

HOTEL CORNAVIN Genève

health if suchasta

TÉLÉPHONE : (022) 322100 · TÉLÉGRAMMES : CORNAVINOTEL

wed sept. 23

Dear John,

I have tried this out on several people here who agree it may have possibilities as a one-liner for Hobert:

you know boldwater is setting up various panels of experts he is busy running to the and to Winon, etc. What has happened is that Barry has invented a new TU game Called "What's My Mind."

At any rate use it in good

Don Hersbug



CHARLES J. DARLINGTON Chairman, General Committee 26 Bowen Avenue Woodstown, New Jersey SAMUEL R. LEVERING Chairman, Executive Council Ararat, Virginia

September 25, 1964

John Stewart Office of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510 SEP 28 1964

Dear John:

This is a belated note to tell you how much we appreciated your speaking to our Executive Council on September 12. Several members spoke to me afterward in appreciation for your being there, and it was the general feeling that this was a useful discussion, and they were very happy to have opportunity to meet you.

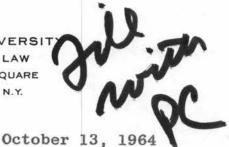
We have just spent the last week here in our office preparing our <u>Newsletter</u> concerning the records of President Johnson and <u>Senator Goldwater</u> and <u>Senator Humphrey</u> and Mr. Miller, which I will bring over to you as soon as it is available.

Sincerely yours,

Edward F. Snyder

EFS/jh

NEW YORK UNIVERSIT SCHOOL OF LAW WASHINGTON SQUARE NEW YORK 3, N.Y.



Hon. John G. Stewart Research Director United States Senate Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

I certainly appreciate the kind of strain you have been under during the past few weeks and fully understand how you had little time for follow-up correspondence. I am delighted that the speeches we sent you are being used and I shall send you a memorandum on the question you raised in your letter within the next few days.

Best regards.

Sincerely

Norman Dorsen Associate Professor of Law

ND:df

COPY

Mc Personal

October 9, 1964

Mr. Victor Christgau
Executive Director, Social
Security Administration
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Baltimore, Maryland 21235

Dear Mr. Christgau:

I wish to thank you, in the Senator's absence, for the material you sent him on voluntary social security. Although Senator Humphrey has not yet had a chance to see it because of his campaign schedule, I will bring it to his attention as soon as possible.

In the meantime, it is proving most usefultto his research department.

Thank you again for your suggestions on this important issue.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart Research Director

Attacked was Dig DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION 1 57 BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21235 OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER September 30, 1964 Honorable Hubert Humphrey Senate Office Building Room 1313 Washington, D. C. Dear Hubert: I am enclosing copies of a piece on why social security cannot be voluntary. In view of the understanding of social security issues that you have long demonstrated while fighting for social security improvements, sending you the material might be classified as carrying coals to Newcastle. Still, I thought you might want to have at hand an up-to-date analysis of this question, and I hope you will find it useful. Sincerely yours, Victor Christgau Executive Director **Enclosures**

Mef Alpha - Camp ideas

COPY J68-persone

October 12, 1964

Mr. David B. Smith 3916 5th Street, N. Arlington 3, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

We have received the material you sent and appreciate your efforts on behalf of the Democratic campaign.

I am sure you realize that we are very busy at this time and are unable to acknowledge each of your contributions separately.

Thank you again for your suggestions.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart Research Director October 10, 1964 3916 5th Street N., Arlington 3, Va.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Is any of this material which I have been sending daily almost for the past two or three weeks getting to you— and of any use?

Sincerely,

David B. Smith

10/27/64

TO: Julie Cahn
Gene Foley
Fred Gates
Vince Gaughan
Bob Jensen
Max Kampelman
Martin McNamara
Jim O'Brien
Neal Peterson
Marvin Rosenberg
John Stewart
Bill Simms
Herb Waters
Mrs. Pat Griffith
Mrs. Natalie Springarn

cc: Senator Humphrey
Robert Short
Ron Stinnett
Ted VanDyk

Will you please prepare by Wednesday, November 11, a report in three copies on your operation in the campaign.

The report should cover::

- 1) Those parts of your operation which worked most smoothly and effectively.
- Those parts which were ineffective or unworkable.
- 3) Suggestions for improvement in any future campaign.
- 4) Comment re any persons working in your area who were particularly effective.

The report should be a frank and full critique. Any comments on the general campaign operation are also welcomed.

Please send one copy each to:

10/14

Ronald Stinnett Senate Democratic Campaign Committee Old Senate Office Building Washington 25, D. C. Ted VanDyk 808 Farragut Building Washington 6, D. C.

Keep the third copy for your own files. At a later time we'll have a general discussion on this subject.

Many thanks.

William Connell

Campaign Report
John G. Stewart, Research Director

This report covers the speechwriting and research operations of the Humphrey campaign.

1. To the best of my knowledge, we never missed having a speech in the Senator's hands at the appointed time. This, I suppose, is the ultimate test of any speechwriting operation -- assuming we also maintained a certain minimum quality of content.

We prepared two released texts per day -- a few days even saw three released texts. The principal benefit of this output accrued to the Senator in terms of local news coverage which, I understand, was excellent. Local papers would frequently carry the full texts of the Senator's speech.

The speeches were released from three sources: the Happy Warrior, the Democratic National Committee, and locally by the advance men.

We prepared our speeches as far ahead as possible -this averaged about three days. As many mimeo texts as
possible were loaded aboard the Happy Warrior every time
it returned to Washington. Advance texts for local distribution were sent via TWX to the advance men. Ted Van Dyke
released the texts at DNC through the News and Information

Division.

On trips which kept the Senator on the road for an extended period, we would transmit advance texts by TWX to advance men several stops ahead of the point of delivery. They, in turn, would mimeo copies for the plane and type the reading copy. This side of the operation was coordinated with Lionel Horowitz and Bob Jensen aboard the Happy Warrior. This arrangement seemed to work fairly well.

I believe the decision to retain the speechwriters in Washington was sound. Having traveled briefly with the campaign, the process of writing effective speeches aboard the plane would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible.

We used a total of about 25 writers in preparing material for the Senator. They would transmit drafts to our office in the Capitol for revision and editing. Frequently several persons would be assigned first drafts for the same speech. I can recall few instances where a first draft did not require substantial editing and revision by the persons working full-time in our Capitol office.

Basic speech ideas were discussed with the Senator whenever he returned to Washington -- although we were

forced in some instances to make tentative decisions on topics without his prior clearance.

- 2. There were three principal problems encountered in the research operation:
- a. We seldom received the lead time necessary to do a really thorough job on the first draft of a speech. This resulted from the constant revision of schedules—or the failure to decide on a schedule until little more than 5-7 days remained. Given the fact that we needed three days lead time in transmitting speeches to the plane and advance men, this often left us with only 2-3 days to write the entire text. Those platforms scheduled in advance, e.g., the Liberal Party acceptance speech, received more careful attention.

Let me note, however, that I am fully aware of and sympathetic to the difficulties encountered in scheduling the
campaign. But the short lead time did present us with continuing difficulties.

b. We never fully resolved the process for clearing speeches with the Senator prior to delivery. There simply was no way to clear each speech prior to preparation -- assuming we wanted sufficient lead time to distribute the

text in advance. There was an attempt made to review the final drafts on the plane prior to delivery; this was done in most instances, although it was practically impossible to affect major changes by this time. There were fortunately only several instances where major problems cropped up.

c. The final problem related to scheduling of platforms suitable for more serious and substantive speeches.

It is not possible -- nor desirable -- to attempt more
serious speeches at campaign, rallies. Therefore, a certain number of university or similar audiences were essential if the Senator was to deliver a certain number of
thoughtful and constructive addresses on major contemporary
issues -- both domestic and foreign.

In the end, I believe, we did achieve a good balance between campaign rhetoric and substantive discussion. But these platforms were not scheduled without continuing pressure from various sources -- primarily the Senator himself.

3. I can offer few suggestions for improvements in future campaigns. In general, **1** believe the results were satisfactory. We could have used more lead time -- we could have used a few more top level platforms. But, on balance, we did about as well as you can expect -- given the hectic

and difficult nature of a national campaign.

I would suggest that shorter "excerpts" of remarks be used more frequently -- rather than releasing the entire text in advance. This permits the Senator to add whatever personal remarks he wants, still make the basic news lead, and keep the total speech relatively brief.

4. Persons directly involved with speechwriting who performed exceptionally well: John Rielly on foreign policy and national defense questions, John Roche (Brandeis University), Alfred Stern (Wayne State University) and Chuck Phillips (staff) as my principal associates in writing and editing material; Phil Zeidman (Small Business Administration) in general speechwriting with emphasis on Southern appearances, Ken Olsen in general speechwriting and editing, Sidney Hyman on the more major speeches of the campaign (Liberal Party, University of Georgia, Princeton University), Ned Trapnell and Dan Wright supplied extensive local background material for each speech, Stanley Frankel in New York City assembled a team of speechwriters who contributed on a variety of subjects and helped raise a small sum of money for current expenses.

The secretaries in our office performed in magnificent

fashion -- usually working 12-14 hour days, 6-7 days a week. Wini Scheffler, Leila Bonner, Eileen Pulaski, and Mary Margaret Cox cannot be praised too highly.

A complete list of speechwriters is attached.

Alfred L. Stern 6700 Oglesby Apartment 1702 Chicago, Illinois

Roger Dow 5700 Sherier Place, N.W. Washington, D. C.

Leon H. Keyserling 2908 Albemarle, N.W. Washington, D. C.

Kenneth G. Olson 3508 Shepherd Chevy Chase, Md.

James E. Cross 2950 University Terrace, N.W. Washington, D. C.

Victor Eugene Ferrall, Jr. 1322 Holly St., N.W. Washington, D. C.

Sidney Hyman 2914 33rd Place, N.W. Washington, D. C.

Joseph A. Pechman 7112 Wilson Lane Bethesda, Md.

Walter T. Ridder 4509 Crest Lane McLean, Virginia

Edward R. Trapnell 1306 24th St., South Arlington, Virginia

Philip F. Zeidman 837 31st, South Arlington, Virginia John P. Roche Chairman, Dept. of Politics Brandeis University Waltham, Mass.

Edwin H. Seeger 420 South Lee Arlington, Virginia

Philip M. Stern 2301 S St., N.W. Washington, D. C.

Stanley Frankel 109 Brewster Road Scarsdale, N.Y.

Bryce Nelson 113 4th Street, S. E. Washington, D. C.

Leon G. Billings 160 Talbot Rockville, Maryland

Hyman Bookbinder 6308 Banockburn Dr. Bethesda, Maryland

Prof. Norman Dorsen School of Law New York University New York, New York

Mr. Harry Golden Box 2505 Charlotte, N.C.

Harry G. Wilkinson 4667-B 36th St., South Arlington, Va.

Jerome H. Spingarn 3212 McKinley, N.W. Washington, D. C. Spencer Smith
Citizens Committee on
Natural Resources
1346 Connecticutt Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Nicholas Raymond Vision Publishers National Press Building Washington, D. C.

Seymour Martin Lipset University of California Berkeley 4, California

Mr. David Hunter 3001 Dent Place Washington, D. C.

Mr. Jerry Horton 2235 Savana Terrace, S.E. Washington, D. C.

Mr. Samuel Halperin 6812 6th St., N.W. Washington, D. C.

Neal Gregory Office of Sen. Albert Gore 5231 NSOB Washington, D. C.

Mr. Dan Wright Boyce, Virginia

Mr. Morton Puner 205 West End Ave. New York City, New York Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at Dillon Gymnasium Princeton University Princeton, New Jersey October 9, 1964

Senator Humphrey. Thank you very much, Senator Williams. May I thank the student body. Both for those that cheered, those that hissed and a couple that booed. I want to thank all of you.

It is wonderful to be on this platform today with the Chief Executive of the State of New Jersey, to be here with my estaemed colleague in the United States Senate, Senator Pete Williams, and also to be here with the gentleman from the House of Representatives that has a record of outstanding service, one of the most able and one of the most gifted members of the House of Representatives, Frank Thompson. (Applause)

I have looked forward to this unique privilege of speaking in Princeton at this great university. (Applause)

Some years ago, I believe it was around 1953 or 1954, I was fortunate to be invited to speak at one of the meetings of the great Clio Society, and I have recalled it all of my public life, and I had a good time, I might add, too. There were a few misguided souls there, but we were able to convert them.

And I am delighted today to be here with our chairman of the Young Democrats, Mr. Coulser, and with Mr. Etten, the president of the Whig-Clio Society, and I gather that the vice-president, as well, and I want to mention him because I am strong on vice-presidents, Charles Whitebread. (Applause)

I understand that you have had some sort of a poll taken here, and at long last the effects of higher education are taking place. (Applause)

I want to say I have never had any doubt as to the competence and the intelligence of the students, but I have also been somewhat worried about the factuality when I find that those who have been privileged to have a higher education fall into the paths of political sin by voting for reactionary Republican candidates. It is most unfortunate but you are entitled to transgress a bit. Now that you have learned the error of your ways, you can return to the home of your fathers. (Applause)

Ordinarily a man seeking public office or as a candidate ought never to enjoy the friendliness and the hospitality of a good home before he makes a speech. But today I was privileged to be the guest of the Governor and Mrs. Hughes and they were kind enough to give me the first good meal that I have had in several months and like most people, when you have such good Democratic food, you start to feel like a Republican, a little dead and a little lazy. I am not sure that I am up to my task today. (Applause)

Of course, there is another way of saying it; vote Democrat so that you can live like a Republican. (Applause)

I should forewarn the student body that has been kind enough and solicitous enough to gather here today to tell you I am a refugee from a classroom, and one of the reasons that I seek these opportunities of speaking at universities or colleges is because politics is a precarious enterprise and I would sort of like to just keep my employment blank in, sort of, you know, in living status all the time. I want any members of the faculty that are here and the administration to take note of the fact that I am a student of government. And if things should go from bad to worse or should I say from bad to unbelievably worse -- (Applause) -- I might very well apply.

I would like to put in a plug with the students. I am an easy grader. (Applause)

I have taken the privilege of using this platform today to talk to you on a subject that I believe should be of some interest to all of us. I want to talk to you on the subject of the American presidency. Now, I am not going to spend too much time reviewing ancient. history, or even the American past. I have said from every platform, with few exceptions, that it is very appropriate and proper for every student of either high school or college level, undergraduate or graduate school, to become knowledgeable in ancient history. It is an interesting pursuit. It adds to one's understanding of culture, civilization. Study it. Learn it well. But for goodness sakes, don't vote it. (Applause)

And I don't think you will. I think you are contemporaries and I think you are interested in the future.

But to come to Princeton, one of the truly great universities of this land, and just to give an ordinary political speech, I think would do a disservice to this great campus and this great institution of learning. So I come to you today not to arouse your emotions, not to make you more partisan, but may I say to add to some understanding of a better -- some understanding of the Constitution of the United States, of the role of the President of the United 'States, in the affairs of this nation, and the development of the Presidency of the United States as an institution of government.

Since the day when James Madison, the class of '71, that is 1771, at Princeton, took the road from Orange County in Virginia to attend that Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Princeton University, your university, has loomed large in the annals of American Government and American constitutionalism. The father of the Constitution was James Madison. The late Edward S. Corwin, whose scholarship and incandescent learning illuminated this campus for generations, set the standards for all scholarly discussions of the Constitution and of the office of the presidency. So there is no more fitting and appropriate place for a public figure who is on the national scene to discuss this important office, the most important office in the world, which by the way has not been adequately discussed in the campaign or in recent years.

x ...

I am here not to talk to you abstractly about the presidency. Politics in the last analysis always comes down to a choice between human beings. Two men confront each other on election day. We are going to have to make that choice. Some say only a choice of personalities is involved, but while personality is important and it always is in a democracy, hidden behind a personality is a body of ideas, a whole set of attitudes toward politics, towards political ideals. Indeed, towards the nature of our society. And the proper relationships which should exist between its members.

I hear all too many people say, "Oh, I think he is a good fellow." The world is full of good fellows. That is not enough for being President of the United States. We cannot afford to indulge ourselves in mediocrity. Mediocrity is commonplace. The presidency requires excellence, and therefore, I think it is proper that we should review the qualities of the effice of president and the demands upon the individual who occupy that office.

The American people on November 3rd are not merely choosing between Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater, President and Senator. They are choosing between two philosophies of government, between two attitudes towards modern American life, and between two concepts of the office of the American presidency.

Now, one of these philosophies could be described as the Princeton tradition of responsible nationalism. James Madison saw that if absolute power in government can corrupt absolutely, Lord Acton's law as we put it, then the absence of power in government can corrupt just as thoroughly. And this seldem is mentioned.

Time after time we are told about the use of power as a corrupting influence but how many people have told you of the cities, of the states, of the villages, and of the nations that have collapsed because of the failure to exercise responsible power? Or because of the absence of responsibility in office?

Now, Madisen, not your contemporary but surely of your tradition, realized that corruption rising from weakness was precisely the result of the Articles of Confederation. A government without a head, a government where each state in the name of its own rights was free to strike at all other states, a government where all states were linked together as architects of their common ruin, the first extreme position of states rights at the expense of national unity and of national respectability and responsibility.

But Madison also saw the remedy, a feeble grouping of self-centered states must be transformed into the living tissue of a federal union.

This is the work of James Madison. Each state would contribute to and draw strength from the totality. There must also be in the constitutional tradition of our country a national chief executive chosen by the nation, the only representative of all the people, might I add, not a president

chosen by states but chosen by all the people, responsible to the courts in his legal character, responsible to the Congress and the nation in his political character, but always working for a national interest larger than the sum of state and local interests.

Later it was your great President and ours, Woodrow Wilson, who translated this philosophy into terms relevant to the 20th Century America.

I have said on a number of occasions when I have been interviewed by our esteemed journalists, they have asked me who is your political hero. Well, it is difficult to select one. But I would say in the 20th Century it was Woodrow Wilson.

My father, not privileged to have all the higher education of some, but a man of great insight, brought me up on the works of Woodrow Wilson. I longed to attend this great university because Woodrow Wilson was its spirit and gave it new meaning in the 20th Century. And Woodrow Wilson understood as few have the Constitution of the United States in its present day application. He understood that it was a living document and not a dead one. He understood that it was a contemporary document and not of the past. And every student of government would be well to remember that the Preamble of the Constitution is not written "We the people of the United States did ordain." It is written "We the people of the United States de ordain." This hour, this day, this moment, this week, this month, this year of 1964. Not 1864, Senator, 1964. (Applause)

Woodrow Wilson saw an America. He saw an America in the throes of industrialization and urbanization. He saw an America gripped by new problems, and he wrote of the New Freedom, problems which were national and international in scope and could no longer be solved by the habitual responses of rural America. It was Woodrow Wilson who wrote the last definitive work on congressional government. It was Woodrow Wilson who defined once again, as Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln had, the power of the presidency and its importance, and it was Woodrow Wilson who understood America's responsibility to the world. He was, they said, ahead of his time. He was not. His enemies were behind the times, and we paid a terrible price because of the shortsightedness of those who had political power in the 1918 to 1920 period.

I pray to God Almighty that America will never have to pay that price again, and yet there are voices today, loud voices, irrational voices, that would ask us to return even further back than the days of the 1920's.

Now, these novel conditions of urbanization and industrialization post great problems to our governmental system, but Wilson argued our system could prove equal to these challenges if the presidency became not only an administrative office but as he put it, "the vital center of action in the government." This is the same theme that Adlai Stevenson talked to the American people about when he sought to talk sense to our people, "the vital center of action." The presidency is not an administrative office

alone. It is the center of a nation. Education, persuasion, inspiration, action. And it needs to be understood in those terms.

Listen to "lilson's credo -- and these words could have been spoken as of this hour.

"A great nation is not led by a man who simply repeats the talk of the streat-corners or the opinions of the newspapers. A nation is led by a man who hears more than those things; or who, rather, hearing those things, understands them better, unites them, puts them into a common meaning; speaks, not the rumors of the street, but a new principle for a new age; a man (to whom) the voices of the nation... unite in a single meaning and reveal to him a single vision, so that he can speak what no man also knows, the common meaning of the common voice. Such is the man who leads a great, free, democratic nation."

My fellow Americans, those are the words of a prophet. Those are the words of greatness. Those are the words of a man of vision. And Woodrow Wilson will be known as having inspired not the people of his generation alone but the people of a century yet to be born, and even today we are inspired by this man's intellect, his courage, his spirit.

Now, what of the other concept of the presidency, because there are other views? This other concept sees the president as passive, inert, weak, lacking the authority to serve as the heart of the Republic, lacking the driving force to give definition and meaning to America's sense of national purpose. This is the concept of the presidency which tells us that the government should get cut of many activities. This is the concept of the presidency which tells us that the joh is to repeal laws, not to pass them. Perish the thought. We lived through that and almost lost a nation.

Now, this position as it is set forth in the present campaign echoes the debates on the Constitution of 1787 and '38, and I mention this because I notice how the opposition loves to wrap itself in the history of America as it rewrites it, as it distorts it. (Applause)

I did not spend many years in my life in studying, in undergraduate and graduate school, to rewrite the history of this country. I spent my time in study to learn the history of this country and I would say that those who seek to be national leaders in America know their country and not try to redefine it and rewrite the history of peoples that have lived before us.

It is tragic to hear people who say they speak for a great party to be so completely oblivious of the facts of our national life. (Applause)

This position of the glorification of states rights at the expense of national unity, of a weak president at the expense of national purpose, was repudiated decisively by the founding fathers of this Republic and it lives on now only as an exhibit in the museum of constitutional oddities. (Applause) And might I add that Senator Goldwater is the

curator of this museum. (Applause)

Even though I might paraphrase to say he even voted against museums.

For this reason amongst others he is clearly unqualified to be the President of the United States. Now, I do not rest this judgment on personal grounds. I repeat, he is a good man. He is a fine, sociable human being. He is a patriot. He I ves his family. He is a moral man. I don't make any personal accusation against this man at all. I would like him as my neighbor but not as my president. (Applause)

His whole attitude towards government and specifically towards the American Presidency which he seeks is totally out of step with the Constitution, with the constitutional debates on the Constitution, with the record of his own party, with the interpretation of the Constitution by that first great Republican, John Marshall, the Chief Justice, Abraham Lincoln, any Republican that anyone can think of.

His record and his attitude is completely out of step. Is it any wonder that Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania said that he is out of the mainstream of the Republican Party and that the Curtis Publishing Company, in the Saturday Evening Post, said that he was a "stray," from American tradition. (Applause)

I don't think I would have gone that far. But I have said and I repeat this man is neither a conservative nor a Republican. He must stand on his own. I would have to say that in light of our constitutional history, he can be classified in only one category, a radical in the sense of departure from what we know to be our system. (Applause)

Now, his concept of the presidency, I repeat, is out of step with American traditions. It is out of step with the realities of the present, and I believe that it is out of step with the needs of the future. Indeed, the only American Government in which the Senator from Arizona would feel at home is the Articles of Confederation which expired with a whimper in 1789. (Applause)

Now, let me move along. A man is not qualified to be president because he merely wants the job. Or because he is put up to it by his friends. He must understand the presidency. He must know its responsibilities, its complex and frustrating dimensions, and it is my conviction that Senator Goldwater does not understand the office. He has no sense of history and no feeling for our constitutional traditions. He is a rigid and at times a resentful radical in full revolt against the 20th Century and the traditions of his Party.

His glorification of extremeism, his readiness to rip the fabric of our community, demonstrates beyond doubt that he lacks a responsible spirit, the inner controls, that are indispensable to a chief executive vested with . enormous discretionary powers.

175 years ago George Washington inaugurated the presidency of a new, a weak, and a contentious Republic. In 1964 Lyndon Johnson presides over the destiny of the greatest nation on the face of the earth. Although we are still relatively a young country, the President of the United States holds the world's oldest elective office of political leadership. It is an office which has grown in authority, responsibility, and prestige without any sacrifice of that responsibility to the people, which gives democratic leadership both its strength and its legitimacy . Elsewhere in the past 175 years one nation after another has been racked by revolution and turmoil, confronted by the emergence of a new civilization built around industries and cities. Many systems of government in these 175 years have faltered and collapsed. So trying to establish an executive with power adequate for their needs has created a Leviathan. That mortal god whose total power Thomas Hobbes hoped would bring peace and security. Others fleeing the Leviathan have fallen into an abyss of anarchy. Many have veered from one polar position to the other, leaving a community torn by conflict with no established principles of public order, no standards of legitimacy, in short, no real constitution.

The American Constitution and the office of president that it established have in contrast stood throughout these tumultuous years, providing energy without tyranny, flexibility without autonomy, responsibility without dependence.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Wilson's heirs in the White House, understood that the American Presidency is our principal link binding the past to the present and the present to the future. They understood that the presidency is the only office in our constitutional system that holds together the many divided parts of the executive, that connects the executive with the legislative and judicial branches, that binds the government to the people and that represents the nation as a whole at home and in the international arena. They understood that if there was any slack in the executive energy, the contagion of weakness, or should I say the corruption of weakness, would spread from the person of the president through the nation and the world. They understood that a man called to the presidency must cast from his heart and mind all narrowness of spirit. He must be the natural enemy of those men who flatter the lowest prejudices of the people; let me repeat it: he must be the natural enemy of those who flatter the lowest prejudices of the people -- (Applause) -- only to betray their highest interests.

Presidents in the Wilsonian tradition understood, in short, that the very word "president" was a summons to greatness.

Now, will the man elected president this year understand the fearful obligations of a president? Will he understand why the framers of the Constitution broke with the presidents of their time and established a strong executive? Why in this perilous world of 1964 their wisdom has been confirmed a thousandfold. Will he understand why above all

...

a great people and a great nation need a strong president?

I think these are the questions that need to be asked. With all the shouting and all the booing and all the cheering, we are dealing with the most serious business of our times, the nature of our government, the responsibility of government, whether or not America will be up to the demands of international leadership because, make no mistake about it, what Lincoln said in his $S_{\rm G}$ cond Inaugural is still true. America is the last best hope on earth, and that American cannot falter because of weakness in its people or in its government. (Applause)

I come here today to say that Lyndon Johnson's entire career demonstrates that he surely understands these questions and their answers. He has been in public life for over 30 years. The first of his mentors was President Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt. From Roosevelt -- (Applause)--Lyndon Johnson learned in close intimate detail the nature of the modern presidency, its capabilities, its limitations. More important, he learned how the limitations can best be met and the capabilities best realized.

Lyndon Johnson's next great mentor was the Senate of the United States, and his Democratic colleagues in the Senate elected him their leader while he was still in his freshman term. If there was anything wrong with Lyndon Johnson, and my how we now hear how wrong he is, if there was any flaw in his character, any weakness in his nerve, any pettiness in his heart, any miopia in his vision, any stammer in his thought processes, I can assure you from firsthand knowledge that Lyndon Johnson would not have been acknowledged by his Senate colleagues, jealous of their rights, on both sides of the aisle, as one of the greatest legislative leaders that America has ever produced in the United States Senate. (Applause)

If Lyndon Johnson had not practiced the responsible exercise of political power as the Senate Majority Leader, our political history during the Eisenhower years would have been far different than it is and was. Lyndon Johnson was in a position to harass the Eisenhower Administration if he had believed in an irresponsible, anarchistic, nihilistic jungle doctrine of opposition for the sake of opposition.

Instead, he taught me and he taught others, he taught the Senator from this State, Pete Williams, he taught us to be responsible and $_{\rm n}$ ot to be opposition for the sake of opposition.

Often at the expense of cloakroom criticism by certain members of his own Party, Lyndon Johnson used his strength as the Majority Leader to brace the Eisenhower Administration when it faltered, to indicate to it better courses of action, to buttress it when our national interests were at stake in a world raked by urgent crises. (Applause) And I might add we saw another aspect of Lyndon Johnson when he served as Vice-President under President Kennedy. We saw Lyndon Johnson despite his long years of preeminence as the head of the Senate, as a scrupulously faithful lieutenant to a man who had been his junior in the Congress, for this was another thing Lyndon Johnson always knew: the President of the United

States is not a committee but one man and this one man is captain of the ship of state, and this one man is the captain on the bridge. The second in command must support the captain, lighten his burden, counsel him, but he must never forget who is president and who is captain.

And then we all bore tragic witness to the sensitive but quietly authoritative manner in which Lyndon Johnson assumed the office of President of the United States when our beloved late President, John F. Kennedy, was the victim of the assassin's bullet. No man, no man except a born leader could have done what Lyndon Johnson did in those critical days following President Kennedy's death. No man could have guided and sustained us except one who knew by heart, by experience, the meaning of the presidency, who knew all of the intricacies of our government, who knew all of the subtleties of our Congress, and who had an affection for the members of Congress of both parties and who understood their individual problems. No man except one who understood all of this could have made the 88th Congress what it has become under the leadership of Lyndon B. Johnson, one of the most productive, one of the most responsible and farseeing Congresses since Woodrow Wilson took the helm of government after the election of 1912. (Applause).

Now, let me summarize this by saying to you, we have in President lyndon Johnson a president who will continue John Kennedy's policy of making this world safe for diversity, who understands that there cannot be an American solution to every world problem but who also understands the need to appose totalitarian and communist aggression and subversion with strength, with determination, with wisdom, with flexibility and strength and a clear sense of priorities.

We have in Lyndon Johnson a President who realizes that mankind is walking down an uncharted road into the future with destruction lurking at every crossroads -- who appreciates the appalling responsibility that rests upon the judgment of the President of the United States, a responsibility not only to the American people but to the world community.

For the first time in history, my fellow Americans, and we must remember this, because this is a unique era, a unique period, for the first time in history one man in our country possesses the ability to destroy the past, the present and the future, literally to bring time to an end, and that man, because he is Commander-in-Chief, because he is in charge in this nuclear age, is the President of the United States.

And I submit to you that on the basis of both reason and experience, Lyndon Johnson has shown himself eminently qualified for those awesome responsibilities. I know him, not just as a politician, not just in public life, I know him as a friend, as a father, as one that has been in my home, and I have been privileged to be in his. He is courageous; he is, no one doubts, experienced. And he has demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt to any fair-minded American that he is responsible, a responsible President who has earned the right to America's continued trust and support. (Applause)

I say to this audience, to this distinguished audience at

this great center of learning, from whence should come leadership, you should set the pattern. You have been privileged, may I say, to sup at the table of civilization's culture. You have an obligation second to none. You as undergraduates of this University or as students, you cannot take a narrow minded partisan view. You have an obligation to your country, to your Constitution, to the history and the heritage of this country. And I say that in the knowledge of that heritage, because you are learning, because you have been privileged to know, because you are students, you cannot possibly, you cannot in your heart possibly turn your back upon the realities of our time. You can't do it. (Applause)

And may I say that as a President, as a President, Lyndon Johnson will not only uphold and defend the Constitution as it is, historically, as it is in contemporary life, but he will also sustain the vision of an Abraham Lincoln who said that government's duty was to serve the people. He will sustain the vision of a Woodrow Wilson who envisaged a League of Nations' international peace. He will sustain the vision of Franklin Roosevelt who saw government as a helper and as a partner to a people that needed help. And he will sustain the vision of a Harry S. Truman who had the courage of a giant to meet the problems of his day. (Applause)

And Lyndon Johnson will sustain the vision of the man that selected him, that really in fact gave him the awesome responsibility that he now holds, the vision of John F. Kennedy who saw the presidencey -- (applause) -- as the moral nucleus of the American community.

I say that students of government, those who are privileged to have a higher education, cannot possibly turn to the past. You cannot accept the leadership of retreat. You cannot accept the leadership of discontent, doubt and suspicion. You must indeed by your moral commitment to your country give the leadership to one who wants to lead America forward as a united people and a united Republic in the future. (Applause)

#########

MEMORANDUM

November 29, 1964

TO

John Stewart

FROM:

Max M. Kampelman

Kirk and I were talking about the Senator and the speech he might make that could be quite significant prior to January 22nd. It is always difficult to know what substantive matters he should take up in a speech prior to that date. It seemed to us that one on "The Congress," emphasizing its importance, the importance of Congressional Government, its vital role in all aspects of national policy formulation, and at the same time somewhat criticising the critics of the Congress who know very little about it, might be a good speech for him to make. This would put him in good with the President, as well as with Members of Congress. You can get Ralph Huitt to help on this if you think it is worthwhile and I certainly would be prepared to put in my two cents as well.

From the desk of MAX M. KAMPELMAN

1700 K Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

296-3300

1/11/65

John,

It occurred to me this might be useful at some point for a speech.

MMK

July Typerel

Part Five

What Can We Do **About Congress?**

A new drive to reform congress, its rules and procedures is to start in the session opening Jan. 4. The Democratic study group, a house liberal task force, has been planning strategy for the reform drive, it was revealed last week. Senator Monroney (Dem., Okla.) called Nov. 25 for creation of a joint senate-house committee to modernize the congressional machinery. In the longer and nonpartisan view, however, best hope for sound improvements in the legislative branch may lie in a two year study of congress now getting under way, directed by Ralph K. Huitt, a University of Wisconsin professor of political science. The study, sponsored by the American Political Science association and financed by the Carnegie Corp., may be the most comprehensive analysis of congress ever made, certainly the most intensive study in nearly 20 years. It is appropriate that a Wisconsin most intensive study in nearly 20 years. It is appropriate that a Wisconsin man heads the study, for the last thorough reorganization of congress came in 1946, through legislation written by the late Senator Robert M. La Follette, jr., and Senator Monroney. The following article is the first published statement by the director of the present study on the aims and methods of the group of scholars he heads.

By RALPH K. HUITT

ESPITE the remarkable performance of the 88th congress, it's a fair bet that the 89th will be under heavy attack before it is very old. Congress is a favorite target for criticism, even from its own members. Why is this so? Partly because it is psychologically as well as politically a representative body. The president and the black robed judges walk apart from ordinary men,

wrapped in the aura of their high office. But members of congress are people like us; they mirror our strengths and weaknesses.

It is criticized also because what it does matters. It is a powerful political institution. Almost alone among the world's legislatures it has stood off the absolutism of the executive and re-mained the co-ordinate branch the Founding Fathers meant it to be.

No 'Models' for Congress

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Whatever the reasons, there is a substantial body of congressional criticism, much of which has been surprisingly consistent over two decades.

When, therefore, the Carnegie Corporation gave the American Political Science association a grant of \$230,000 to study congress, many people assumed — and the temptation was great—the money would be spent telling congress what it ought to do. Is that not, after all, the job of political science?

Two considerations argue against that approach. The first is that there is no "model" of a proper legislature to which men of good intention can repair. It is true that structure and procedures are important; they do affect outcomes. But how? No one can be sure. Men of political capacity with the backing of strong interest groups tend to control whatever structural arrangements there are and use them for their own pur-

poses. This is the nature of politics.

The result is that "reforms" tend to have strange and unintended consequences. A good example is the reform of the speakership in 1910-'11.
"Uncle Joe" Cannon had been a vir-

reign Policy

But few Americans disagree with the basic goals of American policy-peace and international understanding. And if the governmental educational and cultural activities can be sufficiently strengthened and co-ordinated, Coombs predicts that "the private sector can be counted on to do a better and more comprehensive job" without being subjected to governmental control.

Asks New Agency

The simplicity of Coombs' proposal to rebuild the government's educational and cultural effort may be shocking to Washington bureaucrats. He suggests that one person be put in charge. That person, he says, should have undersecretary status in the state department and head a new, semi-independent international education agency.

The agency would carry out the prin-

Turn to page 3, column 3



Minneapolis Tribune "All in favor of me say aye the ayes have it."

tual dictator of the house of representatives, using his considerable powers to set the will of the Republican majority at nought. A coalition of Democrats and insurgent Republicans finally staged a revolution and stripped him of autocrat-

powers. What was the reform? Why, a democratic rules committee was strong. And who are the bad guys to-day? The rules committee, of course— and the "reform" advocated by good And who are the bad guys toliberals is to return the powers of the speaker!

The rules committee is a necessary and rational invention; some agency of the house must control the flow of bills on to the floor and set the conditions of debate. Central party leadership is in-dispensable and the speaker should provide it. The relationship of committee to speaker and the division of power between them is a proper subject for discussion. What is not possible is to make either the vessel of an immaculate public interest existing outside the stresses of politics.

A second consideration is that we do not know much about how congress really works. There are volumes aplenty on the formal arrangements in congress but not much on the actual be-havior of the people who make them work.

Consider the criticisms and proposed reforms of congress. There are much too many to list them in detail. It took 62 double column pages last summer for the Congressional Quarterly just to summarize them. Nevertheless they fall into some identifiable categories.



-Journal Photo

hers, from left, are Antony Tzimopoulos, ir Mansakya, Nepal; John Green, Radilegiorgis Tasew, Ethiopia, and Sopha Laos. All but Green are in this counceducational exchange programs.

Reformers Need Facts

One deals with party leadership. Many critics of congress would like to strengthen it so congress might operate more like the disciplined lower house generally found now in parliamentary systems.

But what do we know about the work of the leadership as it exists now? The last book on the speaker of the house of representatives appeared more than half a century ago. There never has been a book on the floor leadership of either house—only an article or two.

What are the relations of the congressional party leadership with the president of the United States? With their co-leaders, the chairmen of the committees? What practices should be strengthened, what weakened, to increase their influence? These are questions which should be answered because the answers will tell the reformers what they are up against.

There is similarly little knowledge about the operations of the standing committees, which we know are little legislatures of specialized jurisdiction. There are studies of individual committees at particular times, but no comprehensive or comparative study of all or most of them over time. Nor have we charted the patterns of their relationships with the administrative agencies which they are supposed to oversee.

Another set of proposals seeks to bring

Turn to page 3, column !

Egyptian workers on the Aswan high dam project (upper) swarm over the site of a diversion canal as the mammoth project advances toward completion, with Soviet financial and technical aid. In the lower photo, huge jets of water slam into the channel of the Dez

river in Iran from the bottom of the spectacular 647 foot high dam, part of an ambitious program to revitalize an impoverished, arid area. These are but two of dozens of major water control projects being built in various parts of the world.

—AP

The Study of Congress: Background for Reform

Fram page 1, column 6

coherence to congress' budgetary operations. Actually, "budgetary" is misleading, because it suggests an effort to relate expenditures to income. But this is what congress does not do that reformers want it to do.

Spending is accomplished by passing a dozen or more bills which are prepared by committees—and their sub-committees—which make little effort to work with each other. Taxes are the work of house and senate committees which do co-operate with each other but not with the spending committees.

The core of the suggested reforms would require these four committees to make a legislative budget, either through joint meetings or a joint committee of their leaders, and congress to adopt it and live by it.

Just such a requirement was made in the legislative reorganization act of 1946—and it never worked at all. The provision is still law but no power in heaven or earth could enforce it, because it was enacted without any real consideration of the highly complicated practices in each committee which have evolved over the years and work in the main pretty well.

What is needed before the next try clearly is the most careful study of the political and institutional influences which bear on the taxing and spending process and the probable effect of alternative procedures.

Ethics of Congressmen

Many criticisms of congress are directed at the conduct of individual members which bring discredit on the institution.

Congressmen, like other people, break the law and are punished for it. But the real problem arises not from unlawful but unethical behavior.

Members often have interests outside congress. They hold securities, they practice law, they make speeches and write for pay. They can and must do business with lobbyists, represent interests, and faise money for campaigns. They should and do make trips abroad to see the effects of American policy.

These activities and many more afford opportunities for abuse. The evidence suggests that most congressmen resist temptation, but some obviously do not. The free wheeling behavior of a few tarnishes the institutional image and all share the blame.

But what should one suggest as a control? A code of ethics for members of congress probably would have no more effect in disciplining bad actors than such codes do in other professional groups.

The ultimate policeman over congress is the voter, of course—but the policeman is often asleep. When public exposure regularly brings defeat at the polls there will be little to expose. That has been proved in England in this century. But when constituencies may return to congress men under indictment and conviction, or even actually in jail, some members of congress understand the lesson and proceed accordingly.

What is needed is to put congress in context. What explains why the society itself condones and perhaps even promotes irresponsible performance by public officials? Why, on the other hand, do some electors become more demanding and clean house, as the English—and the voters in some American cities and states—have done? These are the basic questions.

Better Scheduling

There are many suggestions made, often by congressmen themselves, to make the congressional job easier and more efficient. Scheduling of legislation certainly could be improved; congress generally wastes the spring and toils late into the fall. Like most people, congressmen would do better with a vacation at the time other people are taking them. It would seem however that such matters should be left to congress itself.

matters should be left to congress itself.
What then should a study of congress
do? What can and should professional
political scientists do to help congress to
do its job more effectively and the public to assess that performance more

fairly?

The answer would seem to be to fill in

the gaps in our knowledge of congressional process with sophisticated analysis of as many crucial aspects of it as possible.

This suggests not one study but many studies, each carried out by a scholar already deeply immersed in the problem. The many studies become a study of congress through continuous collaboration among the individuals involved in it, and through a final study attempting to synthesize the others and place them in perspective.

This is the way our APSA study of congress is proceeding. A dozen young political scientists already have contracted to do parts of it, and at least a half dozen others will join them. Within a couple of years their work should produce the most comprehensive body of basic knowledge of congressional operations we have ever had.

erations we have ever had.

But what about congress itself, under attack from outside and inside as well, its most responsible members deeply sensitive to criticism and wanting very much to serve the public well and enjoy its respect? Are the men in the white coats to stand aloof from the hurly-burly and refuse to take sides?

Free to Criticize

Not at all. Each individual scholar will be free to criticize and propose as he pleases, even though he contradicts the suggestions of another scholar working on the study. But what the study will not do is adopt a list of "official" recommendations which inevitably would be taken as the point of view of the discipline itself. This is simple honesty. Political scientists are divided on what should be done about congress, as they are on most subjects.

Moreover, it recognizes the basic truth that political scientists are not equipped to prescribe structures and procedures guaranteed to produce certain outcomes. The stakes in politics are increasingly large; politicians and their allies will struggle to get their way; by whatever apparatus is provided. There are no organizational gimmicks which furnish short cuts to wise policy.

The study of congress therefore will try to do what professional scholars are trained to do: It will explain what is and analyze alternatives to it. The individual studies should be invaluable staff papers for congressional committees or citizens' groups which want to make their own proposals for congressional reorganization.

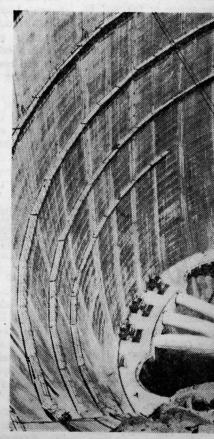
About the Writer

The writer, Prof. Huitt, is a man of many jobs and titles. Besides being director of the study of congress and

professor of political science at UW, he is director of the Wisconsin Center for Education in Politics, Madison, as well as legislative representative in Washington of the president of the university. Huitt frequently spends two or three days a week in the national capital. A native of Corsicana, Tex., with

R. K. Huitt degrees from Southwestern university and the University of Texas, he was a destroyer escort officer in the navy in World War II. He joined the UW faculty in 1949 and on a faculty fellow-ship of the Ford Foundation served in 1954 on the staff of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, Democratic leader. In 1958 he was legislative assistant to Senator Proxmire (Dem., Wis.) and in 1960 was speech writer for Senator Johnson in his vice-presidential campaign. He did research on the legislative process in 1960-'61 on a Rockefeller Foundation grant. He has served on the executive committee of the. American Political Science association and has written extensively for

political science journals.



US Urged Cultural

From page 1, column 5

cipal educational and cultural activities now in the hands of the department's bureau of educational and cultural affairs (CU), the United States information agency (USIA) and the agency for international development (AID).

More money, of course, will also be needed. Although no one knows exactly how much all agencies of the federal government now spend on international educational and cultural activities, together CU, USIA and AID spend on them somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 million dollars annually. Even with the added spending of numerous other agencies, the total, Coombs estimates, could not be more than 1% of the annual military budget.

Success in Germany

To make educational and cultural affairs a fourth dimension of foreign policy, therefore, "will take a succession of larger increases which, in the course of five years or so, will roughly double the effort," Coombs says. That would result in a total of around one billion

Germany and Japan, America's wartime enemies, stand today as the finest examples of the effectiveness of the educational and cultural approach to United States foreign policy. Yet it would be folly for the United States now to take such friendly nations for granted, to close American libraries in Germany and curtail labor union exchanges with Japan, for example, Coombs warns.

Latin America, he notes, is an outstanding reminder of "the folly of taking friends for granted." It is south of our border that postwar efforts have "fallen most conspicuously short of the need and opportunity." Although many useful things have been done, "in the aggregate the program throughout the 1950's was grossly inadequate and unimaginative."

Particularly essential, he warns, is the need to include in educational exchange programs the intellectuals of other countries and "the main rebels against the status quo."

"Castro was one of these, as were many of his present collaborators, long before many of them turned to communism," Coombs says. "The tragedy is that so many of these intellectuals were for so long seriously out of communication with their counterparts in the United States. . . .

Leftist Ban an Error

"Indeed, in the era of McCarthyism the tendency of United States embassies in Latin America was to ban the left leaning intellectuals from the exchange program and otherwise steer clear of them. As it turned out, some of these 'radicals' were advocating nothing more than the very aims and principles that finally came to be embodied in the Alliance for Progress in 1961.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

WASHINGTONX D. C.

20554

November 10, 1964

QUO WITH

DEREPLY REFER TO:

Mr. John G. Stewart Research Director, Committee on Government Operations United States Senate Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

I am sorry for the delay in responding to your letter of October 14, 1964, regarding television station WLBT, Jackson, Mississippi.

The information you have provided is of great interest, but it appears that, as you feared, it comes too late. The Commission is almost ready to reach a decision on WLBT's renewal application, and I am afraid that any inquiry into the matters mentioned in your letter would necessitate a delay that, under the circumstances, would be unfortunate.

I appreciate your interest in writing.

Sincerely yours,

Michael Finkelstein

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FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

2025 EYE STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 CODE 202, 965-5155

DANIEL M. SINGER GENERAL COUNSEL 1700 K STREET, N. W. TELEPHONE: 296-3300 MRS. MARGIE E. FLEISCHBEIN EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MEMORANDUM

To:

Mr. John G. Stewart

From:

Daniel M. Singer

Date:

November 6, 1964

As you know, major international security policies, including arms control policies, are coordinated throughout the Government by the Committee Of Principals consisting of the heads of CIA, AEC, DOD, State, ACDA and Messrs. Hornig and Bundy. Dean Rusk serves as chairman of the Committee.

In view of the Vice-President's long standing interest in this field of national policy, it seems to us appropriate that one of Vice-President Humphrey's responsibilities might well be that of Chairman of the Committee Of Principals.

cc: Max M. Kampelman, Esq.

Officers 1964-65 { affiliations listed for identification only PETER G. BERGMANN, Chairman

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UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20415

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO

November 19, 1964

YOUR REFERENCE

Mr. John G. Stewart Legislative Assistant to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Room 1313 New Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.



Dear John:

Thank you very much for accepting my invitation to meet with our Executive Leadership Institute next month.

You are scheduled to discuss "The Congress: Its Organization and Operations" from 9:00 to 12:00 Tuesday morning, December 1 in conference room 4H15 (4th floor, center section), Civil Service Commission building, 1900 E Street, N. W. Since the group will be relatively small--about 20 top level career executives from a number of agencies-please feel free to take full advantage of the opportunity for informal discussion. We will take a break at 10:30, and generally follow the format of the Legislative Operations Roundtable. I hope, of course, that you will not hesitate to relate recent adventures even though they have little to do with regular activities on the Hill. This Campaign was an interesting one, and I know that you can provide many insights into the political process that will be a timely bonus for participants in this institute.

I will send you copies of the program agenda and roster of participants as soon as these are ready. Meanwhile, please let me know if I can be of any assistance. The phone number here is 183x6152.

Sincerely yours,

Mel H. Bolster

Associate Director

Mil B.t.t.

Executive Institutes

Office of Career Development

LAW OFFICES

RAUH AND SILARD

1625 K STREET, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR. JOHN SILARD DANIEL H. POLLITT HARRIETT R. TAYLOR

November 9, 1964

Mederal 737-7795

Reverse Marian

Allendary

Mr. John Stewart
Legislative Assistant
to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Room 1313, New Senate Office Bldg.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear John:

Sometime before the end of the year, could Bernie Feld and I have the long-postponed session with Senator Humphrey on MLF and related subjects?

Sincerely yours,

John Silard





ANNIVERSARY HOUSE GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

November 13, 196

Dear Mr. Stewart,

I believe you have already received an announcement and the program of our conference on Cybernetics and Society scheduled for November 19-20.

At the luncheon on Friday, November 20, the speaker will be Professor Heinz von Foerster, of the Department of Electrical Engineering, University of Illinois, and also President of the Wenner-Gren Foundation. He will speak on "Project Passim." We should very much like to have you attend this luncheon as our guest. It will be in the New South Faculty Lounge.

Would you be so kind as to let my office know whether we may look forward to the pleasure of your company. The telephone number is FE 7-3300, extension 223.

Sincerely,

George H. Dunne, S.J.

Director

175th Anniversary Program

Leorge Allumne S.A.

JGS/ep JGS-personal



November 8, 1964

Rev. Everett C. Parker Director Office of Communication United Church of Christ 289 Park Avenue South New York 10. New York

Dear Mr. Parker:

Please do not fret about Mr. Nussman's letter to me. I think things are reasonably under control and I have been in touch with Lou Maddox and have been trying to help.

I have not yet heard anything from the Federal Communications Commission about our little project. But it seems as though we hardly needed Mississippi anyway. Frankly, I am glad it went for Goldwater.

Best wishes.

Sincerely.

John G. Stewart Legislative Assistant to Senator Humphrey

OFFICE OF COMMUNICATION

THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

289 Park Avenue South . New York 10, N.Y. . GRamercy 5-2127

REV. EVERETT C. PARKER, Director

HARRY F. STACKS, Chairman

October 30, 1964

Mr. John G. Stewart S 301 c/o Office of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

I am terribly embarrassed that Mr. Nussmann of the United Church Board for World Ministries sent his letter to you and that you had to reply to it. The letter, of course, was to have been transmitted to the contact man in the State Department, Mr. James Shanley.

Mr. Shanley and I had discussed the matter by telephone and he told me that he would accept things only through your office since you had made the original contact. I was out of town, and thought I had explained the matter carefully to Mr. Nussmann as to how he should proceed. Unfortunately, he has had little experience in handling trips of the sort he is taking and did not follow my instructions.

I appreciated your reply to my home concerning the television stations. I shall be interested to know what may transpire as a result of your approach to the Federal Communications Commission. I suppose Mississippi is a hopeless situation, but the rest of the country, as I see it from my travels, seems to be fairly sane and on the right side.

Sincerely yours,

Eunt Oak

ECP:hn

J65/ personal



September 14, 1964.

Monseigneur Varga Hungarian Committee 125 East 72nd St. New York, New York

Dear Monseigneur Varga:

The remarks on foreign policy by Senator Humphrey which appeared in the New York Times on Saturday were part of an interview and were complete as they appeared.

Senator Humphrey is, however, making a foreign policy speech tonight in Kansas City, and we will send you a copy of this as soon as it is available.

Yours truly,

John Stewart Legislative Assistant

K.C. sent 9/19/64

me

J65/personal

November 14, 1964

Memo to Patty Tirana From John G. Stewart

I'm sending back to you Jimmy Farrell's speech.

We never really were abbe to use any of it even though some of the thoughts and basic notions in the speech are things which of course Senator Humphrey believes.

But the speech itself was not something which we were able to adapt easily into the context in which Senator Humphrey usually was speaking.

TGS / personal

November 14, 1964

Memo to Norman Sherman From John Stewart

Attached is some material which was sent tomme by Tom Schroth at Congressional Quarterly. I don't know what we can do, should do, or will do. But I am sending it over to you for whatever you think is appropriate. We should let Tom Schroth know what we have done. He is a good friend and we should give him some sort of answer.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW WASHINGTON SQUARE NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Jul

November 9, 1964

Mr. John G. Stewart Offices of Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey United States Senate Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Many thanks for your letter of November 2. Naturally, I am very happy if the work I did was any help to Senator Humphrey and the cause. It was a pleasure to assist in the sweet victory of November 3.

I shall be pleased to do further work for you and Mr. Humphrey if you feel I can be of any value in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Norman Dorsen Associate Professor of Law

ND:df



November 14, 1964

Mr. Armistead L. Boothe
Boothe, Dudley, Koontz and
Blankingship
711 Princess Street
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mr. Boothe:

I have seen to it that a letter from Senator

Humphrey will be sent to Mr. Jones. I know the

Senator will appreciate very much receiving this

magnificent prayer by our first President.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



November 14, 1964

Rev. Albert N. Jones Rector of Pohick Church Lorton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jones:

Armistead Boothe has passed along to me your copy of Washington's prayer. It seems that our first President captured the faith and love which hopefully all Americans hold for their country and for their fellow man. I appreciate so much your bringing this beautiful prayer to my attention and making the copy available to me. I shall cherish it always.

I understand that President Washington attended Pohick Church when he lived in Mount Vernon.

Let me also thank you for opening our rally at George C. Marshall High School with this prayer. It was a most appropriate use of Washington's prayer.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Washington's Prayer

Армівнту God: We make our "earnest prayer that thou wilt keep the United States in thy holy protection; that thou wilt incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; and entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another and for their fellow citizens of the United States at large. And finally that thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion, and without a humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation." Grant our supplication, we beseech thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Washington's Prayer is the closing paragraph of a circular letter addressed to the Governors of all the States on disbanding the Army in 1783. Used occasionally as an Altar Prayer at Pohick Episcopal Church, Lorton, Va., where Washington was a Vestryman for many years.

Post Card

Place Stamp

BOOTHE, DUDLEY, KOONTZ AND BLANKINGSHIP

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW

GARDNER L. BOOTHE (1872-1864)
ARMISTEAD L. BOOTHE
E. WALLER DUDLEY
WILLIAM W. KOONTZ
A. HUGO BLANKINGSHEP, JR.
JOHN S. STUMP
FRED C. ALEXANDER, JR.
PHILIP TIERNEY
JOHN JAY CORSON, IX

POST OFFICE BOX HOI
711 PRINCESS STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22313

KING 9-5900

November 5, 1964

FAIRFAX OFFICE
POST OFFICE BOX 189
202 SOUTH PAYNE STREET
FAIRFAX, VIRGINIA 22030
CRESCENT 3-0225

Mr. John Stewart Legislative Assistant to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Room S301, The Capitol Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

At the Rally at Hollin Hall School on Saturday, I told you I had one favor. It is very simple.

At the Rally held for Senator Humphrey at the George C. Marshall High School on Wednesday, October 28, the meeting was opened by Rev. Albert N. Jones, Rector of Pohick Church, Lorton, Virginia, who read George Washington's prayer for his country. Washington attended Pohick when he lived at Mount Vernon. At the end of the meeting Mr. Jones gave me a copy of the prayer which I am enclosing asking you if you will kindly see that a letter is written to Mr. Jones and signed by Senator Humphrey thanking him for the card.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

Armistead L. Boothe

albec Encl.

J65/ personal



November 14, 1964

Mr. John Hoffman Rt. 2, Box 311A1 Saugus, California

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

Thanks for your various envelopes of material. It seems to me that the President and Vice-President Elect Humphrey will do everything they can to protect American citizens in Mississippi, Alabama, or any other State.

I'm sure I would not be much of a prospector.

Even though your friend, John Stewart, apparently was:

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Saugus, Calif. Rt. 2, Bx. 3IIAI Nov. 6, I964.

Dear John Stewart:

You seemed to have been interested in the Sermon of the Month by Stephen H. Fritchman. Stephen Fritchman virtually controls the Unitarian--Universalist Movement from Baja, California to Cape Nome. He is well known and highly respected. I am not a church man but he is a long time friend of mine and sends me his sermons. We will send you another sermon on the Cold War.

Johnson and Humphrey rode to power on the backs of the negros in the south, but have done nothing to protect the negros in Mississippi and Alabama.

The F.B.I. know all the criminals but play golf with the local police. Joesten says it this way, "The public needs only to take a good hard look at Mr. Hoover to see that the king is naked, that his patriotic vestments are spun out of thin air and are, indeed in Samuel Johnson's famous definition, the last refuge of a scoundrel".

Unless Pres. Johnson places Mississippi under martial law right away there will not be any negros or houses or churches left in the negro section of Mississippi.

Just had a letter from Edgar Snow the famous journalist who at present is in a hospital in Switzerland. He is an authority on southeast Asia and emphatically states that we are losing the war in South Vietnam and the leader of the N.L.F told the Australian journalist, Wilfred Burchette, that they will fight U.S. invasion for twenty years if necessary. They had a thousand none-de-script rifles to start with, now they have a hundred and fifty thousand all made in the United States.

There was recently a Congress of Women in Moscow and II9 countries including South Vietnam were represented. The little lady from Vietnam remarked, "if the United States would spend a part of the two million dollars a day which they are now spending in Vietnam on raging war, on raging peace the Vietnamese would be united above party, religion and ideology."

L.B.J. is a little lame on his history for 2 thousand years ago the Chinese discovered that the Vietnamese were an unconquerable people. Today South Vietnamese refuse to be ruled

by puppets or with twenty one thousand advisers and three hundred thousand South Vietnamese mercenaries.

I once had a prospecting pardner by the name of John Stewart.

Salud,

John Hoffman

John Hoffman

PS: John Stewart was known around Death Valley as "Fraction Jack" Stewart.

Sermon under separate cover



Sermon of the Month

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, Minister

CAN THE COLD WAR BE ENDED?

OCTOBER

1964

SERMON - OF - MONTH

REV. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

"Like a spring thaw in a long frozen riverbed, the rigid lines of American foreign policy have begun to crack."

Marquis Childs In the St. Louis Globe Dispatch

First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles

2936 W. EIGHTH STREET., LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA — DU 9-1356 Church Services are Held Every Sunday of the Year at 10:50 A.M.

CAN THE COLD WAR BE ENDED?

Stephen H. Fritchman

October 18, 1964

A very few hours after this address was written, last Thursday, the Labor Party won the British elections, Leonid Brezhnev replaced Nikita Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, the Peoples Republic of China exploded its first nuclear device, and the Cardinals, through the pitching of a great Negro, Robert Gibson, won the World Series in St. Louis.

I am speaking on a subject chosen last August, "Can the Cold War be Ended?" and my answer will be an even stronger affirmative than before Thursday's explosive events. In fact, the question is even more urgent than it was one week ago. Occasionally a minister makes a prophetic selection of subject and I had that good fortune this week.

Undoubtedly there is a trace of impertinence in asking, "Can the Cold War be Ended?" But since it is a question I know millions of people ask every day, there is no good reason for a minister not asking it out loud from his pulpit. The impertinence may lie in daring to say "yes" in the middle of an election campaign when both party platforms and both candidates seem to take the cold war for granted as an eternal part of existence, like gravity, metabolism and solar energy. But I can remember when there was no cold war, just 17 years ago: And I am foolish enough to see signs that we may get out of it in less than seventeen years.

My friend General Hugh B. Hester, whose thinking I appreciated at several points in preparing for today's sermon, is more despairing than I am. He may be right, though I hope not, when he says, "The present world dilemma reminds this writer of a Greek tragedy grinding on to certain disaster". This being a Unitarian church, you are free to decide whether my evidence for a less fatalistic conclusion seems at all persuasive, but like a goodly number of my colleagues in our liberal churches, I am delivering myself of a piece of modest homiletical optimism. I even see a difference in the temperature between President Johnson's cold war and Senator Goldwater's cold war.

I should like to refer again to that pre-cold war period when we, with our allies, Russia, France, China and Britain had won the Second World War. Some of you are old enough to remember first hand that at the end of the Second World War our government, which had been under the leadership of Franklin Roosevelt, proposed to shift from a military war against fascism to a peaceful war against poverty, ignorance and nationalism. A new organization was formed, the United Nations. One of its agencies was mobilized for this new war - it was called the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, UNRRA. President Roosevelt, almost alone among the western leaders declared, "Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace".

He died before that speech was delivered, but wheels had been set in motion - the new UN Organization itself and UNRRA as an agency to bring food, medicine and technological help to all nations seeking it. This aid was not charity; it was a reciprocal program in which each participating nation contributed one percent of its estimated gross national product. In addition, each receiving nation bore the cost of distributing the supplies received. UNRRA was not a political program; it was based strictly on need and ability to contribute. UNRRA had a very short life and was destroyed, not because it failed but because it succeeded. It was ended because post-war American leadership under President Truman and his establishment could not control it for political purposes. It had the promise of fulfilling the lofty aims which had been promoted during the war of a new deal for the peoples of the earth. The Marshall Plan was then organized as a substitute, a tragically inadequate one in terms of world responsibility and a united community of nations.

The Marshall Plan was the first major undertaking of the Cold War. Named for a man of broad sympathies and often courageous imagination, it subverted those sympathies by limiting itself to assistance to war-ravished western Europe. Forgotten was the fact that eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Asia were even more devastated by the recently ended war. Western Europe had had a far higher standard of living before the war and was in less desperate need for the necessities of life and for a rehabilitation of its fields and factories than those nations not covered by the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan was originally announced as intended for eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. General Marshall,

himself, under pressures I can only guess at, helped to destroy his own image of a man of humanitarian concern when he announced, before the 1948 elections in Italy, that not a cent of Marshall Plan aid would go to Italy if a communist government were elected there. Congressional hearings and debates on foreign aid from then until now have emphasized that aid must not go to socialist or communist countries. If our government has occasionally relented on this, as it has in Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary, it is in the belief that this is an economic Trojan Horse for overthrowing the socialist base of those countries.

General Omar Bradley once said, referring to the Korean War, "We are fighting the wrong war, against the wrong enemy, at the wrong time and place". General Hugh Hester is right, in quoting Omar Bradley, when he adds for himself, "The real enemies are poverty, ignorance and bigotry', and I would add, "nationalism". America threw away its chance to assume a great role in the post-war world, one that was, I insist, a viable possibility. The peoples of the world had been led to believe from the Atlantic Charter and other declarations of war aims at Teheran, Yalta, and elsewhere, to expect American leadership of an exalted sort. What it got was the Truman Plan in Greece, the Eisenhower Plan in the Near East and later the Kennedy Alliance for Progress in Latin America sorry and miserable substitutions. The Marshall Plan as limited to western Europe and the Truman Plan, which built itself on Churchill's Iron Curtain doctrine, launched us into the Cold War, as we all sadly know today.

Soon after the Marshall Plan and the Truman Plan came the construction of NATO, not - as alleged - to save western Europe from Soviet attack (the USSR was too exhausted from war and too busy with rebuilding her own industries, cities and agricultural complex for that); NATO was designed to prevent its own member countries from forming leftist fronts or communist governments. With the labors of Dean Acheson and John Foster Dulles sanctinned by American administrations, NATO became the first of several regional blocs aimed at stopping the independent growth of new progressive governments in many parts of the world. The polarization of so-called "free", "communist" and "neutralist" nations then took place. The Cold War was well entrenched and generously underwritten by American dollars, with private funds and also from the public treasury.

As General Hugh Hester has well said, "The Cold War really is a struggle between the Have Gots and the Have Nots. Until we recognize this as

the basic issue in the struggle we postpone the possible end of the Cold War. In Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America millions of people are far more aware of this basic character of the struggle that has gone on since the end of World War II than are we in the USA. It is my conviction that a growing minority of Senators and administration leaders and some Republicans are well aware of the urgent necessity for defrosting the Cold War, of lowering the tensions brought on by such enormous military build-ups. They are aware of the need to develop trade with all parts of the world across the artificial curtains of iron, bamboo and sugar cane.

Let me speak for a few moments of one major evidence of this emerging sophistication, the speech on foreign policy by Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which he delivered on March 25th of this year, probably as a trial balloon for the present administration in the pre-election months. It is very unlikely that so important a statement, challenging many cliches of the Cold War, was delivered without White House clearance and suggestions. Later statements by President Johnson that Fulbright did not speak for him are familiar procedure in American politicallife, and by singling out Panama and Cuba forhis dissent with Fulbright, the implication seemed to imply that he was in agreement with other important declarations in the speech.

Dr. M. S. Arnoni, Editor of The Minority of One magazine, in his May issue declared that this speech by Senator Fulbright may prove to be more important than the test ban treaty. This is a judgement I do not share, but it does show that this progressive and critical editor took the speech very seriously. I think this is why so many Unitarian ministers have delivered sermons on it in these past seven months.

Why do I so tardily follow along with my comment on this speech of last March? Because I find that the new American isolationism advocated by Senator Goldwater and the Republican platform compells us to offer strong resistance during these pre-election weeks of public debate. President Johnson spoke last Wednesday night at the Alfred E. Smith dinner in New York and chose to talk about foreign policy. It was a far from satisfactory speech to persons who share the criticisms of the Cold War I am summarizing this morning, but it clearly differed from the new isolationism, the further freezing of the Cold War into a permanent way of life advocated by Barry Goldwater. The President defended

the Test Ban Treaty and the Moscow-Washington hot line. He predicted more, not fewer steps toward decreasing international tensions and toward diminishing the arms race. He defended the improved relations with the Soviet Union (though continuing the mythology about the menace of an aggressive China). He promised to use more Western food and agricultural skills to eliminate hunger and disease around the world.

But let us return to Senator Fulbright and his modest beginnings of a re-evaluation of American foreign policy. If we are to get out of the seventeen years of Cold War fictions about the nature of our world neighbors and their desires, we must begin with those few men in our power structure who must take some real steps forward on our behalf. The illusion of American omnipotence which most Americans hold must be dissipated. It is my own conviction that President John F. Kennedy, in his last major speech, the one at American University, was beginning to take such a step when he talked about taking a new view of the Soviet; Union, about the futility of our trying to police the world, about recognizing the fact that this is a pluralistic planet politically and will remain so for a long time to come. The need for peace and disarmament negotiations is about the only real difference in foreign policy in the two party platforms this fall, but that is a very important difference, and makes a further consideration of Fulbright's speech necessary when we discuss the Cold War.

Senator Fulbright did not offer workable blueprints of policy, but rather discussed long-term attitudes. It was rooted by implication on the statement of President Johnson to the CIO-AFL conference the day before the Senator spoke. The President declared, "General war is impossible and some alternatives are essential." The Arkansas senator sought to explore some of those alternatives.

Let me offer a few examples of the Senator's thinking before commenting further on their significance. He is trying, he says, to overcome the inertia of the human mind and its tendency to cling to outmoded myths. Noting that we Americans go on regarding Communism as a wicked, unchangeable evil, deeply hostile to us and bent upon burying us, he says, "The existence of this animosity in principle is far less important for our foreign policy than the great variations in its intensity and character, both in time and among the individual members of the Communist bloc."

In regard to Panama he says, "I am unable to understand how a controversy with a small and poor country with virtually no military capacity can possibly be regarded as a test of bravery and our will to defend our interests".

In regard to Cuba, he says, "It remains for us to decide whether we will respond with a sustained outburst of hollow and ill-tempered threats, all the while comforting ourselves with the myth that we can get anything we want if only we will try hard enough or shout loud enough".

In regard to China he says, "We are committed in China and other areas of Asia to inflexible policies of long standing from which we hesitate to depart because of the attribution to these policies of an aura of mystical sanctity". He then states, "Communist China's hostility toward the United States is not a permanent situation. It is quite possible that a new generation of leaders in Peking and Taiwan may put a quiet end to the Chinese civil war, opening the possibility of entirely new relations in the Far East".

Of course this implies, reading between the Senator's lines, a new generation of leaders in the United States as well. It implies a partial admission (as much as an elected Senator ever dares make), that the past policies are bankrupt and without effective power in today's world.

These quotations may not seem revolutionary, but they are the best and most specific ideas yet to come out of the prevailing American establishment. A better speech could, perhaps, have been written by Senator Morse or Mansfield or Gruening, but it is important here to observe that William Fulbright, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, was very probably officially speaking for those who control American power today, not expressing an individual Senator's views which could have been more iconoclastic and more daring.

Senator Fulbright, a conservative, has been and is a civilizing influence in the Senate today. He was courageous in resisting President Kennedy's folly in launching the Bay of Pigs invasion. He has pointed out the absurdity of counter-guerillas in the Southeast Asia wars which America, alone, supports. His voice March 24th, in the speech we are discussing, was a breath of fresh air, and showed that he and probably the administration are trying to break some of the links chaining it to Cold War maxims. He indulged in what he called "unthinkable thoughts", though they have not been "unthinkable" to most of us working in peace

and disarmament movements for lo these many years. In fact, I agree with I. F. Stone that the speech, for all of its liberalism, underscored how very backward American thinking still is on foreign policy matters.

And the Congressional debates over foreign aid in the months that followed have dramatized how difficult it will be to end the rule of "guns and bread" grants to nations around the world, how hard it will be to circumvent the extreme right in its mythology that the Communist world is out to bury us alive if we turn our backs for one minute.

Senator Fulbright simply opened the door a crack! Yes, the United States did support (in a very limited way) the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria, in the Congo, in Indonesia, but those were other people's colonialisms. In Cuba, when Castro impertinently touched the properties of Standard Oil and United Fruit, we forgot our anti-colonialism, and have sought by boycott and threat of invasion to play the heavy imperialist in the classical pattern.

Probably the strongest part of Senator Fulbright's speech was the unthinkable thought that recognition of Latin American oligarchies simply continues colonialism, maintains the Cold War and builds ever new hatred of the United States in the southern continent and around the world. Yet his insight regarding the Latin American states is all too limited, for while he admits social reform and humanitarian relief of miserable masses there will not come from entrenched oligarchies receiving U. S. Funds, he fails to mention that behind all of these tight, feudal governments are very powerful North American interests, a fact brought to my attention at every peace conference I have attended where Latin delegates were present.

Fulbright rightly asks Americans to look ahead and decide, should peaceful reforms fail (as fail they will), whether we will tolerate revolutions in those Latin American countries. It is important that we all remember how the United States State Department drove Juan Bosch out of the Dominican Republic as its first elected president in a generation. Sugar and oil interests insisted that he go, and go he did!

Senator Fulbright indicates that we Americans will have no patience with "Communist" revolutions, but would like them to follow the lines they have taken in Mexico and Egypt, though he does not seem to remember that the United States has been bitterly hostile to the

Mexican Revolution in the past and that John Foster Dulles almost threw Nasser into Khrushchev's arms permanently by our veto of the Aswan Dam project. Recent months have shown that while we preach social reform in South America, we support military dictatorships in Brazil, Paraguay, Guatamala. In the showdown we still reach for the bayonet rather than the patient employment of negotiation. Until this reflex ends we will have a cold war.

It is in his remarks about China that Fulbright is <u>least</u> perceptive. He makes abandonment of union with Formosa by the Chinese Communists the condition for better American relations. He fails to remember that both sides in China's Civil War shared the conviction that there is but one China and that it includes Formosa, and the only question remaining is who should possess power. This is a fact of life we Americans shall have to learn.

Regarding South Vietnam, Fulbright is far behind Senator Morse and Senator Gruening in political understanding, for all of his awareness of the weaknesses of our presence there. He does not yet realize that we are not protecting South Vietnam from invasion but maintaining a despised dictatorship there with but the flimsiest of democratic trimmings. He fails to indicate that Vietnam has a long and proud tradition of nationhood and a longing for a truly democratic form of government. It would have been a better speech if the Senator had admitted China's desire for trade with the West, Ho Chi Minh's desire for trade with South Vietnam, and the Liberation Front's strong program for a neutralized South Vietnam. Senators Mansfield, Morse, Bartlett, Church and Ellender have better "unthinkable thoughts" on these specific issues than does Fulbright.

What is more important about Senator Fulbright's March speech is that he proposes (I believe with administration pressure) to ask the American people to make foreign policy a matter of far greater debate, so that the shabby, often empty and frequently very dangerous cliches may be re-examined. The Senator has no illusions that more world trade with socialist nations, or an extension of the nuclear test ban to underground tests, or other East-West accommodations will end the Cold War, or usher in the brotherhood of man. But such steps and others like them can begin to alleviate extreme tensions and animosities. They will give co-existence a chance to provide an atmosphere for peaceful steps which can make the end of the Cold War something within the lifetime of our younger citizens and their children, and can lessen the

peril of mass incineration.

I believe that the Cold War can be ended, that a detente with the noncapitalist world is not only wanted by administration forces, but is possible. I emphasize that even among the cold warriors, in this and other NATO countries, there are reluctant but genuine advocates of a detente, as agreement to move onto a new plateau, with all that this implies of disarmament, extended aid to poorer countries, and an ending of bankrupt colonial policies. This is indeed a matter of accepting paradoxes as we work for changes. President Kennedy and President Johnson both, the evidence indicates, began to see the necessity for a realistic program of lessening the Cold War pressures which build up to an eventual disaster for mankind. These are timid insights, with political compromises such as the support of war-hungry Cuban exiles from time to time, and maintenance of inhuman pressures on the Cuban people, and in Asia a flourish of weapons at the Gulf of Tonkin, to mention but two examples; yet the speeches of the past months would support a theory that this administration (unlike the one which would follow a Republican victory) rejects a direct confrontation with those who do not accept the axioms of the so-called "free-world".

It is obvious that the Pentagon and the CIA represent, on the whole, men dedicated to preserving the Cold War until the end of time, or at least until the accomplishment of the American Century for all mankind. Such men would like tocome to full power in the United States.

After the elections, assuming, as I must, that unrelenting work can bring forth a Democratic victory, it will be mandatory for all advocates of a just international society, to press Mr. Johnson hard for the next four years to move ahead far beyond his present hesitant advocacy of a detente, and to take many steps which will remedy, as remedy we can, the cruelties of the war between the Have Nots and the Have Gots. I think President Johnson is privately conscious of the possibilities for a rational approach to ending the Cold War, of concluding dangerous and immoral policies in Europe, in Cuba, China, Vietnam and Latin America. It will mean that he must stand up to the military-industrial complex and the secret American government of the Pentagon and the CIA. The populations of the developing countries need and can wisely use vast sums of money which America alone possesses and now spends so predigally on military preparations. The dependent ruling cliques in many countries, which America alone continues to keep

alive, can be deposed in short time, practically at the stroke of the Presidential pen, and it is not beyond sober hope that public opinion can demand this very tardy reform.

The delusions about China, so long cultivated by the American China Lobby, have mounted in recent years and must be ended. Edgar Snow, Felix Greene, Robert Guillian and others are helping brilliantly to demobilize the minds of many Americans, to tell some of the facts about this slandered people. I shall speak of these matters soon in a separate address, but the Cold War cannot be ended until these fifteen years of monumental lying are faced honestly and some light is allowed to enter the American mind and all sections of the American establishment.

What Mr. Johnson and the American people can say out loud in the immediate years ahead is that containing communism with arms is the road to nothing but suicide, that mankind has now entered an age of plenty, not scarcity, that no nation need longer be a Have Not nation, that no people anywhere, of any ideology, need be erased from the surface of the earth, that the demonologies of the Cold War are being exposed for what they are, and that a detente is now not only possibly but imperative.

As General Hester and many others have said, "It will require a generation to make the dream come true, a generation of full employment, of full use of United States resources, a generation of twaining men all over the world in the skills of a modern industrial society". And this will be made possible only by a change in the mode of thinking of many people. But millions of people already agree with those words of President Roosevelt about cultivating the science of human relationships. The job is to work them out with all the diligence we now spend on defense and space research.

There are signs that men in many nations are ready to explore the possibilities of a new mode of working together, East and West, capitalist and socialist. There will be great changes in both camps. We can see it in the USSR and in England, as Thursday's events prove; in Italian and Franch left circles; in China and Latin America; and clearly in Africa (a continent once considered a reservation for imperialist exploitation), but we must see it in America also. Nothing is more dangerous than to view our cwn establishment as a monolithic power. Senators Fulbright, Pell, Aiken, Humphrey, Morse, Ellender, Mansfield, Bartlett, Gruening and Church are not to be confused with Mundt,

Smathers, Power, Jackson and Dodd. We must not allow ourselves to get into a state of mind where we cannot work viably with those who have the fate of our nation, and in a sense, the world, in their hands.

The Johnson administration is still in a foreign policy straight-jacket but it has shown signs of doing a modest Houdini. Once the exigencies of the election are over it is possible, I believe, to expect the President to make greater exertions, as an elected chief executive, to consider revising more boldly the premises upon which America has operated for seventeen years in foreign relations. More importantly, if the elections give him this opportunity, you and I, as presumably moral persons with minds of our own, should support the Morse-Fulbright syndrome in the administration.

Unitarians are often difficult people to persuade to walk with those more timid or cautious than themselves. But we have no other alternative if we would still retain our effectiveness as citizens. I know there are hours of despair and surrender, possibly due to smog, indigestion or a domestic quarrel, when all seems lost and we talk about fleeing to another country and living in a verdant meadow without responsibilities. I leave people with such temptations, if they become acute, to the ministrations of our church counselling staff. Meanwhile, let us return to the hustings and do our homework. The only really "unthinkable thought" is that we should do less than our best when the stakes are so high.

Freud may have been right when he said, "The voice of intelligence is soft and weak; it is often drowned out by the roar of fear". But there are men, of high position and low, in our nation today who know that the victories for mankind which will be won will come only from men and women using intelligence, be it soft and weak or not. I think of Sen. Wayne Morse with such magnificent courage standing up in the Senate March 23rd and demolishing the hollow structure of American foreign policy in South Vietnam with these words, "Every time an American dies in Vietnam, the flag should be lowered tohalf mast over the Capitol, over the White House, over the State Department, over the Pentagon, because those boys are dying in the execution of a unilateral policy that no longer has a direct bearing on the defenses of the United States. We took a tiger by the tail ten years ago in Vietnam and no one in high office knows how to let go of it. So we call it a commitment". As long as there are men able to speak with this courage in the Senate, and citizens to support them in larger numbers at home.

the Cold War can be ended and a new order of sanity can prevail. Senator Fulbright was right when he said, "The cold war malady affects millions of sensible and intelligent citizens whose genuine concern with national security has persuaded them that the prosecution of the cold war is our only essential national responsibility... The cold war has caused a massive diversion of energy and resources from the creative pursuits of a civilized society to the conduct of a costly and interminable struggle for world power".

Let us stop with those words in the Fulbright speech. If you and I can help those around us and those who represent us in Congress and the White House to understand even this much truth, we shall have a far better chance at survival and development of a just and decent world ... not overnight (only a paranoid tries to change the world overnight) but possibly in time for some now living to escape the daily nightmares many parents have who see their children reared under the shadow of an atomic cloud, that transformed sword of Damocles which no man can forget if he be either same or loving of his fellow men.

The ancient Greek playwright, Sophocles, in one of his great dramas has a character ask, "Who is the slayer, Who the victim - speak!"

If you and I are silent, if you and I say the Cold War is nothing we can change, if you and I fail to cast a ballot in November that will support candidates who speak, even modestly, for what we want to support with vehemence, then you and I are the slayers - no one else - and we shall be the victims also.

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Activities and Organizations

Art Committee. Selects the "Artist of The Month," sponsors exhibits and programs to stimulate interest in and understanding of the arts, and assists in producing the annual Festival of The Arts.

Arts Festival Committee. Prepares and produces an annual Festival of The Arts, featuring outstanding exhibitions of the graphic arts and crafts, coordinated with lectures and evening programs for adults, with related daytime programs for children, concerning the dance, music, poetry, and drama.

Bazaar. The Annual Fair, a fund-raising event in an attractive and festive atmosphere created by the many talented members and friends of the Church, for the sale of foodstuffs and merchandise prepared or donated by members and friends and cooperating stores and commercial enterprises.

Church Choir. This volunteer organization presents new compositions and special arrangements appropriate for our Church Services. Rehearsals on Thursdays at 8 p.m. and on Sundays at 10 a.m. New voices are always welcome — the age group is 16 years and over.

College Center. The local chapter of Student Religious Liberals, a continental organization of the Unitarian Universalist Association, for young men and women enrolled in Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools. Meets Sundays after Services. Lectures and discussions under supervision of a professional advisor on matters of topical interest.

Counseling Service. A brief program of therapy, in accordance with the highest ethical and professional standards, to assist persons with emotional problems. By appointment only, during afternoon or evening hours. Application Forms available at Church Office.

Folk Dancers. Dance sessions every Monday night at 8:00 in Channing Hall to study and dance steps and patterns from many lands; an esthetic and creative activity open to persons of diverse ages and talents. Professional presentations in full costume at intervals.

Free Library. Maintained in the Church Office, just off the Patio. Contains 500 or more books on Philosophy, Religion, Unitarianism, Economics, Politics, Social Problems, Biography, and Fiction. Books may be borrowed by members and friends on Sundays after services.

Literature Tables. A very extensive and comprehensive selection of bound and paper-back books, pamphlets, and publications of special interest in the fields of liberal religion, socio-economics, and world affairs, in-

cluding the "Sermon of The Month" by our minister, and other Unitarian-Universalist materials. Offered for sale each Sunday in the Church Foyer.

Music Committee. Supervises and coordinates all Church music, including the Choir, the "Musician of The Month," and sponsors or stages special professional music events at intervals.

Public Forum. Prominent speakers are presented on the first Friday evening each month, and a question period follows, on social, political, philosophical, and cultural topics. The Forum is held in the Church Auditorium, is open to the public, and admission is by donation. Special Announcements are mailed to members and friends.

Single Adults Club. The broad purpose is to permit each member to achieve his individual potential, through group participation in social and cultural activities with others of similar station. Meets twice a month, on Fridays at 8 p.m., in Channing Hall.

Starr King Fellowship. A continuation of the Church School, under the supervision of a professional adult leader, conducted each Sunday from mid-September to mid-June, 11:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., for young people of high school age. In addition to discussions and lectures, there are service projects and social affairs.

Tuckerman Service Committee. Assists the Unitarian Service Committee, Unitarian Blood Bank, Red Cross, the Indian Center, Synanon House, and other local, national, and international Service Organizations through health, social welfare, and educational programs.

Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. Meets once a month for business meetings and programs. This is the social action organization of the First Unitarian Church and affiliated sponsors.

Unitarian Women's Club. Meets once a month to plan and participate in enjoyable social, cultural, and educational activities of special interest to the women of the Church.

Women's Alliance. Meets every Thursday from 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Its members take part in such service activities as sewing and other handicrafts for the annual Bazaar, and in social activities, lectures, and discussions.

Writers' Workshop. Members meet once a month to develop skills in writing fiction, poetry, and drama, through mutual comment and criticism, and to present Workshop Sessions for its members.

First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles

2936 W. EIGHTH STREET., LOS ANGELES 5, CALIFORNIA — DU 9-1356
STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, Minister HOWARD W. OLIVER, Administrator and Church School Director

J65 / personel



Mr. Jerome H. Spingarn 3212 McKinley, N.W. Washington, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

As you can imagine, Humphrey's boo-boo about Atlas brought us a good deal of mail. Joseph Wood Krutch even let us know that Antaeus was really the man.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

JEROME H. SPINGARN

Nov. 5, 1964

Dear John:

Re the Senator's election night remarks at the Radisson on election night: that wasn't Atlas, it was Antaeus.

If you think there is any liklihood that he will want to use the allusion again, perhaps you should show him the attached paragraph, which sets the record straight.

Best regards,

병하고 먹다

Take to be a

An exploit quite as difficult [for Hercules] as most of the labors was the conquest of Antaeus, a Giant and a mighty wrestler who forced strangers to wrestle with him on condition that if he was victor he should kill them. He was roofing a temple with the skulls of his victims. As long as he could touch the earth he was invincible. If thrown to the ground he sprang up with renewed strength from the contact. Hercules lifted him up and holding him in the air strangled him. "

From "Mythology" by Edith Hamilton, a Mentor Book, Hercules, page 167.

J65 / personal



Mr. Jack Schick
Center for the Study of American
Foreign and Military Policy
1126 East 59th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Jack:

Thanks so much for your good letter. It was a tough and arduous campaign but the results justified everything.

Hope your interests will bring you to Washington soon. Please get in touch with us for Nancy and I would dearly love to see you and your Nancy.

We're adopting a baby in January or February and quite excited about that.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN AND MILITARY POLICY 1126 EAST 59TH STREET

November 6, 1964

Mr. John G. Stewart
The Office of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
United States Senate
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear John,

This is just a note to congratulate you on the fact that your man won. I imagine you have been working quite hard for him (probably an understatement).

We were sorry to miss you in Washington while we were there in August. It just happened that my interviews coincided with the convention. My little project (tentatively entitled: "The Berlin Crisis, A Study in Nuclear Diplomacy") should be finished sometime this academic year.

Now, I suppose the question is what changes there will be within the Administration especially in that big building across the river.

Good luck! Give our regards to Nancy.

Sincerely,

ack Schick

JS:jk

765 / personal

COPY

November 14, 1964

Mr. William A. Collins 1449 Fairmont St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Bill:

Thanks so much for your good letter. I don't know whether you are still interested in the Hill, but I gave your name today to Liz Drew at Congressional Quarterly, who apparently has been asked by several of the new congressmen to look around for possible legislative assistants. If you are interested, why don't you give Liz Drew a call at Congressional Quarterly. She'll know who you are and you can see whether anything interesting develops.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

November 9, 1964

Dear John,

Minneapolis was a fitting finale to it all and I was delighted to be there. For two months I truly reveled in the nightly trauma and I feel a little bored now that it is all over.

Frankly OEP, while educational, is a bit dull after the Hill -- not exactly a revelation I expect. I am anxious to come back up and I would again greatly appreciate any suggestions or help you can offer. I have written to Norman along the same lines.

Like the others in the office I admire the way you handled your part of the campaign. Humphrey picked the right man for the job, and I dare say he will continue to pick him for other responsible jobs in thefuture. If he lets you get away he will be doing a very foolish thing.

Best wishes.

Bill

W. A. Collins 1449 Fairmont St. NW Washington 20009

J65/ personal



November 14, 1964

Mrs. Mary-Cushing Niles 307 Tuscany Road Baltimore 10, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Niles:

Thank you for your letter and your congratulations over the Senator's stirring victory.

I will certainly make every effort to attend the meeting on December 7 or have some representative from our office present.

Best wiehes.

Sincerely,

MRS. MARY-CUSHING NILES 307 TUSCANY ROAD BALTIMORE 10, MARYLAND

November 8, 1964

Mr. John Stewart, Legislative Assistant to Senator Humphrey U.S.Senate Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

We are thrilled as a family over the Democratic victory and especially about the prospect of "our" Senator being the Vice President.

You may recall that I was at the small speakers' table with you at the September meeting of the Friends Committee on National Legislation. I remember telling you that our daughter Cushing (Now Mrs. Louis Pl Dolbeare of Philadelphia) was at one time the research assistant to the Senator and that Henry Niles and I had frequently met Senator and Mrs. Humphrey, especially at the house of Mrs. Frances Howard.

This letter is to confirm the telephone conversation we had a couple of weeks ago, about a meeting with Howard and Harriet Kurtz. This date has now been set for December 7 (see attached). We do so much hope that you can be with us. If you cannot be, will you please ask someone else to come from the Senator's office? If this meeting agrees, as we expect, that the Kurtz proposal is important, we shall wish to press it strongly with the new Vice President.

Sincerely yours,

May-Cushing Niles

THE JOURNAL OF THE ARMED FORCES

Spokesman of the Services Since 1863



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24 OCTOBER 1964

READERS' VIEWS

Readers are encouraged to present their views on pertinent subjects. Only signed letters with full addresses can be printed but names will be withheld on request. Editing may be necessary because of space limitations.

War Safety Control

■ A generation of forced defense research and development has produced an amazing new military capability . . . a new strategic power . . . beyond the current vision of the JCS, National Security Council, or the personal advisors to President Johnson or Senator Goldwater.

The future security of the United States may be jeopardized by failure to fully explore and exploit this new strategic power... The full development of war safety control power can cause greater reappraisal of U.S. grand strategy than the earlier leaps into air power, or nuclear power, or space power.

But the President would not dare make the decision to develop global war control power, until after there has been widespread, professional and public debate and discussion. To spark such debate is the purpose of publication of War Safety Control Report, based on a 17 year exploration of Kremlin Grand Strategy, and the failure of the United States to develop a superior Grand Strategy.

The President requires not one kind of military power, but two distinct kinds of military power, in the same sense that a football coach must have superior defense power, and also superior forward power.

The U.S. has had a superior defense power for a generation operating under a policy of "containment" to prevent the adversary from achieving his goal of world domination. Without this superior defense, the game would have been lost before this. But the defense-only team abdicates leadership, allowing the adversary to choose the time, place, direction and power of each new thrust, while the defense-only team exerts exhaustive effort with only the hope of either holding the line, or losing ground. The American people, for the last 12 years, have existed in a climate of potential national danger greater than they lived in the year before, in a relentless retreat from positive national security or safety.

The dream of "disarmament" is a good dream, and the dream of "flight" a hundred years ago would have been a valid vision. But, believing in the dream of flight, and jumping off a cliff, before man had built a viable airplane in which to fly, means disaster.

. . and leaping into the dream of disarmament before an operational allnation security system has been created and proven, could hurl the national security to disaster.

The nation which emerges into world leadership in the coming generation will NOT be the nation with the greatest catastrophic destructive force to destroy the world . . . and will NOT be the nation abdicating responsibility by disarming and dissipating its power . . . but the nation with the strategic vision to provide leadership in transforming one-nation defense power into all-nation security power, capable of guaranteeing positive national security and political independence (our strategic vision of a forward goal for civilization) for every nation on earth.

In addition to maintaining national defense posture, the President now has the opportunity to instruct the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to begin planning, developing, building, field testing, and demonstrating to the coming generation the awesome next generation military security systems basic to a war-proof world.

Where premature disarmament talk threatens national weakness, the development of this new forward power will increase national defense strength at each intermediate stage.

at each intermediate stage.

Where premature disarmament talk threatens unemployment and dislocation, the development of this new forward power will open up expanding new challenges for global war control systems.

Where the defense-only, traditionbound military preoccupation with pyramidding catastrophic destructive force has now created the *self-deterrent* power . . . the power which deters the President from taking any bold forward action based on increasing national strength . . . the President can now unleash great forward unilateral initiatives utilizing the American military-technological-industrial might to awaken world public vision to the real new possibilities for bringing war under control on a world scale, in the coming generation.

Will the President have vision of sufficient magnitude to match his power? Will his military advisors still think only in the small terms of historic threats to use power to kill? Or are there military leaders of sufficient rank who have the great vision to plan all-nation security systems in which military men, now committed to give their lives to protect the people of one nation, will eventually expand to the far greater commitment to give their lives to protect the people of all nations?

HOWARD G. KURTZ WAR SAFETY CONTROL REPORT BOX 35, CHAPPAQUA, N. Y.

Reprinted by
War Control Planners, Inc.
to encourage
non-political
pro and con
comment to

The Editor:
JOURNAL of the
Armed Forces

JES / personal



November 14, 1964

Mr. Merton C. Bernstein Yale Law School New Haven, Connecticutt

Dear Mr. Bernstein:

Thanks so much for your good letter. I will do whatever I can to keep on top of the Cabinet report on pensions. I'm sure we will be calling upon you for advice and counsel in the coming months. There surely is much to be done.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



YALE LAW SCHOOL NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520

November 9, 1964

Mr. John G. Stewart c/o Senator Hubert H. Humphrey Senate Office Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

My thanks for your note of November 2. I was quite happy to prepare the memoranda on Social Security, medical care, pension and disability problems. I quite agree with you that the campaign did not require any detailed expositions of these problems or the advocacy of new programs.

If I can be of service to the Vice President in these areas, I would be pleased. I do believe that some important decisions in these areas will be made before the new Congress convenes. So, for example, the disposition of the report of the Cabinet Committee on Pensions may be resolved in the next few weeks. From what I know of its contents, that decision may be extremely important. I anticipate that release in its present form would prejudice the prospects for achieving needed reforms.

My warm congratulations upon the superb victory achieved. The outlook for an ambitious legislative program is magnificent. You should have fun.

me ton & Seniste

Merton C. Bernstein

MCB: joc

P.S. I enjoyed your appearance on Channel 13 in New York. Especially considering the pace of the campaign, you seemed unwilted and unfrayed.

anagrafy



November 14, 1964

Mr. Tom Schroth Editor, Congressional Quarterly 1156 19th Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Tom:

I have your material regarding the United States Power Project of the St. Croix River. I am sending this to Norman Sherman in our office who handles such Minnesota projects.

As you probably can understand, we are attempting to ease out of as many Minnesota situations as we can. Nevertheless, we will follow up on this and let you know what is going on.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Memo to Norman Sherman From John Stewart

Attached is some material which was sent tomme by Tom Schroth at Congressional Quarterly. I don't know what we can do, should do, or will do. But I am sending it over to you for whatever you think is appropriate. We should let Tom Schroth know what we have done. He is a good friend and we should give him some sort of answer.

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY EDITORIAL RESEARCH REPORTS

DATE

TO	John Stewart	FROM Tom S.	

John -- A friend of mine concerned with the St. Croix River problem sent this to me. Do you know who handles this matter in Senator Humphrey's office? Would you pass it on to him. I think it is self-explanatory. If any questions, I'll be what back in a week.

Thanks.

Tom

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

Oct. 13, 1964

To: John Stewart 1313 NSOB

Here is Jimmy Farrell's speech which we discussed by 'phone today. He offers it as a contribution -- not wanting credit if you use any of it/ But if any of it is used he would like to see how.

Patty Tirana Office of Sen. Douglas

P.S. He wrote it in 1956 and never delivered or published it.

Jes f personal

November 14, 1964

Memo to Patty Tirana From John G. Stewart

I'm sending back to you Jimmy Farrell's speech.

We never really were abbe to use any of it even though some of the thoughts and basic notions in the speech are things which of course Senator Humphrey believes.

But the speech itself was not something which we were able to adapt easily into the context in which Senator Humphrey usually was speaking.

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE BUILDING 1726 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

DUPONT 7-8585

November 5, 1964

DAVID B. TRUMAN, President

GABRIEL A. ALMOND, President Elect Stanford University

SAMUEL H. BEER, Vice President Harvard University

MARIAN D. IRISH, Vice President Florida State University

JAMES L. MCCAMY. Vice President University of Wisconsin

MALCOLM E. JEWELL, Secretary University of Kentucky

MAX M. KAMPELMAN, Treasurer and Counsel Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

EVRON M. KIRKPATRICK, Executive Director

DONALD G. TACHERON, Associate Director

HARVEY C. MANSFIELD, Managing Editor The Ohio State University

This will confirm arrangements for our meeting with you on Thursday, November 12, at 9:30 a.m. in Room 1313, New Senate Office Building.

Enclosed for your convenience are two lists of the participants in this year's Congressional Fellowship Program, indicating their academic, newspaper and government affiliations. It appears to be an outstanding group, and I am looking forward to our meeting with you.

Incidentally, our sessions are strictly informal and off-the-record. Generally, our speakers devote fifteen minutes to half an hour to introductory remarks, then throw the meeting open to questions. While the subject matter is of course up to you, I feel that it would be highly appropriate if you were to devote some time to discussion of the Congressional staff system, describing the various functions you perform in developing legislative strategy, maintaining legislative coalitions in support of various bills, relationships with executive agencies and interest group representatives, etc. It occurs to me that your activities in connection with the Civil Rights Act might be an interesting point of departure for your remarks.

Many thanks for agreeing to meet with the Association's Congressional Fellows.

With best regards,

Enclosures

Mr. John G. Stewart Legislative Assistant Room 1313 New Senate Office Building Washington, D. C. Sincerely,

Donald G. Tacheron Associate Director 20 - Penonal Francogements

The Baltimore Life Insurance Company Baltimore 1, Maryland

HENRY E. NILES

November 5, 1964

Dear Friends:

Howard and Harriet Kurtz's ideas on WAR SAFETY CONTROL seem to us to merit close consideration by all groups interested in world peace. They suggest steps which can be taken with the support of those who see the best means either through deterrence or through disarmament.

We invite you, together with a number of others with a deep concern for a more secure world, to meet the Kurtzes on Monday evening, December 7th, in the Conference Room of the Friends Committee on National Legislation on the street floor at 245 Second Street, Northeast, Washington, D. C. The meeting will run from seven-thirty to ten-thirty in the evening beginning with a film presentation of their proposals and continuing with discussion. There will be no solicitation of funds. We believe that an attentive and critical review of these proposals should lead to useful suggestions as to how their ideas may gain broader acceptance.

By way of introduction, let us explain who the four of us are. Howard Kurtz is a New York management consultant and a former Lieutenant Colonel in the Air Force. Harriet Kurtz will be ordained on November 29th as a minister at large of the United Church of Christ, specializing in international relations and peace. Both have devoted years of study to war safety control. Henry and Mary Cushing Niles have served in business and in government, including assignments overseas. Henry serves on the board of the American Friends Service Committee. Mary Cushing is on the executive council of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, formerly president of the United Nations Association of Maryland and currently world relations chairman of the United Church Women of Maryland. Edward Snyder and the Kurtzes have helped us prepare the list of persons to be invited.

Since space on December 7th is limited, the favor of a reply would be appreciated.

Henry E. Niles

Mary Custing Niles
Mary Cushing Niles

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE time does not allow me to do a refered and Limshed job on this. Hepe you can work some of it in ; especially the wateral from Charles Wesley's history. Horrand

Sp File [1965?)

Your historical record of organization at Cornell University in 1906 has been described by your historian, Dr. Charles H. Wesley who has published your volume, THE HISTORY OF ALPHA PHI ALPHA: A DEVELOPMENT IN COLLEGE LIFE. He states, "Confronted by the social proscriptions of race and color common to American institutions and organizations in the early twentieth century, hampered by the limited means with the attendant circumstances of the average poor student, the seven founders of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity faced their present and their future boldly finding a way out of their difficulties, while scarcely realizing the door which they were opening to subsequent generations of college students. This first organization by Negro college men of a college fraternity with its emphasis upon education and citizenship was a unique accomplishment in a period of our national history where the ability of Negro-Americans to organize and maintain an organization even for themselves was seriously doubted by most Americans."

Looking back over 59 years of your history of continuous growth, expansion and progress, your influence and work have given advancement to American college life and citizenship activity, and the widespread use of its slogan, "a voteless people is a hopeless people." The dynamic slogan and activities of your fraternity have been centered first upon education; secondly upon the purpose-"Go to High School-Go to College"; thirdly upon the good of "Education for Citizenship," with the objective based upon making the people "citizen minded" as you had endeavored to make them "educated minded." Your development in chapters across the United States, England and Africa has increased to over 275 in number and the members who have been initiated to more than 30,000.

The Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity has moved forward from a fellowship fraternity for Negro-Americans to a fellowship for all Americans regardless of race, creed or color. This action was taken legally, according to historian Wesley, by your General Convention of 1940, which voted unanimously to eliminate the qualifying word for membership "Negro" where "Negro male student" was used leaving only the words, "male student."

This was a quarter of a century ago. This action was followed by participation and activities in court decisions both singly and in cooperation with the NAACP, with the Donald Murray admission to the University of Maryland, the notable Gaines Case in Missouri—Gaines being a member of your fraternity; the Sweat Case in Texas, Sweat being an Alpha member; the Henderson Case involving dining car segregation and the victory over it. Your emphasis upon human relations and racial integration have been noteworthy milestones in American history.

Alpha men became exemplors of these purposes. This was evidenced in a book of great Americans. Among whom were Thergood Marshall, the jurist; Martin luther King, Current Civil Rights Leader; Lionel H. Newsom, College president and your General President; Whitney Young of the National Urban League; Judge L. Howard Bennett, Edward R Dudley, Juan Sandifor, and many others; Congress-William Dawson and Adam Clayton Powell; College Presidents, Physicians, lawyers, dentists, in numbers there are distinguished business men, College Professors and teachers, news men, scientists, members of legislatures and

city Councils. In fact, wherever great work is being accomplished for service to the American people, Alpha men are found. Its standards of "scholarship manly deeds and love for all mankind" have motivated purposeful performance by its members.

"Forward with Alpha" was the slogan of your leadership, and your fraternity has continued its advancement.

This administration has been decidated to these purposes, etc.

From the fralernity's Hymn.

The thrust for equality of opportunity has taken us far along the road from our position at the time the Vice-President spoke at a public meeting of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity in 1948. That year marked a point in time when the liberal forces which sought reform in both public and private sectors of the country had begun to make their position known, if not yet felt. They were articulate at the Democratic National Convention in 1948. Already by that time President Truman had a special committee's report on equalizing educational opportunities and had set in motion a study of the problem of segregation in the armed forces with a view to correcting the situation existing at that time.

Since these early beginnings the powers of the Federal government have been used increasingly to improve the status of minorities. Through court decisions, Executive orders, and, more recently, through legislation of the Congress, we have steadily fashioned new norms in the areas of employment, education, public accommodations, and voting rights.

Though the situation today is markedly different from that which existed in 1948, much remains to be done before equality in fact is achieved. Resistance in the form of non-compliance with the will of the government is being broken down; but it must be eliminated at an even faster pace. The sheer magnitude of the differentials existing in various sections between the victims of segregation and discrimination and more privileged groups defy easy eradication. But no time should be lost in marshalling the necessary resources for doing what is indicated.

In the work remaining to be done before equality is achieved, minorities themselves must play a considerable role.

Members of such groups must participate in the continuing discussion centered around problems of segregation and discrimination and must help in shaping public opinion with respect to these matters. Most of all, they must be in position to take advantage of new opportunities as they arise and, by so

doing, demonstrate that many of the old beliefs of the resistors of change, respecting the capability and performance of minority group persons, have no foundation in fact.

In this effort, the members of our Greek-letter organizations must be prepared to take a leadership role. Through the period of disadvantage, they have succeeded in rising above the educational and economic levels reached by most members of their group. They represent an elite which is fully capable of defining issues and of mobilizing the resources of the minority community for intelligent action on both the national and local levels.

[1965?]



of the National Urban League.

This organization was founded in 1910 in the midst of
the Progressive Era. And the spirit of innovation, experimentation, and commitment to social justice which characterized that
period of America's history has remained with the League to this
day. This conference is eloquent testimony that you are still
on the frontlines of social and economic reform--grappling with the
basic issues of employment, education, housing, health care and
recreation.

During the period of your founding, the American people were striving to preserve the rights and privileges of the individual in a time of rapid industrialization—attempting to build a social and economic order free of special privilege and discrimination.

These same issues concern the American people today.

For the truth is simply this: we need everybody in the difficult task of self-government. We can no longer afford

the luxury of squandering the resources of human skills, intellect and ability through discrimination, poverty, disease and illiteracy.

And--for the first time in history--this nation possesses the intellectual resources and economic knower to make every American a full partner in this enterprise of democracy.

We possess the knowledge and the wealth--but do we also possess the courage and compassion to do this job? Do we have theirner strength needed to build a society where every citizen enjoys an equal chance in fact--and not just in theory?

In recent years the American people have demonstrated their intention to answer these questions affirmatively.

We have, for example, witnessed the virtual elimination of Degalized prejudice and discrimination in America.

Many brave and courageous persons--both black and white--have been willing to risk their lives, and sometimes to lose their lives, in carrying forward this assault upon the barriers of legalized discrimination.

We can look with pride upon the dignity and compassion-yes, even the love--which has characterized the efforts of
these courageous Americans.

Their actions have demonstrated that freedom still lives on these shores. They have shown us that the quest for freedom is the strongest and most compelling force in the world.

with the series of Supreme Court decisions culminating in the historic <u>Brown v. Board of Education</u> case is 1954—and with the series of Congressional actions leading to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—the initial phase of the civil rights struggle is now drawing to a close.

Much remains to be done until these decisions of our government are fully implemented. But the fact these decisions were taken demonstrates in compelling fashion the intention of the American people to banish legalized inequality and discrimination forever.

In recent years we have also witnessed what your executive director, Whitney M. Young, Jr., has termed the quiet revolution—a revolution stemming from the encouraging increase of Negro enrollment in college and professional schools...from the rising level of income among Negroes... from the availability of more challenging and responsible job opportunities...and from the declining rate of school dropouts among Negroes as compared to the population in general.

Everyday we encounter fresh evidence that Negro Americans are succeeding despite the handicaps of prejudice..of closed doors...of limited or non-existent educational opportunities... and of the deep psychological wound of being a Negro in a period where this usually implied second-class citizenship and the back-of-the-bus.

There are, then, definite signs that our country will meet the challenge of providing every American with the chance to

pursue his individual destiny in a climate of dignity and freedom.

Yet, as President Johnson pointed out in his historic address at Howard University: "...for the great majority of Negro Americans--the poor, the unemployed, the uprooted, and the dispossessed--there is a much grimmer story...for them the walls are rising and the gulf is widening."

We are, in fact, in danger of creating two separate and distinct Negro Americas. One America, comprised of a minority of Negroes entering the middle class, has been the beneficiary of the very real progress we see about us. The other America, inhabited largely by the residents of our urban ghettoes and rural slums, has been increasingly isolated from this progress—

In his Howard University address, President Johnson set forth the tragic dimensions of this American failure—this broadening of the gap between the vibrant promise of America and its hollow fulfillment:

-- Today the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice as high as among whites--35 years ago it was about equal;

--Today the unemployment rate for Negro teen-age boys is 23 percent as against 13 percent for whites unemployed---in 1948 it was actually lower for Negro youth;

-- Today the median income of Negro families compared to whites is lower than it was a decade ago;

-- Today infant mortality of nonwhites is 90 percent greater than whites--in 1940 it was 70 percent;

--Today the number of white families living in poverty has decreased 27 percent since 1947--the number of poor nonwhite families has dropped only 3 percent.

The time has come to face these facts honestly. The time has come to appreciate how we have largely failed to make equal opportunity meaningful in people's lives as well in the nation's laws. The time has come to recognize that although our laws are

more just than ever before, justice is a distant and unrealized promise for many

As we enter this new phase of the Negro's struggle--the phase dedicated to securing economic and social justice--two general problems must be isolated and confronted--problems of substance and problems of spirit.

We know that the problems of substance are complex and intertwined. One cannot identify a single aspect of the Negro's life and try to deal with it alone. One cannot emphasize just the need for more jobs, or better housing, or improved education.

More jobs cannot come without better education—better education awaits stable families and neighborhoods—stable families and neighborhoods require better housing and health facilities—and better housing and health facilities call for better jobs.

Where do you begin to arrest this downward spiral of secondrate education, functional illiteracy, delinquency, dependence and despair? We can only
begin by attacking all these social and economic
ills simultaneously.

We must also come to grips with the problem of spirit

which plagues the Negro. We must understand that generations

of prejudice, deprivation, disease, and subservience among

Annual Negroes has sown the seeds of profound despair, apathy,

indifference and distrust.

What can we expect when hope is resolutely crushed from the young--when there are no jobs even for the educated--and no homes in good neighborhoods even for the hardworking?

What can person's daily regimen is a combination of humiliation, insult and embarrassment?

Is it surprising that authorities on human rights emphasize

the need to replace the burdens of unimportance and inferiority

among Negoccas with the qualities of self-respect and self-confidence?

The origins of this crisis of the spirit lie in old brutalities. Its impact is the result of past injustice.

And its virulence is sustained by present prejudices.

So progress towards full citizenship will come not only with liberation from discrimination in housing, education, and jobs, but also with liberation of the spirit.

Liberation of the spirit involves the exercise of man's uniquely human capacities: the potentiality for creativity and the opportunity to pursue excellence. These are the qualities which produce not only a climate of equal rights, but one of equal respect, as well.

We make no pretence at knowing precisely what must be done to combat this dual challenge of substance and spirit.

We do know, however, that the full resources of the federal government are committed to this complex task.

And we know that cooperation must be the keynote--cooperation between public and private, between national, state and local,

between all concerned parties. Only such a malti-faceted assault--exhibiting a sense of commitment and imagination heretofore unknown--will be capable of altering this pattern of economic and social disintegration.

In no area is there greater opportunity for constructive, cooperative relations than President Johnson's war-on-poverty.

We are committed to mobilizing the resources of a nation the to lift 35 million Americans out of/stifling atmosphere of poverty into the fresh, invigorating air of self-sufficiency. This is a task worthy of a free and compassions to people.

And while the federal government is prepared to carry much of the burden, we know that victory ultimately depends upon our receiving the enthusiastic support of such non-governmental groups as the National Urban League.

Your assistance is crucial in many ways.

We need your help in reaching the poor and demonstrating

a Www lift Colollist.

to them that opportunity for training and advention does exist.

We need your help in developing neighborhood organizations and block councils—those units so vital in the struggle for self-sufficiency and self-respect.

We need your help in developing anti-poverty approaches and techniques which have direct impact on the lives of people.

We need your help in finding meaningful jobs for those
who participate in training and educational programs—and in
expanding housing facilities and other allied community services.

And we need your help in developing leadership to carry forward the war-on-poverty--to plan and administer community action programs--Head Start projects, Job Corps centers and the like--and to develop constructive accommendations for improving the operation of the anti-poverty program.

Indeed, we encourage constructive criticism. We intend
to discard programs that don't work. We will expand those
that do. And we are depending upon you to assist us in reaching
these decisions.

The problems of substance and spirit require all the compassion, commitment, and ingenuity we can muster.

Our labors must be recorded not in the headlines of the daily press but in the minds and hearts of those who seldom read newspapers at all.

Our progress must be measured not in number of programs funded or dollars allocated, but in the improvedent in the lives of those afflicted by poverty and prejudice.

And, in the end, our goal must be to help the inhabitants of the other Negro America--the land left in the backwash of recent progress--to step forward confidently into this new, vibrant era of opportunity and freedom.

February 19, 1965

Memorandum to the Vice President
From Bob Jensen

Here are some ideas on subjects you might want to bring up before the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Monday:

The American Labor movement has a true friend in the White House who will fight for the same goals sought by every member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The American Labor movement also has a Congress that is friendly. For the first time in many years we have assituation in Washington where the conservative coalition is not strong enough to halt progress. After the 1958 Congressional elections we had a progressive Congress, but we were faced with a President who would and did veto our best efforts and the legislation we did enact had to be tailored to meet the objections of a Republican Administration. Now we have a President and a Congress who are eager to move forward with progressive legislation.

We have a President and a Congress that wants to enact one of labor's longtime goals--medical and hospital care for the aged under Social Security. The political pundits among the press corps are writing that this measure is as good as law right now. But things aren't always that easy. The American

Medical Association hasn't given up and you'll notice that their propaganda campaign for Elder Care-their belated substitute for Medicare-is already under way with big advertisements in the newspapers and on radio and television. We can look for a large letter-writing campaign in the days ahead and labor should be prepared to counter this with a letter-writing campaign of its own.

We have a President and a Congress that wants to repeal
Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley law. But let's now fool ourselves
on this. This is not going to be easy. The forces that put
over the Landrum-Griffin bill are still strong in this Congress.
And you'll notice that Representative Robert Griffin of Michigan
has tipped the strategy of those who "claim" they are friends
of labor. He says he's all for repealing 14B...but. And he
insists on adding quite a few strings--strings that can be
used to strangle American labor.

These are just two of the progressive legislative matters of major interest to American labor. There are others.

President Johnson's historic proposals to make education the Number One business of America. We will need labor's help to enact his program. A

And there is the President's War on Poverty. American labor needs no encouragement to enlist in this battle. It has been in the forefront of this struggle.

There is a general feeling in Washington that all of these goals are going to be reached easily. They never are. They require work. They require constant effort.

The overwhelming Democratic majorities have blinded many people to the realities of politics on Capitol Hill. It's true that we have 68 Democratic Senators—one more than the constitutional two-thirds. And we have 294 Democrats in the House—four more than the constitutional two-thirds.

But this can be misleading. These large majorities can lead to apathy. Many a Member of Congress could tend to say-heck, they don't need me, they have enough votes. And so he stays away from the floor when there's a crucial vote on some key amendment.

The late Speaker Rayburn used to warn about the danger of being lulled by these large majorities. He ought to know. He was a floor leader when we Democrats had overwhelming majorities in the late 1930s and saw the Administration receive setback after setback because of apathy or a lessening of individual responsibility.

This is where the American Labor movement can be of great help to the Administration and the cause of progressive legislation. It's not enough to be satisfied with a "correct" vote by some Member. We've got to insist that these members be there when the chips are down. We've got to pay more attention to the little details of the legislative process.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
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WASHINGTON note the Editorial on 1600 Jederalin - Good this is a topic Durish to duelop for a major Speech - Die been tauchy on it in Secural greeks Citing the Gample of Cooperation in space offert Gout-Industry-survey Currenty - John - all Pulling to gether H

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.. R SATURDAY,

The President's Model City

Once again President Johnson has broken every precedent to demonstrate his concern for the people of the Capital, and particularly for its children. The District's annual budget was severely damaged by the House Appropriations Subcommittee, the school funds having been very substantially reduced. The House endorsed its Subcommittee's work with the usual shrug. It is, unfortunately, characteristic that the House should cut back the money for District schools on a Tuesday and then on the following Friday pass a bill providing heavy new Federal aid to schools throughout the country.

The point was not lost on the President. He wrote a brisk and purposeful letter to Senator Byrd of West Virginia, the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for the District, asking him to restore the money for the counselors, the libraries, the books, the new buildings, and above all the Shaw School. The original site bought for the Shaw School was used to build the Kennedy Playground, an inestimable asset to this city; the House Subcommittee is now attempting to block the new site, and destroy the playground, because it was not sufficiently consulted, and its vanity was not sufficiently massaged in the change of plans.

"It seems to me plain," the President wrote to Senator Byrd, "that education—good education, in adequate buildings, and with adequate supporting facilities such as libraries—is basic to all the other programs that are being undertaken to improve the city, including the reduction of its rate of crime." The argument is unanswerable.

Senator Byrd's subcommittee will undoubtedly restore much of the original school budget. But the real danger lies in the conference to reconcile the House and Senate versions of the budget.

In the past two years a clear pattern of cynical bargaining has emerged. Each year the House puts into the budget the public welfare reforms that are anathema to Senator Byrd. Senator Byrd retaliates by putting into the budget the educational improvements that the House took out, and adds more for good measure. Then the men from the House and the men from the Senate confer in a closed room. The budget emerges with the welfare reforms thrown out, to placate the Senator, and most of the educational improvements thrown out, to please the House. The result is called a compromise.

President Johnson has asked Congress to make Washington a model for all American cities and, as he accurately perceives, good schools are the foundation upon which every other kind of progress must be built. He has made the quality of the schools his own cause, in this city as well as throughout the Nation. He has earned his neighbors' great gratitude, for experience has taught the city that it can build model schools only through the direct and persistent intervention of the President himself.

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The lesson of Selma is a challenge to all America to get out front and pull." A distinguished Southerner, Gov. LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, said these words last night at the 17th annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, a meeting attended by representatives of national agencies concerned with the championship of civil rights and civil liberties.

The mechanism envisioned by Governor Collins for getting out front and pulling is "a new Federalism"—a concert of effort by education, industry and government, "a partnership of the totality of America." Negroes, he said, are not going to be satisfied with the right to vote. They are not going to be satisfied with equal accommodations assured by law. They are going to be satisfied only by full integration into the promise of American life, full opportunity. And that, of course, is their birthright as it is the birthright of all Americans.

"Poverty, lack of education, disease, unemployment, inadequate housing—these are all fundamental ingredients of discrimination, the cement which holds together the walls of segregation," Governor Collins said. "And these walls of segregation, in turn, result in still greater poverty, still weaker education and so on through the vicious cycle."

Governor Collins appealed to the libertarians assembled at the Clearing House conference to insist in their own localities upon firm observance of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act—that part of the Act which prohibits any use of Federal funds for racial discrimination. And he urged eloquently a concerted effort by individuals, civic associations, professions, labor unions, businesses and churches to make equality of opportunity real. That is a new Federalism which can give America a new birth of freedom.

Guiana Again

Any comment on British Guiana should begin with an acknowledgement of indebtness to the British. This small and impoverished colony on the shoulder of South America has been a headache to the British government. In terms of strictly British interest, London would have been content long ago to grant Guiana independence and end a drain on precious sterling.

But the British have not taken this view. They have heeded American concern about an independent Guiana led by the singularly wooly leftist, Cheddi Jagan, and his fiery wife, Janet. Elections were held last December under changed rules that gave a better break to Jagan's chief opponent, Forbes Burnham. Jagan lost and ever since has been boycotting the legislature. Now Burnham is in charge and the threat of a pro-Communist regime has lessened. Lessened, but not disappeared.

Politics in Guiana tends to divide on racial grounds. Burnham is supported by Negroes, who are concentrated in the cities; Jagan is backed by East Indians, who predominate in the countryside. If British Guiana became independent tomorrow, strife would be likely. Two British batallions have been necessary to keep the peace.

Still, a hard-pressed Britain cannot be expected forever to sustain a commitment that chiefly serves United States interests. The British government is considering calling a constitutional conference to be held later this year. This would be the first

phase of the did indeed app But it was kille Committee preconstitutional actionary Senate

Now House N urged Governor creating a comm leading to a cons suggestion is exca monument to l citizens of the s putting it to wor islature will havention and the Governor could so provide a rallyin he waits for the struggle along in another two decades

First U.N.

Nothing appears delay in ratification the United Nations eral Assembly 15 1 Administration hopover U.N. finances before asking Congno resolution of that he Senate will have before Sept. 1 if it of the General Asse

A strong case can both the proposed of the membership of to 15 and require 9 of the present 7) for matters. In addition to require the approfive. The second am Economic and Social members.

Both changes are demore representation of have come into the membership has more founded in 1945 with made in the Charter. be between a reasonable two important U.N. but of the agreement und seats have been geograpast.

The Soviet Union a already ratified the am cated an intention to be most unfortunate in a position of dragg. The precedent of mod light of changed condi More significant change and the United States tion to sponsor them if ations of special intecountries.

It is good news, the tration plans to send to the Senate for its ap Senate should promptly cal situation that exists excuse to kick it while i May 27, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: The Vice President

From: John Stewart

Morris Ernst has written one of his "tid-bit" letters wherein he deplores the situation where the government is challenged to debate sensitive public issues. He notes that the Constitutional Convention was conducted in secret and the debates were only made public after the death of Jefferson and Adams. Attached is a copy of the memorandum he prepared relating to the rules of secrecy at the Constitutional Convention. I guess Ernst figures that if it was good enough for the founding fathers, it should be good enough for our academic brethren.

THE RULES OF SECRECY IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787

From the very beginnings of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, it became apparent that the delegates desired to have their deliberations remain secret.

On Monday, May 28, :. 787, Mr. George Wythe, a delegate from Virginia and Professor of Law at the University of William and Mary, read the proposed Rules of the Convention which his Committee (which consisted of Mr. Wythe, Alexander Hamilton and Mr. C. Pinckney) had prepared. Only two objections were voiced, the first by Mr. Rufus King, a 33-year-old delegate from Massachusetts with a background of three terms in Congress. Mr. King objected to the rule providing for recording of the "yeas and nays" in the minutes on the dual grounds that it was unnecessary, since acts of the Convention were not binding upon the constituents, and improper, in that reversals, of opinion would render the minutes full of contradictions (1). The objection was seconded by Col. Mason on the ground "that such a record of the opinions of members would be an obstacle to a change of them on conviction," and that the final resolutions would be made vulnerable to attacks by its adversaries through reference to the internal conflicts and fluctuations of opinion accompanying its passage(2). This objection was sustained by unanimous approval of the Convention, and it will be noted that throughout the Convention the only voting record maintained was by way of state delegations and not individual delegates.

A second motion regarding secrecy was advanced by the well-known delegate from South Carolina, Mr. Pierce Butler(3). Mr. Butler's idea was to provide for a rule "...against interruption of business by absence of members, and against licentious publications of their proceedings(4)..." This motion was referred to Mr. Wythe's Committee on the rules for consideration and report.

Three pertinent rules were proposed and promulgated by the Convention on the next day, Tuesday, May 29th. The text of these rules is as follows:

"That no copy be taken of any entry on the journal during the sitting of the House without leave of the House.

⁽¹⁾ Gaillard Hunt, The Writings of James Madison, Vol. 3, p. 6

^{(2) &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., at p. 7 (3) <u>Ibid</u>., Note 1, at p. 12 (4) <u>Ibid</u>., at pp. 12-13

"That members only be permitted to inspect the journal.

"That nothing (poken in the House be printed, or otherwise published or communicated without leave (5)."

Some contemporary thoughts about the secrecy rule are expressed in correspondence and anecdotes.

on June 1, 1787, says:

"All communications of the proceedings are forbidden during the sitting of the Convention; this I think was a necessary precaution to prevent misrepresentations or mistakes; there being a material difference between the appearance of a subject in its first crude and undigested shape, and after it shall have been properly matured and arranged (6)."

A further comment on the secrecy rule was made by Mr. Nathaniel Dane in a letter to Rufus King, dated June 19, 1787:

"I fully agree to the propriety of the Convention order restraining its members from communicating its doings, tho' I feel a strong desire and curiosity to know how it proceeds. I think the public never ought to see anything but the final report of the Convention - the digested result only, of their deliberations and enquiries (?)."

Mr. Dane goes on to imply that the injunction upon communication was not observed by all:

"A few reflections on the subject lead me to doubt whether one of your members, Mr. P. [Note 2 suggests that the guilty party was Mr. William Pierce of Georgia], who two or three days since came to this city, fully understood the true meaning, full and just extent of the order not to communicate &c(8)."

7) Ibid., at p. 49

8) Id.

⁽⁵⁾ Ibid., at p. 14
(6) Max Farrand, The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, Vol. 3, p. 33 (Yale University Press, 1937)

Moreover, Thomas Jefferson, in a letter from Paris to John Adams, dated August 30, 1787, voices his disapproval of the secrecy rule:

"I am sorry they [the delegates] began their deliberations by so abominable a precedent as that of tying up the tongues of their members. nothing [sic] can justify this example but the innocence of their intentions, and ignorance of the value of public discussions (9)."

Finally, an anecdote demonstrates the value placed upon the maintenance of secrecy by the delegates. Mr. William Pierce tells of the day when the delegates were given copies of resolutions and admonished to keep them secret. It appears that one of the delegates dropped his copy on the floor of the meeting hall, but it was found and delivered to General Washington, who delivered the following statement:

"Gentlemen:

I am sorry to find that some one Member of this Body, has been so neglectful of the secrets of the Convention as to drop in the State House a copy of their proceedings which by accident was picked up and delivered to me this Morning. I must entreat Gentlemen to be more careful, lest our transactions get into the News Papers, and disturb the public repose by premature speculations. I know not whose Paper it is but there it is (throwing it down on the table), let him who owns it take it."

Mr. Pierce continues his narrative.

"At the same time he bowed, picked up his Hat, and quitted the room with a dignity so severe that every Person seemed alarmed; for my part I was extremely so, for putting my hand in my pocket I missed my copy of the same Paper, but advancing up to the Table my fears soon dissipated; I found it to be the hand writing of Another Person. When I went to my lodgings at the Indian Queen, I found my copy in a coat pocket which I had pulled off that Morning. It is something remarkable that no Person ever owned that Paper."

⁽⁹⁾ Ibid., at p. 76

JS/ep/speech material

August 31, 1965

Dear Dan:

Thanks for sending along to me Al Capp's two pieces on "teach-ins." You might be interested in scanning a recent speech which the Vice President delivered before the National Students Association, where he gets into some of the same general areas although the tone is much more serious than Al's.

Hope you will be stopping in some time soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart Assistant to the Vice President

Mr. Dan R. Wright 1111 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20036

D. R. Wright

1111 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036

August 26, 1965

Dear John,

Al Capp respectfully suggests that the Vice President do an entertaining speech or two on "teach-ins." He thinks that he could be especially effective in the posture of a tolerant and witty mentor to the youngsters. I think he's right, and that HHH might just be able to kid them out of business.

Al sent me two pieces that he did for NBC Monitor which relate to the topic. I don't think their tone is anything like the kind you would want to establish. He's too quarrelsome. Still, they may give you some ideas.

I've promised a number of times to come around and see you, and sometime soon I really will.

Sincerely,

Mr. John Stewart Senate Office Building Washington, D.C.

"TEACH-INS" - 1.

"Teach-ins" are the "in" thing now with our young non-conformists.

A young non-conformist, you know, is a college student who rigidly opposes everything his government does. Any young non-conformist who APPROVES of anything his government does is despised by his fellow-young non-conformists for refusing to conform.

Yes, "Teach-ins" are in and "Sit-ins" are out. "Sit-ins", you know, were the way our thinking young had of protesting any Mayor's denial of ordinary human rights - they exercised their ordinary human right to sit in His Honor's corridor - backs against the wall - legs out - denying HIM the right to get to his office - or out of it to the men's room. Then "Sit-downs" came in - and they WERE fun - hundreds of young thinkers from all over the country poured into Washington, and sat down in the streets. That made it impossible for any traffic to move without squashing them, although it was quite a temptation for some of Washington's thinking adult drivers.

But that stuff, amusing as it was, is out now, and the "IN" thing is the "Teach-in." These are generally organized by young Americans to whom America has been so good that they can afford to live, love

MONITOR

"TEACH-INS" - 2.

and riot at good colleges, on good allowances sent monthly by fathers, and protected by other young Americans in uniform who don't have it so good.

These young non-conformists. America's first moneyed leisure class, crowd into lecture halls all day and sometimes all through the night, to listen to their favorite non-conformist professors teach them that it is undemocratic of their country to send Marines any place in the world that's threatened with a Communist take-over, followed inevitably, by the building of Communist missile bases, unless we're invited.

The tone of the young non-conformist audiences at these "Teach-ins" is growing angrier and angrier because the government has still stupidly refused to take their advice - and be good sports about letting Communists take over any island or rice paddy where any bunch of brainwashed barbarians or their bribed bosses have let 'em in, and build their missile bases.

But maybe that's WHY our young non-conformists are still alive to non-conform.



MOST DANGEROUS DUTY - 1.

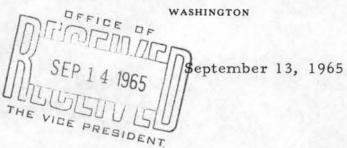
Every poet, professor and professional teen-age protestor who rages and riots against our foreign policy knows darn well why we move into any rice paddy that decides to change its form of government. We simply can't afford to let anyone choose their own form of government any more - not if it might be hostile to us and is within missile range. The same protestors who are furious that Castro was permitted to establish a Communist government in Cuba, are furious with the President for sending the Marines when some popular bum with the backing of the popular vote sets himself up as the President of some other mid-ocean ant hill some of them just barely big enough for a Presidential Palace and a Communist missile base. We see and hear the poets, professors and professional teen-age protestors denouncing American interference with the freedom of others in teach-ins, sit-downs, in public refusals to dine with the President, even though it's perfectly clear that the freedom our little sun-tanned neighbors are after is to freely invite their new pals - the Russians and the Cinese - in and to bring their new little gadgets.

MOST DANGEROUS DUTY - 2.

The protestors demand to know what right we have to interfere, knowing darn well the President can't level and tell it to 'em straight; namely, that we can't preserve our freedom in the atomic age, if we give these punks the freedom to set up bases that could destory us. The accepted diplomatic theory is that if we told the truth, it would hurt our image with the rest of the world.

And so, one of the biggest jobs the President and the State Department must do, is to decide on reasons for sending Marines on their way on invasions. Although a lot of new reasons have been suggested for interfering with somebody else's revolution, we generally fall back on the old tried and true one - protecting American civilians. The problem is that American civilians are sensible enough to high-tail it out of the place as soon as the revolution starts. And so tha first boat that lands on a place we've decided to invade to protect American civilians - has an American civilian on it, whose duty it is to stay there and be protected. This is very dangerous duty, and there are no GI benefits, and mighty few guys volunteer.

Stewart the me we want? But COMMISSION ON WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS



Dear Mr. Vice President:

This is to confirm the fact that Edwin B. Firmage will be the White House Fellow assigned to your office during the coming year. He will report on duty on October 4 ready to tackle any tasks you might assign him.

Please let me know if I can be of any service.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas W. Carr

Director

The Vice President United States Senate Washington, D. C.



SEPTEMBER 20, 1965

TO: BILL CONNELL

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC. JOHN STEWART

Please note memorandum of Stewart to you of September 16. Tell Shriver to set the date for the meeting when I can be there. I am the Chairman of this body, and I'll call the meeting on my own terms. This is nonsense and insubordination.

authorit



September 16, 1965

Memo to Herb Beckington From John Stewart

Could you advise Mr. Davidson as to how he might proceed to investigate his proposal, as outlined in the attached letter. All we have to do is get him in touch with the proper people.



September 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Davidson:

Thank you for your interesting letter. I am asking my staff to look into the proposal to bring the Children's Theatre to our dependents overseas. When I have a report from the Department of Defense, I will be in touch with you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. John B. Davidson Managing Director Children's Theatre Company 201 East 24th Street Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404

John B. Davidson, managing director John C. Donahue, artistic director



CHILDREN'S THEATRE COMPANY

of The Minneapolis Institute of Arts

September 9, 1965



The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey Vice President of the United States The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

For the past four years we have been operating a Children's Theatre in Minneapolis under the name of "The Moppet Players". During this formative period we have developed, in my opinion, a unique approach to the presentation of dramatic literature for children.

Beginning this year we have become affiliated with the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and hope that this affiliation will enable us to produce even better theatre.

As the <u>Rockefeller Report on the Performing Arts</u> points out, there is no more worthy an endeavor than that of developing an artistic appreciation in children. Our new organization, The Children's Theatre Company, exists solely for the purpose of presenting the highest quality theatre for children.

During the four years of our existence we have helped a number of young people to develop artistic skills in the theatre; skills which merit exposure to other children who might be encouraged to pursue their own artistic visions.

To this end I am proposing a tour of our theatre company to our overseas armed forces bases, a tour specifically designed to bring children's theatre to the young dependents of our men in uniform. Our company of actors, children and adults, plus a complete production staff, will be available on June 15, 1966.

I would greatly appreciate your support in this matter, and would welcome any suggestions you might have on how to best promote this program.

Sincerely,

John B. Davidson Managing Director

JBD/sb

MEMORANDUM

OCTOBER 5, 1965

TO: JOHN STEWART

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT CC: BILL CONNELL

I call to your attention your memorandum of September 17 to Bill. What I believe we ought to do is to propose the establishment of a President's Committee on Youth Opportunity. This could include youth employment, back to school, and other matters relating to young people. Such a committee would replace all other committees presently in existence. You might want to give this some thought and draw up an appropriate memorandum which we could present to the President. See me on this.

Also, see me about the article for the SOCIAL SCIENCE journal. We must do this soon.

Johnst

September 17, 1965

Memo to Bill Connell

cc: The Vice President

From John Stewart

Concerning the Vice President's memo on the fact that the electorate soon will be dominated by persons under 25 years of age, it strikes me that we should be thinking about how we could continue on an established and full time basis the Youth Opportunity-Back to School type campaigns which the Vice President has been leading this summer and fall.

We have done fairly well using a variety of persons on a part-time basis, and, under the circumstances, perhaps that is the best way to do it right now. But I believe there will come a time when it will make sense to everyone to see the long-term advantages to this program and the need for some full-time year-round staffing. I'm not quite sure where this leads us except to note that there is at present a defunct President's Committee on You'h Employment, chaired by Willard Wirtz, with James Conant as Vice Chairman. Whether this should be revived to be chaired by the Vice President or whether something else could be proposed, I do not know. But this is just a suggestion to keep in the back of your mind.

Memorandum to the Vice President

From John Stewart

Concerning your note to me on the possibility of publishing certain short articles in the SOCIAL SCIENCE journal, I believe we can find journals with much wider circulation and somewhat better professional reputation. Even though you may know the editor personally, it strikes me that we should look into the matter more carefully before sending him any materials.

This is just a snap reaction and I could be wrong, but that's the way it looks to me at present.

MEMO

TO:

BILL CONNELL

FROM:

JOHN STEWART

We have been asked to write a letter from the

Vice President to KABC-TV in Los Angeles for their

annual brochure outlining their various public

service activities. I have dictated the attached

letter which, if you think appropriate, can be

forwarded on as noted. I received the request from

Frank Maguire in the Office of Economic Opportunity

with whom we have worked on our School Drop-out Program.

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the VP should shot such
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November 11, 1965

Dear Mr. Rule:

Let me congratulate you and the staff of KABC-TV for your continuing interest in bringing to the Los Angeles community a broad range of public service programming. We all surely realize that in a democracy it is of the utmost importance that our citizenry be kept well informed on current issues. For this reason the efforts of our communications industry are so important to the preservation of our free, democratic institutions.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. Elton H. Rule Vice President and General Manager, KABC-TV 4151 Prospect Avenue Hollywood, California 90027

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO

Mr. John Stewart

Office of the Vice President

DATE: November 4, 1965

FROM :

F. X. Maguire

SUBJECT:

Request from ABC

I hate to impose on your busy schedule, John, but the attached letter carries with it a message which indicates some of the help ABC has done for us at no cost.

As a former employee of the American Broadcasting Company, I can assure you that public service programming is as important as is indicated in Jack's letter.

Would it be possible for the Vice President to fill this request?

Please excuse the coffee stains. As you can see, we had an accident.

Enc.

FXM:mjh



THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

November 11, 1965

Dear Mr. Rule:

Let me congratulate you and the staff of KABC-TV for your continuing interest in bringing to the Los Angeles community a broad range of public service programming. We all surely realize that in a democracy it is of the utmost importance that our citizenry be kept well informed on current issues. For this reason the efforts of our communications industry are so important to the preservation of our free, democratic institutions.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. Elton H. Rule Vice President and General Manager, KABC-TV 4151 Prospect Avenue Hollywood, California 90027

CANDEUB, FLEISSIG, ADLEY & ASSOCIATES Planning & Community Development Consultants



December 13, 1965

Mr. John G. Stewart Office of the Vice President Senate Office Building Washington, D.C.

Dear John:

I was at the Action conference last week during which the Vice President spoke at lunch on Thursday. The prepared statement was excellent but the comments which he added as he went along made it one of the best speeches that I have heard in many a year.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Morris B. Fleissig

MBF:hb

December 6, 1965

Memo for the Vice President From the Vice President

George Tames of New York Times has a group that wants to have a dinner. I am to call him. Home: EM 3-1720, office: NA 8-3016.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ROLLTING SLIP

ACTION
APPROVAL
CONCURRENCE
FILE
INFORMATION
INVESTIGATE AND ADVISE
NOTE AND FORWARD
NOTE AND RETURN
PER REQUEST
RECOMMENDATION
SEE ME
SIGNATURE
REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF:

REMARKS

Please call me on this

FROM:	NAME	DATE	_

December 6, 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR:

SARGENT SHRIVER BERNARD BOUTLE

FROM:

Hyman Bookbinder

SUBJECT:

Joint Meeting of Advisory Councils - 1/7/65

As per our telephone conversation, I have now set in motion the plans for a joint meeting of the National Advisory Council, the Business Leadership Advisory Council, and the Labor Advisory Council.

- Telegrams went out in the Director's name asking members to block out the full day Friday, January 7. A further mailing, with more details, should go out about December 14 or 15. (Telegram attached.)
- The early morning of January 7 has been blocked out on the Vice President's schedule, so that he can participate for at least a while.
- 3. I have been planning to produce a simple monthly newsletter for the information of the members of these 3 Councils, one that would contain major program developments, policy statements, etc. The first issue now will be timed for distribution at this meeting.
- 4. I will be meeting with Kershaw, Kramer, Kelly and Carter to develop the specific agendas. As I indicated on the phone, the morning meeting will be a joint one and will be devoted to a general report on last year's program and as much as can be revealed about next year's plans -- with plenty of time for general discussion. After a buffet lunch in the office, the three groups will hold their individual meetings, taking up items which have special significance for each.

I'd like your thoughts on the following:

- Should we invite members of the E.O.C. to be part of the reporting session at the morning session -- especially Wirtz, Gardner, and Freeman?
- Should we seek some kind of White House involvement -- like a 4 P.M. tea or brief meeting with the President?
- 3. Should we invite OEO Regional Directors?
- 4. Should we try to complete action on the new members of the National Advisory Council prior to this meeting? (See separate memo from me on this.) It would be good, but I don't think it's crucial.

Attachment

cc: Mr. Carter

Mr. Kelly

Mr. Kershaw

Mr. Kramer

NIGHT LETTER (TELEGRAM) TO ALL MEMBERS OF:

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

BUSINESS LEADERSHIP ADVISORY COUNCIL

LABOR ADVISORY COUNCIL

HOPE YOU WILL SET ASIDE FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, FOR SPECIAL
JOINT MEETING IN WASHINGTON OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL,
BUSINESS LEADERSHIP ADVISORY COUNCIL AND LABOR ADVISORY
COUNCIL OF OEO. VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY WILL BE PRESENT
FOR THIS MOST IMPORTANT JOINT SESSION. DETAILS WILL FOLLOW
SHORTLY, BUT IN MEANWHILE HOPE YOU WILL RESERVE THIS
DATE.

JS/ep/SPC-Ransom January 24, 1966 Dear Mr. Ransom: I am enclosing the full text of my remarks to the National Students Association, and have marked the passage which you noted in your letter to me. My point was only this: The right of dissent is fundamental to our way of life. But when people say foolish or irresponsible things, they do not achieve automatically the level of serious discussion simply by speaking out. It depends entirely on what they are saying. I am also enclosing certain other statements I have made recently on this subject. I hope they will become to your liking. I make it a practice to reply to all of my correspondents. Best wishes. Sincerely, Hubert H. Humphrey Mr. Eugene A. Ransom Director, Wesley Foundation University of Michigan 602 E. Muron Street Ann Arbor, Michigan

Wesley Foundation at the University of Michigan 602 E. Huron Street Ann Arbor, Michigan January 18, 1966 Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey Washington, D. C. Dear Vice-President Humphrey: It was reported in an article in the Christian Century magazine of January 19, 1966 that you made this pronouncement to the effect "that the right of dissent is inherent in the American way of life but that thetright does not include the right to be taken seriously." Please write and tell me that you did not say this. As a campus minister for twenty years I have found that the liberal student has looked upon you as a champion of civil rights and the right to dissent. You should know that the current student generally (who can vote, by the way) is terribly dissappointed in your recent stands and pronouncements. Being a political realist, I can understand that, as Vice-President, you must go along

with President Johnson and the war in Viet Nam but, in the name of heaven, you do not have to make statements that are opposed to the democratic way of life.

Before you lose all of the support of the younger generation and the liberal movement in America, please make some statements like you used to make when you were a champion of liberalism in the office of the Senate.

I hope you will reply to this letter.

Most sincerely yours.

Eugene a. Ranson

Eugene A. Ransom. Director

EAR/ats

Mtc

January 26, 1966

MEMORANDUM TO HYMAN BOOKBINDER cc: Dave F., Peter Libassi

FROM JOHN S.

SUBJECT: Meeting with Dr. Hammond of the National Research Council

I talked recently with Dr. Peter Hammond, the new Director of the Division of Behavioral Sciences of the National Research Council, an arm of the National Academy of Sciences. Dr. Hammond is interested in making the resources of the Wational Research Council available to federal agencies struggling with the complex problems of human relations. These resources include the outstanding scholars and researchers in the area of behavioral sciences and some substantial research funds. I suggested to Dr. Hammond that the four of us meet with him sometime within the next few weeks to informally talk about this possibility, and to see what might be an appropriate way to proceed if you believe there are any substantial reasons for doing so. What are your reactions to such a meeting? Would you like me to try to set one up?

THE COUNCILOR SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA February 1, 1966

JOHNSON VS. LINCOLN

WASHINGTON -- Lyndon Johnson recently demanded:

"Nothing less than full assimilation of 21 million Negroes in American life."

Abraham Lincoln declared:
"I can conceive of no greater calamity than the assimilation of the Negro into our social and political life."

Cleveland 04113 1 p. 28, 1966

Vice Pres. of the United States
Dear Sir

This next Rent. Subsidy
bill, now henable the Negro to
move into an all white neighborhood. what happenes if this
negro is one trained to
hate the white man by the
late monger Leroi Jones. And
he gets 440,000 to do the job. Just
how are you going to bring
obout essimilation with so much
hate in the air?



R. F. Hicker 2113 W6 th Pl. 6

LIFE LINE

RADIO PROGRAM

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1. GNP AND INFLATION

NUMBER: 48 (2. SUBSIDIZING "HATE" AND "VIOLENCE"

Feb. 17, 1966

High Spots Opposite Asterisks

OPEN: This is LIFE LINE, Melvin Munn from Washington.

The Tax Foundation, an organization which makes a continuing study of governmental spending and taxation, reports that the federal government spending this fiscal year (the fiscal year being from July of 1965 to July of this year) will average \$2,640 per unit for every American family in the United States.

But it will take in an average of only \$2500 for each family. This means that the government will create additional debt at the rate of \$140 for every family in the country.

* Ask the average American what he thinks of this, and chances are that all too many will shrug and say, "I've never had it so good." But ask those same Americans what they think of going to a department store and running up an equivalent debt which their children and grandchildren will have to pay, with interest. They would reject the proposal as being dishonorable. They would be right. But why do so many regard our government's financial practices as being any different?

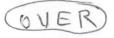
Many people have difficulty managing their personal budgets. Certainly there is hardly any way to simplify such a complex subject as the federal budget, to say nothing of the spending habits of our federal government over the past 30 years. But

there is a general rule that every citizen understands, and it is that when the government spends more money than it takes in, the value of the dollar diminishes. Our money buys less—or, to turn it around, everything we buy costs more!

Today we hear a great deal about Gross National Product. In an attempt to explain away inflation, some economists, and too many politicians, toss the term around quite liberally. But the GNP, we submit, is of no aid and comfort to the housewife when she goes to the grocery store.

Earlier we mentioned a Tax Foundation report. Based on its study, it concluded that the government will go in additional debt in the amount of \$140 for every family in the country during the present fiscal year.

* Next year, it is estimated that the deficit will average out about \$250 for each family! That is the direction in which we are headed. In order better to understand government spending, let us briefly examine where we have been. At the moment the federal government owes, and is paying interest on, a debt in excess of \$320 billion. This is costing the taxpayers more than \$12 billion a year in interest alone. When was the last time the federal government made any effort to



reduce its debt? The emphasis has been on spending and borrowing more and more.

For emphasis, let us repeat: When the government spends more than it takes in, the value of the dollar goes down. The dollar has been reduced in value 63 per cent since 1933, and 43 per cent since 1945. This has occurred simply because the federal government has been steadily spending more money than it has been taking in.

Government by credit card is an old story. Every country that has practiced it has ended up in financial chaos. Germany provides a graphic example. At the end of 1923, the purchasing power of the German paper mark fell to less than one-trillionth of its value ten years before, in 1913. Prices in Germany rose more than a trillion times. What an impressive Gross National Product Germany achieved! Still the nation went broke, business collapsed, the people were bankrupt and became ripe for takeover. The stage was set when the dictator Hitler strutted onto the scene.

* With the "never-had-it-so-good" attitude.

* With the "never-had-it-so-good" attitude, it is unlikely that there will be broad understanding of the economic crisis which our country today faces. Many Americans will be unaware of it until it is upon them. Still, other thoughtful Americans are con-One such voice was raised cerned. recently in an editorial which freely predicted that the day is nearing when the administration will demand Congressional action. Congress will be asked, it was stated, to clamp controls on the wages of Americans and on the prices of goods they buy. The editorial conceded that a war would be needed in order to get by with it. And it went on to point out that there is an undeclared one going hot and heavy in

Vietnam.

LIFE LINE freely admits that inflation is not a popular subject and one which may alienate some listeners. However, it is a subject of vital concern to every man, woman and child in the United States today. As a matter of fact, because of our country's role as the leader of the free world, inflation is a matter of deep personal concern to every freedom lover in the world. LIFE LINE has never hesitated to add its voice in urging citizens to learn all they can about this important matter.

Inflation is the name of the game our country has been playing—playing it to the hilt. Already we have seen some of its results. And we will see even more as we watch the purchasing power of our dollar continue to glide downward.

* American taxpayers are being required to furnish the funds for a pyramiding number of federal projects. The results of such expenditures are becoming more and more apparent. For example, one incident involves something in Harlem called the "Black Arts Repertory Theatre-School." This project has already received \$40,000 in federal funds. It is reasonable to assume that it will receive many thousands more of the taxpayers' dollars.

It is only reasonable, therefore, that the taxpayers be advised concerning its function. Briefly stated, it is to hate, and to hate white people. For more than seven months, it has been teaching Negroes to hate white people. And it has been operated by one of the country's most hate-consumed Negroes, a playwright named Leroi Jones.

According to Associated Press reports, all of the productions at this government-supported project "seethe with rage"

against "whitey," an all-inclusive term used by Negroes to label white people. In the productions staged at Leroi Jones' "Theater-School," all white people are portrayed as degenerates and homosexuals.

"I don't see anything wrong," says Leroi Jones, "with hating white people...
The force we want," he added, "is of 20 million (Negroes) storming America with furious cries and unstoppable weapons.
We want actual explosions and actual brutality."

This, then, is part of what you and I are getting for our share of the taxes required for yet another war. When inquiry was made of a spokesman for the "War on Poverty," this was the explanation: "It (meaning Leroi Jones' theater-school) is creating a new cultural awareness and that is a constructive thing."

* Is it "a constructive thing" for American taxpayers to be forced to underwrite a project directed by one who is obsessed with hatred, one who is apparently trying to inculcate this same obsession in others of his race? Is it "a constructive thing" for tax dollars to be used to finance a forum dedicated to teaching and stirring-up of hatred and violence?

According to Stefan de Schill, a New York psychiatrist, in a paper prepared for the American Mental Health Foundation, the principal elements behind racial violence in the United States are: "hate and incitement to violence fomented by organized groups, a self-righteous feeling that success can be obtained without working for it and at the expense of other human beings, the expectation that lawless acts may be committed with impunity."

Yet another New Yorker has expressed concern over misuse of Federal funds to

underwrite lawlessness. In a recent letter to the U.S. poverty war director, United States Congressman Paul A. Fino demanded to know whether the director supports the \$40,000 grant to the Harlem playwright previously mentioned. He observes, "It is too incredible to think that the Federal Government has taken such complete leave of its senses to bankroll black segregationists."

He then propounds two questions of interest to all Americans. "Do you feel," asks the lawmaker who is dean of his state's GOP House delegation, "that it is fair to use taxpayers' dollars to subsidize theater projects painting whites as homosexuals and advocating black revolution? What precautions are you taking to make sure Federal money does not go to bankroll black racism?"

* Surely most Americans join the legislator in seeking answers to these queries. And they are also asking why through their taxes they are being made a part of these "organized groups" that are fomenting "hate" and inciting "violence". That they are is seen on every hand. For example, a recent edition of the PEACE CORPS, a publication distributed by the Peace Corps to college campuses, boldly states:

"There's no business like revolution to stir your blood. Once you can sneak through the glorified college boards they use for selection (...tell them you're from Berkeley and you're in) and endure the glorified Boy Scout training program (be stoic), you're on your own, free to foment ferment and to organize community spirit...and topple imperialists."

"Free to foment ferment" says the Peace Corps organ. Another of its publications is a bit more specific. THE RE- TURNED PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER, a Peace Corps Pamphlet, devotes two pages and a picture to George Johnson. Johnson, many will recall, is the Peace Corps volunteer who manned a table in the State Department cafeteria last March. There he distributed material calling for the administration to put an "end to hostility" toward the communists in Viet Nam. And his criticism of our Viet Nam policy is also highlighted in this Peace Corps publication.

* But perhaps one of the most startling of all the Peace Corps projects is the plan of its officials to recruit veterans of the "free speech" riots at the University of California, and to bring into the fold the farleft Students for a Democratic Society. A top corps official, impressed by this group, brought two of its leaders to Washington for advice on recruiting the activists of the Farleft. The official, Frank Mankiewiez, explains: "The same thing that moves moral youth into political activity would be useful to the corps." He indicated that as part of their training, Peace Corps volunteers may work on "community action" projects such as those of the Students for a Democratic Society.

Out to the University of California at Berkeley has gone Robert Satin, the man who directed the Dominican Republican operations for the corps. His mission?

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LIFE LINE radio reaches a 90% adult audience representing top purchasing power. Write LIFE LINE for information for stations in your area.

To sign up "activists." "I not only want to get to the 5,000 who go out in protest," explains Satin, "I particularly want to get to those who organize them."

Certainly there is evidence of more and more American tax dollars being diverted to various federal projects-many of which openly urge "foment," "revolution," and "violence." Another United States Congressman, Brad Morse from Massachusetts. who, incidentally, is a liberal, points out that the Peace Corps is actually helping the Soviets. And he expresses astonishment at a report in the September 1965 edition of the PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER about a corpsman in Afghanistan. This volunteer, as part of his official Peace Corps duty, designed—of all things, a billboard for the Soviet agency, INTOURIST, promoting travel to Russia.

* LIFE LINE urges its listeners to acquaint themselves with these facts; to learn all they can about these matters from all sources available to them; and to share such information with others. "Each one teach one" is an effective way to combat apathy and lack of knowledge.

Until we meet again, remember: Is it "a constructive thing" to preach and teach "hatred" and "violence" under the name of "creating a new cultural awareness"? Is it our desire that our tax money be used for such a purpose?

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Mr. Edwin B. Furnage Office of the Vice President, United 5th Senate Office Building Wesleyton, DE

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1 To Mr. Edwin B.	INITIALS	CIRCULATE
	DATE	COORDINATION
2		FILE
		INFORMATION
3		NOTE AND RETURN
		PER CON- VERSATION
4		SEE ME
		SIGNATURE
REMARKS		

- I am enclosing copies of letters to Mr. Terry Sanford and Mr. Bray. It is gratifying to report on such significant progress.
- 2. Now that the effort of pursuing this matter is distributed among such competent persons, Walter and I feel it might be mutually helpful to sit with you at lunch some day soon and to discuss this matter in a freer climate. We have derived much pleasure from free and wide ranging discussions with others participating in this effort.
- 3. If you should be interested and have the convenience, would you give me a call sometime?

		No	
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Very respectfully.

FRO

Walter Hirsch 3D973, Pentagon

Mr. Edwin B. Firmage Room 5121, New Senate Office Bldg.

Dear Ed,

I hope my write-up of our last meeting hasn't played havor with the facts. I admire and congratulate your objective and constructive role in our meeting. Personally, I'm delighted with its outcome, i.e., that Lou and Jack should now take over the reins. It had to be that way; if Helms and I were to persist in our "missionary work" alone, as it were, sooner or later we'd be "burned." Thanks to you, further examination of the Institutes idea will be now accomplished via a safe and same route - although nothing short of our unorthodox process of communicating around bureaucratic barriers could have succeeded in getting to this vantage point!

(Over)

I suppose that all it took was a sense of personal commitment to an idea which we firmly believed was basically very sound -- plus guts and persuasion along the way.

Hope to meet with you again, Ed, at your pleasure.

Best regards and many thanks!

Sincerely,

March 29, 1966

Dear Dr. Foster:

I attended the White House Conference meeting in the Indian Treaty Room on Saturday, March 26, as a representative of the office of the Vice President. I was very impressed by your presentation there, which presentation stimulated me to make a request of you.

As a law professor on leave to work with the Vice President for the past year, I have been working on problems of civil rights and poverty. I will be returning to the University of Utah Law School in the fall, and will start a new class there on modern social legislation. As this class is new, both to me and the school, I am exploring ideas as to what should be covered in such a course. I would appreciate your ideas on the possible contents of this course generally, both as to topics covered and reading material to be assigned, and more specifically, I would appreciate your suggestions on topics and reading material which should be covered relating to civil rights legislation.

With the number of bills passed in the last two years, I would suppose that any case and text bbok now available would probably be badly dated. If you have any suggestion on a good basic text, as well as supplementary material to update it, I would be grateful for such suggestions.

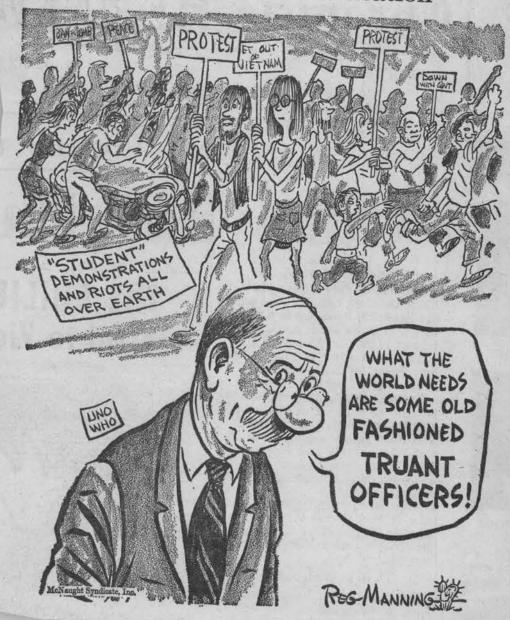
Sincerely,

Edwin Brown Firmage

Dr. G. William Foster The Law School The University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin

1830 Femuilo At. Auguste Sa. Opril 24-66 Hom V. P. Humphrey: - From the letters I get from friends in Penns + Ohio and from clippings from the news Great Society Doct is overloaded and rivel eventually be sunh, The New Deal est, People all over the country are just about bed up with this sorolist business, and becommerate domination from Washington. Johis country never before far had so much Crame or public demonstrations as we now have and sanctioned by the Silverela and socoliste at the head of our Sout, Spaid before that the Great Society could not last and the end is gitting nearery nearer, We mile not have much longer to wait. a.K. Merze

The best 'aid to education'



James J. Kilpatrick

Reaping the whirlwind

WASHINGTON — You will find it written in the Book of Hosea, the prophet, that men who sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind; and the warning the Lord gave the Israelites has abundant meaning in our own time for the Administration of Lyndon Johnson.

The day is approaching — it is approaching as surely as that cloud another prophet saw from the mountain — when a fed-up

public will run out of pateince with the beatniks, the peaceniks, the unwashed demonstrators, and the whining apostles of The World Owes Me a Living. The revulsion will sweep up the slackers, the spongers, the phonies, and the arrogant bums who lie down in streets. "Set the trumpet to thy mouth," said the son of Beeri in the days of Jeroboam, and he might have been talking for the days of LBJ.

A man who travels about the country, and reads papers from all over, is almost bound to catch the feel of a changing tide. If the Republicans fail to take this tide at its flood and ride



it on to fortune in November, they will be missing a political opportunity of profound meaning. From one end of the country to the other, unless a hundred visible signs are all illusory, the peo-

ple are aching to reclaim their Republic.

They mean to bring back some of the old values. And what are these?

Work — old-fashioned work — is one of them. When the Job Corps came into being, an easy-going public said okay, maybe it's a good thing, teach the boys a trade, get 'em off the streets. But the record of the Job Corps since its inception has been an appalling record of bureaucracy, mismanagement, and incredible costs. The manpower training program has been as futile. There was a time when last week's story of Ozie Bulock would have been funny; he is the unemployed auto worker who was drawing public funds at the rate of \$8,300 a year for doing nothing. Who's laughing now?

Rights not one-sided

The rights of private property are among the old values. When the first sit-in demonstrators appeared on the scene, the tendency was to applaud. When some youngsters blocked the sidewalks in the holy name of "civil rights," a sympathetic public took their part. Old injustices had to be halted; and if it took drastic measures, very well, drastic measures could be condoned. But the excesses of the demonstrators find few defenders now. Martin Luther King, in expropriating the private property of an 81-year-old tenement owner, thought to arouse the people of Chicago to the inadequacy of Negro housing. He has aroused hem, all right, but large

Let's regain perspective

· It is a tragic thing that as men are caught up in the fervor of a cause, they all too often lose perspective and are guilty of misjudgment and extremism that hinders the very objective they seek.

This universal truth applies to racial relations - both to extremists who wear robes of white and try to suppress the rights of Negroes, and to extremists who wear robes of intolerant militancy and try to ride roughshod over reason and law.

The latter is manifested, among other ways, by immediately attributing a racial motivation to any crime in which the victim is a Negro. All too often, it must be recognized, this motivation is present, and no newspaper in the nation has deplored and condemned this fact more than has The Chronicle.

It is the utter lack of logic, however, by which the cry of racial persecution is raised without evidence, that brands the agitators as being victims of their own prejudice, fact which we sought to show Tuesday in an editorial that dealt with

the case of Julian Bond.

As prejudice applies to crime, during the past few years, several policemen in Northern cities have been killed by Negroes, yet we cannot recall that these crimes were immediately sensationalized as being racial. They were simply attributed to criminals, and that is as it should be, whatever the location and whatever the color of the perpetrator.

The most recent incident was in Tuskegee, Ala., where a white service station attendant has been charged in the murder of a young Negro. The victim happens to have been a civil rights worker, and his death immediately evoked demon-

strations designed to arouse pas sion and emotion. Now, regardless of who may or may not be found guilty by a court of law, it must be recognized that there could have been a racial motivation. This is not inevitably so, however, for only investigation and trial can explore the very real possibility that whoever killed Samuel Younge Jr. did so for any one of a wide variety of motivations.

We think it is time — in fact, way past time - for citizens of all races and philosophies to regain the kind of perspective which makes possible rational judgment and action. Let's let facts, as they are developed, speak for themselves.

At the same time we see such emotional reactions as in Tuskegee, we entirely lose sight of the fine, constructive things being done in the field of race relations. We lose sight of the understanding and mutual appreciation which are an everyday fact of our lives in the South.

Take the recent Holiday Tournament of Champions for Alabama high school basketball teams at Gadsden recently. The tournament officials, presumably most of them being white Southerners, recognized a Negro player by giving him one of the highly coveted places on the all-tournament team.

This is the sort of thing — a solid, accepted fact - which goes unnoticed among those determined to create emotional agitation which will bring racial relations into a state of crisis.

The nation needs to focus more on the kind of event which was in evidence at Gadsden, without fanfare, than on the conjectures and so-far unproved surmises surrounding the event at Tuskegee.

A K MEESE 1830 FENWICK ST AUGUSTA GA 30904





V. P. Hubert Humphrey Washington

, C.

APR 3 n 1966

APR 3 n 1966

WASHINGTON 7, D. C. Jean Mr. Vice President, Crime Some day you may become President and Thru you will be Too Olympian To approach, so I wish To get my sixpence ne now! All you politicos ssem to ignore au excessingly large, morgunsed, but articulate and voting group which is The women House, Itions and upon Thousands of us and all mad as smaker, and that Every sugle day of our lives. From our room flats to private houses we lux in a state of szige, nightfall is our curfew. Loched banes & botted uz sit préping Through ryz-spies and le Tursen chains, This is binacial, as all frueles resent The moreasing lack of protection us get from our micreasing laxes. Very freware Too young To hrunwelse where any woman could walk the sheets of any Tourneau city in safety

and freedom, and us would all vote for The orrel with home if he would release us from The Truor that walks by night. By night, Hell, it also walks at 10 A. 17.! I viad that Three is to be a vice costly committee to study who commits crumes + why. To fiss I will tell you. Proble who know that the law is weightedon There side - and not suforced at theat! (Il your political star eler waves just commit a munder and you will draw a signification pressecount with all my heart I regret that I returned to his ui this jungle. We the leleaquered women greet the great society with a belche Perhaps we should get us a treedom March? Sucrisly, (Marguesa Voa, de Zahara) Betty de Zaliara y regards to your nice secretary the aunt of the Teleki girl, The Countess of Listowel was with his Thus Wenter after visiting this Telepis in Roumania; son's baly would not have to be mapped in newspapers. the says that the porty she saw in Pournauia +

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 25, 1966

John,

Inasmuch as this letter concerns poverty more than Vietnam, I am bucking it to you.

Herb

Sargeant Shriver sein How unthinkable peace corpsmen to drive school but we The The Stappayers buses in Thailand. They're costing U.S. taxpayers \$9,000 (official figure) a year for two hours' work a day. This makes them the most expensive school-15 35-30th ave no bus drivers in the history of the Even so, they're pikers com-1966 St. Cloud, Menn. world. pared to the domestic peace corps. The official report on its ESIBENT Pril 17th, 1966 first fiscal year says it spent \$1.5 million to train 202 volunteers - \$15,342 per trainee. But who would know it from Saredeset. gent Shriver's Alice in Wonderland publicity handouts? It seems most due gusting to hear you, or the congressional spendthrifts, to talk about the poverty program, - it is indeed a tremendous, scandalous, waste of our, the tappayers, of the really needy got to be in on the poverty program. The greatest duty, time and effort, should be spent to save the lives of our american back en the Viet nam war. all the politicians in

Washington should meditate on the feroceous fighting over sons, husbands & brothers have to go three. we, the tappayers, are quite fed up with the rubber-stamp congress, the new programs, that the politicians, their relatives and friends, get the greatest share. The enclosed items are endeed our openions A. Peterson

When the mansion will be built has not been determined, but the important point is that the administration is still hell-bent on its record-breaking spending spree with a complete disregard for budgets and public debts and probable tax increases. President Johnson and his rubber-stamp congress may attain other distinctions as time goes by, but of one thing they may be very sure: They will go into the records as the biggest spenders in the nation's history. This public-be-damned attitude has pre-

vailed in Washington too long, and both resentment and alarm are rising throughout the country.

one counselor, is confusing luxuries with necessities: The old-fashioned way of making a budget was to provide first for the necessities. Then, if there was money left over, it would go toward luxuries. However, in today's atmosphere of affluence, the process is reversed. Luxuries such as color tv, air conditioned houses,

The most frequent error, according to

fluence, the process is reversed. Luxuries such as color tv, air conditioned houses, cars with all the "power" extras, electric toothbrushes (not to mention hairbrushes) all now come ahead of necessities.

The other interesting point is why an executive dwelling should have to cost the proposed \$750,000. Even at Washington prices a sum of \$100,000 should be enough to construct quite a respectable dwelling.

But it is the same old dreary story of congressional spendthrifts—the fair-haired, easy come, easy go boys—who forget all about common sense and economy once they get in their \$150,000 offices in Washington and luxuriate on their \$30,000 a year-plus salaries.

Which is about three or four times as much as most of them could earn making a living back home.

It's sickening to see how the "Parkinson's Law" has a rival. politicians charge their mistakes It's called "Freeman's Law."

What gall! I, for one, am fed up 12.5 million. This decline is 20

icy. Think of the thousands of payroll. dollars these have cost each working man.

Who pays for our billions department of agriculture emproven misspent in many of 82 ployees than there are farmers countries? These are billed to within 30 years.

our working people,

well as the other. When states-rushed to help men fail it is they who are responsible.

fighters offshore in the great (continuing) mistake.

seventh fleet.

Mr. McNamara neglected to congressmen merrily to keep one soldier overseas.

\$135 million. Today's equivalent, charged to us, is utterly disgust-the central intelligence agency, ing.

spends an estimated \$800 million Perhaps you saw marvelous each year.

spends twice as much money. It Taxes must be increased? was formed to bring competing working people must pay more intelligence agencies under control. Yet what do we also see? bloc in our country. Sen. Along comes Mr. McNamara liam E. Borah once observed with the Pentagon's own defense that the marvel of all history is with the Pentagon's own defense that the tharver of all listory is intelligence agency (DIA) which the patience with which working has grown and grown and which men and women submit to burnow has 5,700 employees that dens unnecessarily placed on rival the CIA and a budget that them by their government. The remains Mr. McNamara's secret. the department of agricul-kind of taxpayers' revolt at the

commonly stated that polls.

to us, make us pay for their Since Mr. Freeman took com-waste and often their greed, and mand the department payrollees then when they put taxes up they have increased from 98,694 to tell us it's our responsibility.

We pay or go to jail, because Farm population, however, has "it's in the public welfare." decreased from 15.6 million to

with it.

They pull one immense blun-fewer farmers, but 20 per cent der after another in foreign pol-more bureaucrats on the public Somebody figured that

Freeman's rate we'll have more

A senator says Sargent Shriv-Who pays for the lack of er's spenders searched a city of statesmanship that got us into 10,000 in his state looking for the land war in Asia which Prespeople to get his poverty war ident Johnson inherited? Nations largess (our money) and located often are faced by the choice hear a total of 24. Then, with a sectween dishonor and war. The ond look and local protests, the task of real statesmanship is 24 shrank to 10. Shriver's crews precisely to avoid the one as outnumbered the people they

Who for the immense pays On the day President Kennedy mistakes in stockpile inventowas inaugurated there were ries? These inventories have cost only 77 U.S. military men in Viet the working people about \$13 Nam and all were serving only billion. Stockpiles objectives are as advisors. Now, in an angry press conference on March 2. Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara ticks off a figure of 235.000, not even counting our of us has a direct interest in the service of t

And are we to forget that the tell us that it costs \$7.265 a year themselves an increase in their own salaries. This, of course, we The office of strategic services also pay. Then, on top of everyconducted the nation's world-thing, the conflict of interest, the wide espionage throughout four relatives on the public payroll years in World war II for about and the inside tie-ins also

Bill Mauldin's cartoon in which he pictured Bobby Baker as a The CIA is now much larger parrot, saying: "If they cage than the state department and me I might take up singing."

Republican House Leader Gerald R. Ford said Thursday McNamara "will be asked many questions" after the House returns from its Easter recess.

Ford showed every sign of boring ahead with his charge that the Johnson administration is guilty of "shocking misman-

agement" of the war effort. He was unconvinced by Mc-Namara's assertion that "there isn't any" shortage of bombs for the Viet Nam war and that there is no truth to the misman-

agement allegation. While Democrats, too, have challenged McNamara's readiness policies, the Republican House leader's volley had the sound of an official GOP posi-

tion for the coming congressional election campaigns.

Ford kicked off the latest skirmish over readiness when he called a news conference, made his "shocking misman-

agement" charge, and:

Spoke of reports that "we are running short of bombs despite all the billions we have voted for defense."

Declared "the backup of shipping in Saigon harbor is almost a national scandal."

do in Viet Nam."

The GOP leader said: "The evidence that is coming to light about things in the Pentagon that are not as they should be certainly raises questions as to whether we are prepared to do what our troops were ordered to given more thought? Instead of all the useless programs.

Soldier's Letters Tell of Going Home, Despair, Death

CLARKSVILLE, Pa. (AP) - automatic weapons. We were in in this open rice field. An American soldier in Viet the small rice paddies in front "Sgt. Comas raised up to tell Nam writes home about many of this village. We hit the a squad to move out and he got ground and I crawled to a hump shot in the head. He was looking things.

He tells his wife about the hot, of dirt with the lieutenant and right at me when he was lying sticky weather. He asks his Sgt. Comas. We were pinned there.

Pfc. Brent A. McClellan of couldn't see them and were out The company finally took the Clarksville was one of those sol-

diers, McClellan, 21, was kill,

his brother about the M16 - "A | "They (the VC) were all over very lucky. In that little rice real fine gun." He tells them the village - in the coconut paddy, they killed three and

all, "I'm all right." trees, in the hedgerows. You wounded 11."

village. Later that night McClellan found his dead comrades

mother to send cookies. He tells down there, couldn't move. "The lieutenant and I were

neat bundle by his parents, I and Mrs. George McClellan. They tell of discomfort, despartagedy, death and of goinhome — but mostly of death a of going home.

"There is nothing to look for the state of the state of

"There is nothing to look fi ward to over here," he wrote his last letter, "except goin, home, and that is too far off and too much might happen before then."

home, and that is too far off and too much might happen before then."

McClellan was sent to Viet Nam last December, and when he got to his base camp in the Ia Drang Valley with the 1st Infantry Division, he discovered

what war is like.

"We are really crowded," he wrote, "and they do not have enough stuff to go around. Our company has 80 cases of malaria. All together, there are 116 in the hospital."

McClellan's education had begun. He soon learned that even a thin; like water was precious. "Water is hard to come by up here. They bring in 15 gallons a day for 32 men."

by up here. They bring in 15 gallons a day for 32 men."

He went without other luxuries. He fought, ate and slept in the same fatigues for 21 days. His weight dropped rapidly.

His first lesson in war came late in January. McClellan's company was sweeping several

villages in search of Viet Cong. It was part of Operation Masher.

"We took 45 prisoners yesterday," he said. "We had to take women and children. They took them in a Chinook (helicopter). The women and children were crying and scared. They were

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really pitiful."

On Feb. 11, a close buddy was killed — a Sgt. Comas.

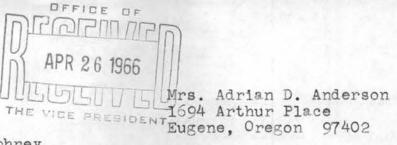
On the morning of the 11th

On the morning of the 11th, McClellan said in a letter dated two days later, the company "got hit with machine guns and

Pleaserer Dallas Zagas Hubert Humphry 25 1966 Alar Su- 11555155 Junderstant children + young people - you have a certain appeal that is necesser, for their behalf of believing I stutied your brigan program on T.V. this past evening There is no desired growing Things to gether in comparison with other efforts in huseres mo with Ford Tountations as grapeater with agriculture degrees - 7 am supplement with instrative effort + intestive proffet in coelecting faining three efforts before - during & after period in dined service as encentive a great future for your Gudance - yours truly margaret

margaret Welch Daelas Deyas 21 APR The Suchert Gunghay Vice Prisident of 4.51.

Washington D.C.



Mr. Hubert Humphrey Vice President of the United States Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

This evening I spent an interesting hour following the political testing program presented to the public by the National Broadcasting Company. In the course of the program they showed a film clip of you presenting your definition of the Great Society. In your several definitions you spoke of Freedom and of Opportunity. Freedom to you involves freedom to move about and freedom to vote. Opportunity involves cooperation between the individual and the government.

I would like to take this opportunity to say it doesn't work. Like most people in this country I am very much interested in the protection of the Negro and his right to vote. But at this momment I must admit I am more interested in the protection of my right to vote.

I am a 29 year old, college graduate, white, protestant, Northern European, American citizen (and supposedly never discriminated against) who has never been allowed to vote for a President or Vice President of these United States.

Unfortunately, my husband (a student) has found it necessary to move in each and every election year from one state to amother at precisely that time of year when a person can not retain voting rights in the state being left and can not obtain such rights in the state being moved into. Being older than I, he has in the past been able to vote in a Presidential Election but he also has sufferred the same fate in the ten years of our marriage.

We would appreciate your influence being used to establish a national law giving all peoples eligible through citizenship and age the right to vote for our national officers. We do agree that we do not have the right to vote for state and local officials if we have not lived with them sufficently long enough to appreciate their qualifications. But there should be some way for us to enjoy our civil rights on a National

Level and we do urge you back such a measure.

Sincerely,

Mes. adrian D. anderson

Dear Sentor Humphry d don't believe should the give out so much free. sid to every one. I believe people should home Its work for what they get. What was invoy with I was a little active en D.F. L. Word club tentil some of our member went suts iver futh + sure split our word club, I believe he's epliting our party.

The sepliting our party.

The some who works to help hei husboard support her family become weldon't believe end fork into it.

maybe I should look into it. Mis Vingena Laupp

A RECOMMENDED MEETING TAKING PLACE THIS WEEK! ???????????????

The Thursday, April 14th Willow Lene P. T. A. Meeting!

Let's have every family have at least one parent represented.

HEAR about the interesting and provocative subjects covered this year by the Parent & Family Life Group.

HEAR the school chorus! (Our youngsters have practised for us)

BE THERE to cast your vote for 1966-67 P. T. A. officers!

JOIN your Willow Lane principal, teachers, and fellow-P. T. A. members in refreshments following the meeting!

SEE YOU AT 8:00

Attention, Mothers of YOUNGSTERS IN 3rd grade: the April meeting has been set aside for you to assist as hostesses for the evening. Please sign the following and return it tomorrow with your child.

1 1	
I will help as a refreshment hoste	ss on Thursday Apr 1 14
T connot help, but am sending a 50	¢ donation with my child
1 00	Signed
P	Phone

Mis 2. Kaupp 6543 Beardon no AM BETTER BUSINESS STEEL 1960 1960

Vice Presenthumphry Washing lan D. C. Blease answer



Kansas City, Mo., April 26, 1966.

Mr. Hubert Humphrey, Vice-President, USA, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mister Vice President:

I am a Federal employee, but this is being addressed to you as a citizen. I am writing to you instead of to President Johnson because I figure he is a bit busier than you are, and much, much harder to approach. Further, I believe you will follow through on it more enthusiastically and individually.

The idea is very simple: To cut down unnecessary government spending, give all government employees a chance to know just how much each of them is costing the government. They know about wages, but I think most of them are unaware that the pay is less than forty percent of their total cost to the budget.

It will appall most of them to get an idea of the total spent on each. It should thereupon make them more industrious, more cost conscious. The supervisors are entrusted with this responsibility now, but I am willing to wager that by adding more watchers that government economy will become much more of a fact. It will be dozens of eyes seeking better ways instead of two, and those eyes will be aware of the basic point for economizing, the making of more efficient, more time saving men and women.

It has already been proven through employee suggestions. But the field for saving has barely been touched because so few government workers have ever been really aware of actual costs. I have been a cost accountant in private business, but, without more concrete facts, I am sure I would not be able to evaluate my own moves or make any kind of a comparison of costs.

I am aware that publicity about expenditures might have unhappy after-effects. But I believe this could be counteracted by further publicity on some of the things tax payers want the government to continue to do, when it is benefiting them. An illustration is the hulla-balloo about the closing of some military posts where some civilians or communities had very good things going for themselves from them.

I am 67. I have worked for Uncle Sam only the past 11 years, although I was also a member of the Armed Forces overseas from 1942 to 1945. I am what might be termed an inspector, now, and that kind of work is difficult to evaluate, but I do know it is costly, and also I see many other things that are still more expensive. The top echelon can't do all the saving. The rank and file workers can do better, though they have less chance at the spectacular feats.

By myself, I can do very little. (I am trying to do that little now.) But your backing, plus better acquaintance with how much things cost can set almost all civil service men and women as sentinels and trustworthy custodians of the U.S. cost of doing business.

Please give this a thought. I shall be very happy to stay behind the scenes and just know that I have helped.

Yours very truly,

John L. Fournier

May 11, 1966

Dear Mr. Pearce:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter. I know what it means to have to live on a limited income and I can appreciate your concern about the rising cost of food.

Fortunately, food supply is now catching up with demand. Farm prices began to turn down in February, and although consumer food prices still rose in March, reflecting the lag from farm to processor to retail store, retail prices stabilized in April. Declines in important food items should be seen during the rest of the year. Economic data appear to indicate that the rise in farm and food prices was largely a temporary phenomenon.

In other areas, the President has urged labor and management to adhere to the wage-price guidelines, the Federal Reserve Board has made investment loans harder to get, and various materials have been released for sale from our national stockpile to relieve shortages and keep prices down. These government fiscal and monetary policies appear to be succeeding in stabilizing prices, and hopefully will continue to do so.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. Sydney Pearce 24 El Dorado Arcadia, California 91006

THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

May 12, 1966

MEMORANDUM TO:

Ted Kolderie

FROM:

X∞kmxS. Wini

John is passing along to you this project. He suggests that you go through past VP speeches culling out the quotes used, i.e. Toynbee, John Adams, Wilson on the values of democracy, FDR on a government frozen in its own indifference, and on being judged not by what we do for those who don't need it, but for those who do, etc. Also, he suggests that Presidential speeches and documents should offer another fruitful source for judicious theft. (We have the weekly publications summarizing Presidential statements, etc.)

Make a separate list of these, instead of putting them directly in the book. When we have a few dozen we will send them km to the VP.

Thanks.

File speech moderial

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

May 11, 1966

Memo for John S. From The Vice President

As I mentioned on the phone, fill in this little black book with some of the quotations that we've used - Lincoln on American leadership, freedom, etc. Then some statements from Franklin, Jefferson, one from John Stewart Mill on dissent and the policy of non-intervention, H. G. Wells, Toynbee. Just as many as you can get that would be relevant to the present times, particularly statements on vision and leadership, both from authors and biblical. Ed Firmage can possibly do this. The one by John Adams on public happiness - there are some mighty good quotes from the Old Testament prophet, Amos, on justice.

QUOTES FROM HHH SPEECHES

X

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be ourdoubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

FDR, in the undelifered Jefferson Day speech 1945

There is not a single dispute in this world, however sharply thek issues may be drawn, which would not look different . . . after time and change have done their erosive work on the sharpest corners of conflict.

adlai stevenson

X

maximum who in their lives fought for life . . . Who wore at their hearts the kire's center. . . . Born of the sun they traveled a short while toward the sun, and left the vivid air signed with their honor.

poet LStephen Spender, am defining "great men"

Old Tories

intellectually moribund . . . emitting dreary sounds.

Judge Learned Hand, on Republicans

The unwise are those who bring nothing constructive to the process, and who greatly imperil the future of mankind by leaving great questions to be fought out between ignorant change on kmk the one hand and ignorant opposition to change on the other.

John Stuart Mill, quoted by FDR

Every calling

is great when greatly pursued.

Oliver Wendell Holmes

X

kAs life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time, at peril of kk being judged not to have lived.

Holmes

To every man his chance; to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision 1 can combine to make him. This . . . is the x promise of America.

Thomas &Wolfe

Government has been a fossil; it should be a plant.

Emerson 1844

The best system (of government) is to have one party govern and the other party watch.

Thomas B. Reed, speech in the House 1880

There are times when the belief of the people, though it is without ground, is as significant as the truth.

Schiller, 1787

Real political issues cannot be in manufactured by the leaders of political parties. The real political issues of the way declare themselves, and come out of the depths of that deep we call public opinion.

President Garfield Boston 1878

S

Newspapers have degenerated. They may now be absolutely relied upon.

Oscar Wilde 1889

I hate to be <u>defended</u> in the a newspaper. As long as all that is said is said against me I feel a certain assurance of success. But as soon as honeyed words of praise are spoken for me I feel as one that lies unprotected before his enemies.

Emerson 1841

Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the coldblooded and the sins of the warmhearted in a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference.

FDR, acceptance speech, Philadelphia, 1936

add Quotes . . .

Life is for action. If we insist on proofs for everything, we shall never come to action: To act you must assume, and the assumption is faith.

Cardinal Newman

fromted

Grant graciously what you cannot refuse safely, and conciliate those xmxmxm you cannot conquer.

C Colton 1820

I never refuse. I never con radict. I sometimes forget.

adict. I sometimes lorget.

Disraeli, explaining his success with Queen Victoria, 1877

Deny it . . . but do it.

American proverb

If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare for battle?

1 Corinthians

An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.

Emerson, 1841

An army of stags led by a lion would be better than an army of lions led by a stag.

Latin proverb

A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosphers and divines. Which With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do.

Emerson 1841

Whoever in his public service is handimamm handcuffed and shackled by the vice of consistency will be a man not free to act as various questions come before his from time to time; he will be a statesman locked in a prison house the keys to which are in the keeping of days and events that are dead.

> Henry F. Ashurst, in a speech in the Senate, 1937

Severities should be dealt out all at once, so that suddenness may give less offense; benefits ought to be handed out drop by drop, so that they may be relished the more.

Machiavelli, The Prince

It is impossible to use tact with a congressman . . . you k must take a stick and hit him on the snout.

Henry Adams, quoting an unnamed member of the Grant administration

Let a person have nothing to do for his country, and he will have no love for it.

J.S. Mill, Representative Government

I never said all Democrats were saloonkeepers. What I said was that all saloonkeepers were Perocrats.

Horace Greeley; 1860

A monarchy is a merchantman which sails well, but will sometimes strike a rock and go to the bottom. A republic is a raft which will never sink . . but then smom your feet are and a management when always in the water.

Fisher Ames, in a speech in the House 1795

Be not the first by whom kkk the new are tried Nor yet the last to lay the old aside

Alexander Pope, Essay in Criticism

Conservatism: "A bag with a hole in it."

Josh Billings 1877

There is a point beyond which even justice becomes MAM unjust.

Sophocles, Electra

1

In a really just case the weak conquer the strong.

Sophocles

Justice may wink a while, but see at last.

Thomas Middleton, 1651

Justice, though she's painted blind Is to the weaker side inclined

Samuel Butler 1678

Vision is the art of seeing things invisible.

Jonathan Swift 1706

We are them only free that others may be as free as we.

Benjamin Whichcote 1753

There is something better, if possible, that a man can give than his life. That is his living spirit to a service that is not easy, to resist counsels that are hard to resist, to stand against proposals that are hard to stand against.

Woodrow Wilson, speech at Smx Suresnesxx cemetery, 1919

Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.

Matthew XII 34

S

It ought not to be permitted to speak well of public functionaries without an equal liberty of speaking ill.

James Mill 1821

Men have no right to make themselves bores and nuisances; and the common sense of mankind inflicts wholesome inconvenience on those who carry their "right of private judgment" to any such extremities.

J.A. Froude 1863

What service can we ever render to our country equal to promoting education? . . The exertions and mortifications are temporarym; the benefit eternal.

Jefferson.

The spirit of public happiness (that) possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought a. . . a spirit which is reflected in the life, in participation of public discussion and public action. This spirit of public happiness is a joy in American citizenship, in self-government, in self-control in self-discipline, in dedication.

John Adams

It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by ltheir conduct and example, to decaide the importnat question whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are fo ever destined to depend for their political constitutors on accidence and force.

Alexander Hamilton

Be remembered not for crimes or even for astonishing inventions, but as the first generation to dans to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

Toynbee

Mankind is slowly learning that because two men differ neither need be wicker.

Sir Richard Grenfell

Emerson once called Congress " . . . a standing insurrection . . . "

I believe in democracy because it releases the energy of every human being.

Woodrow Wilson

The country needs . . . bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it: If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something.

Look forward to the time when "Every valley shall be exalted, and every 1mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain."

Isaiah

Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties: those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes; and those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and xaxmxm safe. . . . The appellations & of aristocrats and democrats . . . expresses the essence of them both.

Jefferson

In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free-honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just--a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.

Abaraham Lincoln

My dream is that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights, and that her flag is the flag not only of American but of humanity."

Woodrow Wilson

And yet, and yet, the sands run out and this world rushes on. and problems multiply and if we do not keep face with them we perish. The world of today is not for the domplacent or the slow of foot or those who are the slaves of events

Mahmy Nehru 1939

To the millions who have to go without two meals a day, the only acceptable form in which God dare appear is food. use !

Gandhi



I have always been among those who believe that the greatest freedow of speech was the greatest safety, because if a man is a fool the best thing to do is to encourage him to advertise the fact by speaking.

Woodrow Wilson Paris 1919

I express many absurd opinions. But I am not the first to do iti it; American freedom consists largely in talking nonsense.

E.W. Howe 1926

The firm base of instrument government is justice, not pity.

Woodrow Wilson, first inaugural 1913

T shall never ask, never refuse, never resign an office.

Benjamin Franklin, autobiography

(Pollution) If you want to clear the stream, get the wolments hog out of the spring.

American proverb

Comment is free but facts are sacred.

Manchester Guardian 1926

The American newspaper today is one of the chief enemies of the Kingdom of God.

> resolution of the NOrthwestern Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Lafayette, Indiana 1933

In a country well governed poverty is something to be ashemed of. In a country badly governed wealth it something to be ashemed of!

Confucius @ 500 BC

Those who bear equally the burdens of government should share equally in its benefits.

Jefferson 1775

That government is strongest * of which every man feels himself a part.

Jefferson, letter 1807

X

I like to see a person proud of the community in which he lives. And I also like to see someone living in such a way that his community is proud of him.

Lincoln

The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of good government.

Jefferson

A hungry people listens knot to reason, nor cares for justice.

Seneca

Civilization is a raed between education and catastrophe.

H.G. Wells

And beside this, giving all diligence, and to your faith virtue; and to your virtue knowledge; and to your knowledge kep temperance; and to your temperance patience; and to your patience godliness; and to your godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness love.

Scriptures

No one knows more than I the fires that burn in the hearts of young men who years for the chance to do better what they see their elders not doing well . . . *** or not doing at all.

LBJ

The solidarity which binds all men and makes to them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger. It is not possible to preserve lasting peace if good glaring economic and social inequality among them persist.

Pope John XXIII

. . . the spirit of public happiness. .

John Adams

Every true man is a cause, a country and an age.

Emerson

The rich man's wealth is his strong city . . . The destruction of the poor is their poverty.

Proverbs

September 9, 1966

Dear Mr. Massengale:

Your recent letter to the Vice President concerns a matter for the attention of the Internal Revenue Service. We are, therefore, forwarding your correspondence to that office for further response.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Watson

Mr. Jack C. Massengale c/e John K. Donovan, Attorney Suite 534, Federal Building 1522 K Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. RU

Jack Massengale
c/o John K. Donovan
Attorney at Law
Suite 532
1522 K. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
January 7, 1967

Vice President Humphrey White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Vice President Humphrey:

Some time ago, I wrote you in order to secure a hearing before the U.S. Tax Department due to the fact that they had refused to give me any type of hearing on an alleged tax claim.

I appreciate the effort which you put forth in my behalf, and I finally received a hearing from the tax officials and have ample proof for them that I owe no money. You were kind enough to force these individuals to do what they should have done long ago without any coercion.

I am sure that through your efforts, you have saved the tax payers much money to fight a case through the courts which was not necessary from the beginning.

I hope that you and your family had a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year and that some day I may be in a position to return the kind consideration that you extended to me.

Yours very truly,

Jack Massengale

JM:fr

95 persone September 19, 1966 MEMORANDUM Phil Zeidman TO: John Stewart FROM: Regarding your memo to me about your neighbor's objective reporting, if the kids wanted more brothers and sisters why didn't they just ask?

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION WASHINGTON, D.C. 20416

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

September 14, 1966

MEMORANDUM

Personal

TO: John Stewart

FROM: Philip F. Zeidman

I have checked further into the dispassionate and objective nature of the comments received on the Vice President's speech to the social workers. I find that the lady in question had, on the morning of the conference, discovered that the air conditioning system in her home had broken down; the cat had eaten the canary; real estate taxes had been increased; her husband had neglected to put gas in the automobile (an Edsel); and her children had, for the last several weeks, substituted kidney diuretics for her birth control pills.

It turns out that she also works for Whitney Young.

September 19, 1966

Dear Don:

I knew you were busy in New York City on the Head Start project, but I am sure that after this experience starting a national program was easy. I am just about to begin a year's leave of absence to finish my PhD degree and will be working out of the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard. If you are up that way, give me a call. I will be back in the Vice President's Office this time next year.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart Assistant to the Vice President

Mr. Donald L. Maggin 529 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10017

Murray Hill 7-6651 529 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y. 10017

September 7, 1966

Mr. John G. Stewart
Assistant to the Vice President
Executive Office Building
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to shareholders covering the operations of Canabam Limited for the first six months of 1966.

Canabam is a Canadian mutual fund, and I am chairman of its investment committee.

Sincerely,

Donald L. Maggin

I've been combining investment menagiment with a consulting assignment reorganizing his york Citys Head Start pragram - it's ten a putty husy you thins for.

TO OUR SHAREHOLDERS

Canabam Limited began operations in June 1958 and thus completed its eighth year on June 30, 1966. During this year, the net asset value of its shares and debentures increased by 58.3%. For the same period the Dow Jones Industrial Average, the most widely used indicator of U.S. market performance, showed only negligible growth -- two-tenths of one per cent. On June 30, 1966, the net asset values of the shares and debentures stood at \$4.37 and \$4,373.28, respectively.

Careful research by our staff shows that, of approximately 300 Canadian and American investment funds active in the U.S. market, only six had better records than Canabam for the year ending June 30, 1966.

Your fund's shares and debentures were originally issued at \$1.00 and \$1,000.00. They have therefore more than quadrupled in value during the first eight years of operations.

Since January 1, 1966, the net asset values have grown by 10.1%. This was achieved in a declining market; the Dow Jones Industrial Average fell by 10.2% during the six months in question. Staff research shows that only five funds bettered Canabam's record for the January-June period.

Your management has exercised considerable caution in the uncertain markets which have characterized 1966 thus far. This is reflected in the proportion of your funds held in cash or equivalents. Sixty per cent of your assets were in this form on June 30, 1966; this compares with 28% on January 1, 1966.

During the January-June period, Canabam sold at a profit its shares in American Airlines, Bigelow Sanford, Dresser Industries, Flying Tiger Line, Gulf and Western, S. S. Kresge, Magnavox, Motorola, Simmonds Precision, Syntex, Williams Brothers, Polaroid, Teledyne, and Zenith. It sold at a loss its shares in General Motors, SCM, and Collins Radio.

JS/mmo/personal

September 19, 1966

Dear Stan:

Thanks for your note. I will make sure that the press section over at the Department of Labor, who will be handling the releases, has the right information.

It was certainly good to see you and we do look forward to coming to Scarsdale sometime in the not too distant future.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart

Mr. Stanley Frankel Vice President Ogden Corporation 161 East 42nd Street New York 17, New York



161 EAST 42nd ST., NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

STANLEY A. FRANKEL VICE-PRESIDENT

September 9, 1966

Mr. John Stewart Office of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

Just a quick note to congratulate you on the meeting, and to let you know I am going to plan a speech for you here or in Scarsdale, in order to get the Stewarts together with the Frankels this Fall or Winter.

Regarding the publicity on my appointment to the Youth Opportunity Advisory Council, may I suggest that my release be sent, in addition to the New York papers, to the following:

Scarsdale Inquirer 2 Overhill Road Scarsdale, New York

White Plains Reporter Dispatch 8 Church Street White Plains, New York

Northwestern Alumni News Northwestern University Evanston, Illinois

Phi Epsilon Pi Alumni News 1015 Lewis Tower Building 225 South 15th Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

I do not know whether a picture is in order, but if so, I will be glad to send some glossies to your people.

One last point: Whatever you say about me is fine, but I hope

you mention that I am also a member of the Peace Corps Advisory Council.

Best regards,

SAF:ss

Stanley Frankel

COPY plantifes

September 23, 1966

Dear Father Murray:

I regret that my schedule will not permit my attending the meeting with His Excellency, Dr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, on Wednesday, October 5. I am just beginning a year's residence at the Kennedy Institute of Politics and will be in the middle of travel arrangements on that date.

I hope that I will have the opportunity to meet with the associates of the LaFarge Institute at some future time.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart Assistant to the Vice President

John Courtney Murry, S. J. The John LaFarge Institute 106 West 56th Avenue New York, New York 10019

The John LaFarge Institute

106 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y.10019 (212) 581-4640

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James J. Gallagher Executive Director

Rev. John Courtney Murray, S. J. Director September 21, 1966

Mr. John Stewart Office of the Vice President Executive Office Building Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Stewart:

His Excellency Dr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal, will make an official visit to the United States early next month as guest of President Johnson. Dr. Senghor has requested an opportunity during his visit to meet and talk informally with a small group of leaders, both clergy and lay, from this country's major religious groups.

Dr. Senghor, a poet, philosopher and political leader, has long worked in Africa and throughout the world for harmony among Christians and men of other religious beliefs and for harmony between blacks and whites. The John LaFarge Institute and the Africa Service Institute are privileged to have been asked to serve as hosts for a dialogue with Dr. Senghor on these subjects.

We take great pleasure in inviting you to participate in this dialogue to be held here from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. on Wednesday, October 5. Would you please communicate your confirmation to Mr. James Gallagher, our executive director?

Sincerely yours,

John Courtney Murray, S.J.

COPY plantists

September 23, 1966

Dear Father Murray:

I regret that my schedule will not permit my attending the meeting with His Excellency, Dr. Leopold Sedar Senghor, on Wednesday, October 5. I am just beginning a year's residence at the Kennedy Institute of Politics and will be in the middle of travel arrangements on that date.

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Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John G. Stewart Assistant to the Vice President

John Courtney Murry, S. J. The John LaFarge Institute 106 West 56th Avenue New York, New York 10019



GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE 37738

Huff Family, Owners

Jack Huff, President

Tom Woods, Manager

N. 23.66

Dar Bill - De gressed errer milligan, Donglos, Frieble Jennys. Word Sent Realize publit bles Congress so I julallag only one Strates lost. _ 16 of 18 Corgones for Wender Angest Page. are hoples - 2 waity at a clean dres station in the century Mowhen. Jury Miss her to between color of S.C. I det you Min, hus bulling

> Gatlinburg's First Hotel - - and still the favorite! Hotel, Motor Lodge and Dining Room open all year.





GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE 37738

Huff Family, Owners

Jack Huff, President Tom Woods, Manager

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As one of Dr. Rings assistants

MASTER Hosts

Whater Hotel - - and still the favorite!

Hotel, Motor Lodge and Dining Room open all year.



GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE 37738

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Tom Woods, Manager

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Gatlinburg's First Hotel - - and still the favorite! Hotel, Motor Lodge and Dining Room open all year.

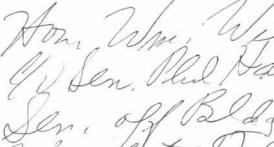


GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE 37738









1966





Box 24 revolved MISI

BW/mmo/ PAR Bulsh

December 12, 1966

TO:

Bill Connell

FROM:

Bill Welsh

I don't know if we have recommended anyone for the Commission to study the revision of the Hatch Act which is referred to in the attached letter Congressman Olsen sent to the President.

However, it is my thought that an area which may have been overlooked by the White House would be the Labor Unions dealing with the state and local employees.

My recommendation would be that the Vice President urge the appointment to this Commission of Mr. Jerry Wurf, who is President of the State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO.

This is one of the largest and fastest-growing AFL-CIO unions, and I think we can do a great deal to get Jerry interested in some of our problems.

In any event, we ought to make a special effort to have him in for a meeting or luncheon this next year with the Vice President. He knows more about

the insides of New York politics than anyone I have every run across.

leg

mmo/NRP/Hill

December 21, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Joseph M. Bowman

Director, Congressional Liaison

Internal Revenue Service

FROM: William B. Welsh

Assistant to the Vice President

We would appreciate your preparing, as soon as possible, a draft reply to this telegram for the Vice President's signature.

Thank you.

CLASS OF SERVICE

unless its deferred char-

acter is indicated by the

proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

R. W. McFALL

PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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W. P. MARSHALL

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

1966 DEC 21 AM 1 4

WASHDC

THE IRS REVOCATION OF THE SIERRA CLUBS TAX EXEMPTION CANNOT BE TOLERATED LEGISLATION MUST BE PASSED IMMEDIATELY TO PROTECT THOSE ORGANIZATIONS WHO WORK NOT FOR PRIVATE GAIN BUT IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST

HAROLD AND SUSAN HILL 4054 WOOLSEY RD SANTA ROSA CALIFORNIA

SF1201(R2-65)

DRAFT MEMORANDUM TO BILL WELCH December 9, 1966

FROM: Ken Gray

RE: MAJOR LEGISLATION WHICH PROBABLY BE BEFORE THE CONGRESS IN 1967

This is organized by Senate Committees. It has a Senate bias since Senate staff and my own experience are its main sources. It is not exhaustive. Attached is the CQ summary of administration proposals in the 89th Congress which gives a convenient listing of left-over proposals.

Aeronautical and Space Sciences. Your staff will have better information than I could gain.

Agriculture. No major administration proposals expected since present authority is in the 1965 Acts which expire in 1969.

Depth and bank makes a supplemental financing legislation will be push by the coops who how get about \$300 million for electric and telephone financing, but who say they will need about twice that a year. The Commondate bill (probably) will provide this through two "banks" similar to the federal land bank makes. REA supplemental financing legislation will be pushed by the coops who how get about \$300 million for electric and telephone financing, but who say they will need about twice that a year. The Cooperto the federal land bank program.

> The National Food and Fiber Reserve bill may be pushed by members of the Committees.

Appropriations. Obviously will be half the show. This depends so much on Budget decisions that it is impossible now to establish all the conflicts. Rent supplements, teacher corps, demonstration cities, education and poverty are obviously going to be difficult. If the administration sends up no supplemental request on poverty and education, for example, we may see the spectacle of Members introducing their own "supplemental bills."

Federal revenue sharing with the states (e.g., the Heller plan) may be made an issue by the Republicans although this is obviously an unfavorable year.

Armed Services.

Extension (and revision) of the Selective Service System.

Anti-Ballistics Missile systems in response to the recently announced Russian deployment of their system, or the alternatives. This is one of the big decisions of the Congress, both in its ultimate effect on world peace and U. S. security and in its impact on the U. S. economy, inflation and the need for a tax increase. \$20 to 30 billions are involved over a short period of years.

NATO troop consolidation or withdrawal (also in Foreigh Relations committee).

Revisions in the Universal Code of Military Justice (Ervin is pushing this both in the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee and in his Armed Services subcommittee).

Consolidation of strategic materials stockpiles may be a secondary issue (Administration request in Budget message last year).

Banking and Currency.

Regulation of Mutual Funds as proposed by the SEC in its recent reportl

The Act regulating the maximum rates of interest which may be paid by banks and other financial institutions (PL 89-597) will expire Sept. 30, 1967. This is an integral part of administration policy on the "tight money" in the home mortgage field problem (and on inflation generally).

Truth in Lending (i.e. disclosure of finance charges) will be pushed by Promire. Magnuson will also be pushing, in the Commerce consumer subcommittee, other credit practices regulation.

Consumer credit controls may come up with the extension of the Defense Production Act if inflation gets worse (the House attached such standby controls in the 1966 extension).

Very little Housing legislation is expected, but watch for proposals from Ribicoff and Mennedy perhaps for making available huge amounts of low interest money for housing and other city rehabilitation. There will be, very likely, xxxx a general housing bill to take care of left-over items from the Senate's 1966 bill which the House committee blackmailed the Senate into dropping but promised to take up in 1967.

The Interstate Land Sales bill may be pushed again by Williams (fraudulent and misrepresented sales of "retirement" lots in the sun).

Investigation type hearings may occur on such matters as the administrations new 5% savings bond (which financial institutions dislike intensely), the home mortgage funds field generally, fraud under FHA insured programs, and the balance of payments.

Commerce. Lots of emphasis on consumer legislation:

Full disclosure on guarantees and warrantees to consumers.

Dodd auto insurance bill to establish an "FDIC for auto insurance.

Truth in credit practices (mainly credit advertising).

Cigarette advertising regulation (harmful to health).

Flammable fabrics act amendments. And a commission will be proposed to investigate dangerous fabrics.

Also, there will be the usual run of merchant marine subsidy legislation, and authorization for nuclear powered ships (commercial) subsidy.

Finance One hell of a burden:

The East-West Trade bill was let drop by the administration in Ways and Means, but it could be revived with real administration work.

The Trade Expansion Act - our basic trade agreements legislation - expires on June 30th()) Deep trouble on this expected in the new House.

The Public Debt limit must be increased, and again there will be trouble in the House -- by July I.

Revision of Title XIX of the Medicare Act (the so-called Medicaid section providing liberal grants to the States for their health programs for the "indigent").

Increase in social security benefits. Any broad overhaul, such as supplemental funds from general revenues, not likely.

The basic 1962 Welfare programs act (federal matching for aged, blind and disabled; aid to dependent children, public assistance rehabilitation services, child welfare services, day care) expires on June 30.

The Unemployment Insurance Act revision, killed in conference last year by the administration when House balked at federal standards, may be pushed again although its chances seem even less in the new House.

Veterans Pensions Bills, killed in the closing hours in the House and Senate at the close of last session, can't be held back.

The Investment Credit Suspension expires in December.

The Interest Equalization Tax (a balance of payments program) expires in April, 1968.

A TAX INCREASE BILL, the big question, will raise not only this crucial question of national economic policy but also the many reform and exclusion questions as well as the question of continuing the excise tax, particularly on telephone use.



Revisions in the Long Presidential Elections Fund will certainly be pushed and Finance will try to keep control of these.

Foreign Relations. In addition to the "general" hearings on U.S. policies announced, but not in detail, by Fulbright:

Ratification of the Space Treaty.

Foreign Aid.

Foreign chanceries in the D.C.

The Consular Convention.

U. S. Participation in the International Human Rights Year (in 1968).

Withdrawal of troops from Europe. One alternative may be to use the Mansfield resolution to work toward a mutual reduction in forces and arms through Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Government Operations. This staff is pretty closed-mouth. They expect as many as a dozen important reorganization plans, but obviously the most important is:

HEW Reorganization. foco.

Muskie may push proposals for "making federal programs more accessible or understandable" to localities and states, though what these may be is uncertain.

Ribicoff may have some legislation on cities, but what this may be is again uncertain.

Interior.

Still some important park authorizations left: the North Cascades in Washington; Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan. Also, something must be done about escalating costs of park lands.

The Redwoods.

The Lower Colorado project will be back in some form, although the push for the dams which offend the conservationists may lessen.

Establishment of the National Water Commission is regarded as high priority in the Senate.

Some clarification of national policy on the vast oil shale reserves may be attempted.

Judiciary.

Dod and Hruska firearms bills.

Investigation of Supreme Court's Miranda decision concerning arrest, detention and confessions. Both Samator Bayh's Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee and Sen. McClellan's Criminal Laws Subcommittee plan hearings.

Morse-Ervin bill to provide for judicial review of Federal aid to church-related institutions. The push on this will begin very early.

Ervin bill to protect rights of Federal employees, which has 35 cosponsors.

Omnibus bills to protect rights of Indians and military personnel (both cosponsored by VP in original versions).

Note: A new subcommittee with a \$100,000 a year budget has been established to study the separation of powers. This could be constructive or difficult (e.g., court encroachment on the Congress etc.).

Civil Rights Legislation. — Full Swalp —

Split Orons

Lin Walford

Labor and Public Welfare.

Education. Mainly the conflicts will be on appropriations. The major programs are already funded well beneath the authorizations and apparently will be further cut.

Aid to the Handicapped may be principal new authorization.

The Reorganization of HEW will be closely watched for program effects.

If the Poverty programs are dispersed, there may be some effort to establish some, e.g., Headstart, in Œ, perhaps through legislation originating here.

Two parts of the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act expire on June 30, 1968. Higher Education expires in 1969. These may be taken up late in 1967 or early in 1968.

Labor. There is some talk of more emergency labor disputes legislation. Such a push may be likely if the new round of contract negotiations results in extended strikes.

14(b) repeal may be pushed, but it can't have a chance in either house.

Health and Welfare.

The Poverty Program will be subjected to very large xcale hearings by the Clark subcommittee, with every intent to write comprehensive legislation.

Grants for Hospital Modernization may be pushed. I could find no definite information on health and watere proposals. Refer to left over items at page 2914 of attached CQ.

Public Works. I was unable to get in touch with knowledgeable staff.

I'll try again and furnish a supplementary memo.

Post Office and Civil Service.

The big issue will be the level of the federal employees pay increase.

I have not been able to verify with staff, but there may be some efforts to deal with Bost Office efficiency and costs, e.g., the priority 6 cent stamp.

District of Columbia.

Home Rule, depending on what the White House recommends.

Federal payment to the D.C. based on assessed valuation of federal real estate and personal property.

Crime legislation.

Eligibility for Title XIX (Medicaid)

Comprehensive credit practices legislation, coming from administration.

Also: unemployment compensation for DC; chancery legislation; parking bill; Potomac waterfront usage; storm sewers

SOME "FIRST THINGS":

Rule XXII, of curse.

Filling vacancies on Committees. (In Senate, especially Douglas vacancies on Steering Committee and Finance; also 3 Dem. vacancies on B & C.)

Monroney Committee recommendations on reorganization; especially the effect of the proposed reductions in Committee size.

House Rolls Con Itten

12/27/66

B111,

You probably saw this Ed Forgan analysis of the ghate-related recolems of Cleveland . . . but if not, here's a copy. I thought of you, and your work in this area, when I read it and that's why I'm forwarding it.

Ross Blobaum



EDWARD P. MORGAN AND THE NEWS

SPONSORED BY THE AFL-CIO

AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY RADIO NETWORK

December 22, 1966

(CLEVELAND) Municipal authorities, still smarting from the wounds of last summer's racial violence, are apprehensive of more trouble to come. They hear that civil rights leaders have chosen Cleveland as a "target city" for demonstrations against discrimination in 1967. But this industrial metropolis of 850,000 population is already a kind of pilot project for the critical urban problems of every major community in the United States and a glance at the headlines in today's Cleveland newspapers proves it.

The morning Plain Dealer reports that a late hour settlement narrowly averted a strike by 300 employes who maintain the city's water mains. Cuyahoga County, which embraces Greater Cleveland, was not so lucky. County welfare workers struck today in a dispute which involves, among other things according to the evening Press, wage demands the county calculates would cost an extra \$190,000.

Like many sister American cities facing the paradox of traffic congestion, people congestion, rising demand for more social and other services and the rising costs of furnishing and delivering them, Cleveland's most urgent need is money.

A new city income tax, which becomes effective as a throbbing kind of fiscal hangover on New Year's Day for everybody who works or lives in Cleveland, is expected to raise \$14,000,000 in new revenue the first year. But even as these fresh funds begin coming in, Cleveland is obligated to start shelling out some nine million dollars annually as her share in a statewide policy and firemen's pension fund, approved by the Ohio legislature, and which will cost the city possibly \$118,000,000 in the next 20 years.

As if that weren't enough, even as the city continues to be squeezed by the mounting problems of crime, juvenile delinquency, school dropouts, substandard housing, pollution and all the rest, Cleveland's share in federal anti-poverty projects will be cut by a million dollars or more as President Johnson tries to trim his budget to meet, in part, the rising costs of the war in Vietnam.

Earlier this year Mayor Ralph Locher made headlines from coast to coast when he observed, as chairman of the anti-pollution committee of the National Conference of Mayors, that we may be the first country to land a man on the moon while standing ankle-deep in garbage. Nevertheless, Mayor Locher insists Cleveland is making progress against most of its problems. He has created a special interracial committee of businessmen, headed by the president of Cleveland's electric power company, Ralph Besse, to grapple with the crisis of the central city. A big manufacturer of machine tools, Warner and Swasey, is investing \$100,000 in two apartment buildings in the Hough area, will refurbish them for low-cost housing. Significantly, Hough is the east side Cleveland slum where the worst of last summer's rioting occurred.

However, writing in a recent issue of a magazine of economic affairs called Challenge, Harvard Economics Professor John F. Kain warned that "while there is great resistance to integration in the suburbs, suburbanization of Negroes is the only long-run solution to the massive urban problems stemming from housing segregation. Even with strenuous efforts these changes will require decades and will be difficult," Kain wrote. "But there is no alternative."

One of his main points was that the flight of white residents and much industry from the central city to the suburbs is separating Negroes left behind in slums and ghettos farther and farther from job opportunities at the very time when their rate of unemployment is higher than that of any other racial group. Professor Kain estimated segregation may cost Negroes the loss of 9,000 jobs in Detroit, 30,000 in Chicago.

Cleveland Mayor Locher told this reporter today he agrees with Kain's conclusion, said he emphasized to the Besse committee that more low-cost housing must be built in Cleveland's suburbs. He was critical of much past federal housing policy as simply causing more "ghettoization" of the city.

Locher has critics of his own. The city's civil rights leaders are still militant, feel Cleveland is still not moving fast enough to improve the plight of the Negroes whose unemployment rate is still around 10 percent compared to a general jobless rate in the city of four to five percent, a slight but encouraging drop from above six percent last June. There remains a tendency — too much no doubt — on the part of some Cleveland civic leaders to recall — as if washing their hands of the affair — that a county grand jury declared after last summer's riots that the trouble was caused by "outside agitators." Maybe outsiders did the provoking. But the problems were already here. Cleveland's continuing urban crisis, however, is only a part of a national issue. For as President Johnson himself said in a significant speech in Denver last September, "the overriding rule" is that "our foreign policy must always be an extension of this nation's domestic policy. Our safest guide to what we do abroad is always to take a good look at what we are doing at home." And, of course, nowhere are we doing enough to validate the perfectly achievable ambitions of a great society.

This is Edward P. Morgan saying good night from Cleveland.

Minnesota Historical Society

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