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STATEMENT ON THE ECONOMY BY WALTER W. HELLER, CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

before the
DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM COMMITTEE
Sheraton Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.
August 18, 1964

The record of economic progress you have given me an opportunity to review with you today is unmatched in America's peacetime annals. Our economy is in its 42nd month of unbroken advance, and still moving strongly upward. Since the Democratic Administration took office early in 1961:

- . Americans are earning \$86 billion more income annually -- and industry is pouring out 28% more goods.
- . The average American has gained \$300 in annual personal income after taxes.
- . More than 4 million additional jobs have been created, bringing unemployment below 5% for the first time since early 1960.
- . We are enjoying a gigantic gain in the total flow of goods and services (our Gross National Product). I am confident that the gain of \$117 billion (annual rate) from early 1961 to the April-June quarter of this year will mount to more than \$125 billion in the current quarter -- an advance of some 20%, in stable dollars.

In other words, our economy today is producing one-fifth more goods and services than it was just 3-1/2 years ago. This is a towering achievement.

But standing alone, it does not tell us:

- . How far we have moved toward full use of our great human and material potential -- toward our stated goals of faster growth and full employment.
- . How well our policies have, at the same time, served the stated ends of price stability and restored confidence in the dollar.
- . How widely the vast gains and opportunities of the past 3-1/2 years have been shared.
- . How effectively we have strengthened freedom of competitive markets and consumer choice.

In the course of reviewing our remarkable economic expansion, the policies out of which it grew, and the prospects for sustaining our stable prosperity, I hope to provide the Platform Committee with a fuller view of the advances we have made and the nature of the task that still lies ahead.

The 1961-64 Expansion

We are in the midst of an economic expansion that is remarkable for its length, its strength, its moderation, its breadth and balance. Or, as Business Week put it recently: "At mid-1964, U.S. business finds itself in the midst of an upswing that's changing everybody's thoughts about what a free enterprise economy can do . . . the U.S. economy is now writing a wholly new record of stable growth." (See addendum, "A well-tempered boom.")

Length: Our 1961-64 economic advance -- 42 months old, yet full of new vitality flowing from the tax cut -- has outlasted all other peacetime expansions (with the sole exception of the partial recovery from The Great Depression in 1933-37, which ended with 14% unemployment).

This will be the first Administration in over a century unmarred by recession or depression.

Our record is all the more impressive in its sharp reversal of the alarming economic trend from 1953 to 1960, a period marked by

- 3 recessions totaling 30 months of downswing;
- progressively shorter and weaker recoveries;
- a serious slowdown in our rate of growth.

Strength: Figures at the outset of my statement attest to the striking strength of our current prosperity. The appended table, "Ten Key Economic Gains," provides further particulars. I wish to add only one startling comparison.

By the time the first 4-year term of this Administration is completed in the first quarter of 1965, I look forward to a gross national product of some \$640 to \$650 billion -- a massive gain approaching \$150 billion in 4 years. When we measure it in constant dollars (that is when we screen out all of the price changes of the past dozen years) the 4-year rise in real output during one Democratic term will exceed the entire 8-year rise in real output during the two Republican terms that preceded it. Even when cast into percentage terms, the average annual advance in real output during these Kennedy-Johnson years -- namely, 5% -- has nearly doubled the

average annual gains of 2 to 3% recorded during the Republican years. No other statistic can attest so eloquently to the fact that this country has indeed been moving again since January 1961.

Moderation: Avoidance of excesses has been a keynote of private economic policy -- as it has of government policy -- in the present expansion. It has been a major factor in avoiding the distortions that have so often brought past upswings to an untimely end. But this time:

- . Speculation has been at a minimum.
- . Managers have been alert, economizing, and orderly in their control of inventories, and measured in gearing their investments in plant and equipment to demand for their output, rather than overreaching their markets.
- . They have not relaxed their close control of costs, their pursuit of efficiency.
- . In general accord with the Administration's price-wage guideposts:
 - prices have been set with an eye to volume and longer-run competitive considerations.
 - wage increases, through responsible joint action by labor and management, have, on the average, hewed close to the line of national productivity gains.

As a result of such moderation and restraint, one does not find in this expansion the telltale signs of self-destruction.

Breadth and balance: Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is the balance and evenhandedness of the 1961-64 expansion. This, in turn, reflects the multiple goals of Administration economic policies. Progress on one front has not been pursued nor purchased at the expense of another.

Advances in employment and production have not come at the expense of price stability, nor has the step-up in domestic expansion ruled out sharp progress in cutting the balance of payments deficit and the gold outflow.

We have avoided the pitfalls of one-dimensional or single-track economics -- of serving one goal to the neglect or sacrifice of others. Instead, for the first time since the war, and, indeed, for one of the few times in history -- we have moved toward all of our important economic goals simultaneously:

- . Full employment: -- unemployment has been whittled down from 7% of the labor force early in 1961 to 4.9% last month -- far from good enough, but July was the first month in 4-1/2 years and only the second in 7 years in which we have dropped below 5%.
- . Faster growth: -- the economy has expanded, as already noted, at roughly twice the pace of the preceding 8 years.
- . Price stability: -- with wholesale prices still below their level of 3-1/2 years ago when the expansion began, and with consumer prices edging upward slowly, this country has compiled a record of cost and price stability in the sixties that is the envy of the world -- no other industrial country has been able to match it.

- . Restored confidence in the dollar: -- our balance of payments deficit has been more than cut in half, from an annual average of \$3.9 billion in 1958-60, to less than \$1.8 billion in the year ended June 30 (even without taking account of special transactions); and our gold losses have been cut, over the same span, from \$1.7 billion per year to \$0.1 billion.

The breadth and balance of our economic advance is also reflected in the striking gains made by labor, by business, and by agriculture -- not one at the expense of another -- but all three sharing strongly in the benefits of rising productivity, falling costs, and lower taxes, within a framework of basic price stability.

- . Labor has benefitted not only from nearly 5 million added non-farm jobs, but from a gain of over \$55 billion in take-home pay (wages and salaries after taxes). The average weekly pay check, after taxes, of a manufacturing production worker rose 16%, even after price correction -- the biggest rise of any postwar upswing.
- . Business has gained from an unparalleled rise of \$12 billion in corporate profits after taxes (annual rate) -- a rise of more than 60% -- from the 1st quarter of 1961 to the 2nd quarter of 1964. American economic history offers no better illustration of how handsomely business can prosper without doing so at the expense of either consumers or labor. For the main sources of these surging gains in profits have been neither higher prices nor stunted wages. Rather they are the result of sharp-pencilled management working in a context of expanding markets conditioned by favorable tax policies.

- . Agriculture also gained steadily, as net income per farm rose 17% from 1960 to 1963 and net farm income per capita in 1961-63 averaged 1/3 higher than in the years 1953-60.

Government Policies for Prosperity with Stability

If the economy's performance has been unmatched in America's economic annals, if the contributions of management and labor to stable expansion have been unparalleled, it must also be said that Federal economic action -- the efforts of the Administration and the Congress -- have been unprecedented in striking a policy balance that is

- modern, yet moderate;
- pathbreaking, yet prudent;
- dedicated to the pursuit of the public interest, yet determined to protect private freedom.

The shift from the faltering course of the previous 8 years to the firm upward trend of the present 4 did not "just happen." Rather, it arose from

- . an appreciation of the vast potential of the American economy;
- . a deep commitment to tap its latent powers -- to end the needless waste of idle men and machines -- by positive use of fiscal and monetary instruments;
- . effective working relationships within Government marked by personal harmony and a spirit of consensus;

- . a constructive partnership with private enterprise -- with the leadership of labor and business -- in formulating and putting through such essential policy measures as tax reduction.

At the core of our successful expansionary policy are

- fiscal measures which have successfully blended consumer and investment stimulus, and
- monetary measures which have successfully coupled relative ease domestically with relative tightness internationally. These will be discussed at greater length by Secretary Dillon in his statement.

Fiscal and monetary policies have been steadily but prudently expansionary. They have avoided the "off-again, on-again" pattern of earlier years that thwarted expansions and triggered recession.

In the early phases of the 1961-64 expansion, military and civilian expenditure programs -- soundly conceived in the national interest -- contributed to the strong recovery. But the major thrust in policy for 1964-65 is coming from a tax reduction. In combination with the business tax incentive measures of 1962, it is cutting the liabilities of both individuals and corporations by nearly one-fifth. This major move toward "fiscal fitness in the Sixties"

- is removing the "fiscal drag" which tends to develop as the powerful Federal tax system each year -- on the average, at normal growth rates -- generates \$6 billion more revenue than in the preceding year.

- is providing an initial stimulus of over \$8 billion to consumer purchasing power, together with a major strengthening of business incentives;
- is creating a healthy climate for expanding private economic activity and is broadening the range of freedom of consumer and investor choice;
- and, in restoring the vitality of our free economy, is also restoring the prospect for a balanced budget in a balanced economy.

Side-by-side with a stimulative fiscal policy has been a generally accommodating monetary policy. It is true that short-term rates have had to be pushed up to prevent the outflows of volatile funds that would have weakened the dollar. But long-term rates have been held remarkably stable in the face of vigorous and prolonged expansion. Housing credit, in particular, has remained ample under the Administration's credit policies -- mortgage rates, even after 3-1/2 years of strong growth and high levels of housing activity, are below their levels of early 1961 when the expansion began.

These measures to stimulate consumer and investment demand were essential to strengthen the markets and create the job opportunities needed to put the American economy back on its course toward full potential. But alone, they cannot suffice to meet the pressing structural problems that afflict particular segments of the population, particular geographical areas, and particular industries. Among the many measures taken to alleviate these problems are:

- . The Area Redevelopment Act and Accelerated Public Works -- to help depressed areas;
- . The Manpower Development and Training Act, the Vocational Education Act, improvements in the Federal-State Employment Service, and the like -- to train workers for, and help them find, available jobs.
- . The Civil Rights Act and the Economic Opportunity Act (the anti-poverty program) -- to meet the special problems of discrimination and distress that are so incongruous in a prospering America.

Effective policies have also been followed to cut our balance of payments deficit and our gold outflow -- policies which Secretary Dillon will discuss. At the same time, antitrust policies have struck at collusive price fixing and restrictive mergers, and trade policies have kept the sword of import competition sharp. Besides maintaining a strong competitive atmosphere and avoiding any overheating of the economy, the Administration has encouraged private price and wage decision makers to act voluntarily in the public interest by complying with its price-wage guideposts.

The picture of well-rounded policy that emerges is not complete without at least a brief catalogue of the missteps that have been avoided, the self-defeating policies that have been rejected by the Administration:

- . excessive tightening of credit in an attempt to remedy the balance of payments -- which would have retarded domestic growth and risked recession;

- . reckless attempts to force the budget into balance in a slack economy by cutting expenditures deeply, delaying a tax cut, or even raising taxes -- which could have turned slack into recession;
- . giving all of the tax cut to consumers with the mistaken idea that strengthening consumer demand would do the whole job -- or, alternatively, giving it all to business with the mistaken idea that one can successfully expand investment without at the same time fortifying consumer markets;
- . cutting taxes even more, or combining the tax cut with a large spending increase, which would have given an excessive boost to total demand, -- one that might have triggered an unsustainable spurt, bottlenecks, and inflation.

The Economic Outlook and Our Unfinished Business

Let me turn briefly to the prospects for the economy. In a sense, by reviewing the record of today, I have already been discussing the outlook for tomorrow, because in economics -- reversing Shakespeare for a moment -- past events cast their shadows ahead.

And in the three recessions from 1953 to 1960 there was always the shadow of one of several things: overhanging excess inventory, or continuing inflation, or a wage-price spiral, or tight money, or sharp cutbacks in government procurement, or a tax system that was tightening its grip and in effect undercutting consumer markets and investment.

But today's economic landscape is essentially free of these shadows. Instead the tax cut has brought youth and zest to a lengthy expansion without sowing the wild oats of inflation. We look forward to continuing strong expansion into 1965 as we ride the rising tide of private investment and consumer buying generated by the Revenue Act of 1964.

Impressive accomplishments and bright prospects serve as proof that we have been keeping faith with the American people -- but they do not complete our economic agenda. For looking down the list, we still find a large program of unfinished business.

The business of economic policy is, of course, never finished. No matter how good the record, threats to cost and price stability always lurk in a vigorously growing and prosperous economy. And no matter how long and strong the expansion, past history tells us we must reckon at some time in the future with the danger of slowdown or even recession. To meet those dangers of the future, we need to reaffirm our commitments to take the measures needed to sustain stable prosperity.

But we need not look to the future to find pressing unfinished business of economic and human concern:

- . We take pride in reducing unemployment to 4.9% -- but what of the 3.6 million who remain unemployed?
- . We are heartened that the march of economic prosperity has taken 66 major labor market areas out of the category of substantial unemployment in the past 3-1/2 years -- but what of the 35 that remain?

- . We are pleased that operating rates in industry have risen from 77% to 87% of capacity -- but what of the efficient plant capacity still running to waste?
- . We find hope in the drop in the proportion of U. S. families living on a yearly income under \$3,000 (in 1962 prices) from over 21% in 1960 to under 19% in 1963 -- but "under 19%" still represents more than 30 million people living at or below the margin of poverty.

Complacency in the face of these future threats and these current problems would violate the traditions of this Nation and of this Party. I know that the Platform Committee will couple a full measure of concern over our unfinished business with its full measure of pride in our accomplishments.

* * * * *

Three and a half years of record prosperity have given America the strongest economic base any nation has ever had for the fulfillment of its goals and aspirations. Before us then, lies no less a challenge than to devote our Great Prosperity to the building of the Great Society.

CEA Up-dating, 8/17/64, of
White House Press Release
dated July 25, 1964

TEN KEY ECONOMIC GAINS

Indicator	Since November or 4th quarter, 1963	Since January or first quarter, 1961
1. Gross National Product: Current prices.....	up nearly \$20 billion (3.3%)	up \$117 billion (23.4%)
1963 prices	up nearly \$14 billion (2.3%)	up nearly \$94 billion (18.2%)
2. Industrial Production	up 5.2%	up 28.5%
3. Employment (nonfarm jobs)	up 1.4 million jobs	up 4.8 million jobs
4. Unemployment Rate	down from 5.9% to 4.9%	down from 6.7% to 4.9%
5. Average Weekly Earnings (in manufacturing)	up \$2.12 (2.1%)	up \$13.89 (15.6%)
6. Personal Income	up \$17 billion (3.6%)	up nearly \$86 billion (21.2%)
7. After-Tax Personal Income	up \$20 billion (5%)	up nearly \$76 billion (21.3%)
8. After-Tax Personal Income for Family of 4 (average) ..	up \$360 (4.2%)	up over \$1200 (15-1/2%)
9. Corporate Profits (after taxes)	up nearly \$3-1/2 billion (12%)	up \$12.2 billion (62.6%)
10. Stock Values	Dow-Jones up from 711 to 840 (18%) Total share value up over \$100 billion	Dow-Jones up from 632 to 840 (33%) Total share value up over \$175 billion

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A well-tempered boom

(from the June 27, 1964 issue of Business Week)

The longest business upswing on record is changing economic ideas that have been held for more than 100 years. For the first time, a boom has been accompanied by price stability

At mid-1964, U. S. business finds itself in the midst of an upswing that's changing everybody's thoughts about what a free enterprise economy can do.

Previously, it was believed the U. S. couldn't expect to combine economic growth with price stability for more than a short period of time. The current upswing already is the longest on record for normal peacetime years and shows absolutely no signs of topping out. But in over 40 months of business advance, industrial prices barely have budged from a horizontal line.

The old idea was that prosperous times create enough distortions between prices and costs, sales and inventories, credit and liquidity, capacity and demand to bring a downturn. Yet a careful look at the economy over the past 40 months shows a record that is singularly free of the kinds of imbalances that always have appeared in past periods of prosperity.

First in a century. Indeed, the current upswing is changing many rules that have applied for more than a century. The National Bureau of Economic Research's business cycle chronology, dating back to 1854, covers 27 business expansions. It shows that the U. S. economy is now writing a wholly new record of stable growth:

. Prices have been uniquely stable over the past 40 months. The Federal Reserve Index of industrial production has risen by over 25% -- a good gain by historic standards. Metals prices have been rising since mid-1963, but cuts in other areas have kept the over-all wholesale price index stable.

. Past upswings always have brought rising costs. This time, costs have declined. The Census Bureau's Index of unit labor costs in manufacturing (1957-59=100) stood at 98.6 in April, more than three points below the 102.1 figure of February, 1961, when the current business upswing got under way.

. Good business always has led previously to higher interest rates. Yet in April of this year, bond yields stood at approximately the same level as in early 1961.

Explanations. In seeking to explain these new trends, economists point to a long list of changes in the behavior of government, business, and consumers, all of which make for greater stability of growth.

In sharp contrast to a history of abrupt shifts, the federal government has been pursuing smoothly expansionary fiscal policies. Government spending rose by \$7-billion to \$9-billion in each of the years between 1960 and 1963. The growth of spending is now tapering off. But this year's tax cut of about \$9-billion will have a similar expansionary effect.

Money supply. The Federal Reserve Board, too, has abandoned its old stop-start behavior in favor of a policy of allowing the money supply to grow smoothly. Defined to include demand deposits and currency only, the U. S. money supply has grown by \$2-billion to \$5-billion in each of the past three years. Figures up to the end of May lead to the expectation of similar growth in 1964. If the money supply is broadened to include time deposits, the growth of monetary liquidity has been more dramatic, but equally smooth.

For its part, business has rigorously avoided the scramble for inventories that has always occurred in the past when prosperity has led to a big push for sales. In a dramatic change in management policy, companies now see tight inventory management as the right policy during prosperity as well as recessions. The result is a stability of the inventory sales ratio that has lasted throughout the present upswing.

Under wraps. Business also shows restraint in its long-term planning. The most recent McGraw-Hill capital spending survey showed that companies are planning a 14% increase in capacity over the next three years. Over the same period, they foresee a 19% increase in the physical volume of their sales -- an expectation that seems reasonable, even conservative, in the light of the tax cut.

Consumer spending reflects a similar restrained optimism. The cut in personal taxes has led neither to a burst of savings nor a burst of spending. Instead, as the chart shows, consumers are spending at close to the normal relation to disposable income. Some analysts have argued that the months since the tax cut have seen abnormally high debt repayments. But the \$587-million increase in outstanding installment debt in April is actually the biggest gain posted so far this year, and is above the average monthly increase for 1963.

Investments. Cautious optimism carries over into investment behavior. Stocks have made a sharp recovery from the 1962 crash. But because earnings have also grown, price-earnings ratios have continued relatively stable.

Particularly in the past year, the benefits of stable growth have been widespread. Profits continue to post new quarterly records. Long-term unemployment, which seemed intractable only a few months ago, is declining. And the U. S. is making strides in closing both the balance-of-payments deficit and the deficit of the federal budget.

*File
Midwest*

Committees of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives

Concerned with Educational Matters

(With listings of members from the Midwest region)

September 15, 1964

Committees* of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives
Concerned with Educational Matters

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* This document includes listings of members from the Midwest region.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE SCIENCES

The Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences is authorized to deal with legislative matters relating to aeronautical and space activities, except those activities peculiar to or primarily associated with the development of weapons systems or military operations. The committee is also concerned with matters relating to the scientific aspects of such aeronautical and space activities, including those of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In addition, it has authority to survey and review and to prepare studies and reports upon the aeronautical and space activities of all agencies of the United States.

The chairman of this committee is Clinton P. Anderson, Democrat of New Mexico. Senator Anderson is also a member of the Senate Committee on Finance, the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Senator Anderson was born in South Dakota and attended Dakota Wesleyan University and the University of Michigan. Prior to his election to the Senate in 1948, he served three terms in the House, and from 1945 to 1948 as Secretary of Agriculture. His office is 4215 New Senate Office Building.

Senators from the Midwest who hold membership on the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences follow:

Carl T. Curtis, Republican of Nebraska

Schools: Nebraska Wesleyan; Nebraska

Elected to Senate in 1954; in House eight terms previously

Other committees: Finance; Government Operations; Rules and Administration; Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

Office: 5311 NSOB^a

Bourke Hickenlooper, Republican of Iowa

Schools: Iowa State; Iowa

Elected to Senate in 1944; Ex-Governor of Iowa

Other committees: Agriculture and Forestry; Foreign Relations; Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

Office: 5205 NSOB

Stuart Symington,* Democrat of Missouri

Schools: Yale

Elected to Senate in 1952

Other committees: Armed Services; Foreign Relations

Office: 229 OSOB^b

Stephen M. Young,* Democrat of Ohio

Schools: Kenyon; Western Reserve

Elected to Senate in 1958; in House four terms previously

Other committees; Armed Services; Public Works

Office: 458 OSOB

The Staff Director and Chief Clerk of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences is Frank C. Di Luzio, whose office is 231 OSOB.

*The asterisks appearing throughout this report indicate that the present term of the committee member expires January 3, 1965.

a. (NSOB) New Senate Office Building

b. (OSOB) Old Senate Office Building

SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

In the Senate, legislative matters dealing with appropriations are assigned to the Senate Committee on Appropriations. The chairman of this committee is the Senior Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden. Senator Hayden is also President Pro Tempore of the Senate, chairman of the Joint Committee on Printing, a member of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, and a member of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. Hayden was educated at Stanford University. He has been a member of the Senate since 1927, prior to which he served eight terms in the House, beginning in February, 1912. His office is 133 OSOB.

The two subcommittees which are of special significance to higher education are the Subcommittee on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Related Agencies and the Subcommittee on Independent Offices. (With the passage of the Water Resources Research Act of 1964, which will be implemented through the Department of Interior, the Subcommittee on Department of Interior and Related Agencies will become more important to higher education. This subcommittee is chaired by Mr. Hayden.)

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare and Related Agencies is Lister Hill, Democrat of Alabama. Senator Hill is also chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, chairman of its Subcommittee on Health, and a member of its Subcommittee on Education, and is thus able to exercise considerable influence on higher education legislation.

Senator Hill was educated at the University of Alabama and the Columbia University Law School. He also took special courses at the University of Michigan Law School. He has been in the Senate since 1938, prior to which he served eight terms in the House of Representatives. His office is 4241 NSOB.

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices is Warren Magnuson, Democrat of Washington. Senator Magnuson is also a member of the Senate Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences and chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce. He is a graduate of the University of Washington School of Law. Prior to his election to the Senate in 1944, he served four terms in the House of Representatives. His office is 127 OSOB.

Midwest Senators on the Senate Committee on Appropriations follow:

Roman L. Hruska, * Republican of Nebraska
Schools: Omaha; Chicago; Creighton
Elected to Senate in 1954; in House one term previously
Other committees: Judiciary
Office: 313 OSOB

Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota
Schools: Denver College of Pharmacy; Minnesota; Louisiana;
professor, Macalester
Elected to Senate in 1948; current majority whip
Other committees: Foreign Relations; Government Operations;
Select Committee on Small Business
Office: 1313 NSOB

Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota
Schools: Carleton; Columbia
Elected to Senate in 1948; previously in House five terms
Other committees: Foreign Relations; Government Operations
Office: 4121 NSOB

William Proxmire, * Democrat of Wisconsin
Schools: Yale; Harvard
Appointed to Senate in 1957
Other committees: Banking and Currency; Joint Economic Committee
Office: 4327 NSOB

Milton R. Young, Republican of North Dakota
Schools: North Dakota State Agricultural College; Graceland
Appointed to Senate in 1945
Other committees: Agriculture and Forestry
Office: 3121 NSOB

The Chief Clerk of the Senate Committee on Appropriations is Everard H. Smith, whose office is S-128 Capitol Building.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

The Senate Committee on Government Operations is authorized to deal with budgeting and accounting measures, other than appropriations. It is also concerned with reorganizations in the Executive Branch. In addition, the committee has authority to make studies of all governmental operations, with a view toward economy and efficiency, and to make studies of intergovernmental relationships between the United States, the States and municipalities and between the United States and the international organizations to which it belongs.

The chairman of this committee is John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas. Senator McClellan is also a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, and the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy. He has served in the Senate since January, 1943. His office is 3241 NSOB.

Senators from the Midwest who hold membership on the Senate Committee on Government Operations follow:

Carl T. Curtis, Republican of Nebraska
(See page 2 for biographical information)

Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota
(See page 4 for biographical information)

Jack Miller, Republican of Iowa
Schools: Creighton; Catholic Univ.; Columbia; Iowa;
lecturer, George Washington; professor, Notre Dame
Elected to Senate in 1960
Other committees: Public Works; Joint Economic Committee
Office: 2325 NSOB

Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota
(See page 4 for biographical information)

James B. Pearson, Republican of Kansas
Schools: Duke; Lynchburg; Virginia
Appointed to Senate in 1962
Other committees: Public Works
Office: 6317 NSOB

The Staff Director and Chief Clerk of the Senate Committee on Government Operations is Walter L. Reynolds, whose office is 3304 NSOB.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is concerned with legislation relating to education, labor and public health. Legislative proposals involving vocational rehabilitation (including the vocational rehabilitation and education of veterans) are also brought before this committee. Chairman of the committee is Lister Hill, Democrat of Alabama (see page three for biographical information.)

Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, is chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, to which most legislation on education is referred. Senator Morse is also a member of the Senate Committee on District of Columbia, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senate Select Committee on Small Business, and the Senate Special Committee on Aging.

He holds bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Wisconsin and a law degree from the University of Minnesota. In addition, he has had a four-year advanced military training course at the University of Wisconsin and is the recipient of a Doctor of Jurisprudence degree from Columbia University. He has taught at both the University of Wisconsin and the University of Minnesota and was a professor and Dean of Law at the University of Oregon. Senator Morse has been a member of the Senate since 1944. His office is 417 OSOB.

The only member from the Midwest on the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is:

Patrick McNamara, Democrat of Michigan

Elected to Senate in 1954

Other committees: Public Works (Chairman); Special
Committee on Aging

Office: 255 OSOB

The Chief Clerk of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is Stewart E. McClure, whose office is 4230 NSOB.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS

The Congressional committee with jurisdiction over the entire spectrum of Federal science programs is the House Committee on Science and Astronautics. It is specifically authorized to deal with matters relating to the National Science Foundation, the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, scientific research and development, and science scholarships.

George P. Miller, Democrat of California, is chairman of this committee. Congressman Miller is also a member of the House Select Committee on Government Research. A graduate of St. Mary's College (Moraga, California), he has been a member of the House since 1945. His office is 506 Old House Office Building.

Emilio Q. Daddario, Democrat of Connecticut, is chairman of the Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development, which is concerned with the scientific research programs in which the Federal government is involved, either directly or indirectly. Congressman Daddario has degrees from the University of Connecticut and Wesleyan University of Connecticut, and also attended Boston Law School. He was first elected to the House in 1958. His office is 1006 New House Office Building.

Midwest Representatives on the House Committee on Science and Astronautics follow:

Joseph E. Karth, Democrat of Minnesota

Schools: Nebraska
Elected to House in 1958
Office: 426 OHOB^c

Charles A. Mosher, Republican of Ohio

Schools: Oberlin
Elected to House in 1960
Other committees: Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Office: 410 OHOB

William J. Randall, Democrat of Missouri

Schools: Junior College of Kansas City; Missouri;
Kansas City School of Law
Elected to House in 1958
Other committees: Government Operations
Office: 1029 NHOB^d

Richard L. Roudebush, Republican of Indiana

Schools: Butler
Elected to House in 1960
Other committees: District of Columbia
Office: 1018 NHOB

J. Edward Roush, Democrat of Indiana

Schools: Huntington; Indiana
Elected to House in 1958
Other committees: Government Operations
Office: 1407 NHOB

Donald Rumsfeld, Republican of Illinois

Schools: Princeton
Elected to House in 1962
Office: 241 OHOB

Neil Staebler, Democrat of Michigan

Schools: Michigan; professor, Massachusetts
Elected to House in 1962
Office: 222 OHOB

William K. Van Pelt, Republican of Wisconsin

Elected to House in 1950
Other committees: Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Office: 1509 NHOB

The Executive Director and Chief Counsel of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics is Charles F. Ducander, whose office is 214B NHOB.

c. (OHOB) Old House Office Building

d. (NHOB) New House Office Building

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

The House Committee on Appropriations is concerned with all legislation involving appropriations. Recently Congressman George H. Mahon, Democrat of Texas, replaced the late Clarence Cannon of Missouri as chairman of this committee. Mr. Mahon is also a member of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures. He holds degrees from Simmons University and the University of Texas. He has served in the House since 1935. His office is 1211 NHOB.

The chairman of the Subcommittee on Independent Offices is Albert Thomas, Democrat of Texas. He is also a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Mr. Thomas holds degrees from Rice University and the University of Texas. He has been a member of the House since 1937. His office is 212 OHOB.

The Subcommittee on Labor and Health, Education and Welfare is headed by John E. Fogarty, Democrat of Rhode Island. Mr. Fogarty is also a member of the House Select Committee on Government Research. He has represented Rhode Island in the House since 1941, except for the duration of his military service in World War II. His office is 1235 NHOB.

The Subcommittee on Labor and Health, Education and Welfare, plays an important role in the appropriations of funds for higher education. With the exception of Chairman Fogarty, the subcommittee is composed entirely of Midwesterners. They are Winfield Denton, John Lesinski, Melvin R. Laird and Robert H. Michel. (See pages 12 and 13).

Midwestern members of the House Committee on Appropriations follow:

Frank R. Bow, Republican of Ohio

Schools: Culver Military Academy; Ohio Northern

Elected to House in 1950

Office: 1729 NHOB

Elford A. Cederberg, Republican of Michigan

Schools: Bay City Junior College

Elected to House in 1952

Office: 1206 NHOB

Winfield K. Denton, Democrat of Indiana

Schools: DePauw; Harvard

Elected to House in 1948

Office: 1217 NHOB

Edward Finnegan, Democrat of Illinois

Schools: DePaul; Northwestern; Loyola

Elected to House in 1960

Office: 1713 NHOB

Gerald R. Ford, Republican of Michigan

Schools: Michigan; Yale

Elected to House in 1948

Office: 351 OHOB

Ben F. Jensen, Republican of Iowa

Elected to House in 1938

Other committees: Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential
Federal Expenditures

Office: 253 OHOB

Michael J. Kirwan, Democrat of Ohio

Elected to House in 1936

Office: 1414 NHOB

Melvin R. Laird, Republican of Wisconsin

Schools: Carleton

Elected to House in 1952

Office: 1025 NHOB

Odin Langen, Republican of Minnesota

Elected to House in 1958

Office: 1519 NHOB

John Lesinski, Democrat of Michigan

Elected to House in 1950

Office: 1238 NHOB

Robert H. Michel, Republican of Illinois

Schools: Bradley

Elected to House in 1956

Office: 207 OHOB

William E. Minshall, Republican of Ohio
Schools: Virginia; Cleveland Law School
Elected to House in 1954
Office: 1508 NHOB

Ben Reifel, Republican of South Dakota
Schools: South Dakota State; Harvard
Elected to House in 1960
Office: 348 OHOB

George E. Shipley, Democrat of Illinois
Schools: Georgetown
Elected to House in 1958
Office: 302 OHOB

Neal Smith, Democrat of Iowa
Schools: Drake; Syracuse; Missouri
Elected to House in 1958
Office: 1233 NHOB

Earl Wilson, Republican of Indiana
Schools: Indiana; Purdue
Elected to House in 1940
Office: 1019 NHOB

The Chief Clerk of the House Committee on Appropriations is Kenneth Sprankle, whose office is H-218 Capitol Building.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

The House Committee on Government Operations deals with budgeting and accounting measures, other than appropriations. It is also concerned with reorganizations in the Executive Branch. The committee is authorized to make studies of the operation of all governmental activities with a view to determining economy and efficiency in Government. It also makes studies of federal-state-local intergovernmental relationships and relationships between the United States and the international organizations to which it belongs.

The chairman of this committee is William L. Dawson, Democrat of Illinois. Congressman Dawson also serves as chairman of the Subcommittee on Executive and Legislative Reorganization and as a member of the House Committee on District of Columbia. He is a graduate of Fisk University and studied at Kent College of Law (Chicago) and at Northwestern University Law School. He has been a member of the House since January, 1943. His office is 1536 NHOB.

In addition to Chairman Dawson, the Midwest has nine members on the House Committee on Government Operations, namely:

John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois

Schools: Illinois; Harvard

Elected to House in 1960

Other committees: Joint Committee on Atomic Energy; Select
Committee on Government Research

Office: 1418 NHOB

John A. Blatnik, Democrat of Minnesota

Schools: Winona State Teachers College; Chicago; Minnesota

Elected to House in 1946

Other committees: Public Works

Office: 328 OHOB

Clarence J. Brown, Republican of Ohio

Schools: Washington and Lee

Elected to House in 1938

Other committees: Rules; Select Committee on Government Research

Office: 1401 NHOB

Robert P. Griffin, Republican of Michigan

Schools: Central Michigan; Michigan

Elected to House in 1956

Other committees: Education and Labor

Office: 1513 NHOB

Robert McClory, Republican of Illinois

Schools: Dartmouth; Lausanne; Chicago

Elected to House in 1962

Office: 1630 NHOB

George Meader, Republican of Michigan

Schools: Michigan

Elected to House in 1950

Other committees: Judiciary

Office: 305 OHOB

William J. Randall, Democrat of Missouri

(See page 10 for biographical information)

Henry S. Reuss, Democrat of Wisconsin

Schools: Cornell; Harvard

Elected to House in 1954

Other committees: Banking and Currency; Joint Economic Committee

Office: 1718 NHOB

J. Edward Roush, Democrat of Indiana

(See page 10 for biographical information)

The Staff Director of the House Committee on Government Operations is Christine Ray Davis, whose office is 1501 NHOB.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

The House Committee on Education and Labor has jurisdiction over matters relating to education. The chairman of this committee is Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat of New York. Congressman Powell holds degrees from Colgate, Columbia, and Shaw Universities. He has served in the House since 1945. His office is 459 OHOB.

The subcommittee primarily concerned with higher education is the Special Subcommittee on Education, chaired by Mrs. Edith Green, Democrat of Oregon. Mrs. Green is also a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. She attended Willamette University, has a bachelor of science degree from the University of Oregon and did graduate work at Stanford University. Mrs. Green has been a member of the House since 1955. Her office is 312 OHOB.

Midwestern Representatives on the House Committee on Education and Labor follow:

John M. Ashbrook, Republican of Ohio

Schools: Harvard; Ohio State
Elected to House in 1960
Other committees: Un-American Activities
Office: 424 OHOB

William H. Ayres, Republican of Ohio

Schools: Western Reserve
Elected to House in 1950
Other committees: Veterans' Affairs
Office: 411 OHOB

John Brademas, Democrat of Indiana

Schools: Harvard; Oxford
Elected to House in 1958
Other committees: House Administration
Office: 1329 NHOB

Donald C. Bruce, Republican of Indiana

Schools: Muskingum
Elected to House in 1960
Other committees: Un-American Activities
Office: 422 OHOB

Paul Findley, Republican of Illinois

Schools: Illinois
Elected to House in 1960
Other committees: Agriculture
Office: 1032 NHOB

Robert P. Griffin, Republican of Michigan
(See page 15 for biographical information)

David T. Martin, Republican of Nebraska

Schools: Dartmouth
Elected to House in 1960
Office: 208 OHOB

James G. O'Hara, Democrat of Michigan

Schools: Michigan
Elected to House in 1958
Office: 1109 NHOB

Roman C. Pucinski, Democrat of Illinois

Schools: Northwestern; John Marshall
Elected to House in 1958
Office: 1027 NHOB

Robert H. Quie, Republican of Minnesota

Schools: Illinois

Elected to House in 1960

Other committees: Agriculture

Office: 1218 NHOB

Robert A. Taft, Jr., Republican of Ohio

Schools: Yale; Harvard

Elected to House in 1962

Other committees: Banking and Currency

Office: 423 OHOB

The Chief Clerk of the House Committee on Education and Labor is Mrs. Louise M. Dargans, whose office is 429 OHOB.



NORMALLY REPUBLICAN MIDWEST SHOWS DEMOCRATIC TREND

A LARGE defection of normally Republican Midwestern voters, unhappy with their party's Presidential nominee, is likely to help Democrats minimize their losses among the Governorship and Senate seats up for election this year, and help them gain several new seats in the House, Congressional Quarterly's regional election outlook reveals.

The report is the fourth in a series of four. The Eastern outlook was published as Part I of Weekly Report No. 40, Oct. 2; the Southern outlook as Part I of Weekly Report No. 41, Oct. 9; and the Western outlook as Part I of Weekly Report No. 42, Oct. 16. A national review and summary of the earlier outlooks can be found in this week's CQ Weekly Report.

This report deals with the 12 states of the Midwest — Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Presidential Outlook

As of mid-October, all 149 electoral votes of the Midwest were leaning toward President Johnson, suggesting a sweep that would duplicate President Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1936 landslide. In 1960, all but 4 of the region's 12 states (Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota and Missouri) had voted Republican for President. But two weeks before the 1964 elections, only five midwestern states — Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio and South Dakota — offered even the slimmest hopes of a GOP Presidential victory. President Johnson seemed comfortably ahead in all of the other states, which have a total of 103 electoral votes.

Goldwater's controversial stands on issues like nuclear weapons, farm price supports and Social Security — and several apparent campaign errors — were reported as the chief reasons for his weak showing in this historically Republican region. GOP Vice Presidential nominee William E. Miller's Labor Day speech in South Bend, Ind., criticizing proposed liberalization of immigration laws, apparently took the last significant sting from the so-called civil rights "backlash" among white ethnic groups. On the other hand, no great enthusiasm for President Johnson was reported, his lead often resulting from the feeling that he was "the lesser of two evils."

In sharp contrast to Midwestern campaigns of earlier years, farm issues were found to be of minor importance. (Weekly Report p. 2460) Only one group was reported to be particularly upset with the Johnson Administration — cattle producers who are worried about increasing foreign competition. In Iowa, a typical farm state leaning to President Johnson, a mid-October poll by the Des Moines Register found farmers in substantial agreement with President Johnson's views on civil rights, nuclear weapons, Social Security, and concentration of power in the Federal Government. Asked if they felt there was too much power concentrated in Washington, 51 percent of

the farmers said they felt the amount of power was "about right," 30 percent felt there was "too much," 3 percent felt there was "not enough," and the remainder had no opinion. Only 15 percent of the farmers agreed with Goldwater's views on civil rights, 7 percent on nuclear weapons and 16 percent on Social Security.

The Walter Jenkins affair was found to be hurting the Democrats to some extent but observers felt that events in the Soviet Union and Communist China tended to cancel out any potential Goldwater gains over the Jenkins case. They also pointed out that Johnson was so far ahead in many of the states, he could afford the loss of some support.

Many of the region's Republican leaders were strong Goldwater backers and were instrumental in helping him capture the nomination. They believed Goldwater would be the strongest candidate to help their state tickets.

Goldwater's greatest strength was found to be the same in the Midwest as it was in the other sections of the country — his zealously dedicated followers who work feverishly to make up in spirit what they lack in numbers.

State, District Races

Democrats appear to be holding their own in the region's Governorships, although net gains seem unlikely. Republicans seem assured of gaining at least one Senate seat with dwindling chances in the others. In House races, Democrats are practically assured of at least holding their own, with the level of ticket splitting

(Continued on p. 2516)

Background, Biographies, Listings

- Special Report, Elections of 1964, mailed with May 1, 1964 Weekly Report, shows state-by-state and district-by-district outlooks at that time.

- For primary outlook and results stories on each state, see CQ Weekly Reports — page references are under state names within.

- A full listing of all candidates for Senate, Governor and House, together with ages, home towns and professions, appeared in CQ's Sept. 25 Weekly Report, p. 2231-50.

- Biographies of all incumbent Senators appeared in Elections of 1964 Special Report (see above). Biographies of non-incumbent Senate candidates appear beginning p. 2512 of this report.

- Detailed district-by-district and statewide totals of 1962 election returns, 1963 CQ Almanac, p. 1125-60. 1960 returns, 1961 CQ Almanac, p. 1033-75.

- For detailed information on characteristics of Congressional districts — population, urban-suburban-rural, education, income, employment, age, race, foreign stock, farm data — see CQ Census Analysis, mailed with Aug. 21, 1964 Weekly Report.

ILLINOIS

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 666, 723, 965

President

President Johnson is believed to hold a substantial lead over Barry Goldwater in Illinois — a state which Goldwater strategists have considered essential in their plans for victory. The so-called "white backlash" among normally Democratic voters fearful of Negro gains has failed to develop as a major political factor. Indeed, the defection of normally Republican voters to President Johnson accounts in large part for his substantial lead. The Chicago Sun-Times straw poll which has always picked the winner in Illinois in its 32-year history, gave Johnson 63.87 percent of the vote and Goldwater 36.13 percent in an Oct. 14 report. Chief reasons for the large vote against Goldwater were his controversial stands on such issues as Social Security, civilian control of nuclear weapons, civil rights, and farm programs. Illinois Republicans, who had hopped aboard the Goldwater bandwagon at a crucial point prior to the Republican National Convention, may well see their otherwise bright chances of gaining the Governorship and retaining control of the state legislature evaporate if President Johnson's margin of victory should remain anywhere near the margin currently indicated.

A complicating factor will be the election of all 177 members of the Illinois State House of Representatives on an at-large basis. The state constitution requires an at-large election if the legislature fails to reapportion itself. Through disagreements and politicking, the reapportionment was never carried out. Each party agreed to nominate only 118 candidates, thereby assuring at least 59 members of the minority party. To minimize difficulties, the state legislative candidates will be voted on a separate ballot from the other offices up for election. A voter may vote for all 118 candidates of one party simply by marking the appropriate box or he may choose each candidate separately.

Governor

Gov. Otto J. Kerner (D), 55, first elected 1960, v. Charles H. Percy (R), 45, former president, now chairman of the board of the Bell and Howell Co. and chairman of the 1960 Republican Platform Committee.

Kerner was unopposed for renomination in the April 14 primary, receiving 917,445 votes. Percy easily defeated conservative Illinois State Treasurer William J. Scott (R) and three minor candidates for the Republican nomination. Official returns gave Percy 626,111 votes (60.3 percent), Scott 388,903 votes (37.5 percent) and 23,397 votes (2.2 percent) for the three nominal candidates combined.

Observers believe Percy would be a definite favorite over Kerner if it were not for the relatively poor showing which Goldwater is expected to make in the state. The state's ballot facilitates straight-ticket voting. But Illinois voters have demonstrated an ability to split their ballots in the past and Percy is given a good chance to win the Governorship. In 1960 Kerner defeated then Gov. William G. Stratton (R 1953-61) by 524,252 votes (55.5

percent) while President Kennedy was barely carrying the state with a narrow (undisputed) 8,858-vote plurality (50.0 percent).

Kerner's main re-election problem is his public image as a vacillating, indecisive leader who owes too much allegiance to Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley (D), the undisputed "boss" of Illinois Democratic politics. Observers have often been perplexed by Kerner's image because he has had considerable success in getting his programs through the Republican-controlled Legislature and has been a "fiscally conservative" Governor with balanced state budgets the rule. His still unsolved problem is to translate these achievements into wide public approval. Polls have shown that there is no great resentment against Kerner, but no great enthusiasm either.

Percy presents a strong contrast to Kerner. He is frequently referred to as the "boy wonder of business" because he was made president of Bell and Howell at the age of 29. His public image is generally one of dynamic leadership, according to the polls. In addition, he is the same type of moderate-to-liberal gubernatorial candidate Republicans have found relatively easy to elect in big industrial states (Romney in Mich., Scranton in Pa., and Rockefeller in New York). Percy has assembled the best campaign organization in the history of Illinois politics, according to knowledgeable observers. The organization is split into eight separate departments, each charged with its own unique responsibility (one for fund raising, forming citizen's committees, speeches, press releases and the like). Percy is also amply supplied with the necessary campaign funds which make victories possible.

Percy's chief problem has been Barry Goldwater's early, wide-spread support in the Illinois Republican party. Percy, whose previous political philosophy tended toward the liberal Republican side, had promised to support the Presidential candidate of the majority of the Illinois delegation to the Republican National Convention. That choice was Goldwater, by an overwhelming margin, and Percy voted for him. Zealous Goldwater backers were distrustful of Percy, however, right up to the convention vote itself.

Kerner has criticized Percy's acceptance of Goldwater and Percy's votes against the proposed moderate's platform substitute planks at the Republican National Convention: "The only thing this juggler (Percy) of principles has shown the people of Illinois is that he's a political chameleon. He would rather switch than fight. I would rather fight than switch. If there was ever an opportunity for a man to stand up and be counted, if there was ever an opportunity for a man to stand up and make known his principles, this was the opportunity. This was the first test of the mettle of the candidate. I say he failed it. He failed it at a time when he was implored by the moderates to join their cause. When he should have been a moderate, he was a reactionary. When he should have stood up to be counted, he ran out."

Percy's delicately balanced position was further highlighted July 24 when he withdrew a request for New York's Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R), a liberal, to come and campaign for him. Reports indicated that Goldwater supporters, backed-up by a Chicago Tribune editorial, had pressured Percy into withdrawing the invitation. Percy said Javits' refusal to support Goldwater had caused him to "reassess" his request for Javits.

Percy has frequently been called upon, both by Goldwater supporters and reports in the press, to reaffirm his backing of Goldwater and to deny reports that he seeks the

Governor's chair as a steppingstone to the Presidency. On Sept. 17 he denied walking a "tight rope" on Goldwater's candidacy, saying: "Why pit Republican against Republican? That's exactly what the Democrats hope we'll do. This whole thing was pretty well cleared up until Gov. Kerner started it again. Now, I suppose there'll be more work to do to set the record straight once more. I say the same thing — that I'm for Goldwater straight and solidly — whether I'm talking to a group of Goldwater supporters or detractors. I have said it to every Negro group and every Jewish group to which I have spoken." On his Presidential ambitions, Percy says those reports are "poppycock.... I considered for a long time my qualifications to be Governor. When (1960 GOP Presidential nominee Richard M.) Nixon told me that I was one of three he considered for Vice President, I ruled myself out. I told him I was not qualified. The principal problem of Harold Stassen was that someone early told him he should be President and he believed it. I'm not a hit-and-run driver. I hope to be re-elected Governor in 1968."

On state issues, Percy concentrates his heaviest fire on the relationship between Kerner and Daley: "The Democrats are a dinosaur; when the head nods in Chicago, the tail wags in Springfield (the state capital)." Percy says Daley "is in charge of state government. When Daley says no, that is O.K. (a reference to Kerner's billboards which use his initials) with Otto Kerner. Daley has the O.K. stamp in his hand." Kerner's refusal of television debates indicates "the Governor is unwilling to be too far from the Mayor's elbow," Percy charges. He says that Kerner has failed to deliver on such 1960 campaign promises as bringing a "spartan economy" to state government, raising state payments to local school districts and to make Illinois "the first in the nation" in the care of the mentally ill.

Kerner defends his 1963 veto of a bill raising state payments to local school districts on the grounds that the state could not afford the increase in expenditures at the time. He says that leading mental health officials from across the country have told him that Illinois is "second to none" in that field. Kerner points out that he has achieved balanced budgets and increases in the state's services without having to raise taxes.

Kerner received a major blow Sept. 30 when his campaign manager Theodore J. Isaacs, who was also state revenue director, admitted he had accepted \$12,000 in legal fees from an envelope and lithographing firm which was doing \$1,144,688 annually in business with the state. Isaacs said Kerner had no knowledge of his acceptance of the legal fees. Up to Sept. 30 there had not been even a hint of scandal within the Kerner administration. One of the major factors in Kerner's landslide 1960 victory had been the frequency of scandals in the Stratton administration.

The Oct. 14 Chicago Sun-Times straw poll gave Kerner 50.43 percent of the vote and Percy 49.57 percent — reinforcing a widely held belief that the gubernatorial contest would be decided by less than 10,000 votes.

Outlook: Doubtful.

Senate

Neither seat up. Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D), first elected 1948 and re-elected 1960 with 437,097 vote plurality (54.6 percent). Sen. Everett McKinley Dirksen (R), first elected 1950, re-elected 1962 with 213,195 vote plurality (52.9 percent).

House

24 seats. Current line-up: 12 Democrats, 12 Republicans, no change expected. Republicans have hopes of gaining one Democratic seat in the 23rd district.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %						JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952
1 Dawson (D)	74.1	75.3							
2 O'Hara (D)	62.3	60.4							
3 Murphy (D)	51.6	55.9							
4 Derwinski (R)	64.9	59.4							
5 Kluczynski (D)	63.4	70.9							
6 O'Brien (D)†	77.7	79.0							
7 Libonati (D)*	78.8	79.7							
8 Rostenkowski (D)	60.8	62.4							
9 Finnegan (D)*	54.8	57.5							
10 Collier (R)	66.6	61.3							
11 Pucinski (D)	52.7	50.7							
12 McClory (R)	63.9	63.9							
13 Rumsfeld (R)	63.7	64.6							
14 Hoffman (R)*	59.7	58.0							
15 Reid (R)	60.3	56.6							
16 Anderson (R)	66.9	62.1							
17 Arends (R)	62.5	61.3	61.0	64.9	65.0	63.6	39.0	67.0	64.8
18 Michel (R)	61.2	59.8							
19 McLoskey (R)	55.9	50.6	50.5	55.8	56.5	60.8	44.9	59.9	61.2
20 Findley (R)	52.9	51.6							
21 Gray (D)	60.0	56.5							
22 Springer (R)	59.7	60.7							
23 Shipley (D)	51.7	52.3							
24 Price (D)	73.8	72.2	76.1	68.2	69.2	64.8	58.8	44.0	40.6

* Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.

† Deceased.

* Retiree.

1st District (Chicago - Southside) — Rep. William L. Dawson (D), 78, should easily win re-election. But Wilbur N. Daniel (R), a minister and former president of the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, may cut Dawson's margin. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

2nd District (Chicago - Southside) — Rep. Barratt O'Hara (D), 82, despite his age, is strongly favored to turn back an energetic campaign by Chicago business executive William F. Scannell (R), 40, who labels O'Hara "Public Spender Number One." Outlook: Safe Democratic.

3rd District (Chicago - Southwest) — Rep. William T. Murphy (D), 65, is favored to defeat former Rep. Emmet F. Byrne (R 1957-59), 67, a conservative. The district is always fairly close and the "white backlash" is more in evidence in this district than any other in the state but President Johnson and Murphy should both carry the district with little difficulty. Outlook: Leans Democratic.

4th District (Southwest Cook County Suburbs - Chicago Heights, Harvey) — Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R), 38, head of the Goldwater campaign in Illinois, could find

his margin reduced as a result of his Goldwater ties but is still strongly favored to defeat Chicago industrial salesman Ray J. Rybacki (R), 33. Rybacki calls Derwinski "one of Barry Goldwater's boys." Outlook: Safe Republican.

5th District (Chicago - Central, Southwest) — Rep. John C. Kluczynski (D), 68, is assured of re-election over Robert V. Kotowski (R), a political unknown. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

6th District (Chicago - Westside) — Rep. Thomas J. O'Brien (D), 84, died April 14, the day of the primary. His replacement, Chicago alderman Dan Ronan (D), is assured of re-election over Joseph W. Halac (R). Outlook: Safe Democratic.

7th District (Chicago - Downtown, Loop District) — Rep. Roland V. Libonati (D), 63, is retiring. Assured of re-election in this machine-controlled district is Frank Annunzio (D), 49, a personnel agency executive and former Illinois Dept. of Labor Director. He is opposed by Ray Wolfram (R) of Chicago. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

8th District (Chicago - Central, West Side) — Rep. Daniel D. Rostenkowski (D), 37, is strongly favored to defeat Eugene L. Ebrom (R). Outlook: Safe Democratic.

9th District (Chicago - Northeast Waterfront) — Rep. Edward R. Finnegan (D), 59, who had won renomination in the primary, resigned in early September to accept a state judgeship. Former Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D 1949-63), 55, (was subsequently chosen by the local Democratic committee and is strongly favored to win back the seat he gave up in 1962 to seek the U.S. Senate seat of Sen. Dirksen (R), losing by 213,195 votes (47.1 percent). His Republican opponent is Chicago attorney Robert S. Decker (R), 40. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

10th District (West Cook County Suburbs - Berwyn, Cicero, Des Plaines, Oak Park) — Rep. Harold R. Collier (R), 48, is a good bet to defeat Thomas E. Gause (D), 48, an Oak Park international business consultant. Outlook: Safe Republican.

11th District (Chicago - North) — Rep. Roman C. Pucinski (D), 45, is favored to defeat Dr. Chester T. Podgorski (R), 46, the father of nine children. Though the district is fairly even in party control, Podgorski appears to have little going for him except his Polish ancestry. Outlook: Leans Democratic.

12th District (Northeast - Waukegan) — Rep. Robert McClory (R) is assured of a second term over John C. Kimball (D), 41, a Deerfield public relations counsel. McClory defeated Kimball in 1962 by 33,135 votes (63.9 percent). Outlook: Safe Republican.

13th District (North Cook County Suburbs - Evanston, Winnetka) — Rep. Donald Rumsfeld (R), 32, is strongly favored to defeat Lynn A. Williams (D), 55, a Winnetka engineering company president. Outlook: Safe Republican.

14th District (Suburban Chicago - DuPage, Will Counties, Joliet) — Rep. Elmer J. Hoffman (R), 53, is retiring to seek the Illinois State Secretary of State's office.

Strongly favored to succeed him is State Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R), an Elmhurst attorney who is described by the Chicago Daily News as a "responsible conservative." His Democratic opponent is Jerome M. Ziegler (D), 41, president of an educational and business consulting firm. Ziegler, a liberal, was defeated in 1962 by Hoffman with a 34,895 vote plurality (59.7 percent). Outlook: Safe Republican.

15th District (North Central - Aurora) — Rep. Charlotte Reid (R), 51, is almost certain of re-election over Mrs. Poppy X. Mitchell (D), 46, an Ottawa housewife. This is the only Congressional district contest in the country featuring an all-female cast. Both candidates are very personable and attractive campaigners. Republicans have long held the district and Mrs. Reid is favored. One of Mrs. Mitchell's biggest issues has been Mrs. Reid's vote against the 1964 Civil Rights Act, but the issue has failed to arouse much local interest. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

16th District (Northwest - Rockford) — Rep. John B. Anderson (R), 42, should have little difficulty defeating Robert E. Brinkmeier (D), 42, a Forrester teacher. Outlook: Safe Republican.

17th District (East Central - Bloomington, Kankakee) — Rep. Leslie C. Arends (R), 69, is assured of re-election over Bernard J. Hughes (D), 27, a Buckley teacher. Outlook: Safe Republican.

18th District (North Central - Peoria) — Rep. Robert H. Michel (R), 41, enjoys a wide lead over Edward P. Kohlbacher (D), 61, a Pekin truck driver. Mr. Kohlbacher wrote to CQ: "My slogan is, 'I believe they need a truck driver in Congress and I am a truck driver.' My slogan is, 'The Best Years of Your Life are Ahead. The Best Years for America are Ahead. The Best Years For Peace On Earth are Ahead.' I believe this can become true if more people can understand that the easiest way to happiness on earth is to do something for someone without expecting anything in return. In my sixty years of life I believe I have learned the three basic principles to be a good Congressman that many of them don't have today. I know Good from Bad, Right from Wrong, Honesty from Dishonesty. With God's help I can Always be Honest and pick right from the wrong and the good from the bad." Outlook: Safe Republican.

19th District (West - Rock Island, Moline) — Rep. Robert T. McLoskey (R), 57, should easily defeat Gale Schisler (D), 32, a London school teacher. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

20th District (West and Central - Springfield, Quincy) — Rep. Paul Findley (R), a staunch conservative, has been quite successful in solidifying his hold on the district and is solidly favored to defeat former Springfield Mayor Lester E. Collins (D), 44, an insurance broker. Findley and former U.S. Rep. Peter F. Mack Jr. (D 1949-63) were thrown together by redistricting but Findley won their 1962 battle by 11,036 votes (52.9 percent). Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

21st District (South - Egypt) — Rep. Kenneth J. Gray (D), 39, has achieved a considerable amount of personal

popularity in the district and should easily defeat Mrs. Stillman J. Stanard (R), 51, a Makanda farmer. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

22nd District (Central - Decatur) — Rep. William L. Springer (R), 55, is assured of re-election over John J. Desmond (D), 38, an assistant dean for research at the University of Illinois. Outlook: Safe Republican.

23rd District (Southeast) — Rep. George E. Shipley (D), 37, is a slight favorite over Paris attorney Wayne S. Jones (R), 43, in this marginal district. Shipley displayed substantial personal following in the district when he won by 6,571 votes (51.7 percent) in 1962 while Sen. Dirksen (R) was carrying the district by 19,154 votes (54.9 percent). This year Shipley is likely to receive a boost from President Johnson. Jones attacks what he says is Shipley's tendency to vote with big-city Democrats and failure to vote on many important roll calls. He also attacks the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment and accuses Shipley of agreeing with it. Shipley was paired for the Tuck bill to prohibit the Supreme Court from ruling on reapportionment cases. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

24th District (East St. Louis) — Rep. Melvin Price (D), 59, is assured of re-election over militant conservative G.S. (Kenneth) Mirza (R), 62, an East St. Louis pharmacist. Mirza's campaign literature boasts: "America is sick, suffering from stagnation and I have the specific remedy — Mirza." Outlook: Safe Democratic.

INDIANA

Primary and convention outlook, results Weekly Report p. 768, 905, 1187, 1226

President

President Johnson apparently has a better chance to carry Indiana than any Democratic candidate since Franklin Roosevelt. Polls show a comfortable Johnson lead: 56-44 percent over Goldwater in an Oliver Quayle sampling, 59-41 in a poll ordered by the GOP. Several factors apparently contribute to Johnson's showing: voter resistance to Goldwater, first revealed when Harold E. Stassen won 26.8 percent of the May 5 Republican Presidential primary vote against Goldwater; absence of the "Catholic" issue which contributed to Kennedy's loss of Indiana by 222,762 votes in 1960; and an apparent lessening of the "white Backlash" on the civil rights issue which helped Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace (D) accumulate 29.8 percent of the vote (172,646 out of 579,036 cast) in the Democratic Presidential primary.

Nevertheless, knowledgeable state observers say Johnson's lead may be much narrower than the polls reflect and say Goldwater should not be counted out. Their reasons: the traditionally conservative temper of Indiana; the Republicans' "morality in government" theme, likely to appeal to church groups; and continued anti-Negro sentiment, especially in the Gary area (which went for Wallace in the Presidential primary) and Southern-oriented areas of Southern Indiana.

Governor

Lt. Gov. Richard O. Ristine (R), 44, v. Roger D. Branigan (D), 62, Lafayette attorney.

Incumbent Gov. Matthew E. Welsh (D) ineligible to run for re-election. He won in 1960 with 23,177 vote plurality (50.4 percent).

Ristine nominated on third ballot at June 9 Republican state convention with 1,212 votes to 599 for State Treasurer Richard Hughes, 266 for U.S. Rep. William G. Bray (7th District) and 115 scattered. Ristine was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1960 with 1,055,794 votes to 1,049,327 for his Democratic opponent. He was a State Senator, 1951-61.

Branigan nominated on first ballot at June 12 Democratic convention with 1,449 votes to 594 for State Sen. Marshall Kizer and 132 for Clinton Green.

Branigan and Ristine, both highly respected and hard-working candidates, are engaged in a tight race that could be determined by the outcome of the Presidential race in Indiana. Although Indiana has a separate Presidential ballot, the voting for the top spot does affect that for state offices. Were it not for the Presidential race, Ristine would be a mid-campaign favorite; as it stands, Branigan is expected to win if the Johnson majority reaches sizeable proportions in the state.

Branigan, a successful corporation lawyer, was once tagged as a conservative and lost his only previous bid for public office when the 1956 Democratic state convention refused to nominate him for the Governorship. In his 1964 campaign he calls himself "a middle-of-the-roader with liberal leanings" and adds that "I find myself comfortably located in the political philosophy of Lyndon B. Johnson." He stresses the straight Democratic ticket in his campaign literature. At first mild in his criticism of Ristine, he shifted into high gear in mid-October with charges that "my opponent finds himself allied with the forces of extremism and irresponsibility.... Ristine and Goldwater are together...in watering down Social Security, together in weakening organized labor, together on state and federal right-to-work laws, and together in marching backwards from the social progress of the 20th Century." He attacks Republican domination of the Legislature since 1939, saying the sessions have "looked backward." One of Branigan's chief issues is a call for increased emphasis on post high school vocational training and four-year extension college campuses.

The question of the 1963 state sales tax boost is a point of embarrassment for both Ristine and Branigan. Ristine, as Lieutenant Governor, cast the deciding vote to break a tie in the Senate and pass the bill, which was bitterly opposed by organized labor. He justifies that vote by saying property taxes would have zoomed without the increased sales tax. Branigan is unable to hit Ristine on the issue because the increased tax was proposed by Welsh, whose backing Branigan needs, and because he could scarcely repudiate the incumbent Democratic administration.

Ristine, a veteran of 10 years service as State Senator and four as Lieutenant Governor, centers his attack on Branigan as Gov. Welsh's "hand-picked" candidate and has even referred to "Matt Welsh's bid for re-election." He characterizes the Welsh administration — which is unpopular in many circles, chiefly because of the tax boost — as "fumbling, bumbling" and "do-nothing." Ristine's own four-point tax program calls for government

economy, better tax collections, sales tax exemption for prescription drugs and food and more state funds for local schools to hold down property taxes. Ristine's youth and experience are underlined by television spot commercials showing him hurrying down the statehouse steps, briefcase in hand.

Ristine was an early supporter of Goldwater for the Presidency but some Goldwaterites doubt his complete adherence to the Goldwater cause. Ristine says: "I am running for state office and I am running on state issues," but he reaffirms his Goldwater support when queried. Returning from the Republican "summit conference" in Hershey, Pa., in August, Ristine said neither he "nor anybody responsible in our party" will try to gain votes from the white "backlash" against the civil rights law. Some observers believe Ristine, if elected, would attempt to readapt the program and image of the Indiana Republican party in a more moderate mold.

Outlook: Doubtful.

Senate

Sen. Vance Hartke (D), 45, first elected 1958, v. D. Russell Bontrager, 56, of Indianapolis, an attorney and State Senator since 1949.

Hartke's first election was over then-Gov. Harold W. Handley (R) with 242,001 vote plurality (56.5 percent).

Hartke was renominated without opposition at June 12 Democratic state convention. Bontrager was nominated on third ballot at Republican convention June 9, outpacing U.S. Rep. Donald C. Bruce (R Ind. 11th District - Indianapolis), the first ballot favorite. Both were regarded as conservatives, but Bruce as an ultra-conservative.

Hartke biography: Weekly Report p. 848.

State's other Senator: Sen. Birch Bayh (D), first elected 1962 with 10,944 vote plurality (50.3 percent).

Hartke apparently enjoys a comfortable edge in his re-election race, based on his indefatigable devotion to the rigors of campaigning. Scarcely a hamlet in the state has failed to receive a visit from Hartke, and every newspaper editor's desk has been flooded with news of Hartke and his doings for the past several years. This saturation campaign now promises to pay off in a second term, even if Goldwater should carry Indiana.

Bontrager is not nearly as well-known as Hartke and while he is effective with small groups, observers say he has difficulty winning large audiences to his side. Bontrager accuses Hartke of being "a rubber stamp for Lyndon Johnson" and "the man who praised Bobby Baker." Bontrager's own platform stresses opposition to "paternalistic government," calls for a "balanced budget" and warns of "the mushroom growth of the Federal Government."

Hartke stresses his own Senate record and refers to Democratic achievements in reducing taxes, decreasing unemployment and the like. A Hartke campaign newsletter declares: "Vance Hartke has done more in six years than most people in his position have done in 20. A powerhouse of energy, he has worked for Hoosiers and his country. Virtually every piece of important legislation in the last six years bears his name as a sponsor. Defense contracts for Indiana have multiplied and funds for flood control, conservation and recreation have grown 30 fold! His votes for the working man, the businessman, the farmer and housewife have earned him strong

support from all segments of the community. Hartke helps Hoosiers!"

Outlook: Leans Democratic.

House

11 seats. Current line-up: 4 Democrats, 7 Republicans. Republicans are likely to lose some seats.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %						JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952
1 Madden (D)	60.5	64.7	66.4	52.6	61.4	56.4	62.7	52.2	44.7
2 Halleck (R)	57.6	57.5	52.2	62.2	59.8	59.3	37.5	68.4	67.3
3 Brademas (D)	51.9	52.4	56.9	53.1	50.4	54.5	47.9	58.4	55.9
4 Adair (R)	55.6	58.2	50.1	63.5	59.8	63.7	38.5	68.1	64.9
5 Roush (D)	51.6	50.0	53.7	56.4	53.1	56.9	42.4	60.2	57.5
6 Roudebush (R)	52.7	52.0	51.5	55.0	52.5	55.7	41.1	59.0	58.5
7 Bray (R)	57.8	60.1	53.8	57.2	55.4	56.1	41.0	58.9	56.6
8 Denton (D)	55.7	53.2	61.5	50.1	52.1	52.6	48.7	56.5	55.3
9 Wilson (R)	52.1	50.6	50.4	53.4	51.7	56.4	43.0	59.2	58.5
10 Harvey (R)	52.9	57.1	50.7	56.3	55.9	59.9	41.5	59.8	60.4
11 Bruce (R)*	54.2	53.7	52.1	59.4	54.9	59.3	42.1	62.1	60.5

* Retiree.

1st District (Lake County - Gary) — Veteran Rep. Ray J. Madden (D), 72, should easily brush aside a challenge from Arthur F. Endres (R), 62, a retired oil refinery manager. The "white backlash" issue evident in the area in the Presidential primary apparently plays no role in the Congressional campaign. Madden voted for the Civil Rights Act and Endres' campaign literature pictures the GOP candidate working with Negro Republican officials. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

2nd District (Northwest) — House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R), 64, is expected to win another term, but observers believe his margin will be down from the 21,895 vote plurality (57.6 percent) by which he defeated his Democratic opponent in 1962. Halleck's 1964 challenger is John C. Raber (D), 58, of West Lafayette, former president of the Indiana Farmers Union and an energetic campaigner. He attacks Halleck as "Charlie Van Winkle" and says Halleck will have difficulty recognizing the 2nd District "when he comes home next January after 30 long years of sleep." Raber charges that Halleck has opposed the REA, Social Security and minimum wage laws. "We are going to say 'no' to the man who has said 'no' for 30 years," Raber says. Halleck's closest scrape of recent years was in 1958, when he won by 6,141 votes (52.2 percent). Outlook: Leans Republican.

3rd District (North Central - South Bend) — Rep. John Brademas (D), 37, leads in his bid for a fourth term. His opponent is Robert L. Miller (R), 43, a South Bend attorney making his first bid for public office. Miller has mounted an aggressive attack on Brademas. The local Republican campaign was badly damaged, however, by GOP Vice Presidential candidate William E. Miller's Labor Day speech in South Bend in which he said the Administration's proposed immigration bill would "open the floodgates" of foreign immigrants, putting Americans out of work. South Bend has a substantial foreign stock population, including many persons trying

to get visas for friends and relatives in "low quota" countries. Outlook: Leans Democratic.

4th District (Northeast - Fort Wayne) — Rep. E. Ross Adair (R), 56, faces unusually vigorous opposition from Fort Wayne attorney Max E. Hobbs (D), 32. Hobbs has a good campaign personality and a well-financed effort going in his behalf. Some local polls have shown Adair running a rather weak race. Adair barely survived the Democratic sweep of 1958 but built his winning margin to 16,140 votes (55.6 percent) in 1962. Outlook: Leans Republican.

5th District (Central - Anderson, Marion) — Rep. J. Edward Roush (D), 44, won this normally Republican district in 1958 and has been able to hold on to it by virtue of his own personality and success in getting flood control reservoirs built along the Wabash River, a vital factor for local farming. Former State House Majority Leader John R. Feighner (R), 43, a Marion insurance agent and Roush's 1964 opponent, has mounted an energetic, well-financed campaign and proved as effective as Roush on the hustings. He charges that Roush has been "completely ineffective" in bringing defense space contracts to the area. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

6th District (West Central - Terre Haute) — Rep. Richard L. Roudebush (R), 46, is challenged by Karl O'Lessker (D), 35, a professor of political science at Wabash College who moved to the district from Philadelphia, Pa., six years ago and served in 1962 and 1963 as a legislative assistant to Gov. Welsh. O'Lessker's campaign has prompted Roudebush to campaign actively and call O'Lessker "a Philadelphia carpetbagger and a product of the most corrupt, big city political machine in America" with mysterious ADA ties back East. The district is normally quite close, and a Democratic Presidential surge could upset Roudebush, an outspoken conservative. Outlook: Leans Republican.

7th District (Southwest) — Rep. William G. Bray (R), 61, who unsuccessfully sought the 1964 GOP gubernatorial nomination, is firmly entrenched in this district. His opponent, as in 1962, is Jasonville farmer Elden C. Tipton (D), 45, a retired Naval officer. Republicans are apprehensive about losing this district whenever Bray retires, however. Outlook: Safe Republican.

8th District (South - Evansville) — Rep. Winfield K. Denton (D), 68, has a firm grasp on this district. His 1964 opponent: Roger H. Zion (R), 43, director of sales training for Mead Johnson Laboratories in Evansville. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

9th District (Southeast) — Rep. Earl Wilson (R), 58, is in serious danger of defeat at the hands of Columbus attorney Lee H. Hamilton (D), 33, a former athlete and local civic leader with a wide base of personal support. Hamilton's campaign is vigorous and well-financed. Wilson, a staunch old-line conservative who has made his mark as a keen watchdog of Pentagon spending practices, won by 5,302 votes (52.1 percent) against another attractive Democratic opponent in 1962. He had been upset by the 1958 Democratic sweep, only to regain his seat in 1960. Polls show a neck-and-neck situation. Outlook: Doubtful.

10th District (East Central - Muncie) — Though this district has been close in the past (and actually went Democratic in 1958), Republicans claim and Democrats privately concede that Rep. Ralph Harvey (R), 62, is likely to defeat Russell E. David (D), 50, director of the general services division of the Indiana State Department of Administration. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

11th District (Indianapolis) — This seat is being vacated by Rep. Donald C. Bruce (R), an ultra-conservative. Winner of the GOP primary was an equally if not more conservative contender, former U.S. District Attorney Don A. Tabbert (R), 36. A former Indiana president of Americans for Constitutional Action and devoted Goldwater follower, Tabbert sought with his friends to take over the regular Marion County GOP organization following his victory in the May 5 primary. The move proved abortive, however. He has encountered further difficulties in the general election campaign because of his announcement that he would have voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This caused consternation among Negro GOP leaders, who normally deliver a substantial vote to local Republican candidates. Tabbert may make up for some of his losses among moderate Republicans and Negroes, however, through the energetic campaign efforts of the local Goldwater partisans, known as "The Victory Committee."

Running for a second time on the Democratic ticket is former State Rep. Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D), 32, an Indianapolis attorney and son of former U.S. Rep. Andrew Jacobs (D Ind. 1949-51). Jacobs won the reputation of being an outspoken and uncompromising liberal during his 1962 race, a factor which helped Bruce defeat him by 20,016 votes (54.2 percent). Local observers say Jacobs has toned down his liberalism some in 1964, however, and is running a campaign tied to Johnson's coat-tails. Jacobs' campaign is better financed and Democratic registration is up sharply. Outlook: Doubtful.

IOWA

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 1002, 1090, 1426

President

Observers predict that President Johnson will carry Iowa, although the margin of his victory seems questionable. An Oct. 4 poll conducted by the Des Moines Register gave the Johnson-Humphrey ticket 64 percent of the vote and the Goldwater-Miller 29 percent, with 7 percent undecided. In-depth interviewing, however, has detected a hidden groundswell of distaste for both candidates. Many voters express dissatisfaction with the "mudslinging" engaged in by the nominees. Others seem to be influenced by the Republican charge that the Democratic Administration is corrupt. But apprehensiveness about Goldwater, plus the popularity of Gov. Harold Hughes, ought to help President Johnson.

Governor

Gov. Harold E. Hughes (D), 42, first elected 1962 with a 41,944 vote plurality (52.6 percent), v. State Attorney General Evan Hultman (R), 39.

Both Hughes and Hultman were unopposed for their respective party's gubernatorial nominations in the June 1 primary.

Gov. Hughes has built a strong base of support during his two years in office and appears to enjoy a substantial lead over Hultman. Iowa observers say Hughes' effective 1963 leadership in defeating the proposed Shaff reapportionment plan, which was designed to maintain legislative power in rural areas, plus his success in getting the Legislature to pass liquor-by-the-drink legislation (one of his key 1962 campaign promises), established his image as a strong and effective Governor. Hughes has also been helped by the growth in the state's industrial rate in the past year and the creation of approximately 4,000 new jobs as a result of growth.

Hughes, who has a reputation for being outspoken on controversial issues, has said: "It has been my conviction that public officials should take clear stands on the major issues. I believe the record will show that I have never hesitated to place my political future on the block for what I believed to be in the public interest. I have no intention of changing this policy."

Hultman, a moderate-to-liberal Republican, is well financed and campaigning hard. Although he supported Gov. William Scranton (R Pa.) for the Republican Presidential nomination, he is now backing Goldwater. He has said: "I am for Barry Goldwater from beginning to end and I am convinced that he will be the next President."

Hughes and Hultman disagree over the state's right-to-work law. Hughes has called for Iowans to take a "fair look at labor's point of view" on the law. He feels that "it is understandable that the majority of a company's workers who pay the costs of the union and abide by its rules should not want to share the benefits gained with a minority who have not shared in the effort and costs involved in gaining those benefits." Hultman supports the right-to-work law on the grounds that "the law is founded on the principles of freedom and opportunity for every citizen."

Tax policy has also become an issue in the gubernatorial race. Hultman has accused Hughes of having "no tax program," and Hughes has charged that Hultman's proposal are dreams "of the highest quality." Hughes proposes an increase in the gasoline tax from 6 to 7 cents a gallon and a pay-as-you-go program of highway construction. He has also said that he will not support tax reductions at the expense of meeting the needs of the state "whatever the political consequences may be." Hughes believes that more money should be spent on education in the state and that this cannot be done if taxes are cut. Hultman says he favors "no new taxes and no increases in existing taxes." He supports elimination of taxes on household furnishings, moneys and credits, and livestock to be used for breeding purposes. Hultman says his program is feasible because the state's industrial growth will provide additional revenue. For highway construction, Hultman proposes a bonding issue. He believes construction at present costs "will more than cover the cost of financing a bond issue" since construction costs are certain to rise in the coming years. Hultman also feels that education can be improved by more efficient use of present school funds. He suggests "calling upon private enterprise to handle school transportation; the investigation of more economical use of available schoolbuildings for 24 hours a day and the year around to alleviate overcrowding; the expansion of industrial education."

Hultman has criticized his opponent for "borrowing" a car to use during the campaign. Hughes is using an automobile loaned to him by Robert Barry, a Danbury car dealer. Hughes attempted to appoint Barry to the State Highway Commission in 1963, but the State Senate would not confirm the appointment. After the Legislature adjourned, Hughes appointed Barry as an interim Commissioner. Hughes said of the "borrowed" car: "Of course Bob Barry has loaned me automobiles.... He loaned me automobiles before I ever dreamed of running for political office."

Outlook: Leans Democratic.

Senate

Neither seat up. Sen. Bourke Hickenlooper (R), 68, first elected 1944, re-elected 1962 with a 54,762 vote plurality (53.4 percent). Sen. Jack Richard Miller (R), 48, elected to Senate 1960 with a 47,344 vote plurality (51.9 percent).

House

7 seats. Current line-up: 6 Republicans, 1 Democrat. Republicans are in danger in several districts. Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %							JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952	
1 Schwengel (R)	61.1	60.9	53.4	58.0	57.0	62.8	43.5	60.3	63.5	
2 Bromwell (R)	52.8	52.6								
3 Gross (R)	56.7	55.7								
4 Kyl (R)	55.8	55.2								
5 Smith (D)	62.8	54.0								
6 Hoeven (R)*	58.5	54.9								
7 Jensen (R)	56.1	52.8								

*Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.

*Retiree.

1st District (Southeast - Davenport) - Rep. Fred Schwengel (R), 57, should defeat John R. Schmidhauser (D), 42, a political science professor at Iowa State University. During the 88th Congress, Schwengel won editorial praise by his request to be placed on the House District Committee because of his interest in the affairs of the Capital city. He was also acting as chairman of a Republican House Subcommittee on Minority Staffing, seeking to get more Republican representation on committee staffs. In 1963, Schwengel was offered an award by the Americans for Constitutional Action, which approved of 60 percent of his voting record. Schwengel turned down the award, saying: "When your organization, for example, rated me as 60 percent for liberty, leaving me to wonder where I was against liberty the other 40 percent and yet offered me its highest award, I found my method of computation hopelessly beyond my understanding."

Schmidhauser supports the Administration's feed-grains program, proposals for better industrial wages and increased emphasis on safety in factories, conservation of natural resources and legislation to eliminate water pollution. He has criticized Schwengel for spending

too much time on District of Columbia affairs. Outlook: Safe Republican.

2nd District (Northeast - Cedar Rapids) - Rep. James E. Bromwell (R), 44, and John C. Culver (D), 32, are engaged in what is probably the tightest race in the state. Bromwell, a moderate conservative, has said that the Federal Government "has gotten so big as to be beyond the comprehension of any individual.... We have been negligent in not providing adequate safeguards against this expansion of power. I am not one who believes we should concentrate still more power in the government."

Culver, an attorney, former Harvard football player and legislative assistant to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D Mass.) views the government differently. He has said: "Our government is bigger but so is the nation's population.... Government should not infringe upon the essential liberties of the individual but within that limitation government can and must be made an instrument of positive action."

Culver and Bromwell also disagree on the federal tax cut, medicare, and state legislative reapportionment. Culver supports the tax cut; Bromwell voted against it. Bromwell favors financing a plan of medical care for the aged through a federal-state set-up; Culver would like to put a plan under the Social Security system. Bromwell voted for the Tuck bill to strip the courts of jurisdiction in state legislative reapportionment cases because "it was the only opportunity the House had to express itself on the issue." Culver has termed the bill "irresponsible." Culver has brought in some high-powered assistance, including Peace Corps director Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the late John F. Kennedy. Both candidates are campaigning intensively. Johnson coattails and his own resourceful campaign should aid Culver, but Bromwell has built up a solid base of support and re-support during his two terms in the House. Outlook: Doubtful.

3rd District (North Central) - Rep. H.R. Gross (R), 65, a peppery but popular conservative, is favored over Stephen M. Peterson (D), 27, Waterloo Assistant Attorney. Peterson has criticized Gross' opposition to the President's legislative programs and support of the Goldwater philosophy! "It is time the richest agricultural area in the nation sends a legislator to promote the interest of agriculture and to engage support for good sound farm programs, instead of sending a negative thinker who not only votes against farm legislation himself, but (has) a constant negative approach to nearly all legislation." Outlook: Leans Republican.

4th District (South Central) - Rep. John Kyl (R), 45, first elected to Congress in December 1959, enjoys a substantial lead over Bert Bandstra (D), 42, a Pella attorney and former assistant to Congressman Neal Smith (D Iowa). Outlook: Leans Republican.

5th District (Central - Des Moines) - Rep. Neal Smith (D), 44, should defeat Benjamin J. Gibson Jr. (R), 42, a Des Moines advertising executive. Smith is running on his Congressional record. He has mentioned his part in getting Congressional funding for the Red Rock Dam and Saylorville Reservoir, in cutting \$3.9 billion from President Johnson's recommended spending (Smith is a member of the Appropriations Committee) and in securing

extension of the feed grains bill. Gibson has charged that Iowa is not getting her share of defense spending and that business leaders and union officials have not been acquainted with all the economic opportunities possible through government contracts. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

6th District (Northwest - Sioux City) - State Rep. Howard N. Sokol (R), 52, a securities and real estate broker, and Sioux City Mayor Stanley L. Greigg (D), 32, dean of men at Morningside College, are engaged in a close race for the seat of retiring Rep. Charles B. Hoeven (R), 69, ranking Republican on the House Agriculture Committee. None of the seven Republican candidates received the required 35 percent of the vote in the June 1 primary but a district convention July 2 named Sokol, a conservative, on the 18th ballot. Sokol has said he opposes the federal tax cut, the beef imports bill, and medical care for the aged financed through Social Security. Greigg has announced support of all three bills. Sokol believes in "cutting expenses first and taxes second." He claims that the "Democrats haven't been doing a very good job of meeting the unemployment problem...we have had less unemployment in periods of budget surplus than in periods of deficits." Greigg maintains that "everyone should be concerned with the national debt," but that no one should forget that the gross national product is increasing "faster" than the debt.

Greigg's campaigning abilities, plus his position as mayor of the largest city in the district, are strong factors in his favor. The district, however, went Republican by a 19,398 vote plurality (58.5 percent) in 1962. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Republican.

7th District (Southwest) - Rep. Ben F. Jensen (R), ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee, 71, has a difficult race against John R. Hansen (D), 63, a Manning business executive. Hansen has criticized Jensen for voting against the 1964 farm program, the anti-poverty Bill, the Civil Rights Act and proposed changes in the Social Security program. On the farm program, Hansen said of Jensen: "Our incumbent Congressman certainly has had his anti-farm program votes repudiated by the farmers themselves. This is conclusively evidenced by the fact that approximately 80 percent of the farmers in most southwest counties signed up for the 1964 program.... Many 7th District farmers have commented that had they not had the voluntary feed grain program available to them, they would not have been able to stay in business." Hansen has also criticized Jensen for supporting Goldwater for President. Hansen said: "Southwest Iowa voters must not forget that a vote for Ben Jensen is a vote for the irresponsible policies of Barry Goldwater. Many people are saying that Goldwater is not to be trusted in the important position of President of the U.S. But it was through the efforts of Jensen and some of his colleagues that the moderate wing of the Republican Party was stripped of its representation in this election. Even if Goldwater loses, Jensen will continue to vote the irresponsible Goldwater line if he is re-elected." Gov. Hughes, a friend of Hansen's, has campaigned for him.

Jensen said of Hughes' participation in the campaign: "I would think that Hughes would have all he can handle with Curly (Evan) Hultman as his opponent. However, if he wants to take on Ben Jensen he will find that I'm ready to climb right on his neck." Some observers believe Hansen made a better impression than Jensen

in a recent televised debate between the two. The district's staunch Republicanism, however, works to Jensen's favor. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Republican.

KANSAS

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 1544, 1703

President

Observers give President Johnson a better-than-even chance to win in traditionally Republican Kansas. In most areas, polls show the President running about 15 percent ahead of the vote given John F. Kennedy in 1960. Nixon carried Kansas in 1960 with a 198,261 vote plurality (60.4 percent). Goldwater's stands on nuclear arms control and international affairs have hurt him in the state.

Governor

U.S. Rep. William H. Avery (R), 53, Wakefield farmer, v. Harry G. Wiles (D), 48, an attorney and member of the Kansas Corporation Commission. Gov. John B. Anderson Jr. (R), first elected 1960 and re-elected 1962, retiring voluntarily. Avery won the Aug. 4 primary over a field of seven other candidates. Unofficial returns gave Avery 82,997 votes (30.0 percent) and McDill (Huck) Boyd, 56, Avery's nearest opponent 74,638 votes (27.0 percent). Wiles won the Democratic primary by defeating five other candidates. Nearly complete returns gave Wiles 47,417 votes to 32,716 for Jules V. Doty, his nearest opponent.

William Avery, one of Kansas' most skilled campaigners, enjoys a moderate lead in his race against Democrat Harry Wiles. Avery decided to seek the Governorship after serving 10 years in the U.S. House. Announcing his candidacy Dec. 11, 1963, Avery said: "I think it is a natural ambition for one in politics to want to be Governor. I think it's the highest honor a state can bestow. And I think I have never quite dislodged my grass roots in Kansas. In his campaigning, Avery has pledged increased state aid for schools, the creation of new job opportunities through the development of new industries, and maintenance of the high level of treatment of the mentally ill in the state. Avery has accused Washington of turning a "cold shoulder" to the agriculture problems of the Middle West. Wiles, who has had two unsuccessful attempts at public office, has said that he is confident he can do well in this race "if the issues are outlined to them (the voters) in a forthright way." He has accused the Republicans of using "catchy, emotional phrases...to appease... and to evade the real problems of the day." He has also charged Avery with seeking the Governorship in order to gain a power base from which to run for the Senate. Wiles has said that Kansas must move away from "the backward, inactive, status quo philosophy which has plagued our state for most of its 103 year history." To do this, Wiles proposes improving the economic operations of the state government, establishing a school foundation finance program which is "realistic," revising

the state tax structure, and launching a program of industrial development. Observers see Wiles as an able candidate with a good knowledge of government, but point out that he is a Democrat in a traditionally Republican state. Kansas has rarely elected Democrats to the Governor's chair in modern times, though it did break with the normal pattern by electing the late George Docking (D) in 1956 and 1958. Outlook: Leans Republican.

Senate

Neither seat up. Sen. Frank Carlson (R), 71, first elected 1950, re-elected 1962 over K.L. Smith (D), 40, with a 164,870 vote plurality (62.4 percent). Sen. James B. Pearson (R), 44, elected 1962 over Paul L. Aylward (D), 56, to fill the unexpired term (4 years) of the late Sen. Andrew F. Schoeppel (R) with a 83,933 vote plurality (56.2 percent).

House

5 seats. Current line-up: 5 Republicans, no Democrats. Democrats have outside chances to pick up one or two districts. Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %					JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1960	1956	1952
1 Dole (R)	55.8	51.5*						
2 Avery (R)*	65.2	59.4*						
3 Ellsworth (R)	63.4	54.3*						
4 Shriver (R)	66.9	54.8*						
5 Skubitz (R)	53.3	51.9*						

* Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.
* Retiree.

1st District (West) — Rep. Bob Dole (R), 40, an outspoken conservative, apparently leads William S. (Bill) Bork (D), 47, director of information for the Farmers' Co-op Commission in the vast, wheat-producing district. Dole, first elected in 1960, was re-elected in 1962 with a 21,407 vote plurality (55.8 percent) in a combined district with Rep. Floyd Breeding (D 1957-61). Bork, who switched from the Republican to the Democratic Party in May, is seeking public office for the first time. To date, Bork's main campaign issue has been that he is closely connected with the agriculture interests which predominate in the district. He argues that Dole, an attorney, does not have a farm background. Outlook: Leans Republican.

2nd District (Northeast) — Chester L. Mize (R), 56, a wealthy Atchison drug dealer and a staunch conservative, should defeat John D. Montgomery (D), 61, third generation publisher and owner of the Junction City Daily Union. Montgomery enjoys warm ties with normally Republican circles in the district but reportedly lacks Mize's skill as a campaigner. Mize told the Atchison County Women's Republican Club Sept. 24 that "the shortest route to the common

good of all people is through developing the potential greatness of each person.... Bureaucracy begins when the individual becomes a faceless member of a mass." The next day, Mize charged that the Democratic Party represents a threat to individualism. He said: "Our country is faced with a crisis more serious than any depression. It is faced by a basic question of whether or not our constitutionality and rights are to be continually taken from us — whether or not fiscal integrity is to be applied to the running of our financial affairs — and whether or not the Communist threat is to be recognized for what it is." Mize has the support of Rep. William H. Avery (R), who gave up the seat to run for Governor. In his campaign, Montgomery has claimed that the district needs to send someone to Washington to "work with President Johnson instead of fighting him." Despite Montgomery's industrious campaign, the area's staunch GOP voting habits make him the underdog. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Republican.

3rd District (East - Kansas City, Suburbs, Rural Counties) — Rep. Robert F. Ellsworth (R), 38, is favored over A. Clayton Dial (D), 52, a Kansas City insurance executive who made a strong but losing race for Mayor of Kansas City in 1962. Ellsworth, who was first elected to Congress in 1960, has said he will run on his own moderately conservative Congressional record. Ellsworth headed the pre-convention Scranton campaign in Kansas, a move which may have hurt him with the extreme conservatives, but scarcely hurt his image among moderate Republicans and independents. Dial has said that he believes more businessmen should go into government because of the "special talents of managerial skills" which they possess. Outlook: Safe Republican.

4th District (Central - Wichita) — Rep. Garner E. Shriver (R), 52, is favored to defeat former State Rep. Jack Graves (D), 37, a Wichita attorney and former state Democratic chairman. Shriver, who was first elected in 1960, is quite popular in his home city of Wichita, largest city in the district. To win, a Democrat would have to run very strongly in Wichita. Outlook: Safe Republican.

5th District (Southeast) — Freshman Rep. Joe Skubitz (R), 58, a staunch conservative, apparently leads Reb Russell (D), a cattleman-farmer, former All American football player at Northwestern University and cowboy movie star. Russell, a fairly conservative Democrat, has had difficulty developing a clear-cut issue against Skubitz. In addition, his campaign has encountered financing difficulties and he was harmed by revelations that he actually voted in Oklahoma in the 1962 elections. Only an unexpectedly strong Johnson run in the district, which includes pockets of serious unemployment, could upset Skubitz. Outlook: Leans Republican.

MICHIGAN

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 1923, 2038

President

President Johnson leads Barry Goldwater by an overwhelming margin in Michigan, according both to polls and informed opinions. Gov. George W. Romney (R), a moderate Republican who seeks to preserve his otherwise

excellent chances for re-election, has refused to endorse Goldwater. Reasons for the strong anti-Goldwater feelings include his conservative views on many domestic issues in a state which has become a Democratic-labor stronghold, Goldwater's advocacy of a more militant foreign policy, and his stand on nuclear weapons in a state which became internationalist under the guiding hand of the late Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg (R 1928-51).

Governor

Gov. George W. Romney (R), 56, first elected 1962, v. U.S. Rep. At Large Neil Staebler (D), 59, a former Democratic state chairman. Romney easily won renomination over former State Sen. George N. Higgins (R) in the Sept. 1 primary with 87.9 percent of the vote. Staebler was unopposed for the Democratic nomination.

Romney is a clear favorite to win a second term — barring a surge of straight-ticket voting for President Johnson. Romney and other Republican leaders pushed through the Legislature earlier in 1964 a bill changing the Michigan ballot from a straight-ticket type to a "Massachusetts" style ballot where the voter must mark his choices for each individual office. The Democrats successfully petitioned for a referendum on the bill and it will be voted on by the electorate Nov. 3. Therefore the old straight-ticket type of ballot remains in effect — causing Romney his deepest worry. If President Johnson's margin of victory should, as now predicted, come close to 2 million votes (unprecedented for Michigan), Romney will probably be defeated. Staebler has his own share of problems however, highlighted by a scarcity of really effective issues and the candidacy of a Negro, Albert B. Cleage Jr., a Detroit minister, for Governor on the ticket of the newly formed Freedom Now party. While Cleage is expected to draw a maximum of 20,000 votes, most of those would be votes Staebler could normally count on. In a close election, they could spell the difference between victory or defeat. Staebler's chief issue has been the Goldwater candidacy and his so far unsuccessful attempts to link Goldwater and Romney together.

Romney has refused to endorse Goldwater because of his deep differences with the GOP Presidential candidate over such issues as civil rights and extremists. When Goldwater campaigned in Michigan on Sept. 26, Romney was noticeably cool to Goldwater and quickly left the scene as soon as common courtesy would permit. After the visit, the Chicago Tribune reported that Goldwater had said that Romney was campaigning only for himself and harming the entire GOP ticket as a result. The Goldwater statement is believed to have widened the gulf between the two political leaders with Romney saying, "I'm sorry Sen. Goldwater would make such an inaccurate statement." Romney says: "It would also play into the hands of Democratic state candidates to involve myself in the national campaign." Romney campaigns strictly on state issues and his two-year record as Governor, saying: "We've made more progress, solved more problems and made more preparation for future progress in the past 21 months than any other state in the nation." One of the biggest disagreements between Romney and Staebler has been just who is responsible for the state's progress. Staebler says most

of the credit should go to the Democratic Administration in Washington while Romney insists, "We have lagged behind the nation in past years and while the federal picture plays some part, the biggest change has been one of attitude."

Staebler contends: "They (Republicans) brag about minimum wage and construction safety bills passed by the Legislature. Let me remind you these measures are more showmanship than substance. The minimum wage bill covers a small percentage of those workers who need it. The construction safety bill has no teeth. The real issue in this campaign, it seems to me is which party, which leadership team, can do the most and the best for Michigan and for the country." Staebler says Romney "doesn't want to be for Goldwater, and he doesn't want to be against him. He wants to be in some limbo." Staebler pledges to support more aid to higher education, reform the state's labor compensation laws and to hold the line on the state's property taxes. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Republican.

Senate

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D), 51, first elected 1958, v. Mrs. Elly M. Peterson (R), 49, former Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Hart's 1958 victory was over then-Sen. Charles E. Potter (R 1952-59) with a 170,003 vote plurality (53.6 percent).

Hart biography: Weekly Report p. 847.

Hart was unopposed for renomination in the Sept. 1 primary. Mrs. Peterson won the Republican nomination over James F. O'Neill and Edward A. Meany Jr. with 39.0 percent of the vote.

State's other Senator: Sen. Patrick V. McNamara (D), first elected 1954, re-elected 1960 with 120,306 vote plurality (51.7 percent).

Hart is favored to defeat Mrs. Peterson and win a second term. Mrs. Peterson has not demonstrated the type of appeal to Democrats and independents which would be necessary to unseat Hart in this strong Democratic year in Michigan. Hart is believed to have made a reasonably good impression on Michigan's voters and is a veteran state political figure whereas Mrs. Peterson is known largely among the leaders of the Michigan Republican party and is little known among the rank-and-file. She suffers to some extent from the lack of newspaper publicity in vote-rich Detroit.

Despite a seemingly uphill fight, Mrs. Peterson has been waging an extensive campaign and has recruited a reported 100,000 women to help her. She says that the choice between herself and Hart could be described as "six years of responsible conservatism and effective representation or six more years of my opponent." She had been highly critical of the Johnson Administration's war on poverty programs until Gov. Romney urged Michigan's local governments to begin preparations for taking advantage of the program's features. Since then she has joined the Governor and softened her attacks on it. Unlike Romney, Mrs. Peterson fully supports Goldwater: "I don't necessarily agree on all items with Mr. Goldwater just as I don't see eye-to-eye on all items with Gov. Romney. But this party is big enough to weather differences of opinion. Our basic philosophy is the same." Among proposals Mrs. Peterson has developed is one for

ending the draft, spelled out in substantially more detail than the earlier proposal by Goldwater.

Hart generally ignores his opponent and concentrates his fire on Goldwater, whom he accuses of regarding nuclear weapons "as if they were merely improved hand grenades." He asks the Republicans in his audiences to join him in support of President Johnson and reject the Goldwater "segment of Republicans who have taken control of the Republican party and are campaigning against the whole mainstream of political thought." Hart says Goldwater has "a record of opposition to those ideas which when put in operation, would make us stronger at home and abroad." He is also critical of Goldwater's choice for a Vice Presidential running mate saying, "Historians will never fathom the reasons Barry Goldwater picked Mr. Miller to run for Vice President."

Outlook: Leans Democratic.

House

19 seats. Current line-up: 8 Democrats, 11 Republicans. Democrats could well improve their standing by one seat, making the new line-up 9 Democrats, 10 Republicans.

The Michigan State Legislature, under the urging of Gov. Romney and watchful eye of the federal courts, May 22 enacted a new Congressional redistricting bill for the second time in less than a year. The earlier redistricting was thrown out by a three-judge federal panel and the legislature was obliged to redistrict once again or all nineteen Congressmen would have run at large. Michigan gained a new seat under the 1960 Census and it was filled at large in 1962. (For background on the redistricting and descriptions of the new districts, see Weekly Report p. 1933.)

Incumbents, political complexion of new districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

DISTRICT, INCUMBENT	1962 HOUSE VOTE	
	(Within Confines of New Districts)	
1 None	N.A. (Safe Democratic)	
2 Meader (R)	55.4#	
3 Johansen (R)	59.6#	
4 Hutchinson (R)	64.0	
5 Ford (R)	64.2	
6 Chamberlain (R)	60.8	
7 None	50.1	
8 Harvey (R)	58.0	
9 Griffin (R)	60.2	
10 Cederberg (R)	63.2	
11 Knox (R)	59.3	
12 O'Hara (D)	66.1	
13 Diggs (D)	N.A. (Safe Democratic)	
14 Nedzi (D)	N.A. (Safe Democratic)	
15 None	N.A. (Safe Democratic)	
16 Dingell (D)	N.A. (Safe Democratic)	
17 Griffiths (D)	N.A. (Safe Democratic)	
18 Broomfield (R)	N.A. (Leans Republican)	
19 None	N.A. (Doubtful)	

N.A.: Not Available.

Estimated vote using available figures for 1962 Congressional candidates and figures for non-Congressional races in townships for which the Congressional vote was not available.

1st District (North Central Detroit, Highland Park) — Detroit attorney John J. Conyers Jr. (D), 35, a hearing referee on the Michigan Workmen's Compensation Board, is strongly favored to defeat Robert B. Blackwell (R), 42, of Highland Park, executive secretary of the State Labor Mediation Board and unsuccessful 1962 candidate against Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D) in the old 13th District. Both candidates are Negroes, assuring Michigan of its second Negro Congressman. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

2nd District (Southeast — Ann Arbor, Monroe) — Rep. George Meader (R), 57, a conservative who opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, should easily win re-election over Weston E. Vivian (D), an executive of an Ann Arbor research organization. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

3rd District (South Central — Kalamazoo, Battle Creek) — Ultra-conservative Rep. August E. Johansen (R), 59, is an odds-on favorite to defeat Kalamazoo businessman Paul H. Todd (D), 43, who is waging an active campaign hoping to capitalize on Johansen's steadfast opposition to President Johnson's programs. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

4th District (Southwest — Benton Harbor, St. Joseph) — Freshman Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R), 50, should have little trouble duplicating his easy 1962 victory over Russell W. Holcomb (D), 45, a Jonesville oil well producer. Outlook: Safe Republican.

5th District (West Central — Grand Rapids) — Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R), 51, will almost certainly win re-election over Grand Rapids attorney William G. Reamon (D), 37. Outlook: Safe Republican.

6th District (Central — Lansing, Jackson) — Rep. Charles E. Chamberlain (R), 47, is a solid choice to defeat Boyd K. Benedict (D), 38, executive secretary of the State Municipal Finance Commission. Outlook: Safe Republican.

7th District (East Central — Flint) — State Highway Commissioner John C. Mackie (D), 43, is generally favored to defeat Linden newspaper editor and publisher Claude E. Sadler (R), 55, who suffers from lack of identification in the district. Mackie is very well known in both the district and the state. Despite the marginal character of the district, the Outlook: Leans Democratic.

8th District (East — Saginaw, "Thumb" Counties) — Rep. James Harvey (R), 42, is believed well ahead of State Treasurer Sanford A. Brown (D), 55, who says "Jim Harvey has a bad record and a big mouth. He can always point his finger, but he can never point the way." Outlook: Safe Republican.

9th District (West Central — Muskegon) — Rep. Robert P. Griffin (R), 40, is assured of re-election over Daniel Griffen (D), 64, a Traverse City retired social worker. Observers doubt that the similarity in the two candidate's names will cause the incumbent much trouble. Outlook: Safe Republican.

10th District (North Central — Bay City) — Rep. Elford A. Cederberg (R), 46, should experience little difficulty in turning back the challenge of Gladwin

laboratory technician Hubert C. Evans (D), 42. Outlook: Safe Republican.

11th District (Upper Peninsula and North Central) — Rep. Victor A. Knox (R), 65, is favored to defeat Raymond F. Clevenger (D) of Sault St. Marie, former State Corporation Commissioner. The district is much more marginal than the 59.3 percent GOP vote in 1962 would indicate. The late Rep. John B. Bennett (R) represented much of the district, before redistricting, and had a strong personal following among many of the district's Democrats. Bennett died Aug. 9 leaving Knox unopposed for the GOP nomination in their combined districts. Democrats are hopeful of victory and Clevenger is waging an active campaign using a converted bus. President Johnson is likely to run well in the district but the presence of some staunchly Republican counties in North Central Michigan means the Outlook: Leans Republican.

12th District (East — Macomb County) — Rep. James G. O'Hara (D), 38, whose old district was always closely contested, now enjoys a solidly Democratic area to run in. O'Hara's opponent, East Detroit pharmaceutical distributor Robert A. Powell (R), 45, faces a steep, uphill fight. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

13th District (Downtown Detroit) — Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D), 41, is assured of re-election over Bruce C. Watson (R), 41, a Detroit insurance underwriter. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

14th District (East Detroit, Hamtramck, the Grosse Pointes) — Rep. Lucien N. Nedzi (D), 39, is strongly favored to defeat George Bashara (R), 63, a Grosse Pointe Park attorney. With another candidate Republicans might have staged an upset. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

15th District (Southwestern Wayne County, Dearborn Township) — State Sen. William D. Ford (D), 37, is assured of election over John F. Fellrath Jr. (R), 38, a Dearborn Heights attorney. Ford is a liberal Democrat who promises full support to President Johnson's program. Fellrath, a moderate Republican, hopes to see Michigan gain more defense and space contracts. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

16th District (Dearborn, South Detroit and Suburbs) — Rep. John D. Dingell (D), 38, settled his 1964 re-election difficulties in the Sept. 1 primary and is assured of election over Grosse Ile personnel manager Raymond B. Leonard (R), 41. Dingell, who voted for the 1964 Civil Rights Act, defeated Rep. John Leskinski (D), one of the few Northern Democrats to oppose the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Outlook: Safe Democrat.

17th District (Northwest Detroit) — Rep. Martha W. Griffiths (D), 52, should easily defeat cough drop salesman William P. Harrington (R), 38, of Detroit. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

18th District (Eastern Oakland County) — Rep. William S. Broomfield (R), 42, should win re-election with little difficulty over Frank J. Sierawski (D), 40, assistant Michigan Secretary of State. The district is not quite as heavily Republican as it was before redistricting. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

19th District (Central and Western Oakland County and Northwest Wayne County) — State Auditor General Billie Sunday Farnum (D), 48, is slightly favored to defeat Pontiac attorney Richard D. Kuhn (R), 35, a former delegate to the Michigan Constitutional Convention. On paper the district would appear to have a slight Republican edge. But Farnum is much better known than Kuhn and local reports indicate Kuhn's campaign is amateurish and that he has failed to spark much enthusiasm as a candidate. Farnum is an Administration-type Democrat; Kuhn a staunch conservative. Outlook: Doubtful.

MINNESOTA

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 2033, 2143

President

The nomination of Minnesota's Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey for the Vice Presidency only confirmed what already seemed to be a sure thing: that President Johnson would carry Minnesota by a strong majority in November. The latest Minnesota Poll, released Oct. 11, gave Johnson 71 percent, Goldwater 24 percent of the state-wide vote, with 5 percent undecided or refusing to state a preference. All other political soundings in the state bear out the same picture. Despite the presence of a dedicated Goldwaterite minority, many Republicans are disenchanted with their party's nominee. Mrs. Elizabeth Heffelfinger, former Republican National Committeewoman and for 20 years an influential figure in the state GOP, July 29 announced she could not support Goldwater. The state's Republican officeholders and officials, including Senatorial nominee Wheelock Whitney and Rep. Clark MacGregor (R 3rd District), have appealed for party unity, but a substantial GOP defection seems certain. Independents and Democrats are supporting President Johnson by overwhelming majorities. The "white backlash" issue, which Goldwater leaders have counted on to swing undecided voters in their direction, appears to be of little use to them in Minnesota. The Minnesota Poll has recently shown that while 69 percent of the voters consider civil rights one of the big issues in the campaign, 66 percent are pleased that Congress passed the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

With Johnson headed for an apparent landslide, Republican officeholders and office-seekers are endangered down the line.

Governor

Gov. Karl F. Rolvaag (DFL), elected 1962 with 91 vote plurality (49.7 percent), not up.

Senate

Sen. Eugene F. McCarthy (DFL), 48, first elected 1958, v. Wheelock Whitney (R), 38, Mayor of Wayzata and an investment banker.

McCarthy's 1958 victory was over then-Sen. Edward J. Thye (R Minn. 1947-59) with a 72,218 vote plurality (52.9 percent.) In 1964 primary, McCarthy had only nominal opposition while Whitney was unopposed.

McCarthy biography: Weekly Report p. 850.

State's other Senator: Hubert H. Humphrey (DFL), the 1964 Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, first elected to the Senate in 1948 and re-elected 1960 with 235,582 vote plurality (57.5 percent).

If — as widely anticipated — Whitney loses to McCarthy by a wide margin Nov. 3, no one will be able to say it was because Whitney failed to apply himself to the duties of campaigning. Since the March day when he announced his candidacy, braving choppy weather and icy weather to announce his candidacy on a chartered air trip of eight major cities, Whitney has been shaking hands, giving speeches and holding press conferences in every nook and cranny of the state. In an understatement, he acknowledged early in the year: "Wheelock Whitney isn't exactly a household word in the state of Minnesota." In fact, Whitney was little known outside the Minneapolis suburban town of which he is mayor. By mid-October, Whitney has made himself known throughout Minnesota, but observers still doubted whether it would be enough to topple Sen. McCarthy, the urbane, intellectual and politically astute incumbent. The Minnesota Poll Oct. 11 reported that McCarthy, as of the first days of October, had the backing for re-election of 66 percent of the persons polled in a statewide sampling. Whitney had 28 percent while another 5 percent were undecided or declined to state a preference.

On the campaign trail, Whitney charges that McCarthy "is totally uninformed and ineffective as a representative for the people of the state of Minnesota." He attacks McCarthy for alleged lack of interest in defending Minnesota beef producers against foreign competition and for failing to do enough to encourage new industry or get defense contracts for the state. He also accuses McCarthy of failing to vote "207 times in the past six years" and says that "his attendance record is still among the worst."

McCarthy, by contrast, has scarcely bothered to campaign. The speculation that he might be selected as the 1964 Democratic Vice Presidential nominee was doubtless more effective than any amount of stumping the state. In a recent joint appearance with Whitney before the state AFL-CIO, however, McCarthy challenged Whitney to produce "a single example" where his absence on Senate votes had resulted in the defeat of a proposal. McCarthy sought to link Whitney with Goldwater and called on Whitney to say "whether he approves the Goldwater or the McCarthy record."

Whitney replies that "McCarthy is not running against Goldwater now." While he calls for support of the entire GOP ticket, Whitney makes clear his disagreements with Goldwater on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Social Security, U.S. withdrawal from the U.N., elimination of farm price supports and the federal tax cut.

Outlook: Safe Democratic.

House

8 seats. Current line-up: 4 Democrats, 4 Republicans. At least one Republican seat (7th District) is highly vulnerable. In the Minnesota Poll's statewide sampling reported Oct. 11, 57 percent of the voters preferred DFL House candidates, 37 percent GOP House candidates with the remainder undecided or refusing to say. In 1962, when the current Congressmen were elected, the DFL actually received 49.8 percent and the GOP 50.2 percent of the statewide House vote.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %					JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1960	1956	1952
1 Quie (R)	57.5	57.5	⊕					
2 Nelsen (R)	62.2	60.1	⊕					
3 MacGregor (R)	60.2	58.4	⊕					
4 Karth (D)	59.5	59.8	⊕					
5 Fraser (D)	51.7	53.4	⊕					
6 Olson (D)	50.1	54.0	⊕					
7 Langen (R)	52.0	50.4	⊕					
8 Blatnik (D)	65.7	67.6	⊕					

⊕ Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.

1st District (Southeast) — Democratic hopes of electing State Rep. George P. Daley (DFL), 48, a Lewiston farmer, skyrocketed when he and his Democratic primary opponent polled 29,203 votes to 25,888 for incumbent Rep. Albert H. Quie (R), 41, in the Sept. 8 primary. But most observers believe the district will abide by its traditional Republicanism in the general election. Rep. Quie is a seasoned campaigner with a conservative-to-moderate voting record who has had six years to entrench himself in the district. The late Congressional session delayed the start of his campaign, but it is now in high gear.

DFL organizational work in the district is improved over past years and Daley has been citing his experience in the state Legislature and as a member of the Federal Farm Credit Board (1954-60), under appointment by President Eisenhower. He cites few specific issues in his speeches but stresses that "one of the major functions of a capable Congressman is that of bringing people and groups of divergent interests together."

Quie, like the state's other Republican Congressmen, has endorsed Goldwater but keeps his campaign at arm's length from the Arizonan's. In 1962, Quie was re-elected by a 23,676 vote plurality (57.5 percent). Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

2nd District (Southwest) — Rep. Ancher Nelsen (R), 60, one of the state's most popular Republican officeholders, is challenged by Charles V. Simpson (DFL), 61, a Waterville seed and chicken farmer. In the primary, both running unopposed, Nelsen received 16,985 votes, Simpson 14,307.

On the stump, Simpson criticizes Nelson for not being on the Agriculture Committee although the district ranks 12th among U.S. House districts in farm income. Simpson stresses his experience as a director of the Soybean Council of America. Simpson has numerous billboards up in the district and is reportedly waging a more aggressive campaign than any member of his party in the district in three decades.

Nelson is campaigning actively and heavily favored. In 1962, he won by 32,014 votes (62.2 percent). Outlook: Safe Republican.

3rd District (Minneapolis Suburbs, Anoka County) — Rep. Clark MacGregor (R), 42, one of the moderate GOP leaders in the House and a major Republican strategist in winning passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, faces a stiff challenge from State Sen. Richard J. Parish (DFL), 50, an

attorney and local civil leader. A liberal, Parish favors federal aid to help solve suburban problems in the fields of education, water control and mass transit. In an Oct. 9 debate, Parish accused MacGregor of having been a member of the Republican campaign "truth squad" led by Sen. Strom Thurmond (R S.C.). MacGregor said Parish's accusation was an attempt at "guilt by association, a technique I thought died with Sen. Joe McCarthy." MacGregor said Thurmond was not a member of the "truth squad."

Judging from his willingness to spend time on Republican campaigning outside the district, MacGregor is not overly concerned about his re-election prospects. Democrats, however, feel they have an outside chance, especially if President Johnson sweeps the area. Outlook: Leans Republican.

4th District (St. Paul and East) — Three-term Rep. Joseph E. Karth (DFL), 42, of St. Paul, is virtually assured of re-election. His opponent, John M. Drexler (R), 58, a 59-year-old St. Paul justice of the peace and real estate man, was a Conservative state legislator in the 1940s. The Republican district organization could not find a candidate it was willing to endorse and the nomination went to Drexler by default. Many of the moderate Republican leaders in the district are planning to write in the name of Harry Strong (R), 39, Karth's 1962 opponent, rather than vote for Drexler, an ardent Goldwaterite. Drexler is unconcerned about the lack of party backing, saying his filing "scared the fair-haired boys the so-called GOP wanted to run against Karth this time," leaving him (Drexler) unopposed. Drexler hopes to raise \$1,500 so that he can print a campaign brochure. "But I won't print it until I'm solvent," he says. Karth, meantime, spends much of his time campaigning for Democrats in other areas. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

5th District (Minneapolis) — With the help of a redistricting bill that shifted the district substantially in the Democratic direction, Rep. Donald M. Fraser (DFL), 40, won over veteran Rep. Walter H. Judd (R 1943-63) by 6,137 votes (51.7 percent) in 1962. In 1964, with a non-incumbent opponent and buoyed by the Democratic sweep at the top of the ticket, Fraser ought to win without difficulty. The GOP entry is Minneapolis City Councilman John W. Johnson, 35, a moderate conservative who charges Fraser with having ignored the needs of the district "in at least six important areas" — unemployment, business development, medical care for senior citizens, education, honesty in government and foreign policy. Johnson says Fraser "is the unbending champion of the quaint theory that the U.S. can spend its way to peace being nice to the Communists. This soft and easy approach to Communism advocated by Fraser and similar intellectuals has always endangered U.S. security and always will." Fraser, who won an unusual appointment to the Foreign Affairs Committee as a freshman, defends his Congressional activities and says: "If the Republicans want to say that the late President John F. Kennedy was 'naive about Communism' then they are trying to make the unbelievable believable." Fraser quotes Foreign Affairs Chairman Thomas E. Morgan (D Pa.) as having said that Fraser was "our hardest-working, most faithful new Committee member." Fraser also claims credit for helping win House passage of the Civil Rights Act and for contributing to district needs by his votes for the tax bill, college aid bill, vocational training legislation, mental health aid and mass transit. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

6th District (West and Central - St. Cloud) — Freshman Rep. Alec G. Olson (D), 34, faces the same man he defeated by 348 votes (50.1 percent) in 1962: Princeton farmer and automobile dealer (and former State Rep.) Robert J. Odegard (R), 43. In Olson's favor in 1964 are his incumbency and membership on the House Agriculture Committee. Odegard may pick up some of the votes withheld from him in 1962 after his bitter primary fight with incumbent Rep. H. Carl Andersen (R). Moreover, he is considered a more attractive campaigner than Olson. But he will have his work cut out for him in upsetting a Democrat with Johnson, Humphrey and McCarthy running strong at the top of the ticket. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

7th District (Northwest) — This vast lake-studded district, covering a third of Minnesota's land area, has been a close political battleground for decades. Republicans held the seat for 20 years before a Farmer-Laborite was elected in 1922. The GOP recaptured the seat in 1928, only to relinquish it to the Farmer-Labor Party in 1933. Then, in 1942, the seat was won by Rep. Harold Hagen, who ran as a Farmer-Laborite but switched to the Republican column in 1945. The seat remained in GOP hands until the colorful, controversial Coya Knutson (DFL) won it in 1954. After her marital difficulties became a matter of national knowledge, Republican Odin Langen captured the seat in 1958. He retained it in 1960 and 1962 by margins of 5,208 and 5,385 votes respectively, aided in no small part by continued Democratic feuding in the district. In 1964, for the first time in nearly a decade, Democrats feel they are well unified in the district. Their candidate, former State Rep. Ben Wichterman (DFL), 40, has proven to be a convincing and appealing speaker and benefits from the smoothly organized well-financed Democratic campaign. Wichterman, who was chairman of the Education Committee in the Minnesota House, has made education a central issue, saying that increased educational opportunities are the long-term solution to the area's economic problems. He criticizes Langen's negative votes on federal aid to education, Administration agriculture programs, the food stamp bill and anti-poverty programs. "By his record," Wichterman says, "Langen is one of the most conservative Members of Congress today and this conservatism is callous and coldhearted."

Langen, now 51, is an extremely effective personal campaigner. A member of the Appropriations Committee, he claims his effectiveness in Congress has increased over the years and cites passage of the amendment limiting meat imports, saying he has warned for five years of the dangers of unwarranted agricultural imports. Like Wichterman, Langen served previously in the state Legislature and was chairman of the House Education Committee. Both men are farmers by profession.

Speaking in the district Oct. 4, Lt. Gov. A.M. Keith (DFL) urged his party to pile up a victory margin of 5,000 to 10,000 votes "that will take the heart out of the opposition for many years to come." But the Republicans hope to re-elect Langen in the face of adverse circumstances (including the Johnson-Humphrey-McCarthy run at the top of the ticket), giving the DFL just the medicine Keith recommends for them. On election day, either party will be satisfied with a bare majority. Outlook: Doubtful.

8th District (Northeast; Duluth) — Rep. John A. Blatnik (DFL), 53, is assured of re-election over David

W. Glossbrenner (R), 38, an East Duluth industrial engineer and son of the president of Youngstown Sheet & Tube, making his first bid for public office. A Goldwater-type conservative, Glossbrenner appears to have annoyed Blatnik by television and radio appearances in which he charges that Blatnik is planning a statewide campaign for a taconite amendment as a smokescreen for a campaign to get the Senate seat which Humphrey would vacate if elected Vice President. (Along with state Attorney General Walter Mondale (DFL), Blatnik is one of the Democrats who would like to be appointed to the seat by Gov. Karl Rolvaag (DFL), but he would not want to appear to campaign openly for the designation.)

Blatnik, in his own campaign, points out that he is "co-author of the St. Lawrence Seaway project, author of the Great Lakes channel and harbor improvement, co-author of the Interstate Highway Program, author of the Federal Water Pollution Control Program, co-author of the Area Redevelopment Administration and author of the Accelerated Public Works Program." He also cites his activities as chairman of the House Public Works Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

MISSOURI

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 1651, 1703

President

President Johnson runs far, far ahead of Goldwater in Missouri, both in polls (which show Johnson's margin over 60 percent) and in soundings by reliable local observers. Though President Kennedy carried the state by a narrow margin in 1960 (9,980 votes — 50.3 percent), the expectation is that Johnson's margin may reach landslide proportions. The chief reasons reported: absence of the Catholic vote issue which harmed Democrats in 1960; apprehension about Goldwater's stand on civilian control of nuclear weapons; concern about Goldwater stands on farm prices and Social Security. Withal, President Johnson's personal popularity is not thought to be high. Goldwater's weaknesses as a candidate apparently account for most of the Johnson lead. The potential Goldwater debacle in Missouri has apparently erased any hope for Republicans to win the Governorship, although their candidate is considered his party's strongest in many years.

Governor

Missouri Secretary of State Warren E. Hearnes (D), 41, v. Ethan A.H. Shepley (R), 68, a Clayton attorney and former president of Washington University in St. Louis. Hearnes won a surprisingly easy Aug. 4 primary victory over Lt. Gov. Hillary Bush (D) and three nominal candidates. Shepley received only minor opposition from three candidates in winning the Republican nomination.

Hearnes leads in most polls by a substantial margin, although he is running behind President Johnson and Sen. Stuart Symington (D). Shepley, despite his age, is waging an active campaign, charging Democrats with "sterile thinking" in 20 years of unbroken control. Shepley claims the Democrats have permitted the state to fall behind and says: "Our job in the next four years must be to attract

a steady flow of new industry to our state and develop the economy of Missouri."

Hearnes is credited with winning the nomination with a campaign against "The Establishment" which is loosely defined as a group of Democratic leaders centered around the Central Missouri Trust Co. in Jefferson City. "The Establishment" is alleged to have controlled Missouri's Democratic party for the past 20 years. Now Shepley is attacking Hearnes for being the candidate of the group in much the same way Hearnes attacked Bush. "The Establishment," Shepley says, "is still the major political influence in the Democratic party in Missouri. This is apparent from the re-election of J. Burleigh Arnold as Democratic state committeeman. Mr. Arnold is a trust officer of the Central Missouri Trust Co. of Jefferson City and the political manager for the candidates of 'The Establishment.' In the latter capacity, Arnold helped to direct the primary election campaign of Hearnes' opponent.... Since Hearnes has permitted the re-election of Arnold to the Democratic state committee, it is obvious that Hearnes has made his peace with both 'The Establishment' and Central Missouri Trust, the major depository of profitable interest-free state funds."

Another favorite Shepley theme, which ties into his party's Presidential nominee's campaign, is an all-out war on crime. "Men as well as women are afraid to venture into many areas of the city after dark," he says. "I believe that in the appointment of new police boards in St. Louis and Kansas City I will have the opportunity to make a real contribution to the control of crime in those communities." Shepley also pledges improvements in education, mental health and employment.

Hearnes says he was against the re-election of Arnold but did not press for his defeat because "I spoke out against just this type of pressure in the primary. He was able to get the votes and he won." Moving to the attack, Hearnes asks: "What has the Republican party to offer Missouri these days? Is it experience in government? Or is it a party which offers us theorists whose only contact with legislation is through dusty files of our libraries or the prejudiced advice of special interests?" He says Republicans can only offer "men who talk about things they want to do, but who can offer no concrete suggestions as to how they propose to do it...." Hearnes promises to establish a State Safety Commissioner to help reduce traffic deaths and accidents and says he would continue to operate the state government on a sound financial basis.

Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

Senate

Sen. Stuart Symington (D), 63, first elected 1952, v. Springfield attorney Jean Paul Bradshaw (R), 58, unsuccessful Republican gubernatorial nominee in 1944.

Symington's 1958 victory was over Hazel Palmer (R) with a 386,209 vote plurality (66.4 percent).

Symington biography: Weekly Report p. 854.

Symington had only nominal opposition in the Aug. 4 primary, as did Bradshaw.

State's other Senator: Sen. Edward V. Long (D), first elected 1960 and re-elected in 1962 with 119,080 vote plurality (54.6 percent).

Symington is strongly favored to defeat Bradshaw and win a third term. He leads in most polls by almost as great a margin as President Johnson. Bradshaw, a strong conservative, charges that Symington has a "98 percent

ADA-left wing voting record" and that he "is a confirmed left-wing extremist of the old school, living in the past and satisfied with old answers to new problems." One of Bradshaw's biggest appeals is the fact that he is from Western Missouri and the fact that Symington is from St. Louis. He says Symington is a tool and "a front man for a new and rising St. Louis Democratic machine... potential as dangerous... as the old Pendergast machine (in Kansas City)." Symington confines his speeches to defending his record, criticism of Goldwater and support for President Johnson.

Outlook: Safe Democratic.

House

10 seats. Current line-up: 8 Democrats, 2 Republicans. No change expected.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %						JFK		IKE	
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952	
1 Karsten (D)	70.7	72.4								
2 Curtis (R)	56.3	54.8								
3 Sullivan (D)	70.5	64.5								
4 Randall (D)	53.9	54.3								
5 Bolling (D)	58.9	59.2								
6 Hull (D)	55.3	54.2								
7 Hall (R)	57.7	55.4								
8 Ichord (D)	59.0	54.7								
9 Cannon (D)	61.2	60.1								
10 Jones (D)	60.6	84.6								

*Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 or 1962 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.

† Deceased.

1st District (North St. Louis and Suburbs) — Rep. Frank M. Karsten (D), 51, is assured of re-election over Theodore J. Fischer (R), 56, a St. Louis salesman. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

2nd District (Suburban St. Louis County) — Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R), 53, is favored to defeat Sidney B. McClanahan (D), 61, a Richmond Heights attorney. Curtis, who in the past has been considered a moderate conservative, has warmly embraced the Presidential candidacy of Barry Goldwater and some observers would not be completely surprised to see him defeated as a result. McClanahan has been waging a relatively quiet campaign, in contrast to his predecessors, charging that Curtis "has lost touch with the community and the wishes of his constituency." Outlook: Leans Republican.

3rd District (Downtown St. Louis) — Rep. Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (D), 61, will have little difficulty downing the challenge of Howard C. Ohlendorf (R), 42, a St. Louis businessman. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

4th District (West - Independence, Part of Kansas City) — Rep. William J. Randall (D), 55, is favored to defeat State Sen. James M. Taylor (R), 43, a Raytown insurance underwriter. Taylor, who supported most of Gov. John M. Dalton's (D) program in his term in the

state Senate, has now adopted a more conservative stand in line with Goldwater's national campaign. As a result, his ability to attract Democratic votes may have been impaired. His 1962 victory for the state Senate was a complete surprise, achieved with Democratic votes. Outlook: Leans Democratic.

5th District (Kansas City) — Rep. Richard Bolling (D), 48, overcame a serious roadblock to his re-election in the Aug. 4 primary, and is heavily favored to defeat Robert B. Langworthy (R), 46, a Kansas City attorney and moderate Republican. Bolling swamped his major rival for renomination in the primary, 41,490 votes to 19,939. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

6th District (Northwest - St. Joseph) — Rep. W.R. Hull Jr. (D), 58, is strongly favored to defeat Henry E. Wurst (R), 64, a Kansas City printer and publisher who is running a separate campaign from the Goldwater-dominated state organization. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

7th District (Southwest - Joplin, Springfield) — Rep. Durward G. Hall (R), 54, enjoys a historically Republican oriented district and should easily defeat Joplin appliance dealer James A. Thomas (D), 39. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

8th District (Central - Jefferson City) — Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D), 38, is considered to be well ahead of Benjamin A. Rogers (R), 48, a Eugene farmer and municipal bondsman. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

9th District (Northeast) — Rep. Clarence Cannon's (D) May 12 death left this district vacant. Troy attorney William L. Hungate (D), 41, an assistant State Attorney General, won a 16-man Democratic primary for both the full term and the short term. Hungate is favored to defeat militant conservative Anthony C. Schroeder (R), 40, a Union realtor and insurance agent. Schroeder was the unsuccessful Republican nominee against Cannon in 1958, 1960, and 1962 and as a result suffers from a "loser" image. Hungate, a moderate Democrat, appeals to conservative voters of various political persuasions much as Cannon was able to do. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

10th District (Southeast) — Rep. Paul C. Jones (D), 63, is assured of re-election over French Village college administrator Carl F. Painter (R), 31. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

NEBRASKA

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 879, 963

President

Most observers believe President Johnson and Barry Goldwater are running just about even in historically Republican Nebraska, although some polls have shown a slight lead for Johnson. A Johnson victory would be one of the supreme ironies of the 1964 Presidential campaign since both of Nebraska's staunchly conservative Republican Senators were early Goldwater backers. Sen. Carl

T. Curtis (R) May 29, 1963, said Goldwater's nomination "will bring about an upsurge in Republicanism in every part of the country. It will assist greatly in the election of many additional Republican Congressmen and Senators." Current reports, however, indicate that strong Democratic candidates plus the "Goldwater drag" have combined to endanger the re-election chances of all three incumbent Republican Congressmen in Nebraska. (Aided by a weak Democratic opponent, however, Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R), up for re-election, in the "Safe" column.) Goldwater's lack of wide Nebraska appeal was demonstrated in the May 12 Presidential primary when, despite the active endorsement of Curtis and Hruska and the absence of any opponent on the ballot, he managed to receive only 49.5 percent of the vote. In 1960 Republican Presidential nominee Richard M. Nixon received his greatest percentage of any state in Nebraska, carrying the state by 148,011 votes (62.1 percent).

Governor

Gov. Frank B. Morrison (D), 59, first elected 1960, v. Lt. Gov. Dwight W. Burney (R), 72, who served as Governor for a short time in 1960 upon the death of Gov. Ralph G. Brooks (D).

Neither Morrison nor Burney faced serious opposition in the May 22 primary.

Morrison is a clear favorite to win a third term. His moderate Democratic philosophy enables him to pick up the necessary Republican votes and in 1962 he survived a strong Republican opponent in former Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton (R), by 20,784 votes (52.2 percent).

Burney has had difficulty getting his campaign moving and has suffered from his advanced age. He has concentrated most of his energies in seeking to remind Nebraskans that Morrison is a Democrat, saying: "I think some voters in this state may have forgotten the Governor's political affiliation. I intend to refresh their memories." A vote for Morrison is the same "as a vote for the national Democratic administration and its socialistic ideas," Burney contends. Burney has also said Morrison's "bipartisan appeal has been exposed" by the fact that Morrison was chairman of the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention. Most political observers believe that Nebraskans are well aware of Morrison's membership in the Democratic party.

On another issue, Burney promises if elected to "ground the state plane and garage the state car long enough each month to take care of administrative responsibilities."

Morrison has generally ignored Burney and says the "key issue" in this campaign both at the state and national levels is "responsibility." On Goldwater, Morrison says "Nebraskans realize that the man who sits next to the control button has the power to extinguish life on this planet," and says some of Goldwater's statements are "irresponsible."

Outlook: Leans Democratic.

Senate

Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R), 60, first elected 1954, v. Raymond W. Arndt (D), 58, a Columbus accountant, businessman, inventor and teacher.

Hruska's 1958 victory was over now Gov. Morrison with a 47,075 vote plurality (55.6 percent).

Hruska biography: Weekly Report p. 849.
Both Hruska and Arndt were unopposed in the May 12 primary.

State's other Senator: Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R), first elected 1954, re-elected 1960 with 106,911 vote plurality (58.9 percent).

Hruska is regarded as a shoo-in over the little known Arndt, who is making his first political venture. Arndt says Hruska "told the Nebraska farmers to vote against the (wheat) referendum (in 1963) and told them he would get them a better wheat bill. Hruska has not introduced any such legislation. He has not fought for any such proposal, and I really wonder if he ever intended to do so." Arndt made the statement in response to a Hruska attack on the Commodity Credit Corporation. Hruska claims that the Commodity Credit Corporation is dumping "huge quantities of stocks on the market, depressing grain prices." Observers believe it would take a miracle for Hruska to be upset.

Outlook: Safe Republican.

House

3 seats. Current line-up: no Democrats, 3 Republicans. All three Republican incumbents face serious re-election battles.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %					JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1960	1956	1952
1 Beermann (R)	50.9	54.1	⊕					
2 Cunningham (R)	69.4	66.6	⊕					
3 Martin (R)	65.6	52.9	⊕					

⊕ Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.

1st District (East Central - Lincoln) — Rep. Ralph F. Beermann (R), 52, faces serious opposition from Odell businessman Clair A. Callan (D), 44. Beermann defeated Callan in 1962 by 11,791 votes (50.9 percent of the vote; an independent candidate polled 5.2 percent) and most observers feel Callan is in a much stronger position today. Callan calls Beermann "a captive of a national right-wing extremist group known as the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA). The ACA has opposed virtually all public programs including Social Security, rural electrification and aid to higher education" and "maintains close ties with the John Birch Society. No Representative of Nebraska can be 100 percent captive of any pressure group and still represent the people of this state."

Callan also has proposed a six-point program designed to end flood damage and promote the full economic development of the 1st District. The programs include: securing studies on all watersheds in the district, fight for adequate funds to develop the watersheds, work for inclusion of all streams and rivers in the district in a flood control program, fully develop the recreational potential of all waterways, work for pollution control and work for full development of the Missouri River.

Beermann defends his staunch conservative voting record. Responding to Callan's criticism of his vote against the "poverty" bill, Beermann says he was caught in the middle on the bill. He favored provisions for research funds, funds for the National Commission on Food Marketing and claims and judgments against the United States. "But unfortunately, to support them, a Congressman would be asked to vote for another \$842 million for programs he did not want," Beermann says: The poverty bill, in his opinion, was an attempt by President Johnson to "grease wheels" for the election campaign and "covered a smorgasbord of giveaways, timed to influence the voters prior to election." Outlook: Doubtful.

2nd District (East - Omaha) — Rep. Glenn Cunningham (R), 52, faces the strongest Democratic opponent of his career in John R. Swenson (D), 44, an Omaha attorney and former president of the Omaha school board who is a member of a well-known family in the district. Cunningham has before received the endorsement of labor groups in Omaha, helping him roll up overwhelming margins of victory in the face of increasing Democratic strength in the district. This year, however, the AFL-CIO COPE has given enthusiastic endorsement to Swenson. Swenson is waging an articulate and extensive campaign and will receive an important boost from expected strong runs by President Johnson and Gov. Morrison in the district. Outlook: Doubtful.

3rd District (West) — Rep. David T. Martin (R), 57, faces serious re-election opposition from Dr. William E. Colwell (D), 49, a Hay Springs farmer and stockman who has wide contacts with the district's farmers and cattle growers based on his presidency of the Nebraska Wheat Growers Assn. and the active participation in the Nebraska Stock Growers Assn. Dr. Colwell is also one of the leading experts in the nation in the science of agronomy (crop production and husbandry). Colwell is waging a very active campaign and has developed the same type of appeal that Gov. Morrison enjoys among Nebraska's dominant Republicans. He has proposed the creation of a Beef Export Council which would boost foreign cash sales of beef. Colwell says the countries of the European Common Market are a prime market for high quality American type beef and that the council could help the United States capture that market. On other domestic issues, Colwell has expressed opposition to the Social Security approach to medical care for the elderly and wants the Kerr-Mills bill strengthened and given a fair chance to work.

Colwell has submitted a report to the Fair Campaign Practices Committee because of a Martin charge that Colwell was receiving help from Teamsters' Union head James Hoffa. Colwell says: "Martin's intimation that I am receiving help from Hoffa...is abusive and deceitful. Anyone who says I am receiving such help is telling a lie.... (Martin) has stooped to character assassination tactics (and should) apologize to the voters of the 3rd District for injecting this smear tactic into the campaign." Colwell has put together a well organized campaign organization including a Republicans for Colwell Committee with headquarters in 41 communities in the district.

Martin received national publicity when he and Rep. M.G. (Gene) Snyder (R Ky.) made a trip to the Alabama farm of Mrs. Lyndon Johnson to expose "poverty" conditions among the tenants living there. Whether the trip was of any political benefit to Martin remains to be seen

but he received criticism from Colwell for it. Colwell said he wondered how Martin found the time to go to Alabama since "...in the 3rd District of Nebraska we have sufficient problems of grave importance to occupy a Congressman's full energies and attention. We have some dilapidated housing here too. In fact, the record shows we have more than 7,000 in our district." Outlook: Doubtful.

NORTH DAKOTA

Convention and primary results, Weekly Report p. 769, 1353

President

North Dakota, a traditionally Republican state which also fostered Populist ideas and the liberally inclined Nonpartisan League, is considered one of the closest Mid-western states in the 1964 Presidential election. Despite voter resistance to his stands on farm and electrification issues, Goldwater is reported to be scoring — especially among women — on peace, morality and corruption issues. Dedicated right-wing conservatives are expending every effort for Goldwater. Nevertheless, a recent private poll showed that even if all the undecided vote went to Goldwater, Johnson would still carry the state.

Governor

Gov. William L. Guy (D), 44, v. State Rep. Donald M. Halcrow (R), 51, farmer and fuel supplier. Guy first elected 1960 with 13,622 vote plurality (49.4 percent); re-elected 1962 with 1,293 vote plurality (50.5 percent). Previous terms were for two years; under a 1964 amendment to the state's constitution (approved in a June 30 referendum), gubernatorial terms, starting with the current election, will be four years.

Gov. Guy, an accomplished political leader, has emerged largely unscathed despite his four years in the politically dangerous Governor's seat and is generally favored to win another term. He was embroiled in a series of controversies involving firings and appointments to state agencies in 1963, but little permanent political damage appears to have accrued. In his re-election bid, Guy points to accomplishments in fields like natural resource preservation, lower freight rates, electric power transmission, education and mental health. He names expansion to augment the state's agricultural economy, especially through increased tourism, as the state's major current problem.

Halcrow, currently completing his fourth term in the State Legislature, has been in the oil, gas and farming business in Drayton for nearly 30 years. He is best known for his role in pushing the first reapportionment in three decades through the House. Observers say Halcrow has improved greatly as a campaigner, but lacks Guy's polish, either on television or in person. Halcrow has attacked Guy for devoting a substantial portion of his campaign speeches to attacks on Goldwater. "Is the Governor running for President of the United States or for Governor of North Dakota," Halcrow asks. He says that a Republican Governor would be able to work more harmoniously

with the GOP-controlled Legislature in attracting industry to the state and inaugurating other programs. Private polls show Guy should win re-election by a moderate margin. But the chronically close vote in North Dakota gubernatorial elections, plus the fact that Guy's re-election would make him Governor for an unprecedented full eight years, cloud the situation somewhat. Outlook: Leans Democratic.

Senate

Sen. Quentin N. Burdick (D), 56, first elected 1960, v. Thomas S. Kleppe (R), Bismarck business executive. Burdick's 1960 victory was in a June 28 special election to fill the seat of the late Sen. William Langer (R N.D. 1941-59). Burdick defeated Gov. John Davis (R) for the senate seat by a 1,118 vote margin (50.3 percent). Neither Burdick nor Kleppe had opposition in the June 30 primary. Kleppe, however, had to overcome spirited opposition to win his party's endorsement at the April 10 GOP state convention. Davis, again seeking the nomination, led on the first ballot but Kleppe won on the third. Burdick biography: Weekly Report p. 843. State's other Senator: Milton R. Young (R), re-elected 1962 with 47,673 vote plurality (60.7 percent).

Though Burdick rates as a slight favorite, Kleppe's tireless and professionally run campaign has erased much of Burdick's initial advantage and made the North Dakota Senate seat one of the few the Republicans could possibly pick up in 1964. Kleppe's chief issues have been falling farm prices and the issue of beef import quotas; alleged lack of firmness in U.S. foreign policy; deficit spending at the federal level; and lack of morality in high government circles. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman is "sacrificing the American beef farmer on the altar of a liberal world trade policy," Kleppe says. Burdick, he charges, "has surrendered his vote to the dictates of the Administration. Not once in four years did he (Burdick) stand up against an Administration whose agricultural policies have depressed crop prices and pushed the parity ratio to its lowest level in 25 years." Kleppe suggests that Burdick is a "rubber stamp" for the Administration's "reckless spending schemes, foreign aid giveaways, planned deficits." He also says Burdick went along with the cutting off of the investigation of the affairs of Bobby Baker. Burdick centers his fire on Goldwater and the dangers of ending the farm program. "Either we take the open market route or we cooperate in a farm program to keep production within reasonable bounds," Burdick said Oct. 9. "The 'No' vote in the 1963 wheat referendum was a serious blow to the farm program, but, by the skin of our teeth, we managed to pass another program in Congress. The farm program, however, could not survive the election of Barry Goldwater. He has said he will terminate it, and I believe he means to do it. Death of the farm program would be tragic in North Dakota, because it would lead to overproduction, declining prices and depression in the farm belt." Burdick has also warned about the chances of nuclear war if control of nuclear weapons is not kept in the hands of the President alone. Columnist Holmes Alexander reported in a July 29 column that Burdick had returned a total of \$14,351.84 contributed to his campaign by members of the Council for a Livable World, a group pushing for rapid

disarmament. According to Alexander, Burdick returned the money after he read articles on what the Council stood for. Burdick was obliged, however, to write 234 separate checks to persons in 32 states to return the money. The Council, presumably in order to avoid reporting requirements under the Corrupt Practices Act, does not give money directly itself, but rather advises its members to send private contributions. Kleppe was not widely known in the state at the start of the campaign but has largely overcome that disadvantage, observers report, by persistent personal campaigning, especially in population-heavy Eastern North Dakota. For almost half a century, however, the Burdick name has been a household word in North Dakota. Burdick's father, the late Usher Lloyd Burdick, was first elected to the North Dakota House in 1906, was its Speaker in 1909, Lieutenant Governor (1911-1913) and U.S. Representative (1935-45; 1949-59). The elder Burdick ran for office as a Republican but endorsed Roosevelt for President in 1932. Thus Kleppe, to win, must overcome both tradition and the "frontlash" from the Johnson Presidential run. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

House

2 seats, both currently held by Republicans. No change likely. Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities; light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %						JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952
1 Nygaard (R)†	54.6	53.8							
Andrews (R)	49.3					(Special election 1963)			
2 Short (R)	54.0	52.9							

† Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1960 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.
† Deceased.

1st District (East - Fargo, Grand Forks) — Rep. Mark Andrews (R), 38, a Mapleton farmer who won this district by a 4,592 vote margin in an Oct. 22, 1963, special election, is favored to defeat State Sen. George A. Sinner (D), 36, a partner in a 2,500-acre farm near Casselton, N.D. Andrews, a moderate Republican, has occasionally annoyed some of his Republican colleagues by voting for Administration farm programs in the same pattern as Sen. Milton R. Young (R). The pattern has always reinforced Young's home-state popularity, however, and is expected to do the same for Andrews. Sinner, who comes from a Republican family, is campaigning as a moderate Democrat. On the farm issue, for instance, he warns that farm legislation "has clearly gotten too complicated" and that "the government's role should be essentially to protect, to a reasonable degree, family income. Beyond that there isn't any obligation." Sinner campaigns quietly, avoiding conversations with those of divergent opinions. While Sinner's campaign has won respect for his carefully considered opinions and manner in dealing with problems, it does not appear to have gathered the momentum required to upset Andrews. Outlook: Leans Republican.

2nd District (West - Minot, Bismarck, Williston) — Rep. Don L. Short (R), 61, a seasoned campaigner and staunch conservative, has built up a strong base of

personal support — especially among cattlemen — and probably will win his fourth term with ease. His opponent is State Sen. Rolland W. Redlin (D), 44, a capable speaker who won praise for his activities in the state Senate. Redlin criticizes Short for having "deserted" the North Dakota Congressional delegation to join Goldwater in opposing the wheat-cotton bill in April. "North Dakota farmers are indeed fortunate that Sen. Burdick and Sen. Young offered positive leadership in full support of the wheat-cotton bill," Redlin said. He also attacked Short for voting, with Goldwater, against the 1961 Water Pollution Control Act and the 1964 Administration "anti-poverty" bill. Short has stoutly defended his voting record and accused the Democrats of fiscal irresponsibility. "If we're not able to spend within our income in times such as these," he asks, "when are we ever going to be able to?" Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

OHIO

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 765, 824, 907

President

All indications show that Ohio, which has gone Republican in five out of the last six elections, may go to President Johnson. The strong and efficient Republican state organization, headed by Ray C. Bliss, however, is not giving up hope, noting that in the 1960 Presidential campaign Kennedy led early but Nixon finally captured the state by a 273,363 vote margin. Yet, polls by Republican leaders show Goldwater trailing behind Nixon at the same point in their campaigns, and selective newspaper samplings throughout the state reach the same conclusion. Numerous newspapers, which endorsed Nixon in 1960, are supporting Johnson. In this "most Republican of industrial states," economics and a rising rate of employment reportedly are more important than the emotional civil rights issue, hence an absence of the "white backlash." Reports show that the 60,000 traditionally Republican Negro voters will desert Goldwater, plus a solid Johnson vote among Democratic and independent voting Negroes. The industrialized Northeast, which carried Ohio for Nixon in 1960, is reportedly a disaster area for Goldwater. The nuclear issue appears to be hurting Goldwater in the traditionally Republican rural Southwest. Due to the organization of the Ohio ballot, which requires individual votes for each office, a Johnson victory is not expected to appreciably affect the state's Congressional races.

Governor

Gov. James A. Rhodes (R), 54, first elected in 1962 with a 555,669 vote plurality (58.9 percent), not up.

Senate

Sen. Stephen M. Young (D), 75, first elected in 1958, v. Rep. Robert Taft Jr. (R), 47, elected in 1962 to Ohio's at-large seat. Young's 1958 victory was over Sen. John W. Bricker (R), with a 155,012 vote plurality (52.5 percent).

Taft's 1962 victory was over Richard D. Kennedy (D), with a 621,390 vote plurality (60.5 percent).

Young biography: Weekly Report p. 856.

State's other Senator: Frank J. Lausche (D), 68, first elected in 1956, re-elected in 1962 with a 692,604 vote plurality (61.6 percent).

Young easily won renomination in the May 5 primary over astronaut John Glenn, who was forced to withdraw from the race due to illness but who polled a substantial vote nevertheless. Young plurality with nearly complete returns: 313,489 (71.9 percent). Taft also easily won the Republican Senatorial nomination over Secretary of State Ted W. Brown. Taft plurality with nearly complete returns: 442,651 (79.0 percent).

Taft, a proven vote-getter, is the odds-on favorite to win in his hotly contested bid to unseat incumbent Young, who won his Senate seat in 1958 largely as a result of the right-to-work stance taken by his opponent, Sen. Bricker. Taft, who is vacating his at-large House seat, seems to have all the attributes of a potential Senator: family credentials (his father was the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R Ohio 1939-53) and his grandfather was President William Howard Taft (R 1909-13); eight years service in the Ohio Legislature; and a term as a U.S. Representative. On the other hand, Young has equally impressive attributes: four two-year terms as a U.S. Representative (1933-37; 1941-43; 1949-51) and a single six-year term as a U.S. Senator.

Most Ohio observers consider Taft's chances of defeating Young excellent — barring an unforeseen, overwhelming Johnson landslide. Young's drive has been somewhat hampered because of the Ohio Democratic organization's heavy emphasis on carrying the state for Johnson, as opposed to carrying the state for Young.

The aging but peppery Young, nonetheless, is waging an all-out battle for re-election, exerting an extraordinary degree of energy for a man of 75. The central issue of Young's campaign has been that the Republican party "is being taken over by right-wing extremists." He says that "Goldwaterism, Taft Juniorism and extremism are the same political commodity." More specifically, he is particularly critical of Taft's support for Congressional over-ruling of the Supreme Court reapportionment decision, Taft's vote against the tax reduction bill, and Taft's refusal to make a complete disclosure of his personal finances. (Young was one of the first Senators to make a full disclosure of his financial holdings.)

Taft is avoiding over-close identification with the Presidential ticket but asserts that charges of Goldwater being "trigger-happy" have been a political "smear." He urges Goldwater to get down to specifics in order to avoid being misinterpreted. Taft agrees that Goldwater has "lost ground" in Ohio since the Republican National Convention, but believes that it will be gained back before election day.

Taft calls himself "a conservative on fiscal soundness, a middle of the roader on education, health and welfare, and a liberal on civil rights." He calls the tax cut a "dangerous trend toward political expediency which pervades the land," arguing that it will bring the nation close to entering "a wage-price spiral which will swirl ever faster toward full-fledged inflation." He says that had the impact of the tax cut been spread over three years as originally planned, rather than over two years as President Johnson decided, it would not have overheated the economy. He claims the tax cut "falsely accelerated

consumer demand" and led to automobile manufacturers agreement to an inflationary contract with the United Auto Workers.

On other issues, Taft has been critical of federally financed "make work programs," urging strengthening of existing methods to fight unemployment; opposed medical care for the aged under Social Security, arguing that it poses "dangerous seeds of federal control"; and criticized the Administration's foreign policy, particularly in South Viet Nam and with respect to the Berlin Wall.

Outlook: Leans Republican.

House

24 seats. Current line-up: 18 Republicans, 6 Democrats. Democrats could conceivably gain one or two additional House seats in the At-Large and 10th District races.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %						JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952
1 Rich (R)	62.7	58.9	56.6	64.7	64.3	61.6	45.0	65.7	60.7
2 Clancy (R)	62.8	57.4	54.7	65.5	58.4	56.6	45.9	66.5	58.5
3 Schenck (R)	57.0	62.0	52.4	59.0	52.6	51.1	45.6	59.7	53.6
4 McCulloch (R)	70.3	65.4	61.0	68.8	67.6	68.3	37.6	68.5	64.9
5 Latta (R)	70.4	67.3	53.9	62.3	59.5	63.2	35.1	70.0	68.2
6 Harsha (R)	60.4	55.2	62.0	54.5	52.2	50.1	40.7	60.7	56.9
7 Brown (R)	67.7	65.4	60.5	66.0	62.2	X	37.7	65.9	62.6
8 Betts (R)	70.1	67.7	61.3	63.5	63.0	68.7	34.4	70.1	68.5
9 Ashley (D)	57.4	56.9	61.6	55.3	36.4	40.9	52.1	53.2	51.7
10 Abele (R)	52.3	52.5	52.9	X	61.7	64.0	37.7	64.9	60.6
11 Bolton (R)†	50.6	51.0	50.3	58.4	65.3	58.8	48.6	61.7	57.8
12 Devine (R)	68.3	60.7	54.4	61.8	61.5	62.3	40.6	65.8	60.3
13 Mosher (R)	55.1	51.4	58.9	70.7	59.1	58.8	46.3	65.6	62.8
14 Ayres (R)	53.7	61.5	60.1	58.9	54.6	58.5	49.1	54.2	50.5
15 Seacrest (D)	52.4	51.2	57.3	60.5	54.0	64.3	37.6	67.8	62.3
16 Bow (R)	60.0	62.5	57.4	55.2	56.3	54.4	42.6	64.0	58.3
17 Ashbrook (R)	58.6	53.0	51.7	66.5	64.6	68.2	36.1	68.0	65.9
18 Hays (D)	61.0	65.6	71.5	59.6	57.3	55.8	49.6	57.4	49.0
19 Kirwan (D)	62.2	68.9	75.0	68.7	67.5	66.3	60.6	52.4	44.2
20 Feighan (D)	71.0	67.8	79.4	65.3	67.7	65.3	66.4	50.4	47.3
21 Vanik (D)	79.9	73.0	80.4	71.6	76.0	68.6	77.2	41.0	32.7
22 Bolton (R)	64.6	56.9	55.3	66.7	58.3	58.8	56.8	55.9	56.0
23 Minshall (R)	71.5	67.3	66.5	69.0	67.5	64.6	44.4	67.9	69.4
AL Taft (R)*	60.5	-	-	-	-	-	46.7	61.1	56.8

† Seeking At-Large seat.

* Retiring to seek Senate seat.

At-Large — Rep. Oliver P. Bolton (R), 47, who is leaving his 11th District seat (Northeast — Ashtabula, Warren) to seek the at-large seat vacated by Taft, is engaged in a nip-and-tuck battle with Robert E. Sweeney (D), 40, son of the late U.S. Rep. Martin L. Sweeney (D Ohio 1931-43) and unsuccessful candidate for state Attorney General in 1962. Each possesses similar attributes and liabilities: both are strong candidates, yet both are relatively unfamiliar to Southern Ohio voters. On the latter point, Sweeney seems to have an advantage, having been on a statewide ballot in his 1962 Attorney General race. Sweeney also has a popular name in northern Ohio, but so does Bolton. Prior to his election in 1962, Bolton had served as U.S. Representative during the period 1953-57. His mother is the well-known Congresswoman from Cleveland Mrs. Frances P. Bolton (R). Bolton proved his knack for making headlines during his 1963-64

Congressional term, criticizing former First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy's acceptance of a trip on the yacht of Greek shipowner Aristotle Onassis, whose shipping interests benefit from transporting surplus U.S. grain, and attacking Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz's solicitation of campaign funds from Washington lobbyists in behalf of Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (DN.J.). Bolton's close alignment with the Taft political philosophy apparently gives him an edge in the race, but his plurality is not expected to come close to Taft's 621,390 votes in 1962. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Republican.

1st District (Cincinnati — East) — Freshman Rep. Carl W. Rich (R), 66, should have little difficulty in defeating John J. Gilligan (D), 43, a Cincinnati city councilman and liberal. As is customary in this district, Outlook: Safe Republican.

2nd District (Cincinnati — West) — Rep. Donald D. Clancy (R), 43, first elected in 1960, again is strongly favored to defeat his 1962 opponent, H.A. Sand (D), 43, a Cincinnati attorney, in this staunchly Republican district. Outlook: Safe Republican.

3rd District (Southwest — Dayton) — Seven-term Rep. Paul F. Schenck (R), 65, who reportedly fell critically ill at the height of his campaign, appears to have rebounded from his illness. He is favored over Rodney M. Love (D), 56, a Dayton attorney and former Montgomery County Probate Judge. Outlook: Leans Republican.

4th District (West Central) — Nine-term incumbent William M. McCulloch (R), 62, ranking Republican on the House Judiciary Committee and prime mover behind House passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, is favored to win over Robert H. Muhlbaugh (D), 32, a Lima attorney. Muhlbaugh is waging a strong campaign, but McCulloch should be firmly entrenched in this traditionally Republican district. Outlook: Safe Republican.

5th District (Northwest) — Three-term Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R), 44, is favored to beat Milford Landis (D), 66, a Van Wert attorney. Outlook: Safe Republican.

6th District (South Central) — Rep. William H. Harsha Jr. (R), 43, first elected in 1961, should win re-election over Frank E. Smith (D), 62, a Portsmouth businessman and farmer. Harsha, a man of conservative views which generally match those of his district, may be a bit hampered by the Goldwater candidacy, especially in pro-labor Scioto County. Nevertheless, he remains a strong favorite although his 25,006 vote plurality in 1962 is expected to be reduced. Outlook: Safe Republican.

7th District (West Central) — Rep. Clarence J. Brown (R), 71, a member of the House since 1939 and ranking Republican on the House Rules Committee, should easily defeat Jerry R. Graham (D), 28, a history and political science instructor at Wittenberg University. Outlook: Safe Republican.

8th District (North Central) — Seven-term Rep. Jackson E. Betts (R), 60, should have no difficulty in winning re-election over Frank B. Bennett (D), 44, a Marion auto dealer. Outlook: Safe Republican.

9th District (Toledo) — Incumbent Thomas L. Ashley (D), 41, is assured a sixth term in his race against

John O. Celusta (R), 36, a Toledo attorney and Assistant State Attorney General. This heavily industrialized district has been a Democratic stronghold for the past decade. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

10th District (Southeast) — Freshman Rep. Homer E. Abele (R), 47, a staunch conservative, faces strong opposition from the man he defeated in 1962, former Rep. Walter H. Moeller (D 1959-63), 54. The district formerly had been Republican, but was captured by Moeller in 1958 by a 5,332 vote plurality (52.9 percent) with Abele as his opponent. In 1960, Moeller defeated another Republican hopeful by 5,606 votes while President Kennedy lost the district by 28,572 votes. Republicans were plagued by serious intraparty dissension in 1958 and 1960, but were more united for the 1962 campaign, which was won by Abele by 4,027 votes (52.3 percent).

Depressed economic conditions in this Appalachian district have made it especially receptive to the Johnson Administration's anti-poverty campaign. Seven counties in the district would qualify for Appalachian aid if Ohio participates in the proposed national program. Abele had made it clear he wants his district to participate, despite the initial reluctance of Gov. Rhodes (R) to bring Ohio into the federal program. Moeller has made the anti-poverty drive a key campaign issue. Late reports indicate Moeller is gaining. Outlook: Doubtful to Leaning Democratic.

11th District (Northeast — Ashtabula, Warren) — J. William Stanton (R), 40, a Painesville auto dealer and former president of the Lake County Board of Commissioners, appears the favorite in this contest to capture the seat vacated by Rep. Oliver P. Bolton (R), who is running in the at-large race. Stanton's opponent: C.D. Lambros (D), 38, former Ashtabula city manager and state Public Welfare Department official. Stanton is a popular local vote-getter; Lambros, who got an early start, a hard-hitting campaigner. The district has been chronically marginal, but Stanton has the edge. Outlook: Leans Republican.

12th District (Columbus) — Three-term Rep. Samuel L. Devine (R), 49, should have no trouble defeating former City Councilman Robert L. Van Heyde (D), 34. Outlook: Safe Republican.

13th District (North Central — Lorain, Sandusky) — Two-term Rep. Charles A. Mosher (R), 58, is favored to win over Louis Frey (D), 40, Mayor of Norwalk. Mosher, an Oberlin publisher, won this increasingly industrialized and Democratic-oriented district by a 4,077 vote margin in 1960. In 1962, he won from his strongest opponent to date, labor-backed J. Grant Keys (D), former Mayor of Elyria, by a 11,828 vote margin. Democrats claim they have Mosher in trouble, but political observers in the district feel that Mosher established himself with his wide-margined victory over Keys in 1962. Outlook: Leans Republican.

14th District (Akron) — Seven-term incumbent William H. Ayres (R), 48, is favored to win over popular and attractive Miss Frances McGovern (D), 37, former state legislator and chairman of the Ohio Public Utilities Commission, in a race reminiscent of Ayres' 1962 battle with Oliver Ocasek (D), an assistant professor of education at the University of Akron. Ayres won over Ocasek in this

heavily labor-oriented district with a 13,962 vote plurality (53.7 percent). In that race, Ayres, at the height of the campaign, exploded a bombshell by releasing to the press a secret report made for the Democratic National Committee by Louis Harris and Associates, pollsters for the Kennedy political interests. The report advised Ocasek to run as a "Kennedy Democrat" and to "pin Ayres to the mast on the 'medicare' issue." (Ayres had opposed the Kennedy "medicare" plan, though it had not come to a House vote in 1962.) Revelation of the Harris poll rebounded greatly to Ayres' favor.

Again this year, it appears the national Democratic Administration is out to "pin Ayres to the mast." In an Oct. 5 speech, Ayres said the Johnson Administration was out to "purge" him, largely because he had made public during the last session of Congress a letter in which Adam Yarmolinski, a special assistant to Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, outlined how political advantage might be taken of the Administration's anti-poverty legislation. As evidence of a "purge," Ayres noted that high Administration officials — most notably, Vice Presidential candidate Hubert H. Humphrey, Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. and Commerce Secretary Luther H. Hodges — had been in his district campaigning against him. He also noted that scheduled for future appearances in his district were: President Johnson, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, HEW Secretary Anthony J. Celebrezze, Postmaster General John Gronouski, and Defense Secretary McNamara.

Despite this barrage of officials, and Miss McGovern's attacks on Ayres for his opposition to liberal measures, his failure to get a federal office building for the district, and his sometimes frequent absenteeism on important votes, the consensus is that Ayres, in part due to considerable grass-roots Democratic support, will win re-election. Outlook: Leans Republican.

15th District (Southeast - Zanesville) — Rep. Robert T. Secrest (D), 60, a popular incumbent in this Republican territory appears safe in his race against Randall F. Metcalf (R), 38, a Marietta attorney. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

16th District (East Central - Canton) — Seven-term incumbent Frank T. Bow (R), 63, should win this Republican district despite a strong campaign by Robert D. Freeman (D), 42, a Canton educator. Outlook: Safe Republican.

17th District (Central) — Two-term Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R), 36, a staunch conservative, should win over Robert W. Levering (D), 50, a former U.S. Representative (1959-61). Ashbrook won the district from Levering in 1960 by 9,139 votes (53.0 percent) and again in 1962 by 20,561 votes (58.6 percent). Outlook: Safe Republican.

18th District (East Central) — Incumbent Wayne L. Hays (D), 53, first elected in 1949, is favored over Allen J. Dalrymple (R), 50, a Wellsville auto dealer. Part of Hays' bid for re-election is based upon the amount of federal funds he has brought to the district. His 1962 opponent, John J. Carrigg (R), whom he defeated by 23,991 votes (61.0 percent), had charged that he had done nothing to help the district economically. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

19th District (Northeast - Youngstown) — Aging Rep. Michael J. Kirwan (D), 77, a veteran of 28 years in the House and influential member of the House Appropriations Committee, is a sure bet for re-election over Youngstown real estate salesman Albert H. James (R), 47. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

20th District (Cleveland - Central City, Waterfront) — Eleven-term Rep. Michael J. Feighan (D), 59, should have little difficulty defeating Joseph A. Cipollone (R), 37, a Parma attorney and former U.S. Treasury Narcotics Bureau agent. Feighan survived the toughest challenge of his 22-year Congressional record in the May 5 primary, winning with less than 50 percent of the vote in a split field. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

21st District (Cleveland - Central City) — Five-term incumbent Charles A. Vanik (D), 51, appears safe against Eugene E. Smith (R), 65, a Negro and retired Cleveland postal employee. The rising Negro population of the district could well cause Vanik's defeat within the next few years, however. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

22nd District (Cleveland - Northeast Suburbs) — Venerable Frances P. Bolton (R), 79, a member of the House since 1940 and ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, is unbeatable in her race against Chat Paterson (D), 44, a Cleveland Heights industrial real estate developer. Outlook: Safe Republican.

23rd District (Cleveland Suburbs) — Five-term Rep. William E. Minshall (R), 53, should have little trouble winning re-election over Norbert G. Dennerl Jr. (D), 35, a Cleveland public relations man and city councilman. Outlook: Safe Republican.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 1003, 1089

President

President Johnson continues to lead Sen. Goldwater in the seesaw South Dakota Poll sponsored by the Sioux Falls Argus, Aberdeen American News and Watertown Public Opinion. The figures are as follows:

	Early Aug.	Early Sept.	Mid- Sept.	Early Oct.
Johnson	51	68	58	53
Goldwater	45	28	30	40
Undecided	4	4	12	7

In a breakdown by residence (farm, city, town) Johnson led in each area. His strongest support, however, was among farmers.

Governor

Lt. Gov. Nils A. Boe (R), 51, v. former Lt. Gov. John F. Lindley (D), 46, for the seat now held by retiring Gov. Archie M. Gubbrud (R).

Boe won the June 2 primary by defeating former Gov. Sigurd Anderson (R 1951-55), who resigned from

the Federal Trade Commission to make the race, by a 6,526 vote plurality (53.6 percent).

Lindley won a June 2 primary victory over Mitchell Municipal Court Judge Merton B. Tice with a 13,020 vote plurality (65.8 percent).

Boe apparently enjoys a substantial lead over Lindley. An Oct. 7 poll gave Boe 59 percent of the vote and Lindley 35 percent with 6 percent undecided.

Lindley has charged the state Republican administration with sweeping tax and education problems under the rug. Lindley wants to raise additional revenue for schools by imposing a franchise tax on out-of-state companies doing business in South Dakota. Boe has pointed out that "under the laws of the State and the Interstate Commerce Commission, these businesses pay every tax that any other business in the state is presently paying and that 'to raise the kind of revenue Lindley is talking about, this tax would have to be so high that business would be driven out of the state' at a time when South Dakota is trying to attract industry. Boe favors broadening the base of the sales tax to raise the additional funds. Boe has also pointed out that 'this Republican Administration in four years' time has increased state aid to education by almost 100 percent.'"

Lindley has also attacked the Gubbrud-Boe administration for "mishandling the pheasant season, resulting in a tremendous loss to the multi-million dollar industry." Lindley said: "There has been failure in policy-making in the game business in South Dakota year after year. This is due in large part to long-term, non-political appointments to the eight-member commission. As a result they are responsible to no political party and to no one else, either."

Boe has accused his opponent of spending "most of his time discussing issues not properly a part of this campaign." Barring an unexpected reversal in campaign fortunes, Outlook: Safe Republican.

Senate

Neither seat up. Sen. George S. McGovern (D), 42, elected in 1962 with a 597 vote plurality (50.1 percent). Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R), 64, first elected 1948, re-elected 1960 with a 14,920 vote plurality (52.4 percent).

House

2 seats. Current line-up: 2 Republicans. No change likely.

Incumbents, political complexion of districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %						JFK IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952
1 Reifel (R)	59.2	54.8	53.4	52.4	58.0	68.5	42.1	57.5	69.0
2 Berry (R)	61.5	59.7	55.6	55.9	62.7	69.0	40.8	61.4	70.3

1st District (East - Pierre, Sioux Falls) — Rep. Ben Reifel (R), 58, a staunch conservative and the only American Indian in Congress, should have little trouble defeating former State Rep. George E. May (D), 54. May has attacked Reifel's opposition to President Johnson's anti-poverty program: "If Reifel really knows and understands

poverty and the effects of poverty on the people of this state and this country, then it is difficult for me to fathom the notion that he would oppose helping the truly needy pockets of poverty, including the needy Indians with education, gainful employment and retraining programs." Outlook: Safe Republican.

2nd District (West) — Rep. E.Y. Berry (R), 62, enjoys a substantial lead over Byron T. Brown (D), 35. Berry has promised that a Republican Administration, if elected in November, would end the war in Viet Nam: "We will not wait around letting events catch us unaware but will take a firm stand and meet this enemy of liberty with strength and a determined military policy." Brown has called upon Berry to repudiate the 1964 Republican platform as a "parody of the John Birch Society's Blue Book." Brown said the platform "stands on a sinking foundation of fear and frustration" and is a "fantasy of fear and hate." Outlook: Safe Republican.

WISCONSIN

Primary outlook and results, Weekly Report p. 1985, 2143

President

All but the most zealous supporters of Barry Goldwater concede that President Johnson enjoys a wide lead in Wisconsin. Goldwater's views on foreign affairs and civilian control of nuclear weapons are most often given as the reason for the strong anti-Goldwater feeling in the state. Separate ballots for President and lesser offices lessen chances of straight ticket voting, but Republican candidates have nevertheless found it necessary to repudiate certain Goldwater statements. The most recent source of embarrassment came Oct. 13 when Goldwater, in a Milwaukee address, said the Democrats were a "fascist organization." Both the Republican gubernatorial and Senate candidates repudiated the statement. A Democratic Presidential candidate has not carried Wisconsin since 1948.

Governor

Gov. John W. Reynolds (D), 43, first elected 1962, v. former Lt. Gov. Warren P. Knowles (R), 56, now a New Richmond attorney.

Reynolds easily won renomination in the Sept. 8 primary over Wauwatosa attorney Dominic H. Frinzi (D), receiving 70.1 percent of the vote. Knowles received almost the same percentage (71.8) in winning the Republican nomination over Mayor Milo G. Knutson of La Crosse, a militant conservative.

Most observers, backed up by the polls, rate the gubernatorial contest a toss-up. Knowles appears to have lost his early lead in face of a hard re-election effort by Reynolds, whose two-year incumbency has been rocked with controversy and prestige dampening defeats.

Reynolds in 1962 had campaigned on a promise to block a general sales tax through the gubernatorial veto power. He said he would seek needed revenues through a more progressive state income tax. Reynolds did veto a general sales tax, but after a long stalemate with the Republican-controlled Legislature, he was forced to back

down and accept the sales tax when many state programs nearly ran out of funds. In December 1963, Reynolds called the Legislature into special session to consider "Project 66," his accelerated road building program. The Legislature failed to approve the program but placed it on the April 7 ballot for a statewide referendum where it was overwhelmingly defeated.

Reynolds' prestige sank even farther when he received only 66.1 percent of the vote against Alabama's segregationist Gov. George C. Wallace (D) in the April 7 Presidential primary. Reynolds was running as a "favorite son" stand-in for President Johnson. There were indications that part of Wallace's vote came from Republicans who were seeking to embarrass both President Johnson and Reynolds. Some Goldwater supporters in the state had urged them to do so. From April 7 on, observers felt Reynolds had nowhere to go but up.

Through a vigorous re-election campaign, Reynolds has apparently succeeded in narrowing the gap between himself and Knowles, who has also been waging an active campaign. Reynolds claims it was the Republicans who forced him to accept the sales tax and has been waging much of his campaign against Barry Goldwater. With characteristic frankness, Reynolds pays tribute to the help he has received from Goldwater's nomination and President Johnson's campaign, saying "I wouldn't have a prayer of re-election if it weren't for Johnson." Of his ups and downs in the popularity charts, he says: "People have to have someone to get mad at, and recently it's tended to be the Governor."

Knowles refers to Reynolds as "High Tax Jack" because of his no-sales tax promise in 1962. "Not only did 'High Tax Jack' break his promise on the sales tax but he also gave us the highest income tax in history and wanted to make it higher, including a 55 percent increase for people with incomes under \$3,000." He says Reynolds has conducted a "hit and run" campaign, ignoring state issues.

Reynolds replies that it was the Republicans who forced him to accept the sales tax and that Knowles himself, when he was Lieutenant Governor, once cast the deciding vote for a general sales tax although then Gov., now Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D) vetoed it. Reynolds says: "It ill behooves those who have dirty hands to cast stones."

Knowles has supported Goldwater and voted for him at the Republican National Convention. But during most of the month of September Knowles carefully avoided appearing with Goldwater or Vice Presidential nominee William E. Miller in their separate appearances in the state, and refrained from mentioning Goldwater in his speeches. Goldwater supporters in the state threatened to withdraw their support of Knowles and he once again said he supported Goldwater, mentioning his complete agreement with two of Goldwater's major issues, corruption in government and violence in the streets. Knowles did appear with Goldwater when the Presidential nominee returned to the state Oct. 13 but had to say afterward that he did not agree with Goldwater's view that Democrats were a "fascist organization."

Both candidates have promised that no new tax increases will be needed in 1965. Reynolds says that the general growth in the economy will provide any necessary increases in state tax revenues. Knowles promises to "hold the line on further tax increases.... I'm not promising a reduction of expenditures but a reduction in the increase in expenditures."

Outlook: Doubtful.

Senate

Sen. William Proxmire (D), 48, first elected 1957, v. Wilbur N. Renk (R), 55, Sun Prairie farmer and businessman.

Proxmire's 1958 victory for a full Senate term was over Roland J. Steinle (R) with a 172,042 vote plurality (57.1 percent).

Proxmire biography: Weekly Report p. 853.

Proxmire overwhelmed two nominal opponents to win re-nomination with 89.0 percent of the vote. Renk was unopposed for the Republican nomination.

Proxmire is a clear favorite to defeat Renk, a moderate Republican whom even Proxmire has called the strongest possible Republican Senate candidate. Proxmire's name is nearly a household word in Wisconsin, where he has been seeking statewide office since 1952. Most Wisconsin voters are believed to approve of his independent behavior in the Senate, where he frequently opposes the Democratic leadership.

Renk asks the voters "to get rid of government by Proxy" and says that Proxmire along with Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.), a liberal Republican, are the two most ineffective Senators in the Senate. Renk was a candidate in the Republican primary for Governor in 1962 but lost to the organization-endorsed candidate. He has also served as president of the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin. Former President Eisenhower Sept. 18 came to Wisconsin for the express purpose of campaigning for Renk. He told audiences that Renk was the first major Republican in Wisconsin to support his Presidential candidacy in 1952 and says, "I shall never forget Mr. Renk for his help, and I cannot tell you how strongly I hope you elect him to the Senate."

Renk supports Goldwater but has said, "I have never had the feeling that we should have everyone agree on everything." Renk promises to seek aid from the Federal Government, similar to the Appalachia program, for an 80-county area in Northern Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan.

Proxmire has been waging a strenuous campaign for re-election and says he is running scared. One possible source of trouble for him comes from his 1963 hiring of a University of Wisconsin graduate student as his administrative assistant. The student received salary payments of \$9,007.85, at an annual pay rate of \$14,500, while completing his work on a Doctorate in English. The University has a rule against any graduate student working full time. Proxmire said he would pay the \$9,007.85 back to the government.

Outlook: Leans Democratic.

House

10 seats. Current line-up: 4 Democrats, 6 Republicans. Democrats are expected to lose one seat as a result of redistricting but have a good chance to oust the Republican incumbent in the 1st District, leaving the current line-up unchanged.

The Wisconsin Legislature redistricted the state in 1963 throwing Rep. Lester R. Johnson (D) into the same district as Rep. Vernon R. Thomson (R). Thomson's district is Safe Republican and Johnson chose to retire. (For background on the new districts, see 1963 Weekly Report p. 815).

Incumbents, political complexion of new districts (bold face Democratic majorities, light face Republican majorities):

	HOUSE %					JFK		IKE %		
	1962	1960	1958	1956	1954	1952	1960	1956	1952	
1 Schadeberg (R)	52.2*									
2 Kastenmeier (D)	53.6*									
3 Thomson (R)										
Johnson (D)*	57.4*									
4 Zablocki (D)	Figures unavailable; Safe Democratic									
5 Reuss (D)	Figures unavailable; Safe Democratic									
6 Van Pelt (R)	59.9*									
7 Laird (R)	63.8*									
8 Byrnes (R)	63.1*									
9 None	Figures unavailable; Leans Republican									
10 O'Konski (R)	54.6*									

* Redistricted seat. Figure shown is the majority percentage of the 1962 vote for Congress cast within the confines of the new district.

* Retiree.

1st District (Southeast - Racine, Kenosha) — Rep. Henry C. Schadeberg (R), 51, a staunch conservative, faces a serious re-election challenge from State Sen. Lynn E. Stalbaum (D), 44, a Racine dairyman with wide contacts with the district's farmers and milk producers. Redistricting removed heavily Republican Green County from the district, increasing Democratic chances.

Stalbaum, coming from Racine, finds strong support among labor groups in both Racine and Kenosha (American Motors main assembly plant) and combines that support with his appeal in rural farm areas, thus making a formidable opponent for Schadeberg. Stalbaum has also received plaudits for his work in the State Senate where he served as assistant Democratic floor leader. Stalbaum promises support for the Johnson Administration programs and calls Schadeberg "the junior Barry Goldwater." He says his Congressional career would feature a "positive approach" to the district's problems, whereas Schadeberg voted against the Peace Corps, the anti-poverty bill, "virtually all farm programs, foreign aid, the alliance for progress and area redevelopment." He also criticizes Schadeberg for opposing hospital care for the elderly under Social Security and the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Schadeberg tells audiences that he is one of only two ministers in Congress and says that religion and morality are the two biggest factors which prevent a Communist takeover in the United States. He claims taxes are a unit of lost liberty and accuses such Johnson Administration advisers as Walter Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, of espousing Marxist theories. Schadeberg says that he believes Communists from Cuba have been responsible for the racial riots in the big cities. Schadeberg has called in such fellow conservatives as Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R Neb.) and Rep. August E. Johansen (R Mich.) to help him win re-election.

While there are pockets of strong support for Barry Goldwater in the district, the conservative voting strength is not expected to overcome the likely district-wide lead for President Johnson. Coattail effects are minimized by separate ballots, but Schadeberg's close identification with Goldwater and his own conservative voting record could cause his defeat. Schadeberg benefits, however, from an excellent organization which is estimated to have

upwards of 5,000 volunteers who have participated in one way or another. Stalbaum by contrast, estimates his organization at 200 active volunteers. Outlook: Doubtful.

2nd District (Southeast - Madison) — Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D), 40, is expected to easily defeat militant conservative Carl V. Kolata (R), 45, a Watertown radio station executive. While the Democratic edge in the district remains narrow, it is believed to be solid, assuring Kastenmeier's re-election. Outlook: Leaning to Safe Democratic.

3rd District (Southwest - La Crosse) — Rep. Vernon W. Thomson (R), 58, enjoys a wide lead over La Crosse insurance agent Harold C. Ristow (D), 47. Outlook: Safe Republican.

4th District (South Milwaukee) — Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D), 51, is assured of re-election over Milwaukee attorney Edward E. Estkowski (R), 43, who is opposed to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

5th District (Central Milwaukee) — Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D), 52, is strongly favored to defeat Milwaukee maintenance man Robert Taylor (R), 46, a Negro. Negroes make up 11.7 percent of the district's population. Outlook: Safe Democratic.

6th District (East Central - Oshkosh, Sheboygan) — Rep. William K. Van Pelt (R), 59, who opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, narrowly escaped defeat in the Sept. 8 primary but is assured of re-election over Fond du Lac machinist John A. Race (D), 50. Outlook: Safe Republican.

7th District (Central Wausau) — Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R), 40, will have no trouble defeating insurance agent Thomas E. Martin (D), 49, of Mosinee. Outlook: Safe Republican.

8th District (Northeast - Green Bay, Appleton) — Rep. John W. Byrnes (R), 51, is strongly favored to turn back an energetic campaign by Cletus J. Johnson (D), 42, a Green Bay attorney. Outlook: Safe Republican.

9th District (North Milwaukee and Suburbs) — In this brand new district, former Rep. Glenn R. Davis (R 1947-57), 50, apparently enjoys a substantial lead over James P. Buckley (D), 30, of Waukesha, former deputy Democratic state chairman. Davis, who had been an Eisenhower moderate Republican, turned to the right in the mid-1950s, unsuccessfully challenging then-Sen. Alexander Wiley (R 1939-63) for that year's Senate nomination. He is now an all-out Goldwaterite. Davis narrowly defeated a moderate Republican in the primary and Buckley has expressed the hope that many of those moderate Republicans will support him. Goldwater has been well received in the middle to high income suburbs within the district, providing a strong nucleus of basic strength for Davis. Davis recently accepted a Buckley debate challenge. This is likely to benefit Buckley, since Davis is far better known. Regardless, the Outlook: Leaning to Safe Republican.

10th District (Northwest - Superior) — Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski (R), 57, has a strong personal following in this otherwise Democratic district and is virtually assured of re-election. His Democratic opponent Edmund A. Nix (D), 35, an Eau Claire attorney and district attorney, is waging an active campaign but he faces an uphill fight to defeat O'Konski, who pleases his Democratic constituents with votes for popular programs and close attention to district problems. Outlook: Safe Republican.

Biographies of Non-Incumbent Senate Candidates from Midwest

(Biographies of incumbents appear in the Elections of 1964 Supplement to the May 1, 1964 Weekly Report p. 834-856.)

INDIANA

D. Russell Bontrager (R), 56

Born: June 4, 1908, Kalona, Iowa.
Education: Public schools, Kalona; La Salle Extension University, LL.B., 1932.
Military: None.
Family: Married Willene Pancost, 1938; sons, David, William and Charles; three grandchildren.
Religion: Presbyterian.

Affiliations: All Masonic bodies; Elks; Exchange Clubs (past president of Indiana State and National); Bar Associations (member of Elkhart County, Indiana State and American); fellow in American College of Trial Lawyers.



Profession: Lawyer, active practice since 1933, partner in Bontrager and Spahn in Elkhart, Ind.

Items of special interest: D. Russell Bontrager is considered a conservative Republican but regards himself as a liberal, defining a liberal as "one who believes in the right of the individual

to carve out his destiny as much as possible free of government regimentation." He supports Republican Presidential nominee Barry Goldwater, but not all of Goldwater's positions. Bontrager is opposed to the "further encroachment of federal bureaucracy" and to the 1964 Civil Rights Act "for strictly constitutional and legal reasons." Bontrager was instrumental, however, in strengthening a civil rights law passed by the Indiana Legislature. He deplores the alleged inconsistency in U.S. foreign policy and would encourage a Cuban government in exile to invade the island.

Political career: Bontrager, a State Senator since 1949, has been a studious legislator and served as majority leader in the 1963-64 session. He voted against the controversial two percent sales and gross income tax proposed by Gov. Matthew E. Welsh (D) and was a key battler for passage of the state's right-to-work law in 1957.

His other previous elective offices include Elkhart City Judge (1939-42) and Prosecuting Attorney for Elkhart County (1943-47). He lost the Republican U.S. Senate nomination in 1958 to then-Gov. Harold W. Handley. Bontrager's chief opponent for the 1964 Senate nomination at the June 23 GOP state convention was U.S. Rep. Donald C. Bruce (R 11th District-Indianapolis), a right-wing conservative. Bontrager, in a very close contest, won a majority of the delegates on the third ballot — and thus the nomination. He faces incumbent Sen. Vance Hartke (D) in the general election.

MICHIGAN

Mrs. Elly M. Peterson (R), 50

Born: June 5, 1914, New Berlin, Ill.
Education: Public schools, New Berlin; attended William Woods College, Fulton, Mo., Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill., and graduated from Suburban Business College, Oak Park, Ill. in 1933.

Family: Married to Col. W. Marritt Peterson (U.S.A.).
Religion: Congregational.

Affiliations: American Red Cross (former county president and director of regional blood program); officer in American Cancer County Committee; American Legion Auxiliary; Ingham County and Lansing Business and Professional Women's Clubs; various local, state and national Republican clubs.

Profession: Housewife-politician.

Items of special interest: "She looks like a girl, thinks like a man and works like a dog," said Gov. George W. Romney (R Mich.) in describing Elly McMillan Peterson, the first woman ever to seek a Senate seat in Michigan.

An active Republican for 29 years, Mrs. Peterson rose to become Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee on Jan. 1, 1964. Mrs. Peterson, in contrast to Romney, has pledged her support to the Goldwater-Miller ticket but refuses to embrace several Goldwater policies. She originally opposed the Administration's anti-poverty bill but subsequently realigned herself with Gov. Romney in favor of the program, limiting her criticism to the program's failure to give local government units a stronger voice in it. She is a strong advocate of civil rights, a staunch opponent of the rising tax and Federal Government expenditures, and an earnest critic of the Federal Government's tendency to bypass state and local governments.

Political career: Mrs. Peterson was Republican state field service manager and party vice chairman between 1961 and 1964, contributing heavily to the 1962 election of Romney to the Governorship. As Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee (1964) and Executive Director of its Women's Division (1963-64), she has become nationally prominent through her speech-making, her organization of women's groups, and her major address at the Republican convention in San Francisco. She resigned these posts to run for the U.S. Senate seat held by incumbent Philip A. Hart (D).

Mrs. Peterson was "drafted" for the 1964 Senate nomination by Republican state leaders who looked with disfavor on the two declared primary contenders, James F. O'Neil, an elected member of the State Board of Education, and Edward A. Meany, a businessman.



MINNESOTA

Wheelock Whitney (R), 38

Born: July 30, 1926, Portland, Maine.
Education: St. Cloud, Minn., public schools; Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.; Yale University, B.S., 1950.
Military: Navy, 1944-46.

Family: Married Irene Hixon, 1948; sons, Wheelock III, 15, Joseph Hixon, 10, and Benson Kelley, 8; daughter, Pennell, 13.

Religion: Protestant.

Affiliations: Governor, Investment Bankers Assn. of America; director, Northwest Growth Co., Inc.; director, Minneapolis YMCA;



state executive committee, Radio Free Europe Fund; director, Minneapolis Junior Achievement; director, Werner Transportation Co.; trustee, Wayzata (Minn.) Community Church; American Legion; Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Business: Investment banker.

Items of special interest: A member of the fourth generation of pioneers who came from Maine to

settle in Minnesota in 1850, Wheelock Whitney has had a meteoric career, rising from a farm boy to a wealthy, civic-minded business executive and promoter. Educated in the East, Whitney, after two years of residence in Florida, returned to Minnesota in 1956 to join the regional investment firm of J.M. Dain & Co. as a salesman. He rose to vice president of that firm in 1958, director in 1959, and chairman and chief executive officer in 1963. An avid baseball fan, he was one of the prime movers in bringing major league baseball to Minneapolis. He lists as his hobbies: hunting, golf, tennis and squash.

Political career: Whitney is seeking elective office for the second time. He currently serves as Mayor of Wayzata (a Minneapolis suburb), being elected to that position in 1962 by a winning margin of nearly 8-to-1. His other political experience: president of the Duval County (Fla.) Republican Club and a Florida delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1956; Hennepin County (Minn.) Republican treasurer for three years; and finance chairman for former Rep. Walter H. Judd (R 1943-63) and treasurer of the Businessmen for (former Republican Gov. Elmer L.) Andersen in 1962.

In his bid to unseat incumbent Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D), 48, Whitney, a moderate Republican, has conducted a well-financed campaign, covering every corner of the state. He accuses his opponent of "laziness and failure to vote" on important issues in the Senate and "lack of concern, lack of political leadership" in encouraging Minnesota's economic growth. He also assails the scholarly McCarthy for preaching and writing of

MISSOURI

Jean Paul Bradshaw (R), 58

Born: 1906, Iberia, Mo.

Education: Lebanon, Mo., elementary and high schools; University of Missouri (dates not available).

Family: Married Catherine Ann Brandt; sons Paul L. and William Brandt; four grandchildren.

Religion: Congregationalist.

Affiliations: Beta Theta Pi social fraternity; Phi Delta Phi legal fraternity; Odd Fellows Lodge; Southside Kiwanis Club; Springfield, Mo., Chamber of Commerce; member, Board of Associates, Chicago Theological Seminary; trustee, Springfield YWCA.

Business: Attorney, Springfield, Mo.

Items of special interest: Jean Paul Bradshaw, once a championship high school debater, has had a distinguished career as an attorney, rising to partner in the law firm of Neale, Newman, Bradshaw, Freeman & Neale. The general counsel and senior vice president of Ozark Air Lines, Inc., Bradshaw kicked-off his current campaign with an extensive air tour of the state in a chartered, executive-type DC-3.

Political career: A former member of the Republican State Committee and director of the Republican state speakers bureau, Bradshaw brings considerable political knowledge to the Senate campaign. In his bid to unseat incumbent Sen. Stuart Symington (D), 63, he is seeking elective office for the third time. In 1942, he was elected prosecuting attorney for Laclede County (Mo.), and served in that position until 1945. In 1944, he was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for Governor, losing by a 30,000-vote margin. Prior to the 1964 Senate campaign, Bradshaw had been mentioned as a possible Republican candidate for Governor.

A strong conservative, Bradshaw charges that Symington has lost touch with his constituency and alienates business and industry representatives by displaying a "98 percent ADA-left-wing voting record in the Senate." He adds that Symington has drifted so far "to the left until today he is a confirmed left-wing extremist of the old school, living in the past and satisfied with old answers to new problems." He also accuses Symington of being a "front man for a new and rising St. Louis Democratic machine...potentially as dangerous...as the old Pendergast machine."

Bradshaw has gained much recent publicity on his advocacy of a program of federal industrial scholarship grants for on-the-job training of unskilled laborers.



In the Aug. 4 Republican primary, Bradshaw easily defeated Dr. Morris D. Duncan, a Kansas City physician and attorney, winning approximately 78.0 percent of the vote.

NEBRASKA

Raymond W. Arndt (D), 58

Born: Aug. 13, 1906, Platte Center, Neb.
Education: Platte Center elementary school; Concordia High School, Seward, Neb.; Concordia Teachers College, 1928; graduate work, Milwaukee, Wis., extension, University of Wisconsin.

Military: None.
Family: Married Luella Theresa Hellbusch, Aug. 25, 1931; sons, Roland Earnest, 29, and Leslie Raymond, 21; daughter, Mrs. Kenneth Moersen, 31; three grandchildren.



Religion: Lutheran.
Affiliations: Columbus (Neb.) Chamber of Commerce; Concordia College Assn.; American Society of Agricultural Engineers; Crop Dryers Manufacturers Assn.; Sprinkler Irrigation Assn.; Lutheran Layman's League.

Profession: Teacher, accountant, inventor, manufacturer.

Items of special interest: Raymond William Arndt has had a long career as an accountant for various public power utilities in Nebraska. In addition, he has been the founder or co-founder of the following firms: General Products, Inc., 1946; Habco Manufacturing Co., 1948; Columbus Engineering Co., 1951; Dale Products, Inc., 1951; Columbus Investment Corp., 1955; Dale Electronics Corp., 1956; Loup Engineering Co., 1957. Arndt's official biography notes that "in June 1958 a continuing conspiracy by a vast concentration of powers and by grave violations of the antitrust laws wrongfully deprived him and several brothers of their livelihoods and estates." During the period 1958-64, Arndt devoted much of his time "to writing and pursuit of justice under the Rule of Law." From 1961 to 1964, he served as administrative assistant and personnel director of Nebraska Public Power System.

Political career: Arndt is making his first bid for elective office in his race against strong incumbent, Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R), 60. Arndt is considered a political unknown and, reportedly, is handicapped by labeling himself a "progressive" or a "liberal" in predominately Republican Nebraska. He was unopposed in the Democratic primary, being assured the nomination when Gov. Frank B. Morrison (D), a moderate, decided to seek reelection as Governor rather than seek the Senate seat.

On the issues, Arndt supports federal aid to education; parity price supports on agricultural commodities; "rebirth of respect" for the rule of law; and measures to save "the Free World from the cruel bondage of Communism." He has been an outspoken critic of so-called "do-nothingism" in Congress, and advocates several Congressional reforms.

NORTH DAKOTA

Thomas S. Kleppe (R), 45

Born: July 1, 1919, Kintyre, N.D.
Education: Public schools, Kintyre and Valley City; attended North Dakota State Teachers College, Valley City, 1937.

Military: U.S. Army, finance officer attached to Air Force, 1942-46.

Family: Married Glendora Loew, 1958; daughters, Janis, Jane, Jill; son, Thomas Stewart.

Affiliations: Lions Club, Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Elks, Director of Bismarck branch of North Dakota National Bank.

Religion: Lutheran.
Profession: Businessman.

Items of special interest: Thomas S. Kleppe, a North Dakota native and resident of Bismarck, is a successful businessman, a student of government for many years, and an energetic leader in civil work who was cited by the Bismarck Junior Chamber of Commerce as the "outstanding man" of 1950. He has been a grain elevator operator and a bank manager, received a baseball offer from the St. Louis Cardinals, and in 1946 co-founded the Gold Seal Co., which became a multi-million dollar leader in the wax field. He sold out his interest in Gold Seal in 1964, becoming a "100 percent full-time, seven-days-a-week public servant." He still retains the titular designation of "treasurer" for the company, however.

Political career: Kleppe's single elective office was as Mayor of Bismarck (1951-54). He was elected at 30, making him the youngest mayor of any capital city. Among Kleppe's non-elective government appointments are membership on the Federal Inter-Governmental Relations Subcommittee on Local Government (by President Eisenhower in 1955) and the Governor's State Manpower Advisory Committee (by Democratic Gov. William L. Guy). He was elected treasurer of the Republican state committee in 1962.



Kleppe campaigned for the Republican Senate nomination on the claim that the party needed new faces and that his chief opponent, former Gov. John E. Davis (R 1957-60) had already lost one Senate election to Democratic incumbent Sen. Quentin N. Burdick. (Burdick had defeated Davis by 1,118 votes in the 1960 special election held to fill the seat vacated by the death of the late Sen. William Langer (R 1941-59).) Kleppe was successful in his uphill fight for the April 9 GOP convention endorsement, finally defeating Davis and two lesser candidates on the third ballot with 259 votes, a bare majority. He was unopposed in the June 30 primary.

Since North Dakota is essentially an agricultural state, Kleppe's key campaign issue has been the price of farm commodities. He has attacked Burdick, whom he cites as "one of the three most liberal members of the U.S. Senate," for supporting Administration farm policies, which Kleppe says have led to a 25-year low in farm parties, and excessive beef imports, which he says cost North Dakota farmers \$13 million in 1963.

OHIO

Robert Taft Jr. (R), 47

Born: Feb. 26, 1917, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Education: Cincinnati and Hamilton County public schools; Cincinnati Country Day School; Yale University, B.A., 1939; Harvard University, LL.B., 1942.

Military: Navy, Lt., 1942-46. Decorated with the Commendation Ribbon.

Family: Married Blanca Noel, 1939; sons, Robert II, 22, and Jonathan D., 10; daughters, Sarah B., 20, and Deborah, 17.

Religion: Protestant.
Affiliations: Member, Cincinnati, Ohio, and American Bar Assns.; member, The Camargo Club and The Literary Club; trustee, Children's Home, Cincinnati, and Taft School, Waterford, Conn.

Profession: Lawyer; Member of Congress.

Items of special interest: Robert Taft Jr. is the son of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft (R Ohio 1939-53); the grandson of President William Howard Taft (R 1909-13); and the great-grandson of Alphonso Taft, Secretary of War and Attorney General in President



Ulysses S. Grant's cabinet, and later Minister to Austria-Hungary.

From 1946 to 1951, Taft served as associate, and from 1951 to 1962, as partner in the Cincinnati law firm of Taft, Stettinius & Hollister, which is headed by Taft's uncle, Charles P. Taft, a former Mayor of Cincinnati.

Political career: Although Ohio GOP leaders reportedly offered Taft the U.S. Senate nomination in 1954, the year following his father's death, he chose instead to run for the Ohio state legislature. In 1955, he was elected to the State House and served there for four two-year terms, through 1962. For the period 1961-62, he acted as House Majority Leader.

In 1960, Taft served as a member of the Platform Committee at the Republican National Convention.

In 1962, Taft was elected U.S. Representative, winning Ohio's newly created At-Large seat in a race against Richard D. Kennedy (D), a political unknown with a popular name. Taft won with a plurality of 621,390 votes (60.5 percent). In the U.S. Congress, Taft served as a member of the House's Banking and Currency Committee, and its Subcommittees on Domestic Finance, and Bank Supervision and Insurance; and the Education and Labor Committee, and its Select and Special Subcommittees on Labor. During his freshman term, he won the reputation of being more moderate, or middle-of-the-road, than his father, a conservative. This reputation resulted, in part, from Taft's affirmative position on such issues as vocational education assistance, federal construction grants for college facilities, civil rights legislation and foreign aid. However, he took a conservative stand on fiscal policy.

In his bid to unseat incumbent Sen. Stephen M. Young (D), 75, Taft is taking his customary moderately conservative stand. He endorses the Goldwater-Miller ticket,

but has a knack for making speeches without mentioning Goldwater's name.

In the May 5 Republican Senate primary, Taft won 79.0 percent of the vote to defeat Ohio Secretary of State Ted W. Brown (R), who had campaigned as a right-wing conservative.

WISCONSIN

Wilbur N. Renk (R), 55

Born: Feb. 2, 1909, Sun Prairie, Wis.
Education: Public schools, Sun Prairie; University of Wisconsin, B.A., 1932.

Military: None.
Family: Married Helen Schultheis, 1933; daughter, Sue Carolyn (Mrs. Tomlin); son, Steven Edward.

Religion: Roman Catholic.
Affiliations: Eagles, Foresters, and Lions clubs; past president Wisconsin Chamber of Commerce; former chairman, Wisconsin Conference of Christians and Jews; Holy Name Society; various cattle and sheep associations.

Profession: Businessman and farmer-cattleman; with his brothers, a partner in the Renk Seed Co., producers of hybrid seed corn.

Items of special interest: Wilbur Nicholas Renk has been actively involved in the field of education as chairman of the Wisconsin Coordinating Committee for Higher Education (1959) and as president and a member of the University of Wisconsin's Board of Regents (1951-60).

Political career: Renk, a moderate Republican, has never held a public office but made a strong though unsuccessful primary bid for the GOP Governorship nomination in 1962. He ran without the endorsement of the Republican state leadership and lost to Philip A. Kuehn (R), an ultra-conservative, by 50,923 votes (Kuehn 250,539; Renk 199,616). Renk has been a delegate to every Republican state convention since 1948 and was chairman of the Wisconsin Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon in 1952. Despite these posts, however, he was considered a "political outsider" by the conservative Republican state leadership until 1963. In 1964 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in San Francisco and cast his vote, with the rest of the Wisconsin delegation, for Barry Goldwater's Presidential nomination.

Seeking the Senate seat of incumbent Sen. William Proxmire (D), Renk won endorsement by acclamation at the May 23 Republican state convention and went on to garner 295,041 votes in the Sept. 8 primary. He had no primary opposition. Despite the fact that the majority of state Republican officials do not share Renk's moderate political philosophy, they reportedly felt his presence would strengthen the statewide ticket in 1964.

Renk, a former supporter of Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R N.Y.) for the Presidency, has endorsed the Goldwater-Miller ticket but denounced extremism and any support from the John Birch Society. Former President Eisenhower campaigned in Wisconsin in September on Renk's behalf.



MIDWESTERN OUTLOOK

(Continued from p. 2485)

determining their net gain. At stake in the Midwest in 1964 are 10 Governorships, 8 Senate seats and 125 House seats. The mid-October outlook:

	Governors	Senators	Representatives
Safe Democratic	-	2	36
Leaning Democratic	4	3	9
Doubtful	4	1	13
Leaning Republican	1	1	21
Safe Republican	1	1	46

Governors. Of the 10 Governor's seats up, 7 (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota and Wisconsin) are currently held by Democrats and 3 (Kansas, Michigan and South Dakota) are held by Republicans. Democrats are favored to hold their seats in Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska and North Dakota. Democratic seats in Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin are clearly in jeopardy. (In Illinois, Republican gubernatorial nominee Charles H. Percy would be strongly favored to defeat Gov. Otto Kerner (D) if it were not for the serious drag from Goldwater at the top of the ticket.) Republicans are favored to retain their seats in Kansas and South Dakota, with Michigan Gov. George W. Romney's (R) otherwise bright re-election chances hinging strictly on the size of President Johnson's margin in the state.

Senate. Eight Midwestern seats are up — 7 currently Democratic, one Republican. Republicans would normally

have been expected to make gains because of the vulnerability of several Democratic incumbents elected from normally Republican states in the 1958 Democratic sweep. The current outlook, however, is that GOP gains could well be restricted to the Ohio seat, now held by Sen. Stephen M. Young (D), for which Rep. Robert Taft Jr. is running. Securely in the Democratic column are the seats of Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D Minn.) and Sen. Stuart Symington (D Mo.). Generally favored are Democratic Sens. Vance Hartke (Ind.), Philip A. Hart (Mich.) and William Proxmire (Wis.). Sen. Quentin N. Burdick (D N.D.) is only slightly favored to defeat Bismarck businessman Tom Kleppe (R). Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R Neb.) is considered safe for re-election.

House. The Midwestern states have 125 House seats — 52 currently controlled by the Democrats, 73 by the Republicans. As of mid-October, 45 seats were either Safe or Leaning Democratic and 67 were either Leaning or Safe Republican. This left 13 seats listed as Doubtful. If they were to split about evenly, there would be no net change in Midwestern seats. If most of the Doubtful seats went Democratic, which appears more likely, the net Democratic gain would be up to 6 seats. Another 5 seats currently listed in the Leaning Republican category, could also switch parties in a strong Democratic landslide.

Because of President Johnson's likely strong run across the farm and industrial states of the Midwest, it appears unlikely that Republicans could increase their present House seat total and would be doing very well to hold Democrats to a standoff. Democrats are in a good position to add as many as 11 seats to their total. The most vulnerable Republican House seats are in Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska and Ohio.

September 30, 1964

To: Ted van Dyk
✓ John Stewart

From: Julie

Re: FILE ON CAMPAIGN "POISON"

H

Full

WA Draft

Full

Which of you might like to see, file, etc. the
worst smear stuff we receive in the correspondence?

Enc: Samples - (a) Ad on Draft Record

(b) Leaflet (attached to Original
only) "Hubert Humphrey - The
Flaming Liberal"

HHH

COOK COUNTY NEWS HERALD, Grand Marais, Minn., September 24, 1964

Homefront Hero HUMPHREY

"THE HAPPY WARRIOR"

A Record of His Battles with the DRAFT BOARD

THE DRAFT BOARD RECORD OF HUMPHREY'S CASE IS A LONG SERIES OF DEFERMENTS AND RECLASSIFICATIONS. HERE IS A SUMMARY OF THE RECORD:

Registration Form Dated August 26, 1941 for Hubert Horatio Humphrey, Jr. shows the following:

8-29-41 Classified 11-A by Local Board No. 2 Hennepin County, Minnesota

8-30-41 Form 57 to Registrant and to Government APPEAL AGENT

2-14-44 Reclassified 11-A to June 15, 1944 (signed) O. A. Gravrock

5-1-44 Form 57 mailed (1-A APPEAL BOARD)

5-18-44 Reclassified 11-A to November 1, 1944, Forms 57 and 59 mailed (signed) R. A. Hammond

6-27-44 Reclassified 1-A, Forms 57 and 59 mailed, (signed) O. A. Gravrock

9-11-44 Form 218 mailed

9-27-44 Reclassified 11-A to April 1, 1945, Forms 57 and 59 mailed, (signed) O. A. Gravrock

1-9-45 Reclassified 1-A, Form 57, mailed (signed) E. G. Perine

2-12-45 Reported for induction

2-14-45 Qualified for limited service; administratively rejected because of right non-scrotal hernia; P70A, (signed) H. Shapiro, Major Medical Corps, dated February 13, 1945, Fort Snelling, Minnesota

2-15-45 Reclassified IV-F, Forms 218 and 57 mailed (signed) E. G. Perine

HHH applied for a Naval Commission in the Naval Reserve in July, 1944 and was rejected.

First deferred by request made in December, 1943, because he claimed to have some Army Air Corps officers in his political science classes at Macalester College

Next, he obtained a deferment at the request of the DEMOCRATIC-FARMER-LABOR PARTY made in September, 1944 on the ground that he was acting as campaign manager for the DFL Candidate for Governor, Byron Allen. This request was made after his rejection for the Naval Reserve

His next request for deferment, as shown by the records and correspondence of that draft board, was made in January, 1945, on the grounds that he had been retained as a Labor Relations and Personnel Consultant by two industrial concerns in the Twin Cities, both located at the same address and under the same ownership.

MEMORANDUM

October 3, 1964

TO: Martin McNamara
FROM: Humphrey Advance Men

File
Columbus, Ohio

1. Enclosed is press coverage on Friday afternoon. Note that on page one is a reference to the Humphrey story on the first page of the local section. All things considered, the local people consider this unusually good coverage by that unfriendly newspaper.
2. Enclosed is a column by a local columnist. Apparently inroads have been made upon the wild crowd estimates given out by the Goldwaters. By the way, the St. Louis Globe Democrat, reporting the crowd estimate to be only 5,000, is a most hostile newspaper.
3. Here are some of the measures used to get a crowd. The letter from Amos Lynch, correspondent for a leading Negro newspaper, is to ministers of Negro churches. There are 30,000 copies of the flier. Yesterday Tom Williams distributed them most effectively. He not only got local candidates to pick them up by the thousands for distribution, but he also got pledges from them of \$350 minimum to pay for rebroadcast time, and last night he had congressional candidates from surrounding areas in and they took thousands more.
4. We have been urging widespread participation from all campaign headquarters with the slogan "From the White House to the Court House; from the Court House to the White House" saying that the top of the ticket understands the needs and the problems of local candidates and, particularly in areas where the Court House is controlled by the Republicans, the great opportunity presented to them to turn out entrenched Republican officeholders so that the Democrats can build from strength at the grass roots. This pitch has met with enthusiastic response and all are participating genuinely.
5. The local organization has been revitalized in the past two years. New young blood has come in in the form of workers and candidates. The congressional candidate, Robert Van Heyde (pronounced Van Hide) (the pronunciation of his name has been a sore point since Lady Bird, when she was here, pronounced it incorrectly) has attracted to his headquarters the kind of volunteer that you run into in suburban political campaigns. Van Heyde's uncle is Porbate Judge here and has been very successful at the polls—a rare Democrat in Columbus, Ohio, and, therefore, the name Van Heyde is well known. Van Heyde and Tom Williams, the Vice Chairman of the county party and a real mover, have worked in harness together in politics for many years although they are both in their early thirties.

In short, it looks as good here for the Dems as it ever has both because of the strength of the national ticket and the reinvigoration of the locals.

The morning paper is a Scripps Howard newspaper although the editor was one of those who voted for Goldwater in its editor's meeting. The paper is still unfriendly but the tone has changed considerably for the better. The editor, by the way, plans to give Humphrey a good play because, while he disagrees with Humphrey, he believes him to be honest in his convictions.

My impression is that the bedrock of the Dem organization here, new and old, is still very hard hit emotionally by Kennedy's absence. Some recognition of the sentiment would undoubtedly be appreciated at least by the inside Dems of Franklin County although Kennedy lost in '60 by a substantial count.

Ohio's Republican Governor Rhodes, as you know, has been keeping his distance from Goldwater. On Thursday, Oct. 1, in what sounded like grateful language, Rhodes announced receipt of 3 hundred million dollars in water resources appropriations from the Johnson administration! On the same day President Johnson telephoned the Governor about the Appalachia Bill (see enclosed clipping).

The City of Columbus has a Dem Mayor, M. E. Sensenbrenner, in his 3rd term. He is a very colorful, smallish man and quite pugnacious, reminiscent to many of Harry Truman. The City Council is Republican dominated. His success is, however, more of a personal tribute than a party victory. He is energetic and quite possessive of urban renewal and expressways progress made in the town which has been substantial. Enclosed are some memoranda from him on this subject. Please remember that Sen. Humphrey's speech is to be delivered in the City Hall area from the steps of City Hall.

6. Enclosed is the popp sheet on Columbus, Ohio and Franklin County that will be attached with schedules.

P.S. to John Stewart

Some of the foregoing has to do with a big hassle justifiably created by the local Dems as to the size of the crowd Goldwater drew when he was here on Weds., Sept. 30. The local papers initially carried Republican claims of some 40,000-60,000, or 50,000. Gradually that estimate has been chipped away so that the generous estimate is now something like 20,000 with the morning newspaper the day after Goldwater's appearance giving an estimate of 10,00.

Encl. Appalachia clipping - flier - Arrival clipping
Amos Lynch letter-Al Hawkins letter

LL YOU

NES

ee Becomes Old Friend

ighbor, age 86, was buried in
ware, Ohio, Monday.

ckory, nearly 70 feet tall, and
ntinel-like by his resting place.
nd father to me. Rev. James
retired from the pastorate of
rch, and the present minister,
he service at the Bennett and

ritten about Mr. Lacher and
the melons he had given me.
each day until they ripened.
Many a time when I opened
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printer, but gave it up when
worked 24 years on the old

he would go back into the
dogwood for a bouquet for
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meaningful eyes and said:
I will be gone, but when
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Welcomed

fell I called him and we
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my place and around the
gentleman who let them
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MAJOR SPEECH EXPECTED

Humphrey Visit Slated Tuesday

Democratic vice presidential candidate Hubert H. Humphrey is probably going to be somewhere in Columbus for a "major speech" next Tuesday.

On this rather vague statement, Democratic national headquarters, local Johnson-Humphrey workers, congressional candidate Robert L. Van Heyde, State Chairman William Coleman and Franklin County Vice Chairman Thomas H. Williams all agree.

COLUMBUS MAYOR M. E. Sensenbrenner is much more specific and so is a local Johnson-Humphrey campaign aide, Burton Schildhouse.

Sensenbrenner and Schildhouse released detailed information on the vice presidential nominee's schedule in the city.

For 24 hours it has been a situation of many local Democrats making statements regarding Humphrey's visit.

VAN HEYDE, Democratic candidate for the Franklin County congressional seat, set off the confusion Thursday when he made the initial announcement that Humphrey would land at Port Columbus some time "between 4 p.m. and 4:30 p.m. Tuesday," go by motorcade to City Hall and speak from the west side of the building.

Sources in Lorain and Canton, Ohio, and in Detroit, asserted quickly this could not be because they were expecting Humphrey for speeches in their cities.

By Thursday evening, however, Van Heyde's announcement was being confirmed.

DEMOCRATIC headquarters in Washington said Humphrey's schedule called for him to speak in Columbus at 5 p.m. Tuesday, then in Toledo later in the evening.

However, a national headquarters spokesman cautioned that there could be changes in the next few days.

Later, Coleman hustled out a news release stating that "details of the trip and site of (the) address . . . will be set shortly by Morton Neipp, Ohio coordinator, and Franklin County Democratic Chairman Jerry F. Ryan." Coleman added that Williams would head the "local arrangements committee."

IN A PRESS release of his own, Williams announced that "plans for Humphrey's appearance at the west side of City Hall . . . are now under way . . . The exact arrival time and routing for Sen. Humphrey's motorcade should be announced sometime Saturday." Williams added that it was not yet known whether the senator's wife, Muriel, would accompany him.

Early Friday morning, Sensenbrenner issued a detailed schedule for Humphrey's visit to Columbus and urged

rush-hour motorists to plan their Tuesday travels accordingly.

Humphrey will arrive at Port Columbus at 4 p.m. aboard a chartered American Airlines plane, following a tour earlier in the day of northeastern Ohio, Sensenbrenner said.

HUMPHREY WILL be met by an assortment of local Democrat leaders. The motorcade from the airport will travel 17th Ave. to Stelzer rd., then south to E. Broad St. and turn west for the trip to City Hall, the mayor asserted.

Traffic will be blocked off, Sensenbrenner said, along the route.

The program is scheduled at the west portico of City Hall and a large area west of the building, along Civic Center Dr., will be blocked off for the anticipated crowd.

SENSENBRENNER said Humphrey will speak from 5 p.m. to 5:30 p.m.

The candidate's party will leave City Hall at 5:40 p.m., travel north to Long St., east to Nelson Rd., north to 5th Ave., east to Stelzer and north to 17th along a blocked off route, the mayor added.

Schildhouse subsequently offered a release regarding Humphrey's appearance which the public relations man first hoped would not be made public until Sunday. He consented to a Friday publication of the information after he learned that Sensenbrenner's information was marked "for immediate release."

Schildhouse asserted that his information originated with Johnson-Humphrey headquarters in Washington.

SCHILDHOUSE and the mayor agree that Humphrey will arrive at Port Columbus at 4 p.m.

Sensenbrenner's and Schildhouse's version of the route from the airport to City Hall agree, but they vary on how the vice presidential nominee will return to his airplane.

Schildhouse said the motorcade, after leaving City Hall, will move east in Long St. to Hamilton, north in Hamilton to Mt. Vernon Ave., east in Mt. Vernon-Greenway to Nelson, north in Nelson Rd. to 5th, east in 5th to 1st St., past the viaduct to 17th and then to Port Columbus.

However he gets back to the airport, Humphrey is then scheduled to leave for an evening speech in Toledo — at least, by last report.

BARRY'S WIFE TO BE AT LUNCHEON

Mrs. Barry Goldwater, wife of the Republican presidential nominee, will be the guest of honor next Thursday at a luncheon in Columbus of the Ohio Federation of Republican Woman's Clubs.

The luncheon at the Neil House will be held in connection with the federation's fall conference.

Tentatively, Mrs. Goldwater is scheduled to arrive at Port Columbus shortly before 11 a.m., attend a reception in the Neil House and then move to the luncheon in the "Tent Ballroom" of the hotel about noon. More than 500 guests are expected.

MRS. GOLDWATER, who declines to make speeches on political topics, will probably "just mingle and chat with the women," a GOP state headquarters spokesman said.

Mrs. Emery Johnson, former Republican national committeewoman from Arizona and the current national director of women's activities for the Goldwater campaign, will be the luncheon speaker.

Mrs. Goldwater will leave Columbus after her luncheon appearance.

THE FEDERATION'S banquet will be held in the Col-

umbus Plaza Thursday night. Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly will be its featured speaker.

Mrs. Schlafly of Alton, Ill., is the author of the widely circulated "A Choice, Not an Echo."

Buckeye Strike Talks Continue

Negotiators will continue Saturday attempts to settle a seven-week walkout of Buckeye Steel Casting Co. pattern makers. A meeting of labor, management and federal mediators has been set for 10 a.m.

Production at the plant at 2211 Parsons Ave. has continued despite the walkout of 27 members of the Pattern Makers League of North America.



CITY OF COLUMBUS

OHIO

MAYNARD E. GENSENBRENNER
MAYOR

ZIP CODE 43215

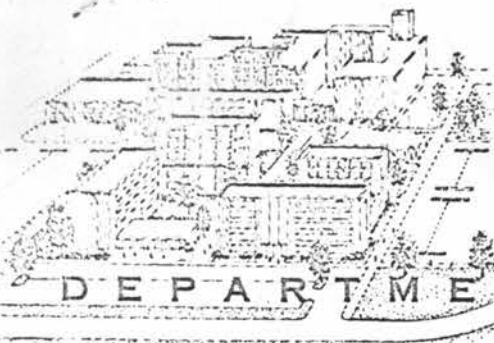
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

Tremendous progress has been made by Columbus in development of expressways because of the availability of Federal funds. Having started in the early 50's the program was well established and has been able to maintain a rapid pace as additional Interstate monies are forthcoming.

By the end of this year there will be 144 million dollars worth of expressways opened to traffic and \$36 million more under contract. Approximately \$170 million more will be started within the next five years - and the Federal government is paying 90% of the cost. This is due to the strategic location of Columbus with respect to the entire country.

Approved by the Federal government of the Interstate expressway system with an Inner Belt, Outer Belt and four radial freeways to serve this metropolitan area will act as a dynamic impetus to improved economy and benefits to the citizens in central Ohio.

Undoubtedly the Interstate program will be followed by a continuing Federally assisted program to finance additional highway facilities which will be recommended as a result of the Comprehensive Planning Process. This study is underway and financed to a major extent with Federal funds administered by the Bureau of Public Roads and Housing and Home Finance Agency.



CITY OF COLUMBUS, OHIO

M. E. SENSENBRENNER, MAYOR

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN RENEWAL

PATRICK PHELAN DIRECTOR

CITY HALL ANNEX, CA. 1-2211—EXT. 457

When President Johnson signed the Housing Act of 1964 into law on September 2, he said:

"I believe that we have a commitment to assure every American an opportunity to live in a decent home in a safe and decent neighborhood. This bill carries forward our continuing efforts to eradicate blight in our cities; to assure decent housing for those least able to find it -- the poor, the elderly, the severely-handicapped; to help our communities grow in orderly directions and avoid future blight and assure lasting beauty. The plight of property owners in urban renewal areas is recognized. Provision is made so that they can rehabilitate their homes and businesses instead of having to move from the path of the bulldozers."

Within the past seven (7) months, during President Johnson's administration, Columbus has fared well in the field of urban renewal. Approval was made in February of a Federal Loan & Grant of more than \$11 Million to pave the way for a \$40 Million redevelopment in downtown Columbus. Just a few weeks ago, a Federal planning grant of \$163,000 was approved to enable your City to move forward toward completion of desperately needed housing for more than 800 low-income families.

Your original investment in urban renewal, a \$5 Million Bond Issue approved eight (8) years ago, will pay the City's share of urban renewal project costs of more than \$20 Million; increase tax revenue from these areas nearly 8 to 1 and stimulate private investment for redevelopment of more than \$100 Million.

President Johnson has a deep concern for the people of this nation. He recognizes the social and economic impact of blight on our communities. He realizes that Urban Renewal is a sound method of returning Federal tax dollars to aid communities to meet a problem economically impossible for them to tackle alone. He will move forward in placing the welfare of our people first,

BUT NOT SENATOR GOLDWATER!

1964

Speech documentation *Great Society*

THE GREAT SOCIETY: Issues and answers

Campaign cards prepared by
The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
Senator Warren G. Magnuson, Chairman

Frederick J. Lordan, Secretary
Alwyn F. Matthews, Executive Director
Ronald F. Stinnett, Research Director

DRAFT

1964

THE GREAT SOCIETY

The theme for the 1964 Democratic Campaign was set by President Lyndon B. Johnson at the University of Michigan on May 22, 1964:

"I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society -- in our cities, in our countryside, in our classrooms. The Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

* * * * *

The Great Society: CITIES

President Johnson: "In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since the country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States."

The principal areas of concern are in:

- * Housing and Urban Renewal
- * Health
- * Education
- * Juvenile Delinquency
- * Crime Prevention and Control

The tremendous gains in these areas under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the 87th and 88th Congresses were the direct result of administration policies. To make cities better, safer, and healthier places in which to live, the Administration sought and secured the passage of:

- The Housing Act of 1961
- The Water Pollution Control Amendments of 1961
- The Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1961
- Six new anti-racketeering statutes in 1961 and 1962
- The Clean Air Act of 1963
- The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963
- The Health Professions Assistance Act of 1963
- Extension of the Library Services Act to urban areas, 1964
- Mass Transit of 1964

Yet, MUCH remains to be done:

- 35 million people still live in slums
- 25 million people still have inadequate housing
- 550,000 families are waiting for low-cost housing
- Traffic congestion snarls highways around urban areas
- Water and air pollution are still health hazards
- 800,000 out-of-school, out-of-work youths continue to contribute to juvenile delinquency
- Organized crime has not yet been wiped out

We must continue to make the American city a place where future generations will come, "not only to live, but to live the good life."

The Great Society: COUNTRYSIDE

President Johnson: "...we have always prided ourselves on not only being America the strong, America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded. Our seashores are overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing."

The Kennedy Johnson Administration has made these gains:

- enacted the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, which for the first time in history outlines a national policy of land use

- has encouraged farmers, with technical assistance and loans, to take unneeded and marginal land and convert it to profitable conservation and recreation uses
- conservation programs have been greatly expanded and more than 48 million acres added to soil conservation districts
- the Grest Plains Conservation Porgram has been extended for ten years
- denuded rangeland is being restored in the West
- new irrigation starts have doubled since 1961
- 8 new National Parks and 3 new seashores added since 1961
- uncounted flood control, water conservation, and wildlife programs have been instituted since 1961

But we still need to move ahead:

- Our water needs will triple by 1980 (We now use 6 billion gallons per day) and new programs are needed
- Rural Housing programs need to be stepped up
- More National Parks and refuges are needed to meet population increases
- A new wilderness program needed for the conservation of wildlife resources
- A new highway program can make the ccountryside accessible
- Air and water pollution programs need to be expanded

The Great Society: CLASSROOMS

President Johnson: "A . . . place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children's lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal."

How distant is the goal? Some facts:

- Today, 8 million adults Americans have not finished 5 years of school
- Nearly 54 million have not finished high school
- Each year, more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proven ability, do not enter college because they can't afford it.
- Universities require \$2.3 billion a year for needed academic facilities; we now spend \$1 billion
- We need 75,000 special teachers for retarded and handicapped children

Progress under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration:

Legislation enacted in 1963-64 will:

- Make college classrooms available to several hundred thousand more students in the next few years
- Enable 90,000 additional students to attend college under an expanded loan program
- Provide Federal assistance to enable universities to build needed academic facilities
- Give vocational and technical training to youngsters out of school and out of work
- Retrain 4 million unemployed in new skills
- Train 20,000 teachers to work with handicapped children
- Bring library services to 18 million people
- Build 30 new public community colleges a year

We need to:

- Raise teachers' salaries
- Build schools for 1.5 million students in overcrowded classrooms
- Equalize educational opportunities for every child
- Raise the standard of excellence for teachers

"We have come at a time when the century in which we live should henceforth be known as the century of the Educated Man."

"For every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from."

-- President Johnson

THE WAR ON POVERTY

Background

On March 16, 1964, President Johnson sent to the Congress his Message on Poverty, pledging the full resources of the Government for the complete elimination of poverty, a condition which affects 1/5th of the Nation's population. Here are some illustrative facts on the extent of poverty in the United States today. Keep in mind that the generally accepted definition of poverty is an annual income below \$3,000 for a family, or \$1,500 for an individual living alone.

- * 35 million persons live in poverty in the U.S.
- * More than 11 million children live in families whose incomes are below \$3,000
- * 9.3 million of the 47 million families in the United States live in poverty, that is, 20% of our nation's population
- * 5 million, or 45% of persons living alone are in poverty
- * Here are some breakdowns:

<u>Annual Income</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
Less than \$1,800	4.5 million
\$1,800 to \$2,500	3.0 million
\$2,500 to \$3,000	1.8 million
Total:	9.3 million families

* In 1962, the per capita income of these 35 million persons was only \$590, as against \$1,900 per capita income for the nation as a whole.

Poverty tends to be concentrated in certain groups in the population. For example:

- * 37% of families headed by a person with less than 8 years of education live in poverty.
- * 44% of all non-white families live in poverty.
- * 47% of all families headed by a person over 65 live in poverty.
- * 48% of all fatherless families live in poverty.
- * 43% of all farm families live in poverty.

The Republican Record in this whole area has been a combination of blind opposition and calculated obstruction, beginning with 99% Republican House opposition to the original Social Security Bill in 1935, to 86% Republican Senate opposition to hospital care for the elderly in 1962. Contrast this with President Johnson's "warm hearted attack" on this major problem of our time.

The Administration Approach to the staggering need for bootstrap assistance for millions of American families is best illustrated by the integrated and comprehensive program embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, introduced on March 16. Its main features are:

* THE YOUTH PROGRAM (One-third of the poor are children, and the need for remedial action is great) The total Youth Program calls for a budget of \$412.5 million, and provides:

- Job Corps: a program to provide 100,000 males, age 16 through 21, a two year program of education, vocational training, and work experience in 100 centers.
- Work-Training Program: the Office of Economic Opportunity, created by the act of 1964, to assist State and local agencies and private non-profit organizations in developing employment programs for unemployed youths. The program will permit 200,000 young people to resume schooling or otherwise increase their employability.
- Work-Study Program: will provide part-time employment for 140,000 needy students attending higher educational institutions to enable them to continue their education. Program to be administered by H.E.W.

* THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM provides \$315 million to help local communities to prepare their own long-range plans to assist low-income individuals and families in their own communities. Assistance provided in the fields of education, employment, job training, and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, and welfare.

* THE RURAL POVERTY PROGRAM provides \$50 million for grants and loans to low-income individuals, farm families, and cooperatives servicing these people. The aim is to provide a means by which they can achieve a permanent increase in family income. To be administered by the Department of Agriculture.

* THE FAMILY UNITY PROGRAM authorizes H.E.W. to pay the costs of pilot projects providing constructive work experience or training for unemployed fathers and other members of need families with children.

* MISCELLANEOUS: In addition to the direct assault on poverty in the core program, there are a number of related actions and activities worth noting:

-- Food Stamp Program (1961), now extended to 366,000 persons. Allows redemption of stamps in local retail outlets, stimulates business, reduces surplus, supplements diets.

-- Area Redevelopment Act (1961) As of January 31, 1964, ARA had instituted 430 projects, creating 63,836 direct jobs and 41,493 indirect jobs.

-- Accelerated Public Works Act (1962) As of January 31, 1964, the public works program has provided 98,000 man-years of on-site employment.

-- Social Security Amendments (1961) lowered retirement age and increased benefits

-- Manpower Development and Training Act (1962) will update the employment skills of 400,000 workers.

-- Tax Bill of 1964 the tax cut bill provides substantial assistance by reducing income taxes of people earning \$3,000 or less by an average of almost 40%

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

Republicans argue that such a program will "sap individual initiative," but this is a nonsense statement. The great bulk of those suffering from poverty find themselves in this situation through no fault of their own. Those, for example, who are victims of resource depletion layoffs, or automation layoffs, have no control over their fate; the 11 million children concerned obviously didn't get that way because of lack of initiative and 'get up and go.'

Republicans say that this program is another example of governmental centralization in Washington. They deliberately ignore the fact that many of the component parts of the program, such as the family unity program, the work-study program, and the rural poverty program, are to be administered by existing agencies. Many other aspects of the Poverty Program, such as the Community Action Program, are designed to assist state and local agencies in solving local problems at local levels.

The plain fact is that most of the poor are blameless, and want, not handouts, but an honest wage, for an honest day's work. The war on poverty will cost 15 of the national budget.

As President Johnson said in January of 1964: "Poverty is a national problem, requiring improved national organization and support. But this attack, to be effective, must also be organized at the state and local level. . . . For the war against poverty will not be won in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the courthouse to the White House. . . . Our aim is not only to relieve the symptom of poverty, but to cure it, and, above all, prevent it."

HEALTH CARE FOR THE AGED

Background

The need for an effective program of health care for the aged can best be illustrated by the following facts:

* The aged today number 17½ million, or more than 9% of the population. There will be 25 million aged by 1980.

* The aged have limited financial resources. 55% of those past 65 have less than \$1,000 annual cash income. 78% have less than \$3,000. 50% of the aged have less than \$1,000 in liquid assets.

* Only 46% of the aged have hospitalization insurance, and many of these have inadequate insurance coverage. Of the aged with less than \$2,000 annual income, only one-third have hospitalization insurance. Only 32% of those over 75 have hospitalization insurance.

* High use rate is a factor as well: 80% of the aged have chronic ailments; the aged use 8 times as much hospital care as younger people; after 65, 9 of 10 are hospitalized at least once; 2 of 3 are hospitalized 2 or more times; persons over 65 stay nearly twice as long as younger persons -- average of 14.9 days for those over 65, 7.6 days for those under 65.

* Hospital costs have increased tremendously. The average cost of one day's hospital care has risen from \$9.39 in 1946 to \$37 per day in 1964. One-half of aged couples, where one or the other is hospitalized, have total medical bills over \$800 in one year. Only 57% of aged couples are able to meet medical bills without outside help.

The Republican Record: Republican opposition to medical care under social security dates from the earliest attempts by Democratic Administrations to pass this badly needed legislation. The callous Republican attitude was summed up well by President Eisenhower's Secretary of H.E.W., Arthur Flemming, who said in 1960 that "as an Administration, we will oppose any program of compulsory health insurance." One week later, on March 30, 1960, President Eisenhower said at his news conference that "compulsory insurance" was a "very definite step in socialized medicine," and "I don't want any of it."

Republican opposition has gone farther than words. On August 30, 1960, on Senator Anderson's proposal for medical benefits for social security retirees, one Republican voted for the proposal, 32 against. On July 17, 1962, 31 Republican Senators voted to table (i.e., kill) the Anderson Amendments to provide health insurance for persons 65 and over under Social Security. Only 5 Republicans voted not to table. Realizing the overwhelming need for a national health insurance program, Democratic Administrations have requested health care for the aged regularly since World War II.

THE INADEQUACY OF EXISTING LEGISLATION

In 1960, Congress enacted the Kerr-Mills Act, which provided a new Federal matching grant program with optional State participation for the medically needy aged (MAA). The experience of the past 3½ years has shown, however, that Kerr-Mills (MAA) is totally inadequate. Some of the basic defects in Kerr-Mills are:

* States cannot afford to finance an adequate Kerr-Mills program:

-- as of January, 1964, 18 states still had NO MAA program
 -- as of the end of 1963, less than 1% of the 17½ million people over 65 were receiving MAA benefits

AND, there are grave inequities in the distribution of benefits:

-- as of the end of 1963, the average monthly benefit varied from \$20 in West Virginia to \$439 in Illinois

-- three states -- California, Massachusetts, New York -- account for 52% of all persons receiving MAA help, but only 22% of the elderly reside in these States

-- five large industrial states, California, Massachusetts,

Michigan, and New York and Pennsylvania, received 80% of MAA benefits, but account for only 32% of the nation's elderly.

* The administrative costs of Kerr-Mills are excessive due to a restrictive eligibility requirement and coverage.

-- a costly and humiliating poverty test is required, and at least 13 jurisdictions made MAA payments only after it had been determined that the recipients' relatives were also unable to pay.

-- ten jurisdictions may, after finding an individual eligible for aid, recover MAA payments from the recipient's estate.

KERR-MILLS (MAA) IS NOT AN INSURANCE PROGRAM ON A SOUND ACTUARIAL BASIS, BUT A CHARITY PROGRAM SPONSORED BY FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON PROGRAM

On January 10, 1964, President Johnson renewed John Kennedy's request for hospital and nursing home care for the aged, financed under Social Security. This measure, the King-Anderson Bill, provides the following:

* Hospital Service -- the beneficiary may elect one of three options:

1. 90 days, with deductions of \$10 per day up to 9 days (minimum \$20, maximum \$90)
2. 45 days; no deductions
3. 180 days; maximum deduction equal to cost of 2½ days of hospital care.

* Skilled nursing home service -- maximum of 180 days, following discharge from hospital

* Outpatient diagnostic service -- subject to \$20 deduction for each diagnostic study

* Home health services -- up to 240 visits per calendar year, and includes nursing care and therapy.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS INSURANCE PROGRAM HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH DOCTOR BILLS.

What are the costs? Taxable earning base increased to \$5,200. Social Security contribution rates will be increased by $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1% for employers and employees, and $\frac{4}{10}$ of 1% for self-employed persons. This would amount to about \$13 per year, little enough to protect people past 65 against the high costs of illness.

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

The King-Anderson Bill has been the subject of more distortion than almost any other bill in the past decade.

Republicans claim that this is "socialized medicine," but the bill has nothing to do with socialized medicine. It is an insurance program which provides for hospital care and nursing care for those past 65 only. Scare talk will not obscure the facts.

Republicans argue that the Kerr-Mills plan is adequate. But this is not insurance, it is charity. And it does not remove dependency. The King-Anderson Bill removes the dependency factor: Kerr-Mills simply provides inadequate aid for some of those already poverty-stricken. This is a national problem, and Kerr-Mills simply does not provide a national solution.

Republicans and their AMA allies claim that this legislation will impair the delicate "doctor-patient" relationship. The bill has absolutely nothing to do with doctors. The patient will, as he does now, select his own doctor and pay him as best he can. King-Anderson provides hospital and nursing costs, nothing more.

TAXATION, SPENDING, AND PUBLIC DEBT

BACKGROUND

TAX:

Under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, Congress enacted the first real tax cut of our time. The long-range program is designed to (1) stimulate economic growth by encouraging investment and increasing purchasing power; and (2) reduce tax rates at all income levels, but especially at lower levels, for both corporations and individuals.

The initial step was taken under Kennedy-Johnson with the enactment of the Revenue Act of 1962, which provided:

- * TAX CREDIT of up to 7% of investments in new and used machinery and equipment
- * TIGHTENED LOOPHOLES in expense accounts, overseas earnings, and so on. The administration and Congress also:
- * REPEALED THE 10% EXCISE TAX ON RAIL and bus travel, and reduced the air travel tax
- * Increased tax deductions on MEDICAL EXPENSES
- * Revised DEPRECIATION SCHEDULES, the first major change of this sort since 1942.

THE MAJOR TAX CUT BILL, the Revenue Act of 1964, was passed early this year. The largest tax cut in history, the Act brought about an \$11.5 billion reduction in corporate and individual income taxes. When fully effective in 1965, the tax cut bill will:

- * Add \$35-\$45 billion more to the Gross National Product.
- * Increase CONSUMPTION by \$25-\$30 billion
- * Increase PROFITS by \$5-\$7 billion
- * Add more than 2 million JOBS

What will this mean to individual taxpayers? Here are some examples:

- * Income tax rate reductions will average 19.4% in 1965.
Here are average tax cuts per income level:
- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| \$0000 to \$3,000 . . . | 30% reduction |
| 3,000 to 5,000 . . . | 26.9% " |
| 5,000 to 10,000 . . . | 20.6% " |
| 10,000 to 20,000 . . . | 17% " |

* A couple with two dependents earning \$5,000 paid \$300 tax in 1963. They will pay \$247 in 1964, \$220 in 1965.

* A couple with two dependents earning \$7,500 paid \$720 tax in 1963. They will pay \$621 in 1964, \$564 in 1965.

In voting on the bill, the vote in the Senate was 74-19, with Democrats 84% for the bill; in the House the vote was 326-83 with Democrats 92% for the tax cut.

* * * * *

SPENDING:

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has instituted an unparalleled ECONOMY in Federal finance. The Budget sent to the Congress in January, 1964, asked \$97.9 billion, the first budget reduction in years. This reduction was accomplished without cutting back services and without sacrificing the nation's security. This means, for example, that

* Expenditures for all governmental functions other than defense, space, and fixed interest charges, have risen CONSIDERABLY LESS (\$3.6 billion) in the Democratic years 1961-1964, than in the comparable Republican years, 1958-1961, (\$5 billion).

* The ratio of Federal civilian employees in the Executive Branch has dropped from 14 employees per 1,000 people in 1955 to 13 per thousand in fiscal year 1965, despite increased population and increased workloads.

* Government management has been streamlined across the board. In the Treasury Department alone, for example, management improvement has saved more than \$30 million in three years.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE TOPIC OF SPENDING, see the section on Economy in Government.

PUBLIC DEBT:

In spite of scare talk to the contrary, the relative size of the National Debt has decreased steadily under the Kennedy-Johnson Administration.

The Republican Party, the Chamber of Commerce and its satellites, and various "lunatic fringe" groups are trying to convince the American people that the Federal Government is a great octopus, perpetually trying to increase the influence of a centralized system by swelling the ranks of the bureaucracy, and by taking more and more functions unto itself. These people talk of "fiscal responsibility" and the great virtue of state and local solutions to the problems of the day.

Seen in the proper perspective, these claims are the sheerest kind of nonsense. By all MEANINGFUL criteria, Federal expenditures and Federal Debt are healthier now than at the end of World War II. The same may not be said of private and state and local debt and expenditures. Let's illustrate this by some comparisons.

* From 1946 to 1963, every citizen's share of Federal expenditures rose by 31.8%; during the same period, his share of State and local expenditures skyrocketed 311.9%.

* In relationships to Gross National Product, Federal expenditures declined during the period 1946-1962. Calculated as percentage of GNP, Federal expenditures declined by 44.7%; during the same period, state and local expenditures were up 90.9%.

* Every citizen's per capita share of the National (Federal) Debt declined 15.7%; in the same period (1946-1962) his per capita share of the state and local debt increased 287.4%.

* In relation to GNP during the period 1946-1962, the Federal debt has declined by 57%, while state and local debt has increased by 84%.

* Per capita Federal taxes increased by 72.4% from 1946 to 1963; State and local taxes increased by 213%.

* In relation to GNP, the monthly Federal payroll has declined by 4%; state and local payrolls are up 92%.

	Population	Labor Force	G.N.P.	Private Debt	Fed. Debt	State & Local Debt
1946	141.4 m	60.9 m	210.7B	154.1B	269.4B	15.9B
1962	185.8 m	74.7m	554.9B	687.6B	298.2B	81.0B
	UP 31%	UP 22%	UP 162%	UP 250%	UP 10.6%	UP 409%
		*	*	*		

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

Republicans claim that the Democrats are "big spenders." The facts are, however, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has been more devoted to fiscal responsibility than the preceding eight Eisenhower years, which recorded the largest peacetime budgets in history, a whopping \$588 billion for the 8-year period. The total deficit for the Eisenhower years was \$22 billion, and the National Debt rose nearly \$25 billion.

Republicans claim that Democratic Administrations are "bad for business," but under Kennedy-Johnson the economy is at an all-time high. GNP has climbed over \$600 billion, unemployment has been reduced, business investment is expected to climb to \$44 billion this year, a 10% increase over 1963, and your money buys more than ever before.

ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT

BACKGROUND

In spite of pious claims about "economy and fiscal responsibility," the Eisenhower Administration racked up an impressive spending record, including a 1959 deficit of \$12 billion, the largest peacetime deficit in history.

The National Debt had climbed by more than 8%, a total of \$22.9 billion, and Budgets had risen from \$44 billion in 1951 to \$76.5 billion in 1960.

Not only did the Republicans spend, they spent unwisely. In 1960, Senator Paul Douglas, in a report to the Senate on waste and inefficiency in the Defense Department, found that:

- * The Navy was paying \$21.10 for a 25¢ lamp socket
- * The Army paid \$29.00 for a \$3.98 set of wrenches
- * The Air Force paid \$250.00 for a \$25.00 electrical fixture and \$50 each for \$3.60 blowers

The Department of Agriculture (which Secretary Benson had called "a swollen bureaucracy" when he took office), increased its employees by 21,000 during the Eisenhower-Benson years. During these same years the total value of farm surplus went from \$1 billion to more than \$9 billion, and the cost of storing this surplus rose to more than \$1 million per day.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD IN ECONOMY

Note the contrast provided by President Johnson. In his first Address to the Congress, only a few days after taking office, he set economy in government as a major administrative goal.

The Johnson emphasis on economy involves a positive three-fold assault:

- * To reduce Federal employment whenever possible
- * To curtail less urgent programs and find savings in other program operations
- * To improve management practices and streamline all along the line to cut costs through more efficient operation.

An essential difference between Republican "economy" and the Kennedy-Johnson economy is in the motivation for cutting costs, and in the use of the revenues thus released for productive purposes.

This Administration views its savings program not as an end in itself, but as the means by which funds can be provided for undertaking new and expanded programs to meet the vital needs of the Nation and its people. This is an economy program which has:

* reduced the budget, but has provided the biggest tax cut in the Nation's history

* given us a stronger defense posture, but at the same time has launched a specific and whole-hearted attack on poverty.

TODAY'S BUDGET ALLOWS US TO SAVE WHERE WE CAN TO SPEND WHERE WE MUST.

As the President said in November, 1963, "I pledge that the Executive Branch will be administered with the utmost thrift and frugality; that the government will get a dollar's value for a dollar spent; and that the government will set an example of prudence and economy." We have kept that promise.

The war on waste and inefficiency is an endless struggle:
The examples given here could be multiplied many times over,
but these will illustrate the Administration's accomplishment.

REDUCTIONS IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT:

By Order of March 9, 1964, President Johnson ordered cutbacks in Federal employment, thereby reducing the Budget he had just sent to the Congress by another \$42 million. Examples:

- * Post Office -- 3,100 in 1964; 3,100 in 1965.
- * Treasury Department -- 333 in 1964; 537 in 1965.
- * Health, Education, and Welfare -- 653 in 1964; 640 in '65
- * Federal Aviation Agency -- 300 in 1964; 650 in 1965

These were not goals or targets, but ACTUAL CUTS.

SPENDING CUTS:

Under Secretary MacNamara's Cost Reduction Program we saved more than \$1 billion in Fiscal 1963, and savings will reach \$4 billion by 1967. Some examples:

- * 700 million saved through revisions of combat requirements.
- * \$237 million saved by greater use of competition in the filling of defense contracts
- * \$436 million will be saved by switching from cost-plus to fixed-price contracts

In the Federal Aid Program, for example:

- * \$900,000 was saved by buying DDT for malaria eradication during the slack production period
- * Self-help provisions are now a regular part of U.S. aid

In Agriculture:

- * As a result of wheat and feed grain programs, the cost of storing surplus was reduced, saving the taxpayers \$200,000 per day

These are not paper reductions, but honest cost-cutting at all levels.

STREAMLINED MANAGEMENT PROCEDURES:

- * In the Treasury Department alone, management improvement saved more than \$30 million in three years
- * By streamlining procedures, V.A. hospitals were able to treat more than 70,000 more patients in 1963 than in 1960 -- without any increase in the number of beds.
- * The Corps of Engineers eliminated 1,600 jobs and reduced annual costs by \$13 million
- * The Internal Revenue Service realigned Field Offices and streamlined Training Programs for annual savings of \$11 million

Again, the examples represent not imaginary savings, but real dollars and cents savings for the taxpayer of the United States.

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

BACKGROUND

By 1970, we must be building at least 2 million homes a year just to keep up with our expanding population -- and this is not taking into account the replacement of housing currently rated as substandard.

From a low of 1,275,000 new housing starts in 1960, the steady Kennedy-Johnson increase will take us to 1,600,000 new housing starts in 1964.

In spite of this progress, much remains to be done. The current problem looks something like this:

- * 35 million people are living in slums
- * 550,000 families (1.7 million people) are waiting for low rent housing
- * 25 million people have inadequate housing
- * 6 million elderly people have inadequate housing
- * the 1960 Census found 7 million non-farm dwellings to be deteriorating

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD:

If the Republican Party had had its way with housing and community programs, there would be

- no FHA mortgage insurance program
- no public housing program
- no urban renewal program
- no housing agency

The Republican Party's official position, in its platform and in the rank and file votes of the overwhelming majority of its House members, has been one of consistent opposition to all of these forward-looking programs. Typical Republican obstructionism was exhibited with the passage of the Housing Act of 1961, when more than 160 House Republicans and all but a handful of Republican Senators voted to cripple the program in votes on key amendments.

DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS:

The forward-moving Democratic program in this area began immediately after the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office. The first major step was the Housing Act of 1961. Its main features included:

- * Authorizations of \$2 billion for urban renewal and \$55 million for urban planning
- * Grants and loan funds for the development of mass transit systems and "open space" cities
- * Expanded community facilities loan program for small communities
- * Authorization for 100,000 new public housing units
- * Increased funds for construction of housing for the elderly and for farm housing
- * Improved and liberalized FHA programs by lowered downpayments and extended terms
- * Establishment of new programs of low-interest loans for cooperatives and low-rent housing for low and middle income families

This comprehensive and integrated housing program continued with the Senior Citizens Housing Act of 1962, which provided:

- * Construction of co-op and low-rent housing for the low income elderly in urban areas, and for all elderly in rural areas

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration abolished discrimination in the housing built, purchased, or financed with Federal assistance by Executive Order on November 20, 1962.

* * * * *

The extension of the Administration's distinguished record in this area continued with the passage of the Urban Mass Transportation Act In July, 1964. This bill provides:

- * \$375 million for grants and loans to states and localities to assist public and private transit companies in providing adequate mass transportation for the nation's cities.

The Housing Act of 1964, now pending in the Congress, contains the following provisions:

- * An additional 60,000 public housing units per year for four years
- * Additional provisions for Housing for the elderly
- * New rural housing, including rural elderly and domestic farm laborers
- * 12,500 new military family housing units
- * \$1.4 billion for 2-year period for urban renewal
- * Expanded program of grants and loans for Community Development projects
- * Raised limits on FHA home mortgages
- * Provision of funds to train state and local employees in urban development programs
- * Establishes a Department of Housing and Community Development -- to carry Cabinet status

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD, 1961-1963:

- * 4.3 million NEW UNITS of public and private housing
- * FHA interest rates reduced from 5 3/4% to 5 1/4%
- * 350 communities have begun public housing programs, bringing total to 1,500
- * Doubled rate of public housing construction for the elderly
- * Assistance for 900 college housing projects affecting 234,000 students -- more than matched the previous 10 years
- * More than doubled grant assistance in urban renewal

THE CHALLENGE:

By 1980 the total population is expected to increase by between 50 and 75 million persons, the greatest increase (in absolute numbers) in history. To serve this expanded population we will need:

- * 30 million new homes
- * more than a million new classrooms
- * uncounted miles of streets and utility lines, parks, and playgrounds
- * Improved transportation facilities

As President Johnson said in January, 1964: "The increasing concentration of our population around urban centers will create increased housing needs and intensified problems of community development which must be anticipated and acted upon immediately. How we respond to these challenges will have a lasting impact on the character of our cities and rural communities. WHETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE OUR GOAL OF A DECENT HOME IN A DECENT NEIGHBORHOOD FOR EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY RESTS, IN LARGE MEASURE, ON THE ACTIONS WE TAKE NOW.

MANPOWER RETRAINING PROGRAM

BACKGROUND

One of the gravest economic problems of the 50's and 60's has been that of chronically persistent pockets of unemployment in economically depressed areas. Republican indifference to this difficulty, well illustrated by President Eisenhower's two vetoes of corrective legislation, saddled the Kennedy-Johnson Administration with the problem.

Kennedy-Johnson took office in the midsts of the third Republican recession in 8 years. The effective action which started the upswing in the economy started immediately, beginning with:

- * A step-up in the surplus food distribution
- * The food-stamp plan
- * Step-up of Federal payments in critical areas to stimulate recovery
- * Increased U.S. Employment Service functions

During the Eisenhower Administration, the unemployment rate rose from 2.9% in 1953 to 6.9% in 1961. As of June, 1964, the unemployment rate was down to 5.1%. During this same period, 1961-64, employment rose by 14 million.

THE DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION:

Realizing that the first measures taken were only stop-gaps, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration conceived a two-part attack on structural unemployment. The two themes were:

- * A set of programs designed to rehabilitate economically depressed areas
- * A manpower retraining program, designed to impart new skills to workers with obsolete or insufficient skills

To accomplish these goals, the Administration asked for an Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training to administer the two-pronged attack.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM:

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 (ARA) is designed to bring NEW INDUSTRY into areas of persistently high unemployment, and too provide short-term vocational training programs. The Area Redevelopment program has:

- * Approved 430 financial projects involving \$203.2 million, and created 63,836 direct jobs (using the accepted figure of 65 indirect jobs created for every direct job) bringing the total to 105,329 direct AND indirect jobs.
- * Instituted a job retraining program, involving 590 projects, equipped 27,294 workers with new skills
- * Provided technical assistance that has produced 261 studies providing technical knowledge for business expansion in economically depressed areas.

THE ARA PROGRAM WILL UP-DATE THE SKILLS OF 400,000 WORKERS.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA)

The MDTA is designed to retrain workers with obsolete skills, and to improve the abilities of workers with insufficient skills. The principal features of the Manpower Development and Training Act program include:

- * TRAINING PROGRAM now extended through 1966, provides

-- In-school vocational training programs

-- On-the-job vocational training programs

* THE 1963 AMENDMENTS to MDTA expanded the training program for out-of-school, out-of-work youths, aged 16-21.

* 1963 AMENDMENTS also established a LITERACY PROGRAM to prepare those insufficiently educated for occupational training

These amendments will permit the training or retraining of an additional 93,000 young workers. As of April, 1964, there were 126,466 trainees in 2,766 projects.

THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963

* Provided \$581 million in matching grants for the expansion of State vocational educational programs for both students and teachers

* Expected to bring the number of students enrolled in such programs to 7 million by 1968 -- there are currently 4.2 million students enrolled

* Expected to bring the number of vocational education teachers from 102,000 to 163,000 in 1968.

THE ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS ACT OF 1962 (APW)

* Provides immediate employment in hardest-hit areas, and speeds construction of needed public facilities

* As of January 1, 1964, funds were committed to 7,418 approved projects in 3,000 communities. This constitutes a combined Federal, State, and local investment of \$1.6 billion and 98,000 man-years in on-site employment. (est.)

LEGISLATION PENDING IN THE CONGRESS

Our most alarming unemployment problem is the out-of-work, out-of-school youth. The unemployment is THREE TIMES AS HIGH AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE as adults, and the problem will be further aggravated by the fact that 26 MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER 24 WILL ENTER THE LABOR MARKET DURING THE 1960's.

Since 1961, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has been seeking Congressional approval for the Youth Employment Opportunities Act. The provisions of this bill include:

* Youth Conservation Corps -- to enroll young men for conservation work in national forests and parks, wildlife refuges, and soil and water conservation projects.

* State and Community Youth Employment Programs -- to employ young men and women in service activities, such as playgrounds, hospitals, schools, welfare agencies.

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

Republican arguments have run the range from a hackneyed laissez-faire attitude (that any government activity in the economy upsets the operation of "natural economic laws") to Secretary Wilson's "bird-dog kennel-dog" nonsense during the Eisenhower Administration.

BUT, the Republican record of recessions under Eisenhower, and the plain, blunt figures which specify the economic upturn under Kennedy-Johnson belies the scare talk, and points up the previous administration's callous disregard for unemployment and related problems.

THE PEACE CORPS

BACKGROUND

The Peace Corps, a highly successful program manned largely by American young people, was established by President Kennedy's Executive Order on March 1, 1961. The Program was enacted into law on September 22, 1961.

The three basic objectives of the Peace Corps are:

- * To help the people of the developing nations of the world meet their needs for trained manpower

- * To help promote a better understanding of the American people in the countries being served

- * To help promote a better understanding of the peoples of other countries in America

The Peace Corps represents a UNIQUE NEW CONCEPT. Peace Corps volunteers provide middle-level manpower -- between highly skilled technicians and the unskilled populations of the developing nations.

Some basic guiding principles are:

- * Peace Corps volunteers go where invited as workers rather than advisors

- * Volunteers learn to speak the local language, follow local customs, and live with and at the same level as those they are aiding in the host country

We are finding by hard experience what John Kennedy knew in a flash of political intuition: the Peace Corps can and will make a positive contribution to international peace and understanding.

HOW DOES THE PEACE CORPS WORK?

Selection:

The Peace Corps is a volunteer program. The first year there were 14,000 applicants; the second year there were 26,000; the third years, 38,000; Next year there will be from 50,000 to 75,000 applicants.

Selection processes are rigorous -- of those who apply, about 25-30% are invited to train; of those invited to train, about half enter the training program. About ONE OUT OF EACH EIGHT ORIGINAL APPLICANTS ACTUALLY BECOMES A PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER IN THE FIELD.

Training:

Peace Corps training is a mixture of academic, technical and cross-cultural studies. Training programs run 8-12 weeks. Classes are held Monday through Saturday 60 hours per week, with evenings and Sundays devoted to study, special classes, and field trips.

Training includes language skills, basic construction and engineering skills, basic health and sanitation, and basic agricultural techniques. The Peace Corps does use some specialists -- doctors, engineers, geologists, but the mass of Peace Corps manpower is in the middle range.

Placement:

The Peace Corps volunteers and missions go only where they are invited. The program is developed largely by the host country.

As of June, 1964, there were nearly 10,000 volunteers serving in 45 countries.

There are an additional 20 countries that have requested Peace Corps missions, but we cannot supply them as yet. The demand for trained volunteers outweighs the supply.

THE PEACE CORPS AT WORK:In Latin America

* In Columbia, projects initiated and completed with the assistance of Peace Corps volunteers include the building of more than 100 schools and school kitchens, 30 aqueducts, 50 roads, and 15 bridges.

* Volunteers working in Arequipa, Peru, in September, 1963, received the Silver Medal of the City for their assistance.

In Africa

* The presence of Peace Corps teachers enables many countries to increase their school enrollments, to improve their pupil-teacher ratios, and to broaden and deepen their curricula.

* In Liberia, Peace Corps volunteers are more than 50% of the country's degree-holding teachers

* In Ethiopia, Peace Corps volunteers are more than one-third of all secondary school instructors.

In Asia

* Even in a nation as vast as India, a handful of volunteers makes an impact. One volunteer save 40,000 citrus trees by demonstrating pruning techniques. The operation of more than 130 poultry units was started by volunteers in an effort to improving the diet of the people of large areas.

* The Asian equivalent of the Nobel Peace Prize, the Ramon Magsaysay Award, was presented to Peace Corps volunteers in eleven Asian countries in August, 1963.

* * * * *

The success of the American venture is well illustrated by the fact that sixteen other industrialized nations have, or soon will have, their own volunteers at work. The Danes have a mission in Tanganyika, and German volunteers began training in January, 1964. And seven of the developing nations have begun Peace Corps type activities within their own borders.

The confidence of the AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY in the Peace Corps experiment is documented by the fact that American firms have made generous contributions to the effort. The Encyclopedia Britannica people, for instance, gave \$75,000 worth of educational films, and the World Book Company donated 1000 sets of their encyclopedia.

CIVIL RIGHTS

BACKGROUND

Since 1875, only THREE Civil Rights Acts have been adopted. The first two came in 1957 and 1960 under the skillful Democratic Senate leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson, and with the support of the Democratic Congress.

The third bill, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, is a major landmark in American history. A major objective of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, this bill is the capstone of the century-long struggle for EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS.

Provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 include:

* Title I: VOTING RIGHTS -- outlaws racial discrimination in qualification of voters for FEDERAL ELECTIONS; forbids literacy tests as qualifications unless the tests are administered in writing, and provided that a copy of the test and the answers are made available upon request within 25 days after the test is given. Enforcement by the individual and the Attorney General.

Even with the passage of the 1957 and 1960 acts, substantial voting discrimination continues in the South. The Report of the Civil Rights Commission for 1963 indicated that the situation was critical in 100 counties in 8 Southern states; the following is a chart of 1962 voter registration:

State	# of Counties	Regist. Whites	Regist. Negroes	% of voting-age Negroes
Alabama	13	192,016	26,411	12.1%
Florida	5	14,899	512	3.5%
Georgia	15	69,360	5,234	14.3%
Louisiana	15	139,992	8,001	6.9%
Mississippi	38	172,866	2,267	1.1%
North Carolina	7	50,270	6,489	15.6%
South Carolina	5	16,167	1,997	7.4%
Tennessee	2	8,819	4,800	37.4%
1962 totals:	100	667,007	55,481	8.3%

* Title II: PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS bars discrimination in places of public accomodation such as inns, hotels, restaurants, theaters, if interstate commerce is affected, or if discrimination is supported by state action. Permits civil suit by the person injured, permits suit by the Attorney General if there is reasonable cause to believe there is a pattern of resistance.

* Title III: DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES on receipt of a written complaint, allows the Attorney General to initiate suits to desegregate government owned or operated public facilities where the individual is being deprived of the equal protection of the laws.

* Title IV: DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION requires the U.S. Commissioner of Education to make a survey and report within 2 years on the progress of desegregation in public institutions at all levels. Authorizes the Attorney General to file suit to desegregate upon receipt of written complaint. (This title makes it clear that nothing in the act authorizes or requires a federal court to issue an order seeking to achieve racial balance in a school by transporting students from one district to another.

There are 6,196 school districts in the Southern and border states. Of these, 3,052 have both Negro and white students. 979 districts, 32.1%, (biracial) admit Negroes to previously all-white schools. YET ONLY 8% of NEGRO PUPILS IN THE SOUTH ATTEND SCHOOL WITH WHITE CHILDREN.

* Title V: COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS extends Civil Rights Commission through 1968. Empowers commission to act as national clearing-house for information on denial of rights in voting, education, housing, employment, use of public facilities, transportation, the administration of justice, etc.

* Title VI: NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS insures that no person should be excluded from participation in, denied the benefits of, or subjected to discrimination under any program receiving Federal assistance.

* Title VII: EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY prohibits discrimination in employment affecting interstate commerce, creates bipartisan Equal Opportunity Commission to investigate and seek enforcement of the title.

* Title VIII: REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS orders the Secretary of Commerce to compile voting and voter registration statistics during the 1970 Census.

* Title IX: INTERVENTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES provides that the Attorney General may intervene in any civil suit for relief for denial of equal protection of the laws due to discrimination if he certifies the case to be of "general public importance."

* Title X: ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE sets up a Community Relations Service in the Department of Commerce, to provide a conciliation service to ease racial tensions in communities threatened by disturbance.

* Title XI: provides for \$1,000 fine or 6 months in jail for persons found guilty of criminal contempt under titles II, III, IV, V, VI, or VII of the Act. Provides for jury trials under these titles if the defendant so requests.

* * * * *

In addition to securing the passing of the most comprehensive Civil Rights legislation in American history, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration and the 87th and 88th Congresses:

- passed the Poll Tax ammendment, later ratified by the states
- established the first Federal Public Defender system, to assure a lawyer for everyone accuse of crime
- passed six major anti-crime bills and broke the underworld code of silence with the Valachi hearings
- created Presidential Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established REAL equality on Federal hiring
- airport, rail, and bus terminals and lines doing business in interstate commerce have been desegregated
- Negroes now occupy 49% of the 494,000 unites in the public housing programs.

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

Opponents argue that the "public accomodations" section of the Act violates individual property rights. But no man has the legal right to discriminate against another.

Additionally, a man may not always do as he pleases with his **property**. Start a slaughter-house or glue-factory in your back yard and find out. Property rights are not absolute.

Furthermore, utilities and quasi-utilities have always been the object of public concern and governmental regulation. The public accomodations section may simply be looked at as an extension of the principle that an electric company, a telephone company, or an insurance company may not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, or color.

It is important that the National Government -- the country's largest employer and the symbol of American unity -- point the way to equal rights by leadership and example.

FARM POLICY

BACKGROUND:

The Eisenhower-Benson farm policy was a disaster for the American farmer. During the Eisenhower years:

* Net farm income had fallen from a high of \$15 billion in 1952 -- the last year of the Truman Administration -- to a low of \$11.4 billion in 1960. There was a \$20 billion total loss.

* Over a million farm families left the land

* \$9 billion in farm surpluses piled up -- cost the taxpayers more than \$1 million per day in interest, handling, and storage

* The entire rural economy was sagging and needed bolstering

Kennedy-Johnson Leadership and Congressional Action have:

INCREASED FARM INCOME:

--net farm income increased \$1.2 billion (or 17%) in the first year, and has remained a billion dollars a year higher each year

--gross farm income, the measure of purchasing power on the street, stood at \$37.3 billion in 1961. In 1964 gross farm income stood at \$41.5 billion, an increase of more than \$4 billion.

REDUCED FARM SURPLUS:

--corn stocks have been cut 700 million bushels, a 35% cut

--wheat stocks, which were a record 1.4 billion bushels in 1960, will be cut in half this year

--taxpayers are saving \$800,000 PER DAY because of reduction in surpluses

INCREASED EXPORTS:

--exports of farm products have increased 70% since 1960, will increase to \$6 billion in 1964

--One acre of every five now produces for the export market

SHARING OUR ABUNDANCE:

--Food for Peace Program helps to feed 90 million hungry people throughout the world

--7 million people receive donated food

--15 million school children participate in the school lunch and milk programs, an increase of 4 million over 1960

--Food Stamp Plan helps 350,000 people enjoy a better diet

STABILIZED FOOD PRICES:

--In 1964, Americans were spending only 19¢ of their total consumer dollar for food, the lowest in the world for the most, the best, and the most varied food.

* * * * *

Farm income, which had averaged \$2,765 per year during the Eisenhower-Benson period, rose to \$3,359 in 1961, to \$3,602 in 1962, and then dropped slightly to \$3,580 in 1963. The average for the three Kennedy-Johnson years is \$3,490, an increase of 26% over the disastrous Eisenhower-Benson years.

SUMMARY OF ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM:

* The Emergency Feed Grain Act of 1961, expanded in 1962, started the first upward climb of farm income and the first reduction of surplus in 8 years, enabling farmers to retire land.

* Omnibus Farm Bill of 1961 designed to reduce government costs for the wheat and feed grain programs by \$750 million to \$1 billion for 1963, while raising total farm income by \$600 million to \$800 million annually.

* Food for Peace Program of 1961 has helped reduce our surpluses, gained us dollar benefits and international good will.

* Food Stamp Program of 1961. Needy families purchase food stamps from the government at a discount, use them to purchase goods at regular retail stores. In 1964, 380,000 persons in 43 areas in 22 states were benefitting from the pilot program. The Administration has asked for a renewal on a permanent basis.

* Sugar Acts of 1961 and 1962 increased domestic producer's share of United States sugar market to 30%

* Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 contained:

- Land use provisions, making the conservation program permanent
- Agricultural trade provisions, expanded donations to school lunch programs, amended Public Law 480 to permit long-term supply agreements in private trade with friendly nations

* Farm Act of 1962 modified and extended the existing feed grain acreage diversion program

* Cotton-Wheat Act of 1964 provides:

- Federal subsidy for cotton mills, supports cotton research, and provides a higher subsidy for cotton
- Voluntary program to increase price supports on wheat from \$1.30 to \$2.00 while reducing the amount of land planted in wheat; also provides that farmers not participating but staying within previous quotas would be entitled to \$1.25 per bushel support; farmers planting more than their acreage allotment would receive no support benefits at all

In addition to these programs, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has moved to assist the farmer and rural dweller by:

* The Rural Area Development Program, creating some 130,000 new jobs in rural communities since 1960. Local RAD committees increased from 200 (1961) to more than 2,000 (1964)

* Agricultural Research has developed new cotton stretch yarn, ~~shrink-resistant~~ wool, new methods for removing radioactive strontium from milk without impairing flavor

* Rural Credit: credit resources administered by the Farmer's Home Administration are up 90% over 1960, now average \$649.9 million per year

* Rural Electrification: five milestones since 1961:

- 5 millionth electric consumer connected
- billionth dollar loaned for rural dial service
- 2 billionth dollar in principal and interest paid to Federal government by rural electric borrowers
- co-op generating plants, using lignite, established in North Dakota, combined, 350,000 kilowatts
- 937 local industrial, recreational, and business starts, creating more than 100,000 direct and indirect jobs.

* Federal Crop Insurance: \$500.5 million in crops now insured, more than double the 1961 total; an all-time record.

* Soil and Water Conservation Programs: new emphasis on multi-purpose programs, expansion of conservation activities.

President Johnson: "Our task is threefold: first, to maintain and improve farm income, strengthening the family farm in particular; second, to use our food abundance to raise standards of living at home and around the world; and third, to accelerate development and conservation of both material and human resources in rural America, where 1/3 of our citizens live."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND MUTUAL SECURITY

BACKGROUND:

During the Eisenhower years, American foreign policy drifted while the Soviets made substantial gains, in space, technology, and the wooing of the under-developed and emerging countries.

When the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office in January of 1961:

- * CASTRO had come to power in Cuba (Jan., 1959) and the poison of Castroism was spreading through Latin America
- * THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE was breaking down for want of a stable and cohesive American policy
- * KHRUSHCHEV had delivered his near-ultimatum on Berlin, and Germans and West Berliners had become increasingly concerned over the stability of the Berlin situation
- * There had been partially successful Soviet efforts to establish a presence in the CONGO, where secession and civil war had established a power vacuum
- * The situation in VIETNAM, which began in 1959-60, had been virtually ignored by the Republicans

The Communist drive for world domination had gained considerable momentum. The trend was reversed by a series of determined, powerful acts on the part of the United States:

- * LAOS: (May, 1961) Cease-fire took place after President Kennedy ordered marines in the Pacific to prepare to move into Laos, indicating to Moscow that he would not accept a Southeast Asia conference during the Laotian war.
- * BERLIN: (July, 1961) After the Vienna Conference, with Khrushchev's "ultimatum" on Berlin, President Kennedy committed the United States to use all forces to defense of Western vital interests in Berlin.
- * CUBA: January, 1962) The Punta del Este Conference of the OAS ejected Cuba, provided for collective defense against Communist penetration in the hemisphere
- * CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS: (November, 1962) A major turning point in the Cold War, the world's first operational nuclear crisis; U.S. strength and determination paid off.

But success in foreign affairs depends on diplomacy as well as strength. Some examples of Kennedy-Johnson diplomacy:

- * Test-Ban Treaty (1963)
- * Establishing a "hot-line" to the Kremlin
- * Simultaneous reduction by the U.S. and U.S.S.R on output of nuclear weapons material
- * Consular agreement reached with the U.S.S.R.

Acts of strength and diplomacy have put the Communist World in a state of disarray:

- * The ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS has stifled Communist advances in Latin America
- * The split between RED CHINA and the SOVIET UNION has been widened and exploited

SOME IMPORTANT KENNEDY-JOHNSON PROGRAMS IN FOREIGN POLICY:

- * The Peace Corps (1961) has added a new dimension to our foreign policy; its success is unquestioned. From a small beginning of 35 volunteers in Tanganyika in 1961, there will be 14,000 in 1965.
- * The Alliance for Progress (1961) President Kennedy's imaginative response to the need for hemispheric solidarity; it has made progress:

- CUBA has been neutralized
- VENEZUELA successfully combated a Communist terror campaign and held a free Presidential election; the first time in the history of the country that there were two consecutive free election
- After nearly 100 years of irritation, the Chamizal dispute with MEXICO has been settled, and U.S.-Mexican relations have never been better.
- In PANAMA, a potentially dangerous situation has been calmed down, and negotiations on the root of the problem are proceeding with dignity and restraint
- In BRAZIL, a dangerous trend towards Communism was stopped and constitutional procedures safeguarded.

* Food for Peace (1961) provided grants of surplus American food to help pay workers on construction projects in underdeveloped countries, thus freeing funds for other uses.

* The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1961) Some concrete results have been:

- the HOT-LINE between Moscow and Washington, a direct communication link in times of crisis
- the TEST-BAN TREATY, prohibiting nuclear testing in the air, in space, and under water by both sides
- the UNITED NATIONS resolution against stationing weapons of mass destruction in orbit
- the reduction, simultaneously by the United States and the Soviet Union, of production of FISSIONABLE MATERIALS

* The Trade Expansion Act (1962) A new tool in foreign policy, this Act has led to the expansion of U.S. exports

THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROBLEM

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has reversed the backward tide of foreign policy under Eisenhower-Dulles, a trend which had resulted in decreasing returns from our foreign aid dollar, and an increasing hostility to the program in Congress.

* The first foreign aid bill approved for the Kennedy-Johnson Administration was for \$4.3 billion, and also established the AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (AID)

-- President Johnson's current economy-minded program calls for an appropriation of \$3.4 billion, the smallest request in the 16-year history of the foreign-aid program. And there have been other shifts in emphasis:

-- In 1960, only 41% of aid-financed commodities were produced in the United States. In 1963, nearly 80% of all aid-financed commodities were produced in the United States. WE ARE SPENDING MORE FOREIGN AID DOLLARS AT HOME.

-- In 1960, the foreign aid program had 645 contracts with American business firms and other private organizations. In 1963, AID had 1,027 such contracts. Also, AID had set up the Office of Development Finance and Private Enterprise in order to stimulate private investment and enterprise overseas. WE ARE STIMULATING THE USE OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE OVERSEAS.

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

Republicans claim that the Administration's foreign policy is indecisive, a "no-win" policy, asks, "why not victory?" BUT, Administration policies in Berlin, Cuba, and Vietnam, are examples of decisive, responsible actions designed to meet the Communists head-on, anywhere in the world. The keynote to Administration action has been a sense of responsibility and a feeling for the gravity of the situation. This administration does not shoot from the hip on matters of nuclear war; it has acted with firmness and a proper caution.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND SECURITY

BACKGROUND:

Under the Eisenhower Administration, which had operated on a slogan of "security through solvency," defense programs were determined by arbitrary budget ceilings. In order to bring the nation to peak strength, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has averaged more than \$6 billion per year more than the last year of the Eisenhower administration.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has devoted itself to improving our defense system while cutting costs.

STRENGTHENED DEFENSE POSTURE:

Since 1961, our defense capabilities have been greatly improved. Increases in military forces over the Eisenhower levels include:

- * A 100% increase in the number of nuclear weapons available in the strategic alert forces, and their explosive force has nearly doubled
- * A 60% increase in the tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe
- * A 100% increase in the procurement of weapons and equipment for the Army
- * A 45% increase in the number of combat-ready Army divisions, from 11 to 16
- * A 30% increase in the number of tactical air squadrons (from 16 to 21)
- * A 100% increase in the procurement of tactical aircraft
- * A 75% increase in airlift capability
- * A 100% increase in funds for ship construction and conversion to modernize the fleet
- * U.S. FORCES NOW HAVE MORE THAN 1,000 fully-armed ICBM and POLARIS missiles ready for retaliation
 - over 750 of these are ICBM's deployed on launchers, mostly in the hardened and dispersed silos, many times the Soviet capability
 - the U.S. Navy has 240 POLARIS missiles deployed in 15 submarines
 - a 50% increase in the number of POLARIS submarines to be in the force by 1965

* 130,000 facilities with adequate fallout protection have been identified, containing space for 110 million people; supplies for the shelters for 60 million.

ECONOMY IN THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT:

Some idea of the improvements in the management of the defense establishment can be gained from the following statistics relating to Secretary McNamara's cost-reduction program:

<u>Estimated savings to be realized:</u>	1963 -- \$1.38 billion
	1964 -- \$1.86 billion
	1965 -- \$2.46 billion

The 1970 goal is \$4 billion in annual savings.

These figures refer to savings achieved or projected through improvements in efficiency and management in the Department of Defense. They do not represent cuts achieved at the cost of reducing our military preparedness.

Some representative examples are:

- * \$600,000 saved by the Navy by decreasing the ship-board stockage of gyroscopes used to stabilize fighter aircraft -- experience had proved the rate of failure to be lower than estimates.

- * Army cost effectiveness studies revealed that .30 caliber machine guns would suffice on many combat vehicles where .50 caliber guns had been budgeted -- for a saving of \$17 million.

- * Almost \$200 million saved by doing a better job of finding in-service use for surplus inventories, instead of selling them off at a fraction of their cost.

- * An Army requirement for aircraft engines costing \$1.2 million was met by spending \$400,000 to rehabilitate 31 engines, excess to the Air Force, netting Army savings of \$800,000.

- * Over \$235 million saved through competition to fill defense orders.

- * Approximately \$436 million saved by shifting away from cost-plus contracts to fixed-price contracts.

- * \$551 million to be realized from decisions already made to return unneeded facilities to civilian economy, including 745,000 acres of land, over 81,600 persons to be released or reassigned, 61 industrial plants up for sale.

THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson has continued the intensive efforts of previous Democratic administrations to provide the necessary military strength under which the United States has been able to conduct its foreign policy.

We have:

- * Strengthened our strategic nuclear forces by substantially increasing their numbers, destructive force, and mobility.

- * Filled gaps which existed in our non-nuclear forces, allowing us another alternative -- in conventional forces -- so that we are no longer in a position where the only alternatives are retreat or general nuclear war.

- * At the same time we have strengthened management and increased the efficiency of our operations.

AS PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID IN 1961: " The primary purpose of our arms is peace, not war -- to make certain that they will never have to be used -- to deter all wars, general or limited, nuclear or conventional, large or small -- to convince all possible aggressors that any attack would be futile -- to provide backing for diplomatic settlement of disputes -- to insure the adequacy of our bargaining power for an end of the arms race."

EMPLOYMENT AND MINIMUM WAGE

BACKGROUND:

The keynote for the Republican record was set by Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson in Detroit on October 11, 1954. "I've always liked bird dogs better than kennel-fed dogs myself. You know, one who'll get out and hunt for his food rather than sit on his haunches and yell."

This comment, in the midst of rising unemployment in that recession year, is not likely to be soon forgotten by the American worker.

During the years the Republicans were in power there were 3 recessions -- 1953-54, 1957-58, and 1960.

In 1960, Vice-President Nixon told a group of businessmen in Hot Springs, Va., that: ". . . unless unemployment goes over 4.5 million it cannot become a significant issue in the minds of many people . . . there must always be some unemployment."

* In 1954-55, Republicans opposed Democratic attempts for "distressed areas" legislation.

* In 1956, in a burst of leap-year liberalism, Republicans passed a watered-down version of the distressed areas bill, after killing a stronger Democratic version.

* During the 1958 recession, Republicans opposed legislation providing extra weeks of benefits to unemployed.

SUMMARY OF DEMOCRATIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

When the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office in 1961, unemployment stood at a record 7%. As of June, 1964, unemployment reached a low of 5.1%, breaking the 4 million barrier.

The minimum wage was frozen at \$1 per hour -- raised from 75¢ in 1955 over Eisenhower's objections. Every increase in the minimum wage has come under a Democratic Congress.

Unemployment:

In a labor force of almost 75 million, nearly 4 million cannot find jobs. A major concern is the alarming number of young people who are out of school and unable to get work.

Emphasis of the Democratic Administration has been on providing job opportunities for young people just entering the labor force, and retraining men and women whose job skills are obsolete. Substantial retraining progress made:

-- Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA) Rehabilitates economically depressed areas, and retrains workers with obsolete and insufficient skills. (126,466 trainees in 2,766 projects.)

-- Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 (ARA) Designed to bring new industry into areas of chronic unemployment, to provide short-term vocational training -- to update skills of 400,000.

-- Vocational Education Act of 1963 -- Provides mainly for the expansion of state and local vocational education programs. There are 4.2 million students currently enrolled. This will be brought to 7 million by 1968. The number of teachers will go from the present 102,000 to 163,000 in 1968.

-- The Youth Employment Opportunities Act, now pending in Congress, has been passed by the Senate, reported by the House, awaits Rules Committee consideration. It provides:

* For a Youth Conservation Corps which would enroll YOUNG MEN for conservation work in National and State parks and forests, wildlife refuges, soil and water conservation.

* For State and Community Youth Employment Programs to provide work experience for young men and women in local community service activities, such as schools, hospitals, welfare agencies, playgrounds, and so on.

* * * * *

Minimum Wage:

The Fair Labor Standard Amendments of 1961 represented a major Administration victory. It raised the hourly minimum wage, and extended coverage to additional workers for the first time since the law was enacted in 1938.

-- Raised minimum wage for 23.9 million workers previously covered by the Act from \$1 to \$1.25 per hour -- to be reached by two steps over a two-year period.

-- Extended minimum wage and other provisions of the FLSA to 3.6 million workers not previously covered (mostly retail and service workers), to be accomplished in three steps over a four-year period.

SUMMARY OF WAGE AND LABOR PROTECTIONS:

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has shown a special concern for the Working American. This administration and the 87th and 88th Congresses have:

- * Increased the minimum wage to \$1.25, extended coverage
- * Put more money in pay envelopes -- average weekly earnings of factory workers has gone from \$89.72 in 1960 to \$100.53 in 1961--a 12% increase.
- * Increased purchasing power by holding prices steady as wages increased -- today's paycheck will buy over 9% more goods and services than it would in the last year of the Eisenhower Administration.
- * Attacked unemployment -- reduced it from 7% in 1961 to 5.1% in June of 1964 -- broke the 4 million barrier -- 3.9 million unemployed in June, 1964.
- * Extended unemployment benefits -- 2.8 million workers who had exhausted regular benefits received \$800 million in temporary benefits in 1961 and 1962.
- * Opened doors to new job skills and training.
- * Created equal employment rights for women.
- * Increased employment opportunities for minority Americans, the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity.
- * Strengthened welfare and pension plans
- * Cut strike time in half: during the last 3 years under the Democrats, strike losses have been 14.3 days out of every 1,000 work days. During the last 3 years of the Eisenhower Administration, 33.3 days were lost out of every 1,000.
- * Improved labor-management relations through improved mediation techniques.
- * Eased the problems of migrant workers by extending public health provisions, coverage of child labor laws, and provided grants for the education of children of migrant laborers.

NATURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

BACKGROUND:

The Republican Resources record is best characterized by the slogans, "Give away" and "no new starts." Despite the tremendous efforts of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the nation has not yet recovered from the losses incurred during the Eisenhower Administration.

Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior, McKay, set the stage for the "give away" policy when he said on November 3, 1953: ". . . Our [GOP] basic mission is to DISPOSE OF and to integrate the public domain with private industry." In this case, the Republicans kept a promise, and:

- * Opened wildlife refuges to the oil industry at rates as low as 50¢ per acre.
- * Permitted raiding of national forests by mining firms.
- * Republican Congress (1954) tried to pass a "grazing land" bill to give control of 200 million acres to 3% of the ranchers.
- * The "no new starts" policy dragged water and power development to a halt, and created a gap so large that it will take years to overcome.
- * Not a single Federal power project was started in the first 3½ years of the Eisenhower Administration.
- * The 50-year tradition of orderly low-cost power expansion was junked.
- * Democrats thwarted an attempt to weaken the rate structure of TVA -- the infamous Dixon-Yates scandal.
- * Republicans tried to raise interest rates on REA and rural telephone loans in order to cripple the programs.
- * President Eisenhower vetoed the desperately needed water pollution bill.
- * The Eisenhower Administration refused to tap atomic energy as a source of power.

By the year 2,000 -- just 36 years from now -- the population of the United States will have doubled. The resource demands of 360 million people staggers the imagination.

The nation lost 8 precious years during the Republican administrations, 1952-1960, years when we should have been conserving and rebuilding instead of "giving away," and when we should have been expanding instead of "no new starts."

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD:

Flood Control:

* Since 1961, the Corps of Engineers has spent 1.229 billion dollars for flood control, compared to \$962 million in the three previous fiscal years.

* The Department of Agriculture has expanded its soil conservation program, and has helped local agencies build more than 250 watershed projects in upstream areas.

Water shortage:

Knowing that our water demands will double by 1980 and triple by 1990, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration:

* Authorized, in 1961 alone, new water reservoir projects equal to the three previous years.

* Instituted saline water conversion program (for converting ocean water into fresh water) in 1961. The pilot operation was so successful that one plant was moved and reassembled at Guantanamo Naval Base after Castro turned off the water there.

* Started 12 new major water resource developments in the West in 1961-62, added 8 major and 15 smaller projects in 1963.

Water Pollution:

After the Eisenhower veto of the Water Pollution Bill, the Kennedy-Johnson Administration enacted:

-- the Water Pollution Control Act of 1964, doubling Federal efforts to control pollution. The Act provided for:

- * grants for the construction of waste treatment plants, with 1200 now underway
- * improvement of 14,000 miles of streams
- * instituting large-scale planning in 5 great river basins, servicing 57 million people.

Air Pollution:

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration passed the Clean Air Act of 1963, which provided for:

- grants for control and prevention activities
- new state and local pollution control agencies

Electric Power:

Kennedy-Johnson Administration achievements in electric power development and transmission include:

- increased hydro-electric generating capacity (by 578,900 kilowatt hours
- added 3,350 miles of vital new transmission lines, compared to only 1,950 under the 8 Eisenhower years
- arranged the first major regional power interconnection, linking Missouri Basin, the Southwest, and the Upper Colorado Basin.
- low-cost Bonneville power for Southern Idaho
- local power agencies utilize nuclear power from the Hanford, 800,000 kilowatt hours at no cost to the taxpayer.

Public Lands:

Under Kennedy-Johnson, we have:

- held the first White House conference on Conservation in more than a half-century
- established new grazing-fee formulas, providing new revenue for the development of public lands
- reduced the 3-year backlog of public land use applications from 42,000 to 15,000.

Recreation:

- established the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation
- created 8 new National Parks (4 already open)
- established 3 new National Seashores, providing 285 miles of unspoiled beach for all the people.

Fish and Wildlife:

- Wetlands Acquisition Act, 7-year program providing additional breeding areas for waterfowl
- 23 new wildlife refuge centers -- more than in any other comparable period
- 6 new fish hatcheries authorized
- pesticide laboratory built, enforcement stronger.

As President Johnson said in Tulsa on May 20, 1963, "Billions of dollars are being siphoned off our economy through the economic loss of water pollution, inadequate soil conservation, and much else. It is fundamental that to sustain economic growth we must conserve and utilize to the fullest our resources."

EDUCATION

BACKGROUND:

The BASIC PROBLEM IN EDUCATION at all levels is that our school population is outpacing our educational facilities.

This problem was further aggravated by Republican indifference during the Eisenhower Administration. Not only did the Republicans kill three major education measures (in 1956, 1957, 1958), but total spending for education was cut \$73 million by the Eisenhower Administration.

The seriousness of the present problem may be illustrated by the following facts:

- * In a nation that prides itself on its literacy rate, only 46.3% of our adults have completed high school.

- * Only 9% of our adults have completed college

- * College enrollment will almost double, and secondary school enrollment will increase by 50% in the next decade

- * By 1970 -- JUST 6 YEARS FROM NOW -- we will need facilities, classrooms, and teachers for:

- 37.3 million children in the elementary schools

- 15 million young people in our high schools

- 7 million in our colleges and universities

THE RECORD OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND the 87th and 88th Congresses in the field of education has been outstanding. Among the more notable accomplishments of the Administration are:

- * HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963: will aid college construction over a 3-year period. Appropriates \$1.2 billion for building classrooms and other facilities for graduate schools, 4-year colleges, and two-year community colleges.

- * HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATION ACT OF 1963: will increase the number of professional health personnel through construction grants for facilities, and through low-interest loans for students of medicine, dentistry, or osteopathy.

- * VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963: will authorize \$956 million increase in Federal support for vocational education in the next five fiscal years. This Act will bring the enrollment in state vocational education programs from 4.2 million (1963) to 7 million in 1968.

- * NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT EXTENSIONS: increased funds for NDEA Student Loan programs, for construction grants, for foreign language training programs, and counselling services.

- * IMPACTED AREAS AID EXTENSION: increased federal funds available in areas where the presence of Federal installations place a financial burden on local school systems.

- * EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION ACT of 1963: \$32 million program of funds to help establish non-commercial educational TV stations. This is the first program of its kind in the country.

- * MENTAL RETARDATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963: provides grants for the training of teachers for mentally retarded and handicapped children.

- * MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT: 250,000 workers have been trained or selected for training under the MDTA and the Area Redevelopment Act.

* LIBRARY SERVICE AND CONSTRUCTION ACT OF 1964: increased aid to develop and expand existing libraries in both urban and rural areas, also program for new library construction.

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD in the area of education is one of neglect.

* The GOP fight against better schools and expanded educational opportunities got off to a flying start in 1950, when 68% of House Republicans voted against establishing a National Science Foundation for grants for research in mathematics, physics, and military projects, and to provide fellowships for promising young scientists.

* During the 1952 campaign Eisenhower said that we would be short 60,000 classrooms by 1958, but the Eisenhower administration offered no school aid proposals in 1953 and 1954.

* In 1955, Republicans came up with a complicated and unworkable plan which required school districts to pay unreasonably high interest on school bonds, diverting funds from teacher's pay.

* In 1956, Democrats moved to fill the void with a \$400 million per year construction bill -- 61% of the House Republicans voted to kill the measure.

* In 1957, another school construction bill providing \$1.5 million over a 5-year period died by three Republican votes.

* In 1958, a similar education bill was killed when every Republican member of the House Education and Labor Committee voted against it.

* TOTAL SPENDING for education was cut \$73 million during the Eisenhower Administration.

WHAT'S THE OPPOSITION SAYING?

Republicans have argued that grants to both public and private schools violate the First Amendment guarantee of separation of church and state. BUT, many existing programs, such as the National Science Foundation and the National Institute of Health, provide aid to both types of institutions with no violation of the guarantee. THIS OBJECTION IS MEANT TO OBSCURE THE REAL ISSUE.

Republicans have argued that Federal aid means Federal control. This is another PHONY SCARE OBJECTION. And Administration school aid proposals specifically prohibit such controls. Besides, there has been Federal aid to education since the Ordinance of 1785. In 1962, for example, more than 4 million high school students were enrolled in federally-aided vocational classes in AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRIAL ARTS, AND HOME ECONOMICS -- without Federal control.

Opponents claim that education is a local concern. Of course it is. But it's also a BASIC NATIONAL CONCERN. The youth of the country is our most important national resource. As a NATION we have a vital interest in their education.

President Johnson: "We have come to a time when the century in which we live should henceforth be known as the Century of the Educated man We have entered an age in which education is not just a luxury permitted some men as an advantage over others. It has become a necessity without which a person is defenseless in this complex, industrialized society."

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE FOR BUSINESS

Business in America today -- big and small -- is better off than ever before. Following the 3 recessions of the Eisenhower years, our rate of ECONOMIC EXPANSION has steadily risen. PROFITS have risen for 3 successive years, and this will be the fourth. And our PRICE STABILITY is unmatched by any other industrial country in the world.

Tax Reduction: The Administration promptly moved to spur economic investment through the:

* Revenue Act of 1962 -- provided 7% TAX CREDIT for new investment, also allowed more generous DEPRECIATION BENEFITS.

* Revenue Act of 1964 -- provided 4-point tax relief, brought total cut in the business taxes (1962 and 1964) to \$5 billion, or 20%. Over all reduction will be most favorable to small businesses (those with taxable incomes of \$25,000 or less). Their tax rates will be cut by about 27%, will reach 500,000 corporations.

The Economy: The economy promised to hit a 5% rate of expansion this year -- we are in the midst of the longest and strongest peacetime expansion in this country in this century.

Production and Profits: Manufacturing production will probably expand somewhat more quickly than overall activity, thus making it possible to utilize more of our present unused factory capacity.

Corporate profits this year will hit an all-time high. For the first quarter, they were 62% higher after taxes than the same period in 1961.

Price Stability: The wholesale price index has been at a VIRTUAL STANDSTILL. The consumer price index has edged up at a little more than 1% per year, probably as the result of the increasing cost of services, rather than goods.

Business Failures: Business failures declines from 17,000 in 1961 to 14,000 in 1963. These LOWER FAILURE RATES reflect the increasing confidence in the economy, healthier economic conditions, and tax improvements.

Small Business: Soon after taking office, President Kennedy appointed a White House Committee on Small Business -- has proved to be a very effective agency, especially in supporting tax relief for small business. Some examples of the increased activity in the SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION in the years since 1960:

-- Business loans approved by SBA rose almost 50%, from \$636 million in 1958-60 to \$943 million in 1961-63.

-- Loans to State and local development companies more than tripled to \$48 million; new industries brought in by these companies often save a community from economic ruin.

-- Under a "set-aside" program to assure small business a fair share of government contracts, the value of contracts awarded to small business nearly doubled to \$4.7 billion.

-- Loans to disaster victims more than doubled to \$84 million.

-- More than 550 licenses were issued to Small Business Investment Companies, more than 3 times the number issued before 1961.

-- SBA co-sponsored more than twice as many courses which allowed more than twice as many small businessmen an opportunity to improve management techniques.

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE FOR VETERANS

There are more than 22 million veterans in the United States, and together with their families they make up 44% of the population. Meeting their needs is a big job, and the Kennedy-Johnson Administration has met the challenge:

BENEFITS HAVE BEEN INCREASED:

* VA compensation and pension benefits increased from \$3.5 to \$3.8 billion annually; most disability compensation rates were raised, an increase of \$98 million per year; payments to disabled veterans increased 10%, to their survivors, 17%.

G.I. LOAN APPLICATIONS INCREASED:

* From 1961 through 1963, G.I. business, home, and farm loans increased 55%.

PATIENTS TREATED AT V.A. HOSPITALS:

* In fiscal 1963, V.A. hospitals treated 712,900 patients, an increase of more than 70,000 over a 3-year period.

HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION HAS INCREASED:

* Since 1961, over 250 V.A. hospital construction projects were completed.

* New or replacement hospitals have been constructed in Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, Tennessee, California, and Montana.

* New replacement hospitals will be completed in 1964 in Grand (800 beds); Washington, D.C. (700 beds); and Wood, Wisconsin (1264 beds). 14 other major hospitals are in the planning and early construction stages.

MEDICAL RESEARCH PROJECTS HAVE MULTIPLIED:

* Medical research projects have increased 37% since 1960: including development of electronic heart pacer, synthetic "skin" for treating burns.

* The V.A. has more doctors and nurses on duty today than ever before.

INSURANCE PAYMENTS SPEEDED UP:

* Payment of G.I. Insurance dividends speeded up -- a special dividend of \$230 million paid in mid-1961 -- and the speedup has continued.

* In addition, the V.A. has worked to reverse a previous policy in order to reopen G.I. life insurance, to give all veterans additional protection for their families.

COSTS HAVE BEEN CUT:

As part of the general economy drive launched by the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, the V.A. has actually cut administrative costs while increasing services:

* The House Appropriations Committee, a group very grudging with its praise, made the following statement in its 1963 report:

"The V.A. through increased efficiency is requesting \$1,379,950 less than its 1963 appropriation, and has voluntarily reduced the number of jobs by 585. The Committee commends the VA for making these savings in operating costs."

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE FOR YOUTH

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration inherited an incredible "youth gap" from the Eisenhower Administration:

- * 800,000 young people were out of school and out of work -- and no Federal programs of manpower development or job training were available for the unemployed or the undertrained.

- * School drop-outs and juvenile delinquency at an all-time high.

- * Retarded and handicapped youth faced a bleak future.

- * 3 Republican recessions and increased automation had dried up opportunities for under-skilled and under-educated.

IMMEDIATELY, THREE PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSIONS WERE ESTABLISHED:

(1) Juvenile Delinquency (2) Youth Employment (3) Physical Fitness

The results have been positive and obvious:

IMPROVING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES:

- * The National Defense Education Program, passed by the Democratic Congress in 1958, was expanded to permit greater loan and grant programs in high education.

- * In 1963, 2 major college building programs were enacted, a total of more than \$1.65 billion; also provided educational TV.

- * Vocational Education spurred through expansions of V.E. program, and also through MDTA and ARA programs.

REDUCED YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT:

- * MDTA and ARA programs enacted, Youth Employment Act pending.

ATTACK ON JUVENILE DELINQUENCY:

- * The Juvenile Delinquency Control Act of 1961 made the Federal government an active partner with State and local units in fighting delinquency.

- 8 communities, including New York, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Boston, and St. Louis are conducting projects in education, recreation, employment, social work, and other areas.

- 8 other communities, among them Chicago, Houston, and Minneapolis, are in the process of launching similar projects.

- more than 50 grants have been made to universities and local agencies to support new training courses for social workers, police officers, probation officers, and teachers.

- "half-way houses" have been established in 4 major cities (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit) where youthful offenders can live the last few months of sentence in transition.

OTHER ADMINISTRATION ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

- * Peace Corps -- this year, more than 10,000 young people serve in the Peace Corps.

- * President's Council on Physical Fitness

- * A new Institute on Child Health and Human Development to probe birth defects and related problems.

- * A new attack on mental retardation and childhood diseases.

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE FOR WORKING AMERICANS

When the Kennedy-Johnson Administration took office it faced these real problems:

- * 4.8 million Americans were unemployed
- * 24 million workers were entitled to a minimum wage of only \$1 per hour
- * 23 million people were entering the labor market each year.
- * 15 million people were living in substandard housing.

TODAY, over 3 million MORE people are employed; unemployment has dropped from 7% to 5.1%, 70 million job barrier broken.

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP AND CONGRESSIONAL COOPERATION HAVE:

- * INCREASED THE MINIMUM WAGE to \$1.25, covering 3.6 million more people than before.
- * PUT MORE MONEY in pay envelopes -- factory wages up 12%
- * HELD PRICES STEADY -- today's paycheck buys 9% more than it would in the last year of the Eisenhower Administration.
- * ATTACKED UNEMPLOYMENT: ARA created 100,000 jobs in areas of chronic unemployment, accelerated public works projects, created another 100,000 jobs.
- * EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS: \$800 million in 1961-62.
- * Opened doors to NEW JOB SKILLS and training through the MDTA, ARA, The Vocational Educational Act, others.
- * Created EQUAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS for women.
- * Increased employment opportunities for MINORITY AMERICANS through the President's COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, eliminated bias as a factor in Federal employment and by government contractors.
- * STRENGTHENED WELFARE AND PENSION PLANS by providing stronger investigative and enforcing powers.
- * PROTECTED WORKER'S RIGHTS by better and quicker disposition of unfair labor practice cases, handling more cases, increased the informal handling of labor complaints.
- * CUT STRIKE TIME IN HALF -- during the last 3 years under the Democrats, strike time last was 14.3 days per thousand work days, compared to 33.3 days in 1958-60.
- * IMPROVED LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS:
 - new and more extensive mediation efforts inaugurated by the Democrats employ teams rather than individual mediators -- Note the technique used to settle the rail strike.
 - Democrats have instituted widespread use of preventive mediation, to settle problems before the critical stage.
- * Eased the problems of MIGRANT FARM LABOR:
 - Public health services extended to migrant workers and their families
 - Legislation urged for the registration of farm labor contractors, and for extension of child labor laws to migrant workers' children.

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ON THE GREAT SOCIETY

(This particular pitch not so much for general stump, as for some college or university campus en route) - *is on end just, for many places*

President Johnson has asked us to "continue" across the "new frontier" to which John Fitzgerald Kennedy led us, and to build the "Great Society".

The Great Society is both a dream and a concrete goal. In President Johnson's words, "The Great Society is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor."

Let me be specific about both the material and the spiritual meaning of that society.

It has an immediate material goal in terms of the resources and tools we have in our hands.

It means having a job for every man who wants to work. It means lifting to economic independence 35 million Americans who now live in chronic poverty--although this is the richest nation on the face of the earth.

It means providing decently for a population that is growing faster than ever before in history and which will double by the end of this century. It means building new homes, highways, schools, and hospitals, and all other facilities, equal to all those built since the U.S. was first settled--and doing it in the next 40 years.

It means seeing that every child has an education equal to the limits of his ability. In the President's words, it means "For every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from". Sixty-nine million persons were born in this country since 1949, but we don't have enough classrooms or teachers for them.

The Great Society will master the technological and scientific

revolution of this age, upgrading the skills of people, and making the machine the servant of man, not his master.

In the Great Society, people can grow old with dignity, and the poet's words will be fulfilled that long years "are the last of life, for which the first was made". One thousand people per day in the U.S. are reaching the age of 65. By 1980 there will be 26 million Americans beyond that age. They must not be pauperized by illness beyond their control, nor rendered derelict by forces no man can save against, although all of us can insure against ~~it~~ ^{them}.

The Great Society will solve its social tensions at home within the rule of a law that is justice, and it will reduce tensions in the world by its mature and intelligent pursuit of peace. The nuclear sword of Damocles now suspended over us by a thread, will be ~~strengthened~~ ^{supported} by a rope, and in time be lifted from us altogether.

The Great Society is both the dream of the Promised Land and a task of definite proportions. It is as old as Scripture and as new as tomorrow. But make no mistake about it--the Great Society is definitely, tangibly, concretely, concerned with the material welfare of human beings on earth.

The Republican candidate this year decries welfare. In the Democratic party we seek it, work for it, and aim to increase it.

The Great Society is much more than a material creation of welfare--but it is at least that--and let me emphasize it before going on beyond ~~that~~ it.

In his books and speeches, the Republican candidate decries welfare and the welfare state in the manner of Scrooge. For the government to undertake to support human welfare he says, undermines self-reliance and independence. It softens and individual's moral fibre. Waxing theological,

do something for
Senator Goldwater says that to ~~be concerned about~~ another's welfare
is to hurt him "spiritually".

What nonsense is this?

I have heard this cry for years, but my suspicions are aroused
because I only hear this/^{kind of} concern for the souls of the poor, from those
who are lounging by some luxurious pool, or philosophizing at a cocktail
party, or shifting their weight in some comfortable parlor. I suspect
this to be a false spirituality and a spurious piety from people who
never had a brush with poverty, much less a struggle with it. I know
something about poverty. President Johnson has known it. And anyone
who knows anything about it never talks that way.

But you can get higher authority than that on the relation between
material needs and spiritual development:

The prophets of the Old Testament were nothing if not spiritual men,
but they looked forward to "every man living under his own vine and fig
tree". The New Testament says simply "If your brother asks for bread
you do not give him a stone".

General William Booth, that grand founder of the Salvation Army
spoke with biting scorn of "Let things alone" and "laws of supply and
demand", and all the rest of the excuses by which those who stand on
firm ground salve their consciences when they leave their brother to sink"

In modern times no one put the relation--the positive relation--
between well-being and virtue, better than Pope Pius XI in his encyclical
Quadrogesimo Anno --the theme of which was eloquently re-echoed by Pope
John XXIII in Mater et Magistra:

"Then only will the economic and social organism be soundly
established and attain its end, when it secures for each and all
those goods which the wealth and resources of nature, technical achieve-
ment and the social organization of economic affairs can give. These
goods should be sufficient to supply all needs and an honest livelihood,
and to uplift men to that higher level of prosperity and culture, which

provided it is used with prudence, is not only no hindrance, but is of singular help to virtue".

The Wall St. Journal wonders editorially in commenting on the theme of the Great Society, if a society of material well-being will necessarily be a good society but the question is neither relevant nor sophisticated. Of course no one can guarantee that a high standard of living for men will give increased spiritual values or produce ideal virtues. There must, as Pope Pius said, be use with prudence.

we do claim
But ~~what is claimed is~~ that there may be and are--for all too many people-- material obstacles to spiritual progress.

We do claim that there is better chance for spiritual progress in a society in which all men are freed from the chains of poverty, than in a society immoral enough, or callous enough to leave any significant number in chronic deprivation.

We do claim that it is only in Communist propaganda, that the hideous belief has been spread around the world that the price of material progress and freedom from want must be the surrender of individual freedom.

We do claim that while Goldwaterism is not Communism, it is pinned in its thinking on the same false philosophy of economic determinism. Therefore it fails to protect the democracy of free men.

Individual freedom--spiritual democracy if you will--requires economic democracy as an indivisible component. Democracy also is impossible except on the faith that on balance the good outweighs the evil in men, and that all men deserve to be given fair opportunities.

The Great Society also will be one in which the people are not separated from their government at any level of it. The people in it will not feel any alienation from their government, nor permit any false prophets to try to drive a wedge between them and their government. In

the Great Society, individual citizens,--men and women--will know that government at any level is a tool they use. They will direct it at all levels and choose the appropriate "mix" of local, county, state, ~~of~~ and /or federal that is appropriate to the task at hand. They may invent new forms at regional levels, where tasks are less than national and more than state-wide. They will form and re-form the role of government, as they have been doing for nearly 200 years, and as the Founding Fathers intended they should do.

The people in the Great Society will know that the government is a servant of the people, a tool to be used for the general welfare; that government is an extension of themselves, not an institution over against them. Government can and should serve the hopes and aspirations of the people.

What forms do these hopes and aspirations take?

Hopes and aspirations form themselves in the desire for economic betterment, for doing personally satisfying things, and for having happy relations with other people. Or turned around: the people desire to avoid economic insecurity, personal inadequacy, and war or military disaster.

The concrete tasks for a people in meeting these hopes are to decide what things they have to do together--in short what tasks are appropriate to government. The government is to assist people in their individual efforts, but at every level, government only supplements, it does not supplant. There always has to be local initiative, local decision-making, local participation, local leadership, individual responsibility. The people must have an appreciation of the problems of a society in transition and ^{they} must recognize the importance of the things of the spirit.

But then they will ^{see} ~~use~~ ^{use the} government as a resource ^{to} to be utilized, not an enemy to be feared. Through government they will set minimum standards and see to it that some measure of actual progress occurs. Through government, desirable, tangible goals will be set before men. Structures will be created

that men can see and programs initiated whose effects can be felt. In the Great Society, the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, --to use Lincoln's great phrase-- will promote reasonable objectives to attract the aspirations of men, and ^{Govt} ~~we~~ will act to create an environment for their hopes so that progress toward their aspirations will have a reasonable chance of success.

A Great Society will provide, protect, conserve and extend for its people, a sense of progress and improvement. It was an acute insight which led the smallest State in our Union--Rhode Island-- to have the single word for its motto--"Hope".

Here, as elsewhere, the Republican candidate wants to give the American people a choice other than the choice of the Great Society. In accepting the nomination to this Vice-Presidency, I suggested that the choice became the choice between hope and memory. Yet the Republican platform hardly even merits the description of wanting to recall memory, or of desiring to feel nostalgia for any part or spirit of our American past. Not only have they abandoned hope for the future. They have cut their umbilical cords with the American past, whose spirit at every stage has been--let us together make a better tomorrow, a richer life, a stronger nation, a Great Society.

Like great men and women, Great Societies are not born, they are made. They grow out of the wit and wisdom, the heart and nerve, the will and determination of men to make them. Men have to plan to have a Great Society.

It is not that the Great Society is a planned society. ~~That is~~ there is no single blueprint for it. There is nothing about it fixed once and for all. But the Great Society is a continuously planning society. There is not, as there never has been and never will be, any single solution, ^{any} ~~no~~ permanent solution, to the social and economic problems of men. There is always required the continual adjustment of groups and individuals. Therefore, in President Johnson's words,

"The Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed. . ."

Therefore, as a continuous process of effecting the hopes of people, the Great Society, is not a Utopia, not a Revolution, nor is it even Reformist in character. The Great Society aims to prevent these violent changes before they occur or are required. The Great Society sets new goals as old ones are achieved. It anticipates problems and makes of them opportunities before they degenerate into crises.

The Great Society is informed by the ideals of strength and moderation, by the great Greek principle of "the golden mean". It builds on our Anglo-Saxon heritage of flexible adjustment, accepting compromise, inventing political devices to release tension and channel energy into the new ^{duties} ~~occasions~~ of new ~~duties~~. *occasions.*

Men form governments to protect themselves against the worst catastrophes-- against the extremes of poverty and of savage violence; against the obvious economic, social, and legal injustices. A Great Society does this well, for all its citizens.

And the Great Society pursues peace in the world, for it knows that our predicament here is one with that of mankind--we all need more of a peace than that defined only by a balance of terror.

The Great Society of any nation cannot guarantee peace in the world. But it can believe that war is no more inevitable than it is desirable, ^{it} ~~and~~ ~~it~~ will never therefore foreclose to intelligence the task of exploring every means, of negotiating at every level, of seeking every opportunity to build foundations for peace. As it tries to channel the tensions of people at home out of meaningless conflict into creative endeavor, so it seeks for the same among nations. No society or nation is static. All ideologies and systems must undergo change. There will always be tensions between individuals, between groups, between nations and cultures. But they need never be frozen in implacable hostility with no hope

for anyway out except Armageddon. Rather the aim must be, with a combination of wisdom and strength, of power and love, to steer the course between the Scylla of placidity and the Charybdis of disaster.

The Great Society is very frankly a material proposition. But it is equally and indivisibly a spiritual thing. It is built on faith in progress: material, spiritual, and individual. It is built on what we have and on what we are at home and abroad. It looks out on what man wants to be. It faces his future, not his past. The Great Society satisfies a man's unconquerable aspiration to make tomorrow better than yesterday.



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