

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>
48	2	05/23-24/1959	Memo	List of meeting participants. 1 pg.
48	2	05/14/1959	Newspaper	Photocopy of unspecified newspaper article, No Wonder the Democrats Are Irritated, by Arthur Krock. 1 pg. Not scanned.
48	2	04/30/1959	Newspaper	Photocopy of Houston Press article, Illness Brings Dulles Popular Acclaim and Fame He Deserves, by Robert Ruark. 1 pg. Not scanned.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes from Haldeman. 1 pg.
48	2	04/16/1959	Newspaper	Photocopy of Chicago daily News article, Hint Dems on Wrong Trail, by Charles Cleveland. 1 pg. Not scanned.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes with the address of Rabbi Judah Nadich. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
48	2	1958	Memo	Handwritten notes describing people in various positions in 1958. 3 pgs.
48	2	n.d.	Report	Work Sheet outlining meetings and considerations. 4 pgs.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes from Haldeman. 1 pg.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes with a short list of names entitled Personal List- Misc. Non-Pros. 1 pg.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes with a short list of names entitled Possible Young People. 1 pg.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten about organization. 1 pg.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes from Haldeman to Joan about census data and 1958 elections. 1 pg.

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
48	2	03/14/1959	Report	Meeting notes with names and future appearances. 2 pgs.
48	2	1960	Report	Summary of Requirements for Entering a Candidates's Name on Ballots in State Preferential Presidential Primaries. 1 pg.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Notes from Jack Redding discussing campaign tactics.5 pgs.
48	2	01/01/1956	Letter	Excerpt from The Perfect President by Eugene Burdick in This Week magazine. 5 pgs.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes about Murrow speech. 1 pg.
48	2	n.d.	Memo	Handwritten notes. 1 pg.
48	2	06/19/1959	Letter	Letter from Robert Finch to H.R. Haldeman. 1 pg.

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48	2	06/19/1959	Letter	Letter from Robert Finch to Charles Franklin. This letter was attached to previous letter. 1 pg.

**May 23-24, 1959 Meetings
Participants**

Bob Collier

Dick Cornuelle

Bob Finch

Bob Haldeman

Nate Jacobs

Bill Key

Sam Krupnick

Charlie McWhorter

Jack MacKenzie

Paul Marshall

Coke Prentice

Fred Sontag

Bill Stever

Ed Terrar

Bob Wilson

Bill Key lunch June 3

Wings Club in Baltimore 1st floor

12:00

Jack Pike - at JWS

Rabbi Judah Nadich
THE Statler  Hilton

Park Ave Synagogue
NY - Enright 92600

res. YUkon 82627

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for your enjoyment and convenience

THE EMBASSY
COFFEE HOUSE

THE VERANDA
THE LOUNGE

Names - from 58

Ft. Dodge Don C. Pierson Sr - Humboldt Iowa
former state chairman - now inactive?
strong for RV - effective worker -
Bob Waggoner -
defeated cand. for Congress

Art Johnson - Ft Dodge Iowa
was county chairman in 58 - young local leader
Rotary-type - might be strong RV - have to check

Conn Henry Mooberry - c/o United Aircraft, Hartford
Ed May was in charge of RV visit - close to Cap Baldwin
good organizer - seemed to be very pro-RV
friend of Bill Key - not active in politics

Harry Haucher - Emerald Street - Willimantic Conn
was Pres of Conn YR in 1958 - seemed capable but
wasn't given a chance by pros.

Wilmington Jay Scott - Laird & Co. ^{Nemours Bldg.} Wilmington
Hal Haskell was in chg of RV visit - non-pro - young
very good - seemed to be in favor of Sen Williams
close friend of Hal Haskell - strongly pro RV

Providence Bill Broomhead - St. Chmn

has several pals who might be good - but I don't know them too well -

Charlie Eden, Ned Crosby, Ed Healey
also - labor union guy who seemed strong R.N.
Arthur Patt

Ray Stone - mayor of Warwick

got good boost from R.N. in 58 - strong young pro

Coyard Ewing

def. cand for Senate

Indianapolis Geo Stark - finance chairman - Pres meat co.
seemed to be very pro R.N.

Bruce Hunt - good young PR guy + good organizer
non-pro - works for Stark

Don Tabbutt - US Attorney - youngest in US
met R.N. - R.N. very impressed with him - good

Muncie Ed Seward - exec secy Chamber of Commerce -
young - capable -

Ralph Haney - congressman + Bob Baker A.A.

Okla City Gere Hulson - 56 Pres state YR - have to check
Grey Wyman - VP - YR - "

Boise Charles E Link - 56 Cty Comm Ada Cty - young
atty - was strongly pro RN + good man
friend of Gov Smylie

Spokane Allan Toole - old National Bank Bldg
young atty - non pro
was chmn of RN visit

Work Sheet

1. Explanation of nature of meeting.

- a. Justification
- b. Common denominator of those present
- c. Necessity of security

2. Explanation of kit material.

- a. Claude Robinson's "What Ails the GOP?"
- b. House document on manner of selecting delegates to national political conventions
- c. Poll material and charts
- d. Transcript of RN's Los Angeles press conference appearance
- e. Brandon material
- f. Springer insert on Trendex poll
- g. BBC Press Conference in London

3. Use of candidate -- speaking forums for next 18 months

*Apr Acad Pol Sci - NY 13
- Cowles
- YP Fla*

a. Forums to be considered

- 1. CE Convention - RN award
- 2. National Security Industrial Association
- 3. Emmy awards show
- 4. ABC Congressional Investigation Documentary
- 5. "Person to Person"
- 6. "Today"

*May 21 Wmabug Aircraft
Youth Award*

*June Whittier Reunion
VR - Denver 79*

*July Pells? All the same
Baseless weekend dinner*

*Aug Am Legion VFW - LA
St Paul*

Sept.

Nature of audience

Geographical location

Nature of event

- b. People and groups RN should see
- c. Necessity for recording RN's remarks

4. Public Relations considerations

a. Maximum follow-up on RN speeches and appearances

1. Speech distribution
2. Newspaper and other media comment
3. Follow-up by local organizations - resolutions - Oregon
4. Letters to editor
5. Congressional Record
6. Use of advance men

b. Special mailings - report on status - materials on hand

1. Items from Congressional Record
2. Elwood Robinson - Alsop article
3. Fordham speech (C. P. Ives column as companion piece)
4. Lipscomb's Kyle Palmer column
5. Harvard speech

c. Television and radio appearances - problems and solutions

d. Magazines, articles and books - policy

1. Maso book - scheduled for release June 23
2. Look articles beginning June 1, to run consecutively
3. Follow-up

e. Human interest stories

1. The Nixon family
2. RN interest in people
3. Mechanics for handling such items

*Set list
background groups
Set up VPs own list
like DJB*

*Bill Costello
hatchet job - full book
Bela Koranyi -
family approach
American Heritage
Chapter - in general
book on all channels -
in fall*

- f. Foreign trips - general considerations
- g. Problems and solution of improving RN appeal to independent voters
- h. Improved use of President's Committee on Government Contracts
- i. Suggestions regarding the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth
- j. Liaison with President's Goal Committee and Percy's Committee
- k. Problems relating to opinion polls

5. Organizational considerations

- a. Necessity for better intelligence
- b. Compilations of "key" people mailing lists
- c. Systematic check of 1960 attitude of key party officials, and elected officials
- d. Special contact work with:
 - 1. Ethnic groups
 - 2. Jewish groups
 - 3. Negro groups
 - 4. Labor organizations
 - 5. Farm organizations
 - 6. Religious groups
 - 7. Egg heads
 - 8. Veterans
- e. Letter to editor campaign
- f. Political reporting
 - 1. Use of Congressional contacts
 - 2. Use of party organizational leaders
 - 3. Other

*Business
Professional
Youth*

- g. General views and comments on pre-convention organisational campaign
- h. General views on timing as related to pre-convention campaign
- i. Anti-Rockefeller activities?
- j. Extra party organization - "Neighbors for Nixon"
- k. Youth

6. Specific assignments and research

- a. Task force groups to profile RN positions

- 1. Current issues

- a. Inflation
 - b. Unemployment
 - c. Russia
 - d. Farm
 - b. Primary law survey by state for '60
 - c. Congressional contact
 - d. Group contact

June 3 Lunch Bill
1.50
1.50

Personal List - Misc
Non-pros

John Marin
Douglas Wheeler
Ron Townsend
Bob Carman
Gene Lester
Dick Miller
Ron Davis
Ann Arnold

Possible young people

Pat Boone

Bob Mathias

Dick Wallin

NY Sports figs?

Organizational

- Organize region mgrs - start state by state study -
 - organization of party
 - classify RR backers & NR backers
 - voting history - & analysis of reason
 - economic status & trend
 - (maybe get corps to hire these men as PR & donate to cause)
 - tie in with primaries study -
 - use Moos study as reference?
- Need active PR operation

Joan -

Get from information center today —
from latest Census data

Nb. of white persons of foreign origin in US
" of foreign birth
" of foreign origin who
report mother tongue other than English
" of foreign origin who
are eligible to vote

Total vote cast in 1958 elections

MEETING: Saturday 14 March 59, 9:30 A. M.
P-53

Bob Collier

Dick Cermelle

Jack Drewa

Bob Finch

Ben Gill

Bob Haldean

Nate Jacobs

Bill Key

Sam Krupnick

Charlie McWhorter

Jack Mackenzie

Paul Marshall

Coke Prentice

Fred Sontag

Bob Wilson

Appearances scheduled or being considered during the next few months.

May 25		Dedication of the Washington Star Building
June 8		Testimonial (fund-raising) dinner for former and present Republican Members of Congress, Washington, D. C.
June 12		Nevada Silver Centennial - Virginia City
June 13		25th Reunion of Whittier College Class
June 14		Disneyland Anniversary - Anaheim, California
June 15		<i>National TV - with family</i> Dedication of new building at San Diego University - Receive first Honorary Degree to be conferred by San Diego University - <i>Catholic</i>
June 19		Young Republican Convention - Denver, Colorado
June 20		<i>major address</i> National Editorial Association - Colorado Springs
June 26	Possible	<i>Q + A</i> American Classical League award - Exeter, N. H.
June 27		St. Lawrence Seaway Dedication - with Quenn Elizabeth - Massena, New York
July 4		Dedication of Sports Arena - Los Angeles - American Legion Fireworks Show in Coliseum
July 6-7	Possible	Baseball Writers Dinner and All Star Game - Pittsburgh
July 11		Christian Endeavor Convention - Philadelphia
July 23	Apprx.	<i>major address</i> Moscow trip - Opening of American National Exhibition <i>Through Aug 2?</i>
August 14	Possible	Football Writers Association-All Star Game - Chicago
August 24		American Legion National Convention - St. Paul
August 25	Possible	<i>major address</i> National Student Association - Univ. of Illinois - Champaign
August 31		<i>major or Q + A</i> VFW National Convention - Los Angeles - <i>major address</i>
Oct. 5	Possible	Dedication of Law Building, University of Chicago - <i>major</i>
Oct. 8	Possible	"Business Speaks" Dinner - New York City
Nov. 27	Possible	Phi Alpha Delta Dinner - New York City <i>Ligma Delta Chi - St. Louis</i>

Summary of Requirements for Entering
a Candidate's Name on Ballots in State
Preferential Presidential Primaries - 1960

(Chronological order based on date of primary)

(Primaries at which voters may express a preference for the presidential and in some cases for vice presidential candidates to be nominated at their party's national convention)

March 8	<i>Jan 8-28 filing</i>	✓ New Hampshire - <i>popularity + delegate</i>
April 5	<i>Mar 4 filing deadline</i>	New York (Primary for selection of delegates only - no presidential preference) Wisconsin - <i>State</i>
April 12	<i>cond. must file Jan 18-25</i>	Illinois <i>pop contest</i>
April 19	<i>no consent but cond. can withdraw</i>	✓ New Jersey <i>pop contest not fight between Lab + cons.</i>
April 26	<i>file Mar 10 - withdraw Mar 16</i>	Alaska Massachusetts - <i>file Mar 8</i> Pennsylvania <i>pop contest Feb 22 - no consent: see withdraw Feb 24</i>
May 2	<i>file Feb 29 - cond. must file</i>	Maryland (Presidential vote but delegates chosen by State Convention)
May 3		Alabama (Primary for selection of delegates only - no presidential preference) District of Columbia (same as above) Indiana (Presidential vote but delegates chosen by State Convention)
	<i>166-3 file - cond. must consent</i>	Ohio <i>withdraw Feb 13</i>
May 10		Nebraska West Virginia
May 20		✓ Oregon
May 24	<i>file Mar 1 - delay file</i>	Florida <i>no consent</i>
June 7		California Montana (Presidential vote but delegates chosen by State Convention) South Dakota Arkansas (Optional)
Not later than 2 months prior to National Convention (if at all)		

✓ critical for NR

Notes from Jack Redding

American people love underdog - will steadfastly back a fighter - weary of the unexciting and the static.

Truman epitomized whole Demo 48 campaign - a carefully planned effort to show the people the cand. in person - to allow his own personality & words to be like the fight

Creation of a political atmosphere is no casual thing - must continue day in & day out - must feed the forces that create it - short pithy stories, wisecracks, sharp contrasts pointed up in few words

Com. politics is rough & tumble free for all - bludgeon often only apparent weapon - but actually best weapon is chuckle or belly laugh at expense of opponent

Ridicule is a wonderful weapon

Parallel - demos in early 47 - Repubs in early 59
major defeat in cong. elections preceding year
organization of party at all-time low

~~Notes from Jack Redding~~

establish listening posts around country - for periodic long-distance telephone soundings

? can we force demo cand. to run on L Johnson record as demos did in '48 force Dewey to run on Taft's record. - Thus start now hitting Johnson hard and often

Hannegan said Taft would be harder to beat than Dewey cause a fighter - not "me-too"

national Comm - Newsletter like Kiplinger - terse, readable, eye-appealing - aim at precinct workers - county chairmen & workers - give them material to use directly on voters without thinking - rely on simple issues - feeling - emotion

? do we have file on all Nixon speeches - broken into quotes on every subject - coded & classified & indexed

Truman's greatest campaign assets were his forthright manner & smile - so expose him to most people possible

→ I am convinced RV greatest effect on changing people is in personal appearance - so far not duplicated on TV

Redding felt if people see HST in person they'll vote for him - personality, smile, manner of approach, sincerity all come through - people will trust him & thus vote for him.

48 campaign was from rear platform of train

→ (face to face with people!)

possibility of putting new people in small towns by specially rigged bus caravan - go away from standard train & plane stops - need to research where candidates have been & go elsewhere - can get more actual people to a small town rally than in city - and if handled right get more picturesque press coverage

→ use meeting with RN as bait to bring in state leaders for individual organizational meetings

? Is there any way to use patronage of 60 senators advantage

→ set up routine system of asking for advice from key leaders - by phone or mail - air special - devise continuing series of questions to keep feeding out for advice - give them feel of participating.

? how about chairmanship of Brotherhood Week

? grouping of young men in Congress - spotlight them
→ talk to party program

need to develop picture of courage

? find out statistics on US pop -

of whites of foreign origin - how many for. birth
% of total pop. - what language
set up ethnic groups organization - esp.
foreign language
capitalize on foreign aid program?

include Jews in nationalities division cause of Yiddish papers
(check Wheeler Silt re for facts) p. 203

use Polish National Alliance, Czech Sokols, German
Turnvereins - work thru Foreign Language Newspaper Ass.

Scandinavians are strongly Repub - Italians, Poles,
Spaniards, Slovaks + Russians are basically emotional
Germans, Scandinavians + some others use cold logic - facts

Comic book history of cand. - life story

Soap opera type radio program for women's vote p. 239

never let HQ group say or think of any possibility of defeat
start gossip that we have positive info cand will win

movie of cand. - release to theatres p. 254 & earlier

get police to strengthen lines in one area - result weakens
on line of march - create pandemonium

H57- You need excitement to keep life in a campaign
(be sure to plan sched with one buildup-up
every day)

Polls are in favor of Repub by 2.4 to 2.8 points
(study this)

In 57 Demo Cong candos went their own way -
ignored nat'l ticket - spelled defeat

Excerpt from "The Perfect President" by Eugene Burdick in January 1, 1956 issue of **THIS WEEK Magazine**.

From a number of studies the characteristics of the "perfect President" emerge with striking clarity. They are:

The "perfect President" would be an interesting personality, warm but decisive.

He would command admiration, but much more than this, he would inspire confidence.

He would be a man who has overcome personal difficulties.

He would have proved his capacity by actually doing things.

He would be "proper," in his moral and ethical behavior, but he would not be "perfect," that is, free of all taint of sin.

He would have a sense of humor.

He would not be primarily a partisan politician.

He would be married, with a happy family life.

No President will have all these qualities and it is doubtful that any President lacking most of them will be remembered as "great." Let us take these qualities one by one and see how they have figured in the campaigns.

"AN INTERESTING PERSONALITY." National polls on Presidential candidates usually have a question which goes: "Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the two candidates for President. Is there anything in particular you like or dislike about them?"

The response to this simple question reveals at once the enormous appeal of FDR and Eisenhower. When voters were asked what they liked about FDR's opponents, such as Willkie, their chief response was that they liked him "because he's running against That Man in The White House." But when people were asked what they liked about Roosevelt a large and varied number of positive favorable statements were made. Likewise, the Michigan Survey study of the Eisenhower-Stevenson race indicated that more than half of Stevenson's supporters found something favorable to say about Eisenhower. But Stevenson did not elicit such comment. He was "respected," but he was not "interesting."

The perfect President must be interesting in his own right. To be "anti" the other candidate or party is not enough.

"WARML, BUT DECISIVE." Neither is it enough to be merely able, efficient and strong. Americans deeply distrust a President who lacks warmth and humanity. He must have a real interest in the people and a sympathy for their aspirations.

Perhaps the most classical example of this is the Dewey-Truman contest in 1948. Studies by Professor Paul Lazarfeld and his colleagues indicate that a large group of people at the start of the campaign did not like the policies of Truman nor the prospects of continued Democratic control of the Presidency. But as the campaign progressed, increasing numbers swung back to Truman. In the end many voted for Truman although they did not really care for him!

The reason was simple. The personality of Dewey never emerged as warm and sympathetic. He was labeled "the bridegroom on the wedding cake" and "the district attorney" by his opponents and the phrases stuck. Even voters who did not like Truman or his "give-em-hell" campaign were often attracted by his warmth and enthusiasm.

"ABLE TO INSPIRE CONFIDENCE." There is a subtle, but powerful difference between admiration and confidence. Before the conventions in 1952 General Dwight Eisenhower and General Douglas MacArthur were, in all surveys, the two most admired living Americans. But when Americans were asked whom they preferred for President a strange thing happened: Eisenhower remained at the top of the list, but General MacArthur at once dropped to fifth place. Taft, Truman and Kalanovet were all more desirable as a President.

Once the Eisenhower-Stevenson campaign began this factor became even more decisive. The Klamo Roper organization discovered that Stevenson was ranked far behind Eisenhower in terms of his intelligence and his attractiveness of personality and in his ability to inspire confidence. By election day Stevenson had made great gains on Eisenhower in two of these qualities, but not in the third, his ability to inspire confidence. From beginning to end the American people had more confidence in Eisenhower.

An executive in a polling organization told me that when voters say that a candidate "inspires confidence" they mean "he has an interest in me" or "he will take care of me." The voters apparently felt that Eisenhower would be more protective, considerate and sympathetic than Stevenson.

"HE HAS OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES." Americans want a President who has known personal difficulty and overcome it. Lincoln is an example of a rise from poverty; Eisenhower of a swift rise from obscurity. Roosevelt's ability to overcome his paralysis and to lead an active life was widely approved as a courageous battle against a great difficulty.

There is apparently a feeling that personal adversity is a maturing and toughening process which is as valuable as any experience gained in politics.

"HE HAS DONE THINGS." Americans want a President who was first successful in some activity other than pure politics. A President who has been nothing but a politician would be least appealing. Thus Americans tend to approve Hoover's engineering skill, Eisenhower's military art, FDR's experience as an Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

"PROPER, BUT NOT PERFECT." To be perfect in behavior is no recommendation. If a person is "perfect" he is unbelievable, remote, lost in psychological space. Indeed, a President's very imperfections make him attractive. This is one of the reasons Lincoln is preferred to Washington. Washington has been depicted as so good that one just does not believe in him.

Although many people disapproved of Truman's violent defense of Margaret's singing voice, secretly he was much admired; it was the sort of thing that any ordinary citizen might do. Likewise the escapades of FDR's children, his pride in his cocktails, were not liabilities. Many a parent has had unruly children, takes a quiet pride in some small skill. Such "defects" seem to reduce psychological distance, to make the President real.

Taft, Dewey, Coolidge, Hoover were all prominent politicians whose behavior seemed so perfect that they were unable to command widespread enthusiasm.

"A SENSE OF HUMOR." Politicians have always smiled without being quite sure why they do. Psychoanalysts confirm, however, that the politician is on the right track. The lack of a sense of humor is an indication of inner tension, of taking one's self too seriously. Humor is a sign of both humility and tolerance. And it is a public aspect of one's personality; it cannot be disguised or simulated. Voters are extremely sensitive to the presence or absence of humor in a candidate.

Lincoln possessed a broad and well-developed sense of humor. So did Roosevelt. But people felt that Coolidge, Wilson and Hoover did not. Stevenson's humor is of a special kind and there are clear indications that his irony was disquieting to some voters in the last elections. The wide, unrestrained smile of Eisenhower has been one of his finest assets.

"NON-PARTISAN." Americans are strongly insistent that a President drop his partisan label when he assumes office. Both FDR and Eisenhower were thought to be above politics "in the usual sense," or to engage in politics of so lofty a nature that they were non-partisan. However, Stevenson was never able to throw off the implication that he was indebted to the Democratic Party and to Truman. Indeed, this was the largest single criticism of Stevenson reported by the Michigan Survey. Although respect for Stevenson rose mightily during the campaign he could never shake the label of "partisan." The widespread feeling that Eisenhower was not a "real" Republican was a positive advantage.

"A HAPPY FAMILY LIFE." One study made it clear that the President's family is incorporated in his general public image. For example, the continued enormous popularity of Mrs. Roosevelt is partly due to a simple transfer of public affection from a well-liked President to his widow. There is a widespread expectation that a President will be a model father and husband.

Stevenson's divorce was unsettling to some voters. But because the divorce took place between two dignified and mutually respectful people and without scandal it aroused no wide public reaction. Also, the presence of Stevenson's three sons is reassuring. Almost surely the divorce will be of less disadvantage to Stevenson this year, many people having got used to the idea.

THE FINAL PORTRAIT

This composite portrait of "the perfect President" is almost complete. He is a man who has great warmth, inspires confidence rather than admiration and is not so proper that he is unbelievable. He must have "done things" in another field than politics and he must have a genuine sense of humor. His stand on individual political issues is relatively unimportant - only a fraction of the people can correctly identify the stand of the Presidential candidates on even the most important issues. Obviously a person might lack some of these qualities and still be President. Truman, for example, was almost completely the "pure" politician and had not "done things" outside of politics. Also he was a conspicuous partisan.

Clearly there are some aspects of this portrait that are disturbing.

(1) Is it, for example, ominous that issues are less important than personality?
(2) Is it healthy in a democracy that citizens desire a leader who will protect them, even if he is not the person they most admire? (3) Are Americans in their dislike for politicians looking for a heroic leader of a totalitarian type?

Dr. Elise Frenkel-Brunswik in a series of brilliant studies has pointed out some of the psychological elements involved. Her studies indicate that if a crisis situation is too prolonged or too complex some people will flee responsibility by letting a dominant leader make all the decisions. There is a desire for "black-and-white" decisions; a yearning for a simple, well-understood leader who can solve all the bewildering problems. However, in a democracy the ultimate responsibility must be taken by the people.

There is a danger that a President who is selected entirely on the basis of a pleasing personality would be a threat to democracy. We might, literally, ask him to solve problems which can only be solved by the whole citizenry. We would force him to be dictatorial.

Heroes Not Wanted

On the other hand, there is very little evidence that Americans are looking for a "hero" rather than a "good leader" when they choose their President. Political scientists have a name for this type of leader. He is called the "charismatic leader"; the leader who seems to possess miraculous powers, who commands personal devotion, is "heroic." Hitler and Mussolini were such leaders.

A very careful study by Professor James Davies of the California Institute of Technology indicates that in the Eisenhower-Stevenson race only two per cent of the American people made their choice on a "heroic" basis. The great bulk of the American voters made their choice quite coolly, without high emotion and in an objective manner.

Americans do prefer a warm and outgoing personality as President and they do give him a high degree of loyalty when he is elected. But there is little evidence that Americans today are seeking an authoritarian leader.

A number of psychologists have indicated that a "perfect President" would be unbeatable for re-election, unless he made one or more of a very few mistakes:

1. If he refused to act decisively in a crisis situation. It is not necessary that the President's acts always be successful, but that he act decisively is imperative.
2. If he became involved in a personal scandal that reflected on his personal morals, faithfulness to his family or indicated that he was greedy or corrupt.
3. If he became too closely identified with narrow political partisanship.

Any one of these mistakes could shatter the whole image held by the public. The "perfect President" has only to avoid them and he will remain the man you want in the White House.

Murrow Speech

- could take apart & answer item by item fairly effectively - but this would just mean back and forth banter
- need decision - are we going to undertake anti-NR activities or not - if so - if not - we should shove & ignore this stuff
- only really effective way to combat it with our own continuing PR operation - to supply continuing stream of pro RM material - on well organized basis - and with a completely positive & constructive approach

Harkness - NBC

Rock - uncommon pol courage
because of tax

Glattner's applause at mention of name
60 will be most imp election of our time

R needs Cozart to see if he has substance

Hark feels gov is playing for 64

RN well ahead now - however

and RN say can't win - beat Taft

V. P. now has lock on nom -
for Demo - Stevenson

cause is 2nd choice in all states

all candidates are liberal - cause in 58

country turned to left



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 19, 1959

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
J. Walter Thompson Company
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Bob:

Thank you for the comprehensive report
you sent me on June 12.

I am contacting Republican Associates
for the material you requested on the past News
Letters.

I will also await with interest your
complete reading of the Mazo book.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Robert H. Finch
Administrative Assistant
to the Vice President

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

June 19, 1959

Mr. Charles Franklin
Executive Director
Republican Associates of Los Angeles County
315 West Ninth Street
Los Angeles 15, California

Dear Chuck:

I would appreciate it if you would send
at your earliest convenience a goodly cross
section of Republican Associates News Letters
over the past year or so to:

Mr. H. R. Haldeman
J. Walter Thompson Company
420 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Thank you very much for your courtesy
in this matter.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Finch
Administrative Assistant
to the Vice President

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman ✓
