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<td>From Ronald Conway to Noziger RE: McCloskey's political status in San Mateo County, California. Copies of news clippings related to the subject attached. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>From Timmons to Haldeman RE: an attached form letter from McCloskey to House Republicans. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>Tenth page of a memorandum, including information on RN's China visit and its effects on McCloskey. Handwritten note added by unknown. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>San Mateo &quot;Times&quot; article on the split between McCloskey and James Halley. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Slip of paper containing notes on the efforts of White House officials to check McCloskey's campaign progress. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>From Buchanan to Haldeman RE: painting McCloskey as a follower of the Kennedy New Frontier in an effort to minimize his campaign's effect on RN in 1972. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Article authored by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak titled &quot;McCloskey and the Democrats.&quot; 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Handwritten notes relating to Nofziger and Dole, with a particular emphasis on McCloskey. 1 pg.</td>
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<td>&quot;Long Beach Press Telegram&quot; article titled &quot;GOP war views split -- McCloskey.&quot; 1 pg.</td>
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<td>Copy of a newspaper article by Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith relating to McCloskey's campaign. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 4 pgs.</td>
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MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. HALDEMAN
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN
SUBJECT: McCloskey

The UPI wire on McCloskey's news conference is attached. Although he will not continue to run for President, his name will remain on 10 ballots as a symbolic protest against the Vietnam War.

McCloskey will run for Congress in the 17th District, which is in Santa Clara County, south of his old district. His only competition is Bob Berry, a former congressman from New York, who has almost no chance of beating McCloskey in the primary. The only potentially strong challenger is Dr. Royce Cole. He is young and conservative and could win if Berry were out. Nofziger recommends that Berry be asked out of the race and that money be put into Cole's campaign to accelerate the attack on McCloskey.

According to Nofziger March 24 is the deadline for McCloskey to file a list of delegates for the California Presidential Primary. Nofziger thinks McCloskey is just unpredictable enough to file. Even if he doesn't file, Nofziger believes some Democratic group would be well advised to spend the money to get a slate of McCloskey delegates and then run an ad campaign to increase the anti-Nixon vote. Nofziger is trying to find out if this is happening.

Magruder believes that the mere fact that McCloskey will probably have an easy primary and general election is attributable to the factionalism in the California Republican Party. In particular, Nofziger has not implemented his assignment to counter McCloskey.
RENO, PARK, CALIF. -- REP. PAUL MCCLOSKEY SAID TODAY HE WAS
PULLING OUT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGNS BUT HOPED HIS NAME,
WHICH WILL BE ON THE BALLOT IN 10 MORE STATES, WILL SERVE AS A "SYMBOLIC
PROTEST" AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR.

"THE HARSH REALITY OF THE SITUATION IS THAT YOU CANNOT RUN A
CREDIBLE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WITHOUT LARGE SUMS OF MONEY," THE ANTI-
WAR REPUBLICAN SAID.

"OBVIOUSLY, I DON'T HAVE THAT MONEY. I'M HEAVILY INDEBT,"
MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WOULD FILE FOR RE-ELECTION FRIDAY IN CALIFORNIA'S
17TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.

MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WOULD NOT SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON FOR RE-ELECTION
UNLESS HE CHANGES HIS VIETNAM POLICIES. "THIS QUESTION TRANSCENDS
ANY CONSIDERATION OF PARTISAN POLITICS," MCCLOSKEY SAID.

"THERE ARE ABOUT 10 STATES WHERE MY NAME WILL REMAIN ON THE BALLOT,
WHERE I COULD NOT TAKE IT OFF THE BALLOT IF I WANTED TO," HE SAID,
"I HOPE IT WILL ATTRACT SOME VOTES AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION
POLICIES IN VIETNAM AND SERVE AS A SYMBOLIC PROTEST.
"I HAVE INSTRUCTED THOSE WHERE MY NAME IS NOT ON THE BALLOT TO
TERMINATE THEIR EFFORTS."

"BELIEVING THAT PEACE IN VIETNAM IS THE MOST CRUCIAL ISSUE OF OUR
TIME, I WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO CONTINUE TO SEEK VOTES
SUPPORT FOR THE HANFORD-HAYFIELD-MCGOVERN PROPOSAL IN ALL OF THE
PRIMARY STATES," HE SAID.

"I CANNOT DO THIS, HOWEVER, WITHOUT ADEQUATE FUNDS."
MCCLOSKEY'S ANNOUNCEMENT CAME A DAY AFTER HE FILED FOR THE NORTH
CAROLINA PRIMARY, BECOMING NIXON'S ONLY OPPONENT IN THAT CONTEST.
MCCLOSKEY GOT 28 PER CENT OF THE GOP VOTE IN TUESDAY'S NEW HAMPSHIRE
PRIMARIES. ALTHOUGH HE SAID IN ADVANCE 28 PER CENT WAS HIS MINIMUM GOAL,
HIS TOTAL WAS CONSIDERED DISAPPOINTING BY ANTI-WAR SUPPORTERS WHO HAD
HOPED HE WOULD REPEAT SEN. EDGAR MCGOWEN'S STRONG SHOWING IN THE
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN 1968, WHICH PRECEDED PRESIDENT LYNDON
JOHNSON'S DECISION NOT TO RUN FOR RE-ELECTION.
MCCLOSKEY SAID HE WAS MORE THAN $55,000 IN DEBT.
3-18--TS216PES
Date: December 20, 1971

TO: H. R. HALEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

Please handle

For your information
December 17, 1971

Hon. Harry Dent
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

Enclosed please find press releases concerning Representative McCloskey's recent visit in Maine.

My best wishes for a very happy holiday.

Sincerely,

CHARLES E. MORESHEAD
State Chairman

bjw

Enclosures (2)
Moreshhead raps McCloskey for praising Sen. Muskie

Malhe Republican party chairman Charles E. Moreshhead said Thursday he thinks Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr., O.Na.-Life, is a "publicity-seeking opportunist."

He lauded at McCloskey after the Congressmen praised Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, a front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972.

"I have made it a point throughout my political career and especially during my tenure as state chairman, not to publicly criticize members of my own political party," said Moreshhead in a statement.

"But when someone like McCloskey comes into the state where I live, purportedly as a Republican and then starts beating the drums for a Democrat, well, that's too much to take," he said.

Moreshhead said he has sent a telegram to New Hampshire GOP chairman Robert E. Whalen "to inform him as to McCloskey's outrageous statement."

He said he asked Whalen "to pass the word along to the local Republicans in his state who are planning to vote in the presidential primary."

"I certainly hope they will see through this publicity-seeking opportunism," Moreshhead said.

McCloskey was in Maine Wednesday to speak to students at the University of Maine branches at Orono and Portland-Gorham.

He said he has "tremendous respect for Sen. Muskie. He appears to me to be an honest man the American people can trust."

McCloskey said he "will never again endorse anyone of my own party if I think his opponent is the better man."

The congressman will challenge President Nixon in the New Hampshire primary in March, and in the later Massachusetts and Rhode Island primaries.
McCloskey May Join Muskie
If Senator Is Dems’ Choice

By DONALD C. HANSEN

U.S. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, a Republican challenging President Nixon’s re-election bid in order to reshape the GOP, indicates he might endorse Democrat Edmund S. Muskie if the Maine senator wins the nomination next year.

“I have tremendous respect for Sen. Muskie,” McCloskey said during a one-day trip to Maine Wednesday. “He appears to me to be an honest man the American people can trust.”

And, the California Republican added, “I will never again endorse anyone of my own party if I think his opponent is the better man.”

But McCloskey’s immediate goal, he said, is to challenge President Nixon in the New Hampshire primary next March 7 and perhaps in subsequent ones as well. In order to force changes in administration policy and perhaps dump the President.

Speaking before two to three hundred students at the Gorham campus of the University of Maine at Portland-Gorham, McCloskey estimated his own chance of winning the presidency at about 10 per cent.

He accused what he called the “Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell administration” of continuing an unceasing war in Southeast Asia and of “deliberately concealing and distorting facts from the American people on a wide range of issues, including the Vietnam War and nuclear testing.”

“We must restore the faith of the people in their government,” McCloskey said, adding that public confidence in their elected officials was at an all-time low.

“We need politicians who will stand up and tell the people the truth without worrying whether it will hurt them politically,” he told the Gorham audience after earlier speaking at the Orono campus of the university.

McCloskey, who first sprang to prominence in 1967 when he defeated Shirley Temple Black in a GOP congressional primary, was received atten-

McCloskey said he wanted “to hear what all the candidates (for president) have to say” before making up his mind who to back, but said that “if Muskie gets the nomination I believe he has a reasonable chance to be president.”

“Ed Muskie has the capacity to restore faith and confidence in our government and if he stands up and tells the truth he’ll be the next president.”

McCloskey DECLINED to speculate what kind of showing he needs to make in the New Hampshire primary, but said he’d drop out if he didn’t make “a creditable one.”

President Nixon’s managers in New Hampshire have said the President would win 85 per cent of the vote but McCloskey said a White House-commissioned poll in New Hampshire showed McCloskey with 22 per cent of the vote.

McCloskey’s attack on President Nixon — he said “the administration has an almost paranoid desire to conceal” — included the showing of the flag in the Bay of Bengal in the Bangladesh war, and accused the President of showing “a lack of respect for the law and the judicial process” — probably won him little support from the Maine Republican organization.

There were, for instance, no major Maine Republicans participating in McCloskey’s visit here. Only a few college students showed up for a private meeting at the Portland airport although a number of relatively prominent liberal GOP party members had been invited.

McCLOSKEY’S PITCH is not geared towards organizational Republicans in Maine anyway. He was basically interested in attracting some college students in Maine to volunteer to help in the New Hampshire primary.

“We’re only 40 miles from the border,” he told the Gorham students, “so we want all the help we can get from students from all over New England.”

Accompanying McCloskey on the Gorham-Portland leg of his Maine visit was Portland High School teacher Benjamin Chandler who served in L. McCloskey’s rifle platoon during the Korean War.

The one-day trip was arranged by J. Field Reichardt, a Colby College graduate who is McCloskey’s deputy campaign manager in New Hampshire.
MEMORANDUM TO:  H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: PAT BUCHANAN

The fancy ads and slick commercials may have reached a point of diminishing returns -- if this ad is any indication. McCloskey is directing his pitch against the "Pitchmen;" emphasizing sincerity and candor. When one considers that poll you mentioned one day -- where something like 80 percent of the American people thought we were too P.R.-oriented -- McCloskey's people have zeroed in on something, which could be injurious. Consideration ought to be given -- in light of this and general public revulsion to TV gimmickry and campaign spending, to how much and what kind of television should be used not only in the primaries, but in the general as well. Because of that "Selling of the President" and the aura left by supportive position in the media, we are vulnerable on this score.

Buchanan
Lyn Nofziger is continuing to watch the McCloskey situation in California. In addition to the work with possible challengers, he has met with some success in disadvantageously redistricting McCloskey’s seat.
republican national committee
Lyn Nofziger

to

GORDON STRACHAN
October 22, 1971

Dear Mr. Nofziger,

I wanted to let you know what is happening in San Mateo County regarding the June Congressional Primary. As you can imagine McCloskey will end up running for Congress again and as a result a committee has come into existence to defeat him in the primary. I thought you would want to know about this committee so I have enclosed some newscloppings that will give you some of the background on the committee. The committee has spent months tying down all the money and republican groups into supporting one candidate who will be chosen by all the representatives to the committee. A screening and elimination of some candidates will be held on October 30. The committee is well prepared for the upcoming challenge and we plan to meet it optimistically.

Since this is probably good news for you I wanted to let you know about it as soon as it became public.

Sincerely Yours,

Ronald Conway
PO Box 2481
Menlo Park, Calif. 94025
**McCloskey Opposition?**

By HARRY FARRELL

A group of Republicans is reportedly prepared to throw McCloskey’s financing into the primary, said the group will seek to make McCloskey’s campaign unviable. The group believes that McCloskey’s financing in the primary will allow him to spread more than $200,000. They believe that they have a lot of people who have accepted this committee’s position and that the group is in favor of it and have access to money, said a group representative.

"We have no pledges, but we have a lot of people who have accepted this committee’s position and are in favor of it and have access to money," the representative said.

Efforts will be made to recruit potential candidates, but each of two recognized races for which McCloskey might legally run as an incumbent — one crossing the San Mateo County line and one wholly in San Mateo County — Kaiser said.

Kaiser made it clear, however, that Project ERRIC will concentrate its efforts and finance in whichever district McCloskey may choose to run.

Whether he will run or not is in question, since he is already running for President against President Nixon on an antiwar platform. The showdown in that effort, however, will come in the March 7 New Hampshire primary, and if McCloskey loses heavily there, he is expected to return to California for a re-election bid.

Plans for the Oct. 30 interviewing session, to be held at the Redwood City Women’s Club, were laid at a Tuesday night meeting. The press, but not the public at large, will be admitted.

All candidates mentioned as possible GOP rivals to McCloskey are being invited.

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**GOP group eyes candidates to run against McCloskey**

A group of leading San Mateo County Republicans is screening candidates to oppose Rep. Paul M. McCloskey and run for any newly created congressional district.

Dean A. Watkins of Portola Valley and Lee Kaiser have established a Redwood City based Project ERRIC (Electifiers Representing Responsible Candidates) to screen candidates.

Watkins said the screening committee has been set up to "represent the new spectrum of the Republican Party."

Watkins said that representatives will be invited to send representatives for the first screening meeting, which is scheduled for Oct. 30 and will be open to the press but not the public.

Every Republican organization within San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties will be invited to send representatives. Any prospective candidate who applies before the screening committee will be asked to support the committee’s choice, he said.

Thirteen prospective candidates have already been listed. They include Charles Chase, Forden Atherton, Robert Byrnes, Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, Gordon Smith, Ronald Charles, Jack Wilson, Ned Hutchinson, Thomas McGinn Smith and Dr. Royce Cole.

Also under consideration are Assemblyman Dixon Arnett, William Beat, Larry Forshar and former Assemblyman George W. Minnis.
McCloskey Loses His Issue
As Nixon Goes To China

BY RUS WALTON
SACRAMENTO — The Hon. Paul Norton (Pete) McCloskey, Republican congressman from San Mateo County, has been going full bore in his campaign to unseat President Nixon for the party's nomination next year.

He's been spending Norton Simon's money as though it were a bucket of Hunt's catsup — splashing it all around. Literally.

Now he's opened a California command post on Van Ness Avenue in San Francisco, gearing up for the 1972 presidential primary.

THE TROUBLE IS, for all the sound and motion and catsup, Pete's not going anywhere. President Nixon cut him off at that Assemblyman Democratic crows coming home to roost, not on root causes from the '30s. But the after flapping around the other era..."

... •

He argued that President Nixon was in the really big issues of 1972. And, at this point they are hardly Republican voters.

THE RECESSION — depression, inflation, unemployment — these may well be Democratic crows coming home to roost after flapping around the country since the '30s, but the illogics of politics will blame pressing economic problems on the incumbents, not on root causes from another era.

Nixon may have some problems within his own party. But they come from the right and that is hardly McCloskey country.

So, poor old Pete. He and his youthful pumpkin-eaters may get their jollies from stomping against President Nixon but they are on a dead-end road.

IN FACT, Pete McCloskey may also find a dead-end road when he runs for re-election to the U.S. House of Representatives.

The new congressional districts being carved out on the San Francisco Peninsula may settle his political hash for some time to come.

When these new boundaries are drawn, San Mateo County will be divided between two congressional districts. Extremely reliable information is that one of these districts will extend from Redwood City north to the San Francisco county line. It will contain 455,000 souls (the 'ideal' number) and it will be carved out as a Democratic district so that Assemblyman Leo Ryan can go to Washington as a congressman.

The remainder of San Mateo County, south of Redwood City, will be thrown into a new district with Santa Cruz County and the northern part of Santa Clara County. It will include the cities of Palo Alto, Los Altos, Cupertino, Mountain View, Sunnyvale, and the tip of the city of Santa Clara.

It is designed to be a Republican district — but not necessarily McCloskey's.

FOR ONE THING, most of the Republicans in the new district have been moderate to conservative, Nixon-Reagan Republicans. They have not cottoned to the way McCloskey has been repudiating the President and the governor.

Yet another thing — and more important, politically speaking — the Sunnyvale-Mountain View area is the northern California location for Lockheed and many sub-contracting firms which service Lockheed and other defense industries. The thousands of Lockheed employees — and the thousands that once worked for Lockheed and are now unemployed — are not likely to respond to McCloskey's blandishments. They are more likely to recall his vacillation on the Lockheed loan, his vote against the ABM, and his generally anti-defense industry posture. And that's not ideology, that's jobs!

ALL OF WHICH leaves McCloskey with another troublesome decision. Should he make a fight in a Republican district which could repudiate him as he his repudiated Nixon? Or, should he make a run for it in the new "northern" San Mateo County district which will be Democratic but perhaps more responsive to his brand of politics?

Yet: On at least one occasion McCloskey has implied he might just tackle Leo Ryan. And that would be quite a tackle — with Ryan having the edge.
TO:  H.R. Haldeman
FROM: William E. Timmons

Please Handle
For Your Information X
Other
August 4, 1971

Mon. Louis Wyman
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Louis:

My New Hampshire supporters are opening our state headquarters on Monday, August 9, at 10:30 a.m. The address of the headquarters is 104 North Main Street, Concord, New Hampshire, 03301, phone (603) 224-9222. If you happen to be in the area and your schedule allows you to drop by, I would enjoy talking with you. Otherwise, I hope to talk with you sometime during the campaign.

I am running for the Republican nomination for President for two reasons: first, I run to revitalize the GOP and to make it the majority party. It is my belief that under this national Administration's leadership the party is dying. In 1970, with the Democrats demoralized and almost bankrupt, with more than sufficient Republican financing, and with unprecedented opportunity to elect many new Republicans to the Congress and to the State Houses, this Administration's policies and political strategy led to a national defeat for our party, even though some strong state parties in states such as New Hampshire were able to hold out against a Democratic sweep. In my own state of California we have recently lost both Republican Senators and the majority of both houses in the Legislature. The over two million new California voters are registering Democratic by margins of 2:1 to 5:1 in a state where Democrats already have a million vote edge in registration. While it is probably too early to predict how the almost 90,000 new voters in your state will register, if results do parallel those in California, then our party could be in serious trouble in New Hampshire as well. I would hope that my candidacy would help our party attract the idealism, the energies, and the enthusiasm of the finest young people in the nation, as well as the loyalty of many disgruntled Democrats and Independents.

Second, I run to encourage open and honest debate and to express positive Republican alternatives to the policies of the present Administration on such issues as truth in government, the economy, judicial excellence and independence, the war in Vietnam, the failure to uphold the historical Republican moral commitment on racial issues, the lack of dedication to the protection of personal liberties, and the proper and best national political strategy for the Republican Party. On both counts, I willingly take my case to you and to other New Hampshire Republicans, and I await your decision on March 7, 1972. I look forward to an early opportunity to discuss these issues and concerns with you, perhaps in Concord on Monday.

Best wishes,

Paul H. McCloskey, Jr.
RN's plan to visit China... Continuing their regular coverage of the Dump Nixon movement, the late CBS News with Rather had a fulsome report on McCloskey and Lowenstein speaking before 1,200 Texas students in a mood which could offer "little comfort for RN." McCloskey said to have "a striking, physical resemblance to JFK."...Jack Wilson leaves D.C. with $20,000 of the $100,000 he wants to oppose McCloskey in the House primary next year. Jim Buckley said he'd support Connally if he were on the ticket but that he and other conservatives feel Nixon-Agnew is the ideal ticket... And again, we're told, this is the week for Lindsay's switching parties, but not sure he'll go for WH... Julian Bond calls Wallace "a dangerous, dangerous man" because of his intelligence.

MISCELLANY

CBS had a very positive report on an ex-con helped by Johnny Cash while in prison and who's now a singer in his own right and also seeking to help others in trouble. And NBC closed -- for third week in a row -- with some heartland films this of-a-tractor-pulling contest... Lots of major sports developments -- 2 young blacks continue to excel as pitchers as Vida Blue wins 20th and Ferguson Jenkins wins 18th -- appropriately on the eve of Satchell Paige's front-door induction to Hall of Fame... Joe Namath out for most of season with wrecked knee and Redskins ruin George Allen's debut by collapsing in 2nd half against San Diego... Bob Short reportedly has AL owners over the barrel in his desire to move Senators to Dallas. Meanwhile new Nat hope, Pete Broberg pitched a shutout... And 51 year old Henry Haynes -- the Homer of Homer and Jethro -- has died of a heart attack. Warm eulogies from Archie Campbell and Chet Atkins.

# # #

lye doesn't know it... will ask later.
FOR GORDON STRACHAN

I need not see 8/5.
McCloskey in Trouble

REDWOOD CITY — Rep. Paul McCloskey, the California Republican who is out to derail President Nixon, may well end up derailling himself right out of Congress.

One thing is evident: McCloskey may look like a big shot in Washington by showering his denunciations on the President and United States for war crimes in Vietnam, but he doesn't look the same here in his home district.

To the extreme Doves and others on the New Left who want to rush all U.S. forces out of Vietnam regardless of the consequences, Rep. McCloskey may appear to be an overnight hero, but to most of his constituents here in California's 11th Congressional District, he looms quite differently.

He appears like somebody they wish they hadn't elected and aim to defeat in next year's GOP primary.

Thus while McCloskey is busy with his dump-Nixon and attack-McCloskey - President campaign, Republican leaders in this 11th District are now getting busy with their re-elect-Nixon and dump-McCloskey - as - Congressman campaign.

This isn't just speculation nor wishful thinking. There is evidence that the anti-McCloskey forces are gaining strength - and mean business.

The California Republican Assembly CRS has openly censured McCloskey and urged that he take himself out of the Republican Party.

Recently, planning a major rally in the heart of his own district, members of the CRA voted not to invite McCloskey as a speaker.

Instead they deliberately chose Rep. Charles Gubser of the neighboring 10th District because they knew Gubser was a firm supporter of the President's steady Vietnam withdrawal program and because they were confident he would speak out against McCloskey's action and accusations.

He did. And then some.

These are the early signals showing that McCloskey is in trouble where it hurts - in his home congressional district - and it is probable that trouble is going to grow.

"Congressman Gubser, usually a moderate and mild-spoken man, didn't hold anything back and the Republican voters here showed they like it."

Gubser told them that in his view McCloskey was practicing "McCarthyism" by making unproved charges against the United States and he saw McCarthyism turning into "McCloskeyism."

"When any one," Gubser declared at the CRA rally in Burlingame, "reaches the point where he accuses his own country of engaging in a policy of genocide and indiscriminate bombing of civilians in Laos, when he says this nation is guilty of war crimes like those for which the Nuremberg trials decreed the penalty of death - this is a disservice to our nation, to the two and one-half million young men who served in Southeast Asia and to the 50,000 men who have given their lives there."

"Probably few realize that McCloskey was a dedicated all-out, bomb-nearly-everything hawk on the eve of the 1968 GOP primary when he ran against Shirley Temple Black."

He told people I have talked with that the United States ought to put all the forces into Vietnam needed to win, ought to bomb all the infiltration routes and destroy Haliphong as a usable harbor, whatever it might do to Russian and British ships and crewmen.

He changed this stance when friends told him he couldn't possibly get elected with such a campaign.

In New Hampshire a few days ago he said that he is gradually moving toward the feeling I would like to be President."

Here in the 11th District of California, his constituents are least gradually "moving toward the feeling" they would like to see him neither president nor congressman.
Halley Opposes McCloskey Bid

The past state chairman of the Republican Party, whose wife last year was Paul McCloskey's honorary chairman in his successful bid for re-election to Congress, yesterday said he could no longer support the San Mateo congressman.

McCloskey declared that he would like to bring young people into the Republican Party. He said he found they had four interests: To end the war, to end this nation's involvement with other nations and interference with other peoples, to end racial discrimination, and to adopt a set of priorities that would seek truth and kindness.

Halley responded that young people are interested in peace, governmental reform, grass roots involvement and the environment, and that the Republicans have been working in all these fields.

"Fate, I'd like to see you work with and bring young people into the party. But I don't think it can be done by creating the image you do. I'd look to your district and your responsibility; somehow, the area where you are congressman isn't getting them. I think you should be giving us some help in getting them (into the party)."

McCloskey, in response to a question, declared that the problem today is that President Nixon has been working in all these fields.
FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FYI as per our conversation.
Erwin Miller, Cummins Engine
Steelworkers Union - IWW Abel
Meet to meet
Steel workers actively working for Miller

Source: Millspaugh

McC Le info = Nop

MacDonald - Palm Spee
Former Head of Steelworkers
To Casten - 6/26 will check CA C
Date: June 10, 1971

TO: BOB HALEMAN

FROM: HARRY DENT

Please handle

For your information

6/12
H. need not see.
June 7, 1971

Mr. Harry Dent  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harry:

Some further information on the Newsweek reference, supplementing my conversation Friday with Rose Smith.

McCloskey was accompanied on his Minnesota visit by a Newsweek reporter. In a briefing McCloskey was informed of the unique situation in Minnesota in which both parties on the same night (February 23, 1972) hold precinct caucuses for the purpose of electing convention delegates.

That struck McCloskey as representing a singular opportunity for citizen action, and he encouraged the rally audience to attend.

It was a rather general bipartisan challenge, not a specific "campaign to get anti-war delegates elected," as Newsweek said.

I can find no evidence of an organized effort to elect McCloskey delegates.

But the situation certainly bears watching, and I will do just that. In particular, I'll keep an eye on the organization I mentioned to Rose -- Urban Concerns, 2424 University Avenue, Minneapolis. It is a Republican workshop-type organization -- but non-partisan -- headed by a liberal Republican from St. Paul, Mary Hoffmann. The group has applied for and received a tax deductible status, so at least it represents itself as non-partisan. The leaders speak of it as being organized to advance political education.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Eugene F. Trumble

EFT/eh  
Enclosure
THE PERISCOPE

BULLETS AND BALLOTS IN VIETNAM

Though convinced that Hanoi's power to wage a sustained major offensive is past, Saigon is keeping a wary eye on a big enemy buildup in South Vietnam's northwest provinces. At least five infantry and three artillery regiments are there, hoarding ammunition stocks for summer action. Intelligence analysts are sure Hanoi will try to embarrass the Saigon government before the fall elections by inflicting heavy punishment on South Vietnamese units in the north.

WHO SHOULD PAY FOR STRIKES?

Henry Ford II and his experts are seriously exploring an idea that would, in effect, put a company in the position of helping to finance a strike against itself. He wonders whether corporations should not find a way to help strikers' dependents, either in money or in kind, during walkouts. Only a couple of states now allow strikers to draw unemployment benefits. Ford says his observations of strikes in Britain (where strikers' families do draw benefits) convinced him of the need for such action.

ICE ON THE COCKTAIL CIRCUIT

Rumania's role in helping thaw U.S.-Peking relations has taken a social toll in Washington. Soviet diplomats there pointedly ignore their Rumanian colleagues at diplomatic parties. Things won't be helped by Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Outer Mongolia. His purpose is to strengthen ties with these Communist states and build support against any Soviet moves against Bucharest.

GEORGE MC GOVERN'S TRAVEL PLANS

South Dakota's Sen. George McGovern, first (and, so far, only) declared Democratic Presidential candidate, also wants to be the first to visit Peking. Even before the Ping Pong breakthrough, he had feelers out for a visa and in April sent an aide to the Chinese Embassy in Ottawa to apply for one. Latest word from Peking, via Ottawa, was that his request was under study "at the very highest levels."

MOSCOW VS. THE COMMON MARKET

The Kremlin has invited British Labor chief Harold Wilson to talk with Premier Kosygin and party head Brezhnev. (The Russians asked Wilson to come last year, days before he was defeated as Prime Minister by Tony Edward Heath.) Wilson is willing and is talking dates, with summer or early fall the best bets. The Russians want to discuss Britain's entry to the European Common Market. Moscow opposes it, and Wilson is now on the fence. Heath is committed to joining the Market and while he too has a Moscow invitation, he is in no hurry to make the visit.

MC CLOSKEY IN MINNESOTA

Rep. Paul (Pete) McCloskey, the anti-Nixon Republican, wants to steal some early thunder before the March 1972 New Hampshire primary kicks off the Presidential campaign. He plans a campaign to get antwwar delegates elected to Minnesota's GOP nominating convention. This process begins in precinct votes in February, in which anyone can vote. McCloskey is organizing a statewide precinct campaign, plus an effort to get 18-year-olds to register.

WHAT WILBUR MILLS REALLY WANTS

Capitol Hill Democrats who can't see why Arkansas Rep. Wilbur Mills would risk his towering stature as chairman of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee to seek the Presidential nomination have a new theory to explain his apparent interest in it. They say Mills really wants some day to succeed Carl Albert as House Speaker, rated the second most powerful post in the government. A try for the Presidency, even a futile one, would give Mills more national recognition and enhance his chances for the Speaker's chair.

ECOLOGISTS MEET A NEW ENEMY

News laws curbing strip-mining of coal, once rated a good chance in Congress, are about to run into a new and formidable foe—a powerful coalition of unions, including the Steelworkers, the Mine Workers and the Teamsters. Strip-mining may be an ecologist's nightmare, but cutting it, the unions argue, will cost jobs. Federal experts counter that stripping (38% of all coal production) actually employs fewer men than other methods, because of the huge machines used.

MEDALS FOR MAC GREGOR'S MEN

GOP leaders in Congress, who have been harshly critical of the President's relations with Capitol Hill, are now giving good marks to the White House liaison team headed by former Minnesota Rep. Clark MacGregor. Two examples cited are the defeat of the Senate plan to add $1.7 billion to military pay and of Senator Mansfield's move to cut U.S. troops strength in Europe.
FOLLOW-UP with Colson & MacGregor's office regarding the use of Jack Kemp against McCloskey after his Dick Cavett performance the other night.

c/9 - Klein is working directly w/Kemp
Rally "Bombs"

The "Dump Nixon" rally on April 18th can only be considered a failure in light of the hopes of the organizers. It was a failure, first, because of the size of the turnout. The rally organizers' claim of 22,000 to 25,000 is clearly an exaggeration. The N.Y. Times estimated 10,000, the Providence Police said 6,000, and an aerial photograph revealed that only about 7,000 were there. The fact that the rally organizers exaggerated the turnout is not surprising considering the following statement made by Allard Lowenstein (quoted in the March 16th Brown Daily Herald): "If we don't get 15,000 people, we're wasting our time."

In addition to the size of the turnout, the rally's organizers had a second disappointment. The rally was supposed to be a gathering of "middle Americans"; Providence was chosen by Lowenstein specifically because it was a "middle American" city. However, the rally was attended mostly by students.

While the rally failed to fulfill any of the organizers' hopes, it did demonstrate one fact: large numbers of students are alienated from the existing political process in this country. None of the three presidential candidates present at the rally (Muskle, Bayh, McCloskey) got an enthusiastic reception. This high degree of bitterness and frustration among students cannot be blamed on the war; its causes are much deeper than that. Nevertheless, the war is aggravating this sense of alienation. Therefore, it is time for the United States to rapidly liquidate its involvement in Vietnam. The Nixon administration should go ahead with its plans to withdraw most American forces from Vietnam by mid-1972. It must not allow reverses such as that suffered in Laos to delay American withdrawal from Vietnam.

---Ernie Evans
Increased welfare, transportation, education, law enforcement, and urban development have long been goals and programs that states have been unable to meet effectively due to limitations on state revenues. With the increasing concern over urban problems and growing state deficits, President Nixon has formulated and sent to Congress his plan for revising America's tax system to provide extra revenues to the states for these urgent programs. The administration's plan, revenue sharing, will rechannel approximately $15 billion of Federal tax money back to states, counties, cities, and towns, of which $5 billion will be new revenue to the states.

The newly acquired Federal revenue will be distributed according to population. R. I., for instance, is slated to receive $21 million in the first year of revenue sharing. The use of this money will be unrestricted, although planning aid and established programs will be available if the states want them. Governor Licht and the legislature will then have the task of dividing about 50% of the revenues among the cities and towns in R. I. for their use in municipal improvements. The remainder will be spent on state welfare, roads, transportation, or wherever there is the greatest need.

The 1970s absolutely must be the years when America pays its debt to the past by re­claiming the purity of its air, its waters, and our living environment. It is literally now or never.

---President Nixon
1 January 1970

Since there will be no requirements concerning "matching state funds" to Federal Aid or obtaining Federal approval for state programs, state governments will have greater flexibility in deciding upon programs. Regulations and restrictions formerly governing all states in the country will no longer restrict state spending to useless or inapplicable projects. R. I. will be able to utilize citizen involvement and initiative to allocate funds to creative and effective projects for the state. The only real restriction on projects is one concerning discrimination involving minority groups. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General are empowered to immediately cut off funds to a state which does not comply.

Revenue sharing, then, is quite simply a program to increase the unrestricted use of Federal funds for local projects. It will enable the states and municipalities to initiate new programs and to increase aid to old ones, without raising taxes. After all, what could be better than getting more for less? And who knows how better to spend our money than you and I?

---Frank Morgan

"Say, I'm trying to do my share in the ecology movement—rather than drive around all afternoon, polluting the air, why don't we go over to my place?"
To: Gordon Stratman
From: Bruce Kehrli

H. has not seen—anybody we know that could look into this—
If so—how about a memo for H.
George info. B.

EWC
MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
SUBJECT: Political Memorandum, 1972

Congressman McCloskey is now traveling at times in the company of Jerry Cooke and Charles U. Daly. Have uncovered nothing about the former, but the latter is an old New Frontiersman, a John F. Kennedy man, a Bobby Kennedy man -- and a protege and close friend of Larry O'Brien. This raises up interesting possibilities. Is the Democratic Party providing staff assistance and/or financial assistance to the McCloskey Campaign. If so, we can discredit McCloskey as not a man of principle, but as a party traitor, who is trafficking with New Frontiersmen to defeat a Republican President. Good stuff can be made out of this -- damaging to McCloskey's budding effort.

If we could find out where the money is coming from, to McCloskey, we might build a case that he is simply a pawn. Anyhow, we should have some of our political people looking out for this sort of thing.
MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 20, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: HARRY DENT
FROM: CHUCK COLSON

The attached memo which I have received from Roy Goodearle is very much on target with some of the things we have discussed, particularly point 2. I think the time has arrived to make a move in that area and to get someone postured. Have you got this one on track?

cc: Gordon Strachan
Roy Goodearle
MEMORANDUM FOR: CHARLES COLSON
FROM: J. ROY GOODEARLE
SUBJECT: Representative Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, Jr.

Representative Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, Jr., is scheduled to return shortly from a fact-finding tour of Southeast Asia. The readings we have seem to indicate that on his return he will launch an anti-war campaign that could culminate in his involvement in a number of Presidential primaries next spring. Representative Don Riegle and others have already promised to support McCloskey if he runs, and there is evidence that he is seriously thinking of doing so.

McCloskey is bright, articulate and ambitious. In addition, he has an excellent relationship with a number of people on the affluent left. One of his aides, for example, recently acknowledged that McCloskey has been contacted by Cyrus Eaton with an offer of financial support should he decide to run. Another aide indicated during a recent interview that if he does decide to run, McCloskey will have the support of Norton Simon and other "liberal" Republicans in California.

The Congressman's recent speaking schedule has been heavily campus oriented. His office admits that he has received "very few" invitations to speak to Republican groups either in California or in other parts of the country. At this point, he has not mapped out a formalized speaking tour or strategy but is responding to invitations as they come into his office.
Assuming that McCloskey continues escalating his attacks on the President and Administration policy in general, we might consider going after him in the following ways:

1. McCloskey’s campus image is relatively favorable, although he has yet to be putting together the emotional following that made McCarthy such a potent factor in the spring of 1968. If he wants to catch on the way McCarthy did and lose his strength on the campus, he is going to have to broaden his attacks on the President and more significantly to the left on a whole range of issues.

This will prove necessary because most potential activists shun a rejection of an issues approach of a McCarthy or Lennonstein. Thus, Stuart Rossow, student editor of the Yale Daily News, recently described McCloskey as “lowenheim’s man” and indicated that, in his opinion, students are looking for more than someone who is simply opposed to the Vietnam war.

If Rossow’s appraisal of the current campus atmosphere is correct and if McCloskey wants to build a campus base, he will be forced to move further and further to the left. As you will recall, McCloskey was co-chairman of “Earth Day” last year and has already negatively indicated that he disagrees with Administration racial policies. It is probably more coincidental that these are the issues of interest to students.

This could make him easy game as a well organized effort to ask tough and embarrassing questions of each campus appearance could help discredit him or drive him so far to the left that he will lose his off-campus credibility.

In addition to making sure the right questions are asked, we should make an effort to have McCloskey’s campus appearance monitored by friends of the Administration who will report back to us.
2. Although McCluskey has indicated a willingness to take on the President in the primary if no one else does, he is no Don Youngblood. He differs significantly from Eugene McCarthy, for example, in that he does appear to be concerned about his future and may not wish to trade his safe seat in Congress for a few months of national publicity. McCluskey presently represents California’s 13th Congressional District — which includes most of San Mateo County. The District is heavily Republican, and the winner of the GOP primary is almost always guaranteed victory in the general election. It is our understanding that the District is moderate but not especially dovish in orientation.

McCluskey was originally elected in a special 1967 election with 59.3 percent of the total vote. He ran again in 1968 and was elected to his first full term with 74.4 percent of the vote and was re-elected for a second term with 73.8 percent.

Although he was unopposed in the Republican primary last fall, it is interesting to note that in the GOP primary Robert Barry, who was not a particularly attractive candidate, gave him a real scare. McCluskey won that race by only about 1,600 votes out of 67,000 cast.

It would thus seem that if we could find a first-rate young moderate Republican candidate and provide him with ample financing we might be able to at least keep the Congressman close to home. An attractive candidate might even be able to beat McCluskey in the GOP primary next year, especially in light of the fact that redistricting could make the district slightly more conservative.

I think these two steps should receive serious consideration. The first could provide the ammunition we will need if he keeps on his present course, and the second could limit his maneuvering room or even force him to change course to save his own political skin.
Murray Chotiner sent the attached material on Walter Cunningham. Chotiner is suggesting that he be contacted about challenging McCloskey in his California district.

Is this the type of individual we want Colson or someone on the outside to approach?

YES    NO

If yes, Nofziger instead of Colson should discreetly have Cunningham contacted and keep us posted.

Agree________________________ Disagree________________________

I don't think Cunningham would be the best candidate.

I know him.
April 29, 1971

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

JOHN N. MITCHELL

FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

Obviously, no one connected with the Administration should be identified with this thought.

But, for your information, Walter Cunningham, NASA astronaut, is seriously interested in becoming a GOP candidate for Congress in Congressman McCloskey's District in California.

Enclosed is biographical data.

cc: Mr. H. R. Haldeman
NAME: Walter Cunningham (Civilian)

BIRTHPLACE AND DATE: March 16, 1932, Creston, Iowa; considers Santa Monica, California hometown. Parents, Mr. and Mrs. Walter W. Cunningham, reside in Venice, California.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION: Blond hair; hazel eyes; height, 5 ft. 10 in.; weight, 155 pounds.

EDUCATION: Graduated from Venice High School, Venice, California; received B.A. with honors in Physics, 1960 and M.A. in Physics, 1961, from UCLA; has completed work, UCLA, on doctorate in Physics with exception of thesis.

MARRITAL STATUS: Married to former Lo Ella Irby, Norwalk, California. Her mother, Mrs. Nellie Marie Maynard, resides in Oxnard, California.


OTHER ACTIVITIES: Sports enthusiast, particularly interested in gymnastics and handball.

ORGANIZATIONS: Member, American Geophysical Union, American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics, Sigma Pi, and Sigma Xi.

EXPERIENCE: Joined the Navy in 1951 and began flight training in 1952. Joined a Marine squadron in 1955 and served on active duty until August 1956. Now is Marine reservist, with rank of Major.

Was research scientist for Rand Corporation before joining NASA; worked on classified defense studies and problems of Earth's magnetometers at Rand. He was awarded NASA's Exceptional Service Medal for the Apollo 7 flight at ceremonies at the LBJ ranch.

- more -
CUNNINGHAM -contd.-

At UCLA, in conjunction with doctoral thesis problem, he developed and tested in a search coil magnetometer which was later flown aboard the first NASA Orbiting Geophysical Observatory satellite.

He has 3,500 hours of flying time, more than 2,800 hours in jets.

Cunningham was one of the third group of astronauts selected by NASA in October, 1963.

He made his first space flight October 11-22, 1968, as Lunar Module Pilot aboard the Apollo 7 spacecraft in the first manned mission of the Apollo series.

- end -
May 4, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: H.R. Haldeman
FROM: Gordon Strachan
SUBJECT: Astronaut Cunningham

Murray Chotiner sent the attached material on Walter Cunningham. Chotiner is suggesting that he be contacted about challenging McCloskey in his California district.

Is this the type of individual we want Colson or someone on the outside to approach?

YES _______ NO _______

If yes, Hofsiger instead of Colson should discreetly have Cunningham contacted and keep us posted.

Agree ____________________ Disagree ____________________

GS: lm
4G - for am CWC recon
Youth for a Post - I Full pad
just Peace
Anti-Demons Ads this Sun.
- May get $ back by Cooper
Hartle -

McDadeley - update
- CWC -> Stafford & Morse
  at 32 tomorrow
  others members (6)
  4/ MacGregor
  - Drumwray trying to peddle
    stories of Inducopy of the Providence event.
  - CWC -> Ht -> Mac & re
    call to Hatfield
  - No more attacks at the momd
    any more would build him
  - Rent -> now time for a
    land to deal
    CWC in the present
  - CWC could role on
    attitude on me or
  - Deal w/ly remorse "poor Pete"
John Gordon - pen contributes.

Bill Steiger - when he comes back could ask him on the floor of the Senate

Admin Spokes - into McEl district - speak about it; ignore McEl; don't call him; snub McEl.

3. H → E → Romney, quietly; cwc → Volpe
   Nureddin should call all / announce f/j McEl.
   Never call McEl
   Someone quietly = scrap
   - no memos
   - just pool type in Secy's
   of sits on it; called
   - if McEl working for a project - sewer in so & it dies

G > Bill Sullivan - Today on CBS News
   I was at ME in Laus, Dep Assley
   Snyder could be good on TV. of it in USA
McCloskey and the Democrats

THE FACT that the much publicized trip to Laos by Rep. Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey, the Republican dove from California, was financed and arranged by liberal Democrats is a tipoff to the sincerity of genuine Republican backing for his challenge against President Nixon.

Some $7,500 to finance the trip was raised among the same people who backed Sen. Eugene McCarthy's challenge against President Johnson in 1968. Martin Fife, a millionaire plastics manufacturer active in New York City's McCarthyite New Democrat coalition, contributed $3,000. Another $1,500 came from Sam Rubin, a rich Wall Street operator who backed leftist causes in times past and was a McCarthy supporter in 1968.

Arranging the trip was Charles U. Daly, McCloskey's Marine comrade in Korea who has excellent connections on the Democratic side. He was helped by writer Jimmy Breslin, who escorted McCloskey's Marine comrade in Korea, farmer III, described as a Republican who had been campaign manager for former Gov. John Chafee of Rhode Island (now Secretary of the Navy). In fact, Farmer, a middle-level official in the Chafee administration, was never close to being Chafee's campaign manager and always was regarded by Chafee aides as something other than a Republican. His auto now carries Democratic bumper stickers.

The larger truth is that McCloskey has not picked up significant liberal Republican backing in his dump-Nixon campaign—not even in his home state. California liberal Republicans who strongly supported McCloskey's campaigns for Congress are heartstuck over what they consider their friend's new demagoguery on the war. This includes such outspoken liberals as state Assemblyman William Bagley and John G. Veneman, Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

A footnote: Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas, Republican national chairman, has balked at suggestions from Nixon political operatives that he cut McCloskey down to size before next year's primaries. Dole feels it is not the role of the party's chairman to hatchet a fellow Republican in Congress, no matter what his transgressions. Instead, anti-McCloskey hatcheting will be divided between Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and a selected group of McCloskey's colleagues in the House.

Campaign Limits

The probability of a tough bill limiting campaign spending has increased sharply with the disappearance of one of its last roadblocks: Resistance from Rep. Wayne Hays of Ohio, chairman of the House Administration Committee.

Hays' longtime opposition to reporting provisions had been well known. Consequently, the bill's sponsors have worried that he might stall it in his committee with the connivance of the White House (whose overt support of the measure is doubted). Sponsors of the bill had been hedging with House Democratic leaders to find a way to move the tough, independent-minded Hays.

They need not have bothered. Hays is drafting his own bill for reporting provisions and a $53,000 overall limit on every House campaign—even tougher than the bill written by the Senate Commerce Committee. Furthermore, Hays has a commitment for cosponsorship from Rep. Watkins Abbey, a conservative Virginian who heads the subcommittee handling the bill.

A footnote: Russell He- manway of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, key lobbyist for the bill, believes Hays' overall spending limit is unenforceable and would prefer the Senate bill's approach of a $60,000 spending limit on communications media.
And Pete McCloskey Cranks Up Campaign

Antiwar Republican Prepares
A Challenge to President;
'Its All a Crazy Accident'

By Norman C. Miller
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—On a stately, two-room cortex
off Hill, cramped, two-room office assigned to
California Republican Rep. Paul McCloskey
shows that the powers-that-be consider him
just another junior Congressman lacking influ­
ence.
But the powers-that-be are wrong, and the
Congressman has some 30,000 items of evi­
dence to prove it.

The evidence is letters from people all over
the country who in recent weeks have heard of
"Pete" McCloskey's fervent end-the-war cri­
cism of President Nixon. The vast majority of
these people say they want the 38-year-old Com­
gressman to do something other GOP politi­
cian seems willing to consider: run against
President Nixon in next year's primaries.

Ray H. Brown, manager of the Colonial Inn
In Harbor Springs, Mich., expresses a typical
sentiment. As a lifelong Republican, I am
amazed and disappointed that President Nixon
has enlarged the war in Indochina," he wrote

"I sincerely hope that someone within the Republican Party can offer a
campaign to President Nixon in next year's primaries. I would like to make a donation and
work for you."

In fact, letter-writers like Mr. Brown have
sent Rep. McCloskey a total of $4,000 so far to
show they're serious about backing him as a
GOP peace candidate and the liberal Republi­
can, while expressing astonishment at his
support "for the war in Indochina." He is
embarked on a frenzied, candidate-type sched­
ule. After winding up a week

sitting a sizable share of the Democratic vote.

On the campaign trail, Mr. McCloskey
will appear on the CBS "Face the Nation" TV
interview program early Sunday and then fly
to Providence, R.I., to speak at an antia war rally organized by his close friend, Democratic
Governor Alfred Lowenstein. Monday night,
the GOP Congressman will be in Princeton for an­
other antia war rally.

Rep. McCloskey also is recruiting a stable of
experts, most of whom come from universities around his
home city of San Francisco. He has been
suggested several possible candidates, such as liberal Sens. Mark
Eldridge of Oregon and Charles Mathias of
South Carolina, among others.

But the lean, dark-haired lieutenant colonel
in the Marine Reserve does know something
about what is war, having been decorated for
combat gallantry in Korea. And he has been
convinced since he ran for the House in a
special election three years ago that Vietnam is
a quagmire for the U.S.

On military grounds, he argues that the
Nixon Vietnamization policy won't work. On
political grounds, he charges that the President's
"massive use of airpower" is an "indispensable
policy of killing great numbers of Asians to save
American face in this war." His trip to
Indochina evidently has reinforced his attitude;
he has been quoted as charging that U.S.
bombing on the Plain of Jars is having a dev­
astating impact on Laotian civilians.

Some other doves say the same thing, but
they don't get 30,000 letters beseeching them to
run against Nixon. That's because Mr. McCloskey
has said one more thing: one that way to get rid of a President who won't terminate an "immoral" war is to "impeach him."

Actually, the Congressman says he thought
he was giving an academic answer to a stu­
dent's question when he mentioned impeach­
ment to a small crowd at Stanford University
Feb. 11. Though he did speak of that course
as a theoretical possibility, he recalls telling the
student that the war issue didn't justify an
impeachment and that anyway Congress
wasn't about to do it. Nonetheless, a wire-ser­
vice reporter was in the crowd and wrote a
story saying Rep. McCloskey advocated im­
peaching President Nixon.

Lots of Letters

The effect was remarkable. Thousands of
letters began pouring into the Congressman's
office. Some were hostile, like one from a
Georgian: "If 4-F anti-Americans S.O.B.s like
you would help the President instead of giving
encouragement and aid to North Vietnam, maybe our President can
return our country to a peaceful future.

But by a margin approaching 20-to-1, the re­
sponse was favorable. "Bravo, impeach Nixon," wrote Claude Smith of Los Angeles.

"Congratulations," wrote Austin Brumley of
Morro Bay, Calif. "Your defiance of Nixon . . . has been the most encouraging political development since McCarthy deposed Johnson and started campaigning in New Hampshire in 1968."

Rep. McCloskey was previously besieged with reporters asking him what he was up to.

His explanation was that he was only "discussing" the impeachment question generated more 

publicity, resulting in more letters of support.

"The whole thing was a crazy accident," re­

flects the Congressman. "I didn't say anything
I hadn't said 100 times before, but that girl (reporter) misrepresented the
impeachment statement and put the national spotlight on me."

If the Congressman wasn't serious about
impeaching the President, he was completely
serious about a primary challenge to Mr.
Nixon. He suggested several possible Republi­
can candidates, such as liberal Sens. Mark
Eldridge of Oregon and Charles Mathias of
Maryland. Nothing doing, they all said.

While GOP liberals brushed aside the Mc­
closkey suggestion, a conservative California Republi­
can assembly censured him as "an enemy of the
American political process."

"The doves simply don't have time like Mr. Mc	
McCloskey's Irish up, and soon he was saying, 'I'll run against
Nixon if no one else will.'" With that, more let­
ters of support rolled in, and they still are com­
ing, in a grassroots upsurge reminiscent of Eu­
gene McCarthy's 1968 campaign. (Rep. Mc	McCloskey doesn't like being compared with Mr.
McCarthy. "I'm no poet," says the ex-Marine.)

Being a maverick underdog doesn't bother Pete McCloskey. Three years ago, to win his
House seat, he first had to beat nine other Republi­
ican contenders, including Shirley Temple
Black, who was the odds-on favorite due to her
movie fame. He has successfully defended himself
against tough conservative GOP challeng­
ers in two subsequent primaries, and he rolled
up big victories in the general elections by get­
ing a sizable share of the Democratic vote.

Of course, that's hardly preparation for a
presidential primary campaign, and no one
knows it better than Mr. McCloskey. He's hop­
ing, therefore, that one of three things will hap­
pen this year: Congress will force an end of the
war by cutting off funds; President Nixon him­
self will manage to end it; or a better-known
Republican will decide to become a peace can­
didate in the primaries.

"I think one or those things will almost cer­
tainly happen by November, and then I
wouldn't have to run," says Mr. McCloskey.

But if none of these possibilities materializes, he promises to challenge President
Nixon in every primary. "I wouldn't expect to
win," he says, "but if the effort forces the
President to end the war one day earlier it
would be a victory to me."
MEMORANDUM FOR H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: McCloskey

Lyn Nofziger reports two interesting developments. Norton Simon is selling paintings in order to have an adequate bankroll for McCloskey. Cyprus Eaton is also contributing heavily.

Nofziger reports that Dole will not attack McCloskey. Therefore Nofziger seeks authority for a "long term go-ahead on engineering attacks on McCloskey." He would not elaborate.

Recommendation: My work with Nofziger indicates that he hates details but is good at implementing attacks. He should be granted this broad authority.

____Approve  ______Disapprove  ______Comment

GS:pm
MCL:

Seminor telling people to go to Lengyold MCL.

Lycus Eating - $1

Put buy more attacked quoted in Mass.

NPf wants verification of pole attack.

Pole will not attack but NPf wants clearance.
Meme for attack "Long term go-ahead."

NPf -> warning, last two Fris. Pole pending ORC polls out
Ray has at UPI - "House poll."
NPf poles regularly loses credibility.
Not sure

Dole has 1 speechwriter
not looking for another
so fall in his court

McCloskey
1. Dole vs. JE 12 not
   mention ME 24 but
   clear where stand
   will not leave it
   unclear

   2. Poor women - MEC 2 +
      unhappy

   3. Cond ag - not fit us +
      not quality candidate

   4. Redistrict - later this
      yr will know.
MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Clem Stone Dinner Tonight

Kalmbach and I talked 10 minutes ago. He will see Clem Stone at 4:30 today. Kalmbach needs to tell Stone what the fund raising procedure is tonight. Kalmbach will not be at tonight’s dinner.

In Kalmbach’s mind there are several options, but basically feels that the President should not be present during the pitch.

I recommend Number 1 of the following options:

1. The President leave dinner early and a spokesman begin.

2. The President leave the room with Stone and spokesman make the pitch.

3. The President should leave the room while Stone remains for pitch with others.
MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

SUBJECT: Presidential Primaries

Magruder and Dean asked the RNC to prepare the attached description of the primary states' dates and legal requirements.

Tom Evans at the RNC will update this information periodically and keep the Attorney General (via Magruder) posted.

Recommendation:

At this early stage I recommend that we rely on the Magruder/Dean/Evans material.

Agree ___________ Disagree _______________ Comment ___________
April 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:   H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM:     GORDON STRACHAN

After Mrs. Haldeman met the White House Operators, we walked back to her car on the South Lawn driveway.

Dave Parker who has never met Mrs. Haldeman saw us from the West Wing walkway. Later in the afternoon he asked me "Who was that attractive young girl you were escorting?"

GS:elr
Deliver to Gordon Strachan
(Mr. Holdeman's Office)
McCloskey to Challenge Nixon in 1972; Simon Pledges Funds

BY THOMAS J. FOLEY
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. (R-Calif.) said Friday that he would set up a campaign state in the next two or three weeks to challenge President Nixon in next year's presidential primaries.

The factors leading to the third-term congressman's decision were:

- Offers of financial help which add up to a significant campaign fund, including one large but unspecified pledge from Los Angeles millionaire Norton Simon.
- Offers by more than 3,000 persons who volunteered to work in McCloskey's campaign.
- The seeming lack of interest of any other Republican of actual or near-national stature in challenging Mr. Nixon in the primaries.

All this material for a budding presidential campaign was the result of national attention McCloskey attracted by his criticism of the President's Indochina war policies.

In a speech Feb. 11 at Stanford University, his alma mater, McCloskey proposed a national debate on impeachment of the President. His grounds, he said, were that Mr. Nixon oversstepped his constitutional authority in using American support for the Cambodia and Laos incursions. Later, McCloskey said he hoped some antiwar Republican would oppose Mr. Nixon's renomination, but that he would step
McCloskey Plans Staff for '72 Presidential Bid

Continued from First Page

If no one responded, McCloskey said he had been “inundated” with offers of support. He said he would start with a small staff and supplement it as funds became available. A research assistant and an expert on fund-raising and other political mechanics will be the first hired.

McCloskey’s move now puts him eight months ahead of the 1967 challenge to President Lyndon B. Johnson by former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.), who announced his candidacy in late November.

The Portola Valley congressman originally had said he would run only if some other more prominent GOP liberal did not, and he mentioned particularly Sens. Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, Charles V. Mathias of N. Carolina, and Charles H. Percy of Illinois, New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay and California Cause Chairman John Gardner.

However, when his contacts with all five produced negative replies, McCloskey decided to go ahead himself.

Offers Funds

It was learned that Simon, who ran unsuccessfully in the California Republican primary last year against then Sen. George Murphy, has been in contact with McCloskey since last November and offered to help finance the presidential challenge.

Other offers of financial aid have come from Henry Niles, a Baltimore businessman who is chairman of Business Executive Move for Vietnam Peace, and Harold Willens, its Southern California chairman.

Shortly after a McCloskey antiwar speech in the House last month, he was offered financial help from Cleveland industrialist Cyrus Eaton, who has bankrolled the annual international Pugwash Conference designed to improve East-West communications.

The volunteer help for McCloskey has come primarily from college campuses where students have been attracted by his stands to end the war and improve the environment.

McCloskey has already visited Wisconsin, a primary state, and plans to visit another next month after returning from a planned 10-day trip to Indochina.

The congressman spoke to a university audience in Madison, Wis., last weekend, noting that he had been cochairman of last year’s Earth Day in Wisconsin.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), who had been a strong supporter of the fight led by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) to override the SST.

Bipartisan Support

After the rally, he rode to the airport with state Rep. Midge Miller, who had been cochairman of McCarthy’s 1968 primary drive in Wisconsin. Mrs. Miller reportedly told the congressman he could expect bipartisan support if he were serious about his presidential drive.

McCloskey also has been invited to participate in an antiwar rally on April 18 in Providence, R.I., being organized by former Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (D-N.Y.), who led the dump-Johnson campaign that finally convinced McCarthy to run four years ago.

The Rhode Island Legislature two years ago approved a presidential primary law that will take effect the second Tuesday in April, 1972.

McCloskey, a decorated Korean war veteran, said he hoped his visit to Indochina would take him to Laos and Vietnam. He said in an interview that he has five areas of interest—the status of pacification in South Vietnam, refugee problems, South Vietnamese treatment of prisoners of war, bombing of North Vietnam and what the Saigon government is doing to insure that the upcoming presidential elections are fair.

McCloskey, who raised the funds privately to pay for the trip, said he was particularly interested in viewing pictures of the bombing of North Vietnam to see what type of bombs are used and whether the bombs are used to destroy supply centers or kill civilians.
Gordon -

From telephone conversation

Bob
McCloskey Faces Competition At Home

REDWOOD CITY, Calif. (UPI) — Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, the Republican congressman threatening to challenge President Nixon, is facing a "dump McCloskey" effort in his own district.

Jack W. Wilson, 47, a small businessman who describes himself as a "moderate conservative" and a supporter of the President, announced yesterday he will run in the Republican primary against McCloskey next year.

Wilson, who said he has been promised adequate financial backing, ran as a write-in candidate against McCloskey last year and got about 3,000 votes.

Campaign Begun

REDWOOD CITY, Calif., May 12 (UPI) — Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, the Republican congressman threatening to challenge President Nixon, is facing a "dump McCloskey" effort in his own district.

Jack W. Wilson, 47, a small businessman who describes himself as a "moderate conservative" and a supporter of the President, announced Tuesday that he will run in the Republican primary against McCloskey next year.

Wilson, who said he has been promised adequate financial backing, ran as a write-in candidate against McCloskey last year and got about 3,000 votes.
GOP war views split
--McCloskey

BERKELEY (UPI) — Rep. Paul N. McCloskey concedes that many of his constituents object to his current feud with President Nixon over the Vietnam war.

"There's no question large numbers of Republicans in my constituency would rather go with the President," McCloskey told newsmen when he was asked about a GOP move organized last week in San Mateo county to dump him.

HE ESTIMATED, however, that he has the backing of more than half the Republicans in his district for his views.

There is "a significant split" among Republicans on Nixon's war policy, McCloskey said, and therefore there was no requirement of "party loyalty" on the issue.

"To repress such debate on the grounds of party loyalty is to repress dissent — and this nation thrives on dissent," the congressman said.

In an address to the officers of the Sierra Club, McCloskey said he had "no challenge" to the Nixon Administration's environmental policies, although the President has a "less deep commitment" then he would like to see in some areas.
Varying Views
Of McCloskey

By Will Ellsworth-Jones
The best thing Congressman Paul N. McCloskey has going for him is Paul N. McCloskey.

When his constituents in San Mateo talk about him, words like "sincere, honest, guts" keep cropping up — words, often in short supply when politicians are discussed.

But at the same time his powerful personality — "charisma" rears its overworked head when he is being discussed — means that if he has made good friends, he has also made bitter enemies.

"I despise him and I voted for the rat the last time," was the reaction of one of his Cadillac constituents in Burlingame. "He's trying to get all the hippies and rioters and demonstrators on his side, he thinks there's more of them."

Shirley Victory

McCloskey first became a national figure by courtesy of Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, whom he defeated with surprising ease back in 1967. But he has now become a national figure in his own right, with a new office bein set up in Washingon to handle his national affairs.

If he has grabbed the nation's headlines what do his hometown voters think? From talks with voters it is obvious that he is going to have a tough time in 1972.

His problem will not be the general election but the Republican primary. A Republican against the war is one thing; but a Republican openly opposed to the President and willing, even, to talk in terms of impeachment, is too much for some to swallow.

Telltale

It is easy to spot the disillusionment just as soon as the word "McCloskey" is mentioned. There is a short pause, a tightening of the face, while they decide whether to let feelings pour out. Usually they do, asking at the end that their names not be used.

"I had all the faith in the world in him before," said a middle-aged lady selling flowers in Burlingame, "but I wouldn't vote for him again. I don't think he should work against our President. If he kept some of his thoughts to himself he would be much better off."

A middle-aged man standing on a street corner in Burlingame was more blunt: "I think he's the —-," he said. "He's talking all the time about this and that, but he's doing nothing for his country."

Some Support

In downtown Redwood City a shopkeeper paused as he swept the sidewalk in front of his shop: "I don't think very much of the way he's going against the President. I voted for him the first time, but I wouldn't vote for him again."

"I don't like the way he's doing things now; I am not completely satisfied, but I think I'll vote for him again; I like him even less since he came back from Vietnam; he's an opportunist!" — these are some of the feelings that the word "McCloskey" produces.

Jim Hannay, a Cadillac salesman, probably sums up the feelings against McCloskey most clearly. He helped in the Congressman's first campaign, but he says now he has doubts whether he would vote for him again.

"I am not sure that some of his most recent stands are to my way of thinking," he says measuredly.

Hannay says that although he himself is against the war he does not like the methods McCloskey is using to try and end it.

Of course McCloskey can produce the usual disillusionment that greets politicians. "He's just like the rest of them," said a man behind the counter of a San Mateo newspaper, "they're all lousy."

Believes

But he also produces his fair share of believers. "I think he's a good man, he's trying to do something about the war situation," says Burlingame barber A.L. Spalding. "I voted for him last time and I'll vote for him again."

William Trebilcox, 60, of Redwood City, calls himself "one of the silent majority — don't get out and riot like a lot of 'em."

"He's saying the right thing and he's not scared of anyone. I'll vote for him again."

"He's got guts," says an early morning customer in a San Mateo coffee shop; but Herb Mattner, a 54 year old gas station manager in San Mateo, put the case for the McCloskey believers in another way.

"He speaks out; he's putting his position in jeopardy for what he believes is right. A man who is willing to sacrifice his political position in the party and go as far out as he has deserves my vote."

Vs. Nixon

If McCloskey does run against Nixon, he will have Mattner's vote, even though he is a staunch Republican and a previous Nixon supporter.

"If someone like McCloskey doesn't speak out, then this war will not only continue to exist, but it will grow or other Viets will pop up," he says.

The Republicans in San Mateo have already started looking for a new candidate behind whom they can unite against their maverick congressman.

But they will have to fight. Robin Schmidt, the congressman's administrative assistant, admits it is "hard to tell" how people feel right now.
By Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith

Washington, May 15, 1971: There is a lot more than high-flying altruism behind Representative "Pete" McCloskey's artful spearheading of the "dump Nixon" commotion.

Real fact is McCloskey's gay politicking is strictly utilitarian.

The dissident California Republican faces the strong likelihood of being dumped himself. He is under foreboding double-barreled attack:

(1) Local, state and congressional GOP leaders are angrily ginning for him, and admittedly canvassing the field for a potent candidate to run against him in next spring's primary.

(2) As a result of the 1970 census, his eleventh district probably will be importantly changed by the state legislature—with a county comprising a sizable Democratic and ultra-liberal vote being replaced by a more conservative and normally Republican county.

Such a switch would seriously affect McCloskey's chances of holding onto his House seat.

In his three elections, he won largely through Democratic backing. In the first (1967) special election, he owed his victory over Mrs. Shirley Temple Black to a heavy Democratic swing to him. The same happened in 1968, and even more so in 1970 when the Democrats didn't even run anyone against him.

So seeing the threatening handwriting on the wall, McCloskey is cannily maneuvering for a face-saving way out.

The Democratic engineered and financed "dump Nixon" agitation is a fortuitous break for both him and the Democrats. A rebellious Republican standard-bearer suits
their purpose to a T; and for McCloskey, it's a grandstanding escape from a possible trouncing at home.

As McCloskey sees it, he has nothing to lose playing David against the President.
As far as the GOP are concerned, they are already furiously bent on axing him. And while the odds are big against his getting anywhere challenging the President, it will be infinitely more satisfying to McCloskey's far-from-modest ego to be licked doing that than being defeated for re-election to the House.

So while devoutly professing lofty idealism and principles, actually McCloskey is being strictly pragmatic.

ALL SIDES TO THE MIDDLE

Graphically illustrative of that trait was McCloskey's recent voting on the appropriation for the House Internal Security Committee—long the target of leftists, ultra-liberals and other militants.

McCloskey was on all sides of this red-hot issue.

It's a highly revealing example of how he craftily maneuvers and operates. Within the space of little more than one hour, he voted both against the appropriation and for it—thus putting himself in a position to claim approval from partisans on both sides.

This remarkable dexterity went unreported. Few if any of McCloskey's constituents, to say nothing of the public at large, are aware of this significant incident. Following is the untold story:

There were three roll call votes. The first was on an amendment to increase the committee's budget to $570,000 — $120,000 more than recommended by the Committee on Administration. After a stormy wrangle, the House approved that by the decisive count of 256 to 129.

McCloskey was silent during the torrid argument, but on the showdown he voted against the increase.
He again voted with the opposition on the second and key test on the issue. This was an ultra-liberal motion to recommit the appropriation; in effect, to kill it. This was rejected even more decisively—274 to 108.

On the immediately following third roll call—for final passage—McCloskey, again saying nothing, apparently underwent a remarkable change of heart. This time, he lined up with the overwhelming majority—290 to 74.

McCloskey quietly deserted his die-hard militant pals vehemently fighting the Internal Security Committee and put himself on record as favoring it.

Thus, within little more than one hour and without saying a word, he achieved the unique feat of being on all sides of this politics-loaded controversy. Snorted one of his non-admiring California colleagues, "I see Pete is rising above principle again. As I have observed for a long time, he has a truly remarkable facility for that kind of self-serving levitation."

DEMOCRATIC DARLING

While state and congressional Republican leaders are increasingly denouncing McCloskey, his ties with Democrats are steadily expanding.

His fanfared junket to Vietnam last month was financed by a group of wealthy ultra-liberal Democrats who put up a lot of money for former Senator Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign. Funds from the same source are paying for the campaign headquarters McCloskey has just opened three blocks from the Capitol.

He is in frequent contact with former Representative Allard Lowenstein, D-N.Y., who launched the "dump Johnson" movement and is now loudly tooting "dump Nixon"—with McCloskey's enthusiastic support. Two weeks ago, with New Left backing, Lowenstein was named head of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a position he intends to use as a springboard to run for either mayor of New York City, governor of the state, or for another try for Congress.

One of McCloskey's closest House confidants is Representative Phillip Burton,
B-San Francisco, a militant liberal with considerable influence in California Democratic circles. His brother is a member of the state legislature.

Inside word is that McCloskey is urgently seeking Burton's help to avert adverse redistricting of his home bailiwick.

Whether Burton can help him remains to be seen. Reportedly, local Democrats have their eye on McCloskey's seat and have evinced determination to make a fight for it. Apparently they seem bent on not giving him another free ride.

Which further intensifies his backstage yen for a face-saving way out.

His good friend Lowenstein and other well-heeled Democrats are enticingly offering it to him—as their "dump Nixon" standard-bearer.

# # # # #