



# CAMPAIGN '56

## SOUNDS OF AN ELECTION YEAR

Edited by Howard Lamar,  
History Dept.,  
and Charles Blitzer,  
Political Science Dept.,  
Yale University,  
with Douglas R. Daniels,  
Producer in conjunction with  
the Yale Audio-Visual Aid Dept.  
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CAMPAIGN '56—SOUNDS OF AN ELECTION YEAR / FOLKWAYS FH 5505

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# CAMPAIGN '56 SOUNDS OF AN ELECTION YEAR

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET



# CAMPAIGN FIFTY-SIX

## Sounds of an Election Year

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### SIDE I, Band 1: THE PRELIMINARIES

"Ladies and Gentlemen, the President of the United States!" (Music)

#### NARRATOR:

This is the story of the election of the President of the United States. Out of the confusion and the chaos of an election year, emerges the man who will fill the most powerful political office in the world. You are about to hear the living record of the campaign of 1956. (Music)

When did Campaign '56 begin? Officially it began in September, 1956; but actually it had been going on for years. If it had a beginning, it was on that night in November, 1952 when Adlai Stevenson conceded defeat and Dwight Eisenhower prepared to assume the burdens of the Presidency. The moment an election is decided, the pattern for the next four years is set. Like it or not, the party in power knows it must make a record on which it will be judged.

#### STEVENSON:

"On the record, are the aims, the efforts, the accomplishments and the plans for the future of this administration. Those facts constitute my personal platform."

#### NARRATOR:

Then on September 25, 1955:

#### NEWS COMMENTATOR:

"We interrupt this program to bring you a special news bulletin from the summer White House in Denver, Colorado: President Eisenhower last night suffered a heart attack. His present condition is now reported as satisfactory....."

#### NARRATOR:

While the nation worried over the health of its president, politicians on both sides hastily revised their calculations. The months of uncertainty were ended when on February 29, 1956:

#### EISENHOWER:

"I have decided that if the Republican Party chooses to renominate me, I shall accept that nomination. Thereafter, if the people of this country should elect me, I shall continue to serve them in the office I now hold."

#### NARRATOR:

Reactions were varied. The New York Stock Exchange went wild. (Noise) Republicans rejoiced. And whenever some Democrats thought, Adlai Stevenson was not bothered:

#### STEVENSON:

"As the main issue will be the policies and the record of the Eisenhower Administration, it is fitting that President Eisenhower be the candidate. As the Administration's chief architect and spokesman, he will have to carry the burden of what will be a very vigorous campaign."

#### NARRATOR:

In fact, as the Republican candidate problem was solved, that of the Democrats was just beginning. As in 1952, the two leading contenders were Estes Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson. The two men toured the grass roots in search of delegates and influential allies. Senator Kefauver, who was famous for his grass roots appeal based on his homely manner and his coonskin cap, surpassed even the hopes of his supporters in a smashing victory over Governor Stevenson in the Minnesota Primary. Spurred into action by this defeat in a state where all the odds had been in his favor, a new fighting Stevenson swept to victory in Wisconsin, Florida and California. After his defeat in California, it was a tired Estes who for the second time in four years abandoned hope of gaining the nomination for himself:

#### KEFAUVER:

"...withdrawing my name from consideration for the office of the President at this time and asking my supporters to wholeheartedly give their backing to Adlai Stevenson." (Music)

#### NARRATOR:

The withdrawal of Governor Stevenson's chief rival and the President's decision to carry on despite his heart attack, made it seem virtually certain these two would again lead their parties in November. But if nature abhors a vacuum, so American politics abhors certainty. Immediately, new doubts were raised by the President's second illness and the almost simultaneous announcement by Governor Averill Harriman of New York that he would actively seek the Democratic nomination. The emergence of Harriman presented a more real and lasting challenge to Adlai Stevenson. Taking his stand on the issue of Stevenson's alleged moderation, the New York Governor



claimed that only he could lead the Democrats to victory:

HARRIMAN:

"Now there's been many times in our history that the counsels of moderation have been told. They were told to Roosevelt, they were told to Truman, and they were rejected by those two men. I say that the counsels of moderation which are coming to our party now from well-meaning Democrats must be rejected."

NARRATOR:

On the eve of the Democratic Convention, the lines were clearly drawn. As the battle began, each of the contestants drew on the support of a great figure symbolic of past Democratic victories. Former President Harry Truman came before a press conference to announce his decision:

TRUMAN:

"And now my friends, I've made up my mind. In the light of my knowledge of the office of President, I believe that the man best qualified to be the next President of the United States is Governor Harriman of New York." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt reaffirmed her support of Governor Stevenson:

STEVENSON:

"Mrs. Roosevelt, I understand that an opponent of mine and I give you one guess as to who he is, has referred to me frequently lately as a moderate. I hadn't realized that this word was an epithet or an accusation of some kind."

MRS. ROOSEVELT:

"As a matter of fact, moderation is a wise word. It does not mean that you stand still and I would be very sorry if in our public life, we did not have moderation. I might add that I'd be sorry if we didn't have it in our private lives!" (Music)

SIDE I, Band 2: THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

NARRATOR:

On August 6, 1956, excited delegates and alternates from every state and territory gathered at International Amphitheatre in Chicago to write a platform and nominate a candidate for President and Vice-President. The uncertainty of their choice and the rising controversy over the civil rights plank of the platform promised to make it a rousing convention. As one contender remarked:

VOICE:

"Nobody can say we Democrats don't have fun!"  
(Laughter)

NARRATOR:

Certainly no one seemed to have more fun than Governor Frank Claremont of Tennessee as he delivered his fire-eating, key-note address to a cheering convention:

CLAREMONT:

"Yes, we are met here tonight to plan for the happy hour when representatives of the party of the people shall be restored to the direction of the national government. And when the opposition party of the 'Privilege and Pillage' passes over the Potomac in the greatest water-crossing since the children of Israel crossed the Red Sea!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Warming to his task, the Governor presented a classic example of a key-note speech for a party out of power.

He denounced Vice-President Nixon and President Eisenhower:

CLAREMONT:

"That kind of double-faced campaign by the opposition, the vice-hatchetmen, flinging slander and spreading half-truths, while the top man peers down the green fairways of indifference, will not be tolerated by the American people!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

He shrewdly attempted to make the Republican Party rather than its popular leader the issue in the campaign:

CLAREMONT:

"How long is the Republican Party, which placed Dwight D. Eisenhower on a history-wearied treadmill of acquiescence, going to keep him lashed to thereto, straining thereon, while roustabouts of the deteriorating administration engage in a political side-show scramble for power and privilege? How long America!? Oh how long!?"

NARRATOR:

He indicted the record of the Administration:

CLAREMONT:

"Count number 10 is the general charge and the summation on which your verdict is sought to oust the defendants whose activities have been designed to give away God-given resources of America; to forget the farmer while catering to the corporate interests; to liquidate the gains of labor; to sacrifice the small business-man while subsidizing his larger corporate competitor; to delegate the the duties of the Presidency; to lighten the tax-load of the few while the living costs of the many continue to mount; to prevent power from being the property of the people; to follow a fantastic, frantic and fatal foreign policy; to callously, circuitously and contemptuously counteract and nullify acts and intent of Congress; and otherwise, to breach the faith, the trust and the confidence of the American people!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Breathing heavily in the homestretch, he thundered to the climax:

CLAREMONT:

"The fact that a man's got a military record behind him doesn't justify holding office at the expense of the people. But there's one thing you can justify: you can justify begging God for guidance, you can justify studying the record, and after you've done it, going out and fighting and singing in unison; you and I together, of every race, creed and color; let us go forward singing in unison, the inevitable victory hymn: Precious Lord Take our Hand, Lead us On!" (Cheers)

SIDE I, Band 3: THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

NARRATOR:

This was all very well. But the serious work of the convention still remained. The first job was to write a declaration of the Party's program. The Platform is one of the Democrats' perennial problems. Composed as it is of an uneasy alliance of Southern conservatives and Northern liberals, the party is in constant danger of being torn asunder over the question of civil rights for the Negro. In 1956, this general problem took the specific form of a heated debate over the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on segregation in the schools. As always, the intransigence of extremists and conservative Southerners made compromise difficult. Governor Timaman of South Carolina was typical:

TIMAMAN:

"I do not think that the people of South Carolina are



going to accept racially mixed schools in the next thousand years. Assuming that they retain their sanity."

NARRATOR:

Inevitably such a knotty issue soon became entangled with the complex maneuverings of the candidates for nomination. In a move designed to split the Convention and to destroy Stevenson's position as a compromise candidate on whom the North and South could agree, Harriman and his followers among the Northern liberals, pressed for an explicit endorsement of the Supreme Court decision on segregation. In a dramatic session, delegates heard acting-Chairman John McCormick, read the compromise plank agreed upon by the majority and acceptable to the South:

MCCORMICK:

"The Democratic Party emphatically reaffirms its support of the historic principal of ours as a government of laws and not of man. It recognizes the Supreme Court of the United States as one of the three Constitutional and coordinate branches of the Federal Government, superior to and separate from any political party, the decisions of which are part of the law of the land." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

The Northern liberals, refusing to be downed, presented the minority version:

VOICE:

"Recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to the segregation in publicly supported schools and elsewhere, have brought consequences of vast importance to our nation as a whole and especially to the community directly affected. We pledge to carry out these decisions."

NARRATOR:

During the debate, Harry Truman, although not a delegate, made an unprecedented speech from the floor in support of the majority report:

TRUMAN:

"I have been on every committee to write a platform for the Democratic Party or I have had a hand in the writing of a Platform for the Democratic Party since 1936. I was a member of the platform committee in '36, in '40, in '44, and I practically dictated the platform in '48 and I had a hand in puttin' it together in '52, and I've had a hand in going over this platform its the best one this Convention has ever had put before it!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

As Speaker Sam Rayburn called for the vote, it became clear, at least to his practiced ear, that the forces of moderation had won the day:

RAYBURN:

"Those in favor of adoption of the minority report will vote 'Aye'. (Ayes) Those opposed will vote 'No'. (Noes--louder) In the opinion of the Chair, well now just a moment, I've taken the ayes and noes many times and I think I can tell which one has the most, the Noes have it, the Noes have it and the minority report is rejected." (Cheers)

SIDE I, Band 4: NOMINATION AND VOTE FOR  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

NARRATOR:

The failure of Governor Harriman's strategy to split the Convention over Civil Rights killed his chances to secure the nomination. But the possibility still remained that he would be strong enough to prevent a Stevenson victory. As always when a deadlock between leading contenders seems likely, a multitude of favorite sons and other dark horses presented themselves. From the bluegrass pastures of Kentucky,

came the most engaging if not the most likely of dark horses, Governor and former baseball commissioner, A. B. "Happy" Chandler, who explained how he would campaign if nominated:

CHANDLER:

"I'd make the same sort of campaign that-uh-President Truman made. That's the sort of campaign that we have to make in order to win. And I'd take the campaign to all the people. I would get on the back-end of a train and I would speak the language of our people and I know it well. And then when the train stopped long enough I'd get off and shake hands with everybody along side of the track. You laugh about that but I shook hands with 26,458 people in one afternoon last year in my campaign. They fed 'em and clocked 'em as they came through the gate. Like every other American boy, I was told by my father and mother that if I conducted myself decently and if I walked humbly with my God and treated people decently in my life, that I had a chance to be President of the United States. I've cherished the same ambition that every American boy ought to cherish and I hope and pray that that will never be taken from us. I hope you can always say to you're sons, "If you conduct yourself right and come under the gongue of good report and conduct yourself so that the people can have confidence in you, you can aspire and get the highest office and gift of our people."

NARRATOR:

As nomination followed nomination, one could only conclude that a great many other parents had given their sons the same encouragement:

VOICE:

"I offer you for the Presidency of the United States, that son of the Texas heroes, that gifted and effective servant of the people, a real working leader in a time crying for full-time American leadership, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas!" (Music)

VOICE:

"I nominate, as the Democratic candidate for the President of the United States, incomparable A. B. "Happy" Chandler, Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. (Cheers)

VOICE:

"For nomination, as Democratic candidate for President of the United States, my predecessor in office as Governor of Virginia, and a great American, the Honorable John Stewart Badin!" (Cheers and music)

VOICE:

"And indeed I am honored as well to present to you, Missouri's candidate for the Presidency of the United States, the Honorable Stewart Symington, United States Senator from Missouri." (Cheers and music)

NARRATOR:

In spite of the enthusiasm that these men aroused among their supporters, it was clear that the first fight and perhaps the only one, would be between Harriman and Stevenson. The name of the Governor of New York was placed in nomination by Governor Raymond Gary of Oklahoma. Adlai Stevenson's name was placed in nomination by the popular and personable young Senator from Massachusetts, John Kennedy:

KENNEDY:

"Fellow delegates, I give you our next President of the United States, Adlai Stevenson!" (Cheers and music)

RAYBURN:

"Now we have come to the point where we are going to nominate a candidate for President of the United States on the Democratic ticket. The clerk will call the roll of states."

CLERK:

"Alabama: 26 votes."



NARRATOR:

At a Democratic National Convention, each state and territory has a number of votes proportionate to its population and past party performance. The total number in 1956 was 1,372 and a majority of 686½ was needed to nominate. To give more people a chance to come to the Convention, there are twice as many delegates as votes and therefore each delegate has only ½ a vote. As the clerk called the roll, Governor Stevenson showed surprising strength. As is often the case, this very strength with its promise of victory gained him additional votes and the bandwagon began to roll:

CLERK:

"Pennsylvania: 74 votes."

PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATE:

"Mr. Chairman, Pennsylvania casts for Governor Harriman, 7 votes, and sufficient votes to put Adlai Stevenson over the top, 67!" (Cheers)

CHAIRMAN:

"The Governor of Oklahoma moves to suspend the rules and make the nomination of Governor Stevenson by acclamation. All those in favor will vote 'Aye.' (Ayes) There are no 'noes', the 'Ayes' have it." (Cheers)

SIDE I, Band 5: NOMINATION AND VOTE FOR VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

NARRATOR:

With the platform written, and the Presidential candidate chosen, it only remained for the Convention to select its Vice-Presidential nominee. In an extraordinary move, designed at least partly to embarrass the Republicans in their forth-coming Convention, the triumphant Stevenson announced that he would leave the choice to the delegates themselves:

STEVENSON:

"I would add only this, in taking this step I am expressing my confidence in your choice. The choice will be yours, the profit will be the nation's." (Cheers and music)

NARRATOR:

The effect of this announcement was electrifying. If the first ballot-nomination of Governor Stevenson had been an anti-climax, the next day the Democrats lived up to their reputation for exciting Conventions. After an indecisive first ballot, the nation-wide television audience was treated to the most thrilling race in recent political history. As the field narrowed to two contenders, the newcomer Kennedy seemed on the verge of upsetting the oft-defeated veteran Kefauver. On the first ballot all of New York's 98 votes had gone to Mayor Wagner. Now dramatically its Chairman announced a switch:

NEW YORK DELEGATE:

"New York casts 1½ votes for Kefauver, 96½ votes for the next Vice-President of the United States, Senator Kennedy." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

On the very threshold of victory the wild hopes of Kennedy's supporters were dashed when Albert Gore released his more than 100 votes:

GORE:

"Thanks to this great, free, Democratic Convention, I request that my name be withdrawn in favor of my colleague Senator Estes Kefauver!" (Cheers and music)

NARRATOR:

The tide had turned. And as the Kefauver bandwagon rolled, Kennedy accepted the inevitable:

KENNEDY:

"Recognizing that this Convention has selected a man who has campaigned in all parts of the country, who has worked untiringly for the Party, who will serve as an admirable running mate to Governor Stevenson, I hope that this Convention will make Estes Kefauver's nomination unanimous. Thank you." (Cheers)

SIDE I, Band 6: STEVENSON'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

NARRATOR:

(Music) With their serious work accomplished, at the last session the delegates relaxed and enjoyed an evening of music, cheering and oratory. Harry Truman, although he had been outspoken in his support of Averill Harriman and his criticisms of Governor Stevenson, left no doubt as to where he now stood:

TRUMAN:

"Delegates to this great Convention and fellow citizens everywhere, I am here tonight to give my full support to Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver. (Cheers) Any man who can take this Convention the way he did, should be able to take the Republicans and Eisenhower this fall! He's given some of us here a pretty good lickin'!" (Laughter and cheers)

NARRATOR:

The climax of every convention comes with its candidates' acceptance of the Party's nomination. This was a familiar moment for Governor Stevenson as well as for many of the delegates:

STEVENSON:

"I come here on a solemn mission. I accept your nomination and your program. Four years ago I stood in this same place and uttered those same words to you. But four years ago I did not seek the honor that you bestowed upon me. This time, as you may have noticed, it was not entirely unsolicited!"

NARRATOR:

Eloquently, Governor Stevenson set the key-note for his campaign for the Presidency in 1956:

STEVENSON:

"After an interval of marking time and of aimless drifting, we are on the threshold of another great decisive era. History's headlong course, has brought us I believe, to the threshold of a new America. To the America of the great ideals and noble vision which are the stuff our future must be made of! And now I bid you good-bye and I hope that we can meet again in every town and village in America!" (Cheers)

SIDE II, Band 1: THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

(Music and people singing "Four More Years.")

NARRATOR:

Words of Irving Berlin expressed perfectly the sentiments of the delegates as they assembled for the Republican Convention at the Cow Palace in San Francisco on August 20th. Calm, happy and confident--what they liked was Ike and what they wanted was four more years of him. Even before the Republican Convention began, Vice-President Richard Nixon could calmly assume that the Republican Party would once more be led by Dwight D. Eisenhower. Actually the man who spoke these words was himself the center of the only controversy that marred the placid calm of the Republican Convention. On July 23, President Eisenhower's disarmament aid, Harold Stassen, came before a Press Conference to open his "Dump-Nixon" Campaign. He based his arguments on the result of a private opinion poll he had initiated:

STASSEN:

"I feel so strongly that President Eisenhower's leader-





Preparations for a Presidential nominating convention



Truman, Stevenson and Kefauver at conventions end, Aug. 27, 1956



Candidate Eisenhower in Des Moines Oct. 1, 1956



Vice President and Mrs. Richard Nixon arriving in San Francisco for the Republican convention, Aug. 19, 1956

ship for peace is so significant to the future of America, that it's important that his name go before the American people in November in the strongest possible manner with a new Vice-Presidential running mate. And the strongest one we find is Governor Chris Herter of Massachusetts."

NARRATOR:

Stassen had hardly concluded his announcement when Re-



Governor Stevenson, here with Governor John Sims of New Mexico greets supporters in Santa Fe.

publican National Chairman Leonard Hall, in a beautifully executed political maneuver, proceeded to pull the rug out from under him. Christian Herter declared:

HERTER:

"Chairman Hall of the Republican National Committee, announced that I'm going to nominate Dick Nixon as Vice-President at the forthcoming Republican Convention. This is correct."



NARRATOR:

Another man might have given up at this point but Harold Stassen persevered. Although Stassen's one-man crusade for Herter continued, it obviously did not disturb the atmosphere of happy assurance that pervaded the Cow Palace. Republicans weren't mad at anybody. As the key-note speaker should, Governor Langley of Washington, caught the spirit of the Convention in an address remarkable for its moderation:

LANGLEY:

"And I am sure that I voice the faith of our great President and others when I add that our Party's purpose in this campaign is not to give 'em Hell but to give 'em Leadership!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

But after all this was a Republican Party Convention and if Governor Langley didn't give the Democrats 'the Devil' at least he wasn't very kind to them.

LANGLEY:

"The Democratic Party is a party of many divisions. It is a party of sectionalism and factionalism. It stands for one thing in the South, another in the North. This party is a coalition of antagonistic factions who periodically get together just long enough to try to get themselves elected!" (Cheers)

SIDE II, Band 2: THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM AND  
NOMINATION AND VOTE FOR PRESI-  
DENTIAL CANDIDATE

NARRATOR:

Of course historically the Republican Party record of internal division was not strikingly different from that of the Democrats. Indeed some observers thought Stassen's "Dump-Nixon" Campaign was evidence of a continuing split between the right and left wings of the Party. But for the moment all was forgotten as Governor Langley looked back with pride at the accomplishments of the last four years. And looked forward with hope to a Republican future made bright by the immense popularity of Dwight Eisenhower:

LANGLEY:

"We are here to pledge to the American people, four more years of honest efficient administration of our government by the fine men and women who have been called to serve them at Washington. Four more years of our crusade for a finer America in a better world under the competent, steadfast, forthright leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Cheers) Finally our spiritual blessings are America's real heritage. A heritage for which we stand in great debt to those who've gone before us and to almighty God!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Like the Democrats, the Republicans had donned their programs with a former President. But here again the similarity ceased. The rambunctious performance of Harry Truman was worlds removed from the calm and philosophical words of Herbert Hoover:

HOOVER:

"Now my friends I've lived a long life. I have witnessed and even taken part in many a great and threatening crisis. With each time that they have been surmounted, the American dream has become more real and my faith in the future arises from the genius of our people, their devotion to personal liberty, their sustaining of religious beliefs. If the American people are guided a-right, there will be no decline and fall in American civilization!"

NARRATOR:

In the Republican Convention of 1956, no one cared to argue with the proposals of the Platform Committee.

As Committee Chairman, Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut put the motion to suspense with the reading of the platform:

BUSH:

"The 1956 Platform has received more publicity and is now better understood than any Platform presented to any previous Convention. And so Mr. Chairman I so move."

NARRATOR:

If events on the Convention floor didn't provide much excitement for the delegates, the sudden arrival of President Eisenhower in San Francisco a day ahead of schedule, did. In his Press Conference, reporters concentrated on trying to get a clear statement about the Nixon issue. The cheerful President refused to commit himself. Speculation ended and the last possible threat to Republican harmony was removed when after a meeting with Harold Stassen, the President held a 2nd Press Conference to announce the startling news that Stassen himself would second the nomination of Richard Nixon. After this, all was smooth sailing:

ALABAMA DELEGATE:

"Mr. Chairman, Alabama cast 21 votes for President Eisenhower." (Cheers)

ARIZONA DELEGATE:

"Mr. Chairman, Arizona is proud indeed to cast its 14 votes for President Dwight D. Eisenhower."

NARRATOR:

As the delegates balloted for the Presidential nomination, it was hard to remember that only four years ago, the Republican Convention had been the scene of a fight to the finish between Dwight Eisenhower and Robert A. Taft. Now the result was a foregone conclusion:

CHAIRMAN MARTIN:

"The roll-call shows that 1323 delegates have voted. The scoresheet shows that President Eisenhower has received 1323 and therefore I declare him unanimously, the nominee of the Republican Party, for the office of the President of the United States!" (Cheers and music)

SIDE II, Band 3:

NARRATOR:

With Herter pledged to place Nixon's name in nomination and with Stassen now pledged to second him, the result of the Vice-Presidential balloting seemed just as certain. The tensest moment came after Governor Herter had concluded and the lonely figure of the politically-isolated Stassen walked to the rostrum to pronounce the epitaph of his "Dump-Nixon" movement:

STASSEN:

"I rise with humility and forthrightness to second the nomination for Vice-President, of that very able and experienced Californian, the effective and earnest incumbent, The Honorable Richard Nixon." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

During the nomination, one unexpected event did occur to try the patience of Chairman Martin and provide the Democrats with a fleeting issue in the coming campaign:

NEBRASKA DELEGATE:

"Nebraska--Mr. Chairman, one Nebraska delegate, without concurrence of any of the others, desires to have the floor to make a nomination for Vice-President. This name has not been disclosed to me, to the Chair-



man. Mr. Carpenter, he's going to nominate Joe Smith."

CHAIRMAN:

"Joe Who?"

NEBRASKA DELEGATE:

"Joe Smith!" (Laughter)

CHAIRMAN:

"Nebraska reserves the right to nominate Joe Smith, whoever he is!" (Laughter)

NARRATOR:

Hurried investigations confirmed the suspicion that Joe Smith did not exist. And the next time his name was raised, Chairman Martin was less patient:

CHAIRMAN:

"Comes a man who during his career of public service ....will you take Joe Smith and get out of here!"

NARRATOR:

In spite of Joe Smith, when all the votes were counted, Richard Nixon too had been unanimously nominated:

CHAIRMAN:

"I therefore declare he's unanimously nominated for Vice-President of the United States!" (Cheers and music)

NARRATOR:

Although they had done their work more quickly and more painlessly than the Democrats, Republican delegates looked forward to the same reward: the appearance of the man they had nominated for the Presidency:

EISENHOWER:

"Today I want to demonstrate the truth of a single proposition: the Republican Party is the Party of the future. (Cheers) I hold that the Republican Party and Platform are right in 1956 because they are most closely in league with the future. And for this reason: the Republican Party and program are and will be decisively approved by the American people in 1956!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Fully aware of the Republican heritage he had been chosen to carry on, the President harked back to the words of his party's first great leader:

EISENHOWER:

"Lincoln speaking to a Republican State Convention in 1858 began with a Biblical quotation: 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' Today the world is a house divided but as is sometimes forgotten, Lincoln followed this quotation with a note of hope for his troubled country: 'I do not expect the house to fall,' he said, 'but I do expect it will cease to be divided.' A century later, we too must have the vision, the fighting spirit, and the deep religious faith in our Creator's destiny for us, to sound a similar note of promise for our divided world. That out of our time there can, with incessant work and with God's help, emerge a new era of good life, good will and good hope for all men. One American put it this way: 'Every tomorrow has two handles, we can take hold of it with the handle of anxiety or the handle of faith.' My friends, in firm faith, and in the conviction that the Republican purposes and principals are in league with this kind of future, the nomination that you have tended me for the Presidency of the United States, I now, humbly but confidently, accept." (Cheers)

CHAIRMAN:

"Motion has been made that the Convention adjourn. All those in favor, signify by saying 'Aye' (Ayes) Opposed No--the Convention stands adjourned. (Music)

SIDE II, Band 4:

NARRATOR:

As the noise of the Conventions faded, the voices of the Candidates were heard in the land. Even before the formal opening of the Campaign, many of the issues and patterns of the contest were clear. Most striking was the fact that the two major parties were perhaps less divided doctrinally than they had ever been in the past. Under Eisenhower the Republican Party had accepted, and even carried forward, the chief policies of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. Under Stevenson, the Democrats also took their stand in the middle of the road. Rather surprisingly, extremists on the right and left, although not happy about the choice they were offered, presented little threat of any strong Third Party movements. Against this background of remarkable consensus, the candidates took their cases to the people.

EISENHOWER:

"I have seen the faces of our land: soils, rivers and forests; their richness and their power conserved with care, developed with skill, by a people thankful for this bounty of a generous Providence. And there are other great things that I have had no need to see for I know them. I mean all the rolling mills and open hearths, the smoking factory stacks and flaming furnaces. Tonight, even as we meet here, the glow of these furnaces and the light of these factories send their bright signals to the dark skies above. And they tell the world that 66 million Americans know today, more secure and rewarding work than any people have ever known anywhere in the world any time in history!" (Cheers)

STEVENSON:

"We are told that everything is fine, that we are enjoying unprecedented peace and prosperity and progress. When the richest country in the world doesn't have schools and teachers enough for its children, when it doesn't have hospitals for its sick, when there is widespread need among our older citizens, when ugly slums deface our cities and offend human dignity, when millions of Americans are still denied opportunities because of race or color. Now.. (Cheers) prosperity, yes, but can we be content? What about the farm? What about the small business-man, the distressed areas, the great pockets of unemployment and the 30 million Americans who live in families with incomes of less than \$2,000 a year? And finally peace, when our erratic foreign policy has brought us repeatedly to the brink of war, when the Middle East is smoldering, when the earth is a trail of gunpowder from Korea to Suez to Cyprus, when all humanity lives in the grim shadow of the hydrogen bomb?" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

In the absence of issues of principal, the candidates turn their attacks upon the competence, past records and personal qualities of their opponents. Two of the chief targets were the President's control over his administration and the past career of Vice-President Nixon:

STEVENSON:

"We know that this is a business-man's administration but what we want to know is who's running the store! (Cheers) And an even more important question is, if the Republicans were to win this fall, who would be running the store for the next years? (Cheers) The key man of the Republican future is President Eisenhower's hand-picked heir, Vice-President Nixon!" (Boos)

NARRATOR:

Despite attacks, Richard Nixon retained an impressive calm. Some of his own remarks were biting, but they could scarcely be called mud-slinging:

NIXON:

"If you forget everything else I say, will you remember this? The greatest single question that the voters of the United States will answer by their vote next Tuesday, is this: We will determine which of



the two candidates for the Presidency we feel is better qualified by experience, by judgement, by background; to keep the peace for America and on that issue my friends I respectfully submit tonight, Mr. Stevenson just isn't in the same league with Dwight D. Eisenhower!" (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

It became clear that this election would be a contest between Dwight Eisenhower and the Democratic Party. In every state, polls indicated the same pattern; Adlai Stevenson in early October, announced two startling proposals that made national headlines: a possibility of ending the draft in the foreseeable future and the suggestion that the United States take the lead in stopping tests of the hydrogen bomb:

STEVENSON:

"These are the reasons, let me list them; why I think the time is ripe and that there is insistent necessity for the world to stop at least the testing of these terrifying weapons: first, the H-bomb is already so powerful that a single bomb could destroy the largest city in the world--a single bomb which has already been exploded. This is one subject on which there cannot be, there must not be, a last word. And finally I say that America should take the initiative, that it will reassure millions of people all around the globe who are troubled by our rigidity, our reliance on nuclear weapons, our concepts of massive retaliation - if mighty, magnanimous America spoke up for the rescue of man from the elemental fire which we have kindled."

NARRATOR:

The nation was frankly puzzled by the complex and highly technical subjects of the draft and the hydrogen bomb. Republican spokesmen, however, did not hesitate to make their positions clear. The President commented:

EISENHOWER:

"We need our military draft for the safety of our nation. We cannot throw the full future military burden upon veterans who have already earned their own nation's gratitude. (Cheers) Nor can we urge our allies to shoulder arms while we throw ours to the ground. (Cheers) And we need also to reiterate as we constantly do, America's instant readiness to lay aside all nuclear weapons, including their testing, when but only when, we have sure safeguards that others will do exactly the same." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Suddenly the hydrogen bomb and even the campaign itself were temporarily eclipsed by the electrifying news that the satellite-government of Poland had demanded a more independent status. Before Poland's bold demands were settled, a second Communist satellite government, that of Hungary, fell:

EISENHOWER:

"We hear from the peoples of Eastern Europe, the solemn word, the solemn proof that men who have once known the blessings of freedom, will lay down their lives in its name. They are men and women whom America has never forgotten, nor ever will." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

Perhaps in no campaign except those of 1864 and 1944, had outside events so complicated a Presidential election year. As the electorates struggled to keep up with events in Eastern Europe, word came that the state of Israel had launched an attack on Egypt. On the following day British and French planes began bombing Egypt preparatory to an Anglo-French invasion of the Suez Canal:

EISENHOWER:

"My Fellow Americans, tonight I report to you as your President. We all realize that the full and free debate of a political campaign surrounds us but the

events and issues I wish to place before you this evening have no connection whatsoever with matters of partisanship. They are concerned with every American, his present and his future. Now we must look to the future. In the circumstances I have described there will be no United States involvement in these present hostilities. I therefore have no plan to call the Congress in special session. I assure you your government will remain alert to every possibility of this situation and keep in close contact and coordination with the legislative branch of this government."

NARRATOR:

Eisenhower's calm words did not reassure Adlai Stevenson:

STEVENSON:

"I have kept my peace in spite of our blundering vacillation in the Middle East, and Mr. Dulles' succession of appeasements and the provocations which preceded the Egyptian dictator's seizure of the Suez Canal. (Boos) But the Republican candidate himself has introduced this matter into the campaign. He announced a few days ago on a political television show paid for by the Republican Party that he had good news about Suez. (Shouts) My friends, mark my words and mark them well --there is no good news about Suez. There is no good news about the Middle East. It is not good news, in fact it is very bad news. Why don't they at least tell us the truth about the world in which we live?" (Cheers)

SIDE II, Band 5: THE ELECTION

NARRATOR:

In the troubled atmosphere of world crisis, with Hungary's initial successes crumbling under new Soviet offensives, with the sound of bombs and gunfire in Egypt, the campaign of 1956 drew to a close. (Music) 61 million Americans went to the polls on November 6, 1956, to vote for President, Vice-President, and for 35 Senate seats and 432 Congressional seats. Within hours after the first returns had come in, it was clear that in the contest between President Eisenhower and the Democratic Party, both had won. The President was clearly on way to a landslide victory, but as the hours passed the Democrats strengthened their hold on Congress. Shortly after midnight, Eastern Standard Time, the now twice defeated Adlai Stevenson conceded:

STEVENSON:

"I have just sent the following telegram to President Eisenhower: You have won not only the election but also an expression of the great confidence of the American people. I send you my warm congratulations. Tonight we are not Republicans and Democrats but Americans." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

The victorious Dwight D. Eisenhower accepted his second mandate from the American people:

EISENHOWER:

"With whatever talent the good God has given me, with whatever strength there is in me, I'll continue and so will my associates to do this one thing: to work for 168 million Americans here at home and for peace in the world." (Cheers)

NARRATOR:

At a moment of national danger, the President's personal appeal and unequalled experience proved irresistible. In the face of this landslide, the Democrats maintained their bare majority in the Senate and actually increased their majority in the House of Representatives. In an explosive and divided world, a world of repression and revolution that looked to us as leaders in the struggle against tyranny, the basic American political process had come full circle. Peacefully and democratically, a new President and Congress had been chosen. And so the campaign of 1960 began... (Music) (Cheers)