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September 9, 1971

MEMORANDUM TO: Lyn Nofsiger
                John Lefton

FROM: Pat Buchanan

The attached attacks Senator Muskie from a political vantage point essentially pre-civil rights, which is not precisely the ideological point in the spectrum occupied by MONDAY.

However, any port in a storm, and any stick will suffice in a fight. We aren't going to win over angry militant blacks -- but perhaps we can help, with this and other efforts, to pry them loose from the National Democrats, appeal to their machismo. Suggest mailing of this to all Black Caucus members, to Black newspapers and editors, to all Washington Liberal types, etc. We may get bumped a bit for "hypocrisy" with the Southern Strategy theme -- but this is the kind of argument that will do the most damage to a Muskie candidacy in the General. You might put a note on these copies going to Clay, Conyers, Chafee, etc. "Any Comments, Uncle Tom."

Can you give me a call if you have any major revisions in mind?
Thanks, am busy reading an exciting new book by Evans and Novak.

Buchanan
Grant Dillman, Washington editor of United Press International, has assured me (off the record) that he will assign a man to solicit reaction from the Caucus on Muskie's California remarks.

Stan
QUESTIONS FOR MUSKIE

In Dallas at the first of the month, you said, and I quote:
"there are different types of communism, and that some are better than others." Would you please tell me about the good types of communism, and would you express your views as to whether you recommend good communism for other governments?

You have in the past criticized the Administration's pace on civil rights. Yet it was reported by a former staff member of yours that during a speech in Baton Rouge you avoided words like, "integration," "black," and "White." Is there any reason why you say one thing in Washington, D.C. and another thing in Louisiana?

Will you please take a stand on whether or not J. Edgar Hoover ought to be fired. Yes or no, will you fire J. Edgar Hoover if you are elected to the Presidency?

You have been quoted as saying on several occasions that you had early private doubts about the war in Vietnam, and that you conveyed these thoughts privately to President Johnson. How do you square this with your strong speeches in favor of the Johnson policy and your leading the floor battle against the peace plank at the Democratic convention?
It is reported that you blamed your staff for an attack you made on the FBI last Spring, and only after your mail ran four to one against your position. Will it become a habit with you to blame your staff for injudicious statements, or will you stand on your public record?

You endorsed the April 24th National Peace Action Coalition Demonstration which was inspired by Trotskyites. Much the same group will be coming to Washington this Fall. Do you intend to endorse the demonstration once again, and if so why, and if not, why not?

Do you agree with Senator Kennedy that President Nixon is prolonging the Vietnam War for political purposes?

As reported by a former staff member, why did you attempt to avoid going down to meet with anti-war veterans when they were camped on the Mall last Spring?

Why should the American people vote into the Presidency a man with your temper? It is reported that you terrorize your staff with your temper.
Why have you discontinued voluntary disclosures of campaign contributions to the clerk of the House? Does this square with your criticisms of Clement Haynsworth? Don't the people have the right to know who is backing you?

In June, you blamed oil spills in the Portland, Maine harbor on the ships themselves. Yet, in 1961 you introduced legislation, S. 2394, to deepen the Portland harbor (at a cost of over $8 million to the taxpayer) precisely in order to make the port accessible to oil transports. Which position do you prefer?

Your mother says she doesn't "see anything wrong with the President we have." Where do you differ with your mother on this question?

Senator Muskie: Joseph Nicholson, your former aide, says that you berated him, and the rest of your staff---and angrily regretted your endorsement of the April 24th Demonstration-----after you found out it contained Trotskyite and Communist leadership elements. Is that true? Do you regret endorsing those Demonstrations?
Senator Muskie: You have said that twice privately you wrote to President Johnson indicating public doubts about the war in Vietnam. Why then did you turn around and publicly endorse and support his position and that war—before the entire country—in the 1968 campaign? How can young people believe in you—when you don't believe in what you are telling them?

Senator Muskie: How do you feel about State and Federal Aid to save the collapsing Catholic school system?

Senator Muskie: President Nixon has stated his total opposition to abortion—can you tell us flatly whether or not you support or oppose the national move toward liberalized abortion laws?

Senator Muskie: Do you regret your attacks on J. Edgar Hoover, and on the FBI—as Joseph Nicholson indicates in his article?

Senator Muskie: In 1968—after eight years of Democratic control of both Houses of Congress and the White House—there were 300 Americans dying every week in Vietnam, there were riots in our cities and on our campuses; the country was divided and embittered—what has the Democratic Party done since 1968 to merit the confidence of the American people that it can do any better in the seventies than it did in the 1969s
Senator Muskie: Do you regret and will you renounce the role you played in the 1968 campaign—defending the war in Vietnam?

Senator Muskie: Do you think President Nixon’s visit to Peking was politically motivated?

Senator Muskie: Do you favor using Federal leverage to bring about more integration in the suburbs?

Senator Muskie: Do you favor bussing to achieve racial balance in the North—just as the Supreme Court ruled in favor of bussing to achieve racial balance in the South?

If Senator Scoop Jackson won the Democratic nomination, would you support him for President?
QUESTIONS FOR MUSKIE SPEAKING BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL INTERNS

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