

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>
53	1	01/16/1960	Memo	Nixon - The Statesman. Biography of RN as Vice President. 3pgs.
53	1	04/21/1960	Memo	From Rita Hauser to Bob Finch and Peter Flanigan. Re:Organization of Scholars for Nixon and Committee of the Arts for Nixon.. 2pgs
53	1	01/16/1960	Report	Nixon- The Statesman.Biography of RN as a vice president. Copy. Not scanned. 3 pgs
53	1	4/21/1960	Memo	From Rita E. Hauser, to Bob Finch and Peter Flanigan RE: Organization of "Scholars for Nixon" and "Committee of the Arts for Nixon." Copy. Not scanned. 2 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Memo	Advisory Group Scholars for Nixon. List of names including their school and department. 2 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Memo	Advisory Group Committee of the Arts for Nixon. List of names and their affiliated organization. 1 pg

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
53	1	n.d.	Letter	Form letter: Scholars for Nixon. Invitation to join Scholars fo Nixon and support the RN for president. Includes a questionnaire. 2 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Memo	To All Speakers of Nixon For President Committee, from James M. Reynolds inviting speakers, especially club presidents, to an indoctrination meeting for speakers. 2 pgs.
53	1	04/19/1960	Memo	Visit to Parkersburg, West Virginia. Rita Hauser's notes from a meeting with a YR Club in West Virginia. 1 pg
53	1	n.d.	Report	Natural Resources- Public Works- Atomic Energy. Listing what RN thought and actions taken on the subjects listed in the title. 4 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Natural Resources- Public Works- Atomic Energy. Listing what RN thought and actions taken on the subjects listed in the title. Copy. Not scanned
53	1	n.d.	Report	Natural Resources- Public Works- Atomic Energy. Listing what RN thought and actions taken on the subjects listed in the title.Copy. Not scanned
53	1	n.d.	Report	Veterans. Listing what RN thought and actions taken on the subject of veterans. 2 pgs

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
53	1	n.d.	Report	Housing. Listing what RN thought and actions taken on the subject of housing. 2 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Taxation. Listing what RN thought and actions taken on the subject of taxation. 3 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Economic Policy. Lists RN's thoughts and actions taken on economic policy. 4 pgs.
53	1	n.d.	Report	Miscellaneous Items. RN's actions on statehood of Hawaii and Alaska, presidential succession, government reorganization, civil service and D.C. home rule.
53	1	n.d.	Report	Education. Lists RN's thoughts and action taken on the subject of education. 2 pgs.
53	1	n.d.	Report	Defense. Lists RN's thoughts and actions taken on defense. 3 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Civil Rights. Nixon's words and actions on the subjects of civil rights. 2 pgs

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53	1	n.d.	Report	Nixon- The Man. Biography of RN from childhood to young manhood. 2 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Nixon In Politics. Biography of RN's political life. 2 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Refugee Relief and Immigration. List of RN's words and actions on refugee relief and immigration. 1 pg
53	1	03/30/1960	Memo	To Bob Finch, from Rita E. Hauser. Discussion re: anti-Nixon sentiment among Jews. 1 pg
53	1	n.d.	Report	Foreign Policy. Lists RN's words and actions taken on the subject of foreign policy. 6 pgs
53	1	03/14/1960	Memo	From Rita E. Hauser to Peter Flanigan and Bob Finch RE: Organization of Local Committees of the Arts and Sciences for Nixon. 5 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Memo	To Leonard W. Hall, Robert Finch and Robert Halderman, from Rita E. Hauser. RE: Meeting with Arthur F. Burne- Feb. 1, 1960. Attached to previous. 2 pgs

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
53	1	01/26/1960	Memo	To Leonard Hall, Robert Finch and Robert Haldeman, from Rita E. Hauser. RE: Academic Support for Nixon. Attached to previous. 4 pgs
53	1	01/25/1960	Memo	To Leonard Hall, Robert Finch and Robert Haldeman from Rita E. Hauser. RE: Lawyers for Nixon Committee. Attached to previous. 1 pg
53	1	03/09/1960	Memo	To Peter Flanigan, Bob Finch and Rita E. Hauser. RE: Organization of Independents and Democrats for Nixon. Attached to previous. 3 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Report	Report on Trip to Virginian and North Carolina March 31-April 4, 1960. To Bob Finch, Peter Flanigan and Bob Haldeman, from Rita E. Hauser. 4 pgs
53	1	n.d.	Newspaper	Newspaper article: ...Voting Preference Poll, by Horace Sebastian. Newspaper name unknown. Attached to previous. Not scanned.
53	1	04/01/1960	Newspaper	Articles from newspapers. Richmond Times-Dispatch: U. Va. GOP Hears Nixon Review. Roanoke Times: UVA Young GOP Holds Session. Attached to previous. Not scanned.
53	1	04/04/1960	Letter	To Rita E. Hauser, from John Dalton RE: appreciation for her attendance at a Young Republican Club meeting. Attached to previous. 1 pg

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
53	1	n.d.	Newspaper	Newspaper article: Today and Tomorrow, by Walter Lippmann. Attached to previous. Not scanned
53	1	01/1960	Newspaper	Page from North Carolina Young Republican News. Attached to previous. 1 pg
53	1	03/09/1960	Memo	To Peter Flanigan and Bob Finch, from Rita E. Hauser RE: Organization of Independents and Democrats for Nixon. 3 pgs
53	1	03/10/1960	Memo	To Peter Flanigan and Bob Finch, from Rita E. Hauser. RE: Youth Panels for Nixon. Attached to previous. 3 pgs
53	1	03/15/1960	Memo	To files, from Rita E. Hauser. RE: Talk to YR Club of Montgomery County, Maryland, Monday March 14, 1960. Attached to previous. 1 pg
53	1	03/14/1960	Memo	To Peter Flanigan and Bob Finch from Rita E. Hauser. RE: Organization of Local Committees of the Arts and Sciences for Nixon. Attached to previous. 5 pgs

NIXON - THE STATESMAN

Since his election to office as the second youngest Vice President in history, Nixon has made the post a major one in the Government. He has turned the Vice Presidency into a full-time job with significant domestic and international responsibilities. Eisenhower and Nixon both believe that the second man in the Administration should be able to take over the Presidency whenever required and fill the responsibilities of office with knowledge and skill based on direct experience.

As President Eisenhower stated in February, 1957:

"I believe that it is almost showing indifference to the welfare of the American people, unless you keep the Vice President aware of everything that is going on...He should be so prepared that in case of emergency he is ready to step in without any interruption."

Vice President Nixon responded by saying:

"As a result of the President's decision in the matter of the Vice Presidency, the Vice President can make a policy--making contribution to the Administration."

Thus, in addition to his constitutional duties as President of the Senate, Nixon has held the following positions which have given him wide experience in many aspects of the Government:

1. Chairman, President's Committee on Equal Opportunity under Government Contracts. This Committee seeks to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in the employment policies of firms having contracts with the Federal Government.

In May, 1957, Nixon called on 26 Federal agencies to deny further Government contracts to firms practicing racial discrimination.

2. Chairman, Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth. As the title suggests, this high-level Committee is charged with studying the economic scene and then recommending measures to maintain increased productivity and a stable dollar. It has, in the past two years, issued several reports of broad scope. Through his work on this Committee Nixon has gained great insight into the many complexities of America's economy.
3. Member of the National Security Council. This Council is charged with determining America's defense needs and, in general, formulating the basic pattern of the country's foreign relations. In the absence of the President, Nixon presides over the National Security Council just as he does over cabinet meetings.
4. Member, Commission on Extension of the U. S. Capitol.
5. Member, Civil War Centennial Commission.
6. Member, Board of Regents, Smithsonian Institution.

7. Ex-office member, Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission.

In addition, Nixon frequently sits in on Cabinet deliberations and takes an active part in the proceedings.

The value of the experience gained by Nixon showed itself when the President suffered a mild stroke on November 26, 1957. Nixon went to the White House and worked there with members of the staff for several days; on November 27 he took part in the important decision to put the Thor and Jupiter missiles into production. When Congress could not agree on the conditions under which the Vice President should assume full responsibility following a physical set-back by the President, Eisenhower and Nixon came to an historic agreement on March 3, 1958. This agreement provided that the Vice President would serve as Acting President upon the President's request and would continue to serve until the President determined his disability had ended.

Because of Nixon's important role as second in command, the President has asked Nixon to travel extensively as his personal emissary in order to acquire first-hand knowledge of the world scene. Nixon has traveled to five continents and to 56 countries, and has become a reputed international figure well-known to the heads of government of almost all countries of the world.

Nixon has made the following official trips since attaining the Vice Presidency:

- 1953 Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Formosa, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, Laos, Libya, Malaya, New Zealand, Okinawa, Pakistan, The Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam
- 1955 Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama
- 1956 Austria, Brazil, Formosa, Germany, Iceland, Pakistan, The Philippines, Spain, Thailand, Turkey and Vietnam

Went to Austria in December, 1956, as a personal representative of the President to study the problem of the Hungarian refugees and to recommend steps to assist them.
- 1957 Ethiopia, Ghana, Italy, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia and Uganda
- 1958 Historic good-will tour of Latin America. Nixon met Communist-inspired demonstrations in Peru and Venezuela, and acted with such fortitude that the President and Congress praised him for his courage.
- 1959 Historic visit to Russia July 22 to August 2. Nixon had several talks and debates with Soviet Premier Khrushchev, and made two major speeches to the Soviet people. On his return home, he visited Poland from August 2 to August 5.

Nixon's broad experience as Vice President both in dealing with domestic matters and in representing America abroad have prompted the following comments about him by leading statesmen:

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:

"There is no man in the history of America who has had such a careful preparation as has Vice President Nixon for carrying out the duties of the Presidency, if that duty should ever fall upon him."

"...Never has there been a Vice President so well versed in the activities of government. Whatever dedication to country, loyalty and patriotism, and great ability can do for America, Dick Nixon will do--and that I know."

NELSON ROCKEFELLER:

"All of us in the Administration are proud, indeed, of the job you have done during these truly difficult days, and are proud to be associated with you as the leader who is carrying on in the President's absence."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

"By your extensive travels you have been of inestimable service to the Secretary of State and to me. In addition you have gained an understanding of our foreign problems that is both unusual and comprehensive."

JOHN FOSTER DULLES:

"Dick is the best person we have, outside of the President himself, for overseas good-will missions. I don't know anybody who so effectively represents abroad the best qualities of America, and the kind of dedication to the ideals of our nation which have made it respected and admired."

HAROLD McMILLAN:

"Your speeches have deeply impressed the public. Your personality and that of your charming wife has 'got over' in a wonderful way."

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL:

"If I may say so your visit to this country has been a great success and has strengthened still further our close friendship with the United States."

Nixon himself views the office of the President today in the following terms:

"In the '60s--in addition to knowledge of the issues, in addition to understanding of world affairs, in addition to the basic ability that any leader must have to gain support for his policies--the American people and the free world need in an American president a man who has judgment. A man who in a crisis will be cool, a man who won't go off half-cocked, a man who will resist the temptation (and the temptations will sometimes be great) to give the appearance of leadership when, actually, his speaking out may set off a chain of circumstances that would be disastrous to the whole world. So I would urge that those who are looking at this problem of leadership not be fooled by the appearance; that they look beyond the gestures, the flamboyant speeches, etc., and they look actually to what is accomplished. In that respect I think we can make a more accurate appraisal of...leadership."

News Conference
Miami Beach
January 16, 1960

MEMORANDUM

Bob H
my Rita Hauser file

TO: Bob Finch
cc: Peter Flanigan

April 21, 1960

FROM: Rita E. Hauser

SUBJECT: Organization of "Scholars for Nixon" and "Committee of the Arts for Nixon."

In accord with our discussion of early this week, I want to give you my detailed comments on the steps to be taken to organize both faculty people and those in the arts. Firstly, I might note that Peter and I discussed the question of whether these two categories of "egghead" should be lumped together for organizational purposes. We both felt that they should not; rather, two separate committees should be formed, using the same procedure for the organization of both. There are several reasons for this determination. Essentially, they boil down to the fact that many faculty people on the CASE list did not appreciate being lumped with movie stars (having vocally demonstrated their annoyance), and that, in turn, the impact of the support of the arts world is minimized when their names are buried among those scholars unknown to the general public. In other words, the faculty list is geared to attract other scholars; the performing arts list is more for the general lay public.

The following titles for the committees are suggested:

1. Scholars for Nixon or Intellectuals for Nixon
2. Committee of the Arts for Nixon

ORGANIZATION

Each committee needs an Advisory or Steering Group, the members of which are chosen for their outstanding reputation and with all due concern for geographical representation. The task of the members of the Advisory Group is to enlist the support of as many people as possible in their geographical regions. This would be accomplished by their sending out an initial mass mailing to as many known or potential supporters as possible. This mailing would consist of a letter asking for support, and a form to be filled in by the recipient indicating the extent of his present support, work he would want to do, etc. I am enclosing drafts of these two papers. As you can see, a filled-in form will enable us to know who are our supporters now and who we can count on for what. In this way, the formation of both a unified national group of scholars and regional groupings of scholars would be easily accomplished in the early fall; the Arts Group would have little potential locally and, therefore, must be a national grouping.

Each member of the Advisory Group would also have the responsibility of "discovering" as many supporters as possible in his region. This might be done by means of a leg-man assistant (e.g., a devoted junior faculty person), dignified publicity, etc. Some consideration, therefore, will have to be given to the question of finances to cover any expenses run up by the Advisory Groups.

The first step to be taken is the naming of the members of the Advisory Groups. I think the Scholars for Nixon Group should have about 15 members; the Arts Group no more than 10. The following suggested names, broken down by department and geographical region in the case of the scholars have been gleaned from the lists I have compiled with the assistance of "friends" of our cause. The scholars are all of the highest academic reputation. I have listed about 30 so that the V.P. can pick among them; he must also decide on a chairman and, I would think, a co-chairman. An executive director or secretary, should be named who is responsible for orienting the total picture--someone from Washington. The same pattern is to be duplicated for the Arts Advisory Group; the executive director would be the same as for the Scholars Group. Once the V.P. picks the members and chairmen, a meeting should be called of each Advisory Group in order that he meet them and welcome them to the job. This is particularly important for the scholars and for this reason I suggest that the scholars meet in Washington. The Arts Group should meet either in New York or Los Angeles, where most are located. The purpose of the meeting is to define the task ahead, discuss the problems of organizing, regional breakdown and responsibility and otherwise orient these task forces. Each member would be supplied with mailing material (letter and form) to be sent out to people in his region.

ADVISORY GROUP

SCHOLARS FOR NIXON

<u>NAME</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>DEPARTMENT</u>
1. Arthur Burns	Columbia, New York City	Economics
2. Lon Fuller	Harvard Law School Cambridge, Massachusetts	Law
3. Joseph Kaplan	U. C. L. A.	Geophysics
4. Professor Rabi (Nobel Prize winner)	Columbia, New York City	Nuclear Physics
5. Dean J. Donald Robb (Republican candidate for Congress)	College of Fine Arts University of New Mexico Albuquerque, New Mexico	Music
6. Samuel Bemis (Pulitzer winner)	Yale New Haven, Connecticut	History
7. Dean Robert Storey	S. M. U. Dallas, Texas	Law
8. Laurence Gould	President, Carleton College Northfield, Minnesota	Geology
9. Alan Wallis	University of Chicago	Business
10. Deane W. Malott (President of University)	Cornell Ithaca, New York	
11. James Pollack (Chairman of Department)	University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan	Political Science
12. Paul Becket	Washington State University Pullman, Washington	Government
13. James Flemming (Negro)	Morgan State College Maryland	Head of first Negro Center for Politics. Former Journalist
14. Dean Elvin R. Latty	Duke Law School North Carolina	Law
15. Shalom Baron (outstanding Jewish layman)	Columbia, New York City	Jewish History

The first fifteen listed represent my choice. Here are suggested other names:

1.	James Phinney Baxter, III	President, Williams College Williamstown, Massachusetts	Education
2.	Julius Stratton	M. I. T. Cambridge, Massachusetts	Architecture
3.	Milton Freedman	University of Chicago	Economics
4.	Paul Hadley	University of Southern California	International Affairs
5.	Edward Chamberlin	Harvard Cambridge, Massachusetts	Economics
6.	Selby M. Skinner	Case Institute of Tech. Cleveland, Ohio	Chemistry
7.	Charles Aiken (Chairman of department)	University of California at Berkeley	Government
8.	President George Benson (Very conservative)	Claremont Men's College Claremont, California	Economics
9.	Howard Penniman	Georgetown University Washington, D. C.	Political Science
10.	Neil H. Jacoby	University of California at Berkeley	Business
11.	Arthur J. May	University of Rochester New York	History
12.	Malcolm Moos (Advisor to Eisenhower)	Johns Hopkins Maryland	Government
13.	Ivan Hinderaker (Advisor to Seaton) Active in California and Minnesota politics	U. C. L. A.	Government

ADVISORY GROUP
COMMITTEE OF THE ARTS FOR NIXON

1. Eugene Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra
2. Frederick A. Miller, Cleveland Institute of Art
3. Edward D. Stone, New York City Architect
4. Norman Rockwell, Massachusetts, artist
5. Helen Hayes, New York, actress
6. Raymond Massey, Connecticut, actor
7. Samuel Goldwyn, California, film producer
8. Walter Pidgeon, California, actor
9. James Stewart, California, actor
10. Robert Montgomery, California, actor
11. Irene Dunne, California, actress
12. Catherine Cornell, New York, actress
13. Billy Rose, New York, impresario
14. Mrs. Hugh Bullock, American Academy of Poets, New York
15. John Erskine, New York, novelist
16. Taylor Caldwell, New York, novelist
17. John P. Marquand, New York, novelist
18. Ogden Nash, New York, writer
19. Orville Prescott, Book Review Editor, New York Times
20. Lionel Hampton, New York, Negro musician
21. Eleanor Steber, Metropolitan Opera
22. Lily Pons, Metropolitan Opera
23. Howard Barlow, W. B. C. Orchestra
24. George W. Stampfle, Curator, Houston Museum of Fine Arts, (Texas)

FORM LETTER

SCHOLARS FOR NIXON

National Chairman: (Name)

Co-Chairman: (Name)

Members of
the Advisory
Group

Date

Name and
region

Fellow Scholar:

The outcome of the forthcoming Presidential election has great significance for those who are vitally concerned with the serious challenges facing both America and the Free World. Many of us, like yourself, have given much time and consideration to our Presidential choice. After thoroughly studying the background, experience, abilities and philosophy of government of the leading contenders, I have concluded that Richard M. Nixon emerges as the most outstanding figure with eminent qualifications for the Presidency.

To help ensure his victory this fall, several of us have formed a Scholars for Nixon Committee of national scope. Our task is to enlist support for Nixon among a wide group of scholars, and we would like you to be a part of this national Scholars for Nixon Committee. Your nominal participation alone will help us attract others for Nixon, and should you have the time and inclination we would welcome your talents, your ideas, and your work on Nixon's behalf.

You are invited to join the Scholars for Nixon Committee now. However, we do realize that personal or local political considerations may cause you to wish to defer joining until after the close of either the Democratic or Republican Conventions. To assist us both in knowing your present or future intentions as well as the extent and kind of service you might wish to render in the campaign, we are enclosing a form which we hope you will fill out and return as soon as possible.

We of the Scholars for Nixon Committee strongly feel that the Nation needs Nixon as President, and Mr. Nixon, in return, needs your support to achieve that office. May we count on you?

Sincerely yours,

Regional Chairman

N.B. The same letter would be used for the Arts for Nixon Committee, with appropriate changes in the names throughout.

Please return to: Regional Chairman's name
Address

Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

A. MEMBERSHIP IN SCHOLARS FOR NIXON:

(Place an X in the
appropriate space)

Yes No

1. I wish to join the Committee now.
2. I prefer to defer joining until after
the Republican Convention.
3. I prefer to defer joining until after
the Democratic Convention.
4. I do not wish to join the Committee at all.

B. EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION

1. My name and University affiliation may be
used publicly.
2. I would like to speak to local groups.
3. I would like to assist local Nixon Volunteer
Groups by:
 - a. drafting material on campaign issues
 - b. helping organize rallies
 - c. organize or assist college Nixon groups
on my campus
4. Other (please list):

C. MISCELLANEOUS

1. In your opinion, which issue will be of
greatest significance in the Presidential
campaign?
2. I would like information on the following topics:
(please list)
3. The following books are available gratis or at
low cost. Please check those desired and
state in what quantity.

Earl Maso: RICHARD NIXON
Ralph de Teledano: NIXON
James Keogh: THIS IS NIXON

4. Other comments.

NOTE: To Club Presidents.

Since it is quite probable that many of you have been or will be asked to speak, you may find this meeting of interest to you. You will be most welcome. Please make reservations with Barbara Secour DU 8-1107.

RICHARD M. NIXON FOR PRESIDENT
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA HEADQUARTERS
2796 WEST EIGHTH STREET, LOS ANGELES 5 • DUNKIRK 8-1107



THOMAS P. PIKE
Southern California Chairman

MEMO

TO ALL SPEAKERS

of

NIXON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

From James M. Reynolds, chairman

Welcome to the Speakers' Bureau. I am certainly pleased that you are going to serve on the Speakers' Bureau of the Nixon For President organization.

I am sure that a majority of thinking Americans will agree with us that Dick Nixon's qualifications and training for the office surpass partisan politics. It will be up to us, the speakers, to see that the message is carried far and wide.

In order that we may all be thoroughly prepared to do our best, we have arranged an indoctrination meeting for speakers. I hope you will all make every effort to be with us.

We will meet at dinner in the Green Room at Rodger Young Auditorium, 936 West Washington Boulevard, 7 p.m., Thursday, April 28. Dinner will be \$4.00, including tax and tip. Please call Barbara Secour, DUnkirk 8-1107 to let her know whether or not you can make it.

Cocktails may be ordered from the waitress in the Green Room beginning at 6:30.

* * * * *

N.B. PLEASE SAVE MAY 14, "NIXON NITE." WE WILL NEED YOU!



*Ike called him BEST PREPARED!**

*There is no man... who has had such careful preparation... for... the Presidency... Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1955.

RH file

April 19, 1960

MEMO FOR THE FILES

SUBJECT: VISIT TO PARKERSBURG, WEST VIRGINIA

At the kind invitation of the President of the Parkersburg YR Club, Ed Grant, son of Milt Grant (Rockland, N. Y. County chairman and well known to Ken Keating and to myself), I spoke to a dinner meeting of the YR Club and met individually with members of the club over the weekend of the 16-17th of April. Most felt that Nixon would win Republican support in the election, i.e., few would defect because of righter or leftier views, but as of now many are still holding out for the possibility of a Rockefeller avalanche. They were interested in activities for Nixon, available literature, etc., which I told them about and will send on to them. They asked me to address the State YR Convention in mid-June as Keynote Speaker, but I held off accepting pending future events.

As to the primary battle in the Democratic ranks: many Republicans, I was told, felt so strongly anti-Catholic, that they registered Democratic for this election in order to vote for Humphrey. I talked to about 50-60 people in passing, and everyone had but one question on his mind: religion. Each either negated his bias or justified it, but it was clear to me that the sole criterion employed by most was religion and nothing else....which gives credence to the view that were Kennedy in first spot, his religion more than anything else would be outcome-determinative.

RITA E. HAUSER

NATURAL RESOURCES - PUBLIC WORKS - ATOMIC ENERGY

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"I believe that the partnership concept ... is a proper one. I believe that if I were to adopt a rule of thumb on a very complex issue it would be this: That the power should be developed by that institution which can render the best service to the people at the lowest price. Now in some instances this may be private power; in some instances it may be local, public power; in other instances it may be the federal government. But whoever can and will provide it in the most efficient way at the lowest cost should provide it. In my opinion, and I realize that many do not share this, to become involved in theoretical arguments about the relative merits per se of public power and private power, is not particularly productive. I believe the important thing is to get projects on their way -- and where the federal government can do the job and will do it more efficiently or better than private power, then the federal government should do it."

news conference, Sacramento, Calif.
February 17, 1960

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

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

Answer: It would certainly seem in those instances, where the local interest, the state, the individuals concerned, who are beneficiaries of the project, have completely reimbursed the federal costs, that the control over the future of the project should be under their primary responsibility, and under their primary discretion.

public forum, Fresno, Calif.
February 18, 1960

THE EISENHOWER-NIXON RECORD

Power

The Administration adopted a program for the development of America's natural resources through a partnership concept involving the cooperation and funds of the States, local communities, private enterprise and the Federal Government. It sponsored a wide number of projects under this partnership concept including the Upper Colorado project supplying power to five states for a multitude of purposes, the Frying Pan-Arkansas Project in Colorado and the construction of dams in Priest Rapids, Washington, Markham Ferry, Oklahoma, and Coosa River, Alabama; these are but a few of many examples. And where it was demonstrated that private enterprise was able to do the job efficiently and at the lowest cost, such as in Hells Canyon, the Administration approved the devision of the Federal Power Commission to permit private companies to build the needed dams.

St. Lawrence Seaway

The Administration brought about the successful conclusion of three decades of effort to achieve the St. Lawrence Seaway through joint participation with Canada. Dredging work is now under way.

T.V.A.

Since 1955, the President has recommended legislation to authorize the sale of revenue bonds by the Tennessee Valley Authority to pay for future expansion of power facilities inasmuch as the T.V.A. has demonstrated its ability to supply power at the cheapest cost in the area it serves.

Water Resources

The Administration has each year asked for continued funds for flood control, navigation, irrigation and related activities carried on by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. In the 1960 Budget, the Administration did not request funds for starting new water resources projects, for it felt that many had been authorized that were still incomplete. Once efforts were made that year to terminate these projects, the Administration called for funds for six new water resources projects in fiscal year 1961. Nixon, in agreement with this policy, stated the following:

"The no-new-start policy was, I think, sound ... During the period when the economy already is going at a maximum rate, when we have a difficult budget problem, then that is the time to finish what has already been started ... We have six new starts in the budget for 1961, and I expect more, of course ... in the budgets ahead."

February 18, 1960

Further plans to develop water resources are currently under consideration, based on many of the findings of the Cabinet Committee appointed in 1954 which Committee prepared the most comprehensive water resources study ever made.

The Administration also requested and received funds for research in the area of converting sea water and brackish water into fresh water; this research was conducted cooperatively with non-Federal groups. It has now progressed to the point where construction is scheduled to begin this year at Freeport, Texas, on a demonstration plant for the conversion of sea water. The Administration requested funds for two additional demonstration plants for use in fiscal year 1961.

In the area of flood control projects, the Administration this year requested legislation to provide for uniform cost-sharing on projects providing flood protection benefits. At present, the various Federal agencies involved operate under diverse and confusing cost-sharing standards. The Administration would require that non-Federal interests getting flood protection bear at least 30% of the cost and that they assume the cost of operation and maintenance of such projects.

Atomic Energy

The Administration actively sought to encourage private development of atomic energy for domestic use by making available data and technical assistance to private companies.

update
In 1956, the Atomic Energy Commission published certain selected information on thermonuclear reactions and authorized for sale or lease about \$1 billion of uranium for the production of power for peaceful purposes. The Commission also approved the construction of the first large scale private atomic power plants in the United States. By May, 1958, 294 atomic reactors were built or planned, 81 of which were suitable for power or propulsion; this figure contrasts with the finding of the Atomic Energy Commission that as of December, 1952, no major project to achieve an industrial power reactor could be found.

Minerals

The Administration recommended and Congress acted favorably on a proposal to establish a Coal Research and Development Commission which has the responsibility of carrying on research to develop new and more effective uses of coal and to reduce the costs of production and distribution.

The Administration has proposed major mining legislation but Congress refused to take any action on establishing a long-range minerals policy. The Administration also requested an amendment to the Helium Act to encourage private industry to finance, build and operate plants which would make helium, needed for the national defense, available for conservation by the Department of the Interior.

Programs for developing the resources of the public domain have been inaugurated. Indeed, receipts from the timber, grazing and mineral resources on public lands are estimated to reach over \$400 million in fiscal year 1961. This figure includes revenues from the mineral leases granted to private companies to drill on the Outer Continental Shelf, and to increase further these revenues, the Administration recommended legislation to revise the fee schedule for non-competitive oil and gas leases on public domain lands.

Conservation

update
The Administration created the post of Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife in the Interior Department and added 59,000 acres to the Federal Wildlife Refuges and 88,000 acres to other wildlife lands by 1958. The enhancement of fish and wildlife values was also made a specific purpose of the various water resources projects financed federally. Furthermore, the Administration sponsored the 1958 Act which provides that net proceeds from the sale of the \$3 Federal duck stamp be used to acquire lands for National refuges.

update
National parks have been greatly expanded and improved, with over 685,000 acres added by 1958. Annual appropriations for the National Park Service now come to over \$86 million. The Administration has also asked Congress to provide for the acquisition of undeveloped shore areas for use as national parks, and has commenced construction of parkways, roads and trails in the national parks and forests as well as on Indian land.

THE NIXON VOTES

In 1947, Nixon voted to establish a National Minerals Resources Division within the Department of the Interior and to continue the premium price plan on copper, lead and zinc for two more years. He repeated this premium price plan vote in 1949 by pairing "Yes" for the passage of the National Minerals Act of 1949 which provided subsidies for the development of vital mineral resources. In the area of public works,

NATURAL RESOURCES - PUBLIC WORKS - ATOMIC ENERGY

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Nixon in 1947 voted for the restoration of a Senate appropriation of \$1.1 million for transmission lines in Oregon, and in 1948 voted for an appropriation of \$400 million a year for 1950-1952 for road building on a matching basis with participating States. And from 1948 on, Nixon opposed all cuts in funds for the reclamation and power activities of the Department of Interior; in 1948, he voted for the revised reclamation bill.

In 1949, Nixon voted for the Natural Gas Act Amendment which made clear that the Federal Power Commission had no jurisdiction over independent gas producers who did not have interstate pipelines; Nixon, along with the majority in the House, were clear in their views that regulation was here reserved to the States.

While in the Senate, Nixon, in 1952, opposed a motion to recommit the St. Lawrence Seaway bill. And that same year, he voted for the tidelands bill clearly establishing the title of the States to submerged lands of the continental shelf which title had long been presumed to be in the States. Nixon had voted for a similar measure in 1948.

VETERANS

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

Nixon's basic views on the subject of Veterans were stated in 1950 and still hold true today.

"...I believe that veterans should be guaranteed the following four points:

1. Retain veterans preference rights in civil service examinations.
2. Retain veterans retention rights in civil service.
3. Make efficient use of all available Federal Government hospital space and keep veterans hospitalization under the jurisdiction of the Veterans Administration.
4. Retention of medical treatment for non-service connected cases.

I believe these guarantees must be made so that there will be no lowering of the standards of service to the Nation's war veterans who have served America."

Letter to Mr. Brooks Terry
Veterans' Committee Chairman
Whittier, California

THE EISENHOWER-NIXON RECORD

Early in 1953, the rate of compensation for widows, dependent parents and disabled veterans was raised approximately 5%, on the Administration's request. In 1956 the Servicemen's and Veterans' Survivor Benefits Act improved further the death benefit structure both for war and peacetime servicemen, and in 1957, general disability compensation rates were increased by 10% with a still larger increase in the basic rate for the totally disabled.

Hospital and medical care have also been greatly improved, with 17 new veterans' hospitals opened and a number of additions to existing hospitals having been activated. Beginning with the 1961 budget, a 12-year hospital modernization program will be initiated costing about \$900 million. Mental health clinics have been expanded, offering the veteran professional services at about one-fifth the ordinary rate. And the VA has also spent several million dollars in research in the areas of the major diseases and the problems of the aging.

Readjustment programs have also been highly successful, providing unemployment and self-employment compensation payments to almost 10 million veterans, education and training benefits to 8.4 million, and loan assistance to 5 million veterans for the acquisition or improvement of homes, farms, and businesses. World War II readjustment benefits are expected to terminate this year and there being no showing of further need, they will not be continued.

The Veterans' Pension Act of 1959 was a major step in the modernization of the long-standing veterans pension program. It eliminated the disparity in eligibility for pensions between widows of World War I veterans and those of later wars, and provided higher benefits for all who could demonstrate need under a new sliding scale income test.

In addition to these special veterans programs, a great majority of veterans participate in the general social security, health and welfare programs financed wholly or in part by the Federal Government. These programs have received increased funds in the last seven years, and should be able in the coming years to afford greater protection to the elderly population of which veterans and their widows constitute a large part.

THE NIXON VOTES

Nixon, himself a veteran of World War II, has a strong record of support for veterans' benefits. In 1947, he voted for an increase in pensions of Spanish-American and Civil War veterans and their dependents, voted for a cash payment of terminal leave bonds to members of the armed forces, voted to authorize \$750 million additional housing loans under the FHA program which provided the bulk of the funds for veterans emergency rental housing construction.

In 1948, Nixon voted for the increased training-on-the-job pay for veterans, voted for increased subsistence allowance for veterans pursuing full-time training under the GI Bill of Rights, voted for additional compensation to widows and dependents of deceased veterans of World Wars I and II and voted for an amendment to the National Housing Act to provide a secondary market for loans for rental and private home construction.

In 1949, Nixon voted for an increase in World War I veterans' Disability Compensation and voted to liberalize payment of pensions to veterans and to their widows and children.

There were no major items relative to veterans during Nixon's years in the Senate.

HOUSING

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

Nixon's voting record and public positions over the years demonstrate his belief that the building of adequate housing for America is essentially a matter for private enterprise. But when private enterprise is unable or unwilling to perform a needed task, such as slum-clearance or the construction of low-cost housing units, then Nixon believes the Federal Government should step in and offer a wide variety of assistance which aids private enterprise and local authorities in meeting their tasks. For as Nixon has so often stated, "...the way to achieve these goals is...by local and state action wherever possible--supplemented when necessary but not supplanted by the Federal Government".

January 27, 1960

THE EISENHOWER-NIXON RECORD

In order to sponsor effective legislation, the Administration, in 1953, appointed a Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs the recommendations of which formed the basis of the Housing Act of 1954. This Act completely revamped existing legislation for the purpose of accomplishing a higher volume of home construction and a broad-side attack on urban blight and slums. It reaffirmed the primary interest of private enterprise but also made clear that the Federal Government stood ready to directly assist in the clearance of slums and the construction of housing whenever private and local funds could not perform the task.

Under the Housing Act of 1954, the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fanny Mae) was rechartered to permit it to conduct secondary marketing operations by guarantying and purchasing mortgages where money is in short supply. The loan and guaranty programs of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration were expanded to facilitate home trade-ins and new construction through Federal insurance of private mortgages. Moreover, the Government conducts a program of insuring loans for home improvements. A Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program was also begun to help bring together borrowers and lenders and to aid minority groups in obtaining home loans. And in the field of urban renewal, the Housing Act of 1954 continued and expanded the loan and grant program for slum clearance and rehabilitation; an Urban Planning Association was also established.

Working from this base, the Administration has, in subsequent years, requested increased funds for a broader slum clearance and redevelopment program and for an improved public works program, as well as call for an expansion in the activity of the FHA and the Veterans Administration. The full amount of its requests was not granted by Congress, but by efficient programming the Administration was able to carry out substantially the above mentioned programs and to inaugurate a special program for older persons to facilitate down payments and to grant them preferences in low-cost housing projects.

During the past seven years, the Administration has attempted to meet the problems imposed by a changing money market for when money becomes tight it is difficult to finance mortgages at reasonable interest rates. The Administration asked Congress to provide flexibility in interest rates on mortgages originating under the programs of the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration. Congress did not grant this request completely for it gave the power to adjust interest rates to market conditions only to the Federal Housing Administration.

In 1958, the Administration also requested an increase in the maximum rate on the Veterans Administration's housing loans from 4½% to 4 3/4% because the spread between the rate on these loans and those of the FHA was so great that private investors were not placing their money in GI mortgages. Failure to close this spread would have meant the defeat of the GI mortgage program and would have required Federal aid to maintain it. An amendment was introduced in the Senate to strike out this proposal, but it was

defeated by a tie vote. A tie vote also resulted on a motion to table (kill) a reconsideration of the earlier vote, and here Vice President Nixon cast the tie-breaking vote in order to implement the Administration's proposal.

In 1959, the Democratic majority rejected the Administration's requests in the field of Federal aid to housing, and came up with its own bill calling for almost double the expenditure requested and authorized Federal entrance into areas which the Administration feels are best handled by private enterprise. For example, the Democratic bill required Fanny Mae to buy mortgages under par regardless of the price these mortgages were commanding in the open market as well as authorize loans for college housing at subsidized interest rates. The President vetoed this bill and was sustained. A second bill was prepared but it too contained many objectionable provisions. The President again vetoed this bill and was sustained. On the third try, a housing bill in line with the Administration's proposals was adopted and signed by the President.

In the present session of Congress, the President called for continuation of its housing programs and for an acceleration in the completion of the several hundred urban renewal projects initiated in the past seven years. Additional funds were requested in order to accomplish 65 urban renewal projects in 1960 and 1961 as well as to double the purchase of land for these projects. Emphasis was also placed on public housing projects. By the end of fiscal year 1961, about 500,000 federally-aided public housing units will be occupied and an additional 125,000 under contract; the Housing Act of 1959 called for an additional 37,000 units.

THE NIXON VOTES

Nixon's voting record bears out his philosophy that housing is essentially a matter for private enterprise, with Federal aid destined to assist when private and local sources are unable to do the job needed.

Thus, when in the House, Nixon voted in 1947 to increase the authority of the Federal Housing Administration to insure home mortgages, and in 1948 he voted on a similar measure to stimulate low-cost and rental housing by increasing the Federal loan and mortgage insurance guaranty programs. But he opposed passage of part of the Housing Bill of 1949 which provided for Federal construction of public/FHA housing and granted direct aid to private builders; the estimated cost of these measures was between \$10-20 billion over a 40 year period. Again in 1950, Nixon voted with the majority to delete a proposed \$2 billion loan program for cooperative houses. He then went on to vote for the Housing Act of 1950 which provided new types of loan guaranties and aid for veterans and college housing, as well as grant additional funds for the programs of Fanny Mae and the FHA.

When in the Senate, Nixon acted on President Truman's request that the number of low-cost housing units authorized by the Housing Act of 1949 be reduced because of urgent defense needs for manpower and material. He voted for the requested reduction in both 1951 and 1952; these votes were cast because of Nixon's concern for the needs of the nation during the Korean War.

As Vice President, Nixon cast a tie-breaking vote to ensure the continued operation of the GI mortgage loan program by an increase in the interest rate of 1/4% on such loans. Failure to raise the interest rate would have prevented the continued flow of private money for GI mortgages.

TAXATION

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"...we have tremendous responsibilities in the world today for our own security. The Federal Government is spending approximately 70 to 80 percent of all the money that is collected in taxes for national defense and for the cost of past wars, interest, veterans, and the like.

Now, I think all of us would agree that the first responsibility of a Federal Government is to see to it that our defense posture is such that we are able to protect the United States.... The possibility for reducing the tax burden can become a reality only when we are able to find ways and means to reduce this tremendous burden we have in the international area particularly. And, of course, the burden that we also bear, to a much lesser extent for our domestic programs...."

February 18, 1960

"We should consider the economic effect of downward adjustments in business taxes. There are strong reasons to believe that the stimulating effects of even a small cut in the corporate tax rate of 52 percent would lead to more, rather than less, revenue.... In the area of personal income, the almost confiscatory rates in the highest brackets stifle and prevent risk-taking and encourage tax-avoidance devices.... The charge will inevitably be made that such reforms will benefit business and not the people.... But prosperity for the American people is inseparable from prosperity for American business. We cannot raise the floor of security unless we raise the ceiling of opportunity."

September 6, 1958

"We must recognize that the task of providing the necessary capital for investment in underdeveloped countries is a job too big for mere Government money. Only private money, privately managed, can do it right in many sectors of needed development. And private investment requires a sound and reliable framework of laws in which to work. Our laws should permit the establishment of Foreign Business Corporations meriting special tax treatment.... In addition, more tax treaties should be speedily negotiated to permit 'tax sparing' and other reciprocal encouragements to investors."

April 13, 1959

THE IKE-NIXON RECORD

Acting upon its promise to bring about needed changes in the tax laws, the Administration in 1954 achieved a major revision of the Internal Revenue Code. The changes urged by the Administration followed upon a year's intense study of the altered economic and social structure of America; they were intended not only to grant tax relief but to eliminate inequities, close off major loopholes, and, generally, to clarify and simplify the tax laws.

Substantial tax relief to the average citizen resulted from the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. They may be summarized as follows:

1. Permitted a child under 19 to be claimed as a dependent irrespective of the child's earnings if he was attending school or receiving on-the-farm training.
2. Permitted a 20 percent tax credit on retirement income up to \$1,200 for retired persons.

3. Extended split income provisions to widows and widowers with children or other single, close dependent relatives.

4. Lowered the medical expense deduction requirement from 5 percent to 3 percent.

5. Gave working widows, widowers, and mothers a tax reduction of up to \$600 for child-care expense.

6. Liberalized soil conservation expense allowance for farmers.

7. Allowed a partial relief from double taxation of dividends.

The Administration also sponsored the first major revision since 1932 of the excise tax laws, reducing the tax by as much as 50 percent on many items.

Although there have been many attempts on the part of Congress to grant further tax relief, the Administration has adhered to its position that tax relief can be granted only when the fiscal situation permits a reduction without harm to the economy. Thus, in each fiscal year from 1957 to 1960, the Administration resisted Congressional attempts to reduce taxes, and, in the Budget Message for 1961, the President again requested the extension of present tax rates for another year in order to maintain Federal revenues.

Although immediate tax relief does not seem feasible for fiscal year 1961, the Administration did request certain equitable changes in the tax laws. It asked Congress for changes in the taxation of cooperatives, revision of the tax on gains from the sale of depreciable personal property, and other legislation to prevent the taking of excessive depletion allowances on mineral products. And, to help defray the cost of the Federal airways system, the President requested an increase in the tax on aviation gasoline and a tax on the new untaxed jet fuels to prevent revenue losses to the Government. The Administration also called for a careful study by all the Departments and Agencies to define Federal services and benefits they grant and then to determine a just price for these services; in the interim, it asked for an increase in postal rates and patent fees.

The President also called for a general survey of America's tax structure so that needed changes can be effectively brought about; the House Ways and Means Committee has undertaken this study.

In the field of foreign investment, the Administration requested a program designed to encourage greater participation by American private enterprise in economic development abroad. Its program was incorporated in a bill introduced by Representative Boggs, calling for the creation of special American corporations, which would operate abroad, whose taxes would be deferred until such time as their earnings are returned to America. Other far-reaching proposals to stimulate American investment abroad were also included in the Boggs Bill. Nixon specifically supported these proposals (see the above-quoted speech of April 13, 1959).

THE NIXON RECORD

Nixon's record demonstrates his belief that tax relief, while salutary and desirable, can only be granted when the fiscal situation will permit it. Thus, right after World War II, Nixon voted for tax cuts, but, after the outbreak of the Korean War, he voted for higher income taxes.

In 1947 and later years, Nixon voted to increase the personal exemption from income taxes; in 1948 he favored a split income

provision for husbands and wives and voted against increasing corporation taxes. But in 1951, Nixon opposed lowering the tax on married persons making less than \$10,000 a year; he also opposed the granting of capital gains treatment for coal royalties. To continue the development of needed raw materials, Nixon, in 1951, opposed a reduction of the depletion allowance for oil, gas, sulphur, and non-metallic minerals. He also opposed a withholding tax on dividends and corporate bond interest.

And, to insure the honest collection of taxes, Nixon, in 1951, introduced a bill to put collectors under Civil Service.

At the present time, with defense expenditures as high as they are, Nixon has made clear that he does not foresee a tax cut.

"If we cut taxes and do not have enough money to pay for the expenditures we have in Government, the result would be an inflation that would cost you far more than the taxes that you are bearing at the present time. We are trying to avoid that also."

February 18, 1960

ECONOMIC POLICY

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"...as far as my economic philosophy is concerned, it has always been what I would call a conservative philosophy, conservative certainly on fiscal matters, conservative in the sense that I believe that, generally speaking, private enterprise can do a more effective job than government enterprise in any particular field, although I recognize that there are some areas where private enterprise can't or won't do the job and where government enterprise must step in".

December, 1958.

"What should the role of government be in promoting growth? It must always be a supporting role supplementing and stimulating rather than supplanting private enterprise."

This means that we rule out government action based on such theories as: that the way to insure a high rate of growth is through more planning and control by government; government cannot plan all the positive details of economic growth in a fruitful manner; its officials have neither the experience nor the personal incentive to substitute their judgment for the informed decisions of responsible owners and managers of industry; that we should increase government spending in order to promote greater growth; that growth should be stimulated by placing interest rates at artificially low prices, and allowing uncontrolled bank credit.

Those who favor this procedure admit that it would be inflationary but contend that a little inflation is a cheap price to pay for an expanding economic system. This process in the long run would wreck the economy -- not to expand it....

Here are some things that government can do.

It can maintain fiscal stability so that gains in productivity will not be eaten away by constant inflation.

It can adopt tax and depreciation policies which will encourage rather than retard growth. Taxes can do far more to retard risk-taking and initiative than any policy of monetary restriction. Depreciation policies can spur or penalize the firm that wishes to modernize its equipment.

It can remove artificial props to inefficiency and artificial barriers to growth and progress.

It can take action against monopoly and restraints on the free market imposed by either business or labor."

February 15, 1960.

THE IKE-NIXON RECORD

The Administration took office with the announced intention of making efforts, consistent with America's needs, to maintain monetary stability and limit the expansion of the public debt by eliminating waste and inefficiency in Government, by limiting Federal spending to those services which only the Federal Government can provide, and by adopting the least costly program for the management of the public debt.

As a first step, the Administration adopted a large majority of the recommendations of the First and Second Hoover Commissions, which Commissions had investigated over 95% of the Government's expenditures. This resulted in a more efficient operation of

Government agencies and departments and in improved budget, accounting and appropriation procedures.

Secondly, the Administration directed the Bureau of the Budget to review systematically the activities of the Government which might be considered to be in competition with private enterprise. The Bureau found that the Government had 10,771 commercial or industrial activities producing goods or services for the Government; a large number of these operations were then shut down and the more efficient system of purchasing in the private sector was adopted.

Thirdly, the Administration suppressed all remaining controls on wages and the pricing of consumer goods.

The Administration was able to reduce Truman's proposed budget for 1954 by \$10 billion, reducing the deficit of \$9.5 billion in fiscal year 1953 to \$3 billion. In 1956, the Administration arrived at the first surplus in the budget in many years--the fourth such surplus since 1930. And in each year, attempts have been made to arrive at a balanced budget in order to prevent further expansion of public debt; where, however, increased defense needs of other needs call for larger spending and the incurring of some debt, the Administration has not hesitated to spend the needed amounts. As Nixon has stated on this matter:

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

But Nixon has made equally clear that in the long run:

We must learn that we cannot add new programs to the Federal budget unless we are prepared to levy the taxes to pay for them.

September 6, 1958.

In the field of debt management, the Administration has, for several years, attempted to bring about changes in current legislation so that the cost of its borrowing will be kept at the lowest point. Because the Administration will not artificially support Government bonds in the market, the Government must actively compete with private enterprise for available funds. Since Government bonds bear a statutory maximum interest rate of 4½%, they cannot effectively compete with the higher rates offered on private debt issues. When the Government cannot sell its long-term bonds, it must revert to the more inflationary and more costly short-term obligations which do not carry a statutory maximum interest rate. Democratic opposition in Congress, however, has thus far prevented the removal of the maximum interest rate on long-term bonds, and has greatly impeded the Government in achieving lower costs for its borrowings.

The Administration's policies described above have resulted both in marked prosperity and in the stability of our currency. By 1956, America's gross national product reached a record high of \$412 billion with employment at an all time high of 66.8 million.

The strength of the economy was demonstrated in its ability to self-adjust, without undue Government intervention, in the recession of 1958, for by the last quarter of 1959, the gross national product had climbed to \$483.5 billion with employment figures approximating 64.5 million by early 1960. The limitation of Government expenditures along with a flexible Federal Reserve Policy geared to correct excess monetary fluctuations, has prevented sharp rises in the cost of living index, a rather significant achievement in the face of rising prosperity. The general stability of prices means that gains in productivity are true, and not, inflationary gains. In the Ike-Nixon years, the price index increased from 113.5 to 125.4, as contrasted with the rise from 77.5 to 113.5 during the seven years of the Truman Administration. If the dollar is calculated at a value of 100 cents at the beginning of each Administration, the decline in the Truman era would produce a dollar with a value of 69.8 cents whereas the current dollar would equal 90.8 cents.

FIRST
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The Administration has also sponsored measures to encourage overseas investment by private business and to bring about greater free trade in the Free World. From 1953 on, the Administration requested continued extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and has taken an active role in the various GATT meetings. A special Commission on Foreign Economic Policy was set up to study the changing directions of world trade and America's role therein; a Joint Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs was also established with Canada. Various conventions have been signed with Foreign Countries to aid businessmen by eliminating double taxation; these countries include West Germany, France, Canada, Austria, Honduras, Belgium. America has played an important role in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (O.E.E.C.), and plans are now under way to permit limited participation in that Organization. The United States has also been a strong supporter of the European Common Market and of current plans for a similar regional market in Latin America.

The aggregate total private American investment overseas reached the record figure of \$40.8 billion at the end of 1958, the last record year.

And it should be noted that in the Ike-Nixon years the St. Lawrence Seaway was finally opened, paving the way for greater world trade direct to America's hinterland.

THE NIXON RECORD

In Congress, Nixon took a general position favoring the elimination of price and wage controls, although he did feel that in periods of national emergency certain controls were necessary for America's well-being. Thus, as early as 1947, Nixon favored relying on voluntary industry agreements to fight inflation, and in 1950 he voted to confine credit controls to consumer and real estate credit. In 1951, Nixon voted to prohibit the Office of Price Stabilization from placing restrictions on livestock slaughtering, and in 1952 he voted to lift restrictions on the purchase of scarce materials abroad when domestic production was insufficient. But when outright attempt to end all price and wage controls was made in 1952, Nixon opposed this measure because of the inflationary aspects engendered by the Korean War, just as he had a year earlier favored a Defense Production Act provision that prices thereunder should reflect "necessary and unavoidable cost increases". With the ending of the Korean War, the Administration was able then to eliminate remaining wage and price controls and Nixon favored this step.

As to rent controls, Nixon had in 1948 and 1949 voted for continued controls because of the still tight housing situation; with its easing, he opposed rent controls in 1950. In 1952, Nixon voted to end controls as of early 1953. He also favored giving city

councils the right to decide for themselves whether to restore rent controls in their areas.

Nixon was a strong supporter of the St. Lawrence Seaway Bill, and voted against a measure to recommit it in 1952. He also voted for the tidelands bill which relinquished the Federal Government's claim to the submerged lands off the continental shelf; he had voted for a similar bill in 1948.

In the area of anti-trust, Nixon in 1949 voted to amend the Clayton Anti-Trust Act to prohibit mergers which unduly restricted competition. He also voted for a bill amending the Robinson-Patman Act which provided that good faith was a complete defense to a charge of price discrimination where the price had been lowered to meet that of a competitor. These two votes demonstrate Nixon's firm belief in free competition without undue interference from Government or monopolistic controls. As Nixon has stated:

"...these great power complexes--whether they are business, labor or government--should not work against the interests of the individual nor have the effect of cutting off and discouraging the inventiveness, the individuality of America".

April 18, 1959.

Nixon's great concern for the control of inflation in a productive America is illustrated by the fact that he is chairman of the committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth, a committee which has issued several studies on the problem of inflation and productivity. His concern is also borne out by the role he played in settling the protracted steel strike of this year. His views were succinctly stated in a letter to the Editor of the Syracuse Herald-Journal of January 21, 1960 which stated the following:

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

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

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

HAWAII AND ALASKA STATEHOOD

Both Hawaii and Alaska were admitted to statehood during the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. This achievement reflected Nixon's earlier votes. In both 1947 and 1950 he voted for the admission of Hawaii to the Union, and in 1950 for the admission of Alaska.

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ACT

Nixon voted for the Presidential Succession Act of 1947 which provides that the Speaker of the House, followed by the President Pro-Tempore of the Senate, shall be next in line after the Vice-President in the event of the death, resignation, removal or disability of the President.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Nixon, in 1949, voted for the Reorganization Act giving the President broad authority to reorganize the government agencies and departments; the President's plans take effect in sixty days unless disapproved by a majority of either House. In 1952, Nixon also approved a reorganization plan to place United States Marshals under Civil Service, but this measure was defeated.

Nixon also supported the establishment of both the First and Second Hoover Commissions. The Eisenhower-Nixon Administration has since implemented more than 75% of its recommendations having as well successfully urged the adoption of a budget accrual system which provides for a more efficient and orderly appropriations procedure.

CIVIL SERVICE

Nixon, in 1949, voted for a wage increase for postal workers, and in 1950 supported an increase in postal rates to cover the heavy deficit of the Post Office Department.

Nixon also voted in 1947 for the Federal Employees' Loyalty Bill which provided for the investigation of loyalty to the United States of Federal employees and applications for Federal positions, of dismissal or nonappointment of those found disloyal, and for the creation of a bi-partisan Loyalty Review Board to supervise determinations. In 1950, Nixon voted to extend dismissal powers in "sensitive" agencies to those considered as "poor security risks"; Truman's loyalty program did not cover this aspect.

Nixon also supported, in 1950, an amendment to the Hatch Act to permit Federal employees living in near by Maryland and Virginia to engage in local politics. He did not cast his vote as he was absent that day.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE

The Administration has several times called for the enactment of home rule legislation for citizens of the District of Columbia. Nixon is a firm supporter of such a measure.

EDUCATION

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"I believe that education is and should remain primarily a local and state responsibility. The closer that education can be kept to the people, the better...The moment that we put the primary responsibility or even a very substantial part of the responsibility for financing education at the Federal level, we are going to run serious risks of impairing local responsibility, and we are also going to run the risk of Federal control.

"...The Federal Government can, however, properly assist school districts that are needy on a program in which we participate with these local districts in helping them to finance their bond programs for new construction. In construction alone, the possibility for control is greatly reduced...The best education, I am convinced, that can be produced in this country will be through keeping the responsibility as close to the people as possible; to provide for diversification and to get away from the drab uniformity that a Federally-controlled program would inevitably bring."

January 15, 1960

THE IKE-NIXON RECORD

Acting on the recommendations of the White House Conference on Education held in 1953, the Administration sponsored, in 1954, a long-range plan of Federal assistance for school construction in needy school districts. Federal grants, which were to be matched by local funds, were requested at the rate of \$250 million a year for five years; in addition, the Administration asked for a \$750 million authorization over five years for Federal purchase of local school bonds which could not be sold in private markets at reasonable rates. The Democratic leadership in Congress rejected these proposals, and offered its own bill calling for Federal assistance on a per capita school age basis, without differentiation as to need. This bill, too, was defeated. In the years following 1954, the Administration annually resubmitted its basic program with slight variations; but these, too, were rejected by Congress.

In the present session of Congress, the Administration again called for Federal aid for elementary and secondary school construction by Federal advances to local school districts to pay a part of their school construction debt. It also requested a program to guarantee \$1 billion in bonds and to provide sizeable Federal grants to facilitate college building and housing facilities. A Democratic-sponsored amendment was introduced in the Senate authorizing aid of \$25 per school age child, without distinction as to need and without a time limitation, to be used both for school construction and the subsidizing of teachers' salaries. The measure failed to pass on a tie vote. A tie vote also followed on the motion to table (kill) reconsideration of the amendment, but here the Vice President, supporting the Administration's program, cast the tie-breaking vote which resulted in blocking reconsideration of the defeated amendment. Nixon cast this vote on his stated belief that the Federal Government should not subsidize teachers salaries for this would inevitably invite Federal control of education.

Despite continued Congressional refusal to enact the Administration's proposals, the Administration has been able to draw on funds appropriated by the Republican 83rd Congress in order to assist the states in various educational programs. Substantial overall progress has clearly been made, for by 1958, the latest data year, expenditures for the construction of public elementary and secondary schools had risen to \$2.82 billion as contrasted with the figure of \$1.4 billion in 1950. Teachers' salaries rose

31% during the Ike-Nixon years as compared with an increase of 22% for full-time employees in other industries. And by 1958, the nation was spending 5.39% of its national income on education; it spent 4.04% in 1952.

The President this year requested additional funds for grants under the National Defense Education Act of 1958. He also called for the repeal of that section of the Act which requires an oath on the part of all grantees denying affiliation with subversive organizations. The Vice President stated on February 6, 1960, "I support the Administration's position to remove that requirement.... I favor the loyalty oath in the affirmative sense.... I do not believe that the denial of affiliation with various organizations is effective."

THE NIXON RECORD

In 1950, when in the House, Nixon voted for the establishment of a National Science Foundation to promote basic research and scientific education. But he voted against a measure to assist states in promoting library services when it was demonstrated that almost all states and local communities were able to carry the burden. In 1951, as a Senator, Nixon indicated his support for a bill to increase funds for school surveys and construction in defense areas, but he could not cast his vote as he was away from the Senate on official business.

In 1960, Vice President Nixon, breaking a tie vote, consolidated the defeat of an amendment calling for Federal aid to subsidize teachers' salaries. Nixon voted this way because while a strong supporter of Federal aid to education, he believes "...that the Federal Government should limit its aid in the case of education to construction". (February 15, 1960). At the time he cast his vote, Nixon noted that if the approach of Congress is one to provide direct subsidies to teachers, there would be no aid to education at all in the current session. Thus, by eliminating the teacher subsidy amendment, Nixon paved the way for the passage of a constructive Federal aid to education act this year.

DEFENSE

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"The United States has no choice but to maintain sufficient deterrent powers so that no aggressor can feel he can launch an attack without risking retaliation in return....Our position of maintaining adequate military strength, combined with a diplomacy which is absolutely firm but nonbelligerent, is the only course that we can follow. Looking to the future, I am confident that if we continue to maintain that position that it provides the best chance for bringing about a change in the attitude of the Communist leaders. As long as they are convinced that we will be firm, that we are going to maintain our defenses to defend what we have, they then will see the folly of simply continuing what we would call a balance of terror in the world. When they see that, and only then, will we be able to negotiate the reduction of arms burden.

February 6, 1960

"...Keeping this on a completely non-political basis, may I say...that the reason we are behind in developing the very large size rockets...is that we did little to begin our ballistic missile program until after President Eisenhower assumed the Presidency, whereas the Russians began...in 1946."

January 16, 1960

"I think it is more proper to talk in terms of whether or not there is a deterrent gap, because U. S. strength is not only in its missiles. We have some very good ones. And we also have strength in our SAC striking power, which is still a very awesome and powerful force. We also have potential strength in our atomic submarines which eventually will be armed with Polaris missiles. We have our bases and our missiles abroad as well. As far as deterrent power is concerned, there is no gap today and there will be no gap under the program that the President has submitted and will submit to the Congress during this session....

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

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

Now some of these statements cannot be taken at face value, but just remember that in the world today, neither they nor we are going to do everything. What we must do is to have an adequate force so that any aggressor will know that he cannot strike without being harmed in return. We have it; we are going to continue to have it. I am confident of that."

January 15, 1960

THE IKE-NIXON RECORD

Since taking office, the Administration has constantly reviewed our defense needs in view of rapidly changing scientific developments and Russia's shifting military structure. The Administration has tried to adopt programs which provide for a well-rounded defense structure in sufficient scope and size to deter any possible aggression, and in so doing, sought to fill gaps in our defense by commencing the development of new weapons.

Thus, in 1953, a new large scale program for the production of B52 jets and F100 fighters was begun, and in 1958 the supersonic bomber, the B58, was ordered into production. The first atomic submarine, the Nautilus, was commissioned and in 1958 it completed an historic 1830 mile undersea voyage passing beneath the North Pole; a similar feat was repeated by the submarine Skate. In 1954, our largest aircraft carrier, the U.S.S. Forrestal, was launched, and in 1956 the Atomic Energy Commission was directed to construct the first atomic powered merchant ship. These are but a few of many illustrations.

Because little had been done in earlier years to develop a missile program, the Administration immediately commenced the production of all types of missiles. In 1952, the amount programmed for IR and ICBM missile development came to \$.8 million, whereas in 1953 it was more than trebled to \$3 million; in fiscal year 1960, the amount reached \$3.3 billion. Considering that it was not until 1954 that long-range missile production was really commended in intensity, the record of achievement is outstanding. By 1959, the first operational Atlas ICBM was in the hands of the Strategic Air Command team, and as of today, we have 20 different types of missiles in operational use (a missile is operational when the whole weapon system is ready to function in combat).

It should be noted that in the past five fiscal years, the Congress has cut a total of \$5.4 billion from Administration requests for major national security items.

While it is true that the Russians now have a numerical superiority in missiles, our programming is such this numerical difference will be more than covered by 1963, often cited as the crucial year. Moreover, the Russian superiority is based on liquid fuel missiles which have a good number of technical defects, and do not, therefore, provide the Russians with any kind of present military superiority. Of greater importance, the United States now has a defense structure which is such that no nation would reasonably commence aggression for fear of an enormously destructive retaliation.

The United States has several times more intercontinental jet bombers and more medium range jet bombers than the Russians, and it is generally accepted that the manned bomber, today, is the most certain means of delivery of heavy nuclear bombs for decisive blows. Our seapower is vastly superior to that of Russia, based on the nine atomic powered subs already in commission and 23 others under construction. America also has under construction an atomic carrier, an atomic cruiser and an atomic frigate; we possess 14 aircraft carrier task forces while the Russians have none.

In terms of the future, the Administration's programs call for further IR and ICBM missiles, for Polaris missiles for use by submarines, and for Minuteman missiles which can be launched from moving railroad cars. Underground hardened sites will also contain missiles. Thus, in terms of diversified defense, the Administration believes it has programmed the defense budget wisely. It does not believe in spending millions for weapons soon obsolete. Rather it has tried to devise a defense policy that fully meets the changing military situation. The 1961 Budget calls for a \$41 billion expenditure for defense and has been programmed to achieve this diversified policy.

In the field of space satellites, America has made some notable achievements. It discovered and measured the Van Allen radiation belts, essential to the safety of manned space vehicles; it was the first to take pictures of the earth from a 300 mile altitude, and the first to solve the problem of recovering an object after it returned from outer space. A whole variety of satellites have been launched, and the Missile Defense Alarm System will soon be in operation. These are but some of many achievements.

THE NIXON RECORD

In Congress, Nixon consistently favored a strong defense policy and a continuation of selective service. In 1949, he voted for a reorganization of the military establishment; in 1948 he voted for funds for Air Force expansion; in 1949, he opposed reducing U. S. Air Force groups from 58 to 48 and that same year he voted for a 70 group Air Force. In 1952, he opposed efforts to reduce funds for Air Force maintenance and operation as well as for research and development. In 1951, Nixon opposed a cut in the Defense Department appropriation.

In 1948, 1950 and 1951, Nixon voted to extend the draft. The 1951 bill contained a provision for a universal military training program and Nixon voted against an attempt to kill that provision. In 1952, Nixon favored an increase in armed service pay and voted against reducing the inducement pay for doctors and dentists.

Nixon's stand on the current defense situation may be best summarized in his own words:

"We need constant examination and constructive criticism of our defense posture, pointing up our weaknesses where they exist. But constructive criticism is one thing; making America appear weaker than she is to potential aggressors is another. It is time to quit selling America short. We are not a second-rate country, with second-rate military strength and a second-rate economy. No aggressor in the world today can knock out the deterrent striking power of the United States and its allies. This is the case today and it will continue to be so in the future."

January 27, 1960

CIVIL RIGHTS

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"I feel sure that we shall pass through our present crisis with...credit. Most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit, side by side, at any school--public or private--with no regard paid to the color of their skin. Segregation, discrimination and prejudice have no place in America."

October 19, 1956

"America cannot afford the moral, the economic and the international cost of prejudice and discrimination...the American Revolution will not be complete until the ideals of independence, equality and freedom...are a reality not only for Americans but for peoples throughout the world."

October 19, 1956

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

January 15, 1960

"I wholeheartedly support the Administration's referee proposal... The referee proposal, through the judicial processes which protect the rights of individuals involved, guarantees not only the right to register but the right to vote not only in federal elections but ...in state elections."

February 15, 1960

"I recognize that the problem of integration in our schools... is a difficult one in the South. I recognize too that it is not just a Southern problem. In the North, the West, and all over this country there are problems involving segregation and the like...."

"I recognize, as I have said many times publicly, that no law can be written that is going to solve this problem in one year, two years, five years. We know that a law is only as good as the will of the people to obey it....We (the Administration) believe we must make progress in these various fields; that we must fit the law to the problem at hand; that we must not go so far in our legal remedies that we do not honestly expect compliance with the law that we may pass. I believe that what the Administration attained in the last Civil Rights Bill and what it has recommended to the Congress is a program that is attainable, enforceable, and would have public support of most people."

January 15, 1960

THE IKE-NIXON RECORD

The Administration sponsored the first important civil rights legislation to be enacted in over 80 years--the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This Act was designed basically to protect the voting rights of the Negro by setting qualifications for Federal jurors independent of State laws and by providing for an additional Assistant Attorney General to handle civil rights laws under a new Civil Rights Division within the Justice Department. It also established a six-member, bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights to investigate and report on situations in which individuals were deprived of their civil rights.

The Administration had also asked for broader enforcement powers not only as to voting rights but to all other civil rights; Democratic opposition prevented their enactment.

The President also appointed a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity Under Government Contracts. Vice President Nixon is Chairman of this Commission.

In a special Civil Rights Message of February 5, 1959, the President called for legislation to provide the following:

1. that force or threats of force to obstruct court orders in school desegregation shall be a Federal offense.
2. authorize the Attorney General to inspect Federal election records and require that they be preserved for a reasonable time to permit such inspection.
3. provide temporarily for education of children of members of the Armed Forces when State-administered public schools are closed because of desegregation problems.
4. place the Commission on Equal Job Opportunity Under Government Contracts on a statutory basis.

This year, the Administration, in addition to the above measures, sponsored a referee plan to ensure voting rights in federal, state and local elections. This plan has been strongly backed by the Vice President. He has stated: "I wholeheartedly support the Administration's referee proposal...because the referee proposal will deal not only with registrations, but also voting." (February 15, 1960)

THE NIXON RECORD

Nixon's record in Congress shows that he voted for almost all civil rights legislation which came before the House and Senate during his time in office. In 1947 and again in 1949 he voted to abolish the poll tax as a qualification for voting in federal elections. In 1950, he backed a Fair Employment Practice Act just as in 1949 he had voted to prohibit segregation or discrimination because of race, creed or color in the Coast Guard Women's Reserve.

Nixon's statements on civil rights have been clear and unequivocal. They may be best summed up in his own words as follows:

"I would be the last to suggest that I see any easy solution to civil rights. I can assure you that passing a law is not going to solve it. Laws can help in certain areas. In the final analysis, it is going to be solved by the young people who go into the communities...throughout the South and throughout the North and the West. In this area of human relations, race relations, labor relations, leadership at the top helps, but basically, we have to have men and women of good will at the local level, who recognize the problem, and then patiently work out these very complex and difficult issues in a way that will meet the approval of the community...I am not discouraged about it. I think we have come a long way, in the last ten years particularly."

January 15, 1960

NIXON - THE MAN

Childhood and ~~Early Youth~~ ^{Young Adulthood}

Richard M. Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California on January 9, 1913, the second of Hannah and Frank Nixon's five sons.

Hannah Milhous Nixon was from a long line of Irish Quakers who came to Pennsylvania in 1729 in search of religious freedom; the Nixon line dates back to the arrival, in Delaware, of James Nixon in 1753. The Nixon side of the family was Methodist while the Milhous line were practising Quakers.

Both the Milhous and Nixon families emigrated westward over the years--following the frontier. Most were farmers, a few preachers, merchants and teachers. Hannah and Frank Nixon settled in Yorba Linda after their marriage in 1908 when Frank became a Quaker; they moved to nearby Whittier--a Quaker city--in 1922. Frank Nixon ran a combination gas station and grocery store in Whittier, having built the family house himself. Earning a living was a struggle, and all of the Nixon boys worked in the family store when old enough. One of Nixon's younger brothers died of meningitis at the age of seven, and his oldest brother Harold died of tuberculosis at 18 after five years of illness.

Nixon attended elementary and secondary schools in Whittier, entering Whittier College--a small Quaker institution with high scholastic standards--at 17. Nixon helped form and was elected first president of a new student fraternity, the Orthagonians, or Square Shooters, to compete with The Franklins which attracted the boys of the more wealthy families. Nixon wrote the fraternity song and helped write its first play. He was also elected president of the freshman class, and took an active part in the debating society and the football team. Despite these many activities coupled with continued work in the store and hours devoted to the Quakers, Nixon graduated from Whittier College in 1934 in second place in his class. His success in school is perhaps best explained by Dr. Paul S. Smith, then Professor of History and Politics and now President of Whittier College:

"As a young student Dick had the uncommon capacity to brush aside the facades of a subject and get to the heart of it. He always completed on half a page what would take a normal 'A' student two pages."

Manhood Young Adulthood

Nixon, in need of financial assistance, went to the Duke University Law School in North Carolina which offered him a full tuition scholarship. Scholarship money was short in the depression years, but Nixon was able to maintain his grant for the three full years by achieving a high place in his law school class; he was elected to the Order of the Coif, a national scholastic fraternity for honor law students. Life was hard at law school, as Nixon held down an administration job paying 35 cents an hour and lived several walking miles from school in an old farm house where the rental was low. He was a hard worker carefully preparing for his classes. Work plus studies offered him little time for social activities, but Nixon somehow managed to become president of the Duke Bar Association in his last year.

Nixon graduated third in his class in 1937, and both his mother and grandmother, then 89, drove across the continent to witness the event.

Shortly before graduation Nixon sought a job both with the FBI and with several large Wall Street law firms. When neither opening materialized, Nixon returned to California and there passed his bar examinations. He then became a member of Whittier's oldest law firm,

practicing business and tax law. He ventured into a frozen orange juice business with a few associates, but was totally unsuccessful. His achievements were, rather, in the civic field, having been elected president of the Whittier Alumni Association and then made a trustee at 26--the youngest member of the board. He gave a course in practical law at the college, and led several church and civic groups.

Nixon also took part in the Little Theatre, where he met his wife, Thelma (Pat) Ryan Nixon. Pat was born in Ely, Nevada in 1913 where her father worked as a miner. Early in her life, the Ryan family moved to a ranch in Southern California. Her mother died when Pat was 12, and her father five years later. Pat worked her way through the University of Southern California and came to Whittier to teach commercial subjects at the high school. The Nixons were married on June 21, 1940; they have two children, Tricia, born in 1946, and Julie, born in 1948.

Nixon practiced law in Whittier until January, 1942, when he worked as an attorney in the Office of Price Administration in Washington. In August, 1942, he joined the Navy as a Lieutenant, Junior Grade, and served actively until his discharge, as a Lieutenant Commander, in January, 1946. Nixon earned two battle stars and two commendations for his service in the South Pacific.

NIXON IN POLITICS

Shortly before his discharge from the Navy, Nixon was approached by a citizens committee to oppose the incumbent Congressman Jerry Voorhis, a five-term Democrat. Nixon agreed to run, and he and Pat staked one-half of their savings on the race. The campaign was marked by a series of lively debates on the key issues facing a post-war America. Support of Nixon's views was reflected in his winning margin of 15,592 votes. Voorhis afterwards noted:

"Our campaign was a very honest debate on the issues...Mr. Nixon will be a Republican Congressman....I believe he will be a conscientious one."

In his first term in Congress Nixon toured Europe for two months to study the Marshall Plan Program, as a member of the Porter Committee; many of his basic views on foreign affairs were formed at that time. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, he helped draft the Hartley Labor Bill many parts of which found their way into the Taft-Hartley Labor Act of 1947. He thus became a well-known Congressional figure during his freshman term, and in 1948 he not only received Republican backing, but won a majority of the Democratic primary votes as well. Nixon was reelected to office in 1948 with 141,509 votes.

Nixon's second term in Congress was marked by the Hiss case which grew out of his work as a member of the Un-American Activities Committee. While Nixon strongly supported the investigations conducted by the Committee, in October, 1948, he proposed a program to protect witnesses and to provide fairness in the hearings; in December, 1948, he drew up a list of recommended procedures to guide the Committee, preparing, in effect, a Code of Fair Procedure.

In 1950, Nixon ran for the Senate seat vacated by Sheridan Downey; his opponent was Helen Gahagan Douglas. In a hard-fought campaign, Nixon defeated Mrs. Douglas by a 680,847 margin. He captured a good percentage of Democratic support, for his total vote of 2.2 million actually exceeded the total Republican registration of 1.9 million; the 1950 Senatorial victory reflected the bipartisan support he had earned while in Congress.

In the Senate, Nixon served on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee and Expenditures in Executive Departments Committee; (later called the Government Operations Committee). He also continued his interest in the fight against internal subversion and the external threat of Communist domination.

In 1952, Nixon was nominated by acclamation as Eisenhower's running mate. The major issues in the campaign were Communism, the Korean War and corruption in Government; and the Ike-Nixon ticket won an enormous victory on these issues. Early in the campaign, charges were raised that Nixon had improperly used a fund of \$18,000 raised by his California backers to permit him to prepare detailed newsletters on his work in the Senate. In a nation-wide address, Nixon explained the origin and use of the fund and bared the state of his personal finances to the public. The response to Nixon's speech was overwhelming and General Eisenhower, in affirming his support of Nixon, stated:

"I have seen many brave men in tough situations. I have never seen any come through in such fashion as Senator Nixon did...When a man in further answer of what he believes to be correct and right stands up in front of all the American people and bares his soul...and tells the truth...he is a courageous man."

In 1956, Nixon was renominated by unanimous vote as the Republican's Vice Presidential candidate.

Nixon's views on politics are best seen in his own words.

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

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

The political leader is important. Whether Republican or Democrat, it is his responsibility when running for office to study the issues, to determine what he believes to be in the best interests of the country, and then to take strong positions and to try to win the people over to his point of view. If leaders do not do that, the country will drift in its policies into following mass thinking that will represent in some instances the lowest common denominator. Considering the great problems that we face in the world, that is inadequate. Our decisions must represent not the lowest common denominator but the best thinking that America can produce. I don't think that you can lead from a position of vacillation. If you are going to lead, you've got to decide in advance whether the issue is one that you feel is worth fighting about. If it isn't, then you take no position at all. But if it is worth fighting about, you've got to take a clear-cut position and get all of the advantage that comes from being out in front.

I am practical in the sense that I don't believe in fighting windmills. I don't believe in taking on issues simply for the sake of a fight. I believe a leader must always conserve his resources for the battles that count. He must not fritter away his energies by getting involved in every little struggle that comes along. In relatively unimportant matters a good public servant, an effective politician must compromise and should compromise to avoid bloodletting. He must look at the major objectives of his administration and keep them always in mind. He must never become involved in a fight on a minor issue which might prejudice his chance to win on a major issue. That is one of the best rules a politician could follow in political campaigns, too.

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

Interview with Newspaperman
Earl Mazo

REFUGEE RELIEF AND IMMIGRATION

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"I have consistently supported displaced persons legislation. I believe that we have a responsibility, along with other nations, to provide these unfortunate, homeless people a place of permanent residence, irrespective of existing immigration quotas. We know from experience that the foreign born have contributed immeasurably to our greatness as a nation. We can well afford to take...more of these people into our society..."

Statement of Congressman Nixon 1950

THE EISENHOWER-NIXON RECORD

In its first year in office, the Administration sponsored special legislation to aid refugees. The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 permitted the entry of 214,000 more immigrants, over a 3-year period, than was possible under the existing immigration laws. And in 1956, the President asked for special action to speed the formal processing of visas for these refugees to permit them faster entry into the United States. The administrative processes were further revised in the wake of the Hungarian Revolt.

In a special message to Congress on February 8, 1956, the President asked for a major change in the immigration laws, including an increase in the total annual quota from 154,657 to approximately 222,000. This figure would include 5,000 specialists with talents and skills needed in the United States. The Administration also suggested the enactment of a reapportionment system so that the quota amount not used by any national group could be redistributed to other groups. The President asked for the elimination of the fingerprinting requirements imposed on all entrants into the United States, and requested that the Attorney General be given wider discretion in handling hardship cases of aliens barred from entry by minor technicalities.

These major proposals were opposed by the Democratic majority in both Houses. Shortly before the close of the session, however, the President's proposals were added to a bill then on the Senate floor and the Senate approved them. The measures did not reach the House floor, and as a consequence no legislation in this field was enacted in 1956. A few minor changes were enacted in 1959.

In March of this year, the President again sent to Congress a special immigration message wherein he renewed his request that the rigid quota system be eased. He proposed changes in the national origins formula--the basis of the quota system--which would double the number of immigrants admitted each year; a quota reapportionment provision was also requested. Further, the President asked for a program to admit refugees on a parole basis which entrance would, upon proper showing, become permanent.

Nixon supports these changes as helpful ones destined to aid those needy people seeking entrance to the United States and whose presence here would add to America's strength. Nixon believes that an equitable change in the quota system is desirable.

THE NIXON VOTES

In 1948, Nixon voted to authorize the admission of 202,000 displaced persons for permanent residence in the United States, and voted against a Democratic measure to recommit the bill for further study. In 1950, he voted for an amendment to the Nationality Act granting the privilege of becoming a naturalized citizen to aliens having permanent residence. The amendment also provided for revocation of such citizenship in certain cases where fraud or other improper acts were later discovered; Nixon voted with the majority (307 to 14) to override Truman's veto of this amendment.

As a Senator, Nixon again voted with the majority to override Truman's veto of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act which tightened citizenship requirements to prevent the achievement of that status by aliens who, for example, were convicted of crimes, belonged to subversive groups or who had entered by fraud.

*Re: Question will
once discussed*

Bob H.

March 30, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: Bob Finch

From: Rita E. Hauser

Subject: Discussion re: anti-Nixon sentiment among Jews

I had the occasion to dine with several juvenile court judges and other members of the legal profession in town for the White House Conference on Youth, and the discussion turned to Nixon at one point in the evening. Apparently, several of this group, all of whom were pro-Nixon, were also Jews, and they all questioned me with great concern about the many stories they hear that Nixon is anti-Semitic. While they all assured me they felt there was no substance to it, they also indicated that many a Jew tends to feel there is some truth in it.

One member of this group, Judge Benjamin S. Schwartz of the Court of Common Pleas in Cincinnati, Ohio made the following suggestion as a possible way to deal with the problem. He noted that several years back he had been part of a select group that met with Eisenhower at the White House to discuss Eisenhower's position vis-a-vis the Jews; the group included several outstanding Jewish lawyers and a representative of Rabbi Silver, among others. Apparently, a very frank discussion, completely without publicity, resulted, and these people went back to begin a quiet sort of campaign to inflate Ike's position in the Jewish community. Schwartz suggested a similar meeting with Nixon both to stimulate several key Jewish leaders to do a similar job and also to help inform Nixon of what he can personally do to demonstrate, in an overt way, his lack of any negative feelings toward Jews (I phrase it that way because these people felt, in effect, that Nixon had that burden -- that there is a presumption among many Jews that Nixon holds this feeling).

FOREIGN POLICY

THE NIXON PHILOSOPHY

"... in spite of the truly remarkable progress the Soviet people have made...we have every reason to be confident that over all -- in education, in science, in production -- we are ahead of the Soviet Union and can stay ahead...and that freedom, not Communism, is the wave of the future.... Above all, what we need in those who represent us abroad, whether they are in government, business or education, is dedication to American ideals, understanding of the differences between the principles of Communism and of free societies, and a tough-minded, disciplined determination to work longer and harder for our cause than the Communists do for theirs...there is nothing this nation needs more, particularly among its young people, than an intelligent, unshakable dedication to the universal ideals of freedom, justice and peace, which are the heart of our American heritage."

October 5, 1959

"As far as foreign policy is concerned, I would say that in this field I am labeled as a liberal rather than a conservative because I take an international view rather than an isolationist view on foreign policy."

February 17, 1959

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

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

Interview, January, 1959

THE EISENHOWER-NIXON RECORD

Peace

The Administration negotiated a peaceful end to the war in Korea, and acted with America's allies to prevent further Communist aggression in Indo-China, Formosa and the Middle-East. It also preserved the free status of West Germany and brought about the removal of Russian troops from Austria. These gains were achieved through collective consultation and action with other free nations joined together in defensive alliances such as NATO, SEATO (South-east Asian Treaty Organization), and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), and through the Administration's continued adherence to its philosophy of preventing Communist aggression by clear and unequivocal statements as to our positions and intentions. The Administration's foreign policy has been geared to avoid serious miscalculation on the part of Russia as to our goals and aims in the world, a miscalculation which in the past encouraged aggressors to commence wars. The avoidance of serious miscalculations is essential, for as Nixon has stated:

I am convinced that within the next ten years, if war comes, it will come probably because of miscalculation and not because of action by either side intended to initiate hostilities

December, 1958

NIXON'S VIEWS

Korea: Let's suppose that tomorrow any one of the countries in the so-called uncommitted area were attacked overtly by the Soviet Union, what would our reaction be? We would spend billions of dollars and thousands of lives in order to meet the attack...That's why we went to the aid of Korea; that's why the United States has fought practically all of the recent wars.

November 14, 1957

Lebanon: It was necessary for the United States to show that when the chips were down, even though there were risks of war, we would stand by our friends.

July 19, 1958

Suez: If we had supported our friends and allies, Britain and France, in Egypt, they might have won a military victory in that area. But they ~~would~~ ^{and} we would have lost the moral support of the whole world. Because we took the position we did, the peoples of Africa and Asia know now that we walk with them as moral equals, that we do not have one standard of law for the West and another for the East...Because we stood firmly against the use of force in Egypt, we were in a moral position to condemn the ruthless and barbarous Soviet conquest of Hungary.

December 6, 1956.

Mutual Security

The Administration has consistently advocated a policy of mutual military and economic aid to promote the stability and defense of the Free World. Each year the Administration has requested a substantial amount for the many programs in this area (for example, the President called for \$4.2 billion for fiscal year 1961), but Congress has generally refused to appropriate the full amount.

In the area of military assistance, aid is given for all forms of defense support--for troops, weapons, research. The Administration last year appointed a special committee of distinguished private citizens to study America's Military Assistance Programs, and its many suggestions have recently been put into effect by the Administration.

Economic assistance has been granted through several agencies and programs. The Development Loan Fund, established in 1957, provides capital at very favorable terms to the less-developed countries when funds are not available from other sources. By the end of fiscal year 1960, the Fund will have made commitments for an estimated total of \$1.4 billion; more than three-fourths of the projects its finances are for roads, railroads, electric power stations and industrial development. Technical assistance is granted under a special program run by the International Cooperation Administration to send American experts abroad and to train foreign technicians in the United States; America also contributes heavily to the technical assistance program conducted by the United Nations. The American Export-Import Bank has played a major role in providing development funds for needy nations, and the United States, along with other member nations, consented to an increase in its payment to the World Bank for Reconstruction and Development. America also inspired the new International Development Association, which will be closely affiliated with the World Bank, to provide even further assistance on flexible terms. And lastly, America recently signed a treaty, which Congress ratified, for the establishment of a new Inter-American Development Bank.

NIXON'S VIEWS

"The dollars that we are spending in the economic field for mutual assistance are just as important as the dollars we are spending for our missiles, our aircraft, and our divisions overseas and at home."

November 13, 1957

"The uncommitted nations...want economic progress so that they can raise their deplorably low living standards. They would prefer to gain that progress and keep their freedom and independence at the same time. But if there is no other answer they will turn to the Communist world for help. Our purpose is not to buy friends but to help them develop the economic and political strength and independence which is the antithesis of Communist domination."

June 27, 1957

"The billion dollars we are spending for economic assistance to these uncommitted areas...is an investment in our own freedom and independence. It is the premium we pay to insure our survival as a free people."

June 9, 1957

"The foreign policy area which I think is the surest one where you can spend your money the best is...exchange of peoples...I mean exchange of government leaders, opinion makers, business, labor and cultural leaders between the newly developing countries and all countries of the free world. Providing for greatly expanded programs in this field would be the best investment we could make to assure victory in the ideological battle."

December, 1958

ATOMS FOR PEACE

President Eisenhower, in his historic message to the U.N. on December 8, 1953, called for the formation of an International Atomic Energy Agency. This Agency was set up by the unanimous vote of all members of the U.N., and the United States, carrying out its promise, made a substantial contribution to it of funds, material and information including a stock of uranium for development and research purposes. The Administration also asked Congress to revise the Atomic Energy Act to permit a freer exchange of information with friendly nations, and Congress responded favorably. Pursuant to this broader authority, the Administration has signed information exchange agreements with 39 friendly countries to date.

With the signing of the EURATOM agreement between France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland and Belgium, the Administration asked Congress to approve an agreement for American cooperation with EURATOM and to authorize aid for the construction of six nuclear power plants within the territory of its members. This agreement was approved, and a grant of \$10 million has also been made to EURATOM for research programs.

The United States also took a major part in the two international conferences on the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

While following a decided policy of firmness and clarity of intention in order to defend the Free World against aggression, the Administration has made every attempt to settle outstanding problems with the Russians in a spirit of good faith. Talks have continued on disarmament and the suspension of nuclear testing; the Administration has several times met with the Soviet Union in pre-summit and summit talks in an attempt to find areas of mutual agreement and to erase false impressions; an active exchange of persons program has been instituted between the United States and Russia so that a better understanding of each nation might come about; Vice-President Nixon went on an historic official visit to the Soviet Union and Poland in the summer of 1959 which was followed by the unprecedented visit of Soviet Premier Khrushchev to the United States. These many gestures and acts demonstrate America's willingness to maintain peace, to solve problems by negotiation and discussion rather than by war. And when joined with a defense policy calculated to maintain America's strength sufficient to deter any aggression, the Administration believes it has adopted the surest policy to avoid war.

NIXON'S VIEWS

"Through...greater exchange of information between our two peoples we not only learn from each other and improve our way of life but we reduce the suspicion, the mistrust, the fear and misunderstanding and assure the understanding and friendship which will lead to the peace we all want. That is why, to me, the concept of co-existence is completely inadequate and negative. Co-existence implies that the world must be divided into two hostile camps with a wall of hate and fear between....

I realize that this era of peaceful competition and even cooperation seems like an impossible dream when we consider the present differences we have between us. But the leaders of our countries can help make this dream come true."

Address from Moscow
August 1, 1959

"I believe the decision to invite (Premier Khrushchev) was justified and wise, and will serve the best interests of the people."

August 31, 1959

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

Newspaper Publishers Assn.
Convention, February 6, 1960
Los Angeles, Calif.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE WORLD COURT

The Administration has persistently carried out its foreign policy in a spirit consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. It has sought to resolve world problems through the U.N., as for example, its condemnation, in the U.N. Forum, of aggression in the Suez dispute and its subsequent presentation of America's Middle-East Program to the U.N. The United States has supported the many programs of the U.N. such as the Korean Relief Program, the refugee programs, the Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF); it has taken an active role in the specialized agencies such as UNESCO and the World Health Organization.

The Administration has also called for the repeal of the Connally Amendment which represents a reservation on America's part to the jurisdiction of the World Court---a Court established to settle international disputes. The matter is currently before the Congress.

NIXON'S VIEWS

"(The United Nations)...is far from being a perfect instrument for settling international disputes. But in providing a forum for discussion of differences and for mobilizing world opinion against the use of force as an instrument of national policy, it renders a significant service to the cause of peace."

September 14, 1959

"We must have something other than the balance of terror or the rule of terror. The only alternative to force that I can think of---and I believe this is the case with others who are observers of the international field---is the rule of law...."

Student Meeting
Gainesville, Fla.
January 15, 1960

"I know that there has been a great deal of concern expressed among some people who are worried about the United States giving up a part of its sovereignty by reason of changing the Connally Resolution.

In that connection I think I should point out that repeal of this resolution simply provides that only in those instances where disputes involving our international relations---in other words, a treaty interpretation or something of that sort which is juridical in character and which can be and should be adjudicated by a court---will the United States agree, if the other nation involved in the dispute also agrees, to submit that case to the World Court.

In my opinion, repeal of this amendment is only the proper step that we in this country who are dedicated to the rule of law rather than the rule of force can take.

This does not involve a super international body, so-called World Federalism or any of the other well meaning and well intentioned, but in my opinion, completely unrealistic proposals which would involve a concession with regard to U. S. sovereignty.

It is simply a proposal, which has been supported for many, many years, and which would provide for judicial settlement of juridical disputes between nations where both parties agree that they will abide by the opinion of the Court."

News Conference
Detroit, Michigan
February 15, 1960

LATIN AMERICA

To assist the Latin American nations in their concerted efforts to achieve a higher standard of living and greater economic progress, the Administration has increased all varieties of economic assistance and has recently agreed to the establishment of a \$1 billion Inter-American Development Bank to which the United States is the largest contributor. President Eisenhower made a trip to Latin America early in 1960 for the purpose of bettering American-Latin American relations and seeking a solution to mutual problems, just as Vice-President Nixon had conducted a similar visit in 1958. Efforts have been made to enforce inter-American mutual defense links, and the United States has time and time again reasserted its policy of thwarting any aggression in the Western Hemisphere.

NIXON'S VIEWS

"We must prove...that when private enterprise comes into Latin America...we do so not for the purpose of simply keeping in power a group of the elite nor of making the rich richer and keeping the poor poorer...but that our policies are designed...to raise the standards of living of the miserably poor people all over Latin America...through a program of private enterprise...combined with government assistance in those areas where private enterprise cannot do the job."

May 21, 1958

"...We have had to be careful...with Latin America where, as you know, there is great sensitivity about the great 'Colossus of North' trying to impose ideas of economics and government upon the people of the South....

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

Los Angeles, Calif.
February 6, 1960

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

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

News Conference
Miami Beach, Fla.
January 16, 1960

RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA

Nixon's views are in complete agreement with those of the Administration. The Ike-Nixon position can best be stated in Nixon's own words:

Looking at this problem from the standpoint of American foreign policy and Free World foreign policy, I can think of nothing which would be more detrimental to the cause of freedom and peace to which we are dedicated than to recognize Red China and admit it to the United Nations at this time.

The Charter of the United Nations states it is an organization of peace-loving nations or nations dedicated to peace. The question immediately arises, how did the Soviet Union get in? They were charter members. As far as Red China is concerned, at a time when they engaged in aggressive activities in Tibet, when they are engaged in activities so recently against a United Nations member, India, in a border dispute, when they are still in defiance of the United Nations in Korea, when their policy is directed openly toward subversion in every free country in Asia, I think to reward this kind of conduct by recognition and admission to the U.N., would have a disastrous effect throughout Asia, and for that reason cannot be considered as a possibility.

Now, this is a position which I know again could very well be one of disagreement, but I feel that under the circumstances, when you study all the facets of the problem and you see what effect recognition would have, the conclusion has to be that our present policy of non-recognition must continue to be maintained.

Now, will it never change? The answer is: it will change, but only when the policies of the Communist Chinese Government change.

Los Angeles, Calif.
February 6, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: Peter Wianbran
cc: Bob Finch

From: John A. Sawyer

March 14, 1960

Subject: Organization of Local Committees of the Arts and Sciences for Nixon

*Whereas the non-differentiation of the various professions and business interests that may be represented in any given local Volunteers for Nixon group is desirable, it does seem to me that there is strong reason to segregate, so to speak, those following the truly intellectual or artistic pursuits from the general category of volunteers. The impact of an important professional figure, for example, is not particularly felt when he is part of a large undifferentiated group and his name is hardly salient from a publicity standpoint. However, the grouping together of an impressive roster of topflight academicians, artists, writers, scientists, etc., certainly has great weight and per se can pull in others of similar talents. Perhaps more in the university than anywhere else, there is a strong desire on the part of academicians to propagate their "elite" qualities and even looking a group to find similar elites. If we can manage to put together in each state a group of well-known and distinguished academic and artistic figures, I have no doubt that such a group would be both impressive to the general public and would serve to attract other "independent" thinkers who would find comfort in knowing they belong to a group, the members of which they respect and admire.

For these reasons, I am of the firm view that we ought to establish a Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Nixon in each state (with appropriate "chapters" throughout). This can be publicized eventually, i.e., just before Election Day, as a national grouping as well, but in the initial stages the group should be no broader than state-wide in order that the task of enlisting the maximum support can be achieved.

Concrete Steps to be Taken
To Organize These Groups

1. The first and very immediate task is that of developing as complete a list as possible of academicians, artists, writers, etc., who are known or are thought to be pro-Nixon. These people will have to be the link to many others now unknown to us. Over the last month, I have accumulated the following names of academics from various reliable sources:

1. Houston I. Floornoy, Claremont College for Men,
Claremont, California
2. David R. Durge, Indiana University, Bloomington,
Indiana
3. Carl A. Iano, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Michigan
4. Rolfe Fgelstad, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
5. Dwight Waldo, University of California at Berkeley
6. Philip S. Wilder, Jr., Wabash College, Crawfordsville,
Indiana
7. James K. Follack, University of Michigan, Ann
Arbor, Michigan
8. Paul McCracken, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Michigan
9. Dr. Anapagh, Michigan Central, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
10. John Hanna, N. State University, Michigan
11. Charles W. Shull, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
12. Father Hessberg, Notre Dame, Illinois
13. George Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
14. Robert Storey, former Dean, Southern Methodist U.
Law School, Dallas, Texas
15. H. C. Amick, University of Tennessee
16. Paul Sanders, Vanderbilt Univ., Tennessee
17. Walter de Vries, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.
18. Dr. Phil Secor, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.
19. Mrs. Daniel Carr, Dean Dickinson Vermilye, Rollins
College, Winter Park, Florida
20. Prof. Gilbert Richardson, Leo Rockwell, C. R.
Stebolt, Florida Southern, Lakeland, Florida
21. Tobin, University of Miami
22. Dean John Olefson, John Johns, Stetson University,
Deland, Florida
23. Eli Ginsberg, Columbia University, School of Business,
New York City
24. S. Baron, Columbia University
25. Milton Freedman, University of Chicago
26. Dr. Babi, Columbia University
27. Neil B. Jacoby, School of Business, U.C.L.A.
28. Leo Wohlman, emeritus, Columbia University
29. Arthur Sutherland, Harvard Law School
30. Dean Erwin Griswald, Harvard Law School
31. Dr. May, Univ. of Rochester, New York
32. Brinton Thompson, Larry Lawll, Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.

I have asked Dr. Neil Carter, of the Republican National Committee, who is now touring various universities to set up writing for states of Congressmen, to see whom informally as to who on the campus is pro-Nixon. He promises to supply me with a long list of names on his return. Similarly, when I visit the University of Virginia and Duke University at the end of this month to address Young Republican groups, I will compile as many names of Nixon supporters as I can; I have already asked Arthur Larson to think about those academicians he knows who are pro-Nixon and we plan to discuss this in detail when I visit with him at Duke.

I would also immediately talk to professional people now in the Administration, such as Malcolm Moos, Raymond Saulnier, Alan Wallis, John Hamlin, Father Cronin, and get names they know as well as leads to other sources in the Government. I would also contact such key people as Arthur Burns (who has promised me more names), and Lon Fuller and Arthur Sutherland of the Harvard Law School for other top law professors' names.

And lastly, I would ask Len Hall for a copy of the CASE list (Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower), and write, phone, etc., every name on the list known to me or the above-mentioned sources to be pro-Nixon in order to derive more names.

Moreover, I would personally talk to the administrative assistant of the Republican Senators from the major university states: New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California, to round out the list of names.

This first step should be begun immediately. One source will lead to the next, and it will take a few weeks, then, to develop a really complete list which, ideally, should give us top people in each state. I might add that the list and the organization will be geared mainly to academicians; people purely in the arts, i.e., those without a university connection, are centered primarily in New York and California and I will deal with their organization separately.

2. Armed with this list, I would call a meeting of a group of people directly concerned with our goals who can evaluate the names on the list and make recommendations as to possible state chairmen. Definitely, we would have names from every state. I would include in this meeting, if available, Moos, Carter, Burns, Fuller, Larson, and Father Cronin, since all these people cannot only evaluate but will also be dedicated Nixon believers. They would constitute an advisory group.

the name of the chairman and of his assistant, and then urge them to call on the CASN for speakers, explanations of issues, etc. There will be, in effect, a ready-made source of information waiting in each state--the CASN, which can supply an extraordinary service. In this way, we use the academics and make them feel that Nixon and the Republicans generally appreciate their talents (which many do not now feel) and, further, we service the volunteer groups and thus facilitate their meetings, rallies, etc.

4. In order to be sure that each chairman is doing his work well, we need a person here such as I described (a coordinator or Executive Secretary to the National Chairman) who will follow up on all this. Sometime in early October, a check of the major states should be personally made to see that each chairman is active, has all he needs, etc., and the coordinator, of course, helps solve any problems that arise in each state. I do believe the coordinator should be a person of some academic achievement who knows the university scene and a good number of academic figures.

5. As to the non-academic artist, writer, etc., here the organizational work is more limited as the group is small and contact must be personal. I would choose a top name, male and female person here--one on the east coast and one on the west--as assistant chairmen to the national chairman (or academician, as noted above) to contact personally, with the help of self-chosen assistants if needed, others in the arts.

For example, Helen Hayes, Irene Dunne, Henry Fonda, James Stewart, are good possibilities. We would not, in general, be expecting any direct help from the art-world people on our state committees; their main function would be to lend their name to a cause they believe in. The names on the CASE list would be a good starting point.

As you can see from this memorandum, I think that the major task of organization is among the university people especially since so many key people there are anti-Nixon. This organizational task will be a hard one for university people will not flock to the state committee for Nixon as they would were it F.D.R.; we are all aware of the fact that much of the suspicion about Nixon centers at the University. I would strongly urge that we begin work on this immediately and that the coordinator do this largely as a full-time task.

As you know, I am amenable to and interested in this task, and would be pleased to work on it if thought able for it.

REH/hr

MEMORANDUM

To: Leonard W. Hall
cc: Robert Finch
Robert Waldman

From: Rita E. Hansen

Subject: Meeting with Arthur F. Burns - Feb. 1, 1960

At your suggestion, I called on Arthur Burns while in New York City to discuss generally (in an informal way) the question of academic support for Nixon, and specifically his own possible role in this matter. We had a thoroughly enjoyable talk in which, among other things, Dr. Burns indicated his feeling that the academic community can, in large part, be "educated" in favor of Nixon if an effort to do so is made.

On the three matters you asked me to discuss with him, I can report the following:

1) Dr. Burns would be happy to serve on any public committee backing Nixon, and would also be amenable to playing a major role on that committee (e.g., chairman).

2) Dr. Burns would, personally, be happy to prepare an article on why he is backing Nixon (he has been privately thinking of doing the same for some time), but expressed at first, some hesitation because of his position as head of the National Bureau of Economic Research. However, after discussing the matter, he concluded that if he feels no hesitation about publicly backing Nixon, then there should be no reason why he couldn't write an article. However, Dr. Burns wants to think about it a bit before concluding finally. He also expressed an interest in seeing Kevin McCann's article, although he is not amenable to an outright "ghosted" article with his name attached.

3) As to Jewish scholars who might be willing to back Nixon (Dr. Burns, incidentally, is Jewish), he suggested the following as strong possibilities:

a) Eli Ginzberg - School of Business, Columbia University. He is a Republican and close to Jim Mitchell.

b) S. Baron - Professor of Jewish history at Columbia University. He is very well known in Jewish circles, and Dr. Burns believes he is a Republican and pro-Nixon.

c) Milton Friedman - Professor of Economics - University of Chicago.

d) Dr. Habi - Professor of Nuclear Physics at Columbia and Nobel Prize winner. Strong Republican backer.

e) Neil H. Jacoby - Dean of the School of Business, U.C.L.A.

f) Leo Wahlen - Professor Emeritus in economics. Now with the National Bureau of Economic Research.

I trust this information will be useful to you.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Leonard Hall
Robert Finch
Robert Goldhamer

FROM: Miss E. Weaver

January 26, 1960

SUBJECT: Academic Support for Nixon

I believe that all of us interested in the forthcoming Nixon campaign are in agreement that Mr. Nixon faces a generally hostile attitude on the part of so-called liberal intellectuals. The motivations for this hostility bear some analysis in order that a proper remedy may be adressed.

Firstly, the liberal intellectual is of the view that as a general matter the Republican Party is an intellectual if not anti-intellectual. This stems, perhaps, from the New Deal epoch wherein a large number of the academic community participated directly in high-level government activities accompanied with much publicity and overt appreciation of the intellectual's abilities and contributions. In contradistinction, it is generally felt that the Republican Administration has paid far less attention to the academic world and that its fulcrum of activities has centered around the business executive and the public relations man. Whatever the validity of this feeling, it is a solidly entrenched one, and as a consequence, Mr. Nixon, the symbol of Republicanism, is deemed to carry this attitude as an implicit part of his philosophy of government.

Secondly, the nature of Mr. Nixon's campaigns, beginning with Veehria down through the 1958 election, hard hitting as they were, reinforces the predetermined attitude that Mr. Nixon does not communicate his ideas and positions in the traditional manner familiar to an intellectual. Thus, verbal destruction of an opponent, even if all the weapons carry the shield of truth, if not mitigated by some appreciative and affirmative attitudes, is considered "unfair". In this connection, it is interesting to note the approval I have heard from anti-Nixon quarters of Mr. Nixon's recent speech in Gainesville, Florida, where, although differing sharply with them, he made direct reference to the abilities and honest convictions of his Democratic opponents. Again, although it may appear as minor, a constant refrain I have heard concerns Mr. Nixon's attack on Stevenson for his "voluntary" character affidavit on behalf of Kees. The intellectual feels this unfairly prejudiced the public vis-a-vis Stevenson's relation to Kees; it is unfair because the public is assumed not to understand the nature and limits of character testimony. The intellectual expects that while a campaign is pitched to the "average" man, it will not mislead or dupe him.

The net feeling as to Mr. Nixon's campaigns is that they did dupe, and thus were "dishonest" or lacking in campaign due process. From this flows the strong feeling that Nixon is unprincipled, non-trustworthy, a man without a firm moral base.

Thirdly, the intellectual is acutely sensitive to the memory of the McCarthy era. McCarthy's excesses, they feel, violated many basic constitutional guarantees and abridged the cherished freedoms of thought and expression. While most I have spoken to commend Nixon's role in the Hiss case as reasoned and judicious, the intellectual feels the Hiss case opened the door to the McCarthy epoch. He implicitly concludes that Mr. Nixon supported McCarthy completely and failed to urge an administration stand against him. This attitude is corroborated for him by the fact that the issue of communists in the government greatly aided Nixon's campaigns.

In view of these attitudes and accompanying motivations, I would like to recommend a course of action on two fronts. Before so doing, I wish to point out that many Nixon supporters are urging the argument that these charges or feelings about Nixon are unfounded and to answer them merely elevates them to a dignified rank and perhaps makes people think they have some solid basis. Whatever their validity, these charges are mouthed by a large number of people, are reprinted in anti-Nixon texts, and will, as Paul Butler constantly brings out, be the basis or heavy ammunition of the Democratic campaign. While I do not feel that Mr. Nixon himself should directly debate their merits, the charges must be refuted in an effective and judicious manner. An able refutation will, in my view, reorient the thinking of many an anti-Nixon intellectual who, on questioning, admits that he has strong feelings but few facts. These negative feelings about Mr. Nixon run deep and are supported by a web of circumstantial evidence which the intellectual eagerly acknowledges as true in order to support his basic enthusiasms. Thus, many intellectuals approach Nixon with basically negative feelings, and then seize on any circumstances as proof of the correctness of their feelings. It is important to destroy this shaky foundation by an able presentation of the record which the intellectual will be hard put to refute.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The first step, in my view, is the creation of a committee of persons whose intellectual stature is universally acknowledged. This committee might be entitled "Intellectuals for Nixon" or "The Committee of Arts, Sciences and the Humanities for Nixon." It might begin with a charter membership of 500 selected people who should be outstanding figures in the academic and art world; their participation should be gleaned irrespective of party affiliation. There is nothing more effective to attract an intellectual than the endorsement of Nixon by another intellectual whose abilities and thoughts are greatly respected. Thus, as I have pointed out before, the support of Mr. Nixon by Professor Len Fuller of the Harvard Law School has already set many others on the faculty to query their own anti-Nixon attitudes.

I would like to begin the nucleus of this committee by contacting several key pro-Nixon academic persons known to me such as Lon Fuller, Alan Wallis, Arthur Larson, Arthur Burns, and ask them to supply us with the names of others who will or would be likely to support Nixon. Indeed, they might begin the contacting of such people on a personal basis. We would select from among those contacted, and in turn, invite them to contact others, thereby continuing the spiral. The activity will coordinate effectively with that of Neil Cotton of the Republican National Committee, with whom I have talked; Neil in turn will soon supply me with the names of key academicians who would support Nixon. Neil agrees with me that the creation of this committee is an immediate and indispensable step. I also plan to use the names of those on the Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower (CASE) to derive names of people in the arts and sciences who might be favorable to Nixon; I would plan to contact directly selected names among them.

From the very process by which this committee is established, effective publicity can be derived. If, as a part of this publicity, Nixon makes clear, as Kennedy already has, that he intends to draw on these people for their ideas during and after the campaign, it seems to me that a major attack against the feeling of Republican anti-intellectualism will have been made and the intellectual will be made to feel that he is indeed welcome in the Republican ranks. Further, the support of universally respected figures will do much to alter the thinking of those now so firmly opposed to Nixon on moral grounds.

2. To counter the specific charges against Nixon that I have outlined above, an informative, cogent and reasoned review of the Nixon record is required. If, as we all know, the anti-Nixon charges are unfounded, then they must be demonstrated as unfounded. A review of the campaigns is needed (e.g., whispering campaign, pink sheets), of Nixon's attitude and posture vis-a-vis McCarthy, of his suggested Code of Ethics which he proposed to the Un-American Activities Committee, of his sense of fair play and honesty, of his moral outlook, and even of his voting record on substantive questions--a record which for whatever reasons remains largely unknown to many. Rather than run the danger involved in citing "the charges" and then offering a response, inasmuch as the opposition can easily pick up the charges for their own use all the while omitting the response, I would recommend that this review of the Nixon record be in the form of a fairly short, precise statement which might be entitled "How I View Nixon".

While there is now a large Nixon literature, every anti-Nixon intellectual to whom I have spoken feels that the pro-Nixon literature is too pro, that is, it is not an objective study of Nixon but a partisan one (see de Teledano, and even Hase). We should enlist the services of a highly respected, non-partisan

academic figure who would be guaranteed his freedom to review the record and write accordingly. We might ask several figures to do this, and divide the subject matter among them.

Neil Cotter will give me the names of some figures he thinks can do it, and I should also like to contact Arthur Larson and Len Fuller on this score. This objective study will not only serve to present the record to those in ignorance of it and to the doubters, but it can also be used as an effective campaign tool. Our own supporters have great need of information about Nixon which is set out in a manner that permits its effective use when Nixon and his record are attacked.

It is my view that this two pronged approach to the problem will do much to garner intellectual support for Nixon. Moreover, the public enlisting of academic figures will greatly aid us in the area of student support for Nixon. There clearly are many campuses where the faculty feelings about Nixon are so negative that few students feel inclined to conduct very pro-Nixon activities (see Florida universities as a good example). The public endorsement of Nixon, coupled perhaps with a willingness to head a Nixon Club on campus, will enable us to enlist wide support among the undergraduate and graduate body.

I would like to begin work on these two approaches as soon as possible since the task will be somewhat difficult of accomplishment. Once approved, I would commence my activities along the lines set out above, enlisting the aid of Neil Cotter whenever possible.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Leonard Hall
Robert Finch
Robert Waldeman

FROM: RITA E. HAUSER

SUBJECT: Lawyers for Nixon Committees

January 25, 1960

Although not yet a certainty, Jack McKensie indicated that at some time in the near future lawyers for Nixon Committees will be formed around the country, whatever their organizational structure may be. In this connection, I spoke with Judge Walsh about a list of approximately 50 names he had furnished us -- composed mostly of former U. S. and Assistant U. S. attorneys known by him to be favorable to Nixon -- and the possibility of building up lawyers' support from this base. We also discussed the possible utilization of present U. S. Attorneys in this effort. The following are my views on the subject:

1) Judge Walsh felt a bit reluctant to contact directly the present U. S. Attorneys, preferring informal overtures to this effect. My own view is that his approach is the best one simply because the political views of the present officeholders are not all known, and any direct overtures might appear as "pressure". In the first week of April, however, the U. S. Attorneys will be meeting at the Justice Department here in Washington (I trust the Vice President will meet with them at that time), and Judge Walsh felt he would be able to accomplish a contact mission in an informal way. Inasmuch as plans for lawyers' committees are still not clear, I think this approach vis-a-vis the current U. S. Attorneys is wise.

2) In order, however, to begin some lawyers' support activities around the country, I feel the names compiled by Walsh should be used at the present time. Letters should be written to pro-Nixon individuals asking them to furnish other names of people in their community who would also back Nixon; in this way, the links they afford would not be wasted. Of course, basic to any final approach is the need to settle certain fundamental questions such as the structure of the lawyers' committees, their function, etc., but I do recommend that at least a first exploratory letter go out to these people and any other lawyers known to be pro-Nixon asking them to provide the names of others. In this way, a solid base will be built up and ready for use when the lawyers' committees are formally created. These letters may be written either on behalf of the Dick Nixon Clubs or by Judge Walsh himself; my own view is that the Dick Nixon Clubs approach is the better one.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanigan
cc: Bob Pinch
FROM: Rita E. Hanner

March 9, 1960

SUBJECT: Organization of Independents and Democrats for Nixon

I think the most effective organization of Independents and Democrats can be achieved by concentrating our activity on small groups united by a common interest--be it business, professional or civic. Thus, doctors or lawyers for Nixon, or retailers for Nixon will, in my view, be more effective than a heterogeneous group of all sorts in any community which was the case of Citizens For Life. This professional or business concentration can also be better checked for work output since the groups will be relatively small.

The basic organizational unit I envisage is a state-wide one--with local subdivisions. For certain categories of people whose support will be difficult to obtain, e.g., academics, I am of the view that a nation-wide grouping is also imperative to give added prestige and to obtain the maximum publicity effect.

The way in which to start this organizational work must be firstly, through personal contact with key people who are nominally Independents or Democrats and whose support for Nixon is known. These names can be gathered in part from being up here in Washington. For example, I have a file of names of top academic figures that have been given to me by reliable sources such as Arthur Burns, Malcolm Moos and Neil R. McMillen. Secondly, there are many other professional contacts, legal contacts, etc., that I can personally make from my own knowledge. And, thirdly, I would suggest that we contact the administrative assistant of every Republican Senator and Congressman to get from them the names of doctors, lawyers, businessmen, academics, etc., who, in their view, might be amenable to supporting Nixon and those who would also agree to head a committee for that end. The A.A.s are good sources since they generally greet and handle visiting delegations representing different groups. If we build up enough of a name list in each grouping, we can go forth to make contact with the person or persons who will head the committees and gather others in.

The key to the success of this whole picture is, in my view, the picking of the best men to head the state committees, and by best, I mean not only a name figure but one who will, directly or via an assistant, get others in the state lined up. Thus, the state chairman should be able to himself pick out the best people in each key community in the state who will do the job locally. And, in this way, the control work here can be effective by pressure down on the state chairmen.

Recommendations

1) The first thing is to decide which groupings we want, i.e., we should decide on the basic breakdown of interest groups (lawyers, doctors, retailers, academics, housewives, etc.)

2) Once we have the groupings we should amass names from all sources we know for every state. No opportunity to get such names should be missed. For example, I've been asked to address the Republican group in Charlottesville, Virginia, and the state YR Convention in North Carolina--both at the end of this month. On both these occasions, I want to talk to people whose names have been suggested to me, and while there, get other names. Similarly, each time our field men go out they should be asked to inquire about Independents or Democrats who are favorable to Nixon.

I also am of the view that we ought to print or mimeograph a circular to go out to all "friends" in Washington and elsewhere, to all the AAs, and to all state Republican chairmen who should be familiar with the sentiments of local Independents and Democrats. The circular could read as follows:

Dear _____:

We are interested in gathering the support of those, who are nominally Independents or Democrats in your (state, district or whatever appropriate division) who, to your knowledge, might be willing to publicly support Richard M. Nixon for President. We would appreciate your listing such individuals within the following groupings, with any comment about the strength of their pro-Nixon feelings, their abilities, their free time, etc., that you may wish to offer.

Please bear in mind that we want people whose support will substantially aid Mr. Nixon's cause and who will be willing to work within their state to help get the job done of enlisting Independents and Democrats for Nixon. The job is a vital one, and your prompt assistance will be of great help to us.

3) Once armed with names, we must send out people to make direct contact with key figures we choose from these lists sent in. The contact should be for the purpose of getting a state chairman in each grouping who will then start the ball rolling in getting local chairmen who, in turn, enlist the ranks. If sufficient results are not forthcoming, our pressure would be on the state chairmen who should be counted on to pressure downward.

4) We must also establish a working unit here which will supply all these local groups with factual information, speech kits, buttons, etc. We must also send out to the groups suggestions for meetings, discussions, points of interest about Nixon that would attract more people to their particular grouping. Thus, a suggested program for a Doctors for Nixon meeting might deal with Nixon's program for meeting the health needs of the country. Lawyers can

-3-

talk about Nixon's stand on the Connally Resolution. Women Independents might talk about Nixon and education. All these groups should be fed detailed information on Nixon on all these issues, be provided with an expert or academic speaker in the state who is a part of another state grouping for Nixon. (This, by the way, is a good method for attracting academics who like to feel their abilities are being utilized).

I think these step-by-step arrangements should be commenced as soon as possible. It's a long haul to amass the names, make the contacts, etc., so that the groups can be activated right after the nomination.

My Rita Hauser file

REPORT ON TRIP TO VIRGINIA AND
NORTH CAROLINA

March 31 - April 4, 1960

TO: Bob Finch
Peter Flanigan
Bob Haldeman

FROM: Rita E. Hauser

I. Speech to YR Club. University of Virginia at Charlottesville,
March 31st.

At the invitation of the Club's President, Paul Frankel, I sat in on an executive committee meeting prior to the public session. We discussed, firstly, the very salutary results of a poll taken on the campus under joint YR and YD sponsorship. Some 1,300 people cast votes, making it the largest University poll ever taken. The results (see Exhibit A attached) gave Nixon a substantial lead over every Democrat--a gratifying result because the Kennedy Family is linked with the University of Virginia (Ted was an undergraduate, Bobby a law school graduate, and Papa Kennedy contributed heavily to the law school).

According to the executive committee membership, the Nixon-Kennedy result, as determined informally, turned to a large extent on the religious question. Most voters, informally, indicated a liking for Nixon and in the face of serious reservations about the Democratic candidates they felt free to vote contrary to their Democratic Party affiliation.

We discussed the meaning of the poll, and I then pointed out both the need to attract Independents and Nominal Democratic votes. The poll strongly indicates that such votes can be had in the South by Nixon when Nixon is tested as Nixon v. a given Democrat rather than Nixon the Republican v. a Democrat. I elaborated on this problem of attracting Independent and Democratic Youth For Nixon, and got the group to agree that a Nixon For President Club on Campus was a necessary next step, with leadership distinct from the present YR leadership. They asked me how it should be set up, etc., and we spent an hour in discussion of details. I was assured that steps will be taken next week, and I will follow-up on this.

The members of the executive committee brought me the message, heard a good bit around the campus--and later reiterated to me by a faculty friend--"why don't we see Nixon here?"

The Student Legal Forum, similar to the one at Harvard to which Nixon has spoken, has in the past year sponsored Reuther, Humphrey, Barry Goldwater and Bob Kennedy among others; in the next month both Stevenson and Truman will address it. The Forum attracts over 1,500 generally, and the event is widely publicized throughout the South. I learned from my friend on the law faculty, a noted professor of Taxation, that while few of the faculty at Virginia would stand-up for Nixon publicly, it being a State school, many, he felt, would vote for Nixon and talk pre-Nixon inter se provided they had a chance to make a personal judgment.

My own feeling is that a public talk at this intellectual center of the South would consolidate what seems to be a latent, but wide--spread pre-Nixon sentiment. If a talk to the Forum were agreed on, it should be early enough to gain the benefit of a spread-the-word effect. The early weeks of the fall semester would be best in this respect.

The YR meeting attracted about 50 people--apparently a very good figure for this campus. Members of the press were also there (see Exhibit B). John Dalton, President of the State YR Federation came in from Radford and gave a good talk on State Republican Politics. I would most strongly suggest him as an excellent young person (age 31) to be used in Virginia activities. He is a member of the law firm of Poff, Turk and Dalton; Poff is in Congress, Turk in the State Legislature. As a result, Dalton sees little possible for himself in an active sense, and expressed to me his strong desire to do something in this election. His father ran twice for Governor, losing last time by a small margin; he is presently a Federal Judge. Young Dalton is very personable and well known.

I talked, as usual, about what convinced Nixon supporters had to do to educate, to win over the undecided Independent and Nominal Democrats, stressing the point that they had to know the man to sell him. I presented his basic picture, and then answered questions in a very lively Q and A session that ran over an hour. The customary "what about the Douglas campaign" question came up, and I pointed out answers and explanations they could offer. Education, civil rights and "how liberal really is he" concerned them the most--many took notes and afterward asked for more documentation, more statements of his record. I promised these would be forthcoming.

The meeting was good--so much so that two Young Democrats came up to me after and said they were convinced on Nixon. I suppose that if no one does a similar job for Kennedy, they'll stay that way until November!

A persistent query both at the executive and plenary meeting was whether there would be a National Youth For Nixon movement to which their group could attach itself officially. Apparently, they felt the National impetus would be helpful locally, adding prestige and demonstrating Nixon's concern for the young voter. I demurred on that, indicating that a decision had not yet been made. It is my personal belief that such a division within the Volunteers For Nixon would serve a good purpose.

II. Meeting with Arthur Larson at the Law School of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, April 1st.

I stopped off at Duke on my way down to Charlotte, North Carolina at the invitation of Arthur Larson--a friend and adviser of mine--both to visit his new World Rule of Law Center and to discuss the forthcoming campaign. Arthur mirrored the sentiment I gleaned at the University of Virginia: There is a good deal of pro-Nixon sentiment, particularly among the students and younger faculty people, but few are inclined to voice this view publicly if it in any way implies attachment to the Republican Party. Arthur then talked about the CASE list in the Ike campaign, for which he was largely responsible along with Gabriel Hauge and M. Moos, and of its original conception as a device to capture the support of the independent academic figure. Arthur felt that a similar device would be good in this campaign. (I, of course, offered no comments about any of our current thinking on the subject).

He indicated that the following people on the Duke law faculty, most of whom are nominally Democrats, would, in his view, be pro-Nixon. Arthur was also sure that most of the Medical faculty and a large part of the Science faculties were pro-Nixon, and that most of these people would give passing support to a volunteer Nixon group on the campus.

LAW FACULTY PEOPLE. THOUGHT TO BE PRO-NIXON

Dean Elvin R. Latty	Republican
Charles L. Lowndes.	Republican
Dale P. Stansbury	Republican
W. Bryon Belich.	Democrat
Edwin C. Bryson	Democrat
Paul Hardin, III.	Democrat
Charles H. Livengood, Jr.	Democrat
Wallace McClure	Democrat

These 8 plus Larson constitute one-half of the total Law School Faculty of 18.

* * *

Another person of interest I chatted with briefly is the Republican Congressional Candidate from the Chapel Hill area-- Holland L. Rebb. He should be a good contact man for any central North Carolina volunteer groups.

Interestingly enough, while at Chapel Hill I attended the tail-end of the North Carolina Symposium the subject of which was "The Image of Man". The last speaker, John Cogley, a noted Catholic liberal and long-time executive editor of The Commonwealth, in summing up the week's discussions, made reference to the candidates. His basic criterion for the presidency was a man with a clear affirmative philosophy centering about Man's dignity and worth in the American society. Cogley did not feel that Kennedy possessed any clarity of thought as to this or other issues as related to Man's dignity; in effect, he implied that Kennedy was devoid of mature and crystallized views. As to Nixon, he felt that he has the clear ability to enunciate and carry out a program dedicated to eliminate the complacency facing America, but he warned that a Nixon running on Ike's record without more was a Nixon anathema to liberal thinkers. While Cogley voiced his belief as to Nixon's potential, he wondered whether Nixon or "Madison Avenue" would prevail, i.e., would Nixon be bold enough to speak honestly and clearly even if it meant an attack on his party and on Ike.

I repeat these comments both because they were greatly applauded by a large audience and because I know them to be representative of the liberal intellectual's thought processes.

III. YR State Federation Meeting, Charlotte, North Carolina, April 1st - 3rd.
Banquet with Senator Barry Goldwater as Guest Speaker.

Approximately 200 YR's gathered in Charlotte for their annual meeting to which I was asked to speak. (See Exhibit C).

I talked to the group about the changing South and the potentialities of the Republican Party in North Carolina, stressing that the surest way to continue the building of a two-party system was by capturing the White House again. I then spoke about their task in getting Southern Democratic votes for Nixon--citing a recent North Carolina poll which showed Nixon tying Kennedy and ahead of all but Johnson; this poll is especially interesting since Ike did not carry the State in either 1952 or 1956.

In informal talk later, a persistent and disturbing query came up which Senator Goldwater later defined in his talk--was Nixon really a true Republican anymore? While most agreed that Nixon needed independent votes to win, would he be victor or was he already the captive of the "liberal left"? Goldwater repeated this, and in what I regarded as a very disturbing talk, he stated that the Republicans would never win if they "altered" their views in order to capture the uncommitted. A true Republican, he stated, would rather lose but maintain his principles whereas the misguided Republican sacrifices his principles to attract a group of voters whose philosophy ultimately will destroy the Party.

While Goldwater did not mention Nixon by name here, his implication was clear and was taken by the audience to mean Nixon. Indeed, while he urged all to support the local ticket--citing all the candidates by name--he did not specifically mention Nixon except to note that he had disagreed with him on several issues. In effect, Goldwater urged all these people, in the name of what I thought was a poorly and illogically defined credo of conservatism, to stay away from the liberal Republican and independent voter. To attract such a person, even if it means victory, was not proper conduct on the part of the "True Republican".

Goldwater told me that he has and will continue to make this kind of speech to many audiences. I regard his talk as unfortunate for it enflames a latent sensation among Southerners that Nixon is too liberal and that further support of him by liberals will defeat their own interests. Whether such Republicans can be counted on to help swing over Democratic votes in the South is, in my view, an open question.

Various YR's here in Charlotte also asked about plans for a National Youth for Nixon Movement.

April 4, 1960

Mrs. Rita E. Hauser
Box 7398
Washington 4, D. C.

Dear Rita:

I certainly enjoyed having you with us at the meeting of the Young Republican club at the University of Virginia last week. I am sure that your travels in behalf of Vice-President Nixon's campaign will be most helpful to his cause.

With all good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

JOHN N. DALTON

JND/s

(B)

ONE YOUNG NORTH CAROLINA YOUNG REPUBLICAN



NEWS

The Official Publication Of The North Carolina Young Republicans

VOL. 7 NO. 1

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, JANUARY - FEBRUARY, 1960

\$1.00 A Year

CALL TO CONVENTION

The Green Light

By JERRY GREEN

The North Carolina Young Republicans 1960 State Convention will be held in Charlotte, N. C. on April 1 and 2. The Mecklenburg County Young Republican Club will play host at the Charlotte Hotel. A lot of color and a wonderful program is being planned. Make your plans now to attend. A lot of YRs are doing a lot of work to give you the best convention ever. All we need to be successful is you.

We are extremely fortunate in having Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona as our main speaker at the banquet following the Convention. He will be introduced by our own Congressman Charles R. Jonas. Mrs. Judy Fernald of Upper Montclair, N. J., Co-Chairman of the National Federation of Young Republicans, will be the keynote speaker at the Convention. Take my word for it, she is tops and those of you who do not know her really have a treat ahead. Dr. Rita E. Hauser, a Young Republican in Vice President Nixon's office will also speak at the Convention on candidates and issues.

Registration will begin Friday afternoon, April 1st. There will

Program Committee: Mr. Jerry K. Green, 2905 Chelsea Drive, Charlotte, N. C.; Miss Frances Ratcliff, Pantego, N. C.

Sponsoring Club: Mecklenburg County Young Republican Club.

Local Committee Chairman: General Arrangements: Mr. Graham W. Soufers (President of Meck. County Young Republican Club) 3017 Pinley Place, Charlotte, N. C.

Registration: Mrs. Patricia Ferguson, 2125 Weyland Ave., Charlotte, N. C.

Tickets: Mr. Paul L. Walters, Jr., 3524 Robinson Circle, Charlotte, N. C.

Decorations and Flowers: Mr. John T. McLean, 1111 W. 10th St., Charlotte, N. C.





Forget, Hell!

YR's Parade For Nixon

YR's and the Becklen High School broke up the State Republican convention in Raleigh February 27th with a swinging singing demonstration for Vice-President Richard M. Nixon.

At the conclusion of the keynote by Senator Thurston Morton, the Honorable Sim DeLapp of Lexington moved that the convention go on record as supporting the candidacy of Mr. Nixon for President of the United States and the YR's and Becklen took over to the tune of "Dixie" and "The Saints

Go Marching In." They paraded up and down the aisles of Raleigh's Memorial auditorium carrying signs reading "We want Nixon", "Carolina for Nixon", "Dixie for Nixon", "Nixon and Jones" and carrying high pictures of our Vice President.

Two bands played, the pages marched, the old folks joined in, the County banners became a part of the parade, and for nearly ten minutes the delegates demonstrated their support for Mr. Nixon. Many of the delegates said it was the liveliest convention in years.

Republicans Friday night in the Kuester Room of the Charlotte Hotel. Following this the YR Executive Committee will meet and the County clubs will have endorses. The Declaration Contest will be Saturday morning. Registration will also continue Saturday morning along with more endorsing. The Convention will take place in the Chelsea Room, Saturday afternoon at 1:30 p.m. and will see your new officers elected. The Banquet will be held in the main ballroom Saturday night. We anticipate a top capacity crowd and we recommend that you purchase your tickets early.

This is your Convention! The following Committee Chairmen will greatly appreciate your comments, suggestions and inquiries. Won't you let them hear from you?

1960 Young Republican Convention Committee Chairman: Mrs. Marjorie G. Robinsonville, N. C.; Mrs. H. M. Smith, Rt. 2, Box 112, Silver Spring, N. C. Co-Chairman:

Platform Committee: Mr. Bob Williams, 1019 S. Mary Street, Raleigh, N. C.

Declaration Contest: Mr. Warren H. Coolidge, School of Law, Manning Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Charters: Mr. David Morton, 171 McAlway Road, Charlotte, N. C.

Publishing Committee: Miss Stella Rutledge, Box 390, Wilson, N. C.

Resolutions Committee: Mr. Alan Potter, 2500 Westmoreland, Greensboro, N. C.; Mr. Ed McCollum, 1704 Ashbury Terrace, Greensboro, N. C.

Constitution Committee: Mr. Edwin L. Porterfield, Rt. 1, Bellingham, N. C.

Finance Committee: Miss

Sharon Goldstein, Dorothy E. Fisher, P. O. Box 1187, Charlotte, N. C.; Awards Committee: Mrs. Frances Yow, Box 1004, Greensboro, N. C.

Cobb Addresses UNC YR Club

"Every device being used to keep the Republican Party out of the North Carolina political scene forever," stated William S. Cobb, state chairman of the Republican Party in North Carolina, in an address to University of North Carolina students March 11. "But," he stressed, "it won't work."

Cobb, who was sponsored by the UNC Young Republican Club, reminded his audience that there is a tremendous opportunity for interested young people to get in on the ground work of "what may well be the dominant party in North Carolina in a few years. You can win in North Carolina as a Republican if you really want to."

Citing the state Administration's failure to act on the Madison County bond referendum scandal, state legislative district reapportionment, dishonesty in handling absentee ballots, and improper practices at polls, Cobb charged the Democratic Party with corruption, deceit, and dishonest political maneuvering.

Cobb called on the people of the state to "stick your nose in the situation, look at it, do something about it. It is a matter of history that when people need and want a change, they get it."

W. W. Hickson, Drive, Charlotte, N. C.; Banquet: Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Smith, 1112 Drummond Ave., Charlotte, N. C.; Publisher: Mr. Steve Davis, 444 Mammoth Oaks Drive, Charlotte, N. C.

Deadline For Declaration Contestants Now

The Annual High School Declaration Contest, sponsored by the North Carolina Young Republican Federation, will be held at 8:30 a.m. Saturday, April 16, 1960, 1900A Chambers, Charlotte, N. C.

You are urged to arrange to have at least one representative from your county participate in this contest. These contests have proven to be exceptionally worthwhile and serve to stimulate interest on the part of high school students in the essentials of representative government and the basic fundamentals of the Republican Party. We must not forget that today's students will be the leaders of tomorrow.

The title of the contest this year is "WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN DO FOR NORTH CAROLINA." An organization or an individual may sponsor any contestant. If a student may enter on his or her own initiative.

The first prize will be \$20.00, second prize \$30.00, and third prize \$15.00. The first prize winner will deliver the declaration at the State Lincoln Day Dinner the evening of April 16.

Rules for the contest are as follows:

1. The title is "WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN DO FOR NORTH CAROLINA."

(Continued on Page 2)

MEMORANDUM

March 9, 1960

SUBJECT: Organisation of Independents and Democrats for Nixon

The basic organizational unit I envisage is a state-wide one--with local subdivisions. For certain categories of people whose support will be difficult to obtain, e.g., academics, I am of the view that a nation-wide grouping is also imperative to give added prestige and to glean the maximum publicity effect.

The way in which to start this organizational work must be firstly, through personal contact with key people who are nominally Independents or Democrats and whose support for Nixon is known. These names can be gathered in part from among us here in Washington. For example, I have a file of names of top academic figures that have been given to me by reliable sources such as Arthur Burns, Malcolm Moos and Neil Cotter, among others. Secondly, there are many other professional contacts, legal contacts, etc., that I can personally make from my own knowledge. And, thirdly, I would suggest that we contact the administrative assistant of every Republican Senator and Congressman to get from them the names of doctors, lawyers, businessmen, academics, etc., who, in their view, might be amenable to supporting Nixon and those who would also agree to head a committee for that end. The A.A.s are good sources since they generally greet and handle visiting delegations representing different groups. If we build up enough of a name list in each grouping, we can go forth to make contact with the person or persons who will head the committees and gather others in.

The key to the success of this whole picture is, in my view, the picking of the best men to head the state committees, and by best, I mean not only a name figure but one who will, directly or via an assistant, get others in the state lined up. Thus, the state chairman should be able to himself pick out the best people in each key community in the state who will do the job locally. And, in this way, the control work here can be effective by pressure down on the state chairmen.

Recommendations

1) The first thing is to decide which groupings we want, i.e., we should decide on the basic breakdown of interest groups (lawyers, doctors, retailers, academics, housewives, etc.)

2) Once we have the groupings we should amass names from all sources we know for every state. No opportunity to get such names should be missed. For example, I've been asked to address the Republican group in Charlottesville, Virginia, and the state IN Convention in North Carolina--both at the end of this month. On both these occasions, I want to talk to people whose names have been suggested to me, and while there, get other names. Similarly, each time our field men go out they should be asked to inquire about Independents or Democrats who are favorable to Nixon.

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talk about Nixon's stand on the Connally Resolution. Women Independents might talk about Nixon and education. All these groups should be fed detailed information on Nixon on all these issues, be provided with an expert or academic speaker in the state who is a part of another state grouping for Nixon. (This, by the way, is a good method for attracting academics who like to feel their abilities are being utilized).

I think these step-by-step arrangements should be commenced as soon as possible. It's a long haul to amass the names, make the contacts, etc., so that the groups can be activated right after the nomination.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanigan
cc: Bob Finch

FROM: Rita E. Hauser

SUBJECT: Youth Panels For Nixon

March 10, 1960

As indicated in my memorandum on the subject of February 9, I am of the view that we ought to set up several Youth Panels for Nixon on a regional or state-wide basis which would begin to operate shortly before the commencement of the Fall, 1960 semester. These panels would be composed of four or five senior or graduate students in each region, with varied backgrounds (urban, rural), race and religion, who are mature and articulate speakers knowledgeable in the campaign issues, Nixon's positions, his background, etc.

The panels would go out to "perform" before selected audiences such as school-parent associations, civic clubs, business clubs and church groups on selected topics of interest to the particular audience. In effect, the panel would compose a kind of round table discussion group, with someone charged to state the problem and another or others the differing views of Nixon and the Democratic candidate. An open discussion about the merits of Nixon's position vis-a-vis that of his opponent would follow;

The moderator^{OR} should, preferably, be the chairman or key member of the inviting audience group. A question and answer session should follow the discussion, for therein is the best chance for the group to show its skills and knowledge and to thus capture the audience.

The problems in setting up these panels break down into several: choice of region, choice of panelists, preparation of panelists, arranging and selecting engagements for them, publicity.

1) Choice of region.

It is my view that these panels which, after all, reflect the interest of youth in Nixon, should be tied into the general organization of the various volunteer groups for Nixon outlined in my other memorandum of today. In fact, the youth panels could well be a means of attracting older Independents and Democrats to the Nixon ranks by virtue of their excellent performance and general independence of view (since not too many young people are died-in-the-wool Republicans).

It is my feeling that the best organization would be state-wide; the chairmen of the various state groupings of Volunteers for Nixon could then call on them to perform when requested or arrange for their being requested and thereby achieve a coordination of activities. In addition, students are often not able to take off a semester or school days at length; by maintaining a state-wide geography their traveling time would be lessened and costs reduced.

2) Choice of panelists.

Here is a task which, in my view, can only be done on a personal knowledge or recommendation basis since the panelists must have more than good intelligence--they must be personable, vocally quick on their feet and, generally, attractive in an all-around way. They must have audience appeal.

We can begin the nucleus of names of good people by drawing on the lists Carol Dawson has. She knows many college people and can thus help with the initial orientation toward the right ones. Then, secondly, we should utilize the help of the various academies who will be forming the state Academies for Nixon group. These professors who are favorable to Nixon will not only be able to tell us which students are pro-Nixon, but they can give detailed information about their abilities, intellectual and forensic, energies, etc.

I would also urge that one of the Academies for Nixon be named faculty adviser to the panel in each state; he can help the group in all their preparations, sit in on initial rehearsals, and, generally, give critical suggestions.

These two general sources here outlined should provide us with enough in the way of names from which to choose. As a practical matter, it may be impossible for someone here to go out and personally designate each panel, but I would imagine that the delegation of this task to the right academician would do the trick provided he is carefully filled in on what we want to derive from the panel.

3) Preparation of panelists.

Preparation should be in the form of special work sheets on each substantive issue which would be prepared here and which would be supplemented by all sorts of documentation from government and other private sources. This is to assure us that the panelists know the issues and are capable of answering questions in depth. Special attention, of course, would be given to Nixon's views on all these matters. I also think that you can rely heavily on a good faculty assistance--give him the subjects, and if he's able, he'll develop a first class briefing. Ideally, this could take place a week or ten days before school begins in the fall.

Guiding lines for these local briefings would be taken from a Washington briefing given to a pilot panel here in Washington. (See Number 5).

4) Arranging and selecting engagements for them.

The local chairmen of the volunteer Nixon groups should be encouraged to set up engagements for the panels. This can be done by sending them selected topics for the panels and urging them to choose subjects of interest to their members. Coordination should be achieved through the offices of the faculty adviser who would do the actual arranging of specific dates, places, etc. I think detailed work must be done locally; encouragement and incentive should come from here.

The panels, then, become a roving source of information and discussion--educative and stimulating.

5) Publicity.

Very effective national publicity should be given to the panels to kick them off with a bang. I think this can be best done by selecting a local D. C. panel from the colleges here--start the publicity as soon as the panel is chosen. Then set up a model briefing for them through meetings with many Republican officials through lectures by competent professional people--in effect, a political leadership school of minor size.

This should last for a week. Then, anyone of the D. C. volunteer groups would invite them to perform on a given subject; the presence of Nixon to offer some encouraging words would be a great stimulus. And, if this idea is so novel in political campaign history, the press and magazines would not be adverse to reporting it as news rather than as a straight partisan activity. I would suggest mid-August as a good time.

The briefing sessions should be stenotyped and then copies distributed to all other state groups as a guide. The actual panel discussion should be taped and also distributed, if not recorded and sent out to each state panel. In this way, a general guide would be made available to local panels.

REH/hr

MEMORANDUM

TO: FILES

FROM: Rita E. Hauser

March 15, 1960

SUBJECT: Talk to YR Club of Montgomery County, Maryland,
Monday, March 14, 1960

There was a record turnout of almost 100 members due largely to the fact that club elections were held.

I talked to the group about how they, as confirmed Republicans, could meet the task of convincing others outside the Party as to why they should vote for Nixon. Thus, in my talk, I demonstrated Nixon's affirmative qualifications for office: ability, consistent philosophy and voting record, political acumen, experience, etc.

Of much greater interest, however, was the question and answer session for it demonstrated that even among confirmed Republicans there are great gaps of knowledge about Nixon. Few knew anything of his voting record or his stand on issues--for example, one question was "Why is Nixon against education?" The questioner was apparently surprised to learn of Nixon's public position and his votes on prior education bills.

As usual, people questioned me about the "Tricky Dicky" problem; to my surprise, even this group didn't know the elementary facts about the earlier campaigns. One chap told me that Costello had addressed this group a few months earlier and he repeated some of the "facts" about the earlier campaigns which Costello had cited. The ones repeated to me were at best half-truths and at most were just lies. Yet a good number were convinced that Nixon was in fact "tricky" or "dirty" and that this was an issue to be avoided when questioned by others. In other words, these people felt that evasion of the issue might be best.

After answering their questions on this matter frankly and squarely, several people told me that they for the first time realized there were answers; I noticed several taking notes in an obvious attempt to get some facts. Several members expressed their appreciation for the frankness.

Although I do agree that information on the "dirty Dick" issue should not be distributed indiscriminately, I am convinced that some facts on this must, in one way or another, be made available to those who are expected to sell our cause.

REH/hr

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Flanigan
cc: Bob Finch

FROM: Rita E. Hauser

March 14, 1960

SUBJECT: Organisation of Local Committees of the Arts and Sciences for Nixon

Whereas the non-differentiation of the various professions and business interests that may be represented in any given local Volunteers for Nixon group is desirable, it does seem to me that there is strong reason to segregate, so to speak, those following the truly intellectual or artistic pursuits from the general category of volunteers. The impact of an important professional figure, for example, is not particularly felt when he is part of a large undifferentiated group and his name is hardly salient from a publicity standpoint. However, the grouping together of an impressive roster of topflight academicians, artists, writers, scientists, etc., certainly has great weight and per se can pull in others of similar talents. Perhaps more in the university than anywhere else, there is a strong desire on the part of academicians to propogate their "elite" qualities and when joining a group to find similar elites. If we can manage to pull together in each state a group of well-known and distinguished academic and artistic figures, I have no doubt that such a group would be both impressive to the general public and would serve to attract other "independent" thinkers who would find comfort in knowing they belong to a group, the members of which they respect and admire.

For these reasons, I am of the firm view that we ought to establish a Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Nixon in each state (with appropriate "chapters" throughout). This can be publicized eventually, i.e., just before Election Day, as a national grouping as well, but in the initial stages the group should be no broader than state-wide in order that the task of enlisting the maximum support can be achieved.

Concrete Steps to be Taken To Organize These Groups

1. The first and very immediate task is that of developing as complete a list as possible of academicians, artists, writers, etc., who are known or are thought to be pro-Nixon. These people will have to be the link to many others now unknown to us. Over the last month, I have accumulated the following names of academics from various reliable sources:

1. Houston I. Flourney, Claremont College for Men,
Claremont, California
2. David R. Durge, Indiana University, Bloomington,
Indiana
3. Carl A. Lamb, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Michigan
4. Rolfe Fgelstad, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.
5. Dwight Waldo, University of California at Berkeley
6. Philip S. Wilder, Jr., Wabash College, Crawfordville,
Indiana
7. James K. Pollack, University of Michigan, Ann
Arbor, Michigan
8. Paul McCracken, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Michigan
9. Dr. Anspagh, Michigan Central, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
10. John Hanna, M. State University, Michigan
11. Charles W. Shull, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
12. Father Hessberg, Notre Dame, Illinois
13. George Johnson, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
14. Robert Storey, former Dean, Southern Methodist U.
Law School, Dallas, Texas
15. H. C. Amick, University of Tennessee
16. Paul Sanders, Vanderbilt Univ., Tennessee
17. Walter de Vries, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Mich.
18. Dr. Phil Secor, Dickinson College, Carlyle, Pa.
19. Mrs. Daniel Carr, Dean Dyckman Vermilye, Rollins
College, Winter Park, Florida
20. Prof. Gilbert Richardson, Leo Rockwell, C. R.
Simboli, Florida Southern, Lakeland, Florida
21. Tobin, University of Miami
22. Dean John Olofson, John Johns, Stetson University,
Deland, Florida
23. Eli Ginsberg, Columbia University, School of Business,
New York City
24. S. Baron, Columbia University
25. Milton Freedman, University of Chicago
26. Dr. Rabi, Columbia University
27. Neil H. Jacoby, School of Business, U.C.L.A.
28. Leo Wohlman, emeritus, Columbia University
29. Arthur Sutherland, Harvard Law School
30. Dean Erwin Griswald, Harvard Law School
31. Dr. May, Univ. of Rochester, New York
32. Brinton Thompson, Larry Lawll, Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.

I have asked Dr. Neil Cotter, of the Republican National Committee, who is now touring various universities to set up visits for teams of Congressmen, to ask about informally as to who on the campus is pro-Nixon. He promises to supply me with a long list of names on his return. Similarly, when I visit the University of Virginia and Duke University at the end of this month to address Young Republican groups, I will compile as many names of Nixon supporters as I can; I have already asked Arthur Larson to think about those academicians he knows who are pro-Nixon and we plan to discuss this in detail when I visit with him at Duke.

I would also immediately talk to professional people now in the Administration, such as Malcolm Moos, Raymond Saulnier, Alan Wallis, John Hamlin, Father Cronin, and get names they know as well as leads to other sources in the Government. I would also contact such key people as Arthur Burns (who has promised me more names), and Lon Fuller and Arthur Sutherland of the Harvard Law School for other top law professors' names.

And lastly, I would ask Len Hall for a copy of the CASE list (Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Eisenhower), and write, phone, etc., every name on the list known to me or the above-mentioned sources to be pro-Nixon in order to derive more names.

Moreover, I would personally talk to the administrative assistant of the Republican Senators from the major university states: New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California, to round out the list of names.

This first step should be begun immediately. One source will lead to the next, and it will take a few weeks, then, to develop a really complete list which, ideally, should give us top people in each state. I might add that the list and the organization will be geared mainly to academicians; people purely in the arts, i.e., those without a university connection, are centered primarily in New York and California and I will deal with their organization separately.

2. Armed with this list, I would call a meeting of a group of people directly concerned with our goals who can evaluate the names on the list and make recommendations as to possible state chairmen. Hopefully, we would have names from every state. I would include in this meeting, if available, Moos, Cotter, Burns, Fuller, Larson, and Father Cronin, since all these people cannot only evaluate but will do so as dedicated Nixon believers. They would constitute an advisory group.

The state chairman should be, in my view, a man of high prestige and excellent academic standing. He should, however, have an assistant--a junior faculty person--who will do most of the leg work in organizing others in the state. Thus, if you name a man like Lon Fuller at Harvard (who now leads the Harvard for Nixon Club) as Massachusetts state chairman, he could run down the faculty roster of every college in Massachusetts and pick out people he thinks would be amenable to Nixon or those, in turn, who would know still others. His task would be to write, phone, etc., all these people and ask them to join the CASN in his state and to get others to join. Of course, the physical work would be done by the assistant; the chairman's name, however, lends the weight. Thus, a man like Fuller could approach Dean Griswold. And if in some cases the chairman feels a direct contact from Nixon is needed, he would so inform us. The chairman, therefore, must be a thoroughly knowledgeable man in academic circles for he really, in this schema, has the responsibility of getting others to join.

Where a state has many universities which form a community unto themselves--e.g., Harvard, Yale--then I think it would be advisable to delegate a chairman for such a university because interest then will be university-wide rather than state-wide. Again, the choice of local university chairmen should be up to the state chairman who would make the contact.

The naming of state chairmen should take place, if possible, by mid-May before the close of the spring semester. This would give the state chairmen and assistants time to work on the organization during their vacation time. Hopefully, these state committees (CASN) should be ready to roll into action by the opening of the fall semester. The best way to approach these potential state chairmen is the following: We should designate a nationally-known academician as national chairman; here, I would strongly recommend Arthur Burns who has expressed to me his willingness to take the job. The national chairman would write or call the people suggested by the advisory group as good material. If any of the advisory group personally knows a candidate, he, of course, could make the request on a personal basis. I would say that this kind of approach should more than accomplish the task.

3. I am of the belief that many an academician will not join a committee if he thinks he is merely being approached for his name alone and, thus, indirectly, the name of his university. If, however, you can make him feel he will be used somehow in the campaign, his attitude will alter. And there is reason to use his talents!

The Executive Secretary or coordinator of this whole program, working, I take it, from this office, should in the very early fall contact the chairmen of all Volunteer Nixon groups in each state and inform them of the existence of the state CASN, give them

the name of the chairman and of his assistant, and then urge them to call on the CASH for speakers, explanations of issues, etc. There will be, in effect, a ready-made source of information waiting in each state--the CASH, which can supply an extraordinary service. In this way, we use the academics and make them feel that Nixon and the Republicans generally appreciate their talents (which many do not now feel) and, further, we service the volunteer groups and thus facilitate their meetings, rallies, etc.

4. In order to be sure that each chairman is doing his work well, we need a person here such as I described (a coordinator or Executive Secretary to the National Chairman) who will follow up on all this. Sometime in early October, a check of the major states should be personally made to see that each chairman is active, has all he needs, etc., and the coordinator, of course, helps solve any problems that arise in each state. I do believe the coordinator should be a person of some academic achievement who knows the university scene and a good number of academic figures.

5. As to the non-academic artist, writer, etc., here the organizational work is more limited as the group is small and contact must be personal. I would choose a top name, male and female person here--one on the east coast and one on the west--as assistant chairmen to the national chairman (an academician, as noted above) to contact personally, with the help of self-chosen assistants if needed, others in the arts.

For example, Helen Hayes, Irene Dunne, Henry Fonda, James Stewart, are good possibilities. We would not, in general, be expecting any direct help from the art-world people on our state committees; their main function would be to lend their name to a cause they believe in. The names on the CASE list would be a good starting point.

As you can see from this memorandum, I think that the major task of organization is among the university people especially since so many key people there are anti-Nixon. This organizational task will be a hard one for university people will not flock to the state committee for Nixon as they would were it F.D.R.; we are all aware of the fact that much of the suspicion about Nixon centers at the University. I would strongly urge that we begin work on this immediately and that the coordinator do this largely as a full-time task.

As you know, I am amenable to and interested in this task, and would be pleased to work on it if thought able for it.

REH/hr