

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
White House Special Files Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
47	8	11/29/1959	Report	Schedules 1-9. Re: Committees: Advisory, Executive, Operations, Public Relations, Membership, Special Functions, Youth Activities, Legal, Professional, Letters to the Editor, and Speakers Bureau. 9 Pages.
47	8	10/1/1960	Report	Nixon-Lodge Campaign Headquarters. Summary of Opinions in the News. 8 Pages.
47	8	10/6/1960	Report	Nixon-Lodge Campaign Headquarters. Summary of Opinions in the News. Broadcast Report. Radio. 10 Pages.
47	8	10/6/1960	Memo	Excerpts of Remarks of the Vice President of The United States Prepared for Delivery at Cleveland, Ohio. 3 Pages.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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. Chalres S. Payson
Mr. William E. Robinson
Mrs. Adele Rogers St. John

Mr. Henry Sargent
Mrs. Carmel Snow
Mr. Joseph Binns
Mr. Lloyd Dalzell
Professor Peterson
Mr. Thomas Perkins
Mrs. Raymond Moley
Mrs. William Nichols

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 Committee, but will operate independently of this Committee 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 chairmen and co-chairmen of the operating committees, plus certain other members of New Yorkers for Nixon.

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'Scannlain
Mr. C. Bradley
Mr. Jeremiah Milbank, Jr.
Mr. Robert Tardio
Mr. Charles E. Saltzman
Mr. H. R. Haldeman
Mr. George Vetter
Mr. F. Clifton White
Mr. R. McCabe

OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

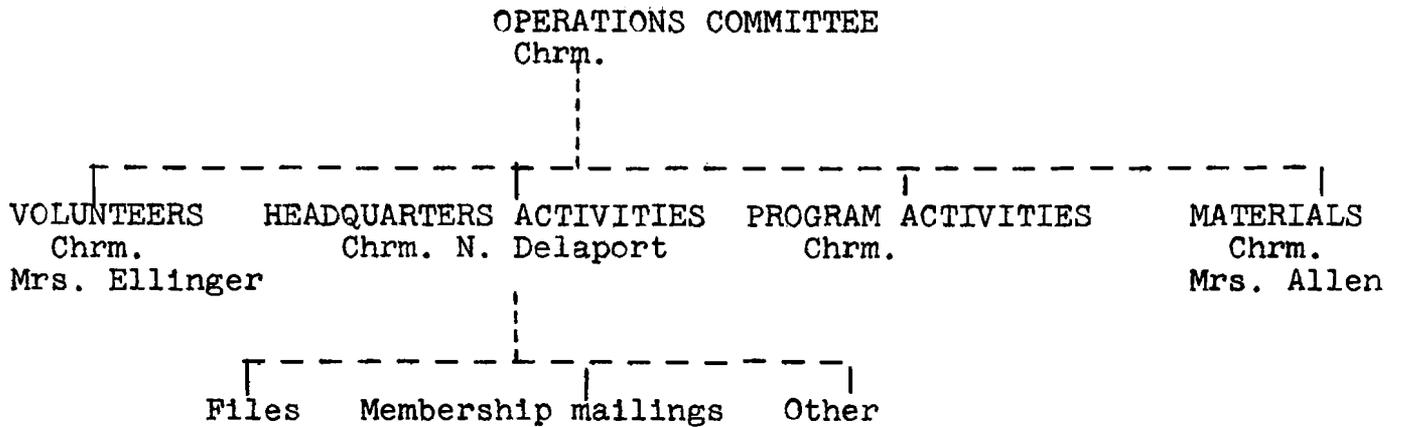
- Responsibility: The Operations Committee will be the largest of the several committees and consequently will be charged with the responsibility for the actual day-to-day operation of New Yorkers for Nixon. Such operation will include:
1. Volunteer activities, including:
 - (a) Organization and assignment of volunteer workers for staffing the office to provide complete coverage.
 - (b) Providing other Committees with appropriate members, and with workers when their membership is insufficient for an activity undertaken.
 - (c) Membership files, by master and by categories and the completeness and accuracy thereof.
 2. Headquarters activities, including:
 - (a) Files, including:
 - (i) General files.
 - (ii) Clipping files, both on New Yorkers for Nixon and on Nixon in general.
 - (iii) 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.
 - (b) Drafting and mailing to the membership requests for contributions, questionnaires, and notices.
 - (c) Correspondence, to the extent it exceeds the capacity of the Executive Secretary.
 - (d) Window display and decorations.
 - (e) Bulletin board.
 3. Program events, including:
 - (a) All mailings, whether national, state, city or to specific groups.
 - (b) Continuity of "Tel-Ten" Program by
 - (i) Stimulating members.
 - (ii) Making use of results.

(c) Putting into effect all programs not specifically assigned to other Committees

4. Preparation and procurement of materials including:

- (a) Membership cards.
- (b) Contributors pins.
- (c) Letterhead stationery.
- (d) Buttons.

Table of Organization:



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 research behind and preparation of brochures, speakers kits, throw-aways, and such other materials as are necessary.

Membership: Mr. G. M. Miller, Chairman
Miss L. Baldrige
Mr. W. Kent
Mr. Ed Nash

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Membership Committee will be charged with assuring an ever 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: Chairman

*

*A Vice-Chairman might be chosen from each of the major groups from which members of New Yorkers for Nixon will be drawn, such as each of the various industries, professions and ethnic groups. There should also be a Democrat and an Independent as a Vice-Chairman.

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: Mr. R. McCabe
Miss L. Gerli
Co-Chairmen

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'Scannlain
Mr. C. Bradley
Miss Christina Kingsfield
Co-Chairmen

LEGAL COMMITTEE

Responsibility: The Legal Committee will provide answers to any legal problems confronting New Yorkers for Nixon. This Committee will make sure that all New York State election laws are complied with, that all filings are made in due course, and will consider problems with regards to fiscal reporting. This Committee will do such research as is necessary on the voting and legislative records of the various candidates. The Legal Committee will also compile a calendar of primaries, with comments on the pertinent laws governing the various primaries.

Membership: Mr. Pavenstedt, Chairman

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 just prior to primaries in States in which primaries are held.

Membership: Mr. Cyril Joly, Chairman
Miss Mimi O'Hagan

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:

Handwritten signature
NIXON-LODGE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

SUMMARY OF OPINIONS IN THE NEWS

SATURDAY, OCT. 1, 1960

RN

Chicago Daily News, Oct. 1: "There has been a great deal of misrepresentation of what President Eisenhower said...concerning Vice-President's Nixon's role as a lieutenant and counselor. But whatever doubts the distorted versions might have raised about the President's estimate of Mr. Nixon were washed away by Mr. Eisenhower's glowing indorsement....(The President's speech) leaves no question of the President's admiration and respect for his junior officer. There can no longer be any cavilling about the fact that the Vice-President, as a candidate, offers the most complete and thorough advance training that any man ever possessed for the job of being President. It may not be decisive, and it certainly will not be persuasive to Sen. Kennedy's partisans. But it is a fact, nonetheless, and it ought to give a substantial boost to the Nixon campaign."

Phila. Inquirer, Oct. 1: "President Eisenhower's ringing indorsement of Vice President Nixon...gives fresh impetus to the Republican nominee's campaign and may have profound effect on its outcome. There is nothing new about the President's desire to have Nixon succeed him, or about his high opinion of the Vice President's capabilities....But the broad and unequivocal terms in which he described the nominee's experience and understanding...can leave no one with any doubt as to Eisenhower's deep conviction that the country needs Richard M. Nixon to lead it....President Eisenhower is not given to hyperbole, nor to the back-slapping exaggerations of the old-style campaign orator. The people of this country, who hold him in such great affection, know him for an earnest and sincere patriot. He would not describe the Republican nominee in such glowing terms, nor hold him up to the Nation as its hope in the troubled era ahead, for mere partisan reasons.... His message, and the convictions backing it up, were addressed to all Americans, and to the solemn responsibility resting upon each of them."

Denver Post, Sept. 27: "Richard M. Nixon replaced the weak aid-to-education plank in his personal platform with one of hardwood in the 'position paper' he released....Nixon has pulled away from the generally-too-conservative Eisenhower administration policies on aid-to-education, and he has done it with some finesse....Nixon's aid-to-education position now is far more solid than it was."

Des Moines Register, Sept. 29: "An article in the Arizona Republic, of Phoenix, says Vice-President Nixon 'has pledged support of proposed legislation to modernize western land law so federally owned lands can be turned over to the state in which they are located.'... We hope Vice-President Nixon will promptly and vigorously repudiate any agreement to support transfer of U.S. lands to the states. This would be equivalent to turning over vast areas of public watershed, forest and recreational land to private business exploitation.... Certainly Vice-President Nixon does not wish to upset the 25-year record of improvement in conserving the nation's grass and forest resources.... Conservationists have long regretted the reckless land disposal policies of the federal government until about the beginning of this century. Only a remnant--in quantity and in quality--of the once vast public domain remains. Most of it is in the Western states. It ought to be husbanded closely by the national government, the or government which can give it uniform, consistent management in the interests of all the people. Vice-President Nixon should make his position clear on this issue without delay."

Memphis Commercial Appeal, Sept. 28: "It seemed to us Vice President Nixon scored on the contrast between what can be done better by states, local governments and individuals than by the central Government. That is indeed a difference in method. We were particularly glad to hear the Vice President assign the fear of Federal control over schools as the principal reason for keeping Federal tax collections from going into teacher salaries.... In Memphis and West Memphis yesterday, Mr. Nixon amplified this theme.... He presented the nationwide ideals and the need for American leadership in solving international difficulties. We all want a better America and a better world and Mr. Nixon made a strong presentation of his methods for attaining them."

Kennedy

Pittsburgh Press, Sept. 28: "The issue between Vice President Nixon and Senator Kennedy on the independence of the Federal Reserve Board is even more distinct than any they debated Monday night. In answer to questions about his attitude toward the FRB, Senator Kennedy has made it plain he thinks the administration -- his, if he were president -- should dominate the Federal Reserve Board's

policies....'I have no doubt,' he said...that any new Democratic president will find a Federal Reserve Board pursuing a somewhat different policy.' This week, in reply to a question submitted by Scripps-Howard Newspapers, Mr. Kennedy said the Federal Reserve Board 'must bear in mind the economic objectives of the administration, and I am confident that it would respond to leadership by the administration.' Mr. Kennedy does not indicate how he would enforce this idea. But his statement tells a lot about the type of appointments he would make to the board.... And it tells a lot about the pressures he would exert on the board. Vice President Nixon replied that he is opposed to any interference with the Federal Reserve Board. ...The Federal Reserve Board is our manager of the people's money. It doesn't control so much as it influences. It follows a policy of restraint....The Federal Reserve system is a stabilizer, and that purpose is not necessarily consonant with the aims of a political administration. Usually not....In a word, the independence of the Federal Reserve Board is a key weapon in the constant effort to maintain the stability of our dollars. To take away the Reserve Board's independence would be to take away our most effective safeguard for that stability--and the stability of our money is the greatest assurance of our growth and prosperity."

Chicago Tribune, Oct. 1: "Sen. Kennedy promised at Charleston, W. Va., that if he were elected he would wipe out 'artificial Republican restrictions on the supply of money.' This is simply a pledge to let inflation run wild. In 21 years inflation has cut the purchasing power of the dollar by 54 per cent, but 43 per cent of the loss occurred in the Democratic administrations....It is to inflation that Mr. Kennedy proposes to return--consciously, for he calls the Republican policies to keep inflation in check 'artificial.' The related program he expounded at Charleston shows that he intends to achieve this result by all of the familiar methods of government spending. But he tries to delude the voters by saying that he can engage in this spending without inviting deficits or inflation....Mr. Kennedy's speech was supposed to express his idea of how to achieve and maintain prosperity. His program of inflation would condemn the people to pay three times over, in prices today, in taxes tomorrow, and in the loss of their savings the day after that."

Bernard Nossiter, in an exclusive front page story in the Wash. Post, Oct. 1, reports that Kennedy's advisers (Galbraith, Samuelson, Lester, Cox and Fowler)

"have drawn up plans to give the economy a quick booster shot if the Democrats win the election... They agreed that business is too sluggish and the prospects of a slump are strong. Their remedy is a speedy application of several familiar Democratic spending proposals and no offsetting increase in taxes. They would consciously let the Federal budget run a deficit until the economy was moving in higher gear again. They figure that extra Federal demand is needed to bolster private demand. Their prescription appears to contradict Kennedy's pledge that he would pay for his programs with a balanced budget at a higher level of output... The advisers differed over whether a recession has already started. But they saw no sign of the upturn... forecast by Treasury Secretary... Anderson... They urged the highest priorities for... school aid; increased grants for non-military research; enlarged unemployment benefits; loans and grants to depressed areas and expanded outlays for slum clearance. They also called for stepped up defense spending, but some disliked putting this in the context of an aid-the-economy plan. The advisers agreed that months would pass before Congress approved any of these programs... But they reasoned that a strong declaration of intentions would stimulate business to buy in anticipation of future orders. They also agreed that a tax cut would act more quickly on an ailing economy... They figured that a cut would increase a new President's problems with Congress when business was booming again... However, if business did not respond to the spending tonic, the economists proposed tax reductions as a reserve weapon. They agreed that any slice should be made in the low-income brackets... Credit curbs did not figure much in the advisers' talk. However, they decided that a new administration should press for still more abundant credit."

Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 29: "Overshadowing... Kennedy's triumphal sweep across northeastern Ohio... was the fact that Sen. Frank J. Lausche joined the Kennedy caravan... Have Lausche's political antennae told him something? Of course crowd reactions will not decide the election, although they may forecast the outcome in specific sections of the country... With the election less than six weeks in the offing, it is apparent that the voters are now getting stirred up about it. Perhaps the... television debate brought the interest to a higher pitch. If so, with three more debates to go, and both candidates on a tight schedule of barnstorming and speechifying, campaign enthusiasm can be expected to intensify between now and election day."

Pittsburgh Press, Sept. 29: "Senator Kennedy frequently departs somewhat from the written texts of his campaign speeches. Hence there are two versions of what he said about the labor movement in his Labor Day speech in Detroit; three if you count Vice President Nixon's version." Commenting on the dispute over what Kennedy said and what RN said, the Press says "The heat developed over this relatively mild difference in interpretation illustrates the difficulty the two Presidential candidates have encountered in finding anything really dramatic to argue about."

Nashville Banner, Sept. 29: "When the masterminds at Los Angeles staged Operation Disparagement--complete with that documentary film calculated to cast America in a sackcloth and ashes role--they set the tempo of the leftwing's campaign. Their nominee was spontaneously off and running.... Their thought processes concerning the much they found 'wrong' with the nation, he has espoused as his own--and parroted from the stump. Not in witticism that could be excused in a spirit of political clowning, nor in the pattern of harmless satire...but in the vein of doctrinaire seriousness adopted to connote 'stature,' Senator Kennedy has downgraded his country.... The people of the United States found that campaign line shocking for its utter irresponsibility--even with due allowance for the immaturity of its spokesman, and for its source. Even some of those adjusting their convictions to stay on this bandwagon for the duration of the ride, found this apostrophe to nonsense hard to swallow. For Blunderbuss, Jr., was blazing away--however naively--at a target not properly within the party line of fire. Somebody close must now have told him so, aware of the fact that his recklessness is showing.... For Senator Kennedy now is strenuously contending that what he has been saying in Operation Disparagement wasn't (repeat, wasn't) said about the country, but about the Eisenhower administration and Vice President Nixon.... Facts eventually catch up, and the Senator's squirming indicates the one has registered. There may be a brief pause while he consults with advisers and reloads."

Los Angeles Times, Sept. 29: "Chester Bowles, as nearly everyone knows, has written about the issues. His book is an expanded version of the Democratic platform.... Almost everybody must know what is in Mr. Bowles' book by now.... The only good reason we can think of for bringing it up again is that the London Economist has taken notice of it. The Economist is very sympathetic to many of

the notions of American 'liberalism'....But the Economist's review of Mr. Bowles' book reads almost like a divorce complaint or a petition for separation. The Economist notes...that 'Mr. Bowles is frequently mentioned as a possible Democratic secretary of state.' It goes on: 'The naive sincerity and enthusiasm with which Mr. Bowles presses his case serve only to win for him the reader's affection rather than the assent of his judgment...Those who enjoy seeing the past in terms of black and white will no doubt be swayed by Mr. Bowles' imagery, but, as Bentham pointed out long ago, poetry is no substitute for argument.' We had never thought of this but we go along with the suggestion. We are content to hear Mr. Bowles called the poet of the Kennedy team."

Roscoe Drummond sums up the central, controlling issue on which Kennedy has built his campaign and concludes that: "The Democratic nominee's single theme and single thesis is: That the Eisenhower Administration is failing to meet the challenge of communism abroad, is failing to give dynamic and appealing leadership to the free and neutral world, because it has failed to meet the social, economic, and humane needs at home--and that its failure is due primarily to the 'complacency' and 'indifference' of the Republican Party."

Foreign Policy

Ealt. Sun, Oct. 1: "The neutral leaders are undoubtedly sincere in their request that Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev should get together. Yet what good right now could a meeting do?...Divisions as wide and deep (as exist)...cannot be bridged by putting each man in an armchair with an interpreter at his side and asking them to talk. In the present state of things they would have nothing much to talk about safely except the weather. When the General Assembly met, Mr. Eisenhower was firm and studiously tactful. Mr. Khrushchev replied with speeches and actions which can only be called vulgarly provocative....If Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev now meet, without agenda, without careful preparation, with no specific object in view except to humiliate each other...the outcome can hardly be useful. Better that the neutrals should work...at trying to bridge the gap themselves, and trying to reconcile what little in the two positions is presently reconcilable."

Wash. Post, Oct. 1: "If renewed personal contact between President Eisenhower and...Khrushchev actually would help to insure peace, there would be much to commend the resolution sponsored by five neutral leaders.... But the resolution, it seems to us, reflects a fundamental misconception that the great differences of principle and objective between the United States and the Soviet Union can be bridged with paper, that talk of peace is equivalent to the reality of peace. What this sort of maneuver does, in effect, is reward outrageous behavior. It assumes that the cold war, which Stalin initiated and which Khrushchev has turned on and off at will, is equally the fault of both sides; it also implies that peace will somehow be achieved in a compromise between freedom and totalitarianism. The more Mr. Khrushchev rants, seemingly, the greater is the urge to pamper him. This, it may be suspected, altogether suits his wishes. There is abundant evidence from Mr. Khrushchev's own words that 'peaceful coexistence' is merely a mask for Communist war by every means except military.... There also is evidence from Mr. Khrushchev's own words that he has no thought of negotiating seriously with the United States until a new Administration is installed in January, if then. The move by the neutrals lamentably injects the matter into the American political campaign...thereby giving a free ride to Mr. Khrushchev, who has already made known his intention to wait.... The opinions of Messrs. Nehru, Nkrumah, Sukarno, Tito and Nasser cannot be disregarded. The fact that they have endorsed a procedure which has every prospect of being meaningless emphasizes the degree to which the United States has failed in its diplomatic efforts to persuade the neutral nations. Mr. Khrushchev's success in his appeals to neutral opinion indicates that his proposal to overhaul the U.N. secretariat was a mere decoy. The result is to place this country in an uncomfortable box.... Some device must be found without apologies, even though the prospects of useful discussion may appear hopeless. At least the move may serve to get Mr. Eisenhower and Secretary Herter back to New York, where the major problems lie. But none of this will be a substitute for believable efforts to refurbish American strength and assert it in a more active diplomacy.... The danger in the procedure now proposed at the U.N. is that the illusion of peace can camouflage divisions which are less perilous when they are frankly recognized."

C. L. Sulzberger, NY Times, Oct. 1: "The West has shown distressing lack of teamwork in gaining or holding favor among U.N. neutrals....Although President Eisenhower gave a sensible lead in his outline of African policy, insufficient advantage has been taken of this. To begin with, the President himself might better have served his cause had he allotted more time for conversations with African statesmen. One regrets, for example, that he could not spend last week-end in New York....We cannot escape the fact that Mr. Khrushchev is here and is working very hard. Nor do careless public statements help. Unfortunately, in this respect, Secretary Herter made the saddest mistake....There is no agreed Western policy on Africa. France, for example, will simply not accept U.N. or other interference in Algeria. Britain won't be rushed into granting premature independence to some of its East and Central African possessions....There is need for the Western powers to agree at least on where they disagree and to better coordinate their actions in areas of concord. This process might have been facilitated were our relations with France more intimate than is the case. But we have pigeonholed all de Gaulle's requests for a tighter Big Three relationship. The United States has a tendency to view others in terms of absolute moral right and wrong. This harms our cause whenever we ascribe Left-Wing nationalist influences to insidious Communist direction. Not only do we tend to drive such men as Castro and Nkrumah into closer relations with our adversaries; we encourage an association in the minds of Africans and Asians between their own nationalism and Moscow. We seem to confirm for them that the Kremlin sponsors nationalism and we don't....Too frequently the West errs by omission rather than commission. We do not repeat often enough the blazing truth that while the imperial powers have voluntarily given liberty to millions, the Soviet Union has expanded its empire....There is no harm in restating this every day. And even if France is belabored over Algeria, let us not ignore that the following free nations now here were once ruled from Paris: Cambodia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Laos, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Senegal, Morocco, Togo, Upper Volta and Tunisia....We are foolish if when we become irked with some of the muscle-flexing inevitable among fledgling lands, we attribute this always to communism or Soviet subversion....Mr. Khrushchev is quite able enough as a propagandist to handle his own affairs without any help from us."

SUMMARY OF OPINIONS IN THE NEWS

THURSDAY, OCT. 6, 1960

Broadcast Report

Radio

General coverage RN statements on civil rights and need for independent vote; Kennedy on unemployment in Indiana; LBJ predicting legislative stalemate. Some stations mentioned new RN make-up expert. ABC quotes AP -- NYC crowds cool to Nixon. McCaffrey OK's Ike on summit. Morgan cites Catholic laymen release. NBC, Beatty -- GOP changes strategy, getting tough under pressure from conservatives; both parties abandoning high road; Kennedy may be tired of jumpers. CBS World Tonight says anti-Nixon demonstrators swelled Philadelphia crowds, Louisville turnout bigger for Kennedy than RN. Tapes of RN saying Kennedy lacks guts and recalls conversation with Negro sit-ins. Tapes of LBJ saying Nixon tactics low. Frightening consumers.

TV

Howard K. Smith -- US missed chance to switch neutrals United Nations. SOF Kennedy, cold crowd Indiana. SOF RN, the issue is survival. NBC, 6:45 PM, Brinkley on Catholic laymen's statement, Vanocur on camera -- Kennedy re the economy, crowds sparse Muncie, hints at recession this winter, good hand Truman-Dewey comparisons. Vanocur says RN will win Indiana because religion. Brinkley on camera says 7th Avenue crowds sizeable but not responsive. SOF on unemployment and power of Government. Brinkley also commented on make-up and lights. 11 PM, Mudd calls Louisville crowds tumultuous, Harkness says same about Phila. 8 AM, NEC, Garroway, Blair, Philadelphia crowds huge, 1/2 million. Kennedy, Louisville crowds, 100,000. SOF RN garment district clips again. Viewer says Pat with Garroway seemed exhausted, no animation, Ladybird did much better. AW disagrees having seen both.

Coverage

Rn visibility in NY, Phila., Chicago press higher than that of Kennedy. Wash. Post carried RN front page, Kennedy page 2. Most reporters called attention to quote on LBJ and indicated quote not used in speech as delivered. Headlines for RN: Balt. Sun - "Nearly 1/2 Million in Philadelphia Give Nixon Huge Welcome." In a second story on the front page by Griffin, "Nixon Finds Crowds Cool in New York," Chicago Tribune: "Nixon Slams Rival's Double Talk on Rights, 1/2 Million in New

York, Hail Vice President." NY Daily News: "Jack's Rights Stand Has No Guts-Nixon."

NYHT: "Nixon Has 23,000 at Rally Here, Blasts Kennedy on Civil Rights." The Tribune also carried a picture of RN and Gov. Rockefeller and a front page story on Jackie Robinson, described by labor leaders as anti-labor. Wash. Post: "Nixon Asserts Kennedy Ducks Civil Rights Issue." Phila. Inquirer: "Nixon Cheered Here by 500,000, Assails Rival on Rights Issue." NY Times: "Nixon Campaigns in Garment Area and Fordham." Phila. story carried page 32: "Nixon Acclaimed by Phila. Crowd Put at 400,000, Gives Him Tumultuous Greeting."

Kennedy headlines: NY Times: "Throng in Louisville Shouts for Kennedy." Times story indicates 175,000 welcomed Jack but no other story bears this out.

NYHT: "Economic Drift Hit by Kennedy. Asks Reforms Be Instituted." Wash. Post:

"Kennedy Says US May Drift Into Recession." Balt. Sun: "Kennedy Gets Wildest Reception of Campaign in Louisville, Democrat Denies GOP Charges on Rights."

Other stories this AM -- statement by Catholic laymen received fairly prominent play. Decision of British Labor Party front paged. Times reports U.S. will expand aid to Indonesia. Fair amount of attention being given to the make-up issue and preparations for second debate.

Editorials

RN

Arthur Krock, NY Times, Oct. 6: "By analyzing Senator Kennedy's proposed farm program in terms of dollar-and-cents costs and unemployment consequences that anyone can comprehend...Nixon has switched his campaign tactics from the polite abstract to the rough particular. That is a factual description--not by any means a suggestion that Nixon's estimates are either accurate or fully persuasive. But they do represent a tactic of offense in contrast to Nixon's issue-obliterating statement in (the first TV debate)." Krock refers to the "goals and means" statement and comments "This language encouraged a general impression that the issue between (JK & RN)...is not of political philosophies in total conflict, but merely a dispute over whether Route 1 or Route 2 is the more likely to get the United States to its destination on time. This for years has been the contention of conservatives in both parties, and it tangibly helped the Democrats to win the Presidential election of 1948...But if the Republican and Democratic platforms...and the commitments of each candidate to his own, are not to be dismissed in toto as rhetorical frauds..."

Kennedy and Nixon are pledged to pursue flatly conflicting political philosophies.... If and when the candidates get down to specifications on foreign policy, which informed questioning at their next television show could elicit or prove evasion by one or the other, their indicated differences on this most important of all the nation's problems can also be clarified.... The word is now drifting in from the field that Nixon's destructive analysis of Kennedy's farm program marks the beginning of his shift from abstract discussion, and from a deferential attitude toward his opponent... that stimulated an impression of lack of confidence in his own case. According to this report, he believes in principle that a campaign is won or lost in the final three weeks, and that...heavy ammunition...(must be) reserved for...that period.... But, after the first TV 'debate'...and Kennedy pressed his advantage by repudiating Nixon's statement that their 'goals' are the same, the waiting strategy clearly became too risky to prolong."

Wash. Post, Oct. 6: "Mr. Nixon does not know that Mr. Kennedy's farm program would increase food prices by 25 per cent--or by 5 per cent or by any other percentage. The Republican nominee's charge that the Democratic plan would raise the cost of milk to consumers by 6 cents a quart and of beef by 15 cents a pound is the sheerest demagogy. It may be effective demagogy in pitting the consumer against the farmer, but it obscures altogether the real problem of farm income. Neither of the candidates, to be sure, has been very specific about the measures he advocates to improve farm income or about the cost of such measures. In fact, in their appearances as farm experts both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kennedy seem a bit like Park Avenue debutantes in a boiler factory. Both, however, have competent advisers. ...What is necessary to understand is that any plan to improve farm income is likely either to increase food prices or to increase governmental subsidies paid through general taxation. This dilemma is inescapable.... There are two ways, broadly, in which to approach the problem of sagging farm income. One is to restrict marketings, an approach which Mr. Kennedy proposes and which Mr. Nixon labels 'planned scarcity,' simultaneously increasing food prices and supplementing farm income through other means. The other is to continue basic price supports at lower figures, to pay farmers for retiring land and to distribute Government-owned surpluses to them. Either of these plans will cost money. Mr. Kennedy is perhaps more reproachable for not talking more about the cost of what he advocates, not

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only in respect of farm remedies, but also in respect of his other social and economic programs--though Mr. Nixon has not been overly precise about the cost of measures on which he says he differs with Mr. Kennedy.... Unquestionably Senator Kennedy's farm plan would increase food prices.... But what Mr. Nixon advocates also would affect the consumer. If he were successful in working off surpluses, prices would tend to rise.... The cost of agricultural programs this year will be nearly \$6 billion.... This money comes, in the form of taxes, from the same consumers about whom Mr. Nixon is so solicitous. In short, there is no magic solution, and it is disingenuous to wave the red flag of increased food prices... without mentioning the other ways in which the consumer now pays or would pay."

Balt. Sun, Oct. 6: "To take the word of the Presidential candidates, disaster impends whichever one wins the election. To take their word again, the disaster will come from the farms. If Mr. Nixon is elected, Mr. Kennedy foresees a depression--not a recession, much less the tiny ghost of a readjustment that Secretary Anderson... discerns, but a deep depression--starting on the farms. Mr. Nixon's countercharge is that the Kennedy farm program... would set off a wild rise in the cost of foods, starting, of course, from the farms. Both candidates support their arguments with figures and statistics--of a sort. Mr. Kennedy's statistics are broader and grander. The farmers, he declares, are the No. 1 customers of the automobile industry (etc.).... Question: With one out of eight Americans living on farms, are the farmers in fact the No. 1 customers of the automobile industry? Mr. Nixon's statistics are the more entrancing, because they are precise. That is, they are presented as precise.... By what magic, secret process are these cute figures arrived at? And what about broccoli? It would be silly if it were not serious. The farm question, unanswerable though it may now be, presents a real national problem. Let the candidates discuss it as such, and eschew their frivolous figures."

The WSJ carries a story on page 2 reporting that RN's figures on Kennedy's farm plan were based on the research done by about 40 economists and technicians in the Department of Agriculture. The story is a rundown as to how the figures were arrived at.

St. Louis Post Dispatch, Oct. 3: "President Eisenhower coined a catchy slogan when he told Illinois Republicans the country wants 'leadership from a trained

team'. . . . But while he heaped praise on Vice President Nixon. . . he did not clear up the question of just what specific ideas Mr. Nixon has contributed to the Administration. . . . Mr. Eisenhower seemed careful to skirt the point in talking to party leaders last Thursday. Although he said he 'wanted to set the record straight' he omitted giving an answer to the Aug. 24 query. . . . He has chosen to leave the matter just about where it was before."

Kennedy

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 3: "Senator Kennedy's approach to the farm problem poses questions that should be debated in detail in the campaign. . . . The Senator's discussion of his plan has been fragmentary so far. But his approach is clear. It repudiates the free-market concept of Secretary. . . Benson and the less rigid production-control proposals of Vice President Nixon and frankly proposes the marketing controls that seem to be the only method likely to prevent the accumulation of costly surpluses. This system of control may not amount to a regimented farm economy, but it surely has the attributes of a managed economy. . . . Economists who have worked on the Kennedy program say that it will raise retail food prices by 10 to 15 per cent. Here another matter of public policy enters. Food accounts for about one-third of the average American's budgets. Any increase in food price is borne equally by those least able to pay and those to whom the increase is meaningless. . . . To many persons it does not seem as equitable as the graduated income tax, which theoretically reflects ability to pay. . . . Further questions suggest themselves. Would the program contribute to inflation? If it affects the cost-of-living index it would be reflected in increased wages due to escalator clauses in many labor-management contracts. Could it be confined to a few basic crops, or would it be necessary to extend it to all food production? . . . It has not been explained as yet how the programs for various commodities would be interrelated to prevent farmers from shifting excess production into unmanaged commodities. Farmers can be expected to increase their per-acre production and presumably would not have to retire all acreage not used to produce their quotas. . . . Mr. Kennedy may have here the kernel of a plan that would work. At least it is an imaginative idea which bears analysis and discussion. Since it is sharply opposed to Republican concepts the Republicans should offer serious criticism. This does not mean ridicule. . . . Senator

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Kennedy for his part should fill in his outline in the course of later speeches. As it is he has provided the basis for an important public discussion."

Cleveland Plain Dealer, Oct. 4: 'Cut through the wordage of the farm programs suggested by...Nixon and...Kennedy and what's the real difference? Kennedy's program, says the Wall Street Journal--a view in which we concur--'starts out by despairing of the enterprise principle'. And concludes the Journal, 'the only possible end to that road is total regimentation.' The possibilities are frightening. The example of many nations...where the government took over agriculture, lock stock and barrel, and liquidated in one way or another all who opposed governmental intrusion, remains a stark warning to all who fear too much government control in anything.... We do not question Sen. Kennedy's sincerity, doubt his desire to improve conditions, or imply he has any sort of 'liquidation' in mind for opponents of his plan, but when he talks about supply-management controls, marketing quotas, orders and agreements, and other devices...it seems clear that the farmer would never succeed in getting Uncle Sam off his back, and that the federal government, not the weather, would become the prime factor in every farmer's government-prescribed life. We prefer Mr. Nixon's approach to the farm headache.... The chief difference, when all has been said, is this: Kennedy's program puts Uncle Sam in the farm picture to stay; Nixon's gives hope that farmers, once the 'transition period' is over, 'can regain their freedom to grow what they wish for markets freed of the burden of accumulated stocks of commodities.' We are far less concerned with the various steps in Nixon's 'Operation Consume' and 'Operation Safeguard' than we are in this one basic fact--that he envisages final freedom for the farmer, whereas Kennedy would forge the links that would forever bind the farmer to the government. Ultimate freedom for the farmer is, we believe, worth working and fighting for."

WSJ, Oct. 6: "As he travels around the country, Senator Kennedy frequently notes that steel production is not much more than 50% of capacity. He would like, he says, to see 'full' production. A good many people probably feel the same way; at least the expression '50% of capacity' doesn't sound exactly wonderful.... But we would like to ask a couple of questions. Is 'excess' capacity necessarily a bad thing? And in any case what do you do about it?.... The expression itself is highly deceptive. That 50% or 55% is more than half of a capacity that has been tremendously expanded--by about 55%--since World War II. At 55% of current capacity, the industry would produce slightly more than it could have at 100% of capacity in

1940....Measured in terms of actual production...55% of of capacity today is a huge volume of steel. Moreover, the capacity not now in use includes a lot of older, higher-cost, obsolescent equipment....To that extent the economy is surely the gainer, not the loser....A lot of the gloom surrounding excess capacity derives from semantic confusion. To be sure, one can argue with the decisions of the steelmakers and other industrialists which led to so much expansion of capacity. But that is a wholly different argument from the contention that all capacity now existing should be in use....Plainly, there is excess capacity in terms of 1960; it may not be excess at all in terms of 1963. Not to mention what even a little war would do to the excess....One can easily imagine the abuse Senator Kennedy and others would be heaping on the steelmakers if they had not undertaken their expansion programs. It seems to us that excess capacity of the type now existing is not itself a harbinger of recession or depression....What brings a slump are steep declines in demand and hence in production, not as measured against an ever-growing capacity but against previously prevailing demand and production rates. Anyway, Senator Kennedy thinks something should be done about this idle capacity. Regardless of the quality of some of it, it should all be used, full blast. He hasn't said exactly how he would go about it, but he is on record as favoring more Government spending in general and artificially created cheap money. If that adds up to anything, it adds up to a policy of inflation....Inflation cannot automatically create unlimited demand. There is today no huge reservoir of pent-up demand (as there was, say, in 1945) for inflation to work on....Nor, even if it were desirable, does it seem realistic to suppose that expanded Government programs could put all the excess capacity to use, at least short of war....It seems to us something of a misnomer to call this capacity 'excess'; it could more properly be called a reserve for future growth....If...we fall for the propaganda that the Government must try to force the growth to an arbitrary percentage no matter what, we may or may not get 'full' production. But the cost will be prohibitive, as it must be when people indulge in an excess capacity for delusion."

In a second editorial, the Journal points out: "The 1960 pennant winners provide a lesson in growthmanship....Through 1959, the New York Yankees had won 24 league championships while the Pittsburgh Pirates had won five. The Bronx club, by copping the flag this year, increased its total number of league champion-

ships by 4.1%. The Pittsburgh team, meanwhile, boosted its pennant record by a whopping 20%, almost five times as much as the New Yorkers. The Yankees, it is clear, had better start moving."

NY Daily News, Oct. 6: "When Khrushchev wrecked the Paris summit... Kennedy... said President Eisenhower ought to have tried to save the summit by sending regrets to the Red Czar.... Tuesday evening (Kennedy)... said he thought Ike showed 'good judgment' in turning down five big neutral nations' request that he meet with Khrushchev now. Just what does the Senator think, anyway, about summits and Presidential duties concerning them?"

Ross Valentine, Richmond Times-Dispatch, Oct. 5: "'The women are going to vote for Kennedy.' 'The young people are going to vote for Kennedy.' So my liberal friends insist. When asked why, they tell me that 'Kennedy is such a good-looking man'.... Mr. Kennedy's friendship with Frank Sinatra and Hollywood cafe society may influence a generation which listens rapturously to the fiddling of glamorous guys-'n-dolls while Mr. Khrushchev does his best to bulldoze the globe to the brink of nuclear fire. Like Mr. K., our 'liberals' have long been aware of Mr. Nixon's 'toughness' in the face of Communist threats, and have done their utmost to create a false 'image' of him in the public mind.... As for youth, reared in a New Deal-Fair Deal era of 'security first,' can they be expected to realize that the left-wing Democratic platform is not progressive, but reactionary? An approach to the all-powerful state? Nikita is a man of infinite guile. He has said since his arrival in this country, that he is against 'both Kennedy and Nixon.' That was expedient. Mr. Kennedy is not pro-Communist, but there is nothing Mr. Khrushchev would like better than to see Kennedy win, and appoint Mr. Stevenson Secretary of State. The Kremlin has reason to believe that it could sweet-talk him into appeasement.... Maybe my liberal friends are right in their prediction. Maybe youth so long enamored of the TV shadow-world of make-believe, idolizing the glittering success of those who cater to self-gratification, will, indeed, 'vote for Kennedy.' But I hope with all my heart that at least the youth of Virginia will not allow itself to be led by the pink pied Pipers into the depths of surrender from which there would be no turning back."

Detroit News, Oct. 3: "We are now wondering if Jack, in the White House, would be a dull boy.... The Democratic candidate quoted Oscar Wilde's remark, put

into the mouth of Dumby in Lady Windemere's Fan: Experience is the name everyone gives to their mistakes. But he omitted the next exchange: Cecil Graham: One shouldn't commit any. Dumby: Life would be very dull without them. We are accepting, of course, Kennedy's seeming assumption he would never, never make any mistakes."

Peoria Journal Star, Sept. 28: "It would appear that Sen. John Kennedy is going to soft-pedal his labor policies and attitudes in TV appearances or any campaigning before the country at large. In the first 'debate,' he said nothing about organized labor except a remark complaining that Hoffa is not in jail yet! In short his only reference to any union was derogatory. This was in his opening statement and was certainly carefully planned that way. For what purpose? To give what general impression?...All Americans are entitled to be told the honest truth, and to know that before the 'debate' on 'domestic policy,' Mr. Kennedy made it clear by his actions and flatly by his statements in Detroit that the real keystone of his domestic policy will be that what is good for the union power groups is good for America! Yet he went out of his way to give a different 'impression' on TV."

Polls

Field Poll, California, reports that Kennedy now leads RN by the slimmest of margins. Results: Kennedy/Johnson - 47%; Nixon/Lodge - 46%; undecided - 7%. "The trend of popularity of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket has been up since the weeks immediately following the...conventions." However, Field's survey shows further that among RN's supporters, there is a higher degree of interest in the election and likelihood that they will vote. For this reason Field says "If circumstances combine to result in a lower than normal turnout for the election, Kennedy's chances of winning could be seriously affected unless he managed to pile up a commanding lead."

Lubell, Chicago Daily News, Oct. 5: "All the seesawing between the parties has left...Kennedy and...Nixon virtually at a standoff on the 50-yard line. Neither has yet been able to break through with the electorate for a decisive touchdown.... Nixon's No. 1 ground-gainer has been the fact that, as one New Jersey housewife remarked, 'The world is in a mess and Nixon has been closer to the mess.' This feeling that 'he had been trained for the job' was voiced in every city and farm county I have visited so far. Still there is enough resentment that 'Eisenhower has

been wishy-washy with Russia' and 'we need a change' so that the advantage conceded Nixon on foreign affairs is only a small one. In Kennedy's case his main vote-pullers have been a reassertion of the old-time Democratic loyalty and economic discontent. ... Still, as with Nixon's 'experience' issue, economic discontent is yielding Kennedy only a limited yardage in votes. A decisive breakthrough on this issue is blocked by the fact that across the country economic satisfaction still runs stronger than dissatisfaction. Also, much of the public is not convinced that Kennedy's proposals are what the economy needs. Generally, people have interpreted Kennedy's emphasis on 'economic growth' as proposing more government spending. ... Voters shy from further spending proposals because they fear they will raise taxes. ... Other workers, when asked what should be done to improve the economy, have replied, 'Lower taxes. They're crushing us.' If economic conditions darken, more voters may be ready to agree with those who think 'the way to make jobs is to spend more money.' But, as of now, the temper of the electorate remains basically conservative and tax-conscious--too much so to welcome any spending spree."

Miscellaneous

Nikita Khrushchev will appear on David Susskind's Open End Sunday evening. The program will be live and the questioning impromptu. Both the Chicago Daily News and the Chicago Sun-Times have endorsed Sam Witwer for the Senate.

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RELEASE: IMMEDIATE

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT CLEVELAND, OHIO
OCTOBER 6, 1960

Sixteen million of our people aged 65 and over, and their children as well, are rightly troubled over the heavy and growing costs of medical care. The Federal Government has a responsibility to help meet this urgent human problem. Three groupings of our citizens require our help.

First are the 2,400,000 people who receive old-age assistance. The states need additional funds to improve the medical care that these people receive. This year the Federal Government is making \$142,000,000 additional available. The next Congress should provide additional supplementary funds for the program.

Second are the several million people 65 and over who under the law are not eligible for public assistance for income reasons but who nevertheless lack the resources to pay heavy hospital and medical bills. A new law was passed in the special session of the Congress, which, while far less than the President and I requested, is a step forward for these citizens. It enables the states to develop plans of their own that will cover the cost of this hospital and medical care, with the Federal Government underwriting at least half, and in some states up to 80 per cent, of the cost. The Federal Government is ready and waiting to share in this effort. A state needs only to develop a plan and put it into effect. Once again, in the interest of meeting pressing need, the states should act.

Third are the approximately 13,000,000 persons aged 65 and over of moderate means. It is wrong to wait until any of these people are struck down by major illness, then force them upon their families or the Government for critically-needed help. These are people who need and want to be able to protect themselves in advance against the economic hazards of illness. They should be provided this opportunity.

(more)

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The voluntary plan that I support to meet the needs of these 13,000,000 people has a number of advantages over the plan that my opponent argues for:

(1) It would do a better job of meeting the costs of either short-term or long-term illnesses.

(2) It would be voluntary, not forced on unwilling citizens.

(3) It would be operated, not by the Federal Government but by the states, with Federal support.

(4) It would build on and not destroy the encouraging progress being made by private health insurance.

I absolutely disagree with my opponent's position on these points.

He would provide none of these 13,000,000 people with as effective protection against the costs of illnesses. For at least 3,000,000 of them, who are not covered by Social Security, he would provide no help at all. He would help the wealthy who have absolutely no need for it. He would force all Social Security participants to be in his health care program whether they wanted it or not. Moreover, he would blunt the growth of private health insurance.

The people need clearly to understand that, even if the way of compulsion were the right way, all my opponent does about the subject is to talk.

This he proved a month ago when he completely failed to persuade the Congress controlled by his own party to pass this or any other of the programs he now promises for the people. What, exactly, is his performance on medical care for the aged?

The program he talks of now was rejected earlier this year 17 to 8 by the Committee in the House of Representatives. This Committee was controlled 15 to 10 by his own party. His plan was defeated 12 to 5 by the Senate Committee. This Committee was controlled 11 to 6 by his own party.

His plan was then defeated in the Senate, in a struggle in which his party had a two-to-one majority, but he couldn't deliver his own votes.

Now he is attempting to fix the responsibility for these failures on the vastly outnumbered members of my party in the Senate. The fact is, many of his own party members dislike compulsion too, and they opposed him in his efforts to dictate to the American people. I remind my opponent

(more)

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that his predecessor, Adlai Stevenson, said in his campaign for the Presidency four years ago, "I have emphasized that this program should be voluntary and that it should be administrated on a state basis".

My conviction is that the American people don't want, and I don't believe that they will allow, anyone to jam compulsory insurance down their throats.

The people do want to help our 13,000,000 elderly citizens who want a chance to protect themselves against the economic hazards of illnesses.

My opponent offers only an empty promise three times rejected. By contrast, I favor a voluntary program of medical care - one that, by being voluntary, conforms to our free way of life, one that avoids the absurdity of underwriting wealthy citizens, one that does not turn its back on 3,000,000 citizens who need help.

I am confident I can translate this plan into action when the new Congress convenes in January.

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