

tice. Yet what he was saying was well worth hearing.

At Newark's Essex House, Scranton obviously referred to Goldwater's weakness in the East when he declared: "Republicans in New Jersey and Republicans in Pennsylvania both want to participate in the election of a Republican as the next President of the U.S. Neither of us is prepared to have the East Coast of this great nation sawed off and set afloat in the ocean this November. We want to win."

In Cleveland, Scranton compared Goldwater's conservatism unfavorably to that of Ohio's own late Senator Bob Taft. "Bob Taft was a conservative in the truest sense of the word," Scranton declared. "He sought to conserve all of the human values that have been carried down to us on the long stream of American history. He saw history as the foundation on which a better future might be built—not as a Technicolor fantasy behind which the problems of the present might be concealed. Bob Taft didn't say stop social security—he said extend it to all elder citizens who are not now eligible. He didn't say quit the United Nations—he said make the United Nations work. He didn't say forget our cities—he said provide the housing which will make our cities livable. In fact, he was the father of our modern housing legislation."

In Detroit, Scranton dealt with the complex problem of automation, called it "the first gigantic step toward a fundamental change in the basis for human society." He quoted Aristotle's assertion that "when looms weave by themselves, man's slavery will end," and added: "That day has almost arrived. We right now possess the technological means to conquer poverty and economic slavery for the first time in history. The only question that remains is whether this physical bondage will be replaced by a new slavery of the soul and mind. The underlying philosophy of the Administration boils down basically to this: delay automation as long as possible by harassing industry; when automation does come, tax the increased profits out of the economy and use these to pay relief or some similar kind of dole to the workers who have lost their jobs. I say this answer is wrong for the economy, but it is most of all wrong for the workers themselves. The workers of America are not looking for an easy berth, a soft touch, a free ride. The workers of America are seeking an honest return for honest labor."

And in Miami Beach, Scranton delivered perhaps the most forceful, sense-making Republican statement so far about U.S. policy toward Castro's Cuba. Said he: "Our national policy has become one of reacting to events rather than one of seizing opportunities. In few places can we see present American indecision so clearly as we can see it in Cuba. The Castro regime is becoming more deeply entrenched in Cuba with each passing day. It has open-

ly pledged its allegiance to the Communist camp. It has built a powerful military machine, second only to our own in this hemisphere.

"The leadership vacuum has produced an unacceptable and dangerous reaction. Some well-intentioned Americans, frustrated by the paralysis in our foreign policy, have turned to a doctrine of naked power. This doctrine holds that 'total victory' can be won

NINA LEEN—LIFE



OHIO'S LATE ROBERT TAFT
A truer sort of conservatism.

by simply standing up to the Russians, both guns drawn. It reduces the complexities of foreign policy to simple emotional terms that have wide appeal in the American experience—the rugged individualism of the pioneer, the gun-slinging marshal of the frontier town, the expedition of marines to clean out the pirates in Barbary or the corrupt governments of the Caribbean.

"But do these emotions and personal demonstrations of conviction provide the basis for an effective foreign policy? No. No President of the United States can avoid the problem of power and how to use it effectively and responsibly. An effective policy does not consist in orders to the marines to turn on the water mains at Guantánamo, or in unleashing Cuban exiles to attack Russian merchant ships trading with Cuba.

"While our objective is to expel Communist leadership, we cannot return Cuba to the social and economic base of 1959. We must turn the social revolution already in progress toward democratic directions and control. To succeed, we must separate the Cuban people from their Communist rulers. We can do this only through a coordinated three-pronged strategy of

economic, psychological and guerrilla warfare.

"First, we must continue and extend the free world economic boycott of Cuba. We have failed in communicating the seriousness of our purpose to our European allies and in enlisting their cooperation. We need to establish far better cooperative measures of passport and personnel surveillance at the ports and borders of other Latin American countries to control the stream of subversive activity which now flows like poison out of Cuba.

"Second, we must mount an effective psychological campaign against the Castro government. We need more basic intelligence on the attitudes of the workers, the middle classes, and other sections of the Cuban population toward the revolution and the regime.

"The third element of an effective strategy is the coordinated use of Cuban exile forces. If we mean business, we have a responsibility to give free Cubans full financial, moral, and political support—including the organization and equipping of Cuban exile forces. A free Cuba will need a well-organized, disciplined, democratically oriented force capable of assuming full governmental authority upon the overthrow of Castro."

Taking It Easy. What was Barry Goldwater doing while Scranton was campaigning? He was lying low. His advisers feel certain that his present delegate lead is so great that his nomination is assured if he can only stay out of political trouble. In other words, silence is Goldwater. Thus he occupied himself most of last week logging hours in an Air Force jet (he is a major general in the Air Force Reserve) and preparing like any other proud father for the 800-guest weekend wedding of his daughter Peggy, 19.

But even as the Goldwater strategists coasted on the assumption that Barry had the nomination sewed up, there were indications that other pragmatic politicians viewed a Goldwater candidacy as doomed to defeat in November. One Gallup poll showed that 73% of Republican and Democratic county chairmen believed that Johnson would beat Goldwater, while only 27% foresaw a Goldwater victory. Asked to rate the strongest possible Republican candidate, the Democratic chairmen voted: Scranton, 302; Goldwater, 297; Nixon, 246; Rockefeller, 246; Lodge, 243.

Earlier polls had shown that one of Scranton's greatest handicaps was that he was not broadly known across the U.S. But this week Gallup released the results of a new poll that demonstrated how dramatically the Scranton campaign has changed that picture. Gallup reported that rank-and-file Republicans now prefer Scranton over Goldwater, 55% to 34%. Just as significantly, among independent voters—and the G.O.P. will need plenty of them to defeat Johnson—Scranton is preferred by 62% to Goldwater's 24%.