

## TRENDS: WASHINGTON MOOD

# Campaign outlook hinges on unanswered questions

BY EDWARD T. FOLLIARD

THIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN of 1960 is truly a national campaign, with the battleground extending from Nantucket Island in the Atlantic to Hawaii in the Pacific and from the Arctic to the Rio Grande.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon, the Republican nominee, says he intends to stump all 50 states. He will make a serious effort to do what Herbert Hoover did in 1928 and Dwight D. Eisenhower did in 1952-56 by breaking into what was once the "solid South"—so called because for a long time it was in fact solidly Democratic. He will also be aiming at the border states.

Sen. John F. Kennedy, the Democratic nominee, surely will range just as far and work just as hard as his rival. The New Englander has real hopes of carrying Maine and Vermont, the only two states to cling to the Republican Party in the Roosevelt landslide of 1936. Neither candidate is conceding any states to the other.

Mr. Nixon, the first Vice President to win a presidential nomination since Martin Van Buren did it 124 years ago, says that this will be "the closest election in this century in America." He thinks it will be so close that even Hawaii's three electoral votes or Alaska's three may determine the outcome.

It could turn out that way, but the chances are that it won't. Most of our presidential elections have been rather lopsided. This one will be, too, if either nominee gets the bulk of the big-vote states.

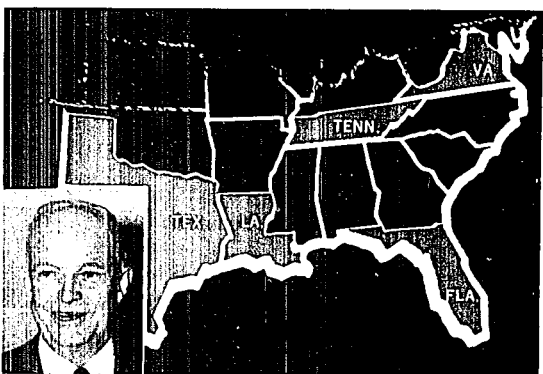
A good many of the professionals believe that the candidate who carries New York will be the next President. Their reasoning is fortified by some impressive statistical and historical evidence, as a look at the books will show.

New York's 45 electoral votes are more than equal to the electoral votes of 12 of the smaller states—Arizona, Delaware, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont and Wyoming. The candidate who carries the Empire State will have between

a fifth and a sixth of the electoral votes needed to win, 269.

Twenty-one presidential candidates who have carried New York in the past century have moved into the White House. Only four have won the Presidency in that period without New York—Ulysses S. Grant in 1868, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, Woodrow Wilson in 1916, and Harry S. Truman in 1948.

Some historians argue that Samuel J. Tilden, who carried New York in 1876, should have been declared



*President Eisenhower proved that Republicans can break into once solidly Democratic South*

the winner over Hayes in that year's highly controversial election.

Mr. Truman almost certainly would have carried New York 12 years ago had it not been for Henry Wallace, nominee of the Progressive Party, who polled 509,000 votes there. The Missouri political warrior probably would have received most of these votes in a two-man battle. As a consequence of Mr. Wallace's third-party candidacy, Republican Thomas E. Dewey won the state by about 60,000 votes, but

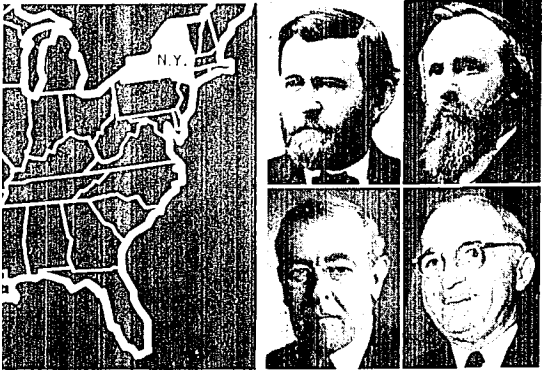
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went down to defeat because he failed in Ohio, Illinois and California.

Anyway, with New York's box score in mind, it is easy to understand why Vice President Nixon made his pilgrimage to Manhattan just before the Republican National Convention in Chicago, and why he entered into his dramatic agreement with Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Governor Rockefeller had earlier criticized the Vice President, saying he had not told the voters where he stood on the great issues of the day and was going into the 1960 campaign with a question mark on his banner. The New York liberal also had made an oblique attack on President Eisenhower for not spending more on the armed forces.

Mr. Nixon must have concluded that his chances of getting New York's 45 electoral votes would be



Only four men—Grant, Hayes, Wilson, Truman—have won Presidency without carrying New York

bleak indeed unless he made an ally of Governor Rockefeller and forced through a platform that reflected some of the Rockefeller views. This he did in spite of the cry of "sell-out" that came from Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona and other Republican conservatives.

Viewed from a cold-blooded political standpoint, the Vice President's maneuver was a brilliant one, comparable to Senator Kennedy's ten-strike when he lined up Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas for the Democratic vice presidential nomination.

Senator Kennedy also was accused of a "sell-out." Some of the extreme liberals in the Democratic Party, including labor leaders, wanted him to write off the South if necessary in order that he might have greater appeal to voters in the North, especially Negro voters.

Like the Vice President, Senator Kennedy is a realist in politics. He saw no good reason why he should write off Texas with its 24 electoral votes or other states in Dixie that might be saved with the help of Senator Johnson.

At this stage, nobody can say for certain that Mr. Nixon assured himself of New York by his pact with

Governor Rockefeller, or that Senator Kennedy nailed down Texas and most of the South by persuading Senator Johnson to be his running mate. Least certain of all are the nominees themselves, who say they are taking nothing for granted.

Both standard-bearers have certain advantages as they close in for this championship battle.

Mr. Nixon's advantage lies in the fact that he has been an understudy of President Eisenhower in the critical years beginning in 1953, has met with Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and other world leaders, and can therefore argue that he is better able to deal with international affairs than his opponent. How much importance the Californian attaches to the foreign-policy issue was indicated by his choice of Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., as a running mate.

Senator Kennedy's advantage is that there are more Democrats in the country than Republicans—at least more registered Democrats. This is reflected in the top-heavy Democratic majorities in Congress.

Vice President Nixon acknowledges this Kennedy advantage, and says that anybody who doesn't realize that the Republican Party starts out in an underdog role "has a hole in his head."

What then leads Mr. Nixon to think that he can overcome this Kennedy advantage and win the Presidency? His answer is that "people in recent years have developed the idea of voting for the man rather than the party." Obviously, he has in mind President Eisenhower's landslide victories that have kept him in the White House for nearly eight years in spite of the fact that the Democrats have had control of Congress for most of that time.

Here we come to two imponderables that are likely to remain imponderables until the voters have cast their ballots.

First of all, will the millions of Democrats and independents who voted for General Eisenhower also vote for Mr. Nixon? The 47-year-old Californian knows that he is not regarded as a hero or a political idol; he even acknowledges that he is without the glamor that his 43-year-old rival seems to have for many. Nevertheless, he believes that with hard work and persuasive arguments he can win over enough switch voters on Nov. 8 to gain the victory. A Gallup poll last month showed Mr. Nixon to be leading Mr. Kennedy, 50 to 44, with six per cent of those polled undecided for whom they would vote.

Imponderable No. 2 is Senator Kennedy's religious faith (Roman Catholic). How will that affect his political fortunes? Will it help him or hurt him?

Vice President Nixon thinks it will both help him and hurt him. Moreover, he believes that the advantages and the disadvantages will cancel each other out. Most of the political railbirds here agree with this appraisal of the matter.

There remains one other possible factor, and that is what happens on the international scene between now and Nov. 8, or what does not happen. All that a political observer can do is to ask questions.

Would a Russian-provoked crisis, say one over Berlin, cause voters to turn to the Nixon-Lodge ticket? Would a well behaved Premier Khrushchev and a tranquil world scene help the Kennedy-Johnson ticket?