

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

The John F. Kennedy 1960 Campaign

Part I: Polls, Issues, and Strategy

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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS
The John F. Kennedy 1960 Campaign
Part I:
Polls, Issues, and Strategy

A collection from the holdings of
The John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts

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ACRONYM LIST

The following acronyms are used frequently in this micropublication and are reproduced here for the convenience of the user.

ADA	Americans for Democratic Action
NDEA	National Defense Education Act
NSC	National Security Council
REA	Rural Electrification Administration
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

INTRODUCTION

by Dr. Richard M. Fried
University of Illinois at Chicago

The 1960 presidential campaign has always held a fascination for historians, political scientists, and devotees of American politics. There are many reasons for this. The campaign projected on the screen of national politics the alluring figure of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. For some years JFK has had his critics, as he did in his lifetime. Yet even after allowances are made for the rosy tint of the recollections of members of JFK's circle, there remains about the Kennedy years a Camelotian afterglow.

The campaign had importance well beyond the simple fact that it (narrowly) resulted in victory for Kennedy. The rhetoric of the campaign in great degree established the agenda of the decade of the 1960s. This is not to say that Kennedy or anyone else explicitly articulated what was to come—no more than Franklin D. Roosevelt spelled out the New Deal in 1932. But all the issues are there to be seen in the debate, the speech texts and drafts, the position papers, the marginalia accompanying them, and the hurried chits of phone conversations that were churned out in the course of the 1960 campaign.

Nineteen sixty marked the culmination of an extensive debate over national purpose. Kennedy was not alone in raising the question of the direction America must take. In varying degrees, all the Democratic presidential aspirants—Hubert H. Humphrey, Lyndon Baines Johnson, Stuart Symington, and (in both his “non-campaign” rhetoric in 1960 and earlier in his 1956 campaign) Adlai E. Stevenson—raised questions relating to the American agenda. So too did Richard M. Nixon, both in his dialogue with Kennedy and in the dialectic with Nelson Rockefeller, with whom Nixon agreed to the “Compact of Fifth Avenue” in order to head off a rival candidacy by the New York governor.

The defining of national purpose both informed and transcended simple partisan politics. *Life* magazine ran a series of articles that attempted to outline the nation's priorities. Eisenhower himself established a President's Commission on National Goals (administered by the American Assembly). The Republican party had its own Committee on Program and Policy, chaired by Charles Percy of Illinois. The Democratic Advisory Council, launched in the wake of the 1956 election, performed a similar function. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund launched a Special Studies Project in 1956 that resulted in a series of Rockefeller Panel reports. The preface to those reports articulates as well as any the heightened sense of urgent choice faced by the country as the 1960s dawned: “This project grew out of a belief that the United States, in the middle of the twentieth century, found itself in a critical situation requiring the urgent attention of thoughtful citizens.”¹

Virtually all this mounting of agendas implied a critical stance toward the Eisenhower years. Toward the end of the 1950s, there was a tendency in many quarters to dismiss Ike as a genial, grandfatherly, popular but bumbling, unassertive president of the “Whig” persuasion, who preferred to let issues fester or have others confront them, while he mouthed nondirectional pieties. In the then-current joke, the teller asked if one had heard about the Eisenhower doll—“you wind it up and it does nothing for eight years.” As recent “Eisenhower revisionist” scholarship has indicated, this is an unfair portrayal. There was more to the Eisenhower years than limping syntax, golf, and inaction, but however unfair, it was that *perception* of the Eisenhower era that informed much of the debate leading up to the 1960 election.

Pointing towards 1960, the Democrats made much of the purported inactivism of the Eisenhower years. They had much on which to build. The 1950s had been prosperous (and with minimal inflation), but annual economic growth had been modest; the spotty economy had bumped along into three recessions and had not erased numerous pockets of poverty (soon to be exposed in the writings of Michael Harrington and Dwight Macdonald). Nikita Khrushchev had bragged of the Communist system's greater vitality. "We will bury you" was the loose translation of one famous challenge. "Growthsmanship" became a major issue in the 1960 campaign and was linked by the Democrats to broader cold war questions.

Not just the quantity but the quality of development became an issue. Intellectuals had questioned the rampant consumerism of the Eisenhower years and the impoverishment of the public sector. It was automobile tailfins and hula hoops, while public transit and other facilities were neglected. The Democrats around Kennedy embraced these issues. The historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who would play a prominent role in the Kennedy campaign and administration, distinguished between quantitative and "qualitative liberalism," and suggested that the latter's time had arrived. He expressed concern at the existence of "public poverty in the midst of private plenty" and feared that, without change, "a future Gibbon will regard the Eisenhower-Nixon era as the downward turning point when he comes to write about the Decline and Fall of the American Republic." Schlesinger also saw a need to regenerate idealism in American foreign policy. "In the age of Eisenhower, American idealism is the product of advertising men, not the by-product of national purpose."²

The campaign was about idealism, but also, in the view of many, about survival. In 1957, the Soviets launched Sputnik. They would continue to lead in the early phases of the space race. American efforts to score an extraterrestrial coup often blew up on the launching pad, prompting such caustic nicknames as "kerflopnik" or "kaputnik." The Democrats assailed the administration for its lagging efforts. One TV campaign spot picked up Kennedy's comment in Portland, Oregon: "The first vehicle in space was Sputnik, not Vanguard. The first country to place its national emblem on the moon was Russia, not America. The first passengers to return from a trip through space were named Strelka and Belka, not Rover and Fido."³

Thus, in accusing the Eisenhower administration of permitting the Soviets to outstrip us in rocketry, the Democrats charged that there existed a "missile gap." The issue was not JFK's alone. Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson's Preparedness subcommittee had examined this and other defense problems. Another candidate, Senator Stuart Symington, who had once been secretary of the air force, also made defense a point of major concentration. The Democratic Advisory Committee, established after the 1956 election to provide a (liberal) "issues" focus for the Democratic party, produced position papers critical of the Eisenhower defense policies. Kennedy participated in this general Democratic chorus about "gaps," and his campaign marked a culmination of that trend. Walt W. Rostow, another campaign adviser (and subsequently National Security Adviser) feared that "without the national security issue—the issue of survival—[the Democrats' other domestic issues] will be Hamlet without the Prince. . . ."⁴

Another key concern in the 1960 campaign was the civil rights issue. The six years prior to 1960 had witnessed such developments as the *Brown* decision; the Montgomery bus boycott and, in 1957, the garrisoning of Little Rock Central High School with federal troops; the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; and the first Civil Rights Act in over eighty years. In February 1960 the national sit-in movement was born in Greensboro, North Carolina, and soon spread to numerous other locales.

As a congressman and senator, Kennedy had never been identified with the cause of civil rights. His Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Profiles in Courage*, accepted the orthodox pro-Southern view of Radical Reconstruction. He had drawn close to some Southern politicians in his quest for the nomination, and he had lined up with the South on two key votes on the 1957 Civil Rights Act (to send it to the Judiciary Committee and to provide for jury trials). Consequently his reputation needed bolstering among black voters. The Kennedy papers spell out his efforts to establish contact with the civil rights community; they show the work on his behalf by his supporters, and they testify to his gradual education in the civil rights issue.

During the campaign, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was briefly arrested during an Atlanta sit-in; he was later sentenced to four months at hard labor in connection with an earlier motor vehicle violation. JFK's phone call to Coretta Scott King, and Bobby Kennedy's to the judge who sentenced Reverend King, had a dramatic effect in the black community. Kennedy succeeded in regaining many of the votes that had drifted into the Republican column during the Eisenhower years. At the same time, he managed to retain something of a reputation for moderation among many white Southerners.⁵

In 1960 the issue that appeared to be the most intractable was, of course, Kennedy's Catholicism. This microfilm collection is particularly strong in this area. James Wine was hired from the staff of the National Council of Churches to handle the Catholic issue under the rubric of "Community Relations." His office answered up to a thousand letters a week on the Catholic issue. The Wine File (portions of which are included in this collection) is

thus a trove of valuable sources on the religious question. These vary from scurrilous and far-out tracts (about the phony Knights of Columbus Oath, goings-on in convents and so forth), to invocations of the Inquisition, to reasoned concern about the Church and such issues as birth control and aid to education. One writer asked JFK if he would "confess state secrets to a priest? (Russia could have trained a priest.)"⁶

Kennedy comported himself well in his formal responses to questions about his Catholicism. His performance before the Houston Ministerial Association in September was acclaimed as a masterpiece. House Speaker Sam Rayburn declared that "he ate 'em blood raw." But the Wine Files indicate that Kennedy had not convinced everyone. Indeed, his reasonableness on issues of church and state angered some Catholics. One co-religionist wrote that JFK's statement that no religious tenet could supersede his oath of office "seems to be the product of a mind with only a surface value or knowledge of the Catholic religion." (Jacqueline Kennedy had once termed it "unfair for Jack to be opposed because he is a Catholic. After all, he's such a poor Catholic.")⁷

There was, of course, another side of the issue. The Republicans had made inroads on the Catholic vote, especially among ethnic groups linked to "Captive Nations" under Communist rule. One attraction of Kennedy's candidacy was his purported ability to recapture these Catholic votes. There is a copy of the much-noted unsigned memorandum, "The Catholic Vote in 1952 and 1956," which argued that the Democratic party could ill afford to ignore the Catholic vote. It was written by Theodore B. Sorensen but then attributed to John Bailey of Connecticut to deflect the inevitable critics, who assailed it as a form of blackmail. Kennedy's campaign staff, conversant with the historical literature, was aware both that Catholicism in itself had not accounted for Al Smith's defeat in the 1928 election and that, because the country had changed and Kennedy was not Smith, the issue would not be as potent in 1960 as thirty-two years before.⁸

Through these documents the Kennedy campaign is accessible as perhaps no other presidential effort in our history. One can plot the campaign's progress geographically and politically. The speeches show where the candidate went and what he said. The plethora of public opinion polls offers a comprehensive sense of the impact of the campaign, as well as of the social and political context in which it took place. It is unlikely that a more complete record of the public pulse in an election year is to be found. At the same time, the Kennedy papers afford us an intimate look at the inside of the campaign. The numerous position papers and briefing papers show us the Kennedy campaigners' perspectives on the live questions of the day and demonstrate how these meshed into a unified campaign theme. They reveal the staff's reaction to (and anticipation of) thrust and counterthrust during the pre-convention competition and during the fall campaign.

Thus, the speeches. Going back to 1953, these chronicle Kennedy's evolution as a national figure. They range from a talk on federal flood insurance to JFK's much-heralded address on the Algerian crisis; from Jefferson-Jackson Day dinners to a speech honoring the Hungarian freedom fighters; from remarks up and down the valleys of West Virginia to the July 15, 1960, speech accepting the presidential nomination, which implanted "the New Frontier" in the national lexicon. Cumulatively as well as individually, the speeches express the sense of crisis, of critical choice, that JFK tried to instill in his campaign. Five times in the campaign Kennedy referred to the Spartans' self-sacrifice at Thermopylae. The theme of sacrifice is central to the 1960 campaign (though, in one notable campaign memo, JFK was warned to avoid this theme in Kentucky, which already, according to the writer, lived close to the bone).

The polls are another rich source. Kennedy's chief pollster was Lou Harris. There is probably no richer lode for a national campaign. The polls permit at least a rough measurement of the extent to which Democratic rhetoric filtered down to the people. The evidence is mixed. Poll after poll turns up impressive numbers of people responding to traditional issues—the cost of living, farm prices, and so on. The need to "rebuild U.S. prestige" makes frequent appearances, too. What is interesting is the number of times the whole cluster of foreign policy issues cut in Nixon's, not Kennedy's, favor. Nonetheless, Lou Harris, caught up in the campaign's spirit, recommended hitting the standard "we can do better" thesis in such states. It is possible that the "New Frontier" theme was a preoccupation largely of the political elites whose rhetoric it colored.

The polls thus permit a judgment as to how much of the Kennedy aura that we associate with the 1960 campaign was present at the time and how much has been retroactively imposed upon it by the sense of loss that followed JFK's assassination. In a sense the 1960 campaign was a conventional one. As post-election vote analyses have shown, it is best understood as a "maintaining" election in the New Deal tradition. Still, the polls do indicate how attractive Kennedy's personality proved to be. Several times Harris compared Kennedy to FDR. Some polls emphasized the public perception that JFK "cares" or that there was "an aura of activity" and a sense of "excitement and verve" around him. The term "image" is used frankly (and a little self-consciously) throughout the summaries of campaign polls. And yet, the polls are also full of data pointing to voters' concern with more conventional issues like farm prices, taxes, and the cost of living.⁹

These microfilmed campaign files permit examination of the shaping of the major issues of 1960. But they also permit us to tease out less overt but still significant developments. For example, one *leitmotif* that can be traced through the panorama of the campaign was the shopping center. That especially American construct was the location for several Kennedy speeches; its appearance on his itineraries illustrates a major facet of social history. More than that, it became a symbolic issue—a minor but revealing one. It represented, of course, the apotheosis of consumerism that colored the fifties and, said Democrats in their “qualitative” mode, it exemplified the inadequacy of the Republican vision of the good society. The “Nixonpedia,” the Democrats’ collation of almost everything the Vice-President had said on virtually every issue, even picked up this theme. Nixon was quoted as saying, “If you think the United States has stood still, who built the largest shopping center in the world?” An appended comment noted that “the Russians have built the largest dams, the largest missile, the largest satellite, have the largest army—and these things are much more important for our future than shopping centers.”¹⁰

Yet we can also find illustrations of the fact that the Kennedy campaign did not always march to the clarion call of “national purpose.” One polling expert, balking at a principal campaign motif, offered the cautioning advice that “the ‘sacrifice’ theme could really lay an egg. . . .” Sometimes the campaign stressed JFK’s war with Teamsters’ leader Jimmy Hoffa. Then, too, the briefing papers for Kennedy’s swing through southern Illinois include the terse instruction to stress the theme of “Strong America to Defeat Godless Communism.”¹¹

The campaign records illustrate an unusual amount of lofty rhetoric about grand themes. Kennedy was certainly not the first candidate to have a “braintrust,” but his may have been the most elaborate. Beginning with a Harvard-MIT nucleus (with help from Amherst and Williams), it encompassed other universities in state campaigns. These papers are full of materials attesting to Kennedy’s efforts to woo the intellectuals. A key juncture in Kennedy’s quest of the nomination and a death knell for the draft-Stevenson effort may have been his capture of the support of many of the country’s noted intellectuals. Certainly that conquest was an important event in its own right.

The John F. Kennedy papers are not the only ones that afford glimpses into the 1960 campaign. At the Kennedy Library itself, one should also look at the papers of Robert F. Kennedy and Ted Sorensen, two key architects of the campaign. Several other collections also contain important materials on the election. Then there are the papers of all the other candidates as well. However, John F. Kennedy’s papers do have much to offer. They are a vast storehouse of information about movers and shakers at national headquarters and about the high ideals that pervaded the rhetoric of the campaign. They also contain data about the concerns of the people at the opposite end of the line—the voters—and the degree to which the “New Frontier” themes percolated down to the grassroots. They thus offer a blend of the sacred and the profane, in short a panorama of American politics in the critical year of 1960.

Footnotes

1. *Prospect for America: The Rockefeller Panel Reports* (Garden City, 1961), p. xv.
2. Schlesinger memorandum, “The Shape of National Politics to Come,” May 12, 1959, Box 996, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers; Schlesinger, “The Big Decision: Private Indulgence or National Strength,” n.d., *ibid.*
3. TV spot, “Defense #15,” Box 5, Robert F. Kennedy Papers, John F. Kennedy Library. Excerpt is from Portland, Ore., speech of Sept. 7, 1960.
4. Rostow memorandum to Senator Kennedy, “A Democratic Strategy for 1960,” Jan. 2, 1960, Box 995, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers.
5. Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York, 1977), chs. 1–2; Marjorie MacKenzie Lawson to JFK, Dec. 27, 1958, Box 991, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers.
6. Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* (New York, 1965), p. 175; letter to JFK, ca. Sept. 15, 1960, Box 1014, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers (Wine Files).
7. Sorensen, *Kennedy*, p. 193; letter to Kennedy, March 4, 1959, Box 1000, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers; Garry Wills, *The Kennedy Imprisonment: A Meditation on Power* (Boston, 1982), p. 61.
8. “The Catholic Vote in 1952 and 1956” (Spring 1956), Box 996, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers; “Summary of Sorensen Talk” (Summer 1959), Box 1, Theodore C. Sorensen Papers, John F. Kennedy Library.

9. Harris polls #832 (New Jersey, Sept. 14, 1960), p. 7, Box 12, Robert F. Kennedy Papers; #805 (New York, Oct. 25, 1960), p. 12, Box 13, *ibid.*; #810 (New York, Nov. 4, 1960), p. 5, *ibid.*; #802 (Pennsylvania, Sept. 13, 1960), p. 19, *ibid.*; Harris poll, Wisconsin primary (March 7, 1960), p. 16, *ibid.*
10. Nixonpedia section, "Analysis of Nixon's Statements," Sept. 14, 1960, Box 11, Robert F. Kennedy Papers.
11. — [George Belknap?] to Ralph Dungan, n.d. [1960], Box 16, *ibid.*; briefing sheets for Harrisburg, Marion, and Herrin, Illinois, n.d., Box 991, John F. Kennedy Pre-Presidential Papers.

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

Part I of *The John F. Kennedy 1960 Campaign* utilizes portions of the Senate Files and the 1960 Campaign Files of the Pre-Presidential Papers. This material has been drawn from the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, Massachusetts.

The Senate Files material included in *Part I* consists of the Polls of Political Opinion. From 1957 through 1960 the Kennedy staff commissioned Louis Harris and Associates to carry out a comprehensive series of public opinion polls. These polls constitute a state-by-state examination of key issues and concerns. The polls categorize the electorate along regional, economic, social, and educational lines. They indicate presidential preferences as well as provide trial pairings of potential candidates. They also include recommendations, based on their scientific sampling of public opinion, of the policy positions most likely to maximize votes. With the assistance of Louis Harris and Associates, University Publications of America has microfilmed these polls in their entirety. (Permission to cite, quote from, or reproduce any document in the Harris Polls and Opinions File for publication must be obtained from Louis Harris & Associates, Inc., 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020.)

The 1960 Campaign Files material utilized in *Part I* includes Position and Briefing Papers, the Richard Goodwin Working Papers, the Religious Issue Files of James Wine, the Nixonpedia File, and the Campaign Literature File. The Position and Briefing Papers have been filmed in their entirety. With the exception of duplicate copies and newspaper clippings, the Richard Goodwin Working Papers, the Nixonpedia File, and the Campaign Literature File have also been filmed in their entirety.

The Position and Briefing Papers consist of background materials compiled for the Kennedy campaign on national, state, and international issues. Responses to criticism of Senator Kennedy are also included in the papers. These papers were written and collected by Richard Goodwin, Archibald Cox, Theodore Sorensen, Deidre Henderson, Chester Bowles, Mike Sieverts, John Kenneth Galbraith, William A. Dymsha, Myer Feldman, and Walt Rostow, among others. Arrangement of state briefing papers and topical briefing papers is alphabetical, and unless otherwise noted, is dated in 1960.

The Richard Goodwin Working Papers consist of speech drafts, press releases, and correspondence concerning various speeches from 1958 through 1960. There are also suggestions on the organization of the team of speechwriters utilized by Senator Kennedy. Information on the possible strategies of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Vice-President Richard Nixon is highlighted. Papers not filmed include duplicates, newsclippings, miscellaneous fragments of speeches and political writings, and miscellaneous publications.

The Religious Issue Files of James Wine include material on the handling of the religious question during the 1960 campaign. Prior to becoming Senator Kennedy's special assistant, James Wine was the associate general secretary of the National Council of Churches. These files are divided into three sections. The first section, not included in this micropublication, contains general correspondence on the religious issue received by Senator Kennedy's campaign headquarters from the public at large. The second and third sections, filmed in their entirety except for duplicates, contain alphabetically arranged subject and name files. The correspondence and memoranda in these sections include highly articulate expressions by reputable religious and lay figures, as well as incoherent, irate, and unanswerable attacks by religious fanatics. There is also correspondence and memoranda from members of Congress and the Fair Campaign Practices Committee. These sections also include both pro- and anti-Catholic religious literature. Newsclippings were not filmed.

The Nixonpedia File was compiled by and for the use of the Democratic National Committee. This file consists of a listing of Vice-President Richard Nixon's promises and quotes on various subjects and issues, both during his vice-presidential years and the 1960 campaign. This file also consists of a three-volume compilation of *What Nixon Said: A Collection of His Public Utterances, 1946–1960* and an index of Nixon's inconsistencies. Also included are materials on Vice-President Richard Nixon's foreign policy and executive "experience."

The Campaign Literature File consists of confidential fact sheets prepared by Kennedy's staff on various subjects and issues, press releases, additional polls, voting records and strategies of other candidates, and other materials used for public distribution and information during the campaign.

REEL INDEX

The frame number on the left-hand side of the page identifies where a specific folder begins. These folders are typically a chronological grouping of material. In the interest of accessing material within the folders, the index denotes the major substantive issues, poll pairings, images, and subjects under the category of *Major Subjects*. Individuals who contributed significant correspondence are denoted under the category of *Principal Correspondents*. As John F. Kennedy was integral to all the documents, there are no listings specifically for him.

Reel 1

Harris Polls of Political Opinion

[Permission to cite, quote from, or reproduce these documents for publication must be obtained from Louis Harris & Associates, Inc., 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020.]

Box 815

0001 The Race for President in 1960 in the State of California, March 1958. 19pp.

Major Subjects: The Kennedy image; the Nixon image; religious issue.

0020 The California Democratic Primary, February 1960. 52pp.

Major Subjects: Results of a Democratic primary contest; results of pairing of Nixon vs. Johnson, Symington, Brown, Humphrey, Stevenson, and Kennedy; key group divisions; key issues; key group breakdowns; basic major office pattern; counties ranked in order of Democratic percentage of total registration and Roman Catholic membership-to-county population; vote by county for Stevenson and Kefauver; political pattern by congressional districts.

0072 The California Democratic Primary following Governor Brown's 60-Day Reprieve of Caryl Chessman, March 1960. 10pp.

Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Humphrey-Brown primary race; attitudes toward capital punishment.

0082 Presidential Race in Connecticut, November 4, 1960. 12pp.

Major Subjects: Results of Nixon-Kennedy pairing; religious issue; key group standings; issues of concern; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.

0094 Issues and Candidates in Florida, August 1958. 22pp.

Major Subjects: Results of pairing Kennedy vs. Stevenson, Johnson, Symington, and Humphrey; presidential preference primary; rating of job Eisenhower has done as President; Stevenson and Kennedy vs. Nixon; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.

0116 The Democratic Primary for President in Florida, January 1960. 40pp.

Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Smathers, Kennedy-Johnson, Nixon-Johnson, Nixon-Symington, and Nixon-Kennedy pairings; key groups; the Kennedy image; religious issue; the Johnson image; issues of concern; postwar presidential voting patterns; counties ranked in order of composite Democratic presidential percentage.

- 0156 The Democratic Primary Election in Indiana, January 1960. 58pp.
Major Subjects: Laundry list of candidates; results of individual pairings; Nixon vs. Kennedy, Stevenson, Johnson, and Symington; the Kennedy vote; key voting groups; religious issue; birth control issue; the Kennedy image; the Johnson image; issues of concern; basic major office pattern; counties ranked according to composite Democratic presidential percentage, 1952 and 1956; Presidential Preference Primary 1956; counties ranked according to Roman Catholic membership-to-county population.
- 0214 Issues and Candidate Preferences in Iowa, June 1960. 21pp.
Major Subjects: Nixon vs. Kennedy, Johnson, Symington, and Stevenson pairing; senate and gubernatorial races; Loveless vs. Miller; key voting groups.
- 0235 Iowa: Part II. 26pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy vs. Nixon pairing; key group breakdowns; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0261 Prospects for the 1960 Presidential Election in the State of Kentucky, March 1959. 17pp.
Major Subjects: Key group preferences for Democratic nomination; Kennedy vs. Johnson, Symington, and Humphrey pairings; the Kennedy image; the Johnson image; the Symington image; the Humphrey image; candidate's public image.
- 0278 The Presidential Election in Kentucky, September 22, 1960. 23pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Nixon and Cooper-Johnson pairings; religious issue; key group analysis; issues of concern; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0301 The Presidential Election in Maine, November 5, 1960. 14pp.
Major Subjects: Results of the Nixon-Kennedy and Coffin-Reed pairings; religious issue; key group patterns; issues of concern; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0315 Candidates and Issues in Maryland in the Light of the 1960 Elections, August 1958. 18pp.
Major Subjects: Primary trial heat; key group preferences; religious issue; results of Stevenson-Nixon and Kennedy-Nixon pairings; comparison of the Kennedy-Stevenson vote; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- Box 816**
- 0333 The Democratic Primary in Maryland, February 1960. 39pp.
Major Subjects: Pairings of Nixon vs. Johnson, Symington, Stevenson, and Kennedy; the Kennedy image; religious issue; the Symington image; issues of concern; major office pattern; counties—composite Democratic presidential percentage, Roman Catholic membership-to-county population, and Democratic gubernatorial percentage; political pattern by congressional districts.
- 0372 The Presidential Race in Maryland, September 23, 1960. 30pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Nixon-Kennedy and Johnson-Lodge pairings; religious issues; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image; issues of concern; key voting groups.
- 0402 The Election for United States Senator in Massachusetts, June 1958. 66pp.
Major Subjects: Areas of concern; issues in the Kennedy-Gibbons race; the Kennedy image; the Kennedy record; the Gibbons image; key segments of the electorate.
- 0468 The Election for United States Senator in Massachusetts, October 1958. 31pp.
Major Subjects: U.S. senatorial pairings; pairing for governor; comparison of Senate and governor races; shifts in Kennedy Boston vote; key issues; the Kennedy image; the Celeste image.
- 0499 Presidential Preferences in Michigan, January 1960. 32pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Nixon vs. Humphrey, Symington, and Kennedy; preferences of Michigan Democrats; basic major office pattern; counties ranked in order of composite Democratic presidential percentage, average Democratic gubernatorial percentage, and order of Roman Catholic-to-county population; political pattern by congressional districts.
- 0531 Presidential Election in Minnesota, September 15, 1960. 22pp.
Major Subjects: Presidential pairings; key voter groups; key issues; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image; religious issue.

- 0553 The Presidential Election in Missouri, Wave II, November 3, 1960. 16pp.
Major Subjects: Kennedy-Nixon pairing; religious issue; key voter groups; key issues; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- 0569 Presidential Preferences in Nebraska, April 1959. 37pp.
Major Subjects: Laundry list preferences; results of pairing Kennedy vs. Humphrey, Kefauver, and Williams; religious issue; Kennedy strength by key groups; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image; key issues; presidential race pairings—entire electorate; the Nixon image; the Rockefeller image.
- 0606 Presidential Preferences in New York City, April 1959. 25pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy, Humphrey, and Symington; results of pairing Rockefeller vs. Stevenson, Kennedy, and Meyner; the Kennedy image; the Rockefeller image.
- 0631 The 12th Assembly District of the 25th Congressional District in New York, December 1959. 8pp.
Major Subjects: Shifts in the ethnic make-up of the 12th Assembly District; results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy.
- 0639 The 1960 Presidential Election in New York State, September 19, 1960. 33pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Nixon-Kennedy and Johnson-Lodge pairing; key group standings; key issues; religious issue; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- 0672 1960 Presidential Election in New York, Wave III, November 4, 1960. 12pp.
Major Subjects: Overall results of Kennedy-Nixon pairings; key group voting patterns; issues of concern; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0684 New York City by Ethnic Group, pp. 3–9. 9pp.
Major Subjects: Key voting group patterns; issues of concern.
- Box 817**
- 0693 Voter Preferences in North Carolina, May 1960. 15pp.
Major Subjects: The Kennedy image; the Johnson image; preferences among critical subgroups.
- 0708 The Presidential Election of 1960 in North Carolina, September 26, 1960. 23pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Nixon pairing; religious issue; key groups, key issues; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0731 Voter Preferences in North Dakota, April 1960. 28pp.
Major Subjects: Key subgroups; key issues; county rank order, Democratic gubernatorial percentage, and Democratic presidential percentage; postwar vote for president, governor, and senator.
- 0759 Issues and Candidates in Ohio in the Light of the 1960 Elections, September 1958. 24pp.
Major Subjects: Analysis of trial heat by religion, sex, and area of state; the Stevenson image; the Williams image; results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy and Stevenson; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0783 Presidential Preferences in Ohio, April 1959. 44pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Kennedy vs. Humphrey, Meyner, Lausche, and DiSalle; Kennedy strength by key groups; the Kennedy image; key issues; the DiSalle image; results of pairing Nixon vs. Meyner, Humphrey, and Kennedy; results of pairing Rockefeller vs. Symington, Humphrey, and Kennedy; the Rockefeller image; the Nixon image.
- 0827 The Primary Election in Ohio for the Democratic Nomination for President in 1960, November 1959. 63pp.
Major Subjects: Kennedy-DiSalle primary race; Kennedy-Lausche pairing; key group breakdown; the Kennedy image; the Lausche image; the DiSalle image; key issues; basic major office pattern; counties ranked in order of composite Democratic percentage for president and Roman Catholic-to-county population; political patterns by congressional districts.
- 0890 The Presidential Election in Ohio, Wave III, November 4, 1960. 14pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Nixon-Kennedy pairing; key issues; key group preference; religious issue; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.

- 0904 Appendix on Past Ohio Vote. n.d. 17pp.
Major Subjects: Basic major office pattern; basic primary pattern; counties ranked in order of composite Democratic percentage for president and Roman Catholic-to-county population; political patterns by congressional districts.
- 0921 Issues and Key Groups in Ohio. n.d. 8pp.
Major Subjects: Key issues; key group preference.
- 0929 Ohio Analysis, pp. 13-28. n.d. 18pp.
Major Subjects: Key group breakdown; the Kennedy image; the Lausche image; the DiSalle image; key issues in Ohio.
- 0947 Issues and Images in Oregon, May 1958. 19pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairings; religious issue; the Kennedy image.
- 0966 Presidential Preferences in Oregon, April 1959. 32pp.
Major Subjects: Laundry list preferences; results of Kennedy-Humphrey pairing; Kennedy strength by key groups; key issues; results of pairing Nixon vs. Brown, Humphrey, and Kennedy; results of pairing Rockefeller vs. Symington, Humphrey, and Kennedy; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image; the Nixon image; the Rockefeller image.

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Harris Polls of Political Opinion cont.

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Box 817 (cont.)

- 0001 The Democratic Primary Election in Oregon, January 1960. 50pp.
Major Subjects: Laundry list preferences; key voting groups; key issues; the Kennedy image; the Stevenson image; the Morse image; voting for governor, senator, and president; counties ranked according to the per cent of Roman Catholic to all other religions and in order of composite Democratic presidential percentage.

Box 818

- 0051 Candidates and Issues in Pennsylvania, September 1958. 20pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Kennedy vs. Stevenson, Meyner, Symington, and Humphrey; the Meyner image; the Kennedy image; results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy and Symington.
- 0071 Presidential Elections in Pennsylvania, Wave III, November 3, 1960. 11pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Nixon-Kennedy pairing; religious issue; key group preferences; key issues; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- 0082 The Presidential Election in 1960 in South Carolina, June 1960. 30pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Nixon vs. Stevenson, Kennedy, Symington, and Johnson; results of pairing Kennedy-Humphrey vs. Nixon-Morton; the Kennedy image; the Johnson image; key issues.
- 0112 The Presidential Election of 1960 in South Carolina, November 4, 1960. 12pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Nixon pairing; religious issue; preferences of key groups; key issues; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0124 Issues and Key Groups in South Carolina. n.d. 9pp.
Major Subjects: Preferences of key groups; key issues.
- 0133 Public Preferences among Presidential Possibilities in South Dakota, June 1959. 18pp.
Major Subjects: Preferences between Kennedy and Humphrey; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image.
- 0151 The Presidential Election in South Dakota, September 19, 1960. 23pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Nixon pairing; preferences for vice-president; key group preferences; key issues; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image; religious issue.

- 0174 The Presidential Election of 1960 in Tennessee, September 19, 1960. 53pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Nixon-Kennedy and Johnson-Lodge pairings; religious issue; key issues; key group breakdowns; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image; Tennessee campaign atlas.
- 0227 Presidential Election in Texas, Wave III, November 3, 1960. 13pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Nixon pairing; key issues; religious issue; key voter groups; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- 0240 The Presidential Election in Virginia, September 22, 1960. 24pp.
Major Subjects: Presidential pairings; religious issue; key voter groups; key issues; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0264 1960 Presidential Election in Washington, September 26, 1960. 24pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Nixon pairing; key group support; religious issue; key issues; the Nixon image; the Kennedy image.
- 0288 Issues and Images in West Virginia, June 1958. 20pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy, Humphrey, and Symington; the Kennedy image; religious issue; the Nixon image.
- 0308 Voter Attitude in West Virginia on Presidential Preferences, January 1960. 39pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Kennedy vs. Humphrey, Williams, and Symington; key voter groups; key issues; the Humphrey image; the Kennedy image; religious issue; results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy, Stevenson, Humphrey, and Symington.
- 0347 Issues and Images in Wisconsin, June 1958. 21pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Nixon vs. Kennedy, Humphrey, and Symington; key voter groups; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- 0368 Preferences for President in Wisconsin, April 1959. 49pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Kennedy vs. Humphrey, Williams, Nelson, and Kefauver; religious issue; key groups and areas; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image; key issues.
- 0417 Presidential Primary Election in Wisconsin in the Prospective Contest for the Democratic Nomination, December 1959. 27pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Kennedy vs. Humphrey, Williams, Nelson, and Kefauver; religious issue; key groups and areas.
- Box 819**
- 0444 The 3rd and 9th Congressional Districts of Wisconsin, January 1960. 20pp.
Major Subjects: Breakdown of the Kennedy-Humphrey race; the Humphrey image; the Kennedy image; key issues.
- 0464 The Democratic Primary Election in Wisconsin in the 3rd, 9th, and 7th Congressional Districts, March 7, 1960. 43pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Humphrey pairing in the 3rd, 9th, and 7th congressional districts; religious issue; the effects of campaigning; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image; key issues.
- 0507 Wisconsin's 2nd, 10th, and 5th Congressional Districts in the 1960 Democratic Primary, March 21, 1960. 35pp.
Major Subjects: Voter assessment of Kennedy and Humphrey campaigning; key groups; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image; key issues.
- 0542 The Wisconsin 1960 Primary. 58pp.
Major Subjects: Results of Kennedy-Humphrey, Proxmire-Humphrey, and Kennedy-Humphrey-Stevenson pairings; key groups; the Kennedy image; the Humphrey image; the Proxmire image; the Stevenson image; key issues; religious issue; county rank order in composite Democratic presidential percentage; primary voting for president, governor, and senator; political pattern by congressional districts.
- 0600 Wisconsin Appendix. 20pp.
Major Subjects: Religious issue; county rank order in composite Democratic presidential percentage; primary voting for president, governor, and senator.

- 0620 A Trial Pairing of Vice-President Richard M. Nixon vs. Senator John F. Kennedy for the Presidency of the United States, October 1957. 19pp.
Major Subjects: Key groups; the Kennedy image; the Nixon image.
- 0639 Public Opinion on Candidates in Eight West Coast Cities. [February 1959.] 20pp.
Major Subjects: Results of pairing Nixon vs. Symington and Kennedy; results of pairing Rockefeller vs. Humphrey, Symington, and Kennedy; religious issue; preference of Democrats; Symington, Johnson, and Brown; profiles of leading candidates.
- 0659 The Farm Vote in the Midwest, July 1959. 44pp.
Major Subjects: Political leanings of farmers; issues that beset farmers.

Position and Briefing Papers, 1960

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- 0703 State Briefing Papers: Alaska-Kentucky. 25pp.
- 0728 State Briefing Papers: Louisiana-Missouri. 36pp.
- 0764 State Briefing Papers: Nevada-Oregon. 29pp.
- 0793 State Briefing Papers: Tennessee-West Virginia. 27pp.
- 0820 Agriculture. 17pp.
Major Subjects: Farm program; commodity credit; Allen-Scott report on grain shipments; farm parity income; cotton.
- 0837 Agriculture, The Book on. 132pp.
Major Subject: Commodity position papers.

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Position and Briefing Papers, 1960 cont.

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- 0001 Asia-Africa. 32pp.
Major Subject: U.S.-Japan relations.
- 0033 Birth Control. 4pp.
Major Subject: U.S. involvement in population policies of other nations.
Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Mike Feldman.
- 0037 Civil Rights-Civil Liberties. 11pp.
Major Subjects: NAACP Freedom Fund; National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.
Principal Correspondent: Marjorie McKenzie Lawson.
- 0048 Conduct of Government. 35pp.
Major Subjects: Congressional legislation; conflict of interest.
Principal Correspondent: Chester Bowles.
- 0083 Conservation and Resources. November 4, 1956–August 1960. 41pp.
Major Subjects: Resources policy; Federal Reclamation Program.
- 0124 Conservation and Resources. Undated. 68pp.
Major Subjects: Minerals policy for the West; natural gas regulation.
- 0192 Counterattack Sourcebook. 132pp.
Major Subjects: The South; Algeria; attendance record; civil liberties; Joseph Kennedy; health; small towns; youth and inexperience; birth control; labor; wealth; veterans; government spending; political spending; communism; blacks; religion; McCarthy; mining; government workers; REA and rural telephones; public energy; atomic energy; the West; farmers.

- 0324 Cuba. 22pp.
Major Subjects: Cuban-Latin American prestige; intervention; Nixon on Cuba.
- 0346 Debates. 66pp.
Major Subjects: Kentucky; Minnesota; Georgia; Nevada; Los Angeles as convention site; Soviet economies.
- 0412 Defense Policy. 32pp.
Major Subjects: Loyalty and security; disarmament.
- Box 992**
- 0444 Domestic Problems. 28pp.
Major Subjects: Troops to Lebanon; Khrushchev visit; disarmament; Berlin; nuclear testing.
Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Walter W. Rostow.
- 0472 Economic Policy: Domestic. 22pp.
Major Subjects: "Effect of Imports on Domestic Economy"; economic growth.
- 0494 Economic Policy: Domestic. 37pp.
Major Subjects: Unemployment; economic growth; federal spending; cost of living.
- 0531 Economic Policy: Foreign. April 11, 1960–October 15, 1960. 68pp.
Major Subjects: Mission to India and Pakistan; underindustrialized areas; Mutual Security Act of 1954; U.S.-Soviet trade relations.
Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Eugene Black.
- 0599 Economic Policy: Foreign. October 19, 1960, and Undated. 47pp.
Major Subject: Communist economic challenge.
- 0646 Education. November 10, 1959–August 15, 1960. 51pp.
Major Subject: Federal assistance.
Principal Correspondents: Robert Wallace; Richard N. Goodwin; Archibald Cox.
- 0697 Education. September 2, 1960–September 23, 1960. 48pp.
Major Subjects: Federal assistance; school for diplomats.
Principal Correspondents: Richard N. Goodwin; Archibald Cox.
- 0745 Education. October 4, 1960, and Undated. 30pp.
Major Subject: Use of mass media for education.
Principal Correspondent: Richard M. Nixon.
- 0775 Education. Undated. 40pp.
Major Subjects: "New Frontiers in Education"; "The Crisis in American Education."
- 0815 Electric Power. August 31, 1960–October 11, 1960, and Undated. 36pp.
Major Subjects: Tennessee Valley Authority; "No New Starts" policy.
Principal Correspondent: Richard N. Goodwin.
- 0851 Electric Power. Undated. 26pp.
Major Subject: Rural electrification.
- 0877 Finance. 7pp.
Major Subject: "Tight Money and Inflation."
- 0884 Foreign Aid. 44pp.
Major Subjects: Programs of Eisenhower administration; Asia, Africa, and Latin America; simplification.

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Position and Briefing Papers, 1960 cont.

Box 992 cont.

0001 Foreign Policy. 38pp.

Major Subjects: Far East; Middle East.

Principal Correspondent: Richard N. Goodwin.

0039 Health and Welfare. 48pp.

Major Subjects: "World Health Training Center"; insurance; aged persons.

Principal Correspondents: Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.; Theodore Sorensen; Archibald Cox.

0087 Khrushchev, Nikita. 15pp.

Major Subjects: Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting.

Principal Correspondents: Chester Bowles; Archibald Cox; Theodore Sorensen.

0102 Labor. June 12, 1958–August 7, 1961. 31pp.

Major Subjects: Labor policy statement; labor reform; labor relations; government and collective bargaining.

Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Richard N. Goodwin.

0133 Labor. Undated. 29pp.

Major Subject: Railway Labor Act.

Principal Correspondent: Theodore Sorensen.

Box 993

0162 Nuclear Testing. 39pp.

Major Subjects: Radioactive fallout; defense and disarmament policies.

Principal Correspondent: Theodore Sorensen.

0201 Peace Corps. 11pp.

Major Subject: Proposal for an International Youth Service.

0212 Prestige. 11pp.

Major Subject: Foreign policy.

0223 Religious Issue. 4pp.

Major Subject: Religion in the farm belt.

Principal Correspondent: John Kenneth Galbraith.

0227 Science. 22pp.

Major Subject: Government and science.

0249 Space. 21pp.

Major Subject: Space research.

0270 Tariff and Trade Policy. 24pp.

Major Subjects: Foreign trade; textile imports.

Principal Correspondent: Archibald Cox.

0294 Television. 7pp.

Major Subject: Washington statewide network telecast.

Principal Correspondents: Robert Kennedy; Theodore Sorensen.

0301 Unemployment. 16pp.

Major Subject: Recession.

Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Mike Feldman; John Kenneth Galbraith; David Bell; Joseph Kraft.

- 0317 United Nations. 2pp.
Major Subject: U.S. participation.
- 0319 Urban Renewal and Housing. 2pp.
Major Subject: Conference on Urban Affairs.
- 0321 Index to Issues. 56pp.
Major Subjects: Foreign policy and world problems; foreign economic policy; defense policy; domestic problems.
- 0377 Briefing Papers: Air Pollution—Budget Policies. 25pp.
Major Subjects: Air pollution control; army; B-70 bomber; balance of payments; budget policies.
- 0402 Briefing Papers: Child Welfare—Defense. 31pp.
Major Subjects: Child welfare; civil defense; conflict of interest; crime; defense; depressed areas.
- 0433 Briefing Papers: Disarmament—Economic Growth. 29pp.
Major Subjects: Disarmament; economic policies; economic growth.
- 0462 Briefing Papers: Education—Forests. 35pp.
Major Subjects: Education; school construction; Federal Highway Program; Food for Peace; forests.
Principal Correspondent: Mike Feldman.
- 0497 Briefing Papers: Government Information—NDEA and Disclaimer. 36pp.
Major Subjects: Government information; health; housing; Indians; inflation; juvenile delinquency; monetary policy; NDEA and disclaimer.
Principal Correspondent: Mike Feldman.
- 0533 Briefing Papers: National Security Council—Nuclear Testing. 33pp.
Major Subjects: NSC; flood control; navy; Marine Corps; nuclear sharing; nuclear testing.
- 0566 Briefing Papers: Oil Import—River Basin Development. 41pp.
Major Subjects: Energy; oil imports; passports; reclamation; recreation resources; river basin development.
- 0607 Briefing Papers: Social Security—Water Pollution. 53pp.
Major Subjects: Social security; space; tax policy; unemployment; water pollution.
Principal Correspondent: Mike Feldman.
- 0660 Briefing Papers: Water Supply Program—Foreign Policy: Cuba and Latin America. 46pp.
Major Subjects: Water Supply Program; foreign policy; Arab states; Communist China.
- 0706 Briefing Papers: Foreign Policy—Foreign Service: Latin America. 33pp.
Major Subjects: Foreign service; foreign trade; U.S.-Japan relations; Latin America.
- 0739 Briefing Papers: Foreign Policy—SEATO-World Court. 26pp.
Major Subjects: SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization); Soviet economic offensive; U-2 incident; United Nations; World Court.

Richard Goodwin Files

Box 994

- 0765 Eisenhower: Index to Campaign Speeches. 1956. 8pp.
Major Subjects: Speeches, statements, and public appearances, August through November 1956.
- 0773 File Copies: Richard Goodwin. August 19, 1960–October 18, 1960. 43pp.
Major Subjects: "Citizens for Kennedy"; atomic energy; ADA.
Principal Correspondents: Ralph Dungan; Richard Goodwin; Theodore Sorensen.
- 0816 Goodwin Notes: Personal. May 24, 1960–October 31, 1960, and Undated. 65pp.
Major Subjects: American Heritage Foundation; expense account; NSC; Nixon quotations.
Principal Correspondents: Steve Smith; Richard Goodwin; Archibald Cox.

0881 Humphrey Attacks. Undated. 53pp.

Major Subjects: Wisconsin returns; anti-Kennedy coalition; Kennedy-Humphrey fight in West Virginia.

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Richard Goodwin Files cont.

Box 994 (cont.)

0001 Kennedy: General. June 2, 1959–April 26, 1960. 43pp.

Major Subjects: Statement concerning health; defense policy; West Virginia.

Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Richard Goodwin; Theodore Sorensen; Walter W. Rostow.

0044 Kennedy: General. Undated. 37pp.

Major Subjects: West Virginia; Wisconsin; *Life* magazine article.

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0081 Natural Resources. September 1956–November 3, 1960. 127pp.

Major Subjects: National Hells Canyon Association; Advisory Committee on National Resources; water resources; Columbia River; federal grazing lands; mineral resources.

Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Richard Goodwin.

0208 Natural Resources. Undated. 169pp.

Major Subjects: Forestry; watersheds; Hells Canyon dam; pollution control.

0377 Nixon. February 14, 1960–July 23, 1960. 24pp.

Major Subject: Record in Congress.

0401 Nixon. August 12, 1960–October 30, 1960. 62pp.

Major Subjects: Foreign policy; domestic issues.

Principal Correspondent: Theodore Sorensen.

0463 Oregon. February 7, 1960–August 24, 1960. 57pp.

Major Subjects: Electrical power; forestry; education.

0520 Oregon. Undated. 30pp.

Major Subjects: County populations; unemployment; industry; education.

0550 The Presidency. 84pp.

Major Subjects: Announcement of candidacy; foreign policy; "The Restoration of the American Presidency."

0634 Quotations. April 15, 1954–July 1, 1960. 42pp.

Major Subjects: Massachusetts state C.I.O.; miscellaneous quotations.

0676 Quotations. Undated. 24pp.

Major Subjects: Foreign policy; miscellaneous quotations.

0700 Quotations. Undated. 21pp.

Major Subject: Miscellaneous quotations.

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0721 Schedules. November 3, 1960, and undated. 9pp.

Major Subject: Speeches.

Principal Correspondent: Theodore Sorensen.

0730 Speech Materials. September 23, 1959–May 16, 1960. 41pp.

Major Subjects: Catholic vote; list of speeches.

0771 Speech Materials. Undated. 40pp.

Major Subjects: Khrushchev; Cuba; the Congo; Red China; Africa; defense industry.

0811 Speech Material and Drafts. June 8, 1960–October 31, 1960, and Undated. 111pp.

Major Subjects: Foreign policy; American Medical Association statement; New Mexico; atomic policies and programs; India and China; collective bargaining.

Principal Correspondents: Chester Bowles; Richard Goodwin.

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Richard Goodwin Files cont.

Box 996 cont.

0001 Speech Writing Strategy. February 1960–June 27, 1960. 159pp.

Major Subjects: "Factual Campaign Information"; campaign issues.

Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; Richard Goodwin.

0160 Speech Writing Strategy. Undated. 32pp.

Major Subject: Campaign issues.

Principal Correspondents: Archibald Cox; John Kenneth Galbraith.

0192 Stevenson: Index to Campaign Speeches. 1956. 24pp.

Major Subject: Speech titles and descriptions.

Principal Correspondent: Archibald Cox.

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0216 Aid to Nonpublic Schools. 14pp.

0230 Chapel of the Four Chaplains. 35pp.

0265 Citizens for Kennedy. 4pp.

0269 Civil Rights Legislation. 6pp.

0275 Congressional Record. 8pp.

0283 Democratic Midwest Conference Panel Discussion—"Religion in Politics." September 17, 1960. 62pp.

0345 Documents and Reports. 29pp.

0374 Fair Campaign Practices Committee. 18pp.

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0611 Knights of Columbus Oath, Versions 6–16. 39pp.

0650 Lazell, J. Arthur: Personal. 22pp.

0672 Legislative History. 7pp.

0679 Members of Congress-Governors Religious Affiliations. 6pp.

- 0685 The Memorandum. 119pp.
- 0804 The Memorandum: Lists. 16pp.
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- 0840 Michigan Fair Election Practices Commission. 5pp.
- 0845 Missouri-Kansas Republican Dinner. 5pp.
- 0850 National Conference on Constitutional Rights and American Freedom. October 11, 1960. 3pp.

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- 0856 Religious Freedom. 4pp.
- 0860 Religious Tolerance. 7pp.
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- 0901 Speech: House Floor. April 25, 1960. 5pp.
- 0906 Speech: Houston Ministerial Association. September 13, 1960. 44pp.
- 0950 Speech: Houston Ministerial Association Film. 7pp.
- 0957 Speech: Superior, Wisconsin. March 18, 1960. 4pp.
- 0961 Sprecher, Drexel. 9pp.
- 0970 Strebler, Neil. 3pp.
- 0973 Statement: National Bible Week. 2pp.
- 0975 Statement: Religious Liberty. 28pp.

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Religious Issue Files of James Wine cont.

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- 0001 Stokes, Bishop Anson Phelps. 4pp.
- 0005 Support: A to H. 60pp.
- 0065 Support: K. (Kustoff). 52pp.
- 0117 Support: M to W. 40pp.
- 0157 Telegrams Sent. 2pp.
- 0159 Vatican Ambassador. 5pp.
- 0164 Virginia Committee on Religious Freedom. 6pp.
- 0170 Wine, James W., Biography. 2pp.
- 0172 Wine, James W., Personal. 11pp.
- 0183 Wine, James W., Yale Speech. November 10, 1960. 24pp.
- 0207 Workers: Correspondence. 8pp.

- 0215 Workers: Lists. 48pp.
- 0263 Pro-Catholic Material. 11pp.
- 0274 Pro-Catholic Material. 15pp.
- 0289 Pro-Catholic Material. 78pp.
- 0367 Pro-Catholic Material. 29pp.
- 0396 Pro-Catholic Material. 54pp.

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- 0535 Anti-Catholic Material—2. 52pp.
- 0587 Anti-Catholic Material—5. 11pp.
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- 0614 Anti-Catholic Material—7. 81pp.
- 0695 Anti-Catholic Material—8. 59pp.

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- 0757 Alter, Karl J. 9pp.
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- 0781 "America under a Dictatorship." 9pp.
- 0790 *American Capsule News*. 9pp.
- 0799 American Council of Christian Churches. 5pp.
- 0804 American Evangelistic Association. 9pp.
- 0813 *The American Nationalist*. 4pp.
- 0817 *The American Protest*. 17pp.
- 0834 "Are Protestants Intolerant and Misinformed?" 2pp.
- 0836 *The Arkansas Baptist*. 6pp.
- 0842 *The Ashland Avenue Baptist*. 15pp.
- 0857 *The Augusta Courier*. 3pp.
- 0860 *The Baptist Examiner*. 9pp.
- 0869 "Baptists, Roman Catholics and Religious Freedom." 8pp.
- 0877 Barber, Dr. R.J. 7pp.
- 0884 Baxter, Batsell Barrett. 16pp.
- 0900 Beatty, Henry C. 10pp.
- 0910 Bell, Albert W. 3pp.
- 0913 Bell, Reverend Roy E. 7pp.
- 0920 Benedict, Dr. C.C. 5pp.

- 0925 Bennett and Niebuhr Repudiate Religious Attack on Kennedy Candidacy. 2pp.
- 0927 Beenken, Reverend Gilbert M. 8pp.
- 0935 Berean Gospel Distributors. 4pp.
- 0939 Dr. Berry's Newsletter. 7pp.
- 0946 Bloomfield, Arthur E. 3pp.
- 0949 Bonnell, John Sutherland. 4pp.

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- 0001 Book and Bible House. 9pp.
- 0010 *The Broadway Chimes*. 3pp.
- 0013 Broderick, Francis L. 4pp.
- 0017 Brown, James R. 4pp.
- 0021 *The Cadle Call*. 3pp.
- 0024 *The Capital Voice*. 5pp.
- 0029 *The Catholic Challenger*. 31pp.
- 0060 "Catholic for President?" 9pp.
- 0069 "Catholic or President." 8pp.
- 0077 "Catholic Political Power vs. Religious Liberty." 6pp.
- 0083 "Catholic President?" 10pp.
- 0093 "Catholicism on Trial." 4pp.
- 0097 "Challenge to the South and How It Must Be Met." 8pp.
- 0105 *The Christian Century*. 3pp.
- 0108 *The Christian Heritage*, Pamphlets and Magazines. 7pp.
- 0115 Christian Patriots of America. 4pp.
- 0119 Church of Christ. 7pp.
- 0126 Church of Jesus Christ. 5pp.
- 0131 *The Church Speaks*. 17pp.
- 0148 Circuit Riders. 3pp.
- 0151 Citizens Committee. 8pp.
- 0159 Citizens for Religious Freedom. 6pp.
- 0165 Cofield, Garland. 3pp.
- 0168 Cogley, John. 12pp.
- 0180 Collins, Carr P. 6pp.

0186 *Common Sense*. 5pp.

0191 *The Commonweal*. 8pp.

0199 Conn, Charles W. 6pp.

0205 *The Convert*. 19pp.

0224 Conversion Center. 9pp.

0233 Cornell United Religious Work. 8pp.

0241 Crisswell, Dr. W.A. 15pp.

0256 "A Declaration of Conscience for Baptists to Consider." 3pp.

0259 *The Defender*. 13pp.

0272 Douglas, John E., Sr. 2pp.

0274 Douglas, Senator Paul H. 9pp.

0283 Eisendrath, Rabbi Maurice N. 6pp.

0289 Eldrich, H.T. 8pp.

0297 Elliot, William M., Jr. 5pp.

0302 Enlightener Press. 3pp.

0305 Ervin, Senator Sam J. 3pp.

0308 Faith, Prayer and Tract League. 63pp.

0371 Fast, Clarence E. 11pp.

0382 "Flash." 6pp.

0388 Fleming, Reverend Ralph L. 7pp.

0395 Frankel, Stanley. 11pp.

0406 Frazier, Raywood. 7pp.

0413 Freethinkers of America. 5pp.

0418 *The Freethinker*. 3pp.

0421 *The Fundamentalist*. 5pp.

0426 Garcia, José M. 2pp.

0428 Gates, Robert P. 15pp.

0443 Georgia Bible Institute. 8pp.

0451 Gilbert, Rabbi Arthur. 15pp.

0466 Gilbert, Reverend Dan. 21pp.

0487 *Gospel Advocate*. 4pp.

0491 *Gospel Herald*. 3pp.

0494 Gospel Publishing House. 4pp.

0498 Gospel Tract Society. 4pp.

0502 *Grace and Truth*. 4pp.
 0506 Great Commission Hour. 4pp.
 0510 *The Greater Nebraskan*. 2pp.
 0512 Hampel, Harry. 13pp.
 0525 Hansen, Thomas. 11pp.
 0536 "Help Our American Birthright." 2pp.
 0538 Herald of Truth. 4pp.
 0542 "Here Are the Facts: Let the Roman Church Speak for Herself." 3pp.
 0545 Herhold, Reverend Robert. 2pp.
 0547 *The Herndon News*. 3pp.
 0550 Hertzberg, Arthur. 102pp.
 0652 Hobbs, Herschel H. 5pp.
 0657 Holdridge, Herbert C. 17pp.
 0674 "How Will You Stand, Come This November." 3pp.

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0677 *Human Events*. 17pp.
 0694 *Human Events*. 16pp.
 0710 *Human Events*: Correspondence. 28pp.
 0738 Iakovos, Archbishop. 3pp.
 0741 "If You Love the American Way of Life." 7pp.
 0748 *The Independent American*. 13pp.
 0761 "Is Religion Only a Campaign Issue?" 13pp.
 0774 "Issue of a Catholic President." 2pp.
 0776 Jackson, D.N. 15pp.
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 0915 Lowry, Dr. Charles Wesley. 10pp.
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