognize a government which controls 600 million people. Because the arguments on the other side can be fairly persuasive at times, and they can take in, frankly, a lot of well-meaning, a lot of well-intentioned people who are just as much dedicated to American principles, just as opposed to Communism as the people in this room are.

The reasons, I believe, that it would be a mistake to recognize Red China and support its admission to the United Nations are: it would be

detrimental to the cause of freedom in Asia--and that means for the whole world. If Red China is admitted to the United Nations, this means that the United Nations is in effect saying that it qualifies under the Charter of the United Nations as a "peace-loving" nation. Does it? At the present time it is in defiance of the United Nations in Korea. We have American boys over there on the lines with other United Nations' troops--some of you will be going there, of course, when your draft numbers come up. In addition to that, Red China defies the precepts of the United Nations with its bellicose attitude toward India... It certainly was violating all the principles of the United Nations in what it did with the Tibetans... It is attempting to stir up opposition to governments which are recognized members of the United Nations through subversive activities. And, of course, as far as the United States is concerned, it retains--in violation of all international law--prisoners without giving any explanation and without making the necessary retribution that any civilized nation would make in dealing with a similar situation.

And so if the United States were to recognize Red China, if we were to support its admission to the U. N., we would in effect say that from a moral standpoint we overlook all of these violations of international law and we take an outlaw nation and give it what it needs and what it wants--respectability. If we give it that respectability, in my opinion, you can be sure that its influence in Asia particularly--and the world in general--will be immensely increased--and it is great as it is. When we deny it that respectability, at least we are giving support to the proponents of freedom in Vietnam, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, in Japan, in India--all the countries in the Asian and South Asian complex who at best are having a difficult time maintaining their positions against the subversive elements who would like to see Communism come to those countries.

And so I say that until Red China changes its policy so that it qualifies to be recognized as a respected member of the Family of Nations, the United States has no honorable course and certainly it can follow no moral course other than to do as we have been doing in the past: (1) to refuse to recognize it on our own part; and (2) to oppose its admission to the United Nations.

Now the question has arisen: What are we going to do about disarmament? What are we going to do about relations with the United Nations, with this great bloc of 600 million people, if we do not recognize them? Well, the answer, of course, is: We can have relations with the country without recognition. We have been, for two years, negotiating with the United Nations' representatives in Geneva about the prisoners they are illegally holding. And there can be negotiations on the whole question of disarmament without our coming to the point of recognizing them.

So, looking way ahead...if Communist China changes its ways, if it conforms to international standards, if it desists in these activities which are reprehensible to freedom-loving people throughout the world, then it will qualify for recognition and admission to the U. N. Until it does, the United States should remain firm against such recognition.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions from students at the University of San Francisco, San Francisco, California, April 12, 1960

IS U. S. POSITION BECOMING MORE UNTENABLE

**Q.** I have a second question. That is about whether or not our position on Red China does not grow increasingly untenable within the United Nations because of our Afro-Asian Allies.

**A.** And friends, I should say, because many of them are not allies but friends. Of course there is increasing pressure from some of the newly developing and newly independent nations of the Afro-Asian bloc. But that does not mean that our policy is wrong. It means that we must continue to exert leadership for what we believe is right.

In my opinion admission of Red China to the United Nations now, and its recognition by the United States could well set in motion a chain of events in Southeast Asia which would result in the Communization of the area.

While we do not expect this policy of ours to be continued forever, but certainly we do have a right and a responsibility to insist that a nation that asks for admission to the United Nations, or that we intend to recognize, must comply with the rules. Red China has not done so yet. And so my answer again is that when Red China changes its policy particularly of defying the United Nations itself, then and only then can and should the United States change its policy.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions by David Susskind on "Open End," WNTA Television, May 15, 1960

AMENDMENT TO ALLOW VISITS OF AMERICAN NEWSMEN TO CHINA

**Q.** A final and short question about China. Would you personally favor some amendment of current State Department provisions which prohibit ac-

credited America newspapermen from visiting China? Should not we open at least that avenue of information to ourselves?

- A.** While I am not too familiar with all the latest changes in this policy, I understand that about two years ago as a result of a new policy, the Department of State tried to get some newspapermen into Red China. Some roadblocks were raised.

As far as I can see, the obtaining of information about Red China through news sources is helpful and constructive. But we must remember that in order for newsmen to enter Red China, the Red Chinese have to agree to it as well.

MR. SUSSKIND: But you would favor our permitting that, from our point of view.

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON: I cannot announce or initiate any change in policy. That is the prerogative of the President and the Secretary of State. I am simply stating the general proposition that it is usually constructive and helpful in relations between nations to get adequate and objective information, even though we do not have recognition.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions by  
David Susskind on "Open End," WNTA Television,  
May 15, 1960

#### CAN WE TRUST THE RUSSIANS

- Q.** How far can we trust the Russian diplomats in light of their past history of broken promises and treaties?
- A.** I think perhaps the best way to answer that question is to give you an analogy that was presented to me prior to my trip to the Soviet Union.

I was talking to a man who is an expert on Soviet affairs, who formerly was with the State Department. The question that arose was put this way: Is Mr. Khrushchev sincere when he says he is for disarmament? Is he sincere when he says he is for peace and for peaceful competition, ruling out the use of force as a means of realizing the objectives of world domination by the Communist system?

And his comment was this. He said: You shouldn't even use the word "sincere" for purposes of describing what Mr. Khrushchev or any other Communist is doing, because as far as the Communist is concerned his standards with regard to motives are different from ours.

The Communist is a materialist. We in the West basically are idealists. "Sincere" is a word that describes an idealist. It is one that does not describe the materialist.

And then he used an analogy. He said: You can no more describe a Communist motive as being sincere than you can describe a table or chair as being sincere, because it is impossible as far as the Communist is concerned for him to think in Western idealistic terms insofar as his motives are involved.

Now, let us go a step further. On the other hand, he said, this does not mean that Mr. Khrushchev may not be for disarmament at this time. It does not mean that Mr. Khrushchev and the Communist leaders are not for peace. It does not mean that they may not want an accommodation with the western powers on Berlin and other matters.

It only means that in determining whether or not they want these things we should not try to look into their motives and say: Well, they are sincere because they love peace as an end in itself, or disarmament as an end in itself.

What we must do is to put ourselves in their place. As far as they are concerned, what is their objective? Their objective was, is now, will continue to be a Communist world. Therefore anything they stand for in the field of foreign policy must be designed to further that objective. At the present time, being for disarmament better serves that objective than being against it because of their desire to gain support among the uncommitted peoples of the world, and also because they need more consumer goods for the hard-working Russian workers.

They would like to divert some of their tremendous burden of armament to consumer goods. And the same would be true with regard to analyzing whether or not they are for accommodation on Berlin or any other settlement.

And so the answer to the question is this: I think that it is a very dangerous and unrealistic attitude to attempt to determine the Communists motives by our standards.

I think what we have to bear in mind constantly is that the Communist is a materialist, a realist and a fanatically dedicated individual determined to do everything that he can that will serve his end of dominating the world with the Communist system.

If we judge every one of the Communist motives or every one of the Communist actions in terms of whether or not he might believe that his

action would serve that end, we will be much closer to a true analysis of what he really wants or thinks at the moment than we would if we say: Well, has Mr. Khrushchev changed? And has he given up his ideas of world conquest? Is he sincere in his dedication for peace and his affection for the United States and the American people, et cetera?

This should be our answer: We will meet the Communists at the conference table. We will discuss disarmament. We will discuss other outstanding issues between us.

But we will always have in mind that what counts are his deeds rather than his words.

We must always have in mind that his motives may be different from ours, because the moment we try to determine them by our standards, we fall into a great error.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question at the program of the Detroit Committee for Seven Eastern Women's Colleges, Inc., in Detroit, Michigan,  
February 15, 1960

TRADE WITH THE U.S.S.R.

- Q.** In regard to Mr. Khrushchev's statements earlier last year--about the U.S.S.R. effort to defeat the United States in an economic war, do you think that even though he has made these statements that there will be a lessening or loosening of trade restrictions between our two countries?
- A.** Mr. Khrushchev in his visit here reiterated his oft-stated position that they were going to engage in economic competition. He means it and he expects to compete and hopes to overtake us. --Does this mean that we will not see, therefore, any program toward relaxing trade restrictions between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. ?

As long as tensions exist in the world, as a result of aggressive policies of the U.S.S.R. which brought about trade restrictions, those restrictions insofar as strategic goods are concerned will have to remain. Once the U.S.S.R. changes its policies which have created these tensions, once we can be convinced that there is no good reason to fear that they will use their power aggressively against us, then the restrictions on trade and strategic goods can be lifted to an extent.

We should be under no illusions about how much trade could be increased between the Soviet Union and the United States with a lifting of

restrictions, because basically at the present time the question is not whether the Soviet Union wants to buy things from us, but whether they have anything to sell to us in return.

Let's take on item, manganese. We used to buy manganese from the Soviet Union, and then as a result of their policy shortly after the war they cut off the market from us. We went to India, we went to Turkey and we developed new sources for manganese. Now at the present time the Soviet Union would like to sell manganese to us so that they could buy things in return. After they took the initiative to deny us this product, do we now turn to the Indians and the Turks and say, "You built these mines up, but we're not going to buy from you, since the Soviet Union is going to let us buy from them again?" Of course not.

That is exactly the way I talked to Mr. Khrushchev when we talked about this point. It is the way other people in foreign policy positions must talk. In the long run it's the policy of the United States, not only with regard to the Soviet Union, but with other countries as well, that we desire to lower the barriers which presently restrict trade between countries, because we believe that where nations trade with each other that this is one of the most salutary ways to reduce potential tensions between countries.

In the case of the Soviet Union the basic problems are two: one, in strategic goods, which will continue to exist, as long as their policies are as they are; and, two, with regard to their ability to develop products that they can sell to us in return for what they buy.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at the California Newspaper Publishers Association Convention in Los Angeles, California, February 6, 1960

#### THE WAVE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

- Q.** Do you think that incidents of anti-Semitism in Germany might stem from the fact that there is anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union? In other words, could the Communists be stimulating anti-Semitism, since that is a policy followed in the Soviet Union?
- A.** First of all, might I say that the premise of your question is a correct one. One of the most disgraceful records of anti-Semitism in the world today is the record of the Soviet Government. It is a record that is not well enough known but it is one which our experts in the field are well aware of. Second, I would seriously doubt myself that these incidents in Germany are stimulated from the Soviet Union. It could be, but I doubt it. It would seem to me it is probably more likely, and here I am guessing, of course, that

some extremist engaged in an incident and then others got the idea and it spread like bad news will spread through a particular area. It is somewhat catching. What do we do about it? I think first of all we, in fairness, have to recognize that Chancellor Adenauer, and the current German Government have taken a very statesmanlike and firm stand against anti-Semitism in Germany and this is one of the most encouraging factors in the whole scene.

The mass of opinion today in Western Germany is completely against anti-Semitism and the fact that the reaction to these various incidents was as strong as it was should be very encouraging to people who are concerned about anti-Semitic outbreaks there or in other parts of the world. We have to realize in this whole area of racial and religious prejudice that it runs beneath the surface. Whenever any instances of prejudice show up, people of good will must take affirmative steps to see to it that those instances are very effectively and quickly dealt with. I believe that the attitude of the German Government has been admirable in this respect and certainly the attitude of the people in the United States and our Government has been admirable as well.

Let me close with this thought. I recall that I had brought home to me what can happen to a country when prejudices which are beneath the surface are allowed to exist or to get out of hand. I had this brought home to me when I visited the ghetto in Poland. We went to the ghetto and we saw the terrible rooms where over 200,000 people of Jewish faith were killed by the Nazis in World War II. I saw there, what can happen when this kind of force is allowed to run rampant and I could appreciate why it is very important that all of us who believe in freedom of religion and press and expression must stand firmly against evidences of racial or religious or any other kind of prejudice and stand firmly for the equality of opportunity in every respect which has made this country great.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at the  
California Newspaper Publishers Association Convention  
in Los Angeles, California, February 6, 1960

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VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD  
NIXON

ANSWERS QUESTIONS  
ABOUT  
**Labor**

- LABOR LEGISLATION
- THE STEEL STRIKE SETTLEMENT

LABOR LEGISLATION

- Q.** Mr. Nixon, in view of the problems to the country posed by this steel strike, do you favor any legislation on steps to curb big union monopolies, as some people call them, or to limit their power, or to apply perhaps anti-trust legislation to big unions such as the Steel Workers or the Auto Workers?
- A.** Starting with the last part of the question first, anti-trust legislation has often been suggested as a possible remedy for excessive power in unions as it presently is used to curb excessive power in corporations.

I think this is an unrealistic view, and that where those who offer this kind of legislation are concerned, they have not examined this situation carefully because the problem is very different in the case of unions than it is in the corporations. I do not think the effect of anti-trust legislation would be to realize the objective which those who favor it would want to realize.

What is needed in the case of excessive union power is not a shotgun approach, but an approach, in which you aim at specific

abuses--in effect, with a rifle.

Now, the Landrum-Griffin Bill, which has been much criticized by some sections of labor, I think was the proper approach. It struck at secondary boycotts, at jurisdictional strikes and at internal union practices in which union members particularly were harmed by the practice of some unscrupulous union leaders.

But when you attempt to attack the problem with an overall approach which lumps all unions together, I think it is ineffective and unrealistic and unworkable.

As far as the power of both union and management are concerned, the recent steel settlement brought very effectively to the attention of the country the problem which is involved when we have great power in our industrial complex concentrated, power so great that a dispute can go on so long that the public interest is endangered.

As far as I'm concerned, I am currently making a study of this concentration of power to see what legislative approaches could be made which would protect the public interest in these disputes from excessive use of power by labor or by management.

--Vice President Nixon at a news conference in Detroit, Michigan, February 15, 1960

#### THE STEEL STRIKE SETTLEMENT

- Q.** Mr. Vice President, in view of the fact that organized labor reportedly has never looked on you as a complete friend, how do you explain the fact that the steel strike settlement, with which you were credited to a great extent, was publicized as being more or less pro-labor?
- A.** It is very difficult, of course, to know why a settlement like that is characterized as it is. I would characterize the settlement as being neither pro-labor nor pro-management. It was one, as a matter of fact, which neither party was willing to make unless we recommended the settlement that we did.

I should point out in this respect, for example, that from the standpoint of the union the settlement was 30 percent less in company costs than the pattern that the union had negotiated without a strike from the can and aluminum companies. Now this does not mean that it was not in the best interests of the union to settle--I think it was--that

is why they settled. But I also think it was in the best interests of management to settle, because I am convinced, and they apparently were also convinced, that this settlement was less than half as great as the pattern of all settlements since the war. In the opinion of the steel companies, it was less than they would have had to pay had they gone for the Donneybrook of an election on the company's last offer, which the union was bound to win. Those are the factors that motivated the management, and I would say the union was motivated by the natural concern and the very justifiable concern of Mr. McDonald and Mr. Goldberg--that they did not want to go into another massive struggle with the men going out on strike again.

Now, one other point I would like to make. With regard to my relationships with labor, I note some rather amusing comments to the effect that I threatened the steel companies and got them to settle in order to gain the support of Mr. McDonald and the union. Of course, anyone who is familiar with the political situation would know that was a rather naive view. As I have said since the settlement, Mr. McDonald is a very active Democrat--I respect him for that--and I expect him to support the Democratic candidate.

On the other hand, I think it is vitally important that whoever might be in the office of President of the United States, regardless of what support he may receive from union labor or any other segment of the economy, must keep the doors of communication open so that when situations do arise where his office can be used to settle conflicts, he can do it effectively. That is what I have tried to do where Mr. McDonald is concerned and other union leaders. I do not expect their support, however, for having done that.

--Vice President Nixon at a news conference in  
Sacramento, California, February 17, 1960

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Vice President  
RICHARD  
NIXON

His Welcoming Address  
At the Sixth  
Seato Council of Ministers  
Meeting

May 31, 1960

I am honored to extend on behalf of President Eisenhower a warm welcome to the distinguished delegations attending this Sixth Conference of the Council of Ministers of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. I know that I speak for all the American people in expressing the hope that your stay here will be a pleasant one and that your deliberations will further the peaceful purposes to which this organization is dedicated.

Nothing could have more vividly pointed up the need for collective security organizations like SEATO than Mr. Khrushchev's conduct at the Paris Summit meeting. Consequently, I believe it would be appropriate as this conference opens to consider how the developments in Paris have changed the international climate and what policies the Free World in general and SEATO in particular should adopt to meet the new situation.

No constructive purpose would be served by attempting to review in detail the events which led up to Mr. Khrushchev's breaking up of the conference. Mr. Khrushchev himself must now be beginning to realize that he has made a major propaganda blunder--not only in shattering the world's hopes for progress toward peace by scuttling the conference, but in claiming that the reason for his conduct was his shock at discovering that the United States was engaged in intelligence activities to protect itself from surprise attack. By this patent subterfuge he has only called attention again to the most insidious web of espionage and subversion the world has ever known--the apparatus maintained by the Communist organization which he heads.

But while it is proper to note that Mr. Khrushchev's hands are not

clean it would be a tragedy to allow the debate over the Summit to degenerate into a sordid squabble over who spied on whom with each side defending itself by saying "you're another."

In the first place, for us in the Free World, the distasteful business of gathering intelligence in peacetime is not a matter of choice. It is a matter of necessity for protecting ourselves against surprise attack. For the Communist nations the use of espionage and subversion in peacetime has been and is a standard instrument of conquest directed against every non-Communist nation in the world.

But even more important we must recognize that espionage is only a symptom of a disease; it is an effect, not a cause of world tension. The cause is the threat to the peace of the world presented by the aggressive policies and power of the Communist nations. It was this cause that the Summit Conference was designed to deal with. Mr. Khrushchev must assume sole responsibility for blocking discussions which might have produced progress in resolving some of the basic issues which threaten the peace of the world.

Mr. Khrushchev's conduct since the Summit has been somewhat ambiguous. His words have been bellicose, intemperate and illmannered. But his deeds have been restrained.

I think we all will agree that the conduct of President de Gaulle, Prime Minister Macmillan and President Eisenhower both at and since the Conference has been exemplary in the face of great provocation. To respond in kind to Mr. Khrushchev's insulting remarks would serve no useful purpose. Trading of insults would only result in a war of words which might raise the temperature of world conflict to the igniting point which would set off nuclear destruction.

This does not, of course, mean that retreat or appeasement should be our course. If one fact has become clear in international relations it is that peace cannot be purchased by weakness and concessions on the part of free nations. It does mean that we should be guided by one all-important principle in these critical years ahead if we are to keep our differences from resulting in war--firmness without belligerency.

As the President pointed out in his report to the nation, diplomatic firmness must be combined with military strength adequate to deter any potential aggressor. And despite our disappointment at the results of the Summit meeting, we must and shall continue to explore every possible avenue for negotiating the outstanding differences we have with the Communist nations. The outcome at Paris changes our attitude in this

area in only one respect. While we do not rule out any meeting which might contribute to the cause of peace, certainly the world will now have greater confidence in the traditional methods of diplomacy and in discussions in the United Nations than in the summity on which Mr. Khrushchev has in the past insisted.

As a result of developments of these past few weeks the necessity of maintaining SEATO and other collective security organizations is of even greater importance than it was before. For its part, the United States in acting as host for the Council of Ministers solemnly renews its pledge of fidelity to SEATO and its determination fully to carry out its SEATO commitment.

SEATO was formed when Communist aggression was directly challenging Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and other countries of Southeast Asia and when the unity of the non-Communist countries was by no means so clear as it is today. In the six years of its existence, overt Communist aggression has been deterred. But probing actions, indirect aggression and subversion have continued. We need recall only the events of the past year--the incidents along the Indian-Chinese frontiers, the rebellion in Laos stimulated across the North Vietnamese border, the continuing Communist-instigated violence in South Viet Nam. But while Communism has not changed materially in these six years, the free countries of the area have gained greatly in strength at home and in their posture of preparedness and solidarity.

As we look to the future of Southeast Asia it is interesting to note the reaction of the Chinese Communist government to the developments at Paris. Peiping, almost unique among the capitals of the world, has received the news of Mr. Khrushchev's sabotage at Paris with undisguised satisfaction. The Chinese Communists have long been openly disgruntled with even the appearance of peaceful intent by the Soviet leaders. Since Chairman Mao's 100 flowers flourished with the alarming vitality of liberty, the Chinese Communists have made no secret of their unswerving adherence to the Stalinist line. As recently as two months before the Summit Conference, Chairman Mao caused to be published throughout the country his thinly veiled suggestions that rather than fearing an atomic war, a third world war might assure his ultimate goal of a Communist world.

The Chinese Communists have seized upon the failure of the Conference as an opportunity for renewed emphasis on the "orthodox" Communist philosophy of the need for force as an essential ingredient in world Communist tactics. In the world in which we live today, this emphasis is as dangerous as it is anachronistic. Fortunately, there are good indications even since the Paris conference that this view is not shared by

Mr. Khrushchev.

The record of SEATO as a defensive military alliance is an impressive one. SEATO also has been designed to cope with more subtle threats than overt aggression, particularly with Communist subversion. Much progress has been made in the field of exchanging experience and information and in strengthening our societies against internal dangers. Under Article III of the SEATO treaty the United States has been able to participate actively through its several instrumentalities for economic cooperation in common efforts to strengthen free institutions and to cooperate in economic measure of technical assistance designed to promote economic progress and social well-being.

We must recognize, however, that no matter how strong and effective SEATO and our other organizations of collective security may be, they by themselves are not an adequate answer to the challenge of Communism in this last half of the 20th Century. We are always careful to emphasize that SEATO, NATO and CENTO are defensive alliances. This is certainly correct in fact, and from a military standpoint it is the only just and proper function of an alliance.

But economically and ideologically, defense is not enough to meet the offensive on which the Communists are embarked throughout the world.

Let us examine the nature of the Communist challenge. The Communists believe that time is on their side. They believe they are on the wave of the future because they have a clear purpose--the Communist domination of the world. Whatever we may think of the Communist idea, it is positive, it is on the march, and it offers change to millions of people who want change.

Our answer to this challenge cannot be to adopt the antithesis of the Communist purpose. No one of the free nations desires to dominate the world. The very essence of our belief is that each nation should have the right to choose the kind of government and economic system it wants.

And it is a wholly inadequate answer to the challenge of Communism to adopt as our sole purpose the defense of the non-Communist world against the change the Communists would impose. This is admittedly a worthwhile goal in itself for those of us who know the deadly tyranny of Communist rule and the mirage of Communist promises. But it is not enough for those who are determined to change their desperate plight.

We are living in what has been called a revolution of expectations. I have no doubt but that the great majority of the leaders and people of the

newly developing nations would prefer to realize their expectations of progress toward a better life without losing their freedom and independence. But if the choice with which they are confronted is progress Communist style at the cost of freedom or no progress, they will take Communism.

Our answer, therefore, must be progress with freedom, not only for ourselves but for other people throughout the world. Let us recognize that if we are to win this battle our sole and primary aim must not be the negative objective of fighting Communism. The proud peoples of Asia, Africa and the Near East understandably resent being treated as pawns in a struggle between great powers for world domination.

If there were no Communism there would still be poverty, misery, disease and tyranny in the world. And we who live in more fortunate circumstances would consider it our obligation as members of the world community to cooperate with other peoples in achieving the economic progress to which they are entitled. In other words, we must wage a war on poverty, misery, and disease wherever they exist because they are evils in themselves. As we succeed in this grand endeavor, the evil seeds of Communism will find no soil in which to grow.

This I submit is a purpose worthy of the proud heritage of the peoples so splendidly represented at this conference today.

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Vice President  
**RICHARD**  
**NIXON**  
in This Letter Discusses  
**The STEEL STRIKE**  
**SETTLEMENT**

COPY



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1960

Mr. Alexander F. Jones  
Executive Editor  
Syracuse Herald-Journal  
Syracuse 1, New York

Dear Casey:

I greatly appreciated your letter of January 5 and particularly the candor and frankness with which you discussed the steel settlement.

I realize that a number of questions have been raised as to the settlement and the role that Secretary Mitchell and I played with regard to it. I think perhaps the best way to answer those questions is to review the factors which led to our mediation efforts and the alternatives which confronted us.

As you will recall, just before the President left on his trip abroad, he said in his television address to the nation: "It is up to labor and management... to adjust responsibly and equitably their differences... what great news it would be if, during the course of this journey, I should receive word of a settlement of this steel controversy that is fair to the workers, fair to management and above all fair to the American people."

The first question the Secretary and I undertook to explore was whether the President's expressed desire for a settlement could be realized without some new mediation action on our part. Our preliminary discussions with representatives of both sides convinced us that there was no chance whatever for a settlement unless some new initiative was undertaken to bring them together.

We, therefore, asked Mr. Blough and other top management representatives and Mr. McDonald and other representatives of the union whether they wished us to attempt to mediate the dispute. While both sides indicated that they did not feel there was too much hope that they could reach a negotiated settlement, they agreed that such a procedure was worth trying and that they would cooperate to the extent possible. This was the origin of the meetings which took place in my home in which Secretary Mitchell, Mr. Blough, Mr. McDonald, Mr. Goldberg and I participated.

At the beginning of these negotiations, the possibilities of settlement seemed hopeless. The companies' offer was for a wage-benefit package which the companies estimated would add 31¢ to their costs over a period of thirty months. In addition, the companies asked for revision of Section 2B of the contract so that management would have more control over local work practices which they felt was essential for increased efficiency.

The union completely opposed any changes in the work practices provision of the contract. On the economic side, Mr. McDonald at our first meeting bluntly stated, "I cannot settle with the steel companies for less than the amount that I received from Can and Aluminum without a strike." I think it is important at this point to recall that our negotiations began the week that he had completed his negotiation of the Aluminum contract. And the companies' computation of what McDonald contended was the Can and Aluminum pattern was an increased wage-benefit cost of 52¢ for thirty months.

In other words, at the beginning of the negotiations, the companies were offering a 31¢ increase over 30 months as against 52¢ demanded by the union and the parties were in complete disagreement on the local work practices issue. During our first few meetings we made very little progress. At a meeting in my home two days before Christmas, the negotiations reached a point where both sides refused to move any further in the direction of an agreement and there seemed to be a hopeless deadlock.

It was at that point that the Secretary and I talked to Mr. Blough and Mr. McDonald separately and asked whether they thought it might be useful if we were to consult individually with each party and recommend an amount in between their two positions which each would be completely free to accept or reject if he saw fit.

Both agreed that this course of action might be helpful and after two days of intense negotiations and discussions and consultation with the President, we recommended the figure of 41¢ which both the union and

management voluntarily accepted. As far as the work practices issue was concerned, the best that we were able to get the union to agree to was to set up a study commission with a neutral chairman.

I realize that a number of questions have been raised as to why we recommended the amount that we did. I think the answers to those questions can be found when we examine the bargaining position of each party.

Mr. McDonald came to these negotiations in a stronger position than the companies. He had just won from Aluminum and Can without a strike higher settlements than the one he eventually agreed to accept with the steel companies. Polls that he had taken (and incidentally, the polls the companies had taken substantiated his claims in this respect) indicated that the union members would vote down the companies' last offer by a majority of over 90%. He also believed that if the dispute were not settled and had to be sent to the Congress by the President he would do better in a Congress heavily dominated by members elected with union support in an election year than would the companies. Considering the strong bargaining position of the union, their agreement to a settlement which was less than the pattern that they had been able to negotiate with Can and Aluminum was, in my opinion, a major achievement.

Looking at the settlement from the standpoint of the companies, no one questions but that they agreed to an amount which was greater than they thought could be absorbed by increased worker productivity, though it is entirely conceivable that the rising efficiency between now and 1962 could offset the increase in labor costs during this period. In addition, the companies failed to win substantial concessions on the work rules issue. But company representatives have pointed out some of these positive factors which led them to agree to the recommended settlement.

1. The amount they settled for was lower than any offer they had been able to get from the union during the course of their negotiations up to that time.

2. It was less than 1/2 of the post-war pattern in wage-benefit increases in the steel industry. For example, in the last steel contract the wage-benefit increase was 81¢ for three years as compared with 41¢ for thirty months on this occasion.

3. As Conrad Cooper, the chief negotiator for the companies has stated, the amount of this settlement was 30% less in company costs than would have been the case had the Can, Aluminum and Kaiser patterns been applied to steel. In other words, this settlement rather than setting off a new pattern of higher wage increases was actually lower than the pattern in wage settlements already established in 1959 and checked, rather than increased, the so-called "ripple" of increased wage costs.

4. The cost of living escalator provision, which had resulted in a 17¢ wage increase over the three years of the previous contract, was finally limited in this contract to a maximum of 6¢ over thirty months. In addition, it is provided that if the insurance costs which the company has assumed under the contract prove to be greater than the amount estimated, the excess costs will be deducted from any cost of living increases which may have accrued.

A basic question which many have raised is whether a better result in the end would have been achieved had the Secretary and I not offered our good offices for mediation of the dispute at this time. This, of course, is a matter of judgment on which there can be an honest disagreement of opinion. I can only indicate my own appraisal as to what would have happened had we not acted as we did.

In my opinion, the price the union would have insisted upon would inevitably have gone up rather than down. It seems only logical to conclude that after the union had won an overwhelming victory rejecting the companies' last offer they would have insisted on an even higher settlement than they accepted at the present time. I also believe that if the parties had failed to agree after the union rejected the companies' last offer and the President, as required by law, had submitted the dispute to Congress any government-imposed settlement that the Congress would have brought about through compulsory arbitration, plant seizure or some other government device, would have been higher than the one agreed upon at this point.

I recognize that there are those who have suggested that it would have been better in the long run to allow the issue to go to the Congress so that the Congress could meet head-on the whole question of too much power in the hands of the union as well as management. I can only say that any objective observer would have to agree that there could be nothing more irresponsible than to place before the Congress in an election year the complicated and potentially explosive issue of labor-management relations.

In my opinion, the result would not only have been a government-imposed settlement of this dispute but a real possibility of the enactment of permanent legislation which would have provided for some form of government-imposed compulsory arbitration in all major labor disputes. I don't need to tell you that government arbitration means government wage fixing and that government wage fixing inevitably means government price fixing. Once we get into this vicious circle not only collective bargaining but the productive private enterprise system, as we know it, is doomed.

I would be the last to contend that there could not be honest differences of opinion as to the wisdom of the course of action the Secretary and

I followed in mediating this dispute. But after weighing all the factors involved, we concluded that our failure to do everything possible to bring about a voluntary settlement at this time would have been highly detrimental to the public interest.

As Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth, I am acutely aware of the dangers of inflation which can arise from wage increases that consistently exceed increases in productivity. But on the plus side it should be noted that while the wage-benefit increase was greater than the companies wanted to pay, this was the first contract since the war in which the increase was such that the companies did not find it necessary to increase prices at the time the contract went into force. Whether price increases can be avoided in the future will depend to a great extent upon how the union and the companies carry out the President's injunction in his State of the Union message that... "the national interest demands that in the period of industrial peace which has been assured by the new contract, both management and labor make every possible effort to increase efficiency and productivity in the manufacture of steel so that price increases can be avoided."

Incidentally, I believe that one of the constructive results of the long fight the companies made on the work rule issue was that it focused nationwide attention on the critical necessity of increasing our efficiency and productivity if we are to maintain our competitive position in the world.

As I told the representatives of the major companies and the union at a dinner in my home after the settlement, the people of the country will not tolerate another massive struggle of this type in the steel industry. Their interest, as well as that of the country at large, will be at stake as they explore every possible means of increasing productivity, reducing costs, and improving relations between union and management during the period of this contract.

For my part, I intend to continue my studies of this problem with a view to determining what legislative action might be taken which would provide better protection for the public interest in the settlement of labor-management disputes and at the same time not impair the basic strength of our private enterprise economy.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

(signed)

Richard Nixon

# Correspondence and Editorial Comment Regarding the Steel Strike Settlement

The vicious cost-of-living escalator clause in the contract, which cost the company 17¢ an hour during the last three-year contract period, has been materially watered down in two respects: (1) the maximum cost-of-living increase that will be involved over the 30-month contract period on wages is 6¢ and (2) against this 6¢, the companies are permitted to charge all costs in increases in the insurance package which may occur during the contract period. Our people estimate that, on the basis of past experience, insurance costs will increase over 4¢ during the period, so that the net effect should be only a 2¢ increase in cost-of-living.

In addition, as a result of the steel negotiations these benefits have occurred:

The American public has been alerted as never before to:

1. The tremendous power of monopolistic labor unions where one union can shut down the entire basic industry of the country and endanger the health and safety of the nation.
2. The dangers to the national economy of wage-push inflation and the danger of ever increasing employment costs to attempts by American industry to compete with foreign made steel, both in our export markets and in our domestic markets.
3. The dangers to the economy of feather bedding and wasteful work practices.

On the local work rules issue while we did not get the arbitration we desired we did get public pledges from the union leaders that they would cooperate in increasing efficiency and eliminating waste. To me the spirit of the union leaders at all levels in working out matters in this area is more important than language in the basic contract. We did succeed in keeping out of the contract any restrictive language whatsoever on our right to make changes in machinery, equipment and processes--so-called automation changes.

As Vice President Nixon outlined the situation to us, we found ourselves in this position: practically the only weapon at our command was the great prestige of the President of the United States and his desires to have the settlement made promptly on a non-inflationary basis. This, the Vice President assured us, he had used to the ultimate in his discussion with Messrs. McDonald and Goldberg to bring the price of the settlement down from 52¢ to the 39¢ we finally agreed to accept. On the other hand, as the Vice President pointed out, we were confronted with these facts:

1. The union had surrounded us by making settlements with the alumini-

- 2 -



## REPUBLIC STEEL CORPORATION

GENERAL OFFICES REPUBLIC BUILDING

CLEVELAND 1, OHIO

January 11, 1960

C. M. WHITE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

### PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Directors, Republic Steel Corporation

Gentlemen:

On Saturday morning last Republic executed a new labor agreement with the Steelworkers Union covering its production and maintenance employees in its steel and manufacturing plants and a separate labor agreement covering its employees in its iron ore mines. A copy of the agreement covering the steel plants and of memoranda outlining the economic changes are enclosed.

While the steel industry failed to achieve its full goals in the settlement nevertheless the settlement is a great deal better than the public has been led to believe from the information which has come out so far. The increase in employment costs of the steel settlement to the steel industry is from 3-1/2% to 3-3/4% per year. We estimate that the Can, Aluminum and Kaise settlements would have increased our employment costs approximately 4.7% to 5% if they had been accepted by the steel industry, or nearly 30% more than we actually settled for.

When you consider that the last three-year contract cost the steel industry 81¢ per hour, whereas the present one costs 39¢ over the period, you will see immediately that, while we have not fully achieved our objective of settling by an increase of 2.6% or less (the average productivity gain in the steel industry during the last ten years), we have made a material gain in reducing wage costs over former contract settlements. As a matter of fact, increases in employment costs in the steel industry since 1940 have averaged more than 7-1/2% per year, while the current settlement averages out, as I said before, to only 3-1/2% to 3-3/4%, a very material reduction.

num industry and the can industry, and it would be difficult for them to settle with us for anything less and justify it to their constituents.

2. We were coming up to a vote on the companies' last offer which the government officials felt the union would win handily, with the result that the union's position would be stiffened and strengthened.

3. And, most importantly, the Congress was about to convene and having passed at the last session the Landrum-Griffith Bill against labor it was in a mood to do something for labor and would probably pass legislation which would be unfriendly not only to the steel industry but to all industry in this country, such as authorizing seizure of an industry by the government with freezing of wages, prices and profits, or compulsory arbitration of the issues in dispute. The Vice President felt strongly that at the end of the road we would not make a better settlement, and probably a worse one than he and Mitchell could recommend to us then without incurring all the risks of bad legislation.

Despite the fact that we were reluctant to do it, we had to admit that his logic was correct and that the wise course to pursue was to accept the recommendations made to us by him and Mitchell. I had occasion during this period to see the Vice President in action and my already favorable impression of him was greatly enhanced. I must say, too, that he got a real first-hand education in practical labor negotiations and the terrific power wielded by union leaders. He did an outstanding job and a real service for his country. Incidentally, despite what McDonald said, no one in the steel industry ever heard of or from Joe Kennedy and he had nothing whatsoever to do with bringing about this settlement.

In conclusion may I say that I am convinced that the settlement recommended by the government and accepted by the industry was the best settlement, in my opinion, that we could have had, either before the strike, during the strike or after resumption of operations under the Taft-Hartley Act.

The enclosed editorial from the Wall Street Journal of a few days ago to my mind sums up in good fashion the situation which confronts this country.

With kindest regards and looking forward to seeing you at the Directors' meeting next week, I am

CMW:nc  
Enc.

Sincerely yours,

# REVIEW and OUTLOOK

## The Steel Settlement

There is no use pretending. The steel settlement is not only a political victory for the union but it also gives a big upward thrust to the inflationary wage-price spiral.

This is so despite the fact that the settlement is, as U.S. Steel Chairman Roger Blough says, "less inflationary" than others in the past or that the steel companies may forego price increases now. For no matter how you slice it, the new contract adds upwards of a billion dollars to the wage costs of this basic industry, leaves the companies as helpless as ever before wasteful union work-rules, and gives an upward bias to all new wage negotiations in other industries.

Further, the contract almost guarantees a continuation of the inflation spiral in the future. Indeed, the heaviest cost burdens will not fall on the industry until the second and third years, which makes the present "no price increase" promise an illusion. And not the least of its evils is that the new contract leaves the American steel industry, already hard pressed by foreign producers, less able to meet world competition.

Yet after all this has been said it is also true—given the circumstances that existed at the bargaining table—that this is as good a settlement as the country had any right to expect. Vice President Nixon's efforts have probably spared the nation's economy something worse.

To unravel this seeming paradox, and to take the full measure of what the nation has to contend with, it is necessary to look for a moment at those circumstances surrounding the bargaining table these past few days.

\* \* \*

The two parties, labor and management, were by no means equal. The union had already closed down almost the whole of the steel industry for a period of four months, and as the New Year turned it was quite plain that it could, and probably would, do so again. In the Taft-Hartley election, a few days hence, the union members would vote to support the union leaders for reasons of "solidarity," if for no other.

Mr. McDonald's union had previously obtained from the aluminum and can industries a pay-package which, con-

verted to the steel industry's higher and different pay scale, would have meant the equivalent of 47 to 48 cents in additional steel wage costs. With the Taft-Hartley vote behind him, and the earlier pay package dangling before the membership, Mr. McDonald would be under less pressure to settle than he had been before.

Moreover, the steel companies had before them the clear prospect that the absence of a settlement this month would mean some form of compulsory settlement forced by the Government. The Taft-Hartley law requires the President to put the case to Congress, and Congress was clearly in the mood to write a law to force a settlement.

Such an enforced settlement in the present political circumstances, as both Mr. McDonald and the steel companies well knew, would be a compromise—something less, perhaps, than the asking price of the union (about 47 cents) but a good deal more than the company's offer (about 33 cents) or than what might presently be settled for.

So here, then, was a set of circumstances that put Mr. McDonald in the catbird seat. He possessed a power held by no other person in the land—the power to close down the whole of a vital industry and to keep it closed down, if necessary, until both the steel companies and the country knuckled under. Paralysis the country would not endure; if the companies didn't knuckle, Congress would settle things for them.

Thus the union leaders had little to lose by waiting. The companies could do no better by waiting, and might do worse. The country, economically, would surely have fared worse from a waiting—it would have had to endure a resumption of the steel strike and, in the end, an enforced settlement no less inflationary than what it now has.

It was into this situation that Mr. Nixon stepped. If he suggested a compromise, a "something in between" the two figures, what else was there to suggest? What else would a Government arbitration board have decreed? Arbitration implies compromise, and the union's demand was sufficiently high to insure a big boost from any compromise.

The result was inevitable. Thirty-nine cents, forty or forty one; no mat-

ter. The union had the power. The country seems willing to tolerate that power. Given that circumstance, the end was bound to be as it was.

There is no use pretending, either, that the result will be any different in the future, so long as the same circumstances prevail.

When the highwayman has a pistol at a man's head, it is foolish prattle to talk about how he should stand on principle or blame him because he yields. Nor is it any great blessing that the highwayman takes, perhaps, a little less than he might have demanded—although it can, of course, be a relief if he does. The only protection is for society to take away the instrument of force.

So it is equally foolish to think that the steel industry, or any other, is going to stand fast and hold the line against the inflationary wage-price spiral when it is confronted with a power such as is now held by the labor unions. All the devices of amelioration which have been suggested in Congress—extension of the Taft-Hartley injunctions, compulsory arbitration or wage fixing by boards—will not ameliorate the relentless upward pressure on wages, on costs and hence, on prices.

The most such things can do is to brake the rise a little if, as happened here, a union is persuaded to take a little less than it might have obtained by fighting further. Indeed, it is a credit to Mr. Nixon, or somebody, that he persuaded Mr. McDonald that it was better to get so much without further struggle than to pay that price for a little bit more. We are indebted to Mr. McDonald's recognition that enough is enough.

\* \* \*

This was not a "good" settlement for the industry, for the country—or even, we suspect, for the steel workers themselves. Even they lost more from the strike than they will put in their pockets for a long time to come, and those who labor in the mills will be the chief losers as those mills are less able to meet the competition of others.

It was simply as good a settlement as the country has had in steel, or can ever expect so long as the country permits any union to hold up the country until it extorts what it wishes.

# Steel Heads Say Pressure Came in Fear of Congress

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17.—Executives of the various steel companies have been reviewing what really happened in the settlement of the steel strike, and most of them have come to the conclusion that maybe the final agreement reached was not as bad for them as it has been painted.

There is a tendency to agree with what President Eisenhower said about the pressure of "circumstances," rather than the pressure of government, as the paramount influence in bringing about the settlement.

The head of one company puts it this way:

"We have been in this wage-price spiral for twenty-odd years. You can't stop a great wave of that kind dead in its tracks all at one crack. We've made a great effort in the steel business to try to stop it. We made some mistakes as we went along but, by and large, we tried our best to slow the thing down."

#### "Fair Step Forward"

"Now, the settlement, as actually made, gives an advance of about half in the next three years of what we've had in the last three years. That's a pretty fair step forward. The thing that really ended the matter—really, what finally made us capitulate—was the politicians in Congress."

"The real pressure that developed was the fear of a Democratic Congress and what they would do if they had to meet an emergency. If there was a threat of a resumption of the strike, Congress would be proposing all kinds of laws to prevent it, and these laws would not be the kind that would be carefully considered or thoughtfully discussed. They would be emergency laws passed in order to force a settlement of the strike. It was the fear of that kind of law, as well as the threat of the steel strike being resumed, which most of us thought would do a lasting damage to our employer-employee relations and to the whole country. We would have had a difficult time ever getting repeal of the drastic, ill-considered legislation that would have been passed."

#### Not Victory, But Gains

The head of another steel company believes the adverse nature of the settlement has been overemphasized. He says: "No one, of course, could ever say this settlement was a victory for the steel industry, for we did not accomplish our main objectives of a non-inflationary settlement and changes in work rules which would promote efficiency. Nevertheless, as Mr. Blough of United States Steel, pointed out, we did reduce the rate of increase in employment costs to about 3% per cent as compared with an average of 8 per cent throughout the post-war period. This is no mean accomplishment. In addition, we alerted the public, including the steelworkers, to the importance of the work-rule issues, and one may hope that this could bring some fruitful results as time goes along."

"Some writers contended, for one thing, that if the industry

gray area. If those who believe in this cause keep at it, additional progress can be made with the hope that intelligent people can truly arrest inflation over a reasonable period of time."

Both the foregoing expressions from executives of two important steel companies were spontaneously made, independently of one another, in an informal review of the controversy. It is conceded that, while the industry paid a heavy price in the cost of work interruption, the drawing of public attention to the basic issue of work rules

was a gain in a long-range sense for management.

Just what the political gains or losses will be remain yet to be determined. The administration's position is that it acted as an informal mediator and that it made no promises about future legislation and gave no sanction to any agreement on prices. The steel men say privately that each company will have to decide for itself whether or not to increase prices and when such prices would go into effect.

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Lawrence



## YOUR MONEY'S WORTH

BY SYLVIA PORTER

### Steel's Escalator Stopped

Among the listed gains the steelworkers won in their contract is a clause under which they can get as much as 6 cents an hour extra in cost-of-living adjustments late this year and next.

The chances that the steelworkers will get this 6 cents—even if the general price level rises substantially—are next to zero.

It's more likely that they'll get 6/10 of a cent an hour than 6 cents. They may get nothing at all—even though, I repeat, the general price level climbs sharply.

The agreement to accept a ceiling on what cost-of-living adjustments the workers can get during the term of the contract was one of the most significant concessions made by the steel union.

The winning of this ceiling and also of the equivalent of a "cost-of-living adjustment" for themselves ranks as one of the most significant victories of the steel companies.

Because of the cost-of-living angles, it could be that the spendable "package" won by the steelworkers will turn out markedly smaller than they anticipate by the time the contract ends.

Certainly the steel contract has eliminated a great deal of the zip from the cost-of-living adjustment clause. The escalator isn't going to be running only upward from now on—and, if the steel pattern spreads to other major contracts, one force behind the rising price level in recent years will be perceptibly weakened.

The more the union leaders examine the cost-of-living compromise in the steel agreement, the less enthusiastic they become about it. This is a gain with a "hooker" in it.

The following simple analysis will show you what I mean.

One great victory the union won was that, as of January 1,

the companies are paying all the insurance premiums for the workers. No longer will a steel employee share in the costs of his hospitalization, sickness, accident, etc., insurance; the company will pay the entire bill. This is working out to an average increase in the take-home pay of the steelworkers of 6.39 cents an hour, less tax.

The steelworkers also obtained a clause saying that if and as the consumer price level increases, they're entitled to a cost-of-living adjustment of no more than 3 cents on December 1, 1960, and another adjustment on October 1, 1961—provided the total of both adjustments doesn't come to more than 6 cents.

But now comes the hooker. Since the companies are taking over all insurance costs, they argued—successfully—that they should get "relief" if these costs go up. In a sense, they are being protected against a climbing cost of living, too, for any rise in insurance costs will eat into cost-of-living benefits to which the workers are entitled.

Will the companies' insurance costs rise?

It's about as sure a forecast as you could make.

When the dates arrive for figuring what cost-of-living adjustments are owed the steelworkers, that 6 cents maximum is going to shrink. The 6/10 of a cent estimate actually is the companies' own.

The union isn't likely to boast about it, but in a way the steelworkers will still be paying for their insurance via smaller cost-of-living adjustments than they otherwise might receive.

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VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD  
NIXON

ANSWERS QUESTIONS

ABOUT

# National Defense and Security

- OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM
- PROSPECTS FOR REDUCING THE BURDEN OF NATIONAL DEFENSE
- THE NATIONAL DEBT AND OUR SURVIVAL
- SPACE PROGRAM AND RUSSIAN STRENGTH
- ENLARGEMENT OF THE "NUCLEAR CLUB" AND EFFORTS TO SECURE AN END TO WEAPONS TESTING
- WEAPONS TESTING
- INTER-SERVICE RIVALRY

## OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM

- Q.** The headline in our Times Union bothered me: "Nikita Boasts Reds Able To Lick World," and I'm interested, sir, in what the Administration is going to do to attempt to counteract the influence of this type statement on the U. S. public.
- A.** Well, of course, Mr. Khrushchev, as you know, is one who is not bashful about his own strength. But I would also add this, that no matter how much he believes his strength is, he, himself, knows, that he doesn't have enough to knock out the U. S. retaliatory power, and I

can say that he is right. He does not have it, and he will not have it.

Now what kind of a program do we have at the present time? You have heard a lot about the so-called missile gap--a gap which resulted from the fact that they began to build missiles before we did, and a gap that has been the subject of a great deal of controversy. Many people, when they hear that Mr. Khrushchev may have more ICBMs than we have, assume this means that we are second and that he can lick us.

This is an oversimplification of a very complicated question. I think it is more proper to talk in terms of whether or not there is a deterrent gap, because U. S. strength is not only in its missiles. We have some very good ones. And we also have strength in our SAC striking power, which is still a very awesome and powerful force. We also have potential strength in our atomic submarines which eventually will be armed with Polaris missiles. We have our bases and our missiles abroad as well.

As far as deterrent power is concerned, there is no gap today and there will be no gap under the program that the President has submitted and will submit to the Congress during this session.

I believe that the amount the President asks for our military defenses will provide an adequate deterrent to any potential aggressor. I believe too that this program projected into the future is one which the American people can support and one which will provide adequate security.

Every part of the service has particular weapons which it believes should be included. We can not include them all, and so the President of the United States has to make the decision as to which are the best for the needs of this country. In the instance of the B-70, I think the President's decision that we would continue it on a research basis, making up planes in the future and then putting them into production only if we found that they would be an effective instrument in our arsenal, is a proper one. Because the choice is between the B-70 and between the missiles.

To those who say, "Why don't we do it all? Doesn't Mr. Khrushchev do it all?" The best answer to that is his statement today. He said, "We're cutting back our armed forces on the ground. We are quitting production of bombers."

Now some of these statements cannot be taken at face value, but just remember that in the world today, neither they nor we are going to do everything. What we must do is to have an adequate force so

that any aggressor will know that he cannot strike without being harmed in return. We have it; we are going to continue to have it. I am confident of that.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question by a student-faculty panel at the University of Florida in Gainesville on January 15, 1960

PROSPECTS FOR REDUCING THE BURDEN OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

- Q.** Do you foresee the possibility soon of cutting our tremendous war costs so as to give more money to education and other social services?
- A.** The threat not only to the United States but to peoples everywhere who cherish freedom exists because of the aggressive policies and because of the military establishment maintained by the Communist Nations. The United States has no choice but to maintain sufficient deterrent powers so that no aggressor can feel he can launch an attack without risking retaliation in return.

Now, this means that we cannot reduce our expenditures until we are able to negotiate with the Soviet Union, and with any other countries that might be in that position, agreements, not only in writing but also insofar as their implementation is concerned which give us the assurances on which we can rely. Then, and only then, will we be able to take such steps.

But until that occurs the answer is that the United States is going to have to maintain over a period of years high defense expenditures, high expenditures for mutual security in order to defend the freedom which we cherish.

I would like to add one final thought. I know that with regard to the conduct of foreign policy in our attitude toward Mr. Khrushchev there is a lot of disagreement. It is rather easy to sit on the side lines and say, "We are too firm and too rigid--" Those charges were made against Mr. Dulles--or "We are too soft--" Those charges were made against the President when he invited Mr. Khrushchev to this Country. I would be the last to stand here and say that everything this Administration has done and is doing is right and therefore should be continued.

But I do think this--our position of maintaining adequate military strength, combined with a diplomacy which is absolutely firm but non-belligerent, is the only course that we can follow.

Looking to the future, I am confident that if we continue to maintain that position that it provides the best chance for bringing about a change in the attitude of the Communist leaders. As long as they are convinced that we will be firm, that we are going to maintain our defenses to defend what we have, they then will see the folly of simply continuing what we would call a balance of terror in the world. When they see that, and only then, will we be able to negotiate the reduction of arms burden.

--Vice President Nixon in answer to a question at the  
California Newspaper Publishers Association  
Convention in Los Angeles on February 6, 1960

THE NATIONAL DEBT AND OUR SURVIVAL

- Q.** We have always heard from certain people that our federal debt can't go any higher. Yet when it has, nothing very serious seems to have happened.
- A.** There is no question but that the first consideration which must motivate any Administration is the survival of the country, and the United States can and should do what is necessary to maintain an adequate defense posture so that regardless of what any potential enemy of the United States may have, if that enemy should launch an attack, we will be able with our power that remains to destroy their war-making potential.

That is the principle that has guided this Administration in developing our current defense posture and in the decisions also that we have made with regard to the future.

I realize that there are those who question this. Specialists in certain areas believe that we should put more emphasis on missiles, more on airborne alert, more on submarines, more on ground forces for limited war.

I respect the right of any individual who questions the over-all decision to express that opinion, but I submit that the decision finally has to be made by someone who knows what the facts are, who is experienced, who places this principle of security above other considerations on an over-all basis, looking at the whole complex of American strength rather than one segment of it.

This is what the President has done along with General Twining and others who are heads of our armed forces at the Chiefs of Staff level.

And I believe that as far as the decision is concerned, it is one on which the American people can rely.

Looking to the future, as new developments occur technologically and as any changes occur in the estimates which we constantly are getting with regard to Soviet capabilities and intentions, the United States, of course, must adjust its defenses to maintain at all times this minimum security which I have indicated.

There should be concern about a debt that continues to go up and up and up. There should be concern about it because when you do not worry about it, the inevitable result is that you eventually are going to find yourself in a vicious circle where the amount you are paying for interest, for example, will be so unconscionably high that the amount you are able to allocate to services, the national defense and the like, will be proportionately less than it should be.

I believe that the United States should do all that is necessary in this area. But it is the responsibility of a national administration not to spend more than is necessary, and not to allow the debt to rise if that can be avoided, because, in the final analysis, all the people of the United States have a stake in a sound economy.

All the people in the United States have a stake in a dollar which, earned today and invested in social security, life insurance or pensions, will bring back a dollar when it is cashed in five, ten, fifteen, twenty years from now. As far as I am concerned, I think that any administration, be it Democratic or Republican, would be taking a completely irresponsible position, an unconscionable position, to simply, wink at and to laugh off additional expenditures which might unbalance the budget without national security reasons to do so. Adding to the debt has the over-all effect of harming the savings and the earnings of millions of Americans. I believe that this is a position which, on sober thought, the great majority of the American people will support.

We often hear: The only people that care about a sound dollar and balancing the budget are the bankers and the stock brokers and the rich.

They are the very people that need to be less concerned about it because they can hedge against inflation. The people that should be most concerned about inflation, believe me, are the people who have fixed incomes, the people who work in our factories, the people who invest their hard-earned dollars for their old age, for unemployment, for the rainy day, and then find at the time that they cash it in that it wasn't worth as much as the labor it took at the time they had to earn it.

Just using a personal example, I remember that when I was growing up, my mother and my father through the years saved their money to buy a life insurance policy. It was a relatively small one, I must say, by modern standards, \$3,000 in the New York Life.

I remember year after year how, when those premiums came around, particularly during the late 20's and 30's, how difficult it was to meet them. The money that they invested in that policy which my mother received when my father died three years ago, was worth a third of the effort that he put in when he earned it.

I think this is wrong, and I think that any Administration, be it Democratic or Republican, should not allow this to happen if it can possibly be avoided.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at the dinner program sponsored by the Businessmen's Advisory Committee of the School of Business Administration of Wayne State University and the Wayne University Chapter of Alpha Kappa Psi, Detroit, Michigan, February 15, 1960

#### SPACE PROGRAM AND RUSSIAN STRENGTH

**Q.** Why are we behind in our space program and what is your opinion of Khrushchev's statement concerning a fantastic new weapon?

**A.** Well, keeping this on a completely non-political basis, may I say first that the reason we are behind in developing the very large size rockets which are needed to put large payloads in outer space is that we did little to begin our ballistic missile program until after President Eisenhower assumed the Presidency, whereas the Russians began to make an all-out effort in this particular area in 1946 and 1947.

Now I would also point out that the failure of the previous Administration to begin their program in time was not entirely political but was chiefly military in character. At the time the Russians started their program, we relied on the tremendous striking force of our heavy bombers which we had in great numbers. Warhead size in those days was so large, furthermore, that we did not believe it worthwhile to develop the huge missiles necessary to replace the bomber. The Soviets, however, did and concentrated on them at that time.

So much for why we are behind and why we are now going all out to catch up and to exceed. Now, beyond that I would say that no one

knows what weapon they may have, or may have developed. I think that certainly we should never underestimate our opponents, but it is also dangerous to overestimate them and underestimate ourselves because of creating a false impression in their minds as to our weakness and their strength.

Whatever weapon Mr. Khrushchev has there comes a point with modern weapons when there are enough--enough to destroy the targets against which an attack is directed. But whatever weapon he has and whatever we have in being at the present time, there is no weapon of which we can conceive, or no complex of weapons which he has, which are sufficient (in the event even of a surprise attack) to destroy our retaliatory power and thereby remove the fear that he must have of what might happen if he starts anything. This is the key point.

As long as Mr. Khrushchev, or any other potential aggressor, knows that if he starts something he runs the risk of massive retaliation, there will be that deterrent in the back of his mind.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a news conference in Miami Beach, Florida, January 16, 1960

ENLARGEMENT OF THE "NUCLEAR CLUB" AND EFFORTS TO SECURE AN END TO WEAPONS TESTING

- Q.** Has or should this nation take steps to prevent or retard the development of our atomic arms race among small nations?
- A.** The problem of the spread of atomic weapons is one with which the government of the United States and, for that matter, the other present atomic powers, have been concerned.

As far as the U. S. position is involved, we believe it is essential at this time for us to concentrate on attempting to develop with the Soviet Union--and with Great Britain--a program in which we can find some method of controlling atomic tests as a first step toward eventual control of the whole problem of nuclear armaments. Now, unless we are able to make progress in that area, the possibility of controlling the spread of the weapons to other industrially developed nations is very unrealistic.

Obviously the reaction of any other nation that might be planning an atomic program would be that of France. I think that what the United States must continue to do is to press for a program of

controlling atomic tests, which we are doing, having in mind the fact that our stake here is not only our relations vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, but also this potential danger in the future.

The offer that the United States--together with Great Britain--has made in this area of controlling atomic tests is certainly, it seems to me, a reasonable one, and one that I think the Soviet Union has very little reason to turn down. Because it would, in effect, stop all those tests that involve fall-out; that is, all tests in the atmosphere. It would also stop all underground tests that could be detected. Those underground tests which could not be detected do not, of course, involve any fall-out. The failure of the Soviet Union up to this time even to consider the U. S. proposal certainly raises some doubts as to whether they are interested in making progress in this area. Their position, on the other hand, is stop all or none. We say that, if you cannot agree on a system which will be adequate for the inspection of the underground tests--and that is the problem up to this point--at least, we should stop those tests in which we know we do have an adequate inspection system.

I think we are on the right track here. It is difficult because the heart of the problem is this: the United States and other nations involved cannot settle simply for an agreement to stop tests; we must have an agreement that can be enforced. To make an agreement and then to have that agreement broken surreptitiously by either side would increase the danger of atomic war rather than decrease it. If we are able to find a formula for stopping tests among the major nations, I believe that the way will be open to stop the spread of the atomic weapons to other "third" nations, so-called, that you have described.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a public forum in Fresno, California, February 18, 1960

#### WEAPONS TESTING

**Q.** In light of recent military and scientific testimony on the public record, do you favor the resumption of selective, underground nuclear weapons testing?

**A.** The position that I take is the position of the Administration with regard to nuclear testing, and I think it is one that can, and should have, the support of the American people. We all realize the awesome threat which is going to hang over the world as long as we continue to build bigger and bigger nuclear weapons. One of the reasons why there is such support for discontinuing the tests is that we know that if we

continue, it may be disastrous not only for us but other peoples as well.

However, our position has been, that nevertheless we would be rendering a terrible disservice to the security of the United States and the Free World if we were to discontinue tests without adequate assurance that other atomic powers will also do so. That is why we have insisted on inspection. That is why President Eisenhower has said that the United States reserves the right to resume tests at any time underground, with notice, unless a system of adequate inspection is worked out.

Discussions, as you know, have been resumed now at Geneva, and we hope the Soviet scientists will take not a political attitude, as they have previously, with regard to what is adequate inspection, but a scientific attitude. If they do there will be a chance to work out an inspection system. But I can assure you that the American Government position, and this is certainly my strong conviction, must be and will continue to be, that we cannot have simply and indefinite moratorium on tests and talking that produces no action. That is why we must reserve, the right to resume these tests underground once we are convinced that the chance for working out a satisfactory inspection system no longer exists.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a news conference in Miami Beach, Florida, January 16, 1960

INTER-SERVICE RIVALRY

- Q.** What solution do you have with regard to the problems arising out of rivalry between the various Armed Services.
- A.** As you know, in the last session of Congress, a new reorganization bill was put into effect. I think we have to give that plan a reasonable time in which to operate, to see what defects will become apparent during the course of its operation. I will say further that, in view of the changing technology of modern warfare, I believe we constantly must re-examine our traditional organization of the Armed Services and bring the organization up-to-date with the advances in technology.

In other words, I do not believe we should freeze ourselves on the present organizational pattern--rather we have to keep our minds open for further modification so that the organization in the future will be adequate to use the new technology.

Now this means not only to use that technology, but to use it without duplication, without destructive competition, and these are principles that I believe should be applied in this field of organization of the Armed Services.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a public forum in Fresno, California, February 18, 1960

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A STATEMENT BY  
VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD  
NIXON

REGARDING THE

# Administration Medical Care Bill

For Release  
May 8, 1960

The Administration Medical Care Bill deserves the support of all Americans who recognize the need for better medical care for the aged and who want to meet that need without adopting a program which would open the door for socialized medicine, as would the Forand Bill.

It is superior to the Forand Bill in these respects:

1. The Administration Bill provides coverage for twelve and a half million people over 65 who do not have the resources or the opportunity to obtain adequate health insurance coverage.

The Forand Bill provides no coverage whatever for four million aged people who are not covered by social security. Over two million of these four million have incomes of less than \$1,000.00 a year. This important group of two million is covered by the Administration Bill.

2. Under the Administration Bill those who are eligible for the program have complete freedom of choice as to whether they desire to participate in it or to provide for their own protection on an individual basis.

The Forand Bill compels all those on social security to participate in the program regardless of whether they need it or want it.

3. The Administration Bill provides for the use of virtually

all medical facilities and services, including medical, nursing and other health services, in the patients' own homes, thereby serving the need of the patient most effectively and economically.

The Forand Bill would put a still heavier load on already overburdened hospitals and skilled nursing homes, since its benefits are available only in institutions. In effect, in order to get the benefits of the program, those participating would be forced to go to hospitals and nursing homes, even when they did not desire to do so.

4. The Administration Bill preserves the opportunity for private insurers to continue to expand their insurance coverage for the aged. The Forand Bill would inevitably curtail the opportunity for continued growth in the coverage and adequacy of voluntary health insurance and would set up irresistible pressures for establishing a compulsory health insurance program for all people regardless of age--a development which inevitably would lead to the socializing of the medical profession. Importantly, the Administration program avoids that threat because of its basic voluntary nature.
5. The Administration program provides a comprehensive ten-point benefit program which would substantially meet the costs of long term or other expensive illness. The Forand Bill provides only a three-point benefit program limited to the first dollar costs involved in institutional care and surgery. In a nut-shell, the Administration Bill offers the best protection against the costs of catastrophic illness.

The difference between the Administration's program and the Forand Bill goes to the fundamental nature of our free society. The Forand Bill and similar plans would set up a great state program which inevitably would head in the direction of herding the ill and elderly into institutions whether they desired this or not. Such a state program would threaten the high standards of American medicine.

The Administration program recognizes the medical problems of the elderly but preserves our basic American principle--a freedom of choice. This would permit elderly citizens who need medical care to accept institutional treatment if they desired and would also enable them to stay home--a choice which many of them undoubtedly would take--and still receive the medical care which they need in the advanced years of life.

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VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD  
NIXON

ANSWERS QUESTIONS  
ABOUT

# Latin America

- UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD  
LATIN AMERICA
- LATIN AMERICA AND CUBA
- CUBA AND THE SUGAR QUOTA

UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD LATIN AMERICA

- Q.** Why does Washington continue a policy of friendship with dictators like Trujillo, Somoza and many others in Latin American countries, not only the present Administration, all the Administrations.
- A.** May I say that I have good reason to know there is some resentment toward that policy.

The assumption which you very properly pointed out that the policy of having diplomatic relations with the governments in South America who do have various forms of what you call dictatorial government, is not a new one. It is one that has been the policy of the United States through the years.

It has come under attack in South America. There is also some question raised on it within the United States. In our diplomatic relations with countries throughout the world, the United States generally has had and has today--and I think must continue to have--diplomatic relations with other countries and with what happens to be the government in power in those countries at a particular time.

Now, as far as our own devotion to the guarantees of religious freedom, freedom of the press, freedom of expression, and the like, is concerned, there can be no question. We are devoted to freedom here. We hope that those ideas would be adopted in other countries as well. But we also have this problem with regard to not only Latin America but to all countries in the world and it is that there is nothing they would resent more than for the United States to try to tell them what kind of a government they are going to have.

That is the reason that in our policies we have had to be careful and this is particularly true with Latin America where, as you know, there is great sensitivity about the great "Colossus of the North" trying to impose ideas of economics and government upon the people of the South. That is why it is particularly important that we not attempt to dictate to them what kind of government they have and whether their government meets certain standards.

What we have tried to do, of course, in our policy is to maintain diplomatic relations with all the countries of Latin America. We have attempted also to encourage, where we can, those particular groups within these countries who stand for the freedoms that we think are so very important. We think that this policy has worked. Since 1953 we have seen changes in Argentina, Colombia--as a matter of fact--in five different countries in South America, a change from dictatorship to some degree of freedom and some degree of representative government. These changes have come about without outside interference.

When I returned from Latin America I expressed my view in this way: In our relations with countries that have forms of government that we may find unattractive or repugnant to us we should have a proper relationship, a handshake, so-called. For the kind of governments that do guarantee the freedoms that we think are so important we should have an *embrazo*. Again, this must be done having in mind that basic problem that the United States must not interfere or give any appearance of interfering with these people and imposing our form of government upon them. I think it is a sound position and I think it is one that in the end will be successful in promoting the evolution in Latin America toward more representative government and away from dictatorship--and that is the way it is to come.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question at  
the California Newspaper Publishers Association  
Convention in Los Angeles, California on  
February 6, 1960

**LATIN AMERICA AND CUBA**

**Q.** Have you any comment on our present relations with the Latin American countries?

**A.** The question is difficult to discuss in general terms because the time has passed when Latin America can be treated as just one unit. Each country and each region has separate problems and should be, and is entitled to be, treated on an individual basis.

Considerable concern is being expressed with regard to our relations with Cuba. I think all of us realize that what is happening in Cuba not only affects the Cuban people and the people of the United States, but also people throughout Latin America. One thing that all of us in the Americas must realize is that we are truly interdependent and what helps one country helps all and what hurts one country hurts all.

Most objective observers would agree that the revolution in Cuba was one which came about because there were very real objections on the part of the Cuban people to the policies being followed by the previous government. There wasn't any question but the revolution had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people in all walks of life. It is not for us in this country or in any other country, to indicate what kind of economic or political system the people of Cuba should have. This is for them to decide, and the President made that eloquently clear in his State of the Union message.

It would not be appropriate for me as an official of the United States Government to comment on whether or not those policies were serving the best interests of the Cuban people or whether they had the support of the Cuban people. But it is appropriate, for an official of this government to comment upon the rights of American citizens that may be presently affected or potentially affected by the policies of any other government.

We trust and we hope that the Cuban government and its people will recognize the justice of our position. If they will see that what is involved (and this I emphasize) is not only the rights of Americans and other people outside of Cuba and their property, but the future of the Cuban people and Cuban economy itself. In that connection there are hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign investments in Cuba. I think the interests of Cuba will be served if that investment continues to flow in, but no one can expect that it will continue to flow to Cuba when it is not welcome there. There are many other areas in Latin

America which are creating a favorable climate for investment.

Mr. Nixon, do you think it's possible to reconcile the differences between Dr. Castro and this country? They're becoming wider all the time.

Yes, I do think it's possible. I've always felt that the Cuban people and the American people were, shall we say, simpatico, whenever they have the opportunity to know each other and to work together. I would hope that within the next few months that Dr. Castro and his government will be able to work out their revolutionary principles, as they call them, in a way that they will respect the rights and the property of not only Cuban citizens, but of Americans and citizens from other parts of the world who are investing there.

-- Vice President Nixon in response to questions at his News Conference in Miami Beach, Florida on January 16, 1960

#### CUBA AND THE SUGAR QUOTA

**Q.** Are you in favor of reducing or changing the sugar quotas for Cuba?

**A.** Not at this time. I realize there are many thoughtful people who say: In view of what Mr. Castro is doing, in view of the fact that he is taking an anti-American, belligerent attitude, and in some cases has had certainly a great deal of communist infiltration in his government, why don't we cut his sugar quota and give it to some of our friends? The Philippines want it, Mexico would like to have some, Peru and a few other countries. In my opinion, the reason that we should not do that is because it would be counter-productive. We have had great provocation, but we do not think that Mr. Castro represents the true feelings of the Cuban people toward us. Because Mr. Castro has done something which we think are wrong, we should not punish the Cuban people by changing the sugar quota. The net result might be the loss of the Cuban people forever. And so, we have to practice forbearance.

I think that our attitude toward Cuba should be, just as President Eisenhower stated in his letter to the Chilean students and as a group of formerly pro-Castro Cubans stated, for realization of the good objectives of the Cuban Revolution in freedom. We must be for that, but we must not attempt to impose it upon them; it must come from the Cubans themselves. The moment we do anything which smacks of imperialism, smacks of using our economic or political or military

power to force them to change their government, the reaction would be just the contrary and Castro would become an even greater hero than he is.

-- Vice President Nixon in response to a question of  
students at Stanford University in Palo Alto,  
California on April 11, 1960

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**Excerpts of Remarks by  
RICHARD NIXON**  
Vice President  
of the United States at the



## **Lincoln Day Dinner**

**Sponsored by the Republican State Committee  
of Wisconsin in Milwaukee on February 8, 1960**

An even greater challenge confronts the Republican Party and the nation today than was the case in 1860. The issue in Lincoln's day was freedom for the slaves and the survival of the nation. But the issue today is, literally, freedom for all mankind--and the survival of civilization.

Lincoln Day dinners are generally occasions for speeches which are primarily devoted to praising the past of our Party. We are justly proud of the 100-year record of our Party and of the magnificent achievements of the seven years of this Administration. But the times call for more than resting our case on the accomplishments of the past. Let us resolve that throughout this year of 1960 we shall direct our major attention to the future of America and how our Party can best serve that future.

Up to this time, the Democratic candidates seem to be engaged in a contest as to who can call the worst names rather than who can provide the best leadership. The issues in 1960 are too important to allow the campaign to degenerate into a name-calling contest. That is why I intend to continue to ignore personal attacks which may be made on me.

This does not mean that we should ignore attacks on our record. I believe that the candidates of the opposition party in a campaign not only have the right but the responsibility to criticize an administration's record wherever they believe it is deficient.

And our record ought to be thoroughly analyzed and thoroughly discussed because it is such an important test of our capacity for future leadership.

But the public interest also requires that we effectively answer attacks on our record wherever we believe they are unjustified. The cliche that

"The record speaks for itself" is true only when no one is speaking against it. You can be sure that in this campaign we will not make the mistake of failing to defend our record against those who choose to attack it.

The greatest issue of all--the one that overrides and cuts across all the others--is the issue of peace, and of national security as the necessary basis of our quest for peace. We hear these days that America is a second-class, second-rate power.

Let's consider the facts:

The debate on national defense can be constructive. One of the strengths of a free society is that our policies are submitted to constant, searching criticism by those who disagree with them. Criticism can become destructive, however, when by emphasizing alleged weaknesses and overlooking acknowledged strengths it has the effect of making the United States appear to be a "sitting duck" to potential aggressors.

Engaging in a "numbers game" in which we compare the number of missiles, airplanes, submarines or carriers we have with that possessed by our potential opponents is a completely fallacious method of determining whether we have the strength we need. The test of the adequacy of United States military strength is not whether we have as much of each category of weapons as a potential aggressor, but whether overall we have enough strength so that, regardless of how much he may have, he knows he cannot launch an attack which will knock out our retaliatory power and remove the risk of massive destruction to his homeland.

Not only do we have that kind of strength today but we have a program which we believe is adequate to maintain that position in the future. There is no gap in our overall deterrent strength. And what is most important, Mr. Khrushchev knows this to be the case.

But we must not be complacent. Because of new technological developments, we shall continue to re-examine our defense posture on a month-to-month basis. And in doing so, we must always be guided by the fundamental principle that the United States has the will and the resources to maintain whatever military strength is necessary to deter any potential aggressor from launching an attack.

It is particularly gratifying that at a dinner honoring Lincoln's birthday, we can point to more progress in the field of civil rights in this Administration than in any since Lincoln's. And if this Congress adopts the Administration's voting referee proposal, we can effect the first significant breakthrough since the adoption of the 15th Amendment in 1870, in guaranteeing the right to vote to Negro citizens in the southern States.

The struggle for civil rights and for equal opportunity is, of course, first and foremost a matter of moral principle and of simple justice. But it involves, as well, the whole of our struggle for world peace. Nothing is more damaging to the United States in the battle-of-ideas-and-ideals, going on today in the uncommitted world, than our failures and our shortcomings in this area.

When we make progress toward our goal of equality for all at home, we help immeasurably the case for justice and freedom which we present abroad.

We could make no greater mistake in attempting to meet Mr. Khrushchev's challenge for peaceful competition between our two systems than to lose faith in the economic principles which have been responsible for our progress in the past.

The Communists have found it necessary to abandon many of their basic theories in order to increase the productivity of their economy. There is a greater reward for incentive and for superior achievement in the Soviet Union than in most non-Communist countries today. In other words, they have found it necessary to turn our way. At a time they are turning our way, we must not make the mistake of turning their way.

We must reject the discredited theories of those who insist that the way to get more economic growth is to increase government spending and government control of the economy. The way to greater economic growth in peacetime is not through increasing the size of government but by expanding the opportunities for creative enterprise by millions of individual Americans. While government can and must play a supplemental role in creating the proper climate for economic growth, we must never forget that the primary source of our phenomenal economic progress has been and will continue to be private rather than government enterprise.

And just as important, we must insist that this competition be broadened: it is not enough for us to achieve material prosperity. This is only the basis for a life of cultural and spiritual growth and development for the preservation and extension of the freedoms we cherish far beyond mere comfort and prosperity.

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VICE PRESIDENT  
**RICHARD**  
**NIXON**

ANSWERS QUESTIONS  
ABOUT

# National Resources

- DEVELOPMENT OF WATER RESOURCES IN THE WEST
- WATER RESOURCES; HYDROELECTRIC POWER

DEVELOPMENT OF WATER RESOURCES IN THE WEST

- Q.** We are extremely interested in what your position would be on the further development of water resources of the State of California particularly, but of all of the West. We would like to know whether or not the feeling on the part of the Administration the last year of no-new-starts would prevail.
- A.** We're curious to know whether you are going to give over-all support to the program that the State of California is embarking on at this moment which, as you know, is a multi-billion-dollar program, and more particularly, to the phases of that program that would be federally financed.

In the past and in the future--to the extent that I have a position from which I can exert influence--I would use that influence in behalf of projects which would develop not only the water and power of California but of all of the Western states.

Projecting California's population into the future, we can perhaps look forward to 25 million people. These days you often hear the argument made against reclamation projects to the effect that since we have all these surplus commodities already, why have projects

that are simply going to produce more?

However when we look forward to the future needs of the population of the United States--looking forward 50 years, or even 25 years--we can see that the present surpluses will be deficits in a very short space of time. The projects that we authorize and build now will take up the gap that would otherwise result from the programs we presently have.

Now, as to how this gibus with our no-new-start policy. The no-new-start policy was, I think, sound.

First, under this policy, we used the available funds to concentrate on finishing projects that had already been begun, and certainly we know right here in California what some of those projects have been and what they have meant to California. One of the great problems in the reclamation area is that when we get too many projects authorized, we do a half-way job on a lot and not a complete job on any.

The second reason for the no-new-start project was that, generally speaking, in this whole area of government expenditures, expenditures should go up certainly in those periods when the economy needs the additional stimulus of government action. But during the period when the economy already is going at a maximum rate, when we have a difficult budget problem, then that is the time to finish what has already been started.

The best answer to the no-new-start argument is that we have six new starts in the budget for 1961, and I expect more, of course, whatever Administration goes to Washington, in the budgets ahead.

In a nutshell, if the United States is to retain its competitive position in this world economically, as well as to provide adequately for the needs of our increasing population we have to continue to appropriate federal funds for those projects which cannot be undertaken because of their size by private interests or by local or by state interests. That has been my policy in the past and will continue to be in the future.

Mr. Nixon, you make your stand very clear in regards to assistance from the Federal Government in developing water projects. What is your position in regards to these projects after they are fully paid for by local interests?

It would certainly seem in those instances, where the local interest, the state, the individuals concerned, who are beneficiaries of the

project, have completely reimbursed the federal costs, that the control over the future of the project should be under their primary responsibility, and under their primary discretion.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question during a public forum in Fresno, California on February 18, 1960

WATER RESOURCES; HYDROELECTRIC POWER

**Q.** Do you believe that where hydroelectric power is a part of a multi-purpose project, it should be developed by government or what is termed "partnership."

**A.** I believe that the partnership concept, which this Administration has supported, is a proper one. I believe that if I were to adopt a rule of thumb on a very complex issue it would be this: That the power should be developed by that institution which can render the best service to the people at the lowest price.

Now in some instances this may be private power; in some instances it may be local, public power; in other instances it may be the Federal Government. But whoever can and will provide it in the most efficient way at the lowest cost should provide it.

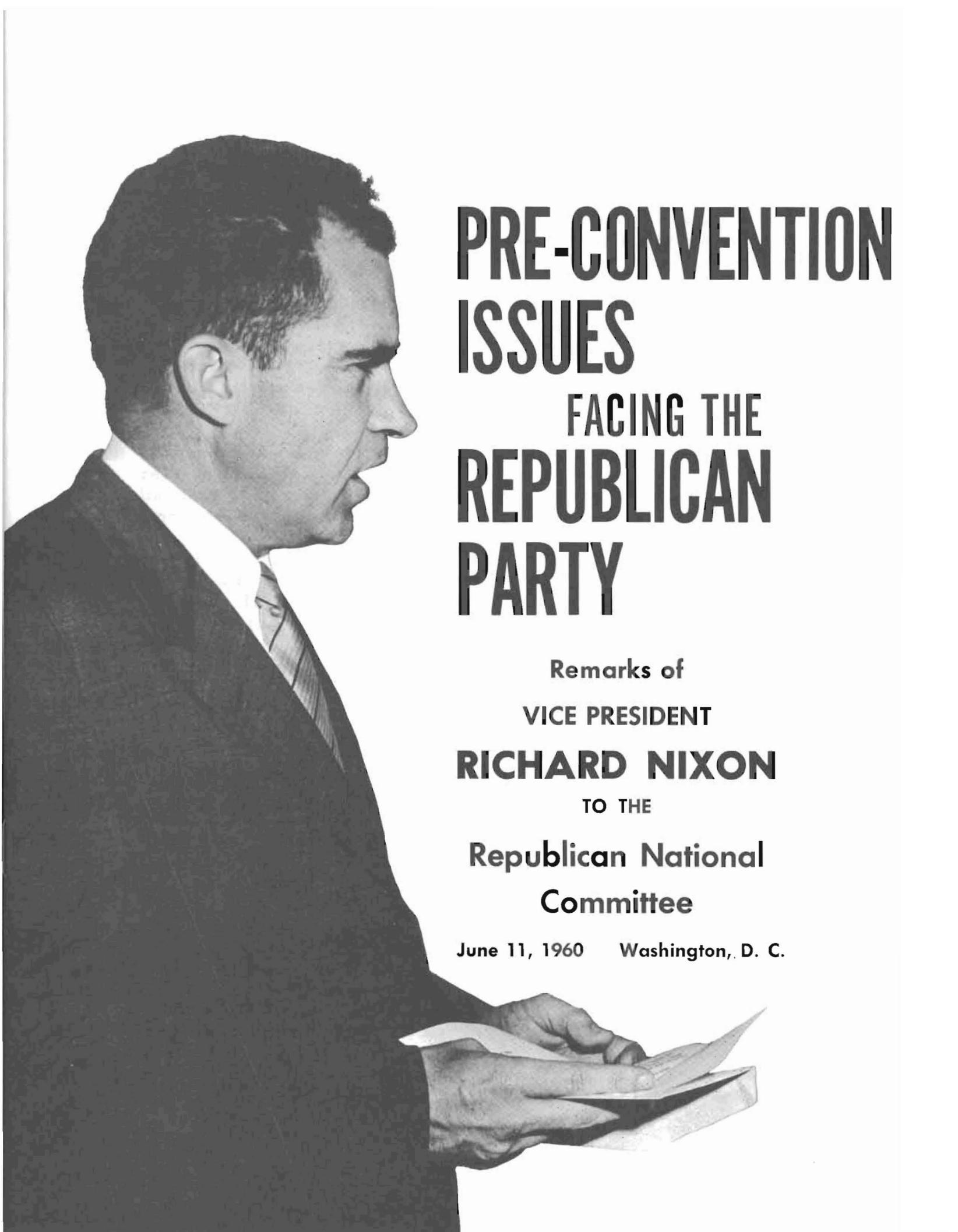
In my opinion, and I realize that many do not share this, to become involved in theoretical arguments about the relative merits per se of public power and private power, is not particularly productive. I believe the important thing is to get projects on their way--and where the Federal Government can do the job and will do it more efficiently or better than private power, then the Federal Government should do it.

--Vice President Nixon in response to a question at a Sacramento, California news conference on February 17, 1960

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A black and white profile photograph of Richard Nixon, showing him from the chest up, facing right. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a striped tie. His hands are clasped in front of him, holding a piece of paper.

# **PRE-CONVENTION ISSUES FACING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY**

**Remarks of  
VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD NIXON  
TO THE  
Republican National  
Committee**

**June 11, 1960      Washington, D. C.**

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen of the National Committee: You know, I have never liked breakfast meetings, particularly in campaigns, because it's always very difficult to get a crowd to be enthusiastic early in the morning. But I must say that I've never seen a crowd as enthusiastic as this one has been, and I appreciate not only your attendance but your very warm welcome.

I have noted with interest your proceedings to date, and while the opportunity to meet with each of you individually has not yet been afforded me, I understand this afternoon we're going to have three regional meetings, each one hour long, of the National Committee membership. Every member will have an opportunity to participate in a strategy session in which I will take part as well. On that occasion I hope to see each of you individually, to discuss the particular problems of your states and your regions, and perhaps to develop some thinking regarding the campaign. But there are some things that I would first like to talk about in this closed meeting; some things which are very close to my heart and to yours as well.

Before speaking of them may I say, first, that appearing before the National Committee is always a great honor for me. I recall the first time that honor was accorded me was in Chicago in 1952 when I was nominated for Vice President. Since that time, on occasion after occasion, one of the highlights of my service in this office has been my meetings with you.

I see some new faces here. I see some who were in Chicago then. I can only say that you, who are the key leaders of our party, carry a tremendous responsibility in this campaign. And I appear before you today recognizing what you have done in the past, the responsibilities you have for the future, and the opportunity that I have to offer some leadership which will be helpful to you who provide the sinews of battle which will assure victory.

Now, having said that, let me refer briefly to this pre-convention period. In the pre-convention period, traditionally, a party does some soul-searching. We discuss the issues. We discuss those issues in terms of our record of the past, and we discuss them for the purpose of developing our platform at the National Convention.

In those discussions it is inevitable and it is constructive that we have disagreement. Because we have a two-party system in this country we have to have room within each party for people to disagree. Otherwise we would need a multiparty system. And so in our two-party system, whether it is the other party which has some differences, or

our party, we should expect disagreement on some issues. Those issues should be discussed honestly, frankly and candidly. Then we can develop a platform which represents the best thinking of our party--a platform that will join us on great principles and that will emphasize those things which unite us.

And may I say in that connection I am confident once that platform is adopted and once our candidate is nominated at Chicago, that Republicans will join and gather around the platform, the policies and the candidates selected. We know, as we go into this year, 1960, that this is a campaign which is going to be close. We know that we have the fight of our lives on our hands, as I have often said. In this fight we can win. We will win if we're united. We'll lose if we are divided. I am confident that Republicans today who are discussing our issues will discuss them and disagree on them without being disagreeable, so that when we do come to the convention and when we do nominate our candidate and adopt our platform we will come out of it a stronger, a more united party than when we went in. With that kind of strength and unity we will win next November.

Now, having spoken of those issues on which we may disagree and on the general philosophy of two-party government in this country, may I turn to the record of the Republican Party and of this administration in particular. I know I don't need to say much about that record before this group. But I do know that during the course of the next few weeks prior to our convention there may be questions raised about that record.

I want to state my position on it. I think I can state it in a nutshell by making a comparison. In 1952 the other party nominated a candidate who couldn't run fast enough. But he was running away from the record of his own administration, and with pretty good reason, I think.

This year, 1960, what should the attitude of our candidate be? Let me express my own attitude.

I've been a part of our administration for the last seven and a half years. I'm proud of that record, and instead of running away from it I hope to run on it and to build on it.

Now, do I suggest that our record has been perfect? Of course not. As the President would be the first to admit, in a government as big as ours, facing the complex problems that we face in the world, we're going to be fallible, we're going to make mistakes. But as we look at the whole record in terms of its results I say that we can tell the voters of this country proudly that this has been the best administration in their lifetime.

As we look at these eight years of the Eisenhower Administration we have no need to apologize to the great majority of the American people for our handling of the great issues. I know that we're sometimes criticized for emphasizing the fact that we have had peace, that we have had progress, and that we have had prosperity during these eight years. But let the critics say what they want. This is the record. And let's continue to talk about it because the people need to be reminded about it so that they will not take it for granted. They didn't have it before. They do have it now. We want them to continue to have it in the years ahead.

Having spoken of that record, I should also add that there are specific areas in which criticisms have been made. Those criticisms should be replied to.

I know that one was discussed yesterday very ably by your National Chairman. And may I say parenthetically that as I stand here beside him and as I look over this audience and see his immediate predecessor, Meade Alcorn, as well as Len Hall and other former National Chairmen, I am sure that we can be proud of all of our National leaders. And today we can be proud of the fact that Thruston Morton has rendered tremendous service not only as a Senator, but also as our National Chairman. I for one think he ought to continue to serve as National Chairman right up to November. I'm not a delegate, but I hope you tell your delegates that's the way I feel, in case you agree.

Chairman Morton discussed the U-2 incident. There's been a lot of criticism of that incident. Let's put it in perspective. I think that reasonable men can disagree about what was said about the U-2. I don't think that there can be any disagreement about what was done.

What do I mean by that?

I don't believe that we can contend that the President of the United States was not justified in maintaining an aerial surveillance system in order to protect the United States against surprise attack. Whether they are Democrats or Republicans who are considering this I believe the great majority of the American people approve of the policy and the program which the President initiated in this area.

But some will say, when you are speaking of those things that were done, as distinguished from those things that were said: "Well, can't there be disagreement about the timing of this particular flight?"

We respect those who have raised this criticism, but let me give you my point of view: First of all, we have learned through very bitter

experience that where you are confronted with a potential aggressor the time of greatest danger may be the time when you are negotiating with him. That was what happened at Pearl Harbor. So today I say the American people, regardless of party, can be thankful this flight did take place and that we had a President who put the security of the United States first.

The President, of course, put it well in his television address. We are aware of the fact that any time you have a failure in an area as sensitive as this it is embarrassing, and certainly criticisms are bound to occur. But let us remember that in the world in which we shall live for many, many years ahead, we are going to have to make some tough, close decisions, and in making those decisions, whether our President is a Democrat or a Republican, the security of America must always come first just as President Eisenhower has put it first in his handling of this incident.

Turning also to what was said and what was done, let's look for a moment at the Paris Conference.

I know there are some who have suggested, certainly with the best of intentions, but I think with a rather naive understanding of the conduct and of the attitudes of Mr. Khrushchev, that possibly President Eisenhower should have made an effort to save the conference by apologizing to Mr. Khrushchev or expressing regrets for this incident.

Let me just give you my own viewpoint.

First of all, I think I know Mr. Khrushchev reasonably well. While I am not an expert on him I have consulted with experts. The great majority of these, and I share this view, would agree that the U-2 incident was an excuse and not a reason for what he did and that an apology or a regret wouldn't have saved the conference. But, more than that, rather than the President apologizing or expressing regrets, what we have to remember is that it is Mr. Khrushchev who should apologize to the President and the whole world for blocking the road to peace.

On the other end of the spectrum, of course, I have noted that some have suggested: Why did the President sit there in Paris and take all of these insults without answering back vigorously to Mr. Khrushchev?

May I say that in this respect I think we can be very proud of the President's conduct for this reason: I know, from experience, having

been in difficult situations like this, both in Latin America and in Moscow, that it is much easier to lose your temper than to keep it under these great stresses. I think that we have to remember that in these times the worst thing a President of the United States can do, be he a Democrat or a Republican, is to engage in a war of words with Khrushchev or any Communist leader, and heat up the world atmosphere by answering their insults in kind. For in doing so, we could reach the igniting point and set off a nuclear conflict.

Does this mean that we just sit and take it? Does this mean that we take an apologetic attitude?

Not at all. It means that we stand firm on principle. It means we recognize that concessions do not lead to peace when dealing with a dictator, but they lead to war. They only whet his appetite. They never satisfy it. But while we are firm in our principle we must be non-belligerent in our attitude. It is this kind of leadership America must have in these critical years ahead. This is the kind of leadership that the President was displaying at his best at the Paris Conference.

Just to summarize my attitude in this field I would say this: Reasonable differences can exist about what was said about the U-2 incident; differences could exist about what was done. These differences can and should be discussed in a country like ours, freely and constructively. But, in conducting these discussions, let's not make the mistake of playing into Mr. Khrushchev's hands by making it appear that it was President Eisenhower and the United States who were at fault and by taking the blame off of his shoulders, where it belongs, for blocking the road to peace.

This, in essence, is the attitude that I think Americans should have in looking at this incident. It is one of the most recent incidents in the Eisenhower record, a record which again I say I am proud to have been a part of, and which I shall proudly support today and in the months and years ahead.

Now, if I might turn to the future. I have spoken of our record. In terms of its accomplishments, we have no apologies. In ordinary times it would be enough to point with pride to this record. In ordinary times that would be enough. But these are not ordinary times.

Simply standing on the record as it is, would have been sufficient in years past when America did not have the tremendous responsibilities of leading the whole world to peace with justice and freedom. I think I know something about the challenge that confronts us. I don't need to tell you that it is a deadly serious one.

I noted with great approval yesterday that Thruston Morton and other speakers rejected the phony idea that because the Russians may have moved ahead in one area or another, ours is a second rate country. That we are second rate militarily, second rate economically, second rate educationally, scientifically and otherwise.

America is today the strongest country militarily, the strongest country economically, with the best educational system, the finest scientists in the world, overall. But we are in a race. We are in front and well in front. But the only way to stay ahead when you are in a race is to move ahead. There can be no greater mistake that we as a Party can make and no greater lack of responsibility we could exhibit than if we failed to build on the record in the future rather than just stand on it. Here is the attitude we should have as we look to the future of America in these next critical years.

This is not the time to go into all the great issues which will confront us in the days ahead. Yet, let me give you an idea of one issue which may be a matter of great difference between the Republican candidate, whoever he is, and the Democratic candidate, whoever he may turn out to be. As we consider the competition between our world and the Communist world we hear a great deal about its economic aspects. I agree, as I am sure you will, that this is fundamental. We must recognize that the economic challenge is significant. We must recognize that while we are now twice or over twice as rich and as strong and as productive as the Soviet Union, economically, to maintain that lead we must move ahead as fast as we can on a sound basis.

However, many critics of the Administration suggest that this Administration has not been interested in economic growth, and that the new Administration--particularly if it is a Democratic Administration--is for economic growth.

Now, let's lay one point to rest right now: We are for economic growth! They are for economic growth. What is the difference?

Is this a matter of "me-tooism?" Of course not. Our differences are not in our goals; our difference is in the means. Let's spell it out a little further. What do they say? Without attempting to pick out what one candidate says, but looking at all of their speeches and seeking one theme that runs through all of them, we find this: "We ought to establish a fixed percentage rate at which the country ought to grow in order to stay ahead of the Soviet Union."

Then they say: "How do we do this? Well, first of all we ought to peg interest rates at artificially low levels." But we say: "That might

lead to inflation." And their answer is: "A little inflation is a small price to pay for economic growth." What is the answer to that?

Our answer is that rather than assuring growth, rather than building the economy that kind of policy would ruin America's economy. Our answer, further, is that while at the moment this would seem to be attractive, particularly to the gamblers and others who like to build an inflationary economy, in the long run it would lead to the boom and bust cycle. It would not mean steady and sure growth for America.

Let's carry the analogy a little further: They also say that the way to get economic growth at this fixed level is to have the Government do more.

Now let's see where we agree and disagree in this area.

We believe that the government needs to do everything that is necessary to keep America's military strength at adequate levels. We can and should, do and spend, whatever is necessary to maintain the ability to strike back and knock out the striking power of any potential aggressors if an attack is launched against us. Going beyond that, we recognize that the government has its place in those areas where individuals and the states cannot or will not do jobs that need to be done to assure progress at home and abroad for America, and her interests. The basic disagreement that we have with our opponents is that they say that even beyond these areas the way to get economic growth is for the government to spend more. I think that here we can draw the line and draw it clearly. We will continue to draw it during the course of this campaign.

We reject the idea that the way to progress and growth in this country, the way to growth of this kind, is for the Federal Government to spend more. We say that the way to growth and the greatest progress in America is not through increasing the size of the government expenditure but through expanding the opportunities for millions of creative, individual Americans.

This is our goal!

Now, if I might turn to one other aspect of that problem: I know that in our own Party there are those who get into an argument about semantics and they say: "Well, are we conservatives or are we liberals?" Might I suggest that these words have been so distorted by usage in the past few years that I think such discussions are nonproductive and self-defeating.

What we are concerned about, however, is this: We must distinguish between our goals and the means of reaching those goals. I would hope that we, as Republicans, will never forget this. As far as goals are concerned, the growth of our economy, better schools, better housing, better health, better security for the American people, we are liberal in those goals. Our opposition has never had any monopoly of the good ends and the good goals for America. We must not allow them to say they are for all the good things, but we oppose them. We do not. We are against the means that they would use to achieve those goals.

Now, let's turn to the means for a moment. If by conservative you mean one who believes that the way to progress in America is through a sound economy, a balanced budget and progress with and through freedom, without inflation, then you and I and the great majority of the Americans, I am sure, are conservatives. But, if on the other hand conservatism means we plant our feet in cement, that we resist all change, that we say that government has no responsibility and is not concerned with the people's problems where individuals will not and where states do not or cannot do the job, then we are not conservatives.

We Republicans stand for progress. We point to the record of this Administration--in which more schools have been built, more houses constructed, and more progress made in creating a better life for Americans than in any eight years in our history, and we point to the future and say: "We will do better, we will achieve more than our opponents ever will." Putting it very bluntly, we will produce on the promises that they are so willing to make! This is what we have always done, and this is what we will continue to do.

In concluding let me turn to a serious question: What should be the dynamic of the Republican Party as we go to our convention and move on to our campaign? I was reading the other day of a visit by a French Journalist to this country. He visited here in the latter part of the 19th Century when America was bustling and full of vim and vigor. While talking to Lewis Cass, the Senator from Michigan, he said: "If America is like this when she is young, what will she be like when she grows old?" Lewis Cass answered: "America will never grow old."

The spirit of our Party, the spirit of America in these critical years of the Sixties, should be exactly that. We are a young country. We are a young Party. It is going to take a young country with a young Party, with leadership which is full of vitality, to meet the challenges of our times.

I hope our Party will be worthy of leading this country. I happen to believe that this is a country marked for destiny. I happen to believe that the world needs our leadership.

Perhaps this is a responsibility which many Americans would have preferred not to have. But it is a burden which has been placed upon us, which we must be willing to assume. We must have the ability and the worthiness to bear this responsibility which will be ours in those years ahead.

As our Party, which elected its first President a hundred years ago, goes into this campaign, let this be our goal: "A young Party will lead a young America in building a new world in which all men can have the opportunity to live in freedom and peace with their neighbors."

Now at the request of Clare Williams (Mrs. Clare B. Williams, Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee) I would like to say just a word about the women who are here. Clare handed me this note a moment ago in which she says: "Can't we do more about getting more women delegates at the convention?" I am for it. More women vote than men do, and we need women delegates because of the contribution that they can make.



Now I am well aware of the tremendous contribution that women can make in the campaign. I was in Melvin, Illinois, just a few weeks ago for a testimonial dinner for Les Arends, the Minority Whip. We had a great receiving line. Towards the end an older gentleman, who was a farmer in the area, came through and shook hands with me, and shook hands with Pat and then came around to me again, and he said: "Young fella, I just want to tell you one thing: There may be some argument as to who ought to be President of this country, but as far as First Lady, it is no contest. Pat Nixon is the one I want."

Of course, I am a biased observer. I can't say who ought to be President, but I am for Pat for First Lady!

VICE PRESIDENT  
RICHARD  
NIXON

ANSWERS QUESTIONS  
ABOUT  
**Politics**

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DOMESTIC GOALS AND POLICIES OF THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION

**Q.** You were quoted yesterday, Mr. Vice President, as saying that after the Congress has adjourned and after the convention you will feel free to delineate your position with respect to various issues.

You didn't specify which issues, particularly those which might differ from the stand taken by the Administration.

Are there going to be very many issues apart from the farm problem where you have a policy that is somewhat different from that advanced by the President?

- A.** There has been a great deal of comment to the effect that I am trying to divorce myself from the policies of the Eisenhower Administration.

Nothing could be further from the fact. I happen to be very proud of this record. I helped to make it. I played a part in developing many of the policies. I have attended the President's conferences throughout the past seven years.

I think this Administration has the best record of any administration in history in its handling of foreign policies so as to avoid war and its handling of domestic policies so as to stimulate progress and to build good economic conditions for this country. I am very happy to run on the Eisenhower record and against a return to the Truman policies.

Up to this point that is all any Democratic candidate has offered as far as I have been able to see. If they disagree with that statement I trust they will show where they stand on the Truman policies, just as I state my position on the Eisenhower policies.

I say I stand on the record. I emphasize: One, that I think this record has been splendid; Two, that in general principles, I don't think there probably are any two men in public life in America who agree more than the President and I. But; Three, I am not a stand-pat candidate. I also go further. It isn't enough to say we have done very well and we are going to stop here. America is a young country still, even though we are about 180 years old. We are a young people, we are a progressive people. We never like to stand still. As the President indicated in his press conference a few weeks ago, it would be foolish for me or any other Republican candidate to say we have done well and we haven't a new thought in our heads.

I happen to believe that there are some problems like the farm problem which this Administration has not solved. There are other problems, new problems, for which this Administration has not had an opportunity to develop programs.

For the farm problem, for problems dealing with our cities, for various other problems, I intend to present to the American people my own program for the future at the same time that I defend the policies of the past.

You don't think by doing this you will in effect hand the Democrats an endorsement of their attacks on the Eisenhower Administration?

I don't for this reason: their attacks on the Eisenhower Administration

are based on a fundamental difference in philosophy.

Let's leave out foreign policy for a moment. Let's look at domestic policy.

The Democratic candidates--and I say the Democratic candidates, because there are millions of Democrats who have supported the President in the past and will vote Republican again because they don't believe their Party represents their views--say that we need new programs in order to have progress in health, in education, in power, in all of these various areas. They set up fine goals, they are for better health, better housing, better schools, better education for the American people.

Now, every American can support those goals. I am for them just as the Democratic candidates are for them. But it is here that we depart. They say that we must always turn to Washington to reach these goals. We must expand government spending. We must expand the size of the Federal Government. We must increase its participation in the economy of this country.

For example, if it is schools, they say that the Federal Government should embark on a massive program of federal aid to education. If it is health, all people should be compelled to join a state health insurance system and so on down the line. The Democratic candidates say this is the only way to reach our goals. The American people must give up more of their money to the Federal Government through taxes. The American people must give up more of their freedom and more of their own lives to the Federal Government. This is their approach.

What is our approach, the Eisenhower approach and the approach I take to the problems?

We say, "Yes, the goals are right. We stand for better health and better housing, for better highways, and for all the things that the American people want." But we should not start developing programs to reach these goals by saying, "Well, the people can't handle these things for themselves, we haven't faith in the people." We say the thing to do is start first with the individual, then go to the group, and then go to the states. If individuals can do the job, if private enterprise can do it or if state government can do it, one or more of them should.

But if the individual action, private action and state action will not meet these goals, then and only then should the Federal Government step in with its program.

The reason I stand for this approach is not because I am against

these goals. I am for these goals. Instead I oppose the Democratic program because I believe it won't work.

I believe ours does, because in the last eight years we have built more schools and we have built more highways and because the American people have done better in terms of real income than they have ever done in the history of this country.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions in an interview by Frank Reynolds on WBBM-TV Program "INSIGHT" in Chicago, Illinois, May 1, 1960

#### LEADERSHIP AND THE PRESIDENCY

- Q.** Senator Kennedy has said that in 1960 it would require a very vigorous approach to the presidency. Could you characterize your view in terms of some Republican President? Theodore Roosevelt or Taft?
- A.** Well, I read Senator Kennedy's comments, and may I say that I have a real respect for his analysis of the problems of the day...I think he's a very serious student. However, my own study of the American political system and of those who have served in the office of President, leads me to characterize the difference between strong and weak Presidents somewhat differently from the way he did.

The problem of leadership is one that cannot be put down and described in terms of absolute, rigid, black-and-white categories. To say that one man is a strong leader and another man is a weak leader may be, on the basis of a whole record, a fair appraisal. But, whether a man is a strong or a weak leader is determined by the results of what he has done rather than how he does it. And I think this is where Senator Kennedy has, to an extent, missed the lesson of history.

Now, I would agree with him that Lincoln was a strong leader, Jackson was a strong leader. But I would disagree wholeheartedly with him that Eisenhower is not. Mr. Truman, in some respects, was a strong leader. His decision in Korea, his decision with regard to the use of the atomic bomb, are two examples of strong, decisive leadership. My own appraisal is that it cannot be said that one man is a strong leader because he pounds the table in order to get things through that he wants, while the other man is not a strong leader because he gets his program through by persuasion. Mr. Truman was somewhat of a table-pounder and he achieved some results that way. President Eisenhower is a persuader and he, I submit, has gotten some real results.

His critics say that President Eisenhower has not been a strong leader, and yet they object to the leadership which ended the war in Korea, which handled the crisis in Suez and which made two decisions in the Formosa Straits. Decisions which, I would say, were controversial partly because they were strong evidences of leadership. His decision to go into Lebanon is another example of the President's strong leadership.

In looking at Senator Kennedy's statement, I disagree with his tendency to characterize leadership too much in terms of the personalities of the individual presidents involved rather than in terms of what they did and what they accomplished.

Now, looking to the '60s. I believe that the American people need a number of characteristics in their President, whether he be a Democrat or a Republican. Among these are first, that the President of the United States be a man who, of course, knows the great international issues and the domestic issues. Certainly, I think most of the candidates on the Democratic side could qualify in this respect. They are students of the international and domestic scene. That knowledge, it seems to me, must be combined with leadership qualities to gain support for the views he believes are in the best interests of the nation.

Now, taking each of the individual Democratic candidates, I think it can be said that some would gain support through persuasion, some perhaps through a more vigorous approach, closer to what Mr. Truman used. In any event, the test of whether a man is a strong President will be determined by what works.

When we speak of strong leadership, there is sometimes a tendency for people to say that what we need--whenever some kind of a crisis comes up--is for somebody to go out and charge and lead the people in the proper direction up to the mountain top. Now, this is an understandable temptation. It's rather easy, when a difficult international issue comes up, to characterize those who may be opposing your policies as the devils of the worst type and to engage in, shall I say, rash and impulsive language. But in the '60s--in addition to knowledge of the issues, in addition to an understanding of world affairs, in addition to the basic ability that any leader must have to gain support for his policies--the American people and the free world need in an American President a man who has judgment. A man who in a crisis will be cool, a man who won't go off half-cocked, a man who will resist the temptation (and the temptations will sometimes be great) to give the appearance of leadership when, actually, his speaking out may set off a chain of circumstances that would be disastrous

to the whole world. So I would urge that those who are looking at this problem of leadership not be fooled by the appearance; that they look beyond the gestures, the flamboyant speeches, etc., and they look actually to what is accomplished. In that respect I think we can make a more accurate appraisal of what kind of leadership we have.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a news conference in Miami Beach, Florida, January 16, 1960

#### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND THE PRESIDENCY

- Q.** Mr. Vice President, it is a credo of the country that a candidate need have no religion. Suppose that a man had no religion--was, in fact, an atheist. Would his beliefs be an issue?
- A.** A man who has no religion can be elected President of the United States. A Communist can be elected President of the United States. But the fact that a man was a Communist would be an issue because a Communist would not stand for the great principles that most Americans subscribe to.

As far as religion is concerned, if we read the Declaration of Independence, if we look at our money, if we repeat the salute to the flag, we hear the words "In God we trust," in one form or another. While we recognize the right of a person to have no religion at all in this country, I don't believe America can or should have a man as President who does not have faith in God.

Then too, in the world struggle today, we often hear about the competition in missiles and the material competition that Mr. Khrushchev calls peaceful competition between our system and theirs. Too often in the free world we talk of this competition in terms of material things alone, and we meet him on his own chosen ground. We say we are going to build more factories than he can and better missiles than he can and better televisions and automobiles than he can, as if that were the whole test. That isn't the whole test as far as we are concerned. It is only part of it.

While we can beat him economically and militarily, the greatest advantage that the free world has in this struggle with Communism is in the moral and spiritual area. We believe there is more to life than simply good homes and better food and better housing and better clothing. We believe that man has a spiritual destiny.

Therefore, I think any President of the United States who is going

to lead the free world and our country in this great struggle with atheistic Communism must be a man who has a basic belief in God and stands for religious beliefs.

And may I say in that connection, various opponents who hope to be the Democratic nominee all share the belief I have, a basic belief in God. So this is no issue as far as I am concerned.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions in an interview by Frank Reynolds on WBBM-TV Program "INSIGHT" in Chicago, Illinois, May 1, 1960

TONE OF THE CAMPAIGN

- Q.** Mr. Vice President, as the campaign goes on this year, it is likely to become--well, pretty rough as they sometimes do.

Now, we have heard a great deal about new Nixons and old Nixons. Is there a new Nixon?

- A.** You know, I often hear that kind of argument being made and I understand it and I don't resent it.

Yet I feel sure that many people who are talking about the new Nixon never knew the old Nixon.

Going further and speaking seriously on the point, I think all of us change. I have had a very rare experience of serving under the President for seven years. I visited 54 countries as a representative of the President of the American people. I am now fully aware of the responsibilities that the next President of the United States will have.

As for the campaign, I think it is tremendously important that the American people hear a hard-hitting discussion of the issues from both Presidential candidates.

The people must make an intelligent choice. When they go into the polling booths they must know where both men stand so that they can choose the man who will lead this nation and the free world in these perilous Sixties. Because this is the period that may determine the destruction or the survival of our civilization.

So in this campaign, I intend to discuss these issues. I intend to point out how I differ with my opponent and I expect him to attack my policies and my record.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions in an interview by Frank Reynolds on WBBM-TV Program "INSIGHT" in Chicago, Illinois, May 1, 1960

REPUBLICAN POLITICS AND THE 1960 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

- Q.** Mr. Vice President, I wonder how you evaluate the so-called "Stop Nixon" move in New York.
- A.** Well, it probably will add some spice and interest to the Republican race for the nomination. I think it is, of course, perfectly proper for any individuals, or groups of individuals, who feel that some other candidate would be preferable, to support him at this time. Between now and convention time, I think the people will have an adequate time to evaluate whatever candidate they desire to support against me or others in the field.
- Q.** Do you expect competition, Mr. Vice President, for the nomination?
- A.** It is hard to say whether competition will develop. I would say that what has been referred to as the "Stop-Nixon" movement in New York is perhaps competition. I have noted, for example, that Senator Goldwater was endorsed by a Republican group in South Carolina. There is only one thing about political campaigns you are always sure of, and that is, until the votes are counted there is nothing certain. So I would not be surprised to see competition, and certainly I would not be opposed to it. I feel that competition is both right and sometimes very helpful.
- Q.** Who would you choose for a running mate?
- A.** Until I, myself, have been able, shall we say, to overcome my competition, it would be presumptuous for me to indicate who the Vice Presidential candidate should be. At this time the people will have a very good chance to evaluate the various prospects for the Republican nomination, and I myself intend to be watching them so that if and when I do have something to say about the Vice Presidential nomination, I can make recommendations which would be based upon the abilities of the men both as campaigners and as far as their qualifications to hold the office is concerned.
- Q.** Do you have any preferences at all in this race?
- A.** I am very happy to see a number of Republicans in the Cabinet, in the Senate, in the Congress, and among the Governorships, as well as some outside of government, that would meet what I consider to be the qualifi-

cations for Vice President. I would not name any of them now or select any one over the other.

**Q.** Would you accept the Vice Presidential nomination?

**A.** I have answered that question before. I feel that the two-term provision for President, for which I voted, was a very salutary and correct principle to adopt; I think it should apply to Vice Presidents also.

**Q.** Would you comment on Mr. Rockefeller's statement that he would not be interested in the Vice Presidency?

**A.** No, except to say that I think it is perfectly proper for him to take both that position and the position that he does not want to endorse anybody for the Presidential nomination until the convention. I think that in both of these cases he is completely within his rights, and I respect him for whatever decision he has made. I am confident that when the convention is held Governor Rockefeller will do what he said when he withdrew from the nomination race--that he will support whoever is nominated by the convention.

As far as the Vice Presidency is concerned, certainly he has a right to decline to run for Vice President, if he desires.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a news conference in San Francisco, California, April 11, 1960

PRIMARIES

**Q.** Did it discourage you to run third in the 3-man race in Wisconsin?

**A.** No, I have studied Wisconsin election returns through the years and, as you know, they have a peculiar voting law where anybody who wants to get into a fight can do so. The voter can pick a Democratic ballot if there is a contest on that side, or a Republican ballot if there is one on that side. And traditionally Wisconsin voters, when there is no contest on one side and there is one on the other, vote in the contest. I think our showing was reasonably good considering the fact that there was no contest on our ticket.

**Q.** If you had to do it over, would you go in there and campaign?

**A.** No. I did not see any reason to go in at that particular time in view of the fact that the contest, so far as delegates were concerned, was already decided. I also had a very heavy schedule in Washington during that period and was unable to go in except, I think, I was in there for the February 12 Lincoln-Day period, but that was two months before.

- Q.** Mr. Nixon, what was your reaction to Senator Byrd's request that West Virginians vote for Humphrey rather than Kennedy?
- A.** Well, first, I think it might be well to designate which Senator Byrd we are talking about. Most people think of Senator Byrd only as the Senator Byrd of Virginia; this is Senator Byrd of West Virginia. According to the news reports that I saw, he is--or has been--a supporter of Lyndon Johnson rather than Senator Humphrey. The news accounts indicated that he felt the supporters of all the other candidates should get behind Humphrey in order to stop Kennedy. He has, of course, a perfect right to do that. I would only suggest that, since this gives the appearance of ganging up on Mr. Kennedy, it might have exactly the opposite result intended. Because if the people get the idea in West Virginia that all of the candidates are ganging up to beat one, there might be a reverse reaction in Senator Kennedy's favor.
- Q.** Mr. Vice President, do you think the results in the West Virginia primary might indicate the nominee?
- A.** I certainly do. As far as Senator Kennedy is concerned, a defeat would not put him out of the race because he has great strength in the polls and also as far as committed delegations are concerned. A victory for him would close it out. I think that while there would still be some motions by the other candidates, if he proves that he can carry West Virginia after Wisconsin where there were some doubts raised as to whether or not the religious issue would hurt him, then nobody can stop Kennedy. I would imagine, for example, that that is probably why Senator Byrd and others are concerned about West Virginia.
- Q.** Which of the two candidates would you prefer to face?
- A.** I would say that I can answer that question better when I see which one comes out first at the convention. I know all of the potential Democratic candidates; I find myself in disagreement in varying degrees with many of their views, but I consider each one of them to be a very formidable opponent. I think it will be a hard fight for the Republican nominee, whoever it is, including me, but I think we can win. Because I think our record is the most outstanding record that any candidate will have ever run on, I also believe that on the issues confronting the world and the nation we simply have a better case to sell.
- Q.** Mr. Vice President, in Indiana you are on one side unopposed and Kennedy on the other side is unopposed in the primary there. Could that be interpreted as a race between you and Kennedy?
- A.** Well, it's very likely to be, I would say, just as the Wisconsin primary...

**Q.** Well, how would you interpret it?

**A.** I would not interpret it that way unless both party organizations interpreted it that way. In other words, where you have a situation where a candidate is unopposed, the number of votes he gets is no indication at all of his strength, because people do not vote unless it counts, generally speaking. In Indiana, for example, I noted that while there is no contest for the Presidential nomination, there is a hot contest on the Democratic ticket for Governor--so there would be a tendency to draw out more Democratic votes than Republican votes. I do not say this is going to happen, but I do say that where you have this situation of no contest in a primary, the strength of the candidate is not indicated by the vote he receives.

I have a pretty good example right here in California. In 1950, when I ran for the Senate, there was no contest on the Republican ticket and there were two candidates on the Democratic ticket. The two candidates on the Democratic ticket polled over 600,000 votes more than I did. Now, the uninitiated from other states, for example, said: Well, this means that Nixon will lose because the Democrats are 600,000 votes stronger. But, as you know, in the final campaign I won by 700,000 votes. The proof again of the point that where there is a contest people come out, where there is not they do not.

**Q.** Mr. Vice President, do you think the change in qualifying in the primary in California will affect the political activity...in other words, show a decline in political activity in California...

**A.** I would imagine it would have some effect in that direction. When you have the cross-filing, there's always a lot of activity on the part of any candidates to move over and get as much support in the primary from the other party as he can so that he can carry that over to the final. Now, when you no longer have that incentive and where you have incumbents who are unopposed, this means that they won't do much campaigning in a primary. So the net result is less, certainly...will be less activity than in previous years.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a news conference in San Francisco, California, April 11, 1960

#### ISSUES IN THE 1960 CAMPAIGN

**A.** Mr. Vice President, would you care to name what you consider the two or three chief issues of the 1960 Presidential campaign?

- A.** The overwhelming issue is the security and survival of the United States of America. That means all the related issues: national defense, our foreign policy, and of course the non-military aspects of the cold war struggle.

When I speak of this as an issue, I do not mean that whoever may be the Democrat candidate or whoever may be the Republican candidate will disagree on all of the various facets of the issue. I do mean that the American people in judging which man they feel should be President of the United States in this critical period will put as their first qualification whether or not the candidate is best able to handle this issue of survival and all of its aspects. They will consider who is best able from the standpoint of experience, and the policy that he may advocate during the course of the campaign. In that respect I believe that it would be very constructive for there to be very frank discussion of these various issues, because one of the purposes of a political campaign in this country is to submit national policy to the closest scrutiny by the voters every four years.

This can be done only by intelligent opposition that hits hard against those policies that are thought to be deficient. I expect that. I think our opponents will and should expect to meet that responsibility.

On the domestic scene I would say the issues depend to a great extent on who the candidates happen to be, because it is rather difficult at the present time to say what position the various Democrat candidates will take on some of the domestic issues. They disagree amongst themselves and so it is difficult for me to say at this point where they would disagree with Republican candidates.

As far as the domestic issues are concerned there will be these:

One, the role of government in the economy of this Country--and over-simplifying a very complex problem, the difference that I would see arising between the Republican and the Democrat candidate would be that the Republican candidates represent a philosophy that government should supplement rather than supplant individuals and private enterprise. Not all but most of the potential Democrat candidates for the Presidency believe that government should take a larger role. They believe that the way to more economic growth is more government spending and more government activity than we presently have. If that is the issue it will be good for the country to debate and to get a verdict of the people as to which route they want to take. I have very strong views as to which route we should take. The Soviet Union, of all countries, is turning our way. They are rewarding incentive in a system in which everybody is supposed to receive according to his

needs and contribute according to his ability. They are paying more for those who are the best producers, establishing competition between the various segments of the economy. At a time they are turning our way, I don't think there is any greater mistake that we could make than to turn their way.

I think that the reliance which we have placed on private enterprise and individual enterprise as the primary source of economic growth has been proved wise by our history. I think that this is where we ought to place our bets, looking toward this economic competition in the future.

Depending upon the candidates--it is possible that labor management relations could be an issue. It is possible that the area of civil rights could develop into an issue.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at the  
California Newspaper Publishers Association  
Convention in Los Angeles, California, February 6, 1960

#### COMMUNISM AS AN ISSUE IN THE 1960 CAMPAIGN

- Q.** Politics is pretty generally viewed as a pretty nasty business. Do you believe that somebody who uses campaign techniques, such as the Communist innuendo, is qualified to provide leadership.
- A.** When one of our Republican Governors raised a question about Senator Kennedy concerning his attitude toward Communism, I said that having known Senator Kennedy, I am convinced there was no question about his sharing the same views that I did with regard to: one, the danger of Communism; two, with regard to programs to meet it.

I believe a candidate's attitude toward Communism, his record on Communism, his votes, his statements, his associations, by all means should be discussed in a campaign. The greatest issue confronting the next President of the United States, the greatest issue confronting Senators, Congressmen, more important than all the domestic issues and decisions they will make, is what position the United States shall take in the world struggle. You cannot make decisions on this issue unless you understand the issue, unless you have proper judgment and balance to deal with it. Therefore it is vitally important and it is necessary that my record, my opponents' records, everybody who asks to represent the United States in meeting this issue be examined from the time he entered public life to see whether or not he has shown

judgment, to see whether or not he has been naive. We cannot afford to have people representing the United States abroad, in the Congress or in the Senate or the Presidency of the United States, who will be taken in by Communists, and that is why the record should be discussed and I intend to discuss the record throughout the campaign and I believe my opponents should do likewise. I believe that as far as using your term "innuendo," which would, in effect, say that because this individual showed bad judgment, therefore, he is pro-Communist, is concerned, that, of course, should not be done.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions of  
students at Stanford University, Palo Alto,  
California, April 11, 1960

QUALITY OF REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR CONGRESS

- Q.** Do you recall the statement "that quite a few Republicans are resigning from the Congress rather than run on a ticket headed by you"?
- A.** Yes, I saw that statement in this morning's paper. If they are resigning from the Congress, or not wanting to run for Congress, that is news to me. We have some good, hot primaries throughout the country, this year, as proof that people want to run for Congress on the Republican Ticket, and I have been most encouraged by the quality of the candidates for Congress and for the United States Senate that our Party will present to the public.

I think that the Republicans have fallen off in strength in the Congress since 1952, while President Eisenhower has continued to increase his strength, because we have not put up as good candidates as we could in many districts and states. And although I disagree on issues with many of the Democratic candidates that ran against ours and won I must admit that some of them were superior as candidates to some that ran for us.

Now, this year on the Republican ticket we have the best crop of good, young, intelligent, articulate candidates that I have seen since 1950. The candidates on the Democratic ticket are in for a surprise this year if they under-rate our candidates. They are good.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions in an interview by Frank Reynolds on WBBM-TV Program "INSIGHT" in Chicago, Illinois, May 1, 1960

1960 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

- Q.** Mr. Nixon, just last Friday night Senator Keating was speaking in Grand Rapids, and he said that the main concern of the Republican Party is that the convention is going to be so sewn up by the time it opens that there won't be any color in it to attract the people.

Would you care to comment on that?

- A.** This is a problem. People in our country always like a good fight, provided they are not participating in it.

The Democratic Convention, at least at the present time, seems to indicate that kind of fight. In fact, some have suggested that the new Sports Arena in Los Angeles will be the forum for the battle of the century. With regard to the Republican Convention, looking back at our convention in San Francisco last year, we had a similar situation where it was pretty well known who the Presidential candidate would be and relatively well known who the Vice Presidential candidate would be. It was not as exciting a convention as the Democratic Convention, but we still won the election, and that is what we expect to do this time.

--Vice President Richard Nixon in response to questions  
at a news conference in Detroit, Michigan  
February 15, 1960

**REPUBLICAN NOMINEES FOR VICE PRESIDENT**

- Q.** Would you outline for us the type of person--geographical background, public and private life--you would like to have in a running mate next fall, without naming any names?

- A.** I have consistently declined and will decline today, to discuss the Vice Presidency insofar as any personal choice is concerned, because I think it would be presumptuous and premature for me to indicate, before receiving the Republican nomination, who I think should be the Vice Presidential nominee. However, I would be glad to say, from a general standpoint, that my view is that the Vice Presidency has changed so much--not so much because of what I have done on my own initiative, but because of the President's concept of the office and of what he has allowed the Vice President to do and urged him to do--the Vice Presidency has become so important a part of the executive branch of the government, that the old methods which both parties have used at times in selecting Vice Presidential candidates are now obsolete.

I do not believe that either party should pick their Vice Presidential

candidate for the purpose of balancing the ticket geographically. I do not believe that either party should pick him for the purpose of balancing the ticket, shall we say, ideologically--a conservative, for example, with a liberal. I do not believe that any considerations of that sort should enter into it. The primary consideration, of course, must be: Can the man who is nominated serve as Vice President and potentially as President if that eventuality should occur? And second, next in importance, he must be a man who, from the standpoint of his views, has as close an identity as possible with the views of the Presidential candidate. I can say from experience that I would not have been able to do nearly as much as I have been able to do, had the President not had confidence in the fact that I shared his views on major issues and that, therefore, he could trust me in carrying out his assignments abroad and in the United States.

If you have a situation where the ticket is balanced and where you get, in effect, two conflicting personalities, either ideologically or otherwise, in the two offices, the Vice President simply cannot be used in the confidential and very important relationships that have been used in this Administration.

That gives you an idea of my general philosophy.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a news conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 8, 1960

#### VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND CABINET MEMBERS

**Q.** Have you prepared a list of possible Vice Presidential candidates?

**A.** I know there is a great deal of conjecture with regard to the Vice Presidential candidates...as a matter of fact, I'm often asked another question that I anticipate. If I should become a candidate--and be elected--what people would I choose as members of the Cabinet. My answer to all of those questions is the same: My study of the recent political history of this country indicates that any individual who before he is nominated--and also before he is elected--makes statements about who will be in his Cabinet if he should be elected, or Vice Presidential candidate if he is nominated--generally does not get nominated OR elected, so I'm not going to say anything.

--Vice President Nixon in response to questions at a public forum in Fresno, California, February 18, 1960

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