



"If you can keep it!"

When our Constitution was finally signed on September 17, 1787, Benjamin Franklin was asked as he left Independence Hall, "What have you given us?" His reply was typical of this great man's vision: "A republic—if you can keep it!"

Franklin knew that the enemy of freedom is apathy. There had been republics before, and they had failed because of human folly, greed and indifference. The founders of our nation had no certainty that their work would endure. But they had great faith.

We have not been good guardians of that faith. Forty to sixty percent of voters fail to show up at the polling places, in spite of the perils facing us and our government at home and abroad.

A republic is a do-it-yourself affair. We must not only inform ourselves and vote—we must also influence others to be good citizens. This year, 1960, may be decisive for years to come. Will we demonstrate that we Americans are fit for our freedoms?

We have a republic. Will we keep it?

Ernest G. Swigert.
President



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A New Kind of Campaign

by Raymond Moley



CAMPAIGN orators are already filling the air with platitudes about the "new frontier" and the "challenge of the future" and all that sort of thing. But they must realize, especially those who are campaigning for the national tickets, that so far as campaigning goes, the future is already here. The maelstrom of world events in which we find ourselves and the actual physical business of campaigning distinguish this top-level debate from all others in the past.

After visiting a considerable number of states from coast to coast, and after examining the communications I have received from those reporters who have visited other states, it is my conclusion that upheavals and flaring conflicts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are haunting American minds far more than the fate of the farmer, the family budget of the worker, concern about possible catastrophic illness, or housing or school classrooms. These latter are important matters, but when there is the possible collapse of the U.N. and maybe a spread of war which would engulf millions and cast death over the land for civilians as well as the military, there is priority among apprehensions.

PARTY LINES IGNORED

More Americans than some of us realize would phrase their feelings like this: "Let's let the home affairs be cared for by congressmen and senators and governors. The President is the one in whose judgment will rest the awful decisions which may mean peace or war, annihilation or security." Thus there is developing a differentiation in the estimates of voters between district and state candidates and the two individuals who are running for President. I could name specifically half a dozen states in which it is more than likely that the majority will go to one party in the state election and to the national candidates of the other party. Voters are likely to ignore party lines in evaluating the names on the national tickets.

Moreover, the sheer physical demands upon national candidates this year transcend anything candidates have known and felt in the past. Radio and television, as has been said over and over, have made revolutionary

changes in campaigning methods. But the candidates' habit of traveling by air has a still greater impact.

When a candidate traveled by train, there were periods of quiet, rest, and reflection between cities. Reasonable seclusion from the pests that pounce upon a candidate whenever he makes a public appearance was possible for nights and parts of days. He was afforded a chance to collect his thoughts, talk with his intimate advisers, and rest his poor bruised right hand, that bit of common property with no holds barred.

BATTERED CANDIDATE

One of the most poignant scenes I have ever witnessed was on a late afternoon in Pittsburgh in the autumn of 1956. I was seated in a plane scheduled for New York. There was a wait. The word was that candidate Stevenson was due. He had been campaigning all day, I believe, in West Virginia. He appeared, a worn, slight figure, garbed in a battered raincoat. He was jammed into a seat and we took off. At La Guardia Airport there was a handful of politicians to grab him and whisk him to Harlem for many appearances, short speeches, and thousands of handshakes. Imagine weeks and months of days like that. It is beyond the mental and almost beyond the physical and emotional capacity of one human being.

In such a campaign, a candidate may rely, sometimes unwisely, upon words written by others. If he lacks deep personal knowledge of the issues and conditions, he must utter the same routine again and again. And now, when there are 50 states with a thousand local problems, no interest, however small, may be slighted. No pressure group neglected. No hand unshaken. No local or state VIP overlooked.

In the confusion the voter loses all comprehension of the detailed issues. He will reach out for the man, feel for his mental muscle, his essential character, judge his strength and capacity to bear the massive burdens of the Presidency. The rest of the issues he will regard as chores for congressmen, senators, governors. This is why this campaign is unique.