

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
 Contested Materials Collection
 Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 23 | 3 | 5/16/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | George Gallup article in "The Gallup Poll" proclaiming "Kennedy Emerging as Front Runner in Battle for 1972 Nomination." 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 5/10/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | "Newsweek" article detailing various Democratic figures contending for the presidential nomination. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 3 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From "Mort" to Higby RE: material on McGovern. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/23/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Record of a McGovern interview on NET with the candidate's views on various political issues. Handwritten notes added by unknown parties on original and on copy. 6 pgs. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--|
| 23 | 3 | 6/8/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Higby RE: McGovern's use of Senate stationery for letters to raise campaign funds. Handwritten notes added by Strachan and other, unidentified parties. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 6/7/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached piece authored by Buchanan. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Buchanan's report on the state of the Democratic Party's presidential hopefuls titled "Teddy Kennedy: Out of the Gate and Into the Lead." 10 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Strachan to "Betty" asking her to copy attached information. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 6/3/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached form letter from McGovern asking for campaign contributions. Handwritten notes added by Higby. Letter and return envelope included. 9 pgs. |

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| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | From "Sally" to Strachan RE: Buchanan's article for "Monday" on Democratic presidential candidates. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Buchanan's report on the state of the Democratic Party's presidential hopefuls titled "Teddy Kennedy: Out of the Gate and Into the Lead." 10 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/17/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Colson to Ehrlichman RE: fact sheets on Muskie. One such sheet, including the Senator's political positions, included. 3 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | An article in "The Evening Star" titled "Above Politics" relating to Muskie. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/4/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | Article from "The Detroit News" declaring "Muskie rejects Nixon Plan." 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | 2/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | An article from "The Atlanta Constitution" entitled "Muskie Disappoints." 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/5/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | Political cartoon of Muskie. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | List of "Statements Made by Senator Muskie" on key national issues. 3 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Chotiner to Haldeman RE: an endorsement of Muskie from California Congressman Jerry Voorhis. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/1/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Khachigian to Strachan RE: a televised Muskie announcement. Handwritten notes added by Higby. 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | 1/28/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Khachigian RE: a newspaper article criticizing Muskie. Twenty-sixth page of a memorandum describing the article attached. 2 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 11/29/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Khachigian to Strachan RE: attempts to force Muskie and Kennedy to express positions on busing. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Draft of a suggested statement on busing and potential Democratic candidates for president. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 10/7/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Rumsfeld to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 10/5/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Hobart Taylor, Jr. statement addressing Muskie's views on the possibility of having an African-American running mate. 3 pgs. |

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|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|---|
| 23 | 3 | 9/16/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Higby RE: Muskie's views on busing. Handwritten notes added by Higby. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Sixteenth and seventeenth pages of a document addressing the views of governors on busing, as well as information on Muskie. 2 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 5/26/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Nunn to Haldeman RE: attached information. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 5/14/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Letter | Form letter from Muskie asking for support in defeating RN. Copy of return envelope included. 3 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 5/25/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: an attached letter sent by Timmons. 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | 5/25/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Timmons to Haldeman RE: an attached letter relating to Muskie. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 5/14/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Letter | Form letter from Muskie asking for support in defeating RN. 2 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Chapin to Haldeman RE: attached information. Handwritten notes added by multiple unknown parties. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | From Walker to Chapin RE: an attached document. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newsletter | Muskie's May schedule, published in "Muskie News." 2 pgs. |

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| 23 | 3 | 4/14/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Haldeman to Buchanan RE: attached information for use in a "Muskie Watch" project. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | April schedule of Edmund Muskie. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 2 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 4/3/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Haldeman to Colson RE: using attached information against Muskie. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | List of contributors to Muskie's campaign. 2 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 3/17/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | Article titled "Rocky Still Seeking White House" authored by Paul Scott. 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | 4/13/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman on sending information involving Muskie to various White House officials. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 4/9/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From W. Dewey Clower to Walker RE: comments overheard in a Maryland restaurant on the Muskie campaign. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 4/13/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | White House Staff | Memo | Copy of a memo from Walker to Chapin attached to a Chapin for Strachan. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 4/14/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Walker to Chapin RE: information on Muskie's efforts in New Hampshire. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 4/16/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Higby to Strachan RE: an attached memo on Kennedy. 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | 4/15/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Strachan to Haldeman RE: Magruder's suggestion to gather information on Kennedy. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Allin to Higby RE: remarks given by Muskie on the "CBS Morning News." Transcript of the program attached. Handwritten notes added by unknown. 9 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 2/18/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Pages eleven to fourteen of a document discussing political views of McGovern and Hughes. 4 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 4/26/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Khachigian, via Buchanan, to the staff secretary RE: Muskie's trip abroad. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | 1/20/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Haldeman to Buchanan RE: using Muskie's behavior abroad against him in the election. 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | 1/27/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From McDowell to Monson analyzing Muskie's speaking abilities. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Transcript and analysis of Muskie's speech before the California Council for Health Plan Alternatives. 3 pgs. |
| 23 | 3 | 1/27/1971 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | Article titled "Many Cleaned Birds Already Are Dead," discussing Muskie's visit to a San Francisco zoo cleaning station in the wake of an oil spill. 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | Sydney Kossen's article titled "California Trip Pleases Muskie." 1 pg. |
| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Newspaper | "Inside Report" authored by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak entitled "Question Marks on Muskie." 1 pg. |

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| 23 | 3 | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Domestic Policy | Newspaper | Ernest Rapley's "UC Aide Sees Medical Plan by '72." 1 pg. |

Kennedy Emerging as Front Runner In Battle for 1972 Nomination

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N. J., May 15 — Despite the fact that Senator Edward Kennedy has disclaimed any interest in seeking the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination, he may still become the candidate to beat for the Democratic nomination next year.

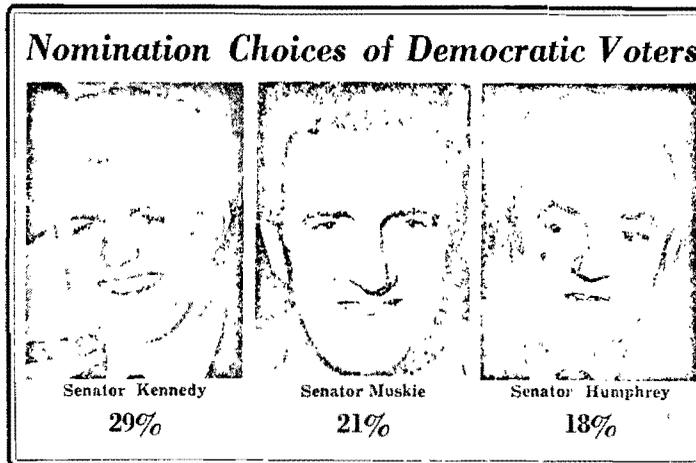
According to the latest Gallup survey of rank-and-file Democrats, Kennedy is the first choice of 29 per cent of Democrats nationwide. His lead is 8 points over his nearest rival, Sen. Edmund Muskie. Running a close third with 18 per cent is Sen. Hubert Humphrey. Ten other possibilities, including the only announced candidate to date, Sen. George McGovern, are grouped far back of the front runners.

1599 Adults
Interviewed

In conducting this survey, which simulates a nationwide preferential primary, Gallup interviewers showed respondents a card listing 13 men who have figured prominently in the speculation over the 1972 presidential nomination. The respondents were then asked the following question:

"Which ONE of the men on this list would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1972?"

Interviewing was completed April 15 with 1599 respondents in more than 300 scientifically selected communities across the nation.



Here are the choices of the 553 persons in the survey, who called themselves Democrats and who indicated that they were registered to vote:

| Choices of Democrats — Registered Voters — | | |
|---|-----|------|
| Kennedy | 29% | |
| Muskie | 21 | |
| Humphrey | 18 | |
| McGovern | 5 | |
| Lindsay | 4 | |
| McCarthy | 3 | |
| Mansfield | 2 | |
| Jackson | 2 | |
| Proxmire | 2 | |
| Mills | 1 | |
| | | 100% |

| | |
|------------|---|
| Hughes | 1 |
| Fulbright | 1 |
| Bayh | 1 |
| Others | 5 |
| No opinion | 5 |
| 100% | |

A comparison of the results using this list of 13 names with a shorter list of six names used in a March survey shows that Kennedy has made gains despite the wider field. Muskie and Humphrey each score somewhat lower in the current survey. Since the earlier survey was based on a smaller list, this does not necessarily mean that Muskie and Humphrey have lost strength.

Here is the March, 1971, list for comparison, based on the choices of rank-and-file Democrats:

| Choices of Democrats — Registered Voters — | | |
|---|-----|-------------|
| | | March, 1971 |
| Muskie | 26% | |
| Kennedy | 25 | |
| Humphrey | 21 | |
| McGovern | 5 | |
| Lindsay | 5 | |
| McCarthy | 4 | |
| Others, no preference | 14 | |
| | | 100% |

Views of Independents
Important

The candidate preferences of "Independents" are also important because in many states a person with no registered party allegiance may vote in either a Democratic or Republican primary election.

Following are the choices of the 327 independents (registered to vote) who were interviewed in the survey. As the table shows, Muskie holds a slim lead over Kennedy and the rest of the field among this group:

Choices of Independents
— Registered Voters —

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Muskie | 19% |
| Kennedy | 15 |
| Humphrey | 10 |
| McGovern | 8 |
| Lindsay | 6 |
| McCarthy | 5 |
| Jackson | 3 |
| Bayh | 2 |
| Fulbright | 2 |
| Mansfield | 2 |
| Mills | 2 |
| Proxmire | 2 |
| Hughes | 1 |
| Others | 15 |
| No opinion | 8 |
| 100% | |

For comparative purposes, the March, 1971 results, based on the choices of Independents, appear below. Among Independents, the same trend has occurred with the expanded field of candidates. Muskie has lost strength, while Kennedy has maintained his support.

Choices of Independents
— Registered Voters —

| | | March, 1971 |
|-----------------------|-----|-------------|
| Muskie | 31% | |
| Kennedy | 13 | |
| Lindsay | 11 | |
| McCarthy | 9 | |
| Humphrey | 8 | |
| McGovern | 7 | |
| Others, no preference | 21 | |
| | | 100% |

5/10 Newsweek - Dem Contenders
Democrats: On the Threshold of Adventure

There is much more to a presidential candidate than his stand on issues and his ability to marshal organizational and financial support. Political potential also involves intangibles of spirit and philosophic roots. Less than a year before the 1972 presidential primaries, TIME Washington Bureau Chief Hugh Sidey offers his impressionistic assessment of the Democratic contenders. Even at this early date they are running hard.

NOT the least of the political curiosities in this year of the urban age is that six of the seven men raised up to challenge Richard Nixon come out of small-town America. Only Teddy Kennedy, a child of privilege, does not know the sulfuric terror of a tiny Methodist Sunday school, the hard-penny economics of a paper route or the ecstasy of being a state tuba champion.

For those who have seen the sunburned 4-H boys in the pens with their heifers and listened to the croak of a village valedictorian unawed by God or science, there is no mystery in their consuming urge for public service and their special sense of self-importance. They are the ones who listened to and believed the Scripture lessons about helping each other and rejecting materialism. They learned the satisfaction of personal excellence and leading others. They are all now on the threshold of an adventure that not even they imagined back in Mitchell, Doland, Shirkville, Everett, Rumford and Ida Grove.

They are good men, in the apple-pie tradition, maybe good to the point of boredom, but that is in the eye of the beholders. They are men of uncommon decency and devotion, but none has lighted a real fire. Whether any of them would make a good President is still a question for most Americans.

McGOVERN: A Singular Intensity

George McGovern is the philosopher, well read, thoughtful, open as a South Dakota sky, every idea floating up and out for all to see. Some are only half-formed. He may be too honest and too open. His singular intensity seems sometimes to sweep him beyond the fine limits of good judgment. He ends up beyond any serious constituency, too strident on the war, too quick to embrace any dissenter, suspected finally of being an opportunist, without the relief of generating excitement.

McGovern sits in his office surrounded by stuffed pheasants and distinguished service awards (one from the National Limestone Institute). "I don't have any trouble sleeping," he says. "I'm doing what I want to do." He is modishly dressed in wide collar and thick tie, yet talks with the slow rasp of a country preacher, which he almost became. The paradox again. His boyhood heroes are George Norris, Bob La Follette and

Peter Norbeck, who worried most about the people, and McGovern is doing no less. "We have lost our individualism, our sense of our own uniqueness. The young are closer to the truth."

Yes, he says, the race for the presidency is evening up now. He sees a chance that few political professionals concede to him. "I feel it in my bones. I have no doubt at all that I could lead the country in a more hopeful and joyful direction."

BAYH: Hard to Read

Across the hall is Birch Bayh (pronounced by), Indiana's Vigo County 4-H-er. He is surrounded by pictures of covered bridges. Debate champion, Golden Gloves light heavyweight, lawyer, nemesis of Haynsworth and Carswell. "I'm not scared by the presidency. As a President, I could make a difference. It's whether you want a presiding officer or a leader." The phrases come out in that prepackaged rhetoric of the heartland that too often has been mistaken for real achievement, a smokescreen for charlatans. They invite distrust today. They come from a face that is uncreased, hard to read. There is not yet in his talk a hint of a new American vision or even much fresh thought. But there is some elemental force, a determination not evident in the rhetoric.

Bayh knows almost every important Democrat in every important state. He has money and he moves like clockwork around the circuit, tireless, like some kind of political accountant totting up the gains, raising the larger question of whether his kind can compete in a time that calls for a new spiritualism. "I'm not here by accident," he says quietly, and there for a moment is one of those kids nestled in the clean hay of the sheep barn or holding the halter of his prize pony and calculating what he can do to get more points and capture the blue ribbon and knowing that God helps those who help themselves.

HUGHES: An Essence of Mystery

More than the others, Iowa's Harold Hughes exudes the faint essence of mystery, a political asset. Man of religion, former truck driver and reformed alcoholic, he moves into a room trailing wonder. "We've got to get out of the psychology of believing that the problems have no solutions. The solutions are in the hearts of the people on Main Street," he says. Huge, powerful, all-state guard and a tuba champion. There is a sensitivity also. "We need more love in our daily lives. There needs to be a willingness to forgive each other." But there is something almost too mysterious about Hughes. His thoughts seem too simple, too direct. It is as if he has arrived here more on the breadth of his

shoulders than his mind. The world beyond American shores is still unknown to him. So are the complexities of Washington. Yet there is this kind of fearless thing inside him that intrigues his audiences. It is not yet clear if it is foolhardiness or a special courage.

Hughes' life has been hard, but good. He remembers with relish tumbling out of bed on frigid Iowa mornings and running naked down to dress behind the wood stove, the only heat, bending too far in his exuberance and burning his fanny. "People survived by helping oth-

DENNIS BRACK

PHI

MUSKIE

HUGHES

ers," he says, eyes wandering west. A neighbor came during the Depression to borrow a dollar. The Hughes family had three. They lent one of them. With his baritone voice he sang at home and in high school. "I still remember how it goes," he says, sitting in the afternoon light in the waiting room off the Senate floor. He straightens up, rumbles out the first few bars of his old solo. "When big profundo sang low C . . ."

MUSKIE: Leading or Led?

Ed Muskie is labeled, cast, watched. He is more wary than the others, the price of being ahead. Yet all of his experience has not erased his sense of awe about being where he is and who he is. And in a way that is his strength.

There is newness still about him, an abiding belief in the goodness of people that continues to rise to the surface, and even his temper emerges as a very special righteous indignation, a rare quality in the gray of Washington's current power holders. Ed Muskie, the Polish immigrant tailor's son, is a true

vision lens in front of him and it is the wellspring of all power and he must put on his stovepipe hat. They whisper around the Capitol corridors that if Muskie had the hardness in him right now, he could seize the thing before next year. His staff is big and growing, and Muskie is moving more and talking out but sometimes he seems lost in details, as if his own cluttered and compassionate mind will not let him cut through to the fundamentals of running for and winning the nomination.

When Muskie lets his length slump at last, folds his hands, gives off that long-jawed smile, then there is some of that real Maine stuff that sweeps away doubts and makes everybody trust him. "Peo-

of a Western tree. He is an easy and sensible man. Tougher than his exterior. There is a sameness about Jackson that plagues him. For so long he has been the champion of the aircraft industry. "Mr. Boeing." Somehow he is that image of the perpetual proponent of military preparedness. There is something of mothballs about it: cold warrior in the year of the great search for human warmth. His impeccable liberal credentials on social affairs, economics, conservation are lost to view.

He got his name Scoop when he peddled the *Everett Herald* in the red-light district. He went back as prosecuting attorney and cleaned the place up. Nowadays he quotes Churchill, who worried about America's inner strength and ability to "stay the course." He has read Mao and studied the lives of all the top Russians, and so he thinks we ought to keep our weapons modern and have plenty of them. That idea keeps setting him apart from the others. To him it is simple. You seek peace but stay strong. We need the SST, but we don't need to disrupt nature. "We can have quality of life and economic growth." The parlor liberals have forgotten that jobs are important, he insists. He studies a lot, squirreling away facts. "Some of these guys go up the hill and down the hill," he says. "They come out with mush." Not Scoop Jackson, paper carrier, sawmill hand, law-and-order commencement orator.

HUMPHREY

NORITOO NIF

KENNEDY

JACKSON

AP

McGOVERN

BAYH

ple lack confidence and trust in each other and in their Government," he says. "They are looking for a man who knows who he is. Yes, yes, we can deal with our problems, but there has to be action." A question rises, floats there for a second. Is Muskie out there leading or is he being swept along by forces beyond him? But then he has untangled himself, and is moving off with long strides toward something and somebody who is waiting.

JACKSON: The Cold Warrior

"I'm having fun," says "Scoop" Jackson. "I'm speaking my mind." A huge picture of Seattle is spread across his wall, and there is Grand Coulee Dam at night, and his coffee table is a slice

HUMPHREY: Lively Fuddy-Duddy

Hubert Humphrey, dean of the class. Scarred and bruised, but jumping and bubbling, the glands still exuding their special juices. It is odd how good he looks up close but how old he seems from a distance. There in front of the desk he bathes you in warmth and enthusiasm. The mouth turns down naturally, and that, along with his pointed jaw, could make him seem mean, but he never lets it happen. Humphrey laughs uproariously and shows his visitors a little plaque that says TO HELL WITH DO-GOODERS. He savors a man of light heart and the joy of children. That is why Humphrey somehow hores his constituency to death and then suddenly wins them back and goes on and on. Does he still want to be President? For a moment, there is the hesitation of a beribboned campaign veteran, and then, what the hell, he is too long around to play games. "Yes, I do."

Then Humphrey is talking and pacing and lecturing and preaching and laughing. "I give these young people on my staff hell. I say, 'Here I am, an old fuddy-duddy, and I have more ideas than you do.' This Administration is not only apathetic. It is questionable if it is alive." Each new thought, each fresh phrase lights him up as he beholds himself. "It's not a Silent Majority; it's a deaf Administration. There is no spirit." Old Father Humphrey ("Daddy") is up on the wall, the man who read him Woodrow Wilson and Wil-

believer. That scarecrow frame, craggy face and gravelly voice make everybody think of Abraham Lincoln, and that is of huge appeal in this aimless age. But occasionally there is the disquieting sensation that somehow he is trying too hard to be "Honest Abe," trying too much to reason with every voice that is raised against him.

Muskie feels there is always a tele-

PAUL CORREIA

MICHAEL LEVY CAMPBELL

liam Jennings Bryan. Humphrey talks about how the public now is a different public from when he started. The people cannot be fooled. They know. About January he is going to ask himself if they really believe in his ideas or whether they consider him only a rerun of the past. If he gets the latter answer, then he says he is going to square his shoulders and say, "I don't want any part of me either."

KENNEDY: Driven by Something Bigger

You walk up apologetically to Teddy Kennedy, the different one, because there is a sadness that follows him. He gathers the tourists in his arms for the Instamatic pictures, and they dissolve in bliss. Wait, he says, have somebody else snap it so the mother can be in there too—and she goes out of her mind with joy. But is he too jolly? Yes. Driven by something that is bigger than him and bigger than anybody. There is the smell of position and power already in Kennedy's office. The couch is thick and lush, not the black Government issue. The pictures on the walls are large and professional—of family and friends, telling in their way the Senator's past and his purpose. The other candidates seem like renters in their quarters. Kennedy seems to own his.

The smile is there, but one wonders how deep. He is polite, but there is a thin, cool curtain between him and his audiences. Flashes of boredom occasionally pierce his sentences, which often lag behind his thoughts, and sometimes there are no verbs or objects. It keeps nagging that he is in something that he may not want, but as long as he is there he will get on top of it, maybe even manage it. The sense that he can listen to and understand another man's ways, a large measure of John Kennedy's charm, still eludes him. Nor is there yet the feeling that human misery moves him as deeply as it did Bobby. He imitates more than innovates. "Out there" in the country, he says, is something he calls "a mood thing." "The idea that the people wanted a period in which to rest no longer seems valid. They are ready for someone to lead them." He has seen despair in the long lines of poor people. He has felt that they have almost given up believing in the American dream, which he still represents. He is running for President, but he is not running, believing he is beyond Chappaquiddick, but not certain the people are. He is trying to grow up those last few inches, like his brothers, and it is not clear yet if he will make it, but it is clear that if he does, he will not be like the other two.

There may be more, or perhaps fewer, men in contention for the Democratic nomination by the time the voters of New Hampshire become the first to express their preference next March. Presidential politics is the most exacting and brutal test of a man, and in the end only one will survive.

CAMPAIGN COSTS:

IN an expansive mood, the mayor of Buffalo, N.Y., recently described himself as "the best mayor that money can buy." He was kidding, of course—but it was the kind of joke that many politicians today would make at their peril. Once such a line might have brought down the house, but nowadays it comes uncomfortably close to the truth—not about corruption but about a far more costly phenomenon: campaign expenditures. The growing dominance of TV on every level of political salesmanship has raised campaign costs astronomically and convinced the public that politics really is a rich man's game. Even running for a modest office like, for instance, Congressman from the First District in Utah, requires at least \$70,000; in a few hotly contested urban constituencies, the cost of running a successful campaign would boggle the mind of an old-fashioned Tammany boss. When it comes to a major campaign for Senator or Governor, let alone President, the cash required would have stunned even so peerless a fund raiser of a generation or two ago as James Aloysius Farley.

Not that the political magic of money is limitless. Money can help make a candidate a household word—but it cannot guarantee that the household will vote for him. Too many other factors determine an election. No matter how much he might have spent on campaigning, it is most unlikely that Barry Goldwater could have defeated Lyndon Johnson for the presidency in 1964. In 1970, industrialist Norton Simon, despite a bottomless purse, could not win the Republican senatorial nomination in California from the vulnerable, venerable incumbent, George Murphy. Regardless of his gifts or the size of his war chest, a Republican candidate for Congress in Mississippi starts with two strikes against him: so does anyone who runs against a Kennedy in Massachusetts.

Even if big money is not necessarily decisive, it has certainly become, for most politicians, indispensable. A single federal law regulates campaign spending—the amended Corrupt Practices Act of 1925. The law limits the amount that an individual contributor can donate to a single campaign committee; so candidates organize a multiplicity of committees. The law requires candidates to report expenditures of which they are aware; so they profess general unawareness. It bans corporate contributions; so corporate executives act as individuals in distributing company largesse. It bans labor-union outlays; so unions form political-action committees. The law's effectiveness may be measured by the fact that no candidate

has ever been convicted of violating it.

Now Congress is under strong public pressure to pass realistic, enforceable legislation that would put a ceiling on campaign expenditures. Seven months ago, President Nixon vetoed a bill limiting the amount a candidate could spend on radio and television on the ground that it provided for equity in only the broadcast media. Nixon also contended that the bill favored incumbents, who are almost always better known than their opponents and whose perquisites of office—such as staff, franking and office space—amount to a campaign subsidy. Last month the Senate Commerce Committee reported out another bill, clamping a



"Equi

limit of 10¢ per eligible voter on spending for all forms of communication, with no more than half the money to be used on radio and TV. Swift passage by the Senate is likely, although prospects in the House are uncertain.

Those who favor a ceiling on campaign expenditures appear to have a strong case. The present situation clearly seems to favor the rich and jeopardize the chances of a candidate without personal wealth. Usually, it is argued, he must turn to big contributors—big lobbies, big business, big labor. Senator Edmund Muskie, who has no fortune of his own, will need at least \$25 million to win the Democratic nomination and wage a respectable campaign for the presidency in 1972. Must a candidate with insufficient mortgageable property mortgage his soul? Did the U.S. really benefit because political parties spent \$300 million on candidates in the 1968 elections?

But the matter is not as simple or one

AS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

[Handwritten signature]

Larry - Here is most
of the Mc Govern
interview from NET
for your files. Do
you want this material
regularly? As you know
a copy also sent to
RNC - most

McGovern - 2/23/71 w/Drew on NET

Q. What if you win?

1) "Restore sense of confidence in office itself --" sounds trite but "that's #1 hunger in American ^{politics} today."

Credibility gap most serious phrase around -- how change?

To "tell the truth" I've built up forthright and candid reputation myself. Thus my early campaign is to show my views and not deceive public.

Q. Does RN deceive on more issues than in Laos?

Yes -- self-deception also involved.

Believes military men excessively --

Always wants to believe his policies are working and put best light on them when they aren't.

This is especially true in SE Asian war --

This and LBJ administration "guilty of opening" credibility gap.

We're told no U.S. ground force in Cambodia -- then network saw them in civilian clothes; caught them on ground. And even after RN says there were none in Laos, 46% of public believes there were. They just didn't believe RN.

There is a question, said George: whether President and advisers are telling us the hard facts.

"Crisis in confidence" biggest challenge to the next president.

Q. Specific acts if President?

1) "Try to stop the killing in SE Asia" --

War there not isolated --

Part of larger foreign policy assumption that we're supposed to be policemen and that we have "some kind of obligation to contain Communism."

Communism has a different way of life but we shouldn't combat it by military means --

We must make our system better - show it works -- that's our greatest strength.

We've now become identified with a dictatorial regime in Saigon which is "no better than the group of people challenging them."

Thus to end war and order withdrawals would be first act.

Q. McGovern's Second Goal
if President:

Budget -- especially defense budget --

2 out of 3 US tax dollars used for military purposes --

for past, present and "imaginary" wars in future.

The share of defense money in budget leaves implication that defense of nation is composed solely of our military hardware.

He'd propose a very critical review of our budget and scale down by "tens of billions" the share for defense -- 20 billions initially.

And by ending the SE Asian war within weeks, another 20 billion of "arms" could be cut.

Yes, I might go to VN or Paris like Ike went to Korea -- go meet with leaders of this war to end it -- might not be necessary to do that though. Hanoi would probably give us a guarantee to let our troops out safely.

Q. What about effect of US withdrawal on SE Asia?

"RN is hung up on "a potential Communist SVN -- it might happen -- I'd like to have Jeff. Democracies -- but Thieu isn't that -- he's a military dictator held in power by US military presence.

Q. What of impact of our involvement and pullout on domestic policies?

There will be recriminations no matter who settles it -- there'll be a bitter feeling among those who've lost relatives, but I'm more worried about how it's tearing our country apart. And 10s of thousands being destroyed in Indochina.

Look here -- \$25 billion a year from US taxpayer going to SVN;

It's not just accidental we have this high degree of inflation.

Q. Top domestic priorities?

Rebuild our cities -- most urgent

(also farm problems) Cities are "literally falling apart." -- housing deteriorating; -- no adequate recreation; schools, hospitals deteriorating every large city in major crisis

I would use full power of President to guarantee every American a job -- would be jobs for all if we set about rebuilding nation as we should.

President of US can provide great influence; ^{cf:} his power in Indochina -- why not use it in other ways?

Public would respond to domestic challenge offered by President if he showed same degree of commitment as he does to SE Asia.

We're "destroying SE Asia."

Everyone in US should have decent house, decent job.

Q. Who would you bring into office? Not yet decided.

They'd have to have same kind of humane qualities which I do.
Dedication to peace and to reordering priorities.

Q. Are Dems ready to govern again? We learned a lot of lessons in '68 -- saw what happens to great national party -- have become more open -- think I speak for majority of Dem party.

I'm most closely identified with peace issue

And 73% favor my formula for ending war

The public is ready to work to rebuild nation -- end poverty, hunger

Glad to see 4 or 5 good men in race -- we'll have to sharpen our viewpoints.

Q. Why support you over Muskie? Won't get into it now -- wait until primaries; this is time to draw issues with RN who is setting tone and substance.

I will point to my long opposition to war;

Opposition to investing so much in military;

Call attention to my efforts in directing us to more of a peace time economy.

There's a difference in approach and issues between Muskie and I -- but this is not time to argue with each other

"Ought to be targeting on RN" to let Dems decide who does best job of defining issue

McGovern -- doesn't excite -- they say -- used to say that about JFK in late '50s when I supported HHH -- said JFK too quiet, soft-spoken, conversational, never pounded table. But he picked up as he picked up strength from people. I saw that in '68 in own effort. I'm a former teacher -- hard to pound table, wave arms -- more interested in minds and ideas -- public would welcome such appeal -- People are fed up with chairman, image making and posturing -- too much TV glamour ~~in~~ '70 -- wanted more quiet sensible talk -- I think I can give that .

Q. '68 Campaign a last minute thing -- Now dead earnest Why?

~~Long~~ **I**n earnest then, tho didn't enter until RFK killed.

Issues accentuated since then -- still squandering dollars on arms which add nothing to national security -- war still going on -- done nothing for jobs

Q. Are you a Kennedy stalking horse?

Ridiculous -- nobody is that for 1 1/2 years -- I'm busy -- in own position -- EMK doesn't need a stalking horse -- there's no truth to it.

Q. Hoover?

Problem is he's preoccupied with own ego to point where he can't tolerate any criticism. He's very quick to criticize own superiors -- but he should be able to take some himself. Yet when one of his best agents wrote a private letter and defended FBI tho said some things wrong with it, ~~and~~ he was dismissed. This wasn't ~~an~~ an isolated case -- Hoover running it not as agency of law enforcement but as "agency to serve his own personal ego" -- he operates a great PR apparatus to build him up at sacrifice of crime-battle.

Many colleagues ask me if I'm not afraid to speak out on Hoover.

Are we to that point where MC's are afraid of one man? If so 'we're approaching a police state, literally'' of MC's afraid to criticize one government official. There is a 'pervasive fear in this country'' that Hoover and his assistants are listening in on us, watching on us, and that we have to be afraid.

We should be examining them, not be afraid of him.

FBI was not born in heaven, it consists of mortals.

Hoover ought to be called to account for his activity. We are so afraid that there's a file on us which one man can use to destroy his critics -- it just shouldn't be allowed.

(Thank God, that's all, folks. -Observer)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1971

9/21
FU
Howard
~~6/11~~
6/17

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. HIGBY
FROM: GORDON STRACHAN G
SUBJECT: George McGovern's Fund Raising Letter

A check with John Dean indicates that the use by George McGovern of reproductions of Senate stationery for fund raising appeal is not legally challengable.

However, that would not necessarily prevent the valuable use of this issue by Colson.

Should I contact Mr. Colson regarding this opportunity?

*Sure and see if he
wants to do anything.*

Don't push him.

*Done → Dick 6/9
~~6/14~~ - in ccc*

4-1-71

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Date June 7, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Pat Buchanan prepared the attached article for Monday.

He will do a memo for the President on Kennedy similar to those on Muskie and HHH this week.

Handwritten notes:
What he will do
A McGovern
B
is he? NW

TEDDY KENNEDY

OUT OF THE GATE AND INTO THE LEAD

Kennedy Running Hard and Well

Muskie Continues to Fade

The inept campaign and the indecisive character of Senator Muskie have now cost him his lead in the race for the Democratic nomination. In May, Senator Edward Kennedy swept past him in the Gallup Polls. If Mr. Muskie does not pull out of his present tailspin by summer's end -- he will no longer be even a credible presidential candidate. His political condition has now been diagnosed as serious to critical.

Collapsing Muskie Support

Even MONDAY -- which early pointed up Muskie's personal flaws and campaign weaknesses -- was unprepared for the shock of May's Gallup poll.

In that May survey, Muskie's one point margin over Edward Kennedy among Democratic voters in March disappeared into an eight-point deficit.

In November of 1970 Muskie was first choice of 33 per cent of all Democrats. By March this had fallen to 26 per cent; by May it had dropped to 21 per cent. In six months Ed Muskie has lost almost 40 per cent of his first ballot support among rank-and-file Democrats.

Among Independents -- long Muskie's strong suit with party leaders -- the defections have been even more dramatic. In March Muskie led Edward Kennedy among Independents 31-13. In just two months, this 18-point margin among Independents was cut to four. (19-15)

Other evidence abounds of Muskie's collapsing fortunes. Mr. Humphrey, who only months ago had written himself off, last week jubilantly told a roomful of reporters "I'm licking my chops" over prospects of another run at the nomination. Quietly, word has been passed through Minneapolis to the Humphrey money men nationally, to hold off contributing to a Muskie campaign. His war chest being depleted, the Muskie campaign has given two dozen staffers the pink slip.

Bad News for Big Ed

Most ominous for Muskie, however, was the New York datelined story that came clacking over the UPI wire April 15 quoting Edward M. Kennedy as telling inquiring reporters, "I'm keeping my mind open" about seeking the nomination. Wrote columnist William White:

"Ted Kennedy...who had flatly said a dozen times that he would not run for the Presidency in 1972, has now turned 180 degrees. Now he observes that he is keeping his mind open. An 'open mind' here is most surely closing in on the chances of Edmund Muskie."

Six weeks ago, in a widely reported statement, MONDAY predicted:

"...If there is a signed Kennedy commitment not to run -- we would have to make Hubert H. Humphrey, in spite of it all, the odds-on-favorite. You can't beat somebody with nobody." (emphasis added)

Well, there has been no signed commitment; nor do we anticipate one. Recently, Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO lobbyist told a score of union leaders, "If anybody thinks Ted Kennedy is not running for President, they're nuts." Wrote syndicated columnist Andrew Tully in a similar vein:

"Not to get personal, but people who swallow Ted Kennedy's repeated denials that he's running for President suffer from rocks in the head. Kennedy is running just as his brother John was running in the spring of 1959 and in the same fashion."

We agree. Anyone who believes Kennedy is not interested in taking the Democratic nomination suffers from rocks in the head. The evidence is lying all over the political landscape.

Kennedy's Advance Party

Within the last month, Mr. Frank Mankiewicz and Mr. Pierre Salinger -- out of nowhere -- suddenly arrived on the scene as full-time political operatives in the campaign of Senator George McGovern. Now, neither Salinger nor Mankiewicz is a starry-eyed youthful idealist about to "fight, bleed and die" in the kind of quixotic campaign being run by the South Dakota Senator.

Both are fiftyish, seasoned Kennedy hands interested not in ideological joy rides but in prospects for power.

And, whatever else is there, there is no Prospect for power in the announced candidacy of George McGovern, which after months (years) of exertions has managed to rally the support of fully five percent of the Democratic Party. McGovern is a sure loser, and his veteran new teammates know it.

Even if Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson and all the rest abandoned the field to McGovern -- leaving him the lone candidate for his party's nomination -- Edward M. Kennedy could still, at any point before the convention, step in and snatch that nomination away with all the ease

of a twelve-year-old taking candy away from a five-year-old.

Co-Opting McGovern

The Kennedy crowd, Messrs. Mankiewicz and Salinger included, know this -- if Mr. McGovern does not. Thus, the arrival of these two battered old Kennedy war horses in McGovern's stable is not an indication that fortunes of George McGovern are suddenly looking up -- it is an unmistakable evidence that Edward M. Kennedy has now re-considered and given the troops the go-ahead.

Senator McGovern thus now becomes less a candidate in his own right than a vulnerable and expendable point man for the Kennedy Juggernaut. His organization is a Kennedy front; his campaign team a Kennedy farm club. The McGovern for President C ommittee is rapidly becoming a wholly owned subsidiary of Edward M. Kennedy Enterprises Inc.

Thus, it was no surprise when, hard upon the arrival of Mankiewicz and Salinger, McGovern, unilaterally and surprisingly, violated the three-month-old O'Brien treaty against attacking fellow Democrats by skewering of all peoples Senator Kennedy's principal competitors for the nomination -- Mr. Muskie and Mr. Humphrey.

(In the event of future attacks by McGovern, both Muskie and HHH would be well advised to ignore the monkey, and pin full responsibility on the organ grinder himself.)

Another deductive argument points inescapably to a Kennedy candidacy. Despite the President's strength and successes -- both Kennedy and his entourage have gone on record time and again that the Democrats can win in 1972. They believe this. Is it conceivable that men of their consuming ambition would voluntarily step aside and let the nomination go to a Humphrey or a Muskie -- which could mean for them eight more years of back bench obscurity, while others take their place in the history books. It is inconceivable that EMK and the Kennedy True Believers will let pass without a fight perhaps their last chance for a restoration in the decade just begun.

Kennedy-Strategy Above the Battle ..

With Kennedy actively pursuing the Presidency, events of recent months (the travels, the hearings, the speeches, the appearances -- the enormous publicity sought and garnered by both Ted and his attractive wife) fit like pieces in a puzzle. And the Kennedy political strategy emerges.

Steer clear of the early primaries. Nasty dog-fights are shaping up -- where EMK's reputation as a "winner" and his increasingly favorable public image could suffer irreparable damage in a mud-slinging Democratic free-for-all, a la West Virginia 1960. Provide strong covert support to anti-Muskie, anti-Kennedy candidates. Let a hundred flowers bloom. Trust that a multiplicity of candidates will make the primaries inconclusive, that the nomination will be open at

the convention and that EMK will emerge as the leader to break the deadlock. For insurance -- keep the options open on the California Primary, where EMK is strongest.

The primary impediment to the Kennedy strategy is the now increasingly remote possibility that Ed Muskie will have the nomination locked up -- going in. Muskie has himself taken care of that problem.

Assets & Liabilities

A quick inventory of assets and liabilities of EMK seeking the nomination would include:

1. The old Kennedy charisma and magic. Traveling the Kennedy tour one GOP Senator marveled,

"I have never seen anything like it in my life." The "adulation... wasn't political -- it was royal... It was like being with Presley back in the '50s or with Frank Sinatra in his heyday."

2. Kennedy has undeniable strength with young voters, poor and black. If this can be wedded to big city machine support (Mayor Daley's "strong for Teddy" avers HHH) and some labor support, clearly Kennedy could put together an easy majority at the convention, if the road is open.

3. He is the present front-runner with Democratic rank-and-file; and it is difficult to see what candidate can draw down that expanding base of support.

4.

"But there is positively no doubt at this moment and it is corroborated by those who spent two days at the AFL-CIO high command session in Atlanta, May 11-12, that the shift is to Sen. Edward Kennedy."

"Poll the national leaders and it's Ted all the way."

5. The emerging candidacies of Scoop Jackson and Wilbur Mills seem certain to split the anti-Kennedy delegate votes, especially in the South, guaranteeing that neither a Muskie nor a Humphrey can lock up the nomination -- before the convention begins.

Left versus Center

1. His nomination would be hemlock to the Democratic Party in the South.

2. His excessive doveishness, his defeatist anti-war statements, his anti-defense posture, his divorce from the FDR-HST-JFK-LBJ foreign policy tradition of collective security, have marked him in the eyes of many traditional Democratic powers and Democratic supporters as too immature and irresponsible for the Presidency.

3. His rhetoric, more and more bordering on the demagogic may elate the kooks and excite the radical fringe; but it turns off, and turns away, the conservative Democrats who yet form the majority of his party.

4. Where Scammon-Wattenburg remind Democrats again and again that the name of the game is hold the center -- Kennedy's deliberately alienates the center by acting as megaphone of the far left.

5. His patronizing of the May Day marauders and hell-raisers all over the Capital may score points with Mary McGrorys, but it is inexcusable conduct for a United States Senator, and politically suicidal for a national candidate.

6. Kennedy's all-out support for ultra-liberal William Green -- trounced in the Mayoral Primary in Philadelphia by conservative, law-and-order, ethnic Democrat Frank Rizzo -- indicates that Kennedy, guided by Beautiful People politics, is putting his eggs in the wrong political baskets. (HHH was quick to call and congratulate Rizzo on crushing Green.)

Chappaquiddick

7. Kennedy Jet-Setting Social antics, his nightclub A. M. hijinks in Paris on the eve of General De Gaulle's funeral; his cavalier disregard of the sensitivity of his German hosts, including the Foreign Minister a month ago; and the Mrs.' closet-full of see-through blouses and Hot Pants -- this publicity, and it is massive, is alienating Middle America from Wilshire Boulevard to the Hudson River.

8. Chappaquiddick. A crippling blow to Kennedy -- readily seen in the fact that were it not for Mary Jo Kopechne's death in the car beneath Dyke Bridge, the race for the nomination would have been decided long ago. The impact of Chappaquiddick on Kennedy's nomination,

or a Kennedy election is perhaps the largest factor in the prospects of a Democratic candidate since Al Smith's religion in 1928. Certainly, Chappaquiddick helped chop the Kennedy margin from over 70 percent in 1964 to 58 percent in 1970 -- against an unknown, forgotten opponent. What it will do in 1972 -- inside a polling booth -- few analysts agree.

Finally, however, Kennedy is a candidate, a viable candidate, the leading candidate for his party's nomination. And President Nixon's prediction to his staff has proved accurate. The Senator's treacherous liberal colleagues who, on the very tenth anniversary of John F. Kennedy's Inauguration, "cut" his younger brother in the secret Democratic caucus out of his Whip post, have hearkened to the old adage about letting sleeping dogs lie.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: _____

TO: Betty

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

~~Herz and
forward to
Bill Howard
"Per your
request"
GMS
10-10-71~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Gordon
Date June 3, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

-Clark MacGregor forwarded McGovern's
6 page letter requesting support
and funds.

-The letter is surprisingly dull
with the strongest criticism of
the President being "impetuous"
but with a lack of strength.

-We are checking on the use
of Senate Stationery for
fund raising.
L.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

My Dear Friend:

You are one of a number of people whose help I am asking in the most important effort any American can undertake.

Early this year, on January 18, I declared to the Nation my candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972.

In doing so, I deliberately broke political precedent in several ways.

It was unprecedented for a presidential candidate to make a formal declaration almost two full years before the next presidential term begins.

It was unprecedented to put such a declaration of intent in a letter to thousands of potential supporters across the country, as I did.

And it was unprecedented for the candidate himself to invite the many thousands who respect his positions on the major issues to help finance the organization of his campaign headquarters and staff.

But I took these unusual steps because these are unusual times.

I decided to make my intentions known early, simply and honestly, because the times call for the greatest forthrightness and the clearest commitment.

And I am writing to you with the same sense of urgency.

Today's issues need to be defined and addressed now -- fully and frankly -- so that the voters of America can make the judgment of 1972 with the benefit of a considerable period of testing and deliberation.

The stakes are too great, our national problems are too grave, to ask our people to make that judgment hastily in the last weeks before the election, while the bands are playing and the crowds are roaring.

Because the present Administration has deepened the sense of depression and despair throughout our land, the Democratic nominee in 1972 will in all probability be the next President.

For this reason, he should be chosen carefully from the various contenders only after meeting, in a broad range of public forums, the most critical tests of character, performance, and understanding.

I am prepared to submit my record and myself to that kind of critical comparison and test.

Having campaigned successfully twice for Congress and twice for the United States Senate as a Democrat in my heavily Republican native state of South Dakota, I seek the presidency with the confidence that I can be nominated and elected.

I seek the presidency with the conviction that I can provide the sense of history, the toughness of mind and resolve, and the spirit of deep compassion which this highest office demands.

I seek the presidency because I believe without reservation in the American promise and because I can no longer tolerate the diminishing of that promise.

The remarkable architects of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States endowed this nation with founding ideals that have never been surpassed.

These ideals -- grounded in the Judeo-Christian ethic -- affirm the sacredness of each individual and the bonds that bind him to his fellow creatures.

I can neither add to nor detract from these enduring principles. Indeed, they constitute my philosophy of government.

But in this decade, as we approach the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence -- the beginning of a revolution devoted to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" -- we need a second American revolution.

Not a revolution of violence, but a quiet determination to square our nation's policies and priorities with the ideals of our founding documents.

In fact, I believe this is our only hope for avoiding the ugly violence that now tempts many desperate people.

We cannot reconcile the deep divisions in our society by merely patching over them. We can only reconcile them by instituting the reforms so urgently needed and persuading the majority of the American people to accept them.

I want to lead our nation along this path of reconciliation and rededication.

There were, I believe, two factors that cost our party the presidency in 1968.

The first was the war in Vietnam.

The second was the conviction of many Democrats that our party was not responsive in 1968 to their views and concerns.

I have sought to the best of my ability to meet both of these central challenges to our party and our nation.

As you are undoubtedly more aware than most, my major energies since coming to the Senate in 1963 have been directed to ending the war in Southeast Asia, reducing our excessive military outlays, and developing a positive foreign policy that would create the conditions necessary for peace.

As a young bomber pilot in World War II, I vowed that if I survived the war I would devote the balance of my life to the cause of peace. I have kept that pledge and will keep it no matter what else transpires.

It was the pursuit of peace that led me into graduate studies in history, government, and international relations at Northwestern University.

It was the conditions of peace I sought to convey to my students when I assumed my professorship at Dakota Wesleyan University.

I sought the works of peace as a U.S. Congressman from 1956 to 1960, and as President Kennedy's Food for Peace Director in 1961 and 1962.

Since 1968, I have been carrying on the fight against President Nixon's needless prolongation of the war in Vietnam.

In addition, I have given my energy to the revitalization and reconciliation of the Democratic Party.

It has been my privilege to serve as Chairman of our party's Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection.

That Commission, in accordance with the instructions from the last national convention, has developed guidelines to insure that every Democrat will be given a "full, meaningful, and timely opportunity" to participate in the selection of our presidential candidate in 1972.

I believe that these guidelines, when fully implemented, will go a long way toward healing the deep wounds our party suffered at the 1968 convention.

And I believe that my nomination as our party's presidential candidate offers the best chance of heading off a fourth-party movement by Democrats still fuming with impatience over the mistakes of past leadership.

These Democrats -- and you may be one of them -- have always known exactly where I stand. They know that I have opposed these mistakes longer and more consistently than any other presidential prospect in our party.

At the same time, I want, and I believe I enjoy, the respect and good will of all other elements of our party leadership.

My dream and my goal is to unite our party and lead it to victory without giving up one inch of my own integrity and total commitment to the ideals of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for all Americans. I am certain it can be done.

I believe the times demand this. I believe the people want it. And I know that I must do it.

Our intervention in Vietnam's civil war was not an act of national strength but rather a drifting with the tide of old ideas and illusions.

President Nixon's failure to pull us out of the Vietnam quicksand promptly and decisively is not an act of strength, but rather reveals a lack of the strength needed to face up to the enormity of our error and the seriousness of our predicament.

Vietnamization is not a formula for ending the killing in Vietnam. It is a clear design to keep the war going by ending criticism in the United States. It is merely prolonging the bad dream from which our nation is attempting to awake.

In these times of our discontent, our greatest enemies are despair and deceit.

These threatening forces stem from the fact that our great and powerful nation has wandered so far away from its ideals that it has almost lost the way.

An America which launched its own independence with "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" now wastes its blood and substance in the jungles of Southeast Asia in open defiance of the common sense of the civilized world.

An America founded on a belief in the sacredness of life now endangers the very basis of life by polluting the air, water, and land which sustains us. We are standing in garbage up to our knees while hurling rockets to the moon.

An America whose early pioneers opened the doors of Harvard College six years after landing at Massachusetts Bay now is led to believe that we cannot afford high quality education for all our children.

An America founded on the belief that "all men are created equal" has been so slow to grant full equality to its racial minorities that it is driving some among them to acts of desperate and self-destructive violence.

An America whose dollars were once so sound they were recognized as a standard around the world now finds that its dollars are so weakened by "guns and butter" inflation that even working Americans find it hard to afford butter, to say nothing of meat on the table for dinner.

An America of law is cursed by rising crime, dangerous neighborhoods, and an underworld drug traffic that is jeopardizing the future even of children in grade school.

An America with a Constitution that placed its war-making power in an elected Congress now finds that power wrested away by the CIA, the Pentagon, and impetuous chief executives.

An America which has always renewed itself through the vigor and idealism of its youth now finds many of our most sensitive and intelligent young people losing their faith in our system and turning to drug addiction, exile, or dangerous fantasies of domestic guerilla warfare.

And an America which has prided itself on the opportunities for individual fulfillment now has millions of working men and women who are trapped in unrewarding jobs, or can't even find a job because the demand for their particular skill has disappeared.

I want to provide a second chance for these latter Americans, through a peacetime G.I. bill which will make it possible for any American to go back to school and get the additional training he wants or needs.

I want to provide a second chance for all Americans who feel that they have somehow been left behind and forgotten.

I want to provide a second chance for America itself to realize the dreams embodied in our Constitution and Bill of Rights.

I want to dispel the heavy smog of despair that is choking our usual optimism and social vigor.

Many people will say that I don't have a chance. And it is true that, standing alone, I would not.

But together, you and I have the best chance of all. If you will join with me now, I pledge that we will make that chance.

To fulfill that pledge, I need sufficient funds to staff and operate a campaign headquarters and start bringing my case to the people all across the country throughout 1971.

I am confident that this 1971 effort will generate sufficient additional support to enable me to mount a successful campaign in 1972.

But the time to start is now.

In the ancient wisdom of Ecclesiastes, "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven."

I believe this is a time to heal. A time to build up. A time to cast away the stones of war, and gather together stones for building. A time to speak. A time for love, not hate. A time for peace.

If you agree, won't you join hands with me now?

Very sincerely yours,

George McGovern
George McGovern

P.S. If by accident you received an extra copy of this letter, please pass it on to a friend.

110

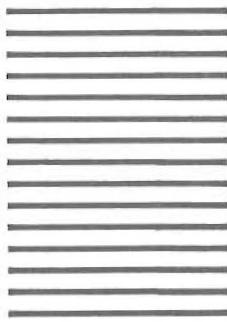
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- \$5 \$10 \$25 \$50 \$100
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I cannot make a campaign contribution at the present time
but you have my heartfelt good wishes.

Please make your check payable to McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Gordon:

This is the article Pat
wrote for RNC's MONDAY.
He said he'd try to do the
analysis memo later this week.

Sally

TEDDY KENNEDY

OUT OF THE GATE AND INTO THE LEAD

Kennedy Running Hard and Well

Muskie Continues to Fade

The inept campaign and the indecisive character of Senator Muskie have now cost him his lead in the race for the Democratic nomination. In May, Senator Edward Kennedy swept past him in the Gallup Polls. If Mr. Muskie does not pull out of his present tailspin by summer's end -- he will no longer be even a credible presidential candidate. His political condition has now been diagnosed as serious to critical.

Collapsing Muskie Support

Even MONDAY -- which early pointed up Muskie's personal flaws and campaign weaknesses -- was unprepared for the shock of May's Gallup poll.

In that May survey, Muskie's one point margin over Edward Kennedy among Democratic voters in March disappeared into an eight-point deficit.

In November of 1970 Muskie was first choice of 33 per cent of all Democrats. By March this had fallen to 26 per cent; by May it had dropped to 21 per cent. In six months Ed Muskie has lost almost 40 per cent of his first ballot support among rank-and-file Democrats.

Among Independents -- long Muskie's strong suit with party leaders -- the defections have been even more dramatic. In March Muskie led Edward Kennedy among Independents 31-13. In just two months, this 18-point margin among Independents was cut to four. (19-15)

Other evidence abounds of Muskie's collapsing fortunes. Mr. Humphrey, who only months ago had written himself off, last week jubilantly told a roomful of reporters "I'm licking my chops" over prospects of another run at the nomination. Quietly, word has been passed through Minneapolis to the Humphrey money men nationally, to hold off contributing to a Muskie campaign. His war chest being depleted, the Muskie campaign has given two dozen staffers the pink slip.

Bad News for Big Ed

Most ominous for Muskie, however, was the New York datelined story that came clacking over the UPI wire April 15 quoting Edward M. Kennedy as telling inquiring reporters, "I'm keeping my mind open" about seeking the nomination. Wrote columnist William White:

"Ted Kennedy...who had flatly said a dozen times that he would not run for the Presidency in 1972, has now turned 180 degrees. Now he observes that he is keeping his mind open. An 'open mind' here is most surely closing in on the chances of Edmund Muskie."

Six weeks ago, in a widely reported statement, MONDAY predicted:

"...If there is a signed Kennedy commitment not to run -- we would have to make Hubert H. Humphrey, in spite of it all, the odds-on-favorite. You can't beat somebody with nobody." (emphasis added)

Well, there has been no signed commitment; nor do we anticipate one. Recently, Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO lobbyist told a score of union leaders, "If anybody thinks Ted Kennedy is not running for President, they're nuts." Wrote syndicated columnist Andrew Tully in a similar vein:

"Not to get personal, but people who swallow Ted Kennedy's repeated denials that he's running for President suffer from rocks in the head. Kennedy is running just as his brother John was running in the spring of 1959 and in the same fashion."

We agree. Anyone who believes Kennedy is not interested in taking the Democratic nomination suffers from rocks in the head. The evidence is lying all over the political landscape.

Kennedy's Advance Party

Within the last month, Mr. Frank Mankiewicz and Mr. Pierre Salinger -- out of nowhere -- suddenly arrived on the scene as full-time political operatives in the campaign of Senator George McGovern. Now, neither Salinger nor Mankiewicz is a starry-eyed youthful idealist about to "fight, bleed and die" in the kind of quixotic campaign being run by the South Dakota Senator.

Both are fiftyish, seasoned Kennedy hands interested not in ideological joy rides but in prospects for power.

And, whatever else is there, there is no Prospect for power in the announced candidacy of George McGovern, which after months (years) of exertions has managed to rally the support of fully five percent of the Democratic Party. McGovern is a sure loser, and his veteran new teammates know it.

Even if Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson and all the rest abandoned the field to McGovern -- leaving him the lone candidate for his party's nomination -- Edward M. Kennedy could still, at any point before the convention, step in and snatch that nomination away with all the ease

of a twelve-year-old taking candy away from a five-year-old.

Co-Opting McGovern

The Kennedy crowd, Messrs. Mankiewicz and Salinger included, know this -- if Mr. McGovern does not. Thus, the arrival of these two battered old Kennedy war horses in McGovern's stable is not an indication that fortunes of George McGovern are suddenly looking up -- it is an unmistakable evidence that Edward M. Kennedy has now re-considered and given the troops the go-ahead.

Senator McGovern thus now becomes less a candidate in his own right than a vulnerable and expendable point man for the Kennedy Juggernaut. His organization is a Kennedy front; his campaign team a Kennedy farm club. The McGovern for President Committee is rapidly becoming a wholly owned subsidiary of Edward M. Kennedy Enterprises Inc.

Thus, it was no surprise when, hard upon the arrival of Mankiewicz and Salinger, McGovern, unilaterally and surprisingly, violated the three-month-old O'Brien treaty against attacking fellow Democrats by skewering of all peoples Senator Kennedy's principal competitors for the nomination -- Mr. Muskie and Mr. Humphrey.

(In the event of future attacks by McGovern, both Muskie and HHH would be well advised to ignore the monkey, and pin full responsibility on the organ grinder himself.)

Another deductive argument points inescapably to a Kennedy candidacy. Despite the President's strength and successes -- both Kennedy and his entourage have gone on record time and again that the Democrats can win in 1972. They believe this. Is it conceivable that men of their consuming ambition would voluntarily step aside and let the nomination go to a Humphrey or a Muskie -- which could mean for them eight more years of back bench obscurity, while others take their place in the history books. It is inconceivable that EMK and the Kennedy True Believers will let pass without a fight perhaps their last chance for a restoration in the decade just begun.

Kennedy-Strategy Above the Battle

With Kennedy actively pursuing the Presidency, events of recent months (the travels, the hearings, the speeches, the appearances -- the enormous publicity sought and garnered by both Ted and his attractive wife) fit like pieces in a puzzle. And the Kennedy political strategy emerges.

Steer clear of the early primaries. Nasty dog-fights are shaping up -- where EMK's reputation as a "winner" and his increasingly favorable public image could suffer irreparable damage in a mud-slinging Democratic free-for-all, a la West Virginia 1960. Provide strong covert support to anti-Muskie, anti-Kennedy candidates. Let a hundred flowers bloom. Trust that a multiplicity of candidates will make the primaries inconclusive, that the nomination will be open at

the convention and that EMK will emerge as the leader to break the deadlock. For insurance -- keep the options open on the California Primary, where EMK is strongest.

The primary impediment to the Kennedy strategy is the now increasingly remote possibility that Ed Muskie will have the nomination locked up -- going in. Muskie has himself taken care of that problem.

Assets & Liabilities

A quick inventory of assets and liabilities of EMK seeking the nomination would include:

1. The old Kennedy charisma and magic. Traveling the Kennedy tour one GOP Senator marveled,

"I have never seen anything like it in my life... The 'adulation... wasn't political -- it was royal... It was like being with Presley back in the '50s or with Frank Sinatra in his heyday."

2. Kennedy has undeniable strength with young voters, poor and black. If this can be wedded to big city machine support (Mayor Daley's "strong for Teddy" avers HHH) and some labor support, clearly Kennedy could put together an easy majority at the convention, if the road is open.

3. He is the present front-runner with Democratic rank-and-file; and it is difficult to see what candidate can draw down that expanding base of support.

4.

"But there is positively no doubt at this moment and it is corroborated by those who spent two days at the AFL-CIO high command session in Atlanta, May 11-12, that the shift is to Sen. Edward Kennedy."

"Poll the national leaders and it's Ted all the way."

5. The emerging candidacies of Scoop Jackson and Wilbur Mills seem certain to split the anti-Kennedy delegate votes, especially in the South, guaranteeing that neither a Muskie nor a Humphrey can lock up the nomination -- before the convention begins.

Left versus Center

1. His nomination would be hemlock to the Democratic Party in the South.

2. His excessive doveishness, his defeatist anti-war statements, his anti-defense posture, his divorce from the FDR-HST-JFK-LBJ foreign policy tradition of collective security, have marked him in the eyes of many traditional Democratic powers and Democratic supporters as too immature and irresponsible for the Presidency.

3. His rhetoric, more and more bordering on the demagogic may elate the kooks and excite the radical fringe; but it turns off, and turns away, the conservative Democrats who yet form the majority of his party.

4. Where Scammon-Wattenburg remind Democrats again and again that the name of the game is hold the center -- Kennedy's deliberately alienates the center by acting as megaphone of the far left.

5. His patronizing of the May Day marauders and hell-raisers all over the Capital may score points with Mary McGrorys, but it is inexcusable conduct for a United States Senator, and politically suicidal for a national candidate.

6. Kennedy's all-out support for ultra-liberal William Green -- trounced in the Mayoral Primary in Philadelphia by conservative, law-and-order, ethnic Democrat Frank Rizzo -- indicates that Kennedy, guided by Beautiful People politics, is putting his eggs in the wrong political baskets. (HHH was quick to call and congratulate Rizzo on crushing Green.)

Chappaquiddick

7. Kennedy Jet-Setting Social antics, his nightclub A. M. hijinks in Paris on the eve of General De Gaulle's funeral; his cavalier disregard of the sensitivity of his German hosts, including the Foreign Minister a month ago; and the Mrs.' closet-full of see-through blouses and Hot Pants -- this publicity, and it is massive, is alienating Middle America from Wilshire Boulevard to the Hudson River.

8. Chappaquiddick. A crippling blow to Kennedy -- readily seen in the fact that were it not for Mary Jo Kopecne's death in the car beneath Dyke Bridge, the race for the nomination would have been decided long ago. The impact of Chappaquiddick on Kennedy's nomination,

or a Kennedy election is perhaps the largest factor in the prospects of a Democratic candidate since Al Smith's religion in 1928. Certainly, Chappaquiddick helped chop the Kennedy margin from over 70 percent in 1964 to 58 percent in 1970 -- against an unknown, forgotten opponent. What it will do in 1972 -- inside a polling booth -- few analysts agree.

Finally, however, Kennedy is a candidate, a viable candidate, the leading candidate for his party's nomination. And President Nixon's prediction to his staff has proved accurate. The Senator's treacherous liberal colleagues who, on the very tenth anniversary of John F. Kennedy's Inauguration, "cut" his younger brother in the secret Democratic caucus out of his Whip post, have hearkened to the old adage about letting sleeping dogs lie.

EYES ONLY

February 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN EHRLICHMAN
FROM: CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Facts on Senator Muskie

Attached are two fact sheets. One contains primarily statements by Muskie and the other going more into issues. Also attached are some editorials which make some very good points with respect to Muskie's new-found super-dove position. I assume that you will see that these are transmitted to our friend -- hopefully with appropriate security.

As we develop new information, we will send it along.

KEY FACTS ABOUT SENATOR MUSKIE'S PUBLIC POSITIONS

Senator Edmund S. Muskie's presidential campaign attempts to typify the Maine Democrat as a moderate man. But the facts are different:

- FACT -- Muskie joined with two of the nation's most heavily dominated Communist leftist groups -- the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) -- in co-endorsing the massive, disruptive anti-war demonstration in Washington in April 1971, saying "I endorse and support this meeting on April 24 and I urge those who participate to carry their arguments on, beyond the days of demonstration, into the political processes and institutions of our government."
1971 Fiscal Year Annual Report of the FBI, p. 24.
(PCPJ and NPAC information)
Congressional Record, April 5, 1971 (endorsement)
- FACT -- Despite the fact that he told one audience that "the containment of expansionist communism regrettably involves confrontation from time to time and that to retreat is to undermine the prospects for peace and stability." Muskie termed the Vietnam War "wrong, morally wrong" to another group. The only difference was that Muskie made the first statement when a Democratic President was getting the U.S. into the war, and the second when a Republican President was getting us out.
Congressional Record, March 1, 1966 (first quote)
Portsmouth Herald, April 19, 1971 (second quote)
- FACT -- Muskie recently said "parents do not ordinarily mind sending their children to school on buses so long as the schools provide a good education," yet he himself sends his children to exclusive private schools. One goes to a school costing \$1,000 a year with three blacks out of 245 students; the other two attend a Catholic school with no blacks at all.
Congressional Record, February 18, 1970 (busing quote)
60 Minutes Transcript, CBS Television, November 14, 1971, p. 6 (information on children's schools)
- FACT -- Muskie criticizes the President's handling of the war, yet he surrounds himself with a clique of advisers -- Harriman, Vance, Warnke, and the rest -- who are responsible for our original involvement.
Washington Post, January 26, 1971; National Journal August 7, 1971

FACT

-- Muskie sees no difference between those who have served their country honorably and those who have refused the draft, saying, "I do not see this group apart as separate from other groups of young people who have been affected by the war; those who have gone and died...the prisoners of war. All of these are young people, many of whom protested the war morally but took a different view of their obligation under the draft, and I don't think you can take one group out of these for special treatment."

Meet the Press, Sunday, January 16, 1972,
Transcript, p. 7-8.

The Evening Star

With Sunday Morning Edition

Published by THE EVENING STAR NEWSPAPER CO., Washington, D. C.

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JOHN H. KAUFFMANN, President

NEWBOLD NOYES, Editor

A-4

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1972

Above Politics

Foreign policy and the Vietnamese war cannot be ruled out as issues in this year's presidential campaign. But the specifics of the United States' negotiating position, in this time of active bargaining on possible peace terms, should be declared off-limits for political oratory. Otherwise, whatever prospect there is for a settlement this year might be dashed, as the Communists await our election returns to see whose proposals are still alive.

It was particularly unhelpful for the front-running Democrat, Senator Muskie, to advance his own two-point peace plan in competition with President Nixon's eight points, to which the Communists have still to offer their definitive response. Half of the Muskie plan—an American pullout premised on the freeing of prisoners and the safety of our departing troops—is relatively unexceptionable. The other half, telling Saigon to make a deal with the Communists or face the cutoff of all American aid, would cause dancing in the streets of Hanoi if put forward by a president in office.

Regardless of the merits and demerits of the Muskie plan, his announcement of it at this critical juncture did not help the cause of peace, and the repatriation of American POWs, in 1972. The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have to consider the possibility that Muskie might win his party's presidential nomination and go on to victory in November. They must consider the chance of coming to an agreement with Mr. Nixon now, or waiting to deal with a possible successor next year. Muskie's proposed terms, including what would appear to be the political emasculation of South Vietnam, make a great case for delay.

President Nixon's plan would require an election, with President Thieu standing aside a month beforehand, to deter-

Muskie formula would give all to Hanoi without even the formality of an election: The North Vietnamese could either dictate the form of a new government or look forward to dealing with a Saigon immobilized by the lack of American aid. It is doubtful that Muskie in the White House would let this happen. That makes it doubly ironic that Muskie as a presidential hopeful should complicate current negotiations by proposing more of a sell-out than he later would accept.

Muskie and other aspirants to the presidency also should have taken a lesson from the President's revelations, last week, about the extent of secret negotiations toward ending the Vietnamese conflict. Unless he is a believer of the Wilsonian myth about open covenants openly arrived at, he should understand that a good deal of private communication usually precedes the reaching of international understandings. In the case of Vietnam, President Nixon's problings in Peking later this month could be instrumental in progressing toward a settlement, even though every exchange might not appear immediately on the public record.

The Maine senator, and other latter-day doves, have plenty of political hay to make, in less specific ways, over the longevity of the war that was expanded to prodigious size under Democratic auspices with the acquiescence of Muskie and some other Democratic contenders. But it would be better for pretensions to Mr. Nixon's job to limit themselves to general comments than to offer the enemy terms that, publicly, the incumbent has not felt driven to proffer.

Mr. Nixon has worked hard to wind down the war that his Democratic predecessor, for mostly good reasons, succeeded in winding up. If there is a chance for a reasonable peace settlement this year, as there seems to be, the exigencies of the presidential campaign

Editorial Page

The Detroit News

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14-A

Friday, February 4, 1972

Muskie rejects Nixon plan

Not the way to unity

One of the major difficulties of trying to negotiate an end to the war in Vietnam this year is the attitude of the Democratic presidential candidates who are trying to outdo each other in their offers to the enemy.

Senator George McGovern, of South Dakota, has been playing the negotiating game for a long time, with little success. Now Senator Edmund S. Muskie, of Maine, is getting into the act, with, we hope, the same result.

Muskie now has offered a two-point program calling for (1) removal of all U.S. troops, ships and bombers in return for the safety of the withdrawing U.S. forces and the release of U.S. prisoners of war, and (2) an ultimatum to the South Vietnamese government to seek a political accommodation with the Communists or lose even indirect U.S. support after the withdrawal is completed.

In effect, Muskie seems to be supporting the enemy's demand for a coalition government, through

which the Communists hope to be able to seize power in South Vietnam, as well as its latest proposal for the immediate resignation of President Thieu.

But in terms of arriving at any settlement, Muskie's sharp criticism of President Nixon's own peace program was even worse than his own proposals. He characterized American involvement in the war as immoral and the President's efforts to end it as unrealistic. He seemed to come closer to outright rejection of Mr. Nixon's plan than the enemy has done.

Nobody expected the Democratic candidates for the president really to endorse Mr. Nixon's plan, although Senator Henry M. Jackson, of Washington, did so. But the rhetoric spewing forth from the Democratic candidates about their own plans and in criticism of the President's efforts hardly provide the unity that is needed to impress the enemy with this country's determination to stay the course until a fair settlement can be achieved.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 103 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

JACK TARVER, President



REG MURPHY, Editor

PAGE 1A, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1972

Muskie Disappoints

Sen. Edmund Muskie has disappointed a large number of Americans by his untimely intervention in the peace negotiations with Hanoi.

President Nixon already had outlined an eight-point plan to end the war in South Vietnam over. It was at least a hint that North Vietnam were thinking of peace but a kind of hope was to be preferred to their interest. Publicly the fact was settling a reasonable method of arranging a ceasefire and a settlement of the conflict.

Muskie suddenly tossed a new option out. It called for the U.S. to set a firm date for withdrawal of American troops in return for the safe conduct of prisoners back to our side. Moreover, he called on this country to make it clear to the South Vietnamese government it must seek a political accommodation with the Communists or lose all our aid.

The Muskie plan is not offensive standing by itself. We would have no arguments with his proposals if this had been the time to have made them. But we do object—as vigorously as possible—to the feeling among all the Democratic presidential candidates that they have to top off of Nixon's offers. International diplomacy simply cannot be carried on in such a manner.

Secretary of State William Rogers

thus was justified in saying, "I think this particular (Muskie) speech, coming at this time, was most inappropriate and harmful to our national interest." Rogers further was justified in asking that all the candidates allow the proposal there to be considered.

Our state secretaries of state should not be involved in this kind of political fight. Traditionally they have stayed out of the buildup to presidential campaigns. Rogers must not allow himself to be used by the President or anybody else to rebut all the campaign oratory. In this case, though, it was essential that somebody call for a halt to the counter-proposals until Hanoi has decided whether it will respond to Nixon's initiative.

Sack Out

Smoking more but enjoying it less?
Don't light up another. Go stick
your head in a sack.

A scientist says some people may
smoke too much because they need
carbon dioxide — which you can get
plenty of with your head in a sack.

It may look a tad ludicrous walking
around with a paper bag over your
head. But at least you'll be walking
around. Smoke too much and you may
not be walking around at all.

605 - 2/5/73



C. G. G.

STATEMENTS BY SENATOR MUSKIE-

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In a speech attacking the "military-industrial combine", Muskie told Brown University students, "We have become intimidated by the economic strength of our military as we have intimidated others by the might of its weapons. "

Washington Post, April 11, 1969

VIOLENCE -- LAW AND ORDER

(These sections of the D.C. Crime Bill are) "experiments in repression".
Washington Post, July 22, 1970

The D.C. Crime Bill is "a simplistic, stopgap approach to crime."

Portland Press Herald, May 2, 1970

STUDENT UNREST

"You have the God-given right to kick the government around -- don't hesitate to do so."

Louisville Courier Journal, September 12
1968

While at Municipal Airport, Muskie credited the "rebellion of youth with helping us open our minds to new ideas." He said youths of today "are challenging us, and we can't meet those challenges with the same old answers." This is true whether one is challenging with ingrained ideas of schools, government, churches, special groups, even the family way of life, he said.

quoted by Lynne Holt, "Youth Rebellion Helping to Open Minds to New Ideas, Says Muskie", Wichita Eagle, September 16,

"Student power had helped bring the beginning of the end to the war in Vietnam."

remarks to 2000 Northern Illinois University students. Thomas Moore in Chicago Sun Times, July 31, 1969

*(Muskie was paid \$3000 for speech, N. Y. Times, May 17, 1970)

"The ivory tower has been shattered," he said. "The basic problem of college presidents is to decide how institutions of higher learning can be made more relevant to the student."

quoted by Elmer Bertelsen,
Houston Chronicle, January 12, 1970

"Student dissent has not been a disease of the body politic. It has instead been a welcome sign of health."

Boston Globe, June 8, 1970

"...this (period) is going to result in some adjustment problem, including disorders, protests, and unfortunately, at times some forms of violence." Muskie went on to say that he felt the process of protest and change as a whole was a "healthy" development.

Baltimore Sun, October 19, 1968

"It is little wonder to me," Muskie said, "that young people today are more concerned with the freedom to escape than with freedom to become involved, more conscious of the liberty to oppose than of the liberty to support and more familiar with the right to despair than the right to rejoice."

"Those who express instant and false indictments of students, faculty members and administrators must be repudiated and the answer must be plainly reported."

Kansas City Star, May 9, 1970

"...I'll remember Chicago," he shouted back amiably and then went into his civics lecture, "and I hope you do too. Because I'll be interested in you young citizens: I'll be checking up two years from now to see if you're one-shot citizens. Vietnam, Chicago are important; but I'll be watching to see if you work and study and stick with these problems, instead of just complaining... But then, after tonight, I may be a protester myself."

Look, February 18, 1968

CAMBODIA AND WAR IN GENERAL

Commenting on capture of enemy arm caches, Muskie said, "I am really not impressed by 6700 rifles."

Congressional Record, May 11, 1970

"A pullout will not defeat us."

Speech, University of Kansas
Wichita Eagle, May 9, 1970

"If I were the other side, I would say the President is not interested in negotiations. He just talks about it as a cloak for another initiative."

Congressional Record, May 11, 1970

LS - file Muskie

February 1, 1972



MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN
FROM: MURRAY CHOTINER

For your information, former California Congressman Jerry Voorhis endorsed Senator Muskie on January 26.

Here we go again! Voorhis endorsed Will Rogers, Jr. against Senator Knowland in 1946.

Murray

MMC:bh

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 1, 1972

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN *Ken*

Buchanan and I feel that the business about deception in Muskie's TV announcement is not the type of thing that is worthwhile pursuing -- i. e., with special regard to this particular column in the Maine Times. The Maine Times, we discovered, is a small, offset, handout up in Maine and is not even listed anywhere in Editor and Publisher.

Mostly, however, it is our opinion that Muskie's announcement has already received a great deal of ink -- much of it negative -- and that use of this particular home state criticism would not be that helpful. We feel that it is much more important now to target on two states -- New Hampshire and Florida -- where we have a disinterest in Muskie's success. In this case, Florida is the more likely candidate. What we really need is a targetable effort to derail Muskie in Florida, and we have recommended such steps over the last few weeks.

We will keep this editorial and will plan to use it if the question of merchandising candidates comes up -- but for the time being, Buchanan reacts negatively to any particular effort on this editorial. Let me know of any further thinking.

Attachment

To Back
GS
You can never say a good thing too often
Ⓢ

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

January 28, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:

KEN KHACHIGIAN

FROM:

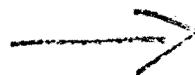
GORDON STRACHAN **G**

You probably noticed in this morning's news summary (copy of article attached) the Maine Times editorial which rips into Muskie regarding the deception in his T. V. announcement. You and Mr. Buchanan may already be working on the most profitable use of this home state criticism of Muskie. I would be interested in discussing your plans.

Marianne Means says feeling among Dems at all levels is that Muskie has the nomination "locked up." His "well-orchestrated string of endorsements" and momentum has been "dazzling" and nobody else can claim the variety and quality of support he can. Muskie's "greatest psychological coup" is Woodcock and Wurf support. "There's not much enthusiasm" for Muskie, but not real objection either, " is the general Dem assessment.

Klach

After sharply rapping RN's VN bombings, the Maine Times derides Muskie for "deception" in his TV announcement. Muskie was not "home" but at his beach cottage. A small, but significant deception, (to make a house a home), but along with the pancake makeup, a speech "full of platitudes" prepared by speechwriters, the real Muskie "has gone," replaced by a political package. Muskie has made it clear he is silencing his own convictions about VN, waiting to see it will be a campaign issue. Muskie will probably get the nomination, says the Maine Times, because the professional pols and delegates "have also accepted deception as necessary," but the voters don't, and the writer now looks toward McGovern.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 29, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12055, Section 6-102
By EP, Date 3-17-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR GORDON STRACHAN

FROM: KENNETH L. KHACHIGIAN *KLK*

The attached is our action to get the Muskie and Kennedy positions on busing made known in the South. Harry Dent has a copy of this statement (which Buchanan has signed off on) and has agreed to take it down to the Southern Regional Conference to be held in Tennessee December 2-4.

The intention is that we will have the statement go out either under Clarke Reed's name or under the banner of all our Southern Republican chairmen. We think it should make news coming at the opening of the Southern Regional Conference, and we also plan to get the statement mailed out in the South as well.

cc: Pat Buchanan
Harry Dent

DRAFT

SUGGESTED STATEMENT TO BE RELEASED
AT SOUTHERN REGIONAL CONFERENCE.

At a time when the Gallup Poll reports that ⁷⁶~~78~~% of the American people - black and white - are opposed to busing for racial balance, we find it ironic and disturbing that the National Democrat Party continues to lend endorsement to massive busing through some of its leaders.

Special sources of shame have been the unrealistic positions of Senators Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy. Senator Muskie's position -- in evident pursuit of the ultraliberal wing of his party -- is that he would favor forced busing as a "legitimate tool" to achieve racial balance -- a tool, he says, "that can be used, and should be used."

Senator Kennedy has said: "I support massive crosstown busing if it's necessary to bring about equal educational opportunities. I also support use of federal funds to support busing."

These two Senators' positions are interesting, but they are also hypocritical. Both Senator Muskie and Senator Kennedy send their children to expensive private schools. What this means is that they are all in favor of busing your children and ours, but not willing to bite the bullet and put their children on the public school bus.

We support and applaud President Nixon's sensible position of holding busing to the minimum required by law and that there should be no busing simply "for the sake of busing."

We also note with pleasure President Nixon's endorsement of recent House action to tie up funding of massive busing schemes.

Substantial progress toward equal educational opportunity in the South has been made by the Nixon Administration through a policy of cooperation, not coercion. We believe busing is counter-productive to good race relations ^{and} equal educational opportunity, ~~and~~ misdirects educational priorities, and generally overcomes whatever good has already been achieved.

We ask our counterparts in the Democratic party to publicly repudiate or otherwise endorse the statements of their national party leaders. It is simple. Prominent Democratic presidential candidates are for massive, forced busing. Within the limits of the law, we vigorously oppose their position and call upon our colleagues of the opposition party to do no less.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 7, 1971

*A
needn't
see
G
10/11*

FOR: BOB HALDEMAN

FROM: DON RUMSFELD

Thought you might find the
attached of interest.

*He is a black
from LBJ Admin*

October 5, 1971

STATEMENT ISSUED BY HOBART TAYLOR, JR., Esq.

While traveling in Europe a few days ago, I learned that Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine told a political group in Los Angeles that should he attain the Democratic nomination for President in 1972, he would not consider a black American as a running mate because such a ticket would be "unelectable". I have further learned that he has since stated that he hoped that his bringing the matter up publicly might cause general consideration of the subject matter.

I have thought about these statements, I have followed the ensuing debate in the press, I have discussed them with prominent members of the Negro community, and I have come to the following conclusions:

(1) I disagree with Senator Muskie's views and I further feel that a candidate for the highest office in the land should not make such a statement for, wittingly or unwittingly, he has placed a ceiling on the aspirations of millions of his fellow countrymen, a ceiling which they and other Americans of good will have labored for more than 100 years to remove. I believe it is time to recognize that it is no longer stylish for black Americans to hold up their personal progress because others might not like it. I do not think that the nation is well served when the Senator issues a statement which dims the future of black Americans (and the hopes of a considerable number of whites) in order to ensure the success of what some might consider his own personal goals.

(2) Senator Muskie should consider the political facts of life that have been demonstrated. In the very state where he stood at the time of his remarks, the people of California have recently elected a black man to the very delicate post of Superintendent of Public Instruction by an overwhelming majority. From his own New England comes a black Senator elected from a state with a Negro population of 5%. There are countless other state and local officials who have been elected throughout the land by predominantly white electorates. I do not know why we are supposed to overlook this record of

accomplishment, unless the Senator has factual data which would refute it and, to date, none has been advanced. I am also aware of the fact that there exists a rather substantial number of black Americans whose personal distinctions compare favorably with those of the Senator. Whether any of these persons is ready to be a candidate at the moment is one matter. But to say that all are disqualified on account of color strains the credulity and raises a question about the Senator's judgment and his sensitivity as to how Americans really feel.

(3) I am concerned about the effect of the Senator's remarks on the minority youth of America. For the last decade this country has devoted itself very strenuously to the elimination of the barriers which have adversely affected all types of opportunity for minority Americans, and we have asked them -- and particularly the young -- to put aside any bitterness or frustration resulting from past treatment and prepare for a new day in which they can participate and compete as equals. And, despite the problems which plague us still, all over this land hundreds of thousands of young people are following this advice -- as our college enrollment, our skilled and white collar employment statistics, attest. Now, the Senator places a condition upon our national commitment. He says it applies only if one does not aspire too far. He does not mention that had John Kennedy not disregarded such advice 15 years ago, the myth of Catholic ineligibility for the Presidency would not have been shattered, and he himself would not now be seriously considered as a candidate for President.

There is also public danger in the acceptance as correct of the views expressed by Senator Muskie. All men of experience know that political predictions create attitudes -- that a statement of this kind by so highly placed a person as Senator Muskie is bound to lead great numbers to think that others are not ready to accept minority citizens in positions of high responsibility and, hence, that they too should hold that view. In short, this kind of prediction may express public opinion, but it also can form it. And experienced men also know that subsequent disclaimers and qualifications do not alter the original force of such a statement. In the code language of race such subsequent modifications are regarded as purely strategic.

Finally, the impact of such statements is not restricted to the Vice Presidency or to politics. The principle has a bearing on public opinion as to any high office -- in private life as well as government. So the inhibiting effect of this kind of view-

point stretches to those who would aspire to rise in corporations, in labor unions, and in other important institutions throughout the structure of American economic life.

Now, I have already pointed out that I have discussed this matter with a large number of prominent black Americans since my return to the country. I am now prepared to say that all of these people share my belief that Senator Muskie's views are totally unacceptable in a candidate who hopes to receive the vast majority of their vote. Here we draw an important distinction which has been generally ignored in the press. The fact is that one of the major political parties generally gets a much higher percentage of the black vote than the other. Hence, we expect those who receive the benefit to be prepared to bear some of the risk and burden of sustaining the legitimate aspirations of this segment of their support -- even as they do for others. And so I must report that it appears that Senator Muskie can look forward to severe and sustained opposition to his nomination and, if need be, to his election, unless this group of Americans is satisfied that he has taken adequate steps to remedy the harm which has been done, and positive action to further the advance of American blacks to positions of the highest public authority on their merit.

I want to make it clear that none of us are charging the Senator with racism, and that we do applaud his exhibition of candor -- a candor which we hope will be extended to all the issues of public moment in the coming election. Nor does this statement mean that anyone is presently announcing against Senator Muskie or for anyone else, but it should be understood that since Senator Muskie has raised this issue, we will be watching this situation attentively and will be prepared to take whatever action is necessary to demonstrate that the time is forever past in American politics when a candidate can nullify the legitimate aspirations and ambitions of his fellow Americans on the basis of color, and still receive their support at the polls.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

File
[Signature]

Administratively Confidential

September 16, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR:

L. HIGBY

FROM:

GORDON STRACHAN **G**

SUBJECT:

Muskie -- Busing

You asked me for information concerning the busing statements of Muskie. As you know, in this weeks Monday the statement appeared that Muskie has taken a "new rhetorical posture against busing to achieve integration". Nofziger reports that this material as well as the greater part of the longer political articles in Monday are prepared by Buchanan's office. The question about this stance has been relayed to Colson and Buchanan.

Of much more interest are the comments that appeared in the News Summary this morning. In particular, Muskie's statement that busing is a "legitimate tool, but not the ultimate one". This fact was pointed out to Lyn Nofziger and follow up articles will appear in Monday. Marik has also been advised to make sure that all are retained (including this last one by Muskie on busing) and retrievable.

In addition, Nofziger and Marik will be sure that the Jesse Jackson referred to on page 17 of the News Summary, are also retained and used in follow up articles.

*He is the statement
one who raised the
question.*

L.

*This is a later stat. The
idea is to trap him on his
original stat as Colson
very well knows.*

upholds it, it could have profound effects on US living patterns as whites will not be able to move to the suburbs to hide.

Charles Kurault, on the road in Point Roberts, Washington, where students can really tell you about busing. Pt. Washington is below the 49th parallel but attached to the US -- it is too small to support a school so students are bused thru Canada, to a school 30 miles away but in the US. They go thru 4 customs points every day, but no one seems to mind.

The Jackson (Miss.) public school system has filed suit to stop state officials from withholding funds used to bus students to achieve a racial balance.

* * * *

GOVERNORS

Wally Mears reports that GOP Govs easily blocked a Dem attempt to criticize RN's economic program as inequitable. ... This noted as well by both NBC and CBS as was defeat of 2 anti-busing resolutions.

The NBC report emphasized that being Gov. particularly of a big state, "used to be a big deal, now it's a big headache." As their problems have increased, their influence has declined. Now they are the faceless men: only 3 are recognized nationally and only Wallace entertains serious ambitions for the presidency.

Muskie on both nets: NBC closed its show with over 2:00 of the Senator's keynote address in which he spoke about Attica. "We can't pass final judgment (on the incident) but we can ponder how and why some men would rather die than spend another day in the US." It will all happen again, said the Senator because we didn't correct the situation yesterday or today.

* → On CBS, the Senator was asked about busing. He said he regards busing as "a legitimate tool, but not the ultimate one." "I don't like it because it's an inconvenience; it consumes time and resources," said the Senator. But we still have segregated and unequal educational facilities and it is a tool for dealing with the problem.

Mudd said Muskie rushed off to talk to other Govs "not to twist arms" Muskie had said but to inform them of his views. Muskie aides stated that the Senator is not seeking commitments but 4 Govs have volunteered "to go anywhere and do anything" for Muskie. That's part of the plan, said Roger, deny the Senator is running but be sure to keep the momentum rolling.

MORE MUSKIE

Jesse Jackson received a standing ovation from 1,500 blacks at a Chicago Breadbasket meeting when he accused Muskie of being a "racist" and said blacks will try to thwart Muskie's efforts in light of his black-VP comment. Jackson said Muskie's comments were "honestly crazy, insane" and disqualify him from running. "Muskie has no domestic plans, no economic programs, nor has he outlined programs for bringing people together." Jackson then led the crowd in a new slogan: "Muskie smells musty."

In a story headed "Muskie may have lost the black vote," Steif of the Washington News quotes Conyers and others. Conyers called Muskie's statement "illogical" and "frankly idiotic." Gus Hawkins said it "could have [been] handled a lot better." Dellums was "surprised but not shocked." A staffer for the leadership conference on civil rights called it "a boo-boo -- I really lost something for him." Black California assemblyman Willie Brown said it "came close to a man telling you you have cancer and there is no cure."

* * * *



CITIZENS FOR THE RE-ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT



May 26, 1974

To: Hon. H. R. Haldeman
From: Lee Nunn 

For your information. Please note the fine print on the bottom of the letterhead.

Copies to: Jeb Magruder
Harry Flemming
Bob Marik

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE
Washington, D.C. 20510

May 14, 1971

Dear Friend:

I am writing to ask you for your help in an effort to defeat Richard Nixon in 1972.

I am convinced that Mr. Nixon can be defeated. I am also convinced that the effort to unseat him must begin now.

Obviously, no one can prepare to seek the nation's highest office without a great deal of work in advance.

As you can appreciate, planning for the rigors of a Presidential campaign is difficult enough. Raising sufficient money to bring that campaign to a successful conclusion is immensely more difficult.

Although it is too early to make any formal announcement of my candidacy, I must now build a top-flight campaign staff . . . a nationwide traveling schedule must be undertaken . . . an extensive organizing effort must be put into motion.

I seek your money and support for this broad program of political action. Our objective is a new administration committed to fundamental changes in our national policies.

I believe we can reverse the steady deterioration of American society, and I believe we can restore a sense of national unity and purpose to the American people.

I believe that most national problems can be solved if the President tackles them with courage and determination.

There are certain things the next President can and must do:

- - The next President must, first of all, bring our soldiers home from Vietnam, and he must embark upon a foreign policy which will avoid future Vietnams.

- - The next President must ensure a stable and prospering economy, without rampant inflation or mushrooming unemployment.

- - The next President must exercise leadership to guarantee that every American is given equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

- - The next President must reshape our national priorities so that programs of direct benefit to all the American people - - housing, education, mass transportation, environmental protection - - receive their rightful share of the Federal budget.

- - And the next President must, most importantly, begin to deal honestly with the American people once again.

That, perhaps, is the first order of business for the next President - - the restoration of public trust in the truthfulness and integrity of our Government.

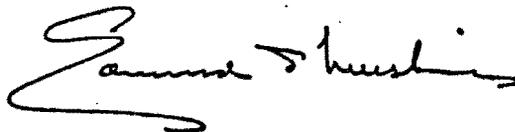
I believe - - as I am sure you do - - that we must accomplish these goals in order to set America upon the right path again.

But if we are to succeed in governing the nation, we must first succeed in winning an election.

I believe we can succeed in both endeavors if we join together now.

Will you help me?

Sincerely,

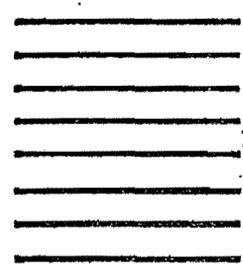
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Edmund S. Muskie". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Edmund S. Muskie

FIRST CLASS
Permit No. 39736
Washington, D.C.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
No postage stamp necessary if mailed in the United States

Postage will be paid by



People FOR Muskie

1660 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036



A1 28B1

In addition to your own contribution,
you can help Senator Muskie by listing
below the names and addresses of friends
of yours who might also wish to lend
their support:

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss

street

city state zip

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss

street

city state zip

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss

street

city state zip

Dear Senator Muskie:
YES, I want to help.

See
Reverse
Side

Enclosed is my contribution of \$5 \$10 \$15 \$50 \$100 \$.....
Please make your check payable to

People FOR Muskie
1660 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

B

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date May 25, 1971

NOTE TO: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Bill Timmons sent this letter signed by Muskie requesting funds and listing Vietnam, the economy, national priorities, and credibility as the issues.

A copy has been forwarded to Buchanan for his "watch".

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 5/25

TO: H.R. Haldeman

FROM: William E. Timmons

Please Handle _____

For Your Information

Other

?

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE
Washington, D.C. 20510

May 14, 1971

Dear Friend:

I am writing to ask you for your help in an effort to defeat Richard Nixon in 1972.

I am convinced that Mr. Nixon can be defeated. I am also convinced that the effort to unseat him must begin now.

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- - The next President must exercise leadership to guarantee that every American is given equal opportunity and equal protection under the law.

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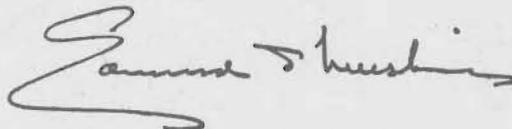
I believe - - as I am sure you do - - that we must accomplish these goals in order to set America upon the right path again.

But if we are to succeed in governing the nation, we must first succeed in winning an election.

I believe we can succeed in both endeavors if we join together now.

Will you help me?

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Edmund S. Muskie". The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with a prominent initial "E" and a long, sweeping underline.

Edmund S. Muskie

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE

TO: *ARH*
FROM: DWIGHT CHAPIN

FYI _____ PLEASE HANDLE _____

OTHER:

Fyi -

Good

Pls Return /c

*C - This info
shld go to G.S.
for political
Coordination*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date _____

TO: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM: RONALD H. WALKER

eyes only /
✓

MUSKIE News



SUITE 1004 • 1660 L STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • TELEPHONE (202) 833-3850

CONTACT: Dick Stewart
Susan Harrigan
(202) 833-3850

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

MAY SCHEDULE

APRIL 30

Evening ATLANTA, GEORGIA. L.Q.C. Lamar Society (SPEECH).

MAY 1

Morning ATLANTA, GEORGIA. Tour Lockheed Plant

Evening MACON, GEORGIA. Democratic Party reception.

MAY 2

Afternoon CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Polish National Alliance Parade.

MAY 7

Morning MIAMI, FLORIDA. International Ladies Garment Workers Union Convention (SPEECH)

MAY 8

All-Day CALIFORNIA

MAY 9

Morning LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Evening FRESNO, CALIFORNIA. Democratic Party dinner (SPEECH)

MAY 10

Morning LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. Senate Hearings on Health Problems of the Elderly.

MAY 10

Afternoon OREGON

MAY 14

noon NEW YORK CITY. American Jewish Committee convention (SPEECH)

MAY 15

All-Day MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN. Evening speech, Democratic Party dinner

MAY 16

All-Day WISCONSIN. Farm area tour. Evening speech, Congressman David Obey dinner, Stevens Point.

MAY 20

Evening NEW YORK CITY. Four Freedoms Award dinner (SPEECH)

MAY 22

Morning AUSTIN, TEXAS. Dedication Ceremony, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, University of Texas.

MAY 24

Noon DETROIT, MICHIGAN. Detroit Economic Club (SPEECH)

MAY 27

Morning NEW YORK CITY. Einstein College commencement (SPEECH).

MAY 29

Morning WASHINGTON, PENNSYLVANIA. Washington and Jefferson College commencement (SPEECH).

Evening BURLINGTON, VERMONT. Democratic Party dinner (SPEECH)

MAY 30

Morning NASHUA, NEW HAMPSHIRE. Rivier College commencement (SPEECH).

CONFIDENTIAL

April 14, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12066, Section 6-102
By NARS, Date 3-17-82

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BUCHANAN

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

Attached for your review and inclusion in the Muskie Watch project is some information received by Chapin.

CONFIDENTIAL

SENATOR MUSKIE

To Walker & Bue G
To -
HRA -
EATC

- April 6, 1971 Philadelphia
1:30 p.m. - Mike Douglass Show
7:30 p.m. Town Meeting of the Air
WFIL-TV -- sponsored by World
Affairs Council
- April 10, 1971 White House News Photo Exhibit
Washington, D.C.
- April 15, 1971 AFL-CIO State Convention - Baton Rouge
Flies to Philadelphia to address Lehigh
Valley Cooperative Farmers
- * April 16 and 17, 1971 Travels in New Hampshire "just to
say hello."
A large dinner meeting is in the works.
Tentatively scheduled to go to Maine on the
evening of April 17.
- April 20, 1971 Reception in Syracuse, N.Y.
Dinner in Rochester at Monroe County
Democratic Committee.
- April 21, 1971 DNC Convention Dinner honoring
Governors, Wash. D.C.
- April 23, 1971 Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner in
Indianapolis
- April 24, 1971 Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner in Lincoln
- April 26, 1971 Address (N.Y. City) National Magazine
Editors Award Luncheon
New York City
- * April 29, 1971 Notre Dame Dinner honoring Father
Hesburgh
- April 30, 1971 Atlanta, Georgia - Dinner LQC Lamar
Society

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

| | |
|----------------|---|
| April 5, 1971 | National Association of Counties Marriott Twin Bridges Motel |
| April 10, 1971 | Open Library of Congress Photo Exhibit |
| April 13, 1971 | New Orleans State AFL-CIO Convention At Baton Rouge |
| April 15, 1971 | Convention of Utility Workers Washington, D.C. |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 3, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHUCK COLSON

FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

Is there any way we might be able to use the attached in effectively getting at Muskie.

cc: Pat Buchanan

✓ Gordon Strachan -- Please follow up on this.

*Info to Howard
FU 4/16*

Attachment

4/19 - nothing he can do now

Edmund Muskie (D)

| | <u>Contributions</u> | <u>Expenses</u> |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Maine for Muskie | 77,148.87 | 101,015.39 |
| Citizens for Muskie | 65,077.72 | 71,080.05 |
| Maine Lawyers for Muskie | 455.-- | 451.50 |
| | <u>142,681.59</u> | <u>172,546.94</u> |

Maine for Muskie Committee

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------|----------|--------------|
| Contributions | \$77,148.87 | Expenses | \$101,015.39 |
|---------------|-------------|----------|--------------|

Union Support

| | |
|---|-------|
| Maine COPE | 5,000 |
| Machinists' Non-Partisan Political League | 500 |
| Committee for Good Government | 1,000 |
| Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers | 500 |
| Communications Workers of America (CWA-COPE) | 500 |
| Amalgamated Clothing Workers Political Education Committee - Boston | 500 |
| Laborers Political League (DC) | 1,000 |
| Transportation Political Education League, Ohio | 500 |
| International Brotherhood of Painters, et al (DC) | 200 |
| United Auto Workers COPE | 1,500 |
| Amalgamated Transit Union COPE (DC) | 150 |
| National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (DC) | 2,500 |
| Active Ballot Club (DC) | 1,000 |
| Industrial Union Department AFL-CIO | 1,000 |
| Transportation Workers of America COPE (New York) | 1,000 |

Major Contributors

| | |
|---|-------|
| J. Salzbank, Manhasset, NY | 1,000 |
| R. Picker, NYC (of United Artist Group) | 5,000 |
| A. Picker, NYC (United Artist Corp.) | 5,000 |
| F. Rohatyn, NYC (partner, Lazard, Freres & Co.) (Dir. IT&T) (Dir. Engelhard Minerals & Chemical) (Governor, NYSE) | 1,500 |
| J. Cohen, Brookline, Mass. | 1,000 |
| J. Edwards, Berryville, Va. | 3,000 |
| R. Gibbs, Boston, Mass. (Clergyman, Unitarian Church) | 1,000 |
| E. Hyman, Westport, Conn. (believe Pres. American Broadcasting - Paramount Pictures) | 1,000 |
| D. Cory, Hudson, N.H. | 1,000 |

Other groups contributing were:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Savings Association Political Education Committee (DC) | 1,000 |
| Action Committee for Rural Electrification (DC) | 1,000 |
| Bankers Political Action Committee (Mich.) | 2,500 |
| Citizens Reception Committee | 5,000 |

Interesting Expenditures

S.A. Films - Montvale, N.J.
(TV Production Cost)

10,075

Salary (Personnel)

Don Nicholl

6,750

Charles Micolean

5,100

Peter N. Kyros, Jr. (son of Maine Congressman)

2,600

John L. Martin

3,800

George Mitchell

2,500

(Interesting to note that Nicholl is A.A. One wonders if he took leave during the campaign.)

Citizens for Muskie

Contributions \$65,077.72

Expenses \$71,080.05

Union support

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers COPE (DC)

500

Transportation Political Education League (Ohio)

600

Teamsters Local #34 DRIVE Political Education Committee (S. Portland)

1,000

Fireman & Oilers (DC)

100

Portland Building Trades Council COPE

100

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America Political League

100

Engineers Political Education Committee (DC)

500

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

Vol. COPE Fund

1,000

Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (Colo.)

100

Transportation Workers Union of America Special COPE Account (NY)

200

International Typographical Union Political Committee (Colo)

200

ILGWU 1970 Campaign Fund

400

Utility Workers Union of America COPE (DC)

100

J. McNamara, Washington, D.C.

200

(a John McNamara is Sec-Treas of Fireman & Oilers Union)

Major Contributors

N. Ellis, Manchester, Conn.

1,000

(believe Pres. of Wyandotte Industries)

A. & R. Picker, NYC

1,000

(United Artist Corp.)

P. Shanedling, Beverly Hills, Calif.

1,000

Other groups

Citizens Reception Committee

295.20

Interesting Expenditures

SA Films

10,036.30

(TV Productions Cost)

John T. Martilla, the campaign consultant who engineered Rep. Robert F. Drinan's congressional victory, is now in Philadelphia working for mayoral candidate William Green, Jr.

More and more it looks like Chicago will be the site of the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

Rocky Still Seeking White House

3-17-71 *Inc. News.*
By Paul Scott

NEW YORK'S Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has begun maneuvering to win a spot on the 1972 GOP presidential ticket.

That is the private interpretation that key members of the Republican National Committee are placing on a recent Rockefeller statement that he supports the President for re-election but would become a candidate should Nixon decide not to run. When privately quizzed by a GOP committee member about the statement, aides of the New York governor reported that Rockefeller believes there is at least a 50-50 chance that the President will not seek re-election.

Should Nixon decide not to make the race, they stressed, Rockefeller wants to be in position to announce his candidacy immediately and go after the GOP presidential nomination by lining up as much of Nixon's backing as possible before other candidates could get their campaigns under way.

THE GOP COMMITTEE member also was told that Rockefeller is convinced that if the President decides to seek a second term he will probably drop Vice-President Agnew and seek out a new running-mate. The former governor of Maryland was a Rockefeller backer before switching to Nixon in 1968.

Rockefeller's influence within the Nixon inner-circle is much greater than most people realize and is constantly being increased according to GOP congressional leaders who have access to the President.

Although the New York governor initially opposed Nixon for the 1968

Republican presidential nomination, the President has gone out of his way to name Rockefeller advisers and backers to key policy-making posts within his administration.

Nixon's two most influential advisers are close personal friends and former advisers of Rockefeller. They are Henry Kissinger, the President's chief adviser on foreign policy and national security affairs, and Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, the President's top political and domestic adviser.

Up until Nixon won the GOP nomination at Miami in 1968, Kissinger served as Rockefeller's foreign policy adviser. After his nomination, Nixon met Kissinger at a Clare Booth Luce cocktail party and on advice of Rockefeller took on the Harvard professor as his number-one foreign-policy aide.

MITCHELL, BEFORE taking over direction of Nixon's presidential campaign in 1968, was one of Rockefeller's key advisers. He served as the Rockefeller financial interests' "bond attorney" for years, handling hundreds of millions of dollars.

Justice Department insiders say that Mitchell has privately urged the President to pick Rockefeller as his 1972 running-mate to help carry New York state and to groom him as the 1976 GOP nominee. Should Nixon decide not to run, Mitchell wants Rockefeller to be the 1972 candidate.

It was Mitchell who recommended to the President that he set up the "California White House." The purpose is to create the image that California is President Nixon's home political base rather than New York.

This move could be politically useful in 1972 should Rockefeller become Nixon's running mate. It would give the Republicans a coast-to-coast ticket with the candidates coming from the

two states with the largest population and most votes.

Another key Nixon adviser is John D. Rockefeller III, who heads the President's Commission on Population Growth and America's Future. The recommendations the Rockefeller Commission is preparing could easily become the major domestic issues in the 1972 campaign.

The commission's reports, the first of which will hit the headlines in the spring, are being tailored to bring about the adoption of a national policy of zero population growth. The impact of such a policy on the life styles of the nation will be tremendous.

White House insiders now refer to the commission's work as preparing the way for the "Rockefeller man." Some staff members claim the commission's recommendations will be the center plank in the Republican party's 1972 platform.

ANOTHER FORMER Rockefeller backer, Jerris Leonard, has just been given the job of directing the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the agency with the fastest growing budget in government today. The appointment puts Leonard in a position where he will be handing out hundreds of millions of dollars to state, city, and local governments to improve law enforcement and justice.

A long-time Rockefeller supporter from Wisconsin, Leonard was brought into the Nixon administration by Mitchell to head the Justice Department's civil rights division. Friends of Leonard say he is still a strong Rockefeller booster and favors a Nixon-Rockefeller ticket. His contacts with state and local officials through his new position puts him in a key position to help Rockefeller throughout the country in 1972.

News-Intelligence Staff

April 13, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN

Chapin forwarded the attached memorandum.

After your review, Buchanan should probably receive it as part of the Muskie Watch project.

*Redrafted
for H to Bue*

MEMORANDUM

~~F41~~
~~Chapin~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 9, 1971

4:00 p.m.

~~Confidential~~

TO: RONALD H. WALKER *ul*
FROM: W. DEWEY CLOWER *DL*
RE: MUSKIE

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE
E.O. 12065, Sect
By *EP* NARS, Date *3-17-82*

The following was overheard while having breakfast at Colony 7 Restaurant, Fort Meade, Maryland April 9th by a close reliable friend. The conversation was between three men, one of whom apparently works for Muskie, the second is Mr. Hoffberger, Chairman of the Board, Baltimore Orioles, and President of Natural *Natural* Brewery Company of Baltimore, and the third, unidentified.

The Muskie spokesman was discussing strategy and their plans. He stated Muskie plans to run in all primaries not to just win the nomination (which he stated they had locked up now) but to show his strength across the nation. He stated they need \$1.5 million to operate before entering any primaries. Also he broke out the budget for individual states but the only understood figures were \$4.5 million for California and \$1.5 million for Ohio.

Mr. Hoffberger stated he would help if Muskie assured him he would maintain his position on Israel (whatever that is). After assurance by the spokesman that Muskie would not change but would do as they had agreed at an earlier meeting, Mr. Hoffberg said he would donate \$800,000, and would deliver it within one week.

Other observations were:

- Muskie will not announce in near future.
- Muskie satisfied with his standing in polls.
- Would not like to be higher at this time so long before primaries. Too hard to stay at high level.
- Muskie people do not trust H. H. H. who reportedly has promised to "deal" with Muskie.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4/12

TO: Chapin

FROM: Ronald H. Walker

FYI X ACTION _____

Confidential

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE 4/13/71

TO: Gordon
FROM: DWIGHT CHAPIN

FYI _____ PLEASE HANDLE _____

OTHER:

H- has not seen -
I don't know what you
do with this. -
why don't we back
it to Evans & W
or someone. -/c

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 14, 1971

5:20 p. m.

TO: DWIGHT L. CHAPIN

FROM: RON WALKER

✓
JK
To Gould
1-71
C

The following message was received by telephone from Bill Henkel this afternoon.

Bill received his information by calling the Democratic Central Committee of New Hampshire.

The following individuals were identified as members of Senator Muskie's advance staff:

- Paul Scheehan
- Hal Pachious (Supposedly from Maine)
- Lonnie Davis (Muskie's Student Coordinator)
- Kevin Cornell

Arriving this evening are:

- George Mitchell
- Mike Casey

They are all staying at the Carpenter in Manchester (603/625-5422).

This is the tentative schedule Friday, April 16, 1971:

- 9:30am Press Conference.
- (Approx) 11:00am Address Students @ Assembly, Central High School, Manchester, New Hampshire.
- 12:00noon Private Luncheon.
- Afternoon Private Meetings.
- Television Taping Session-WMUR, Manchester.
- Evening Public Seminar, Assembly Hall of Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire. (Expected to be well-attended).

Date: 4/16/71

To: AS

From: L. Higby

Rather than putting
them in one at a time
let's get the whole plan
for the "Watch" developed
and do them in a coordinated
way. — L.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP NARS, Date 3-17-82

April 15, 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

FROM: GORDON STRACHAN **G**

Magruder suggests that we assign an investigating reporter to do in-depth background research on Kennedy. It is Magruder's view that very damaging, and later very useful, information could be developed in this manner.

He suggests that we have the activity set up through Nofziger.

An alternative would be to have Chapin arrange it through Victor Lasky.

In light of the obvious requirements for confidentiality, I recommend that we follow the Nofziger route.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____ Comment _____

To: Larry Higby
From: Mart Allin

FYI

To Gordon

REMARKS OF SENATOR MUSKIE
ON THE
CBS MORNING NEWS

JANUARY 29, 1971

Q - - - do you feel it will be increasingly widening and become increasingly more aggressive in the coming months?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I expect so. This is the kind of organizational challenge that one rarely faces until it comes. And so we are all grappling with new challenges and new ways of doing things. And I think we are improving.

Q Senator, I wonder if I may just confess about a bit of puzzlement I have. You have done everything but announce your candidacy. You have got your organization, you are raising funds, you are making speeches certainly as though you are a candidate.

What inhibits you from making that formal proclamation?

SENATOR MUSKIE: There is a great deal of work to be done before that formal proclamation, because once that formal proclamation comes along the whole character of the effort and the operation changes. And we are involved in that preparatory work which involves the staff work to which you have referred, a political organization which really we are just about beginning to do and other things.

And in addition I have the responsibility of being a Senator.

Q Senator Muskie, do you think that when delegates, for example, in California listen to you or people read about you in the newspapers or see you on television that they are making the fine distinction that you are?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I don't know. But I know this: Two years is too long to campaign for any office.

MORE

Q Do you think there is any possibility that, as there has been some speculation, one reason you are holding back from formally throwing the hat in to the ring is that by doing that you would become in a more dangerously exposed position?

Perhaps they question could be put this way: Do you think it is dangerous to be so far ahead, to be that much of a frontrunner so early in the race?

SENATOR MUSKIE: If there is, there isn't much I can do about it. For example, much of the recent momentum is attributable to the election eve speech. I wouldn't really undo that because of the political impact of it.

So you can't do much about it. But the precedents are with me that this is too early to announce. For instance, from '52 to '56, Adlai Stevenson was generally considered to be the frontrunner for '56, but he didn't announce until '56, not four years in advance.

Q Senator, what role do you see yourself in as the unannounced candidate?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I am sure the pressures in their right require that I be increasingly visible on issues. I think there are those who may think that in an organizational sense I may have some responsibility to try to lead the party. This I don't think makes sense, because I have no formal position.

Even if I were to announce, I would have no formal position. If I did, I would be challenged by five, six or seven others.

So that there is no office of frontrunner or backrunner, for that matter. But, nevertheless, there is the expectation that those who seek this office -- and that includes not only myself, if and when I should announce, but others -- have responsibility for undertaking to lead the party in terms of building up organization interest, enthusiasm, issues, positions and so on that can mobilize the party.

MORE

Q Senator, I wonder if we can talk about your visibility on one of those issues. In 1968, as a Vice Presidential candidate, you supported an administration's war policy at a time when the war was escalating.

Now you are critical of it at a time when it is not escalating, in fact going the other direction.

This seems to be certainly a reversal on your part. How do you account for that?

SENATOR MUSKIE: Number one, as I recall it, in '68 I expressed reservations about our bombing policy in the north and not only after the convention, but before. I did not do it from the same vantage point or platform that I speak out on this or other issues today for obvious reasons.

I was not being mentioned for the Presidency in 1968. So what I had to say then was less visible and presumably had less effect.

With respect to our present situation, I have indicated that I applaud the fact that the President is winding down the war, that he is withdrawing troops. I simply have questions as to whether or not the ultimate result will be complete withdrawal and when.

I have responsibility to raise those questions if I have them. I have undertaken to do so constructively and responsibly. That is my responsibility.

Q Senator, I wonder if I can put this question to you simply and bluntly. What change would you represent, and for that matter, what change does the Democratic Party offer to the American voters?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I suspect that the change all of us would argue we would represent is a shift, a real shift in priorities and a real commitment to dealing with our domestic problems here at home.

I think that our country is in a position of ferment with respect to our relationships to each other here at home and our role in the world and in the next two years increasingly I think the issues in these

MORE

pects will sharpen as between the candidates for the democratic nomination as between the candidates and the president.

For example, in the last two sessions in the Congress, there has been long and, as you recall, vigorous debates over defense policy. Just how much of our natural resources should we be committing to this? Should we be more selective and more restrained in spending for defense in order to divert more of our resources to domestic purposes?

This debate is taking place in the Senate. And it is taking issue with the President's position and it has had an effect upon the President's policies themselves.

Q I ask that question because, for example, on the problem of seniority, there wasn't really any fundamental change taken by the Democrats with the new Congress. On the problem of the leadership in the House, those who are regarded as the establishment figures succeeded to their new positions.

The question of the Party Whip, a conservative, Senator Byrd, defeated a liberal, Senator Kennedy.

Doesn't that seem to add to the confusion, to the great fundamental blur that many people in the electorate feel about the two parties?

SENATOR MUSKIE: It has always been true, of course, that our parties are not as ideologically oriented as, say, the British parties, a different kind of party structure.

We don't have monolythic, philosophical positions for either party and we don't have party discipline.

So that what is done organizationally in the Congress has no relevance necessarily to the ideological orientation of the grassroots of our people at any given time. Seniority is not regarded as that kind of an issue in the Congress.

Whether or not someone is to be Whip is a question that is not decided along ideological grounds.

MORE

Q Senator, in your attempt to apparently hold on to that center vote, there has been some criticism developed that goes under the headline of "Muskie is playing it safe" and "Muskie is much too cautious." You have been identified as a leader, for example, on environmental issues, but not necessarily on such things as civil rights and Vietnam.

Do you see yourself because of your now exposed position moving to a much more partisan stance and do you agree with that characterization and that criticism that "Muskie is playing it safe"?

SENATOR MUSKIE: No, I don't agree with that. This hasn't been my political posture all of my life, but I understand that to disagree with it requires proving the negative, which is always difficult.

Let me make these two points in response to what you have said:

First of all, it is perfectly true that as a Senator without a national leadership responsibility for 10 or 11 years of my Senate life, my work has been confined to that of my committees largely. That is the way the Senate operates.

Now, in my present position, I have responsibility and an inclination and a desire to reach out more broadly across the range of issues and I intend to do that.

I have tried to do that increasingly over the last two years and if one follows what I have had to say in hundreds and even thousands of speeches across the country in the last two years, I think the record will disclose that I have spoken out across a wide range of issues.

But I can't in answer to a specific question at any given time resurrect all of those and prove the negative.

MORE

Q Senator, we have some more specific questions that we are going to ask you in a couple of minutes. But we will pause now.

(Intermission)

Q As you move toward increasing visibility in your campaign to become a candidate, as you have suggested, you become more exposed, of course, on various issues. People study you more and I am thinking particularly of the story that the Associated Press came out with a couple of weeks ago and a contribution from the Warrens Political Action Committee of \$2500 to your campaign at a time when you were a member of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Is this nit-picking or is there a conflict of interest there?

SENATOR MUSKIE: May I say, first of all, that I was not aware of that contribution. If I had been, I would have refused it not because of any hard judgment as to an actual conflict of interest, but because of the appearance of it.

Unfortunately, one of the difficulties of being in this position is that there is such an overwhelming amount of detail in connection with fund raising and so on that a lot of it doesn't actually come to my personal attention. This is one of those things.

Q There is an overwhelming amount of money that you will need, too, isn't there? How much will you need, say, to the end of this year to keep going?

SENATOR MUSKIE: We don't have any hard figures. I would say that we would need a minimum of half a million dollars and it will go I think substantially above that. But we don't have any hard figures at this point. We are developing organization as we come to grips with our needs and the pressures of the overwhelming demands that flow in upon us.

Q Who are the interested investors in your campaign, Senator, people who now no longer have, say, Robert Kennedy or Senator McCarthy to contribute to or other sources?

MORE

SENATOR MUSKIE: I really have no way of characterizing them. They come from all sections of the country and various sectors of the economy. I would really have no way of characterizing them politically or in any other way.

It is always a surprise and a very welcome surprise, I might say, when people are willing to come forward and to contribute the kind of money that they often do.

In so many, many cases there is absolutely no visible reason why they should, except that they are interested.

Q Are they Republicans?

SENATOR MUSKIE: There are Republicans. There are at least people who describe themselves as such, and I assume that they would be telling the truth.

Q Senator, I was going to ask you about a magazine report that President Nixon has described you, Senator Muskie, as the George Romney of the Democratic Party. Your view, please?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I suspect that neither George Romney nor I would agree that that is accurate, in any sense that that reflects our personalities or background. I don't know when the President said that or what he meant by it. But in any case, this is Ed Muskie, not George Romney.

Q That same report said that the President thought that Senator Kennedy might be his opponent in '72.

SENATOR MUSKIE: Well, I think you have to ask Senator Kennedy about that question.

Q Senator, yesterday you listened to Secretary of State Rogers defend the Administration's position on Cambodia. What is your reaction to that and do you foresee the possibility of Congress trying to introduce any restrictive legislation?

SENATOR MUSKIE: I would expect that latter would take place. As a matter of fact, Senator McCovern

MORE

and Senator Hatfield have already introduced a version of their amendment of last year.

I listened to Secretary Roger's briefing yesterday. He undertook to reassure the Foreign Relations Committee as to the relatively minor nature, as I think he would describe it, of the incident on Highway 4, which involved the use of airpower beyond the limitations that we understood to be Administration policy before that incident.

The Cooper-Church Amendment, which the Congress adopted last year did not proscribe the use of air power. But we understood, I think clearly, that the Administration's policy was to limit that use to the interdiction of supplies moving from Cambodia into South Vietnam.

Q Senator, we are going to have to wrap it up now. Just one quick question and I hope for a one-word answer.

Is it conceivable that you would not become a candidate?

SENATOR MUSKIE: Anything is conceivable.

Q Thank you very much, Senator Muskie, and Bernie.

END

2/18/71

have much chance.

TATE TRIAL

NBC had a lengthy report on the release of the jury. They will be allowed to commute to the courtroom during the final stages of the penalty case. Footage of some jurors expressing very critical views of the lengthy time they have been locked up. They hope that this test of letting them out will help move the system away from the practice.

McGOVERN

On the David Frost Show, Sen. McGovern was on for most of the show explaining his candidacy and his policies -- with his usual emphasis on VN. He repeated his intention to run a "listening" campaign, which is why he announced so early. Reflecting on the worst advice he had ever been given, McGovern said he voted against repeal of the right-to-work law on staff advice -- and later regretted it.

McGovern feels his top contenders will be Muskie, Hughes and Bayh, though he doesn't rule out EMK, HHH or McCarthy.

The VN war, says McGovern "was the worst mistake in the history of the US." He said he would trust NVN to help us get out if we announced a withdrawal date. After we pulled out Saigon would either embrace wider elements of the political spectrum or would make some sort of deal with the enemy -- the most likely course, said McGovern. If there was a communist government it wouldn't probably be a puppet controlled by either Russia or Peking, rather it would be "like Romania or Czechoslovakia."(!)

Anyway we will have left a million-man army, so SVN is not entirely defenseless.

Referring to RN's policy McGovern said it was to reduce troops but accelerate the air war. To McGovern, "if the war is wrong, and it is wrong for us to try to settle it, then it is wrong for us to bomb" the people -- there is no distinction between being killed by a rifle bullet and a bomb -- "it is no less immoral." However George was firm on the necessity to stop Hitlers "at any cost." In response to an audience member pointing out that NVN was doing the same thing as did Nazi Germany, McGovern disputed the statement by saying we are defending a gov't as "un-American" and repressive as the forces arrayed against it.

McGovern suggests gearing down the space program; "as long as one person goes hungry we shouldn't have unlimited activities" in space. He also opposed legalizing marijuana until we knew more but did say penalties should be reduced.

Red China should be recognized and trade relations begun -- China will be less hostile if this is done, believes McGovern. In response to a fellow concerned over the "yellow peril" McGovern mentioned the potential of great new markets.

As for the primaries George doesn't figure to do well in N. Hampshire -- "it's Muskie country" but he does expect to do better in Wisc., Oregon, Nebraska and Calif. (It should be noted that McGovern was less wooden

than usual, and seemed to handle himself fairly well in response to audience questions -- particularly those from hardliners.)

HUGHES

Sen. Harold Hughes, interviewed on Elizabeth Drew's NET show, made a very non-newsworthy, low-key, but still quite impressive presentation. He spoke at great length about reform of the system -- redirecting our resources to solving the nation's domestic problems and allowing all citizens to participate in the working of government.

Hughes stated that we must encourage (or teach) the public to use the free enterprise system to combat the free enterprise system. He suggests that the public invest heavily in those industries which do the "right" things in protecting the environment and refuse to invest in those which do not.

Hughes stated that when he came to Washington he did not entertain the idea of being a potential presidential contender, particularly because of his personal handicap, i. e., : drinking, (which he discussed at some length), his lack of seniority in the Senate and his lack of name recognition outside of Iowa. But when he was pressured by his supporters to move to fill the leadership void in his party he gave them permission to study the possible potential of his candidacy. Such a study is now underway -- he is flattered by the attention.

Hughes also spent a great deal of time discussing the frustrations of the legislative system; he is not a compromiser by nature, he said, and therefore finds Hill life very difficult at times.

The Senator supports a public works program as a new approach to solving our unprecedented simultaneous runaway inflation and unemployment. He said that we must train and educate the unemployed and we must provide them, not with make-work, but work that will aid the nation.

Discussing the military budget, Hughes said that advocates of defense spending cuts are wrongly accused of wanting to weaken the defense structure; not true, defense is necessary. But the critics oppose the continued R and D of new weapons systems like ABM which will either never be used or would be too late to protect us. Hughes also suggested that by spending so much on weapons we neglect the fact that it is social problems which must be solved if nations are to co-exist harmoniously. He feels Communism will be defeated when we show that our system is better and that our people can live together better and more equitably.

Hughes also pointed out that he favors an announced withdrawal date from VN at which point he believes repatriation of POWs will begin.

Hughes concluded by stating that the nation needs a leader in '72 who can express the hopes and opinions of the people, one who can get the people to believe in their own ability to contribute to the nation's greatness.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



April 26, 1971

ADDITIONAL COPIES TO BE
E.O. 12958, SECTION 1.4
By EL Date 3-22-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN *KK*
VIA: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN
SUBJECT: MUSKIE'S TRIP ABROAD -- P1317H

As you know, we have been quite active with the Muskie record lately. As for his trip abroad, we were quite successful in having several columnists take Muskie apart for interfering with U. S. foreign policy in his meetings with Kosygin.

MONDAY also included this in one of their rebukes of Muskie, and this theme, along with others, received extensive coverage by the media. Please note the Wall Street Journal's front page article of April 23rd which gives prominent attention to MONDAY's success in chipping away at the Muskie record.

Also with regard to Muskie, we managed to have the devastating article by Godfrey Sperling of the Christian Science Monitor distributed to prominent Democrats ("Would you want his finger on the button?").

Finally, it should be noted that Senator Muskie is becoming the increasing subject of analytical articles which not only question his credentials, but also assay his staying power and temper. This will continue in the future.

cc: Pat Buchanan

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

January 20, 1971

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
E.O. 12065, Section 6-102
By EP Date 3-12-82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BUCHANAN
FROM: H. R. HALDEMAN

One very effective line that could be developed now is sharp criticism of Muskie for his irresponsible conduct while traveling abroad and criticizing American foreign policy. Comparison could be made -- which you would be completely attuned to because of your travel with the President during his trips in 1967 -- with his conduct during the eight years he was out of office and traveled to sixty countries. During that entire period, he never criticized policies of the U. S. government while abroad. In fact, he refused to answer such questions at press conferences and only used such conferences for defending those aspects of the policies with which he agreed. Any criticism of policies was delayed until his return to the United States.

A related point that you might be able to develop is that Richard Nixon, in the period between 1966 and 1968, particularly when he made his four trips abroad in the six months after the 1966 elections, did it all with a minimal staff whereas it will be noted that all the Democratic aspirants have large staffs -- including Muskie's thirty-five, as an example.

Please give this some thought, get with any others who might have an idea on it and see how they think it might be used - if they think it is appropriate.

cc: Mr. Magruder

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Muskie
FILE

January 27, 1971

MEMO TO: Mr. Monson
FROM : Mr. McDowell
RE : SENATOR MUSKIE'S SPEECH

After again watching Senator Muskie in action (I saw him here a couple of years ago) I would say that he bears watching as a potentially difficult opponent.

He has a manner, calm and friendly, which inspires confidence. He also seems to present a reasoned, well-balanced approach. I would say that President Nixon must be very careful not to get too shrill, or argumentative, or too partisan against Muskie.

On the other hand, with his rather low-key approach to the entire situation, perhaps Senator Muskie may not have enough drive, verve, energy or charisma to arouse the public into voting against Mr. Nixon.

It certainly appears that Senator Muskie made much "political hay" during his trip here. I am attaching a clipping showing his trip to the zoo and will relay other items as they appear. A chartered bus was on hand in San Mateo to accommodate the Muskie Party and the press, so possibly we will see some City coverage on that event, too.

#####

SPEECH OF SENATOR MUSKIE
CALIFORNIA COUNCIL for HEALTH PLAN ALTERNATIVES

The Council, which held a "Conference on Health Issues" at the Villa Hotel in San Mateo, California, has the following officers: Chairman: Einar O. Mohn, Western Conf. of Teamsters, Burlingame; Vice-Chairman: Sigmund Arywitz, L.A. County Fed. of Labor, AFL-CIO, Los Angeles; Sec-Treasurer: Lou Goldblatt, Int'l Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, San Francisco.

All of which should clearly indicate why Senator Muskie stayed over the weekend (after appearing at the State Demo. convention in Sacramento) to appear before this group. At the evening banquet on Tuesday, Jan. 26, about 550 persons were jammed into the room. All seemed to be well-dressed typical old-time labor types. No (~~one~~ or at least extremely few) wild, young radical types were present.

Einar Mohn acted as Master of Ceremonies, and introduced the Head Table which consisted of ~~representatives~~ a representative from: The Calif. Federation of Labor, The Communication Workers of America, The Building Trades of LA, The IATSE, The California Candy Council, The Machinists, The Teamsters of LA, The LA Labor Council, The State Carpenters, The Retail Clerks, The ILWU.

Tony Ramos of the Carpenters gave the introduction to Senator Muskie, as follows: Senator, we are gathered here from the AFL, CIO and Independent Groups and joined in a united effort to improve the health care of our membership. We understand you have an interest in the same idea. The U.S. should not be 13th or 14th in health care or infant mortality, but should be first. We hope you will join in. We welcome you here and ask for your ideas on this most important subject. (Standing Ovation)

SENATOR MUSKIE SAID, IN SUBSTANCE:

Thanks for your cordial introduction and invitation. I am delighted to be here. After one month of traveling, and crossing 11 time zones, I didn't need another speech. But your invitation was irresistible because it concerns one of the prime domestic issues of our country. From long association with Labor, I know how effective you can be in your political activity or working for collective bargaining or for the public interest in a wide range of problems.

I am reminded of the story about the Businessman whose daughter pleaded with him to buy her a horse. So he did and went to nearby farmers for boarding arrangements. The first farmer said: \$25 per month plus all the manure. This seemed a bit steep, so he went to the second farmer who said: \$15 per month plus all the manure. So he went to the third farmer who said: \$5 per month. When the businessman asked "How come you don't want the manure?" the farmer replied: "You must understand that, for \$5 per month, there won't be any manure."

(General laughter from the audience. Muskie said: My staff will say I shouldn't have used this story. But I told it when I first ran for the Legislature. So if it was good enough then, it's good enough now! More laughter & general applause.)

I would like to compliment Labor for getting involved in the subject of health care. I know of efforts to protect your interest at the collective bargaining table. But your effort here today is to enter the public interest area---to make it possible to deliver health care to all Americans.

(Continued)

This is in the long-standing tradition of Labor---to get involved in public interest questions. President Kennedy said: "The strength of Democracy is no greater, in the final analysis, than the well-being of its citizens."

In 1968 alone, 75,000 infant children died in the United States. And poor children are twice as likely to die as the others. Overall, the U.S. rate is worse than in 12 other nations. These facts are a disgrace, and reason enough to re-examine our health care systems. They reflect deficiencies throughout the entire system, affecting all groups.

Americans are finding good health care hard to come by and difficult to afford. We understand that this health care involves proper nutrition, adequate housing, decent jobs and a wholesome natural and social environment.

QUALITY MEDICAL CARE SHOULD BE A RIGHT TO WHICH ALL AMERICANS ARE ENTITLED, NOT A PRIVILEGE FOR ONLY THOSE WHO CAN PAY THE PRICE (Ed. Note: Emphasis ours) There is no excuse not to search every avenue. It is our great Domestic challenge this year.

Is it wise to do this in 1970? President Truman understood it. He favored a National Health Insurance Plan 25 years ago. Walter Reuther formed a Committee of 100 to seek health care benefits for all Americans. Last session I co-sponsored the Health Security Act---which was a product of Reuther's Committee and co-sponsored by Senator Kennedy. I hope it will finally lead to an effective program of National Health Insurance. (Ed. Note: Emphasis ours)

But, if enacted, it will not solve all problems. However, it will identify a high national priority. No American should have to choose between physical health and economic privation. So legislation is the vehicle for meeting that priority.

You folks in Labor have fought for improvements, but are finding you are ending up with costly premiums for inadequate coverage. For instance, a key area of medical care is unprovided for most everywhere, namely: office visits to family doctors. And yet this is a vital part of preventive medicine.

Existing health care has emphasized payment of hospital care. This has contributed to more use so it is self-defeating. As a result, we must draft/debate/enact a program of National Health Insurance.

But, if we do so, it will increase the pressure on existing facilities, personnel and supplies. If we only are considering higher cost, National Health Insurance will make it easier to afford better care. In itself, this is important, but if we stop there, it will only push our present system to the point of total collapse. (Ed. Note: Emphasis ours)

Medicare and Medicaid has failed to stimulate the efficient use of our medical system. They have already threatened both State and Federal budgets. So financing, only, cannot do the job. Unless we have a broad understanding of the problem, finding means of paying for medical care may complicate, rather than solve, that problem.

We really need a concerted effort to expand the supply of medical manpower and the benefits of medical research to every American. If not with the cooperation of the medical profession, then there will be a growing demand for the Government to deliver. And the momentum ~~that~~ from that direction is greater than we think.

So the medical profession must provide faster entry to the health field---encourage more general practitioners---lead in the development of new careers---it must adopt new procedures and keep costs reasonable. I say this as a ~~worded~~ word of warning to the medical profession....It must play an active role.

(Continued)

It would be heartening if we could point to progress by the Federal Government, but we cannot. Research funds are being cut. Student loans are cut by 60%. We have presidential vetoes of Family Medical Care. A negative attitude now exists at the highest level at a time when we need someone to assert leadership. (Ed. Note: Emphasis ours)

So what should we do?

- (1) We need to keep medical schools from closing their doors. No student should be unable to attend for lack of finances.
- (2) We should expand our supply of Nurse Practitioners and Doctor's Assistant. Also, we should encourage Medical Corps Men who are coming out of the Armed Forces, to take these types of jobs. Only about a fraction do ~~so~~ not. If any change is needed in State licensing laws to accomplish the above, we need the medical profession in the forefront of those seeking change.
- (3) We need innovative ways of delivering health care into rural communities and urban ghettos.

The 91st Congress passed a bill, but we still need funding in this area, to establish Neighborhood Health Centers and Community Health Centers. We need a Full National Health Service Corps, to enlist those Americans dedicated to the cause of a healthy Society.

In the U.S. there is a challenge to the whole concept of medicine. Doctors fail to see that, with all the medical advance we are doing, it is still less than the U.S. is entitled to expect from the most affluent medicine in the world.

You folks of Labor are right to choose this subject. It is a good cause if you can bring meaning to the lives of the least of our American citizens. For nothing offers greater happiness than good health, or greater devastation if illness strikes. No single event can so change the lives of any U.S. family than the impact of that kind of disaster, which comes in two dimensions: (1) the high cost of care (2) the unavailability of care.

IT IS A DISGRACE THAT, IN A COUNTRY OF OUR RESOURCES, WE HAVEN'T FOUND A BETTER WAY TO DO THE JOB THAN THIS! (Ed Note: This was about the most emphatic statement Muskie made, and the only one followed by audience applause).

I welcome your entry into this field. I applaud it. I offer my assistance. Let us win the first battles in the first session of the new Congress. We should let the people know that we are working, at long last, on what Truman said 25 years ago: "to bring quality care within reach of all Americans, whoever they may be."

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At the conclusion of Senator Muskie's 45-minute talk, Einar Mohn returned to the podium and said: Senator, many units of Labor are here tonight. We are united in working for better health care. Nobody is going to bust us up! (Audience applause)

We in the Labor movement know we should work for more than wages, contracts and increases. We have to accept the leadership to enlighten our communities. What good is it for our members to come ~~away~~ out of meetings with better contracts only to return to lousy housing and prejudices.

We will work for the crippled kids who, when they are removed from the state budget, have no one to cry out for them (Applause from audience). The poor? Everyone is called that in a political year, but we are the ones who work to assist them.

So, Senator, you have addressed an organization which can go out and do something about it. We haven't gone out onto the streets to cry "Burn, Baby, Burn" and we don't intend to do it. We don't intend to "Burn", as far as the street is concerned, but we do intend to apply the heat to all the politicians.

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CHRONICLE
JAN. 27



SEN. EDMUND MUSKIE VISITED ZOO CLEANING STATION
He held an oily but live Western Grebe, then cleaned his hands.

Many Cleaned Birds Already Are Dead

An estimated 3000 oil-soaked birds were rescued for emergency treatment in the first week following San Francisco's big oil spill, rescue co-ordinators estimated yesterday.

Of these, something fewer than 1900 still survived last night in the various emergency bird-care centers.

And, based on similar experiences at Santa Barbara and elsewhere, bird experts warned the survival rate will plummet sharply in the next week or two.

A spokesman for the State Department of Fish and Game, which has been attempting to co-ordinate wildlife rescue-and-treatment efforts since the tanker collision which caused the big spill, said the survival rate at Santa Barbara was estimated at 3 to 5 per cent.

Experts agreed that the science of cleaning and reha-

bilitating oil-drenched birds hasn't advanced much since the Santa Barbara disaster — which occurred two years ago tomorrow.

A spokesman for the rescue effort said more than half the rescued birds (53 per cent) were Western Grebes. Others included the White-winged Scoter (11 per cent), Horned Grebe (3 per cent), Arctic Loon (2 per cent) and (1 per cent each) the Red-throated Loon and the Common Loon.

Most of the birds were being sent to the treatment facility established at the San Francisco Zoo. Zoo Director Ronald Reuther reported about 1700 birds had been received there for treatment, and about 900 had died as of yesterday.

The next-biggest center was at the old University of California Service Center on

south 10th street in Richmond, where a spokesman said about 900 birds had been received, and "a good 500" were still alive.

Meanwhile, Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, surrounded by about 50 newsmen, aides and spectators paid a 30-minute visit to the cleaning station at the zoo.

The Democratic Presidential aspirant, one of the first sponsors of environmental legislation in Congress said the Golden Gate spill was part of "a pattern of continuing disastrous accidents in connection with oil."

"Somehow we have failed to develop the technology and procedures to deal with this hazardous substance."

Muskie, concluding a five-day visit to Northern California, said the transportation of oil should be covered by the same legislative precautions now applied to explosives.

Coming Back

California Trip Pleases Muskie

By Sydney Kossen
Political Editor

Seated in a hotel room in his stocking feet, Sen. Edmund Muskie looked back with satisfaction on the five days he has just spent in California, the state that will send the largest delegation to the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

The lanky, 56 year old Maine lawmaker made it clear last night, however, that he expects to make one or more return forays before officially declaring his candidacy for president.

After the interview, Muskie went downstairs in the San Mateo Villa Hotel to address 500 union leaders at a dinner meeting of the California Council for Health Plan Alternatives.

Health Insurance

They applauded his promise to again co-sponsor national health insurance legislation. This would involve "reshaping and revitalizing our entire health care system," he said, because Medicare and Medicaid have failed on several counts and have "threatened the federal and state budgets with spiraling costs."

Today Muskie flies back to Washington where he and Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) will work on the final draft of their National Health Insurance plan.

Muskie, front-running Democratic White House contender, leaned back and smiled when asked he had "sewed up" California for next year.

'Hardly'

"I could hardly sew it up when I haven't announced my candidacy," the Senator said. "I came here to win friends and influence people and I think I have made progress from that standpoint."

Yes, he had talked with business executives. "many of them Republicans who are concerned about the economy . . . They included potential supporters and actual contributors. And there were educators concerned about the adequacy of aid to public education."

Muskie stressed that "most

people are keeping their options open" on a presidential choice "as long as they can but there's a feeling of real expectation about 1972 -- a feeling that Nixon is beat-able."

Meets Alioto

The Senator lunched earlier yesterday with Mayor Alioto, Muskie's rival for the vice presidential nomination in 1968 at Chicago where Alioto nominated Hubert Humphrey for President.

From Nob Hill, Muskie motored to the San Francisco Zoo where he visited an emergency treatment and recovery center for sea birds salvaged from the huge Golden Gate oil spill. Muskie, a long and consistent sponsor of environmental legislation, was photographed holding an oil stained Western Grebe.

Asked if it's fair to make a political issue of the bird rescue operation, Muskie replied: "This is a political issue because it is a tragedy resulting from man's activities, and man's activities are political."

He shared Alioto's suggestions that the same strict restrictions covering the transportation of explosives should apply to shipment of oil.

Accompanied by an unofficial campaign staff and more than a dozen newsmen, Muskie flew into San Francisco from Los Angeles where the highlight was a luncheon for the senator attended by more than 1800 women.

The event and two dinners with wealthy Southern California Democrats had been arranged by Sherril Corwin, theater magnate and one of Muskie's first backers. Corwin also attended a weekend Democratic State Convention in Sacramento where delegates also heard speeches by two of Muskie's rivals, Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana and George McGovern of South Dakota.

Asked if McGovern's early declaration of candidacy might compel him to change the issues, Muskie replied, "I suppose George will try."

Inside Report

Question Marks on Muskie

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

SACRAMENTO — Both the breakneck speed of Sen. Edmund S. Muskie's presidential bandwagon and its potential vulnerability were displayed here last Saturday night when he dined privately for over three hours with eight state Democratic legislative leaders.

To a man, the legislators viewed Muskie as the overwhelming favorite to win the 1972 California Presidential Primary and go on to be nominated and elected.

TABLE TALK in a private dining room of Sacramento's fashionable Firehouse Restaurant was warm and non-controversial. In later private chats with Muskie, some legislators signalled a desire to back him at the proper time. Muskie and his aides were delighted.

But their delight should have limits. The exuberant young California leaders scarcely knew Muskie before Saturday's dinner and felt little better acquainted with him after three hours.

The distinction has political significance that applies generally through the nation's most populous state. Visiting the State Democratic Central Committee's convention here, Muskie was riding a bandwagon moving much faster than is generally understood back in Washington. If the polls fail Muskie, he has neither alliances nor ideology to fall back on in California.

Whatever the future, Muskie's present overwhelming superiority in the polls, cou-

pled with his presidential aura, made him the clear winner in last weekend's preliminary skirmishing — a pleasure not shared by Muskie's two rivals attending the convention, Sens. George McGovern of South Dakota and Birch Bayh of Indiana.

Secretary of State Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, 32-year-old son of the former governor and hoping to run for governor himself in 1974, all but committed himself in a private conversation with Muskie. In another huddle with the senator, assembly majority leader Walter Karabian, 32, a key figure in the clique of rising new legislative leaders (generally opposed to young Brown's ambitions), implied he is on Muskie's side.

Not fully realized until now by the Muskie camp, Bayh over the past two years quietly built up a California network of allies — particularly by tireless campaigning in the successful drive for a Democratic state legislature.

While Muskie was quibbling with his speechwriters last Saturday over how to describe Mr. Nixon's disregard of Senate wishes on Cambodia, McGovern delighted the Californians by broadly accusing the President of flatly violating the Cooper-Church amendment.

ON THE PERSONAL side, Muskie's biggest problem may be Assembly Speaker Robert Moretti, 34, a rising power in the state and a warm comrade of Bayh. Accordingly, Moretti has requested fellow assemblymen to delay any endorsement of Muskie.

UC Aide Sees Medical Plan By '72

By Ernest Rapley
Labor Writer

Congress will adopt a proposal for national health insurance "not long after 1972," Dr. Philip Lee, chancellor of the University of California Medical School here, believes.

He gave this opinion at the opening luncheon yesterday of a California Council for Health Plan Alternatives' two-day conference at the Villa Hotel in San Mateo.

The council, supported by all sections of organized labor in the state concerned with medical care and soaring costs, is opening a campaign in support of a bill by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) to provide

cradle-to-the grave national health insurance for everybody.

The nearly 500 delegates at the conference today were discussing national health insurance proposals.

The council described Senator Kennedy's bill as "essentially a blending" of bills introduced previously by him and Rep. Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.) and proposals of the Social Security Department of the AFL-CIO.

Government insurance would pay more than half of the health expenses of the nation's people under Kennedy's bill which also provides for a \$200 million crash program to eliminate cancer.

Einar Mohn, Western Con-

ference of Teamsters director and council chairman, disclosed that the council will take a leading role in legislation to replace Medi-Cal.

He predicted it wouldn't have the support of Governor Reagan's administration but he thought it would be successful because of popular support.

Dr. Lee, former deputy director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, thought the national health insurance program adopted by Congress "may begin as an extension of Medicare and a major revision of the Medicaid program."

"I think it will eventually be universal and compulso-

ry," he said.

He cautioned that the proposals "must be carefully examined by Congress and the people with these objectives in mind:

Increasing the availability and accessibility of quality medical health care services "which means that the capacity of the system must be expanded"; improving the quality of health care; distribution of medical care costs "in such a way that income is not a determining factor in access to needed services"; providing more predictable costs and a mechanism to control rising costs more effectively than is now done by publically-financed and health insurance pro-

grams.

Dr. Lee described the present as one of "growing crisis" in medical care in the United States because of increasing costs, growing shortages and maldistribution of health personnel and failure to provide the poor and disadvantaged with quality health care.

He quoted the Social Secu-

rity Administration as predicting that the cost of medical care would rise from present \$67 billion to \$111 billion by 1975 and to \$156 billion by 1980.

He advocated major regional experiments in financing and delivery of health care before a national health insurance program started.