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<td>47</td>
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<td>11/20/1959</td>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Schedules 1-9 not including 5. Re: Committees: Advisory, Political, Executive, Public Relations, Women's, Membership, Special Functions, Legal, Letters to the Editor and Speakers Bureau. 10 Pages.</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>From Peter Flanigan. Re: Memo and Exhibit attached entitled New Yorkers for Nixon. 3 Pages.</td>
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NIXON-LODGE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

SUMMARY OF OPINIONS IN THE NEWS  WEDNESDAY, OCT. 5, 1960

Broadcast Report

Radio dwelt mainly on Nixon statements re cost of living, Kennedy, GOP waste, several mention Christian Science Monitor endorsement. John Daly, ABC, appears leaning GOP in discussion of budget surplus. Beatty says space conquest cancels out U-2 problems. Van Horn off on sudden pro-Democratic kick. Edward Morgan gloom and doom as usual, says Khrushchev doesn't think we have what it takes. CBS, 8 AM, quotes Kennedy on one million out of work because of Nixon-backed policies re depressed areas. NEC-TV, 6:45 PM, Kennedy, Southern Illinois, SOF hard times. Brinkley on camera, brief mention Nixon activities. CBS, 8 AM, silent Vice President and Mrs. Nixon with crowds, Johnson, SOF, small crowd. Today Show, Blair says New Jersey GOP cheered by turnout, silent RN with Robinson, hecklers rebuked. Blair says crowds bigger than Kennedy's. Comments Nixon has new gloves off policy. Agronsky interview with Memphis Commercial Appeal editor and Nashville Tennessean. Commercial Appeal man predicts Republican victory. Ladybird interviewed by Garroway, no special political overtones. WTOP radio-TV editorial blasted House Rules Committee, said RN will be forced to change stand if elected and he wants to get anything done. Rash finds bad news for GOP in fiscal developments.

Coverage

Morning coverage, considering the competition with Nikita and the plane accident, was for the most part front page for both candidates. Reporters traveling with Sen. Kennedy, except for NYT and Balt. Sun treat him gently so far as sparseness of crowds was concerned. Weaver in the NYT pointed out that the police estimate of the Nixon crowd in Patterson, N. J., appeared low. Norton in the Balt. Sun described the crowd at the West Orange armory as "the wildest, the noisiest and the most unmanageable rally--in a friendly sort of way--that Nixon has experienced in this campaign." So far as crowds went during the day, Norton said "There were groups waiting all along the route...but it couldn't be described as anything more than a friendly reception. It was not a triumphal tour." Albright described the crowds as good but said they generally fell below those of his opponent. Potter described Kennedy's Indianapolis crowds as being the poorest of his campaign. Joseph Hearst in the Chicago Tribune said Kennedy's Indianapolis speech was modeled after
one FDR used in the 1932 campaign.

**Endorsement.**

The Christian Science Monitor, Oct. 4: "The Christian Science Monitor is an independent newspaper. But we do not equate independence with neutrality...and so in 1960 we have concluded that Vice President Nixon is best fitted to fulfill the grave demands of the presidency.... Both presidential candidates are vigorous, imaginative and politically skilled. But one clearly surpasses the other in his preparation for coping with world affairs.... Mr. Kennedy...has gone so far as to say that organized labor's aims are America's aims. Mr. Nixon has frankly told union workers that he could not be for them in every situation because a President must put the interests of all first."

Balt. Sun, Oct. 5: "Evoking memories of the political conventions in July, Mr. Nixon calls on Mr. Kennedy to say exactly where he agrees, and exactly where he disagrees, with his party's platform. It is a good question. It is also a question not likely to get any answer but a vague one. It is, further, a question that could be asked as well of Mr. Nixon, with no likelihood of any but a vague answer.... Political platforms are valuable exercises. The process of their making first exposes, than as a rule reconciles, the diverse elements of a party. They are valuable also as general statements of party philosophy: within them can be discovered, along with much that's wooly, what a party fundamentally stands for. But as Mr. Nixon has said and as Mr. Kennedy knows whether he says it or not, a platform is at most a starting point. It is not platforms that win elections, but men; and it is not a platform that sits in the President's chair in the White House."

Schenectady Union-Star, Oct. 1: "In the same week Schenectady has welcomed both aspirants for the presidency.... Vice President Nixon was greeted last night with a degree of warmth and enthusiasm equivalent to that extended the day before to Senator Kennedy.... Neither Senator Kennedy nor Vice President Nixon said anything new to the voters here. But at a time when the United Nations...is the scene of so much that is repugnant to a people so idealistic as Americans, Mr. Nixon had one message that should continue to stick out no matter how tough the rough and tumble campaigning may become.... It was: 'The world struggle will be decided in the minds..."
and hearts and souls of men, not in the struggle of arms or for superiority in economic strength...Faith in God and belief in the integrity of men must be a message to be carried to the world by the next President of the United States...We must strengthen the idealism of our country and its moral and spiritual values. We must see America remain strong in its hearts, souls and beliefs. It is, we think, a wonderful commentary on our nation that a candidate engaged in so bitter campaign as that being waged by Senator Kennedy and Vice President Nixon could take time out to put emphasis on idealism--which not very often is an ingredient of practical politics.

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Oct. 4: "To Virginians fed up with Mr. Khrushchev's insults, directed at the Administration, and Mr. Kennedy's obligato of criticism, Vice President Nixon's Capitol speech may have proved reassuring—that the country's future is not as black as the other two would have us believe. Here was no 'give 'em hell' Trumanade dealing in personalities. It was an earnest, factual comparison of platforms, and in welcome contrast to the inhibited, amateurishly stage-managed TV debate....Warmth and vigor lent emphasis to Mr. Nixon's logical analysis of major issues....Mr. Nixon made it plain that he is not insensible to Southern resistance (to civil rights). But he pointed out that the problem is not confined to the South....Mr. Nixon, unlike Mr. Eisenhower...is familiar with the executive as well as legislative functions in constitutional government. If elected he will not be able to plead 'ignorance of the law' in extenuation—should he fail to live up to yesterday's explicit pledge to abide by the constitutional interdict against aggrandizement of federal powers....He reiterated what may become the GOP's most effective campaign slogan: 'It's not Jack's money—but yours—they propose to spend.' Mr. Nixon stands unashamed on his platform. That's more than can be said for Virginia Democrats who ask us to vote for Kennedy."

Perhaps the best comment on RN's appearance in Richmond was the statement of Kennedy's Virginia campaign chief that it is vital that the Democratic nominee make a second appearance in that state before November 8.

WSJ, Oct. 5: "When the two political conventions had done their business, it seemed clear to everyone that the Republican candidate was well ahead....But now, get so we hear, six will/you only five, either way. Mr. Gallup has: the two candidates neck and neck, and Newsweek magazine's latest poll gives the Democratic ticket a slight edge. We don't think it's too hard to see the reasons why....To be sure..."
Senator Kennedy was at the beginning a less well-known person, less established in the public eye as a man of leadership. More exposure has done much to alter this, and almost surely any change had to be in his favor. Apparently some gentlemen in Mr. Nixon's camp are taking comfort from the inevitability of this. But we suggest that this should be small comfort to them. For something else has been happening in this campaign more discouraging to Mr. Nixon's supporters and more heartening for Mr. Kennedy's...Senator Kennedy has got himself a political product to sell....

It is by-the-bye that this is by now a somewhat tattered package. It is clear and definite. And Mr. Kennedy is selling it with all the ardor and persistence of a door-to-door salesman...Mr. Kennedy is having no truck with this notion that he and Mr. Nixon 'share the same goals for America' and differ only in means....The desire for more Government intervention is a goal as well as a means. Thus Sen. Kennedy sharpens, rather than dulls, the difference between himself and the Republican candidate....Mr. Kennedy has learned a lesson from old-pro Harry Truman. He does not wear kid gloves when he attacks the Eisenhower Administration, the Republican platform or Mr. Nixon's personal record. Like Mr. Truman, he is a scrapper...

Meanwhile, Mr. Nixon goes about stating everything in muted tones. He puts in appearances; he states in a general way that he differs from Senator Kennedy on the role of Government; he recalls the virtues of the Eisenhower Administration. But what is missing is that ardor which says to an audience, 'Here is what I deeply believe, and these things are vital to the country.' The product he offers in the political market place all too often seems merely a pale imitation of the Democratic product...All this...is wholly unnecessary. For in the freedom of the citizens from a greater burden of taxes, from the frauds of inflation, from the oppressions of various new Government schemes for managing our private lives...there is a political product of inestimable value. And if Mr. Nixon doubts that it is saleable, he might have a look at the way...Mr. Goldwater is finding ardent customers out there on the same hustings....Senator Kennedy has offered Mr. Nixon some fine targets, if only he finds the will to shoot at them. There are at least two things of which the American people are rightly fearful--inflation, and adventuring in foreign affairs. The consequences of the Democratic promises in terms of what they must inevitably do to the people's money are there to be dramatized by any political leader of skill and imagination.
who talk of more adventuring all over the globe....We are well aware of the theory that this is not the way for the Republicans to win an election. That the Republican candidate, too, must be 'liberal,' that he must be above the turmoil; that his best chance is to coast to victory on the coat-tails of the Eisenhower record and in the hope that the voters will not swap experience for inexperience....But there is the fact--Mr. Nixon has slipped, Mr. Kennedy has gained. That is a practical matter that ought to dispose any man to look to his weapons, and to suggest to any Republican that he who forgets 1948 may be doomed to repeat it. If a leader does not persuade people that he himself believes strongly in his cause, who will follow him?" 

Paul Duke, in a piece on the editorial page of the WSJ, also comments on RN's strategy and what he describes as the behind-the-scenes thinking on the matter. Duke concludes "Undoubtedly Mr. Nixon will take an increasingly tougher tack as the campaign progresses. The last few days have already seen several subtle changes in his campaigning....But some pros doubt Mr. Nixon will ever return to the roundhouse assaults of olden days."

Cedar Rapids Gazette, Sept. 19: 'We'll confine our observations to the vice-president's unique approach to working out a farm program of his own, an approach which he talked about informally before detailing 'Operation Consume'...Along with many in the 25,000 audience who expressed opinions, we were pleasantly surprised to hear about the farm problem from a man who openly admits he is a novice when it comes to agricultural matters. Usually it's the other way around....He expressed a willingness and a desire to learn rather than a 'I have all the answers' attitude that is too commonplace on the part of too many politicians....Ad libbing after his formal remarks were finished, Nixon said what thousands of farmers and non-farmers alike have been wanting to hear from a top politician for, lo, too many years. 'We must not be inflexible on this farm situation with our side saying "only this is right"' (etc.)...This, we repeat, is what thousands of Americans have been waiting to hear. Now, they'd like to see the words translated into action."

Davenport, Iowa, Daily Times, Sept. 19: "The country needed to be reminded that the farmer is an asset, not a liability, and Vice President Nixon has done it. Vigorously presenting his four-point farm program, Mr. Nixon courageously made it plain that disposal of the overhanging surplus cannot be done without cost....It is true each of (his) proposals has been made at various times but it is impossible to
draft a formula to aid the farmer without drawing upon previous planning. In every farm program there are drawbacks and ways must be found to minimize their effects.

...There were sneers at Mr. Nixon's program from Democratic spokesmen on the national level. That, of course, is a nonsensical way to treat any proposal seriously put forth as a help to farmers. It should not be overlooked by farm families in this great bread basket that any program which does not undertake to protect them against growing Southern competition is sure to have a grave impact upon their future....

Every Democrat, North and South elected to House and Senate contributes to the fastening of Southern control upon Congress and that control means the Southern farmer will draw the advantage in legislation."

Kennedy

John M. Cummings, Phila. Inquirer, Oct. 5: "In the words of a song hit in 'South Pacific,' Sen. John F. Kennedy has washed that man right out of his hair. The Democratic nominee...declared in St. Paul...he is not 'mad' at President Eisenhower and is unlikely to fire criticism in the direction of the White House.... From this it would appear that in his first political speech of the battle last week in Chicago, the President scored a bullseye. For weeks the country has been told that the Administration had been leading the country, even the world, in the direction of disaster. Now we have it on the word of the chief spokesman of the malcontents that Mr. Eisenhower and all his works are no longer issues. Senator Kennedy says his quarrel is with Vice President Nixon....Since Mr. Nixon is as much a part of the Administration as Ike himself, it is difficult to see how Senator Kennedy can avoid one while slugging the other."

Joe Alsop finds Kennedy's speeches vastly more masculine than Adlai Stevenson. Alsop, now traveling with Kennedy, says "In the Kennedy campaign safari, the buoyancy of the optimism, the sense of being on a rising curve, are now so strong that they are all but tangible." He comments at great length on the enthusiasm of the crowds which Kennedy has been attracting. With specific reference to Kennedy's speeches, he says "The themes, by now, are all familiar....Underlying the publicized themes, however, there are other things that have received less attention. There is an intense sense of this particular moment in history. There is a somber estimate of history's possible movement. And there is a desperate urgency about the measures to assure a
decent future. 'These are somber times,' he says, and there is no doubt he means it. The very fact that he means it combines with his visible, almost overly visible, confidence in his own power to find a safe way through. It is this combination that moves the crowds, and makes the old women want to touch him.'

Roscoe Drummond says the second debate should be better than the first for two reasons: 'If it will deal more with foreign policy... (2) because both (RN & JK) have been dealing in such large generalities that it has become nearly impossible for the country to discover wherein the two really disagree... Nixon is far too intelligent to believe everything is as snug and rosy for America and the West as his speeches imply. If he doesn't begin speaking more candidly and more realistically soon, he runs the risk of creating the impression that he doesn't grasp the dangerous uncertainties around us.... Kennedy is far too intelligent to believe that American prestige and influence are falling apart all over the world.... If he doesn't begin soon to expound his criticisms with greater precision and restraint, he runs the risk of creating the impression that he would not deal with these problems with precision and with restraint.... Mr. Nixon has a difficult political problem. He must defend the Eisenhower record and yet persuade the country that he is not blind to what's gone wrong. He is doing the first very well but neglecting the second.... Sen. Kennedy has his favorite over-simplifications. When he is asked to document his broad contention that American influence and prestige are grueling declining around the world, he quickly cites the Congo, Cuba and the Japanese rioting.... It seems to me that here Mr. Kennedy is resting his argument very largely on what D. W. Brogan has called 'the myth of American omnipotence.' Drummond goes on to say that Kennedy hasn't proved his case in this prestige matter and continues, 'I am sure that Mr. Kennedy never considered it fair, or even rational, to blame the Truman administration for the conquest of mainland China... or for the Communist aggression against South Korea. Both candidates have a duty to put their views on the whole range of foreign affairs more precisely and realistically. If one does so and the other doesn't, he could well turn the voting in his direction.'

David Lawrence: 'Sen. Kennedy has promised that if elected... he will announce to the world a specific course of action to aid the restoration of freedom in Poland and the captive nations.... What does this promise mean? Will America take forceful action to liberate Poland and the other captive nations? In view of
the vehement criticism launched by Democratic party speakers in the 1952...campaign and continued ever since against...Eisenhower as well as...Dulles, because they spoke of 'peaceful liberation' and 'rolling back the Iron Curtain,' the question now is whether the Democrats have forgiven the Republicans or whether the 'action' which Sen. Kennedy promises is going to be subject to Republican attack on the ground that, if elected President, he might drag the United States into a war....

Sen. Kennedy is today saying the same thing as Gen. Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles did in 1952....These are strong words, and yet will they now be misinterpreted to imply that 'peaceful liberation' means something else? Two wrongs do not make a single right. The fact that Adlai Stevenson and other Democrats of prominence have ever since 1952, maligned John Foster Dulles as having really promised military liberation of Eastern Europe, when his speeches permitted no such inference, should hardly be an example for Republican partisans to follow....It is encouraging news that both parties in America are committed...to do everything, short of the exercise of military force, to assist in the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe."

Des Moines Register, Oct. 1: "Sen...Kennedy came out strong for production and marketing control in his speech on farm policy....He will get a favorable response from many farmers who are alarmed about the build-up of grain surpluses. But his only specific example was on wheat controls, and this wheat plan leaves some big questions in feed grain and livestock producers' minds....Kennedy mentioned that he would require wheat farmers to participate in the soil bank in order to get certificates. That would cut down the excess wheat output to some extent—but not much. He also said that all feed grains would be reduced by a land retirement program. Something more than that would have to be done or else the wheat surplus would simply be dumped into the livestock industry....Control by bushel allotments won't work for feed grains, because most feed grains are fed on the farm where grown. So it finally comes down to acreage allotments. Inefficient as they are, acreage allotments may be the most practical tool for getting a reduction in total grain production. Obviously, if acreage allotments are applied for corn, they will have to be applied for wheat."

Portland Oregonian, Sept. 30: "Statistics refute Sen...Kennedy's contention that the American economy has stood still during the past eight years. But nobody
has to rely on statistics, such as the half-trillion-dollar gross national product rate, to prove to himself that the country has moved forward under the Eisenhower Administration. "All he needs to do is to look about at the physical evidence of change for the better." The editorial goes on to list many improvements in the Portland area and comments "This progress has been accomplished in spite of--more likely because of--the Administration's cautious approach to government spending. It should be proof that the country can move forward without turning the Treasury inside out. Sen. Kennedy appears to have made his main pitch for the presidency on the theme that the country has stood still while a Republican president occupied the White House and will continue to stand still if a Republican president is elected in November. Anyone with eyes to see must know that the country got going again years ago. If the buildings all about do not convince the skeptic, the extra money in his pocket, the new appliances and automobiles, the hundreds of pleasure boats on the rivers, and a hundred other signs of a prosperous and forward moving nation should do so beyond a doubt."

Charleston News & Courier, Oct. 1: "Candidate Kennedy was right...in raising questions about six areas of the world in which he said communism has gained in the last year. The status of the cold war is the biggest issue before the American people. Both candidates have an obligation to avoid banal comment on the situation....Not unexpectedly, Sen. Kennedy was partisan in his discussion of the trouble zones.... The Democratic candidate was less than honest. Had he stuck to the facts, he would have had to confess that it was pressure from Democrats that caused the Eisenhower administration to retreat from stern policies the GOP set forth in the 1952 campaign. The record shows that emphasis upon coexistence rather than American victory has been and is today the theme of the most influential Democrats. Chester Bowles... favors a soft policy toward Red China. He also believes the U.S. should spend more on foreign aid and channel it through the U.N. Adlai Stevenson is the man who wanted to halt H-bomb tests four years ago." The editorial goes on to list such Democrats as Charles O. Porter, Fulbright, James Roosevelt, and concludes "The Eisenhower administration is not guiltless in its conduct of foreign relations since 1953. But the administration's guilt, such as it is, consists of not fighting hard enough against 'liberal' Democrats who constantly advocate appeasement policies. The record shows that Kennedy, Stevenson, Bowles & Co. are the America-lasters."
Columbia, S.C., Record, Oct. 1: "The efforts by Sen... Kennedy and some of his associates to downgrade America have gone well beyond the well-recognized right of criticism in a free country, because the deprecations lack validity. The birth of this particular tactic is to be found in the 1960 platform of the National Democratic Party. It was there that Chester Bowles and his liberal confederates gave to the Democratic Party this unfortunate and campaign-designed cue for reckless attacks upon its own country. The strongest rebuttal to it has now come from President Eisenhower. In his address at Chicago the President said: 'We do not want leadership that sees only dark continents of despair in American life--leadership that has a stultifying preoccupation with our faults.' No candidate for President should be unaware of the 'faults' of his country. At no time...has the United States been without fault. The blight which has now fallen upon the Democratic campaign is not that of the recognition of faults and the recommendation of remedy; it is the gross exaggeration of our faults and the reckless and vote-hungry use of them in the campaign. This hasn't been a constructive concern over these faults; it has been a concern over winning the election. The running-down of America...especially in times such as these, is something that should give sincere Democrats pause....

Since the keel for all of this was laid by Mr. Bowles...sincere Americans who are sincerely supporting the Democratic ticket, might well re-examine the nature of the whole company of persons who are advising and directing Sen. Kennedy. They might want to ask themselves which is more important, (1) this 'stultifying preoccupation' with its dangerous extremes or (2) a true and safe evaluation of America."

Kansas City Star, Oct. 2: Devotes its entire editorial columns to the President's leadership in foreign affairs and reviews the history of the last 7-1/2 years and concludes: "Our concern in this editorial is the bland assumption that current troubles are evidence of a world decline in U.S. prestige and leadership. People who are honestly given to such waves of despondency or hysteria are poorly prepared to face the years ahead. No matter who is elected President...in four years or eight years, the United States must be prepared to face crisis after crisis. For the foreseeable future, the only alternative to recurring crises is a world war which guarantees nothing but catastrophe. For the long pull events may discourage the Communist program of fomenting trouble. The great hope for the long future is a peaceful world. But in the meantime the test of an American leader is his ability
to hold a firm course without either yielding to fear or resorting to reckless action from frustration. We believe President Eisenhower has lived up to the great requirements of world leadership.'

Polls

Gallup reports that in the South RN and JK are neck and neck. Results:
Nixon-Lodge and "lean" to Nixon-Lodge - 46%; Kennedy-Johnson and "lean" to Kennedy-Johnson - 46%; Undecided - 8%. Gallup comments "If Republican strength in November should be near the 50 per cent mark...as is now indicated, it would be the third Presidential election in a row in which the Republicans have made serious inroads in (the South)."

Fletcher Knebel, who is conducting his own survey of voter sentiment reports in the Des Moines Register, Sept. 30, on South Carolina. "The Republican Party only a few years ago a tatterdemalion handful of no repute, is today large, respectable, excited and organized in half of South Carolina's counties. The Nixon-Lodge ticket is on the move and the signs are here for all to see....A random poll of 45 passersby at a main intersection in Greenville showed 26 for...Nixon, 7 for Kennedy and 7 undecided, and 5 Democrats who said they would abstain from voting." He also comments on the names announced as members of South Carolina Democrats for Nixon and Lodge. "Almost every name on the list reeked with respectability and not a single one would have been caught dead endorsing a Republican candidate 15 years ago." He also stresses the religious issue as a pronounced factor in the situation in South Carolina and reports William F. Gaines, editor of the Greenville Piedmont, is saying that the state is going Republican.

NY Times' survey of Minnesota's third Congressional District reports that foreign affairs is the top issue and judging by the comments he reports from the various people he interviewed, RN has a lead.
Responsibility: The Advisory Committee is to be composed of the senior and/or outstanding people who are willing to lend their names to New Yorkers for Nixon but who are not in a position to devote much time to its activities. This Committee will meet only occasionally for the purpose of giving advice to the Chairman.

The Advisory Committee will be made up of certain members of the Organizing Committee (which will be dissolved) and of other outstanding people who join New Yorkers for Nixon in the future. The names of the members of the Advisory Committee and of the Executive Committee (see Schedule III) will be listed alphabetically on the masthead of New Yorkers for Nixon.

Membership:
Mr. Barney Balaban
Mr. Frank Gifford
Mr. W. Alton Jones
Mr. Barry Leithead
Mr. Henry Loeb
Mr. Charles S. Payson
Mr. William E. Robinson
Mrs. Adele Rogers St. John
Mr. Charles E. Saltzman
Mr. Henry Sargent
Mrs. Carmel Snow
Mr. Joseph Binns
Mr. Lloyd Dalzell
Professor Peterson
Mr. Thomas Perkins
Mrs. Raymond Moley
Mrs. William Nichols
POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Responsibility: It will be the responsibility of the Political Committee to advise New Yorkers for Nixon as to its activities with regard to party politics. It must be remembered that for such activities the regular political organizations of New York State are not available to Nixon supporters. Members of this Committee will be experienced in politics and can consider problems from the professional political, rather than the "Citizens" or public relations, viewpoint. For publicity purposes this Committee will not be announced but its members will be included in lists of the Advisory and Executive Committees. The Political Committee will meet informally and as often as occasion demands.

Membership: Charles E. Saltzman, Chairman *
H. R. Haldeman **
Jeremiah Milbank, Jr. **
Peter M. Flanigan **
George M. Vetter **
P. Cliffton White **

* Member of Advisory Committee
** Member of Executive Committee
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Executive Committee will be charged with the planning, staffing, and operation of New Yorkers for Nixon. This Committee will accept or reject program ideas, make up a schedule of activities, and provide for putting the program into effect. It will be guided by suggestions from the Advisory and Political Committees, but will operate independently of those Committees and on its own authority. This Committee will meet at least every other week on a fixed date, and in addition will meet whenever called by its Chairman.

Membership of the Executive Committee will be made up of the chairman and co-chairman of the operating committees, plus certain members of the Political Committee.

Membership: Mr. P.M. Flanigan, Chairman
Mrs. E. Hilson
Mr. G. M. Miller
Mr. J. Stewart
Mrs. R. Salant
Miss L. Gerli
Mr. D. O'Scanlín
Mr. C. Bradley
Mr. Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.
Mr. Robert Tardio
Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Mr. George Vetter
Mr. F. Cliffton White
PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The public image and the public awareness of New Yorkers for Nixon will be the responsibility of the Public Relations Committee. New Yorkers for Nixon must be thought of as a citizens movement, having representation from all New York groups and levels. The public must realize that the Nixon movement is growing bigger and stronger, partly through the realization of the parallel growth of New Yorkers for Nixon. Both these public reactions are dependent on the proper choice of activities, the success of those activities and the publicity given to them. The Public Relations Committee will be charged with the preparation of a program of activities calculated to produce the above effects, and with handling the publicity for such programs. The Public Relations Committee will also be responsible for the preparation of such brochures, throw-aways, and other literature and materials as are necessary.

Membership:

Mr. G. M. Miller, Chairman
Mr. R. McCabe
Miss L. Baldridge
Mr. W. Kent
WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Women's Committee will be the largest of the several committees and consequently will be charged with the responsibility for more than a single activities. Among such activities will be:

1. Organization and assignment of volunteer workers for staffing the office to provide complete coverage.

2. All membership contacts, including
   (a) Drafting and mailing of requests for contributions.
   (b) Drafting and mailing questionnaires and notices.
   (c) Providing other Committees with appropriate members, and with workers when their membership is insufficient for an activity undertaken.

3. Files, including
   (a) Membership files, by master and by categories and the completeness and accuracy thereof.
   (b) Clipping files, both on New Yorkers for Nixon and on Nixon in general.
   (c) A file of documents, cards, etc. used by New Yorkers for Nixon for its own organization to be available for use in organizing other Nixon Clubs.

4. Preparation and procurement of materials including
   (a) Membership cards.
   (b) Contributors pins.
   (c) Letterhead stationery.

5. All mailings, whether national, state, city or to specific groups.
6. Correspondence, to the extent it exceeds the capacity of the Executive Secretary.

7. Continuity of "Tell-Ten" Program by
   (a) Stimulating members.
   (b) Making use of results.

8. Putting into effect all programs not specifically assigned to other Committees.

Membership:  Mrs. Hilson, Chairman
              Mrs. Ellinger
              Mrs. Guth
MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Membership Committee will be charged with assuring an even growing and varied membership of New Yorkers for Nixon. The public reaction to and the success of the entire effort will be largely determined by the quantity and quality of the membership. While the only prerequisite for membership is enthusiastic support for Nixon, a conscious effort must be made to include a large number of leaders from the business, social, artistic and professional worlds, to have good representation from each major ethnic group to include a substantial number of active Democrats and Independents and to have the membership weighted on the side of youth and energy. Lists of additions to the membership will be released from time to time, and each list should contain all the elements noted above.

Membership: M. J. Stewart, Chairman

*  

* A vice-chairman might be chosen from each of the major groups from which members should be drawn.
SPECIAL FUNCTIONS COMMITTEE

Responsibility: When the program of activities of New Yorkers for Nixon calls for a special function, the detailed planning of, procurement for, and management of such function will be the responsibility of the Special Functions Committee. An example of this type of activity is the recently held opening of the headquarters at 555 Madison Avenue.

Membership:

Dick McIver
Mrs. R. Salant Co-Chairmen
Miss L. Gerli

YOUTH ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Youth Activities Committee will be responsible for Nixon activity among various young groups throughout New York City and State. Such activity might include the formation of Nixon Clubs on the campuses of the various universities. After their formation, these Clubs should be given direction and materials, and their activities coordinated by this Committee. Work might also be done with the Young Republican Clubs in an effort to swing them to Nixon, or at least to keep them neutral.

Membership:

Mr. D. O'Scanlin Co-Chairmen
Mr. C. Bradley
LEGAL COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Legal Committee will provide answers to any legal problems confronting New Yorkers for Nixon. Among other things, this Committee will make sure that all New York State election laws are complied with, and that all filings are made in due course. Problems with regard to fiscal reporting will be brought before this committee.

Membership:

PROFESSIONAL COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Professional Committee will include a distinguished member of each major profession (doctor, lawyer, architect, etc.). Each such member will write a letter stating his preference for Nixon and his reasons for that preference. Prior to a primary these letters will be sent to all members of the respective professions in the State holding the primary over the signature of the author.

Membership:
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR COMMITTEE

Responsibility: Opportunities to write a letter to the editor of a paper or magazine will come to light through the clipping file, the membership, and the gratuitous suggestions of outsiders. The Letters to the Editor Committee will take advantage of those opportunities, as well as make their own opportunities through research, to write letters to publications in support of Nixon's candidacy. Such letters will be particularly important when written to local publications in States in which primaries are to be held.

Membership:

SPEAKERS BUREAU

Responsibility: As the only Nixon organization in New York State, New Yorkers for Nixon will undertake to supply speakers to plead the Nixon cause before meetings and in debates. Prior to supplying such speakers or debaters, a research file will have to be compiled and speakers of ability chosen. If enough members so desire, a short course in public and political speaking can be held.

In the weeks immediately prior to the primary in a State near New York, the Speakers Bureau will send weekend Speakers Teams to help in the campaign in such State.

Membership:
Attached hereto is a Memorandum plus Exhibit, which is the subject for the meeting at 3:00 PM on Monday, November 23rd. The meeting will be held on the fifth floor of the Manufacturers Trust Company branch at 43rd Street and Fifth Avenue in a room reserved under the name of Mr. Robert Tardio, Vice President.

While the Memorandum will be discussed on Monday, and the thinking behind it examined, no final conclusions will be reached. Participants at the meeting will be asked to study the problems raised by Memorandum and at the meeting. A subsequent meeting will be scheduled for a day later in the same week at which meeting final conclusions will be reached and a plan of action agreed upon.

Peter M. Flanigan
New Yorkers for Nixon is now a reality. To date its activities have been (a) its formation, (b) its public announcement, and (c) the physical and formal opening of its headquarters. These three activities, comprising the birth of New Yorkers for Nixon, have been carried through with the most simple organizational structure. That structure has been made up of an Organizing Committee, a Political Committee, a Chairman, an Executive Secretary and a group of inspired and selfless workers who have taken on specific tasks. I think it is fair to say New Yorkers for Nixon has been well started.

Now New Yorkers for Nixon is beginning the second period in its life, the period between its birth and the choice of the Republican candidate for President in 1960. This period may not end until the Republican Convention in July of 1960, or it may end at such earlier date as the only candidate other than Nixon withdraws from the race for the Republican nomination. The third and final period in the life of New Yorkers for Nixon will be the time between the choice of Nixon as the candidate and his election in November 1960.

To properly function and to be effective during this second period, New Yorkers for Nixon needs a new and more complicated organizational structure, with specific line and staff responsibilities assigned to various individuals and committees. Exhibit A attached hereto outlines a Table of Organization, with suggested candidates to fill the key posts shown thereon. Schedules I through IX deal with the various committees, giving specific suggestions as to the membership of some of those committees, plus detailing the responsibilities assigned to each committee.
# New Yorkers for Nixon

## Table of Organization

### Advisory Committee (Sch. I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Mr. P.M. Flanigan</td>
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### Political Committee (Sch. II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treasurer</td>
<td>Mr. J. Milbank, Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Secretary</td>
<td>Miss J. McKee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant to Chairman</td>
<td>Mr. R. Tardio</td>
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### Women's Committee (Sch. IV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Mrs. E. Hilson</td>
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### Public Relations Committee (Sch. V)

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<tr>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Mr. G.M. Miller</td>
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### Membership Committee (Sch. VI)

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<tr>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Mr. J. Stewart</td>
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### Special Functions Committee (Sch. VII)

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<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-Chair</td>
<td>Mrs. R. Salant</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Miss. L. Gerli</td>
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### Youth Activities Committee (Sch. VIII)

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<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-Chair</td>
<td>Mr. D. O'Scannlain</td>
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### Legal Committee (Sch. VIII)

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<tr>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Mr. C. Bradley</td>
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### Professional Committee (Sch. IX)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letter to the Speakers Bureau Committee (Sch. IX)</td>
<td>Co-Chair</td>
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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mrs. R. Salant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss. L. Gerli</td>
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HUMAN EVENTS

April 7, 1961

Did Biased Reporters Cost Nixon the Election?

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Capital Hill correspondent for the Chicago Tribune

THIS IS A REPORT on some research since the election last November on a subject which has disturbed the newspaper world, although it has gained very little public notice.

To put the question simply—did a substantial portion of the American press sabotage Vice President Nixon in the Presidential campaign, thereby cheating the American public of its right to a fair and unbiased report of the Republican candidate's words and activities, and thereby helping him to lose the election?

I covered the Nixon campaign from the time of his nomination at Chicago in late July to election day, November 8. I heard every Nixon speech—hundreds of them—was present at all press conferences and traveled a total of 64,000 miles including the flights to Alaska and Hawaii.

After I returned to Washington November 9 and had a couple of days rest I re-entered the civilized world and joined in the great Washington sport of explaining the election outcome.

I attended a number of gatherings of conservatives and here I first ran up against the complaint that Nixon had lost the election because he conducted a me-too campaign. He hadn't hit Kennedy hard enough. There were, of course, other reasons discussed but this one complaint has grown in volume until it has reached the peak of alleging that Nixon threw away a sure victory, just like Dewey in 1948, through the soft and ineffectual nature of his campaign.

I was confounded by the complaints of Nixon's me-tooism. In arguments on the point, I would cite from speeches he made during the campaign.

Here are some of the things he called his opponent:

Dangerously irresponsible, reckless, utterly unfit to assume the duties of a President.

He lashed Kennedy for downgrading the United States and caught him in falsehoods. He accused him of aiding Communist propagandists. He called him a bare-faced liar, dangerous and dead wrong. He made him a bare-faced liar, dangerous and dead wrong. He was an extraordinary hostility and I can recall no precedent for it in all the campaigns I have covered.

But when I mentioned these things, people looked at me blankly. "When did Nixon make these remarks?" they asked. They hadn't read them in the newspapers.

So I decided to do a little research and discover just what they had been reading. Since these were residents of Washington, D. C., I concentrated on the newspapers which are read in the Capital.

The task was enormous. A one-man survey could do little more than make a spot-check. And yet, the results were significant. I began to understand why some supporters of Nixon grew indifferent as the campaign progressed.

First, let me make you acquainted with the atmosphere among the newspaper followers of the Republican candidate. Ninety per cent of this press corps, which ranged between 50 and 100 at various periods in the campaign, were all-out supporters of Kennedy. They were not only opposed to Nixon, they were outspoken in their hatred and contempt of him.

This attitude was not concealed. It was loud and open. When Nixon was making a speech, there was a constant murmur of ridicule from many in the press rows just beneath the platform. It was an extraordinary hostility and I can recall no precedent for it in all the campaigns I have covered.

Their adulation of Kennedy was just as open. Most of them shifted back and forth between Nixon and Kennedy during the campaign. They regarded service with Kennedy as a lover regards a honeymoon and assignment to Nixon as a penalty—an enforced association with a discreditable character.

I have not drawn too strong a picture and I think the condition can best be described by telling an incident which occurred during Nixon's whistle-stop tour in mid-October. On October 26, as the train was pulling out of Cincinnati, a stranger appeared in the press car where some 50 newsmen were present.

The man was introduced as Mario G. Remo, a New York Department store executive, who had been serving as finance chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Nationalities division.

Mr. Remo was a man of high standing in Democratic party councils in New York City and his post was a very important one in the campaign.

He had decided to quit his job and switch over to Nixon. Leonard Hall, the Republican campaign chairman, regarded his decision as so important that he had asked Remo to join the Nixon train and explain his position to the big press group, thereby gaining the maximum publicity for what appeared to be a big political break for Nixon.

This article is the transcript of an address made by Willard Edwards at the Human Events Political Action Conference in Washington on January 6.

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MEMORANDUM
RE: New name for "Vixens for Nixon"

1. While "Vixens for Nixon" was a catchy name for the opening ceremonies of the headquarters at 555 Madison Avenue, it is not a name we would like to be stuck with for the entire campaign. The connotation of the word "vixen" could make us the butt of some rather effective jokes.

2. Life Magazine wishes to take pictures of the "vixens" but before having the picture taken we want to have a new name. Among the suggestions given so far are "Nixon Gals" and "Dolls for Dick".

3. Please try to come up with a suggestion for a name which we can discuss at the meeting at 3:00 on Friday, November 27th.