

should be doing now, and which we should be doing for a long time to come. We should make adequate means available to the implementation of our foreign policy, which means that it is not budgetary considerations but the real necessities of foreign affairs, military and economic, that should determine our outlay, our national outlay and expenditure and we can well afford it. We can well afford to increase them both.

**MR. LINDLEY:** How big an increase do you think we should make in the main categories?

**DR. STRAUZS-HUPE:** Mr. Nelson Rockefeller, in his celebrated report, proposed an increase of about \$7 billion a year at a rising rate, and I would say this is as good a guess as any.

**MR. LINDLEY:** For economic aid as well as armament—

**DR. STRAUZS-HUPE:** Increase in military power.

**MR. LINDLEY:** What about economic aid.

**DR. STRAUZS-HUPE:** I think our economic aid stands also in need of upgrading. I do not think that we have done enough in making use of our private capital that may go abroad and especially of the coordination of our foreign economic aid policies with those of our Atlantic friends, especially Britain, France, West Germany, etc.

I think the most important single step would be a coordination of our foreign economic policies within the framework of the Atlantic alliance.

**MR. SPIVAK:** On the whole do you think the free world has gained or lost by Mr. Khrushchev's visit?

**DR. STRAUZS-HUPE:** I think we have made one distinct gain. Mr. Khrushchev has seen that the American people and their government stand together. He has said that, which, incidentally, is Communist heresy, but he has said it. He has seen that socially we are a whole and that our people are not divided from the so-called ruling classes.

What we have lost, I think I pointed to that earlier, or may have lost, is time, and that is extremely valuable and this is what we have not enough of.

**MR. SPIVAK:** Lost time only if we are taken in.

**DR. STRAUZS-HUPE:** To some extent we have lost it already, because of the "relaxation of tensions," to quote Mr. Khrushchev, that has taken place.

**MR. BROOKS:** Gentlemen, I am sorry, but I am going to have to interrupt. This is a question which we certainly can't settle in a half hour.

Thank you very much, Dr. Strausz-Hupé, for being with us.

Next week: Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown

*The National Broadcasting Company Presents*



## MEET THE PRESS

*America's Press Conference of the Air*

*Produced by* LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

*Guest:* The Honorable EDMUND G. "PAT" BROWN  
Governor of California

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MARQUIS CHILDS, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

GLADWIN HILL, *The New York Times*

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## MEET THE PRESS

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ANNOUNCER: Now, MEET THE PRESS, produced by Lawrence E. Spivak.

Ready for this unrehearsed conference are four of America's top reporters. Their questions, please remember, do not necessarily reflect their point of view; it is their way of getting behind the headlines.

Now, here is the Moderator of MEET THE PRESS, Mr. Ned Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: Welcome once again to MEET THE PRESS. Our program today comes from Los Angeles, and our guest is the Democratic Governor of California, Mr. Edmund "Pat" Brown. This is the fourth of our series of interviews with leading American governors.

Governor Brown is certain to play a leading role in next year's Democratic National Convention to be held here in Los Angeles. He has been mentioned as a possible Presidential nominee, and he will lead a California delegation second only to New York in convention votes.

Governor Brown recently joined with four other Democratic Governors from the West in forming a Western alliance. Its purpose is to win recognition for the West in the choice of 1960 nominees and in the writing of the Democratic platform.

Governor Brown served two terms as the Attorney General of California before winning the Governorship last year by a majority of more than a million votes in his memorable battle against former Republican Senator William Knowland.

Now, Governor Brown, we will start the questions with Mr. Spivak.

MR. SPIVAK: Governor, as you know, there have been many conflicting

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stories as to what you will and will not do about the Democratic Presidential situation in 1960. Will you tell us as precisely and as exactly as you can what your intentions are for 1960?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** Yes, I will. My intentions are to be the best Governor that I possibly can be of the State of California, and I intend in addition to that to play just as important a role as I can in seeing that the Democratic party selects the best possible candidate at the Convention here next July.

**MR. SPIVAK:** When you threw your hat into the ring, you criticized Senator Knowland because you believed he was seeking the Governorship as a stepping stone to the Presidency and during the course of the campaign this is what you said: "If it were offered to me, I would refuse the nomination, and if elected, I would refuse to serve." You have evidently changed your position from that, haven't you?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I think that I have, but don't interpret that as a declaration of candidacy. After I made that statement and now that I have been Governor of this state for a period of nine months, I have discussed it with Democratic leaders all over California; Senator Engle, the 16 California Congressmen, the Democratic Senators, and Assemblymen here in this state and our National Committeemen and Committeewomen, and we are trying to determine what is the best way for the largest state under a Democratic administration to be most effective. I don't know at this time what that role will be. It will probably be a favorite son candidacy here in California. That has been traditional for the Governor in a state like California, but I can't tell you what I will do.

**MR. SPIVAK:** Lionel Steinberg, who is Democratic Vice Chairman for Southern California, was quoted as saying recently that, "Significant steps will be taken within 90 days to start a serious Brown for President campaign," with or without your permission. Are you going to do anything to encourage or discourage such a campaign?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I have already discouraged it. I have told Mr. Steinberg that I feel that that is not the right thing to do, and I have asked him not to do anything in that connection, and I hope that he won't. I feel it would be highly improper for me to even negatively approve such a campaign.

**MR. ARNOW:** Assuming you will not be a candidate for the Presidency, you have said in the past that the number one problem in the nation is peace and that because of the involvement in foreign affairs the Democratic Presidential candidate probably will come out of the Senate rather than the ranks of Governors. I'd like to find out whether you still feel that the Senate is the best training ground for the Presidency?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I am afraid you are confronting me with a great many statements that I have made over the past year. Very frankly I feel that world peace is the Number One issue, but I do feel too that a Governor—and I say this after a tough legislative session—does gain a great

deal of knowledge in putting through an effective program, and I believe that there are Democratic Governors of this United States that are experienced that would make an equally good President with a United States Senator.

**MR. ARNOW:** Would you prefer a Democratic candidate coming from the ranks of the Senate or the Governors at this point?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I have no preference in that direction at all.

**MR. CHILDS:** Governor Brown, you have just said that peace was to be the Number One issue in the campaign next year. In that connection, what do you think has been the effect on domestic politics of the exchange of visits with the Russians and the forthcoming prolonged period of negotiation?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I think the effect of both the Nixon visit to Russia and Khrushchev's visit to the United States has to some extent, for the time being, cooled the cold war. I think it has helped Mr. Nixon, as indicated by the polls, in his aspirations to be the President of the United States.

**MR. CHILDS:** Then perhaps you have changed your mind about that, because I believe just as he left for Russia you called his tour a carnival. Were you quoted correctly on that?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** No. I don't believe that that is the full quotation. I said that I thought that such a visit could have dangerous implications if there were too much carnival spirit to it, but I did not call his visit a carnival. I don't believe you have the entire quotation there.

**MR. CHILDS:** In other words, you feel that his visit was a definite plus for America and the Republican Party?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I think that it is a definite temporary plus, yes.

**MR. CHILDS:** I am interested in whether or not the two parties are going to be opposed on this issue next year, because I notice that the former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, who is also Chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Policy for the Democratic Council, of which you are a member, said in Germany recently that he would not have discussed the Berlin question at all because he believed the situation in Berlin was all right. You would disagree with that, would you?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I am not prepared to say I would agree or disagree with Mr. Acheson's statement. I think that there should be debate, and certainly next year, on the great issues of peace and foreign policy. I think the Republican Party has been without a foreign policy for the past eight years. I think the trip of Mr. Nixon was the first, and the request for Mr. Khrushchev to come here is the first time that the Republican Party has made any move that has shown any initiative whatsoever.

**MR. HILL:** Governor Brown, you said at the recent Western Governors' Conference at Sun Valley that the Democrats should zero in on two or three Presidential possibilities "before it is too late." The latest public opinion polls in California show a Nixon-Rockefeller ticket running ahead of various Democratic tickets, including those with yourself on them.

Doesn't that suggest that as far as California's 32 electoral votes are concerned, it is getting very "late" already, and what do you propose to do about this?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I don't think it is getting too late at all. This is October, the year before the election, eleven months, ten months before the convention and a year before the election. I said up there that we should zero in, and we are going to have to do it in January or February. But I think candidates are emerging in this. I think that we are moving along. We haven't the figures that are as well identified as Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rockefeller, but we have been suffering from wealth of candidates; that has been our difficulty. And time will take care of that situation. I am not worried about it at all.

**MR. HILL:** You also said at Sun Valley that whether you became more than a favorite son candidate might depend upon the decision of a strong bloc of Democrats in the state. Considering that the State Democratic Committee, Executive Committee, already has come out unanimously in support of you on this, what bloc are you waiting for, the grass roots California Democratic Council, the conservatives led by Edwin Pauley or the group that oriented around National Committeeman Paul Ziffren? What bloc's word are you waiting for?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I am not waiting for any blocs, at all. I am concerned with the best candidate for the Presidency, and what I want to do is to use this force that California can produce to select that candidate, but that does not include me. I am not concerned with my own personal ambitions in this connection at all. I am not a candidate at this time, and I am not seeking any support. I have not asked a single Governor to get me a delegate, nor any United States Senator nor anyone else.

**MR. SPIVAK:** Governor, I was going to let this drop, but you said a minute ago you are not a candidate at this time. Does that mean that you still have some question in your mind about it, though?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** The only question that I have in my mind is whether I will be a favorite-son candidate here in California.

**MR. SPIVAK:** Several months ago Governor Ribicoff made a survey of California, and he said he believed Senator Kennedy could win the Presidential primary in the state against any opponent. Do you think so?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I think that Senator Kennedy has great strength in California. Whether or not he could win a primary I am not prepared to say at this time.

**MR. SPIVAK:** You know the grass roots of this state, and you have some idea of who could make a strong race and who couldn't. Would you give us a run-down, or an appraisal, at least, of the various Democratic hopefuls as they stand in your state today?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I don't think that—

**MR. SPIVAK:** Without indicating your own preference.

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I still wouldn't want to do that at this time.

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I think that any indication of strength could be misinterpreted as an indication that I am for that particular individual. I can't say. All of the candidates have been out here, and there are more coming. I want to watch this and discuss it with the men and women whom I have mentioned before I assay a guess on who is the strongest.

**MR. SPIVAK:** Governor, I can understand your not wanting to commit yourself on the Democratic hopefuls, but what about the Republican hopefuls? There has been some talk that if Rockefeller challenged Nixon in this state he might conceivably win a primary race. Do you think so in view of what the polls are showing today?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I am going to let the Republicans make the choice on that. I am a Democrat, and I can't measure the pulse of the Republicans. They do some things sometimes that I can't understand.

**MR. BROOKS:** If you do decide to become a favorite son candidate, will it be your intention to try to discourage other possible candidates from entering California in the primary?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** It will not. I have made the statement that I hope that if we have a unified Democratic Party in California no one else enters, but we have a free primary in this state, and if anybody wants to test his strength and come into California, I will do nothing, other than say that I hope he doesn't come in, to dissuade him. That is as far as I will go.

**MR. BROOKS:** Have you had any assurances or statements from any of them who say that they will avoid coming in here if you do become a favorite son candidate?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I have discussed the matter of the Democratic nominee with a great many of the candidates, but I have not asked any of them not to come into California. The public statement that I made is all that I have said about that.

**MR. ARNOW:** A short while ago you said that the Republicans had been without a foreign policy for eight years. The Western Conference of Young Democrats on September 3 urged that the United States recognize Red China and trade with her. This is opposite to the Republican foreign policy stand. Do you feel that the Democratic Party should take such a stand in 1960?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I am not prepared to say that they should. I think we should take a good look at the entire situation with respect to Red China, but the current situation with reference to prisoners, with respect to how badly they want to get into the United Nations, is something that I haven't been informed on recently, and I would rather not take a position on it at all.

**MR. ARNOW:** When you say "take a good look," would you say then that the Democrats ought to open this up and re-examine the official policy?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I think it should be re-examined. Senator Engle made a speech that I agree with one hundred percent. I think we ought to look at the entire effect of this upon our foreign policy and try to

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determine whether it is good or bad for the United States.

Recognition, of course, does not imply approval of that type government. I am not prepared to say you have to measure this thing by its effect upon our foreign policy and what it will do to other nations, other friendly nations. And for a Governor to discuss that without expert information, I think, would just be the wrong thing to do.

MR. CHILDS: Governor Brown, in view of the dedicated opposition of the Catholic Church to communism, do you think a Catholic President could carry on the negotiations opened up by the Eisenhower Administration with the Soviet Union on an objective basis? I ask you this knowing that you are a Catholic and knowing at times this religious issue has been injected into politics.

GOVERNOR BROWN: Yes, I do. I don't think that the religion, that the Catholic religion of a candidate would interfere in the slightest degree with his obligation to the people, to the United States and his effort to bring peace to the world.

MR. CHILDS: As you know, earlier in the year the Gallup Poll showed, I think, that 24 percent of persons asked said they would not vote for a Catholic for President. Do you think this prejudice, this bigotry, would have any effect on a presidential race if the nominee of one party was a Catholic?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I can only answer that from my own experience here in California, and it is my opinion that it would have nothing to do with it whatsoever. I think in the gubernatorial race of last year that if I were a Protestant and Senator Knowland were a Catholic it wouldn't have changed 50,000 votes one way or the other. I just don't believe that people will make that a prime issue in the campaign.

MR. CHILDS: And you would translate this into national terms, too, even though the proportion of Catholic voters in this state is much smaller?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I can only tell you that I have discussed it—not recently but during the last Democratic convention—with Southern governors, and I have asked them whether or not they would vote for a Catholic as President, and they have all told me that that would have nothing to do with whether he were or were not a Catholic—the nominee.

MR. HILL: Governor, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota said that he would stay out of California as long as presidential activity here went no further than a passive favorite son candidacy on your part. A few days ago some California supporters of Senator Humphrey, evidently with his approval, began the organized promotion of a Humphrey-Brown or Brown-Humphrey ticket. Were you consulted about this and, if not, do you think it is a case of the camel sticking his nose into the tent?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I knew nothing about it until I received one of their letters in the mail. I think there is in California among the grass roots Democrats a real desire to begin moving on this Democratic nomina-

tion. I knew nothing about it, I had nothing to do with it, and I don't approve of that anymore than I do the actions of Lionel Steinberg. Let me say this: when a good friend of mine like Mr. Steinberg suggests that, you are flattered, of course, but I can't make it too clear that I am not doing a single solitary thing to promote my candidacy of the presidency of the United States. I want to be a governor—we have the greatest problems in the United States here in California—our growth problems, universities, colleges. It is taking all of my time, and I just haven't had the time to discuss even the presidential possibilities with other governors or senators.

MR. HILL: In the campaign last year one of your conspicuous assets in running for Governor was that you were a middle-of-the-roader who could draw votes from both liberals and conservatives, on both sides of the party line. Leaving yourself personally out of this future picture, do you think this is the sort of a candidate that the Democrats will need in 1960, rather than an intensely partisan personality, and what candidates do you think meet this specific?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I think that we need a good, liberal, fighting candidate who can carry the message to the people, and I think everyone who has been mentioned prominently as a possible candidate meets those qualifications.

MR. SPIVAK: Governor, in 1960, the Republicans are evidently planning to make peace and prosperity their major issue. If they do, just what are the Democrats going to be able to counter with?

GOVERNOR BROWN: In connection with peace, the recent breakdown you might say, of the barrier between conversation is in a beginning stage, and I am unable to estimate that. I certainly hope that these visits have not diminished our awareness of the continuing problem of communism, and we had better keep awfully strong. But that isn't enough. I think the Democratic Party during the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Truman indicated a positive policy: Point IV programs and things such as that. I still, despite the visits, don't know where they are going with the visits that they have made; I don't know what they are going to bring to the summit conference, and I just think that the Democrats will make a better case in that connection.

With respect to prosperity, there is prosperity to some extent. On the other hand, the high cost of money—the interest rates are terrible, and if they are not inflationary, I don't know what it is. Here in California we want to pass a \$1,750,000,000 bond issue. We will have to pay a tremendous sum of interest to the Wall Street bankers when we sell those bonds. This has a terrible deterrent effect upon the growth problems of our state.

I think the economic policies of the Republican Party will be a major issue, and that we will come forth with a program far better than the Republicans, and I think it could very well be the real issue of the campaign next year.

MR. SPIVAK: Governor, you were one of the group of governors whose

states are affected by the steel strike, and who asked the President to meet with you. If you were meeting with the President today, what would you advise him to do about the steel strike?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** He has already invoked Taft-Hartley, and I assume that he will file suit to send the steel workers back. I think that the President should have acted a long time ago. I think the loss that we have had in that connection is something that we will never regain. I can't tell him what to do now. It is too late. What I would have told him to do is to bring these people together—which he did only a week or two ago, prior to his visit to Palm Springs—and really try to throw the force of the prestige of the Presidency behind a settlement.

**MR. CHILDS:** Governor Brown, you said recently you thought Lyndon Johnson was too closely connected with oil and segregation to be the Democratic nominee. Did you mean by this that you preferred another candidate, or that you thought he couldn't win?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I have a very deep respect for Lyndon Johnson. I know him personally, I have visited with him at his home. But here in California the problem of natural gas and the increase in the cost of it has been a major issue. The fights that we have had with the El Paso Natural Gas—and Mr. Johnson represents the State of Texas; that is one of their great industries. It would be difficult for me to put that over in California. And, of course, Texas has not been a leader in breaking down segregation, and I think that the liberals of the State of California and the large minorities we have would make it very difficult for him to carry this state.

**MR. ARNOW:** Do you or don't you favor having the South thrown out of the Democratic Party if the South tries to block a strong civil rights plank, which you have asked to be stronger 1956?

**GOVERNOR BROWN:** I think the South has a right to do whatever they want. I certainly don't want to throw anybody out of the Democratic Party. I hope they will, like we will, be ruled by the majority at that convention. We will fight for a strong civil rights program.

I am sure the Southerners—they are good Democrats; they disagree on this, but they are not going to walk out of this convention next year.

**MR. BROOKS:** I am sorry to interrupt, but I see that our time is running out. Thank you very much, Governor Brown, for being with us.

**NEXT WEEK:** Charles H. Percy

*The National Broadcasting Company Presents*



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*America's Press Conference of the Air*

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*Guest:* CHARLES H. PERCY  
Chairman, Republican Committee  
on Program and Progress

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