The original documents are located in Box 11, folder "First Monday - Republican National Committee Newsletter, 1972-1973 (1)" of the Stanley Scott Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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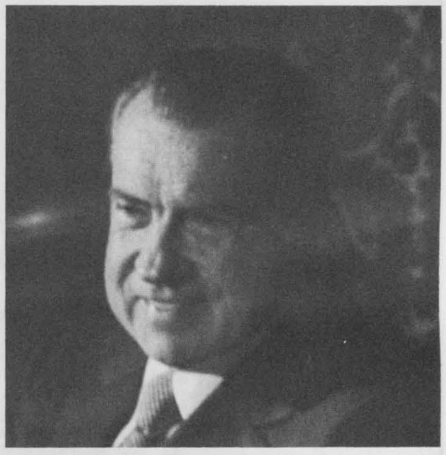
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Mr. Robert Brown
176 EOB

First Monday

January 3, 1972








TOWARD WORLD PEACE AND PROSPERITY. At year's end President Nixon met with free world leaders to discuss the world economic situation and the President's forthcoming Journey for Peace to the People's Republic of China. (from top left, clockwise): Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Washington, D.C., Dec. 6; French President Georges Pompidou, the Azores, Dec. 13-14; Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato, scheduled for Jan. 6-7 at San Clemente; British Prime Minister Edward Heath, Bermuda, Dec. 20-21; and West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, Key Biscayne, Dec. 28-29.

First Monday

January 3, 1972

Republican National Committee
310 First Street Southeast
Washington, D.C. 20003

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Tom Evans Co-Chairman
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PREFERENTIAL PRIMARIES, 1972

One of the questions most often asked of the RNC's Research Division concerns the dates and delegate numbers involved in the various state Primaries. They are as follows: (*Subject to change)

State	Date	Delegates
New Hampshire	March 7	14
Florida	March 14	40
Illinois	March 21	58
Wisconsin	April 4	28
Rhode Island	April 11	8
Massachusetts	April 25	34
Pennsylvania	April 25	60
District of Columbia	May 2	9
Indiana	May 2	32
Ohio	May 2	56
Tennessee	May 4	26
North Carolina	May 6	32
Nebraska	May 9	16
West Virginia	May 9	18
Maryland	May 16	26
Oregon	May 23	18
California	June 6	96
New Jersey	June 6	40
New Mexico	June 6	14
South Dakota	June 6	14
Arkansas	June 27*	18

WITH DUE APOLOGY. In FIRST MONDAY, December 6th, our political guidebook insert contained errors in the 1968 Electoral map (we neglected to credit a Florida win to President Nixon), and the data on Primaries (we neglected to allow for the most recent changes). To set the record straight, herewith are the corrected versions.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORAL VOTES



NUMERALS ARE 1971 VOTES PER 1970 CENSUS. IN 1968, PRESIDENT NIXON WON 301 ELECTORAL VOTES (306 BASED ON 1972).

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1971 WAS A GOOD YEAR FOR THE UNITED STATES AND FOR RICHARD NIXON

At year's end, the White House issued a 35-page summary review of Presidential leadership in 1971.

It was a year in which President Nixon moved vigorously on both the foreign and domestic fronts to strengthen the foundations for a generation of peace in the world and for a new prosperity, without war and without inflation, here in the United States.

It was a year of bold initiatives, including the new economic policies launched on August 15, with the wage-price freeze, job-creating tax stimuli, and measures to bring about a reformation of the international monetary system and a fairer trading break for American goods—and thus for American workers—in the world's markets.

In 1971, the President offered a comprehensive set of new proposals, sweeping in nature and long-range in their impact, for a re-ordering of the relationships between the Federal Government on the one hand, and States, localities and individual citizens on the other—proposals designed to make government more responsive as well as more efficient, and to enable the Nation to better concert its resources for the challenges of the 1970's and the 1980's.

This was a year in which those at both ends of the generational spectrum—the young and the old—were given a new priority of attention in government programs. A major new effort to combat cancer was launched, and a broad new program to provide better for medical manpower needs was enacted; in addition, the President proposed a new system of financing medical care that would ease the burden on individuals while preserving the strength of America's health care system. Advances in housing, in public transportation, in crime control, in education, all contributed toward making our communities more livable.

Initiatives that had been taken in the first two Nixon years gathered force or took shape in the third: the new U.S. Postal Service came into being; environmental programs were accelerated; efforts to combat drug abuse were stepped up, and the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention created at the White House; all-time records were set for the appointment of women to key Federal posts—and also of blacks, Spanish-speaking and members of other minorities; the ACTION agency was established, consolidating and making more effective the Federal volunteer programs; the Office of Consumer Affairs was created at the White House, strengthening consumer protection activities; Social Security benefits were again increased, bringing them to a level more than 25 percent higher than in 1969; funding for rural development reached the $2.8 billion level, double that of 1969, while gross receipts from farm marketings and farm exports both reached record highs; help for the returning veteran was stepped up, with the Jobs for Veterans program moving into full swing in more than 400 cities in all 50 states.

It was a busy year, and one in which the pursuit of peace continued to command the administration's—and the President's—determined attention.

In Vietnam, the President was carrying out his pledge to end the American involvement in a way that would contribute to a larger and a lasting peace. By year's end, he had cut the number of American troops in Vietnam to less than a third of what it was when he took office, while the number of Americans killed in action had been cut from almost 300 per week to less than 10 and he was able to announce on November 12 that the American offensive ground combat role had ended. In mid-December, the number of killed during one week hit its lowest level since the first U.S. combat troops landed in 1965.

In the broader sweep of foreign policy, the focus was on building a structure of peace that recognized the new relationships in the world today, and that would be strong enough, and firmly enough grounded, to endure. Significant progress was made toward an agreement with the Soviet Union on limitation of strategic arms. An initiative painstakingly pursued by the President since his first days in office brought the dramatic announcement on July 15 that he would visit the People's Republic of China; two months later he announced that the spring of 1972 would also bring a summit meeting in Moscow. In-depth consultations were held with America's principal allies. While these peace initiatives went forward, the President insisted on maintaining the strong defenses needed to make success possible and the peace secure—and our allies also agreed to shoulder a significantly increased share of the defense burden. Meanwhile, strenuous efforts went forward to maintain the U.S. initiated ceasefire in the Middle East while working toward a settlement, and to avert the war that did so tragically develop between India and Pakistan.

All in all, 1971 was a year of large conceptions, of daring innovation and of substantial progress—a year of bold action based on meticulous preparation.

It was a good year—one that promises much for those to follow.

PHASE II IS WORKING, SAYS HEAD OF COST OF LIVING COUNCIL

(The following remarks by Donald Rumsfeld, Director of the Cost of Living Council, are reprinted from the Washington Star.)



Rumsfeld

The prophets of despair seem busy once again. President Nixon's economic policy, they say, is not working—people lack confidence in the President's program it is claimed. They say the Phase 1 90-day freeze was only marginally successful and that the Phase 2 stabilization program is not going to work.

Once again, the handwringers are wrong—dead wrong in my judgment. Not only did the Phase 1 freeze work, but it worked far better than any in or out of government had a right to expect. And it set the stage for what we believe is going to be an equally successful Phase 2 program.

Progress Achieved

Examine what has happened:

—The Consumer Price Index (CPI) for October registered the smallest increase—0.1 percent (seasonally adjusted)—in 4½ years.

—The Wholesale Price Index (WPI) dropped 0.4 percent in September and rose only by 0.1 percent in November.

—The industrial commodities component of the WPI dropped by 0.1 percent in September, and by 0.3 percent in October (seasonally adjusted)—the October drop was the largest decline in 11 years.

—Of 3,885 non-food prices in the CPI tabulated in a special Department of Labor wage-price freeze survey, 87 percent showed no change in price from August to September during the freeze. Six percent actually declined, while fewer than 8 percent increased.

—The rate of inflation as measured by the GNP deflator has been dropping. In the first quarter of 1971 it was at a 5.3 percent annual rate; 2nd quarter, 4.0 percent; and third quarter, 3.0 percent.

—Interest rates have been declining over a broad front during the freeze, indicating a lower level of inflationary expectation.

Inflation Declines

Okay, some of the President's critics charge things might be better on the price side of the economic ledger, but what about employment and what about business? Hasn't the decline in inflation come at the cost of the jobs and sales on which America's working people depend?

Not at all. The administration's total program, including the Phase 1 freeze, not only helped to bring down the rate of inflation, but it also created a climate of confidence which has contributed and should continue to contribute to economic expansion.

Look at the figures:

—The McGraw-Hill Survey of Plant and Equipment Spending Plans for the fall of 1971 shows an anticipated increase in capital spending of 7 percent—representing the first real increase in capital investment since 1969.

—Total employment since June increased by 1.4 million jobs. Total employment increased by a substantial 300,000 jobs from September to October.

—The unemployment rate in the survey week in August immediately prior to the freeze was 6.1 percent—in October it was 5.8 percent. The married men unemployment category reached a low 3.0 percent—the lowest in a year.

JOBS AND THE ECONOMY

Because it is so constantly dwelt upon by politicians, and thus so constantly spotlighted in the press and on television newscasts, any minimizing of the unemployment problem is always apt to get the minimizer charged with unfeeling callousness. But when it is compared to the little-noticed other side of the coin, the amazing growth of jobholders in this country, the question of overemphasis can hardly escape coming to mind.

For a quick rundown, here is the Labor Department's record of civilian non-farm employment over the past decade. Figures represent millions. The November seasonally adjusted total is used for 1971.

Year	*Jobs*	*Year*	*Jobs*
1960	60.3	1966	68.9
1961	60.5	1967	70.5
1962	61.7	1968	72.1
1963	63.0	1969	74.2
1964	64.7	1970	75.1
1965	66.7	1971	76.6

Now here's what that table means. It means that, since 1960, the number of jobholders in the U.S. has grown nearly twice as fast as the nation's population.

The population, up from 180 million to 207 million, has increased 15%. The number of men, women, and teenagers with income-earning employment, up from 60.3 million to 76.6 million, has jumped 27%. The thesis that the economy is falling down on its responsibility to provide jobs doesn't stand up too well.

—Excerpted from the Wall Street Journal.

—Retail sales for October ran close to 12 percent over October of 1970.

—Extension of consumer installment credit for September reached a $12 billion annual rate—an all-time high record.

Housing Starts Up

—Private housing starts in the third quarter were at an annual rate of over 2.1 million. The rate of housing starts in the first 10 months of 1971 is at a higher annual rate than any year in history. This means more sales of consumer goods such as furniture and appliances.

—Automobile sales reached a record all-time high during the month of October—more than 1 million new cars sold.

—The Sindlinger Consumer Confidence Index shows that consumer confidence is increasing. It was 117.7 immediately before the imposition of the freeze; 120.6 on Oct. 6; 123.0 on Oct. 20; 126.7 on Nov. 3; and 127.9 on Nov. 10. It continues to climb.

Some people, it seems, won't believe the facts when they are staring them straight in the face. They cite the several statistics that are not what we all would want. And there are some. But the facts are there: The American economy is healthy, we are making the transition from an economy keenly impacted by war to a peacetime economy, and we are moving on a sensible course toward fulfilling President Nixon's goal of economic prosperity without war and without inflation.

It is time to look at all the facts that are available rather than being cowed by those who substitute derision for constructive commentary. Not all is perfect with the American economy, or with the results achieved thus far. We are not satisfied. But we are convinced that the steps being taken will continue to move us toward our goal of prosperity with peace. President Nixon's program has shown sound results thus far, and—with the continued support of the American people—should do even better in the months ahead.

BOLD INITIATIVES

"The bold initiatives taken during the past year, on both the foreign and domestic fronts, demonstrate for all the world to see that in Richard Nixon America has a President who thinks in terms not of the next year but the next generation."—*Vice President Spiro Agnew*

MUSKIE YOUTH ADVISER OFFENDS N.H. MAYOR; SENATOR WRITES LETTER OF APOLOGY

Because he has become a constant source of embarrassment to the Democrat's front-running Presidential candidate, Sen. Edmund Muskie's National Youth Coordinator, Lanny Davis, will be given his walking papers soon, *First Monday* has learned.

Davis' latest escapade involves a trip he made last year to Dover, N.H., an ethnic slur about the town's mayor he repeated before a high school assembly and subsequent letters of apology to the school's assistant principal from both Davis and Muskie.

As told to *First Monday* by Dover's Mayor John Maglaras, who saw the correspondence between Dover High School Asst. Principal Kent Rosberg and Muskie and Davis, the story is as follows:

Mayor Called a "Greek Degenerate"

On Nov. 15, Davis addressed a Dover High School assembly on the subject of voter registration for young voters. In the course of his remarks, Davis asked about the political affiliation of Dover's mayor. Some students yelled "Republican," others said "Democrat," another said he was "Greek" and another said that he was "a degenerate." Davis repeated the remarks over the public address system, "with a smile on his face," the Mayor says, asking in mock horror: "You mean to tell me your mayor is a Greek degenerate?"

Angry over Davis' repetition of the ethnic slur, Asst. Principal Rosberg wrote Muskie complaining that Davis' remarks were unnecessary and in poor taste since he was there to discuss voting registration. Both Davis and Muskie wrote back to Rosberg offering profuse apologies, Davis apologizing "three or four times" in his letter, according to Mayor Maglaras.

"I think Davis' remarks were in very poor taste, to say the least," Mayor Maglaras, a registered Democrat, told *First Monday*. Maglaras explained that the remarks were not only offensive to him but also to his daughter who is a senior at Dover High and was in the school auditorium at the time Davis repeated the slanderous charge. But, Maglaras declared, "because I have been in politics so long, 16 years, my daughter is used to this type of garbage."

"Pretty Ignorant" Remark

Cynthia Pelczar, a Dover High senior also in the assembly when Davis spoke, agreed with the mayor.

(Continued on page 6)

MUSKIE YOUTH ADVISER

(Continued from previous page)

Miss Pelczar told *First Monday* that Davis' action was "pretty ignorant" and that his whole presentation "was not very convincing." The New Hampshire high school senior said she didn't care for Davis' talk at all and that she thinks he is more of a hindrance to Muskie than a help.

Davis' Dover, N.H. gaff is not the first time Muskie's National Youth Coordinator has embarrassed the Senator and put him on the spot. In an address before American University students last November, Davis stressed that Muskie is truly a left-winger substantively and moderate only in style or image.

"Muskie seems to have a style that enables him to take up positions but still to convince people who don't agree with those positions that he is worth at least trusting and at least respecting the positions he takes," Davis declared. "That's my only explanation for his ability to compile a very left-wing voting record as a Senator from Maine with an Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) liberal rating that exceeds any other candidate currently running for President....he and Senator McGovern don't disagree on anything as far as the war in Vietnam or any other kind of foreign policy issue..."

Politics of Trust Undermined

As a result of his unclever and blatant attempt to convince young people that Muskie is not what he appears to be, Davis reportedly caught flack from within the Muskie organization. The objection being not that there are not at least two Ed Muskie's but that when talking about them the person doing the talking should be very discreet and not risk undermining the "Politics of Trust" image Muskie is using as his campaign theme. Davis in his pitch to the students at American University was anything but discreet. Coupled with his Dover, N.H. foul-up, Davis' days appear to be numbered.

As an informed source close to the Muskie organization told *First Monday:* "First the AU thing, now the Dover mayor flap. Muskie is really burned up over these things. I don't see how Davis can survive. I think he'll be fired and fired soon."

DAVIS "A LITTLE GUN SHY"

In an effort to get Davis' side of the story, *First Monday* called Muskie campaign headquarters several times but Davis was unavailable and refused to return phone calls. Muskie's assistant press secretary, Herb Hadad, when told about the Dover, N.H. incident said he hadn't heard of it, that it was "a brand new subject" to him and he would try and get hold of Davis and ask about it. Unable to find Davis, Hadad declined to provide *First Monday* with copies of the correspondence between Muskie and Davis and Assistant Principal Rosberg. "I can't do it. I don't want to help you hurt us,naturally," he explained. "Besides, we have several thousand letters go out every week." Asked why Davis wouldn't return calls, Hadad said that when it came to *First Monday,* Davis was "a little gun shy" since he "took a little guff here" when the American University story appeared in the publication. "He took a couple of clouts," said Hadad. *First Monday's* calling to tell him of the New Hampshire incident was "helpful, in a sense," Hadad said.

VICE PRESIDENT PRAISES AMERICA; SCORES DOOM-MONGERS KENNEDY AND MUSKIE

Vice President Spiro Agnew has declared that the time is overdue for all persons in public and private life "to start looking at the strengths that have made our country great, to regain the self-confidence and faith in ourselves that have made us the envy of the world."

Criticizing such doom-mongers as Sens. Edmund Muskie and Edward Kennedy and certain segments of the news media, the Vice President observed that the more positive aspects of life in America are seldom written or talked about: "These positive aspects receive little attention because of the obsession many opinion makers have with the negative, and their preoccupation with generating feelings of despair and guilt over the sins America has allegedly visited on the world....So I think it well if, once in a while, instead of dwelling incessantly on our shortcomings, we target our sights on the progress we Americans have made and continue to make toward realizing the venerable goal of achieving a world of peace and goodwill."

The areas mentioned by the Vice President in which progress has been achieved over the past 25 years included:

–Health Care. Four years has been added to the human life span; the infant death rate is down 44 percent, the number of mothers dying in child birth is down 76 percent; and the number of people now covered by hospitalization insurance has increased from 42 million to 183 million–an increase of 335 percent as compared to a population increase of only 46 percent.

–Education. The number of Americans attending college today as compared to 1946 has risen from 2.1 million then to 8.4 million now. The illiteracy rate has been reduced by nearly two-thirds.

Standard of Living Rising

–Standard of Living. Twice as many Americans, 40 million, own their own homes now as compared to 25 years ago. Even many low income homes are equipped with the most modern conviences and appliances. The number of families now owning automobiles has increased 130 percent and roads are vastly improved. Buying power has increased 77 percent for the average family; productivity has gone up 138 percent; and savings have increased seven fold–from $59 billion in 1946 to $448.3 billion today.

"What I am saying, ladies and gentlemen," the Vice President told the Association of Life Insurance Counsels in N.Y. City, "is that there is much more positive about America today than there is negative. Ours is a great land with an unlimited future and a vast potential for meeting it. To realize that potential, we as Americans must concentrate our energies on solving the problems that confront us rather than belittling our country and its institutions....The fact that the American dream has not yet been fulfilled for everyone is no reason to disparage it or slacken the efforts to make it a reality, or at least an opportunity, for all. It remains a goal to strive for, a goal that has been reached by millions who have climbed from poverty and adversity. America is still one of the few countries in the world where such a transformation in personal well-being can happen from one generation to the next. Ours is still the land of golden opportunity, especially to the less fortunate of other lands."

MUSKIE, McGOVERN, TRUST, INTEGRITY; WHAT THEY SAY AND WHAT THEY DO

In their travels around the country, Senators Edmund Muskie and George McGovern talk about integrity, trust and the need to tell things like they are. However, when a look is taken at what the two Democratic Presidential candidates are doing rather than what they are saying it's often a donkey of a different color.
For example:

Sweetheart Setup on Plane

–James Polk, writing in the *Washington Star,* has reported that while other Democratic Presidential hopefuls are struggling to establish airline credit ratings, Muskie has found an "unusual" solution to his long-distance transportation problems. The solution has been a sweetheart arrangement whereby a Los Angeles life insurance firm has set up its own leasing company to provide a campaign plane for the Maine Democrat.

"The leasing outfit was incorporated only a day before Muskie began using the Electra airliner. The company has no employees, no other clients yet, and only one plane, bought that same day before Muskie's kickoff trip," Polk reports.

The insurance firm owning the leasing company is a subsidiary of a life insurance company whose chairman is a personal friend of Muskie's.

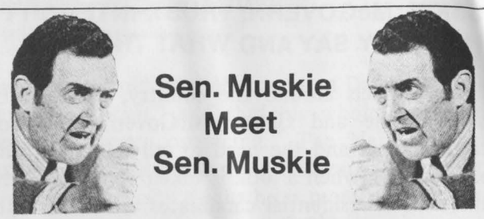
–In the case of Sen. McGovern, the U.S. Postal Service has caught him with his hand in the taxpayer's pocket and as a result he has promised to make restitution and pay back what he owes.

Political Mail Not Official Business

It seems the McGovern campaign organization has been using the Senator's office address as a return address on its political fund-raising mail. Because of this they have been getting a free address correction service from the post office since the assumption was the mail was official business. The exact amount owed the postal service by McGovern is not known. It will amount to 10 cents per returned letter with a corrected address. The figure could reach several thousands of dollars since the McGovern operation has mailed out millions of pieces of mail since he has been running for President.

The postage on the mail itself is not at issue. McGovern is paying for this. The Postal Service will

(Continued on page 8)



Sen. Muskie Meet Sen. Muskie

"The question is do I file reports on campaign contributions, etc. at the present time in connection with my present efforts with the Clerk of the House. I do not for the reason it's not required and I know of no candidates who do....Now I think there needs to be policy in this field to cover this period as well as the conventional campaign period. We don't have it yet and I think we should."—*Sen. Muskie before Congressional interns, July 15, 1971.*

"I hope we will again do something to separate money from politics a little more. I think it can be done easily. All we need is political leadership that will raise its sights beyond immediate partisan advantage and work towards a meaningful reform of our electoral process."—*Sen. Muskie before Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, March 3, 1971.*

MUSKIE, McGOVERN

(Continued from previous page)

bill McGovern for the address verification service because it was political and not official business.

Although the McGovern people are telling the postal authorities the attempt to receive free address verification at taxpayer's expense was merely a slip up, *First Monday* has learned that at least one postal authority is not buying the excuse.

As he told *First Monday:* "That's a lot of crap. Those McGovern mailing people are professionals. They know what they are doing. They just got caught at it and now are being very cooperative. There's no telling how much they've gotten away with."

The official explained that if the figure the McGovern people come up with is "lower than we feel it ought to be," we will ask for a look at their books. If they refuse, he said, "the books could be subpoenaed."

PRISON REFORM EFFORTS ANNOUNCED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL

Attorney General John N. Mitchell has announced new Federal initiatives to assist state and local corrections programs in order to bring "genuine reform to the most neglected aspect of our society." The new efforts will be in the areas of corrections training, inmate education and institutional architecture.

The measures announced by Mitchell are aimed at assisting states and localities in developing sufficient expertise to modernize their corrections systems. They include:

—The establishment of a National Corrections Academy that would be a national center for correctional learning, research and training of federal, state and local corrections personnel;

Facilities to be Improved

—Funding by the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of a National Clearinghouse for Criminal Justice Architecture at the University of Illinois to provide technical assistance for improving existing facilities and for designing new buildings;

—The establishment of a National Clearinghouse for Correctional Education to provide professional assistance for planning and implementing education programs for inmates.

Mitchell also called upon state and local agencies to join the Federal government in hiring more minority personnel in the field of corrections. He said all 28 institutions in the Federal prison system have been directed to work toward a goal of one-third minority employment in all new hiring.

Community-Oriented Correction Program

The Attorney General also declared that he is directing the Justice Department "to study the feasibility of enlarging the area of criminal cases in which the prosecutor might be justified in deferring prosecution in favor of an immediate community-oriented correctional program."

"In many cases," he said, "society can best be served by diverting the accused to a voluntary community-oriented correctional program instead of bringing him to trial."

Mitchell said the system is already being used by the Federal government in some juvenile cases.

Editorial Cartoonists Look at the Democratic Party



'He's the one! I'd recognize him anywhere!'

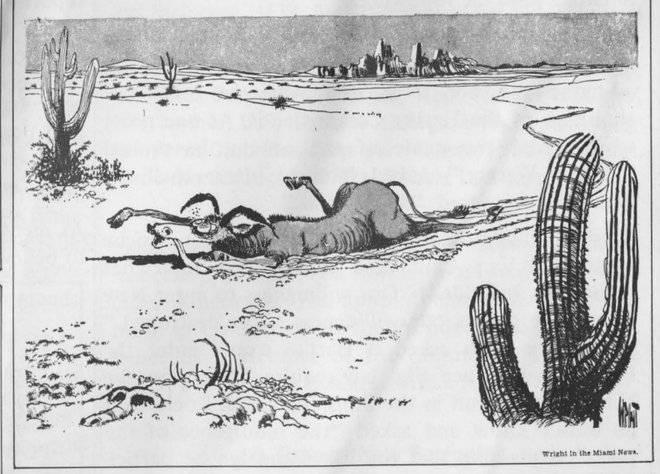


There Was an Old Donkey Who Lived in a Shoe — —



Wright in the Miami News

'Issues! Issues!'



Wright in the Miami News.



HARTKE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OFF TO A FLYING STOP

Indiana Sen. Vance Hartke's Presidential campaign is off to a flying stop.

The thing never really got off the ground. The press conference of the Hartke for President Committee was like something out of a Fellini movie. A woman with a loud voice sang Christmas carols in the next room. Workmen outside the Mayflower Hotel hammered on the walls. Reporters and Hartke supporters shouted back and forth about which questions were in order and which were not. One had to see it to not believe it.

The protagonists were Ralph Lindop, co-chairman of the Draft Hartke Committee and Charles Roche, national chairman of the Hartke for President Committee. Lindop works for an Indianapolis insurance company and Roche worked for President John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and LBJ.

A look over *First Monday's* notes from the press conference shows the following:

Mystery Co-Chairman

–Lindop did not seem sure who the other co-chairman of the Hartke Committee is. At one point when asked the name of the person, he replied "Francis Warner." Asked later to please spell the name, he answered "M-o-r-r-o-w."

–Asked what primaries Hartke would enter, Roche guessed W.Va., Calif. and N.H. Then somewhat cryptically he added: "Our willingness to enter New Hampshire proves our willingness to be destroyed." Roche was then asked if Hartke would enter the Fla. primary since Fla. law requires those on the N.H. ballot to run in the Sunshine State. Roche said he didn't know and asked "the indulgence of the press" explaining that the last campaign he participated in was in 1964 and that he isn't sure what is going on. Would Hartke abide by the 5 cents per vote primary spending limit agreed on by other Democrats? Roche didn't know this either, saying some of the questions were catching him "up short." Hartke is, however, for "broad-based financing" of campaigns and opposed to any system whereby "vested interests" have total control of politics, Roche explained. He did not say what that means.

Shouting Match With Press

–When a reporter asked Lindop who Hartke's previously mentioned commitments were from, Lindop asked the reporter his name. The reporter said he'd be happy to identify himself if others in the room did likewise. Lindop apologized saying he meant no offense. Lindop then answered that the commitments are from the same people who gave them money "last time." The press bored in. Specifically from who? Executives? Labor? Civic groups? Lindop: "I'd prefer not–because these pledges are up to the present moment." (?) What do they total, someone asked? Lindop: "We don't know." Roche, in an irritated voice: "Do you ask Nixon where he gets his money? (The press, in fact, does.–Ed.) Go ask him then we'll tell you. These are harassing questions and you know it." Another question, "Mr. Roche, are you on salary?" "No, I'm not..." Lindop interrupts at this point: "C'mon fellas, this business about money is kinda silly..." Reporter shouts from audience: "Wait a minute, wait a minute, if you're gonna have a press conference you have to take the questions we give, not the ones you want to hear." Lindop: "But he doesn't want to answer you."

–What will be the theme of Hartke's campaign, a reporter asks? He can't speak for the candidate, Roche replies, but Hartke: will strive for "a viable and honorable peace in the country;" doesn't want "our economy to take a second or third class position;" wants "full utilization" of our labor force; wants us to be "more viable" in international trade; wants "strong country that defends the United States;" and wants the country to "help itself."

As mentioned earlier, you had to be there–even not to believe it.

HARTKE AND THE POW'S

If Sen. Vance Hartke is the Democratic Presidential nominee next year one of the major issues will undoubtedly be his remarks last spring suggesting that American POW's be forgotten and left in their prisons. Hartke, speaking to a group of high school students last March, was asked about a resolution of his and how it related to POW's. Hartke replied: "I don't know what happens to American POW's. How do POW's get to be POW's except for having us involved in an undeclared war?" Student: "We can't just leave them there." Hartke: "Why not?"

Just who will support a Hartke candidacy is not yet clear but the other Hoosier Demo Sen. Birch Bayh says Hartke "will be cut off at the ankles" if he assumes a "favorite son" role for the purpose of convention bargaining.

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WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON OLDER AMERICANS MOST SUCCESSFUL IN HISTORY

"Older Americans have much to give this country. The best thing this country can give to them is a chance to be a part of it, a chance to play a continuing role in the great American adventure."

With these words, President Nixon last month closed the most productive and successful White House Conference in history–the 1971 White House Conference on Aging. More than 3,500 delegates and over 1,000 observers and guests met for four days in Washington, Nov. 28 through Dec. 2. Their mission was to develop a New National Policy on Aging.

These four days were the culmination of an effort which involved over 2 million Americans in 6,000 community, 300 regional and 54 State conferences in all corners of the United States and its territories. It also represented intensive preparatory work on the part of the Nixon Administration.

President Responds

This work, coordinated by the newly-created Cabinet Committee on Aging, allowed Conference Chairman Arthur Flemming's call for "action" to become a reality. In addition to strong Presidential moves against substandard nursing homes and re-affirmation of his support of H.R. 1 and property tax relief through revenue sharing, the President was in a position to respond to some Conference recommendations even before it was over.

New initiatives announced by the President included:

–A five-fold increase in the Administration on Aging's budget to $100 million to be applied toward the goal of allowing older Americans to live "decent, dignified lives in their own homes."

–A tripling of the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) budget to allow an additional 50,000 older persons to participate in the program;

–A doubling of the Foster Grandparents Program plus extending it to allow older people to work with other older people in addition to children;

–A doubling of the jobs programs for older persons with low income (primarily Senior Aides and Green Thumb).

In addition, and perhaps even more important, is the fact that the Cabinet Committee is well positioned to analyze and respond in detail to Conference recommendations and to continue the Administration's leadership in creating a new national attitude toward older Americans. The appointment of Arthur Flemming as Consultant to the President and his continuance as a Member of the Committee will ensure that it conducts its business with a sense of urgency.



Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney and Mrs. Romney were but two of the more than 80 well-wishers who turned out last month for a farewell reception for Mrs. Gladys O'Donnell (center), outgoing President of the National Federation of Republican Women. Others attending included HEW Asst. Secretary Pat Hitt; Federal Maritime Commission Chairman Helen Delich Bentley; Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget, and Mrs. Caspar Weinberger; Rep. Robert McClory, Ill.; former U.S. Senator George Murphy; Washington Press Club President Vera Glaser; RNC Co-Chmn. Anne Armstrong; and Mrs. Robert Law Bacon.

A Time of New Beginning

In June, the President said, "old age should not be a time of endings, but a time of new beginnings–not a time for stopping, but a time for new starts."

The work of the White House Conference on Aging, its delegates and those who participated in its preparation can only lead to an enhancement of the dignity and the betterment of the lives of all older Americans. This impetus, coupled with the total commitment and support of the Administration will achieve this new national attitude, where we will, in the President's words, "stop regarding older Americans as a burden and start regarding them as a resource for America."

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY ACHIEVES MUCH PROGRESS IN FIRST YEAR

In the first decade of this century Theodore Roosevelt cautioned the Congress that, "To waste, to destroy, our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed." Since that message to Congress in 1907, no President has devoted the energy or resources to the wise stewardship of the environment counseled by Teddy Roosevelt as has President Nixon.

A little over a year ago, when the United States Environmental Protection Agency was established by an executive reorganization ordered by the President, this achievement of a clean and healthy environment was a lofty and much-applauded goal. The record of the last year undisputably shows that the goal is attainable.

Numerous Legal Actions

In its first year of operation, EPA initiated 188 enforcement actions to protect the water quality in our Nation's rivers, lakes and streams. Through the courts EPA sought the first temporary closure of industry in Birmingham, Ala. to protect public health during an intensive air pollution episode. And EPA has been involved in numerous legal actions regarding pesticides, seeking to insure that benefits of our chemical technology are continued while minimizing the risk to our environment.

One of the first obligations of EPA was the setting of nationwide standards for air quality, minimum limits to the amounts of six principle types of pollutants in air that cannot be exceeded without hazard to human health and welfare. Implementation of these standards by the 50 states is now under way, with technical assistance from EPA and its regional offices.

The activation of a permit system to control dumping of industrial wastes in America's waterways was one of the most significant activities of the past year. Suggested by the President late in 1970, this system makes use of a hitherto neglected provision of the Refuse Act of 1899. Nearly 18,000 applications were submitted by the September deadline, and are being processed by EPA and the Army Corps of Engineers. This represents more than 90 percent of all discharges of pollutants into our waterways.

Approximately $2 billion, four fifths of EPA's budget was awarded to cities for the construction of modern sewage treatment works last year. These grants included funds for demonstrating promising new methods of treatment: removal of phosphates, renovation of steel mills' "pickle liquor," and the use of pure oxygen, powdered carbon and ultraviolet light in effluent purification. Moreover, grants to 46 states, 13 regions and 60 cities for the planning and demonstration of better trash disposal methods were made last year.

New Pollution Control Methods Sought

Perhaps in the long run the most significant accomplishment of year one for EPA will be the establishment of a system of National Environmental Research Centers and satellite laboratories. These facilities will pursue the discovery of new means of pollution control as well as continue the effects research on which environmental control standards must be based.

In terms of the protection of the environment, this past year has been one when stand-patism has given way to bold new initiatives. Old laws have been resurrected and applied to new purposes to protect our waters. New legislation in unprecedented scope and quality has been proposed by the President to protect and enhance the quality of the American habitat.

In his State of the Union Message 1971, President Nixon called for a new American revolution to be brought about by the achievement of six great goals. One of these goals was protection of the environment. It is up to all of us to make the President's peaceful revolution happen now.

PRESIDENT VETOES RADICAL, ANTI-FAMILY CHILD CARE PLAN

The so-called "Child Development Programs" vetoed by President Nixon would have been "a long leap into the dark" had they become law.

In vetoing the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971, the President said their intent "is overshadowed by the fiscal irresponsibility, administrative unworkability, and family weakening implications of the system it envisions. We owe our children something more than good intentions. We cannot and will not ignore the challenge to do more for America's children in their all important early years.

But our response to this challenge must be a measured, evolutionary, painstakingly considered one, consciously designed to cement the family in its rightful position as the keystone of our civilization."

CHILD CARE PLAN

(Continued from previous page)

The President labelled the legislation he was vetoing "a long leap into the dark for the United States Government and the American people...the most radical piece of legislation to emerge from the 92nd Congress."

The President's objections to the program were several: Neither the need nor the desirability of the program has been demonstrated; the prospective annual cost of $20 billion is unreasonable; parental authority and involvement with their children would be diminished rather than enhanced; a new army of bureaucrats would be created; the States would be relegated to an insignificant role; and the headlong plunge by the Federal Government into supporting child development would commit the vast moral authority of the Government to the side of communal approaches to child rearing over and against the family-centered approach. "This President, this Government, is unwilling to take that step," the President declared.

For his cautious, look-before-you-leap approach to the subject, the President has caught some flack. But a look at the record shows his doubts are not unfounded:

–Dr. Edward Zigler, head of HEW's Office of Child Development, has testified that the area of early childhood intervention "is still an art, an area filled with debate and controversy." After 15 years of studying the subject, Zigler agreed "we do not know nearly as much as many experts say we know."

Pandora's Box

–Dr. Dale Meers, affiliated with the department of psychology at Children's Hospital in Washington, D.C. says: "Given the present state of our ignorance about psychiatric damage, massive Day Care programs appear all too much like Pandora's Box."

For those who believe that only right-wing extremists harbor doubts about the wisdom of communal child rearing and comprehensive child development, a look at two separate articles in the Sept. and Oct. 1970 issues of *Redbook* magazine would appear to be in order.

In these articles none other than Dr. Benjamin Spock voices reservations about both concepts: "While there are in operation a few experimental nurseries with comprehensive programs emphasizing the intellectual, emotional, physical and social development of their charges, these *have not yet proved themselves* and are not generally available....the results of group care in the crucial first three years have not yet been proved excellent enough to overcome the skepticism of a professional person like myself who has high aspirations for his children and who has anti-group care prejudices left over from the past."

President Nixon's veto of the child care proposal was not because he is anti-children but rather because he has serious doubts about the program. As the *Chicago Daily News* put it editorially: "Once past the political thicket, the main reasons for the President's veto are valid....Mr. Nixon was right, we believe, in sending the child-care measure back to the drawing board for study and revision."

YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN HELP ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE DRAFT

The Selective Service System has undergone many significant changes in the past two years under the Nixon Administration and many of them are directly attributable to the young men and women who have participated responsibly during a difficult period of change.

The chief mechanism for this youth involvement has been the Selective Service Youth Advisory Committees. Established in every state across the country, the groups have discussed the ideas, suggestions and criticisms of youth on a wide variety of draft topics.

The new draft law and regulations reflect nearly two dozen significant changes in the system. Of the 36 suggestions put forward by over 600 youth advisers, 18 have been implemented by law or regulation. Six are being studied further for possible future implementation. Ten were beyond the jurisdictional control of the Selective Service System and were referred to the Executive Branch or Congress for consideration. Only two were disapproved.

Draft Board Age Limit Lowered

One of the more important changes brought about concerned the age of local draft board members. The youth committees suggested lower ages and a curtailment of the length of service on local boards. Regulations previously stated that citizens could not be appointed to local boards unless they were at least 30 years old. They could not serve beyond their 75th birthday or for more than 25 years. The new regulations and law limit service on local draft boards to 20 years and set a maximum age of 65 years. A minimum age of 18 has been set for appointment to local boards. *(Continued on page 14)*

YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN

(Continued from previous page)

In accord with the youth advisers' recommendations, the new law abolished student deferments for all college students who were not enrolled during the 1970–1971 academic year. In other words, from now on, no more college deferments will be granted. But the law also provides that both undergraduate and graduate students who receive induction orders will have their inductions postponed until the end of their current academic term, quarter, or semester. A student in his last academic year can have his induction postponed until the end of the school year, allowing him to graduate.

The advisers were concerned that draft calls varied from community to community, and they sought a more uniform approach to selecting men for service.

In the past a system based upon total registration was used to apportion the national draft call to the state headquarters, who in turn apportioned the call to individual local draft boards. The new regulations removed the requirement to use this system and instead established a uniform national call. Now all young men in the nation with the same lottery numbers who are available will receive induction notices at nearly the same time.

A Move Toward Judicial Review

It was recommended that young men be afforded a judicial review of appeals to local and state boards in classification matters. The new law provides a realistic move in this direction, permitting a young man appealing his classification to bring witnesses and present his appeal to a quorum of the board. The young man also is allowed now to make a personal appearance before the Senate and Presidential appeal boards. Further, a registrant can require a board to give him a written explanation of its denial of his claim.

Among the advisers are conscientious objectors who believe that they should be provided an opportunity to work in jobs that better serve the national health, interest and welfare. Under the old law conscientious objectors performing alternate civilian service were under the control of local draft boards. Under the new law the National Director of Selective Service has the responsibility for administering the conscientious objector work program. The guidelines have been broadened for acceptable work and state directors have been delegated the responsibility of assigning and reviewing work assignments for these men.

The involvement with youth is a continuing activity. An informal survey, for example, shows that approximately one quarter of the local draft membership will need replacement because of the new maximum age requirements of the law. While the draft system will suffer from the loss of these dedicated men and women, it will be advantageous to replace them with young men and women reflecting the ethnic, educational and social backgrounds of registrants across the Nation.

Local Board Members Important

Appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the State governor, the local board member holds, perhaps, the most important position in the Selective Service System. A young man or woman who might be interested in serving on a local board or in assuming other volunteer positions in the Selective Service System should contact the office of his or her governor.

Many young people are asking themselves these days with a greater degree of seriousness than was displayed by previous generations where their values lay, what activities make their lives meaningful, and how they can better contribute to society. It is hoped that many young men and women will recognize these new opportunities to serve in the Selective Service as a worthwhile means of social involvement and public service. Their help is needed.

DEATH OF CAMPAIGN CHECK-OFF KEEPS DEMOCRAT HAND OUT OF FEDERAL COOKIE JAR

The incredible thing about the recent Democrat attempt to raid the U.S. Treasury in order to bail out their party and finance next year's Presidential campaign is not that they tried such a stunt but that they thought they could pull it off. Even before the plan failed President Nixon made it clear that he would never allow such a scheme to be put into action.

As Press Secretary Ron Ziegler put it: "The President is against the tax check-off in principle, and he will take whatever legislative step or administrative step he feels is necessary to make sure that the tax check-off procedure is not implemented. There should be no question about the President's view on that."

Blatantly Partisan Scheme

The campaign check-off idea, an amendment sponsored by Rhode Island Democrat Sen. John Pastore

(Continued on page 15)

and added to the Revenue Act of 1971, was bad for several reasons. To begin with, it is blatantly partisan. Robert Moss, deputy director of campaigns and party organization for the Democratic National Committee, reportedly told a group of Tennessee Democrats that the amendment was drafted by DNC Chairman Larry O'Brien and a group of Democrat Senators. The preparation of this piece of legislation by Democrats was "one of the best kept secrets in Washington," Moss declared. The reason for the amendment was stated clearly by Moss: "With a $9 million debt and absolutely no credit, the Democratic Party could never hope to raise $20 million next year."

The check-off legislation was bad for other reasons, too: The millions spent on political campaigns would be siphoned away from more important programs; organized labor would be exempt from the limiting provisions of the amendment and thus be free to continue to exercise its disproportionately powerful role in presidential elections; splinter parties would proliferate, increasing the chance of an elected president not having a mandate sufficiently large enough to govern effectively; and minor party candidates would have nothing to lose by running since the American public would be picking up the tab. In addition, there is a Constitutional question about the right of Congress to delegate a non-delegatable function to private citizens—that of appropriating funds from the Federal Treasury and specifying where they would like that money to be spent.

Democrats Disappointed

Democrat reaction to the death of the scheme has been predictable. Front-running Demo Presidential candidate Sen. Muskie was quoted as calling it a "serious disservice" to the country; Sen. McGovern declared that "it deprives us of the opportunity to get adequate funding for the 1972 Presidential campaign"; Sens. Humphrey and Jackson deplored the action; and DNC Chmn. O'Brien expressed disappointment. Said O'Brien: "Somehow we have failed to present to the people what this is all about." But O'Brien is wrong. It is precisely because the people knew what it was all about that the Congress refused to go along with the plan just as in 1967 when a similar scheme was suspended because of the serious questions raised.

As the *Portland* (Me.) *Press Herald* editorialized: "Conceived in haste, framed in legislative trickery and suffering from an insufficiency of public discussion, the check-off plan deserves to be rejected." Thanks to President Nixon it has been.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

Despite the fact that he has been running for President for nearly a year, Sen. George McGovern is favored for President by only six percent of his party, according to both Gallup and Harris Polls. This figure is one percent above a year ago. At this rate, McGovern will not get the support of a majority of his party until the year 2017, when he will be 95 years old.

President Stable in Poll

Pollwatch: Commenting on President Nixon's 1971 year-end popularity rating of 49 percent, pollster George Gallup says "the msot remarkable aspect" of the President's popularity trend line was its stability. The President, Gallup notes, "has been successful in counteracting the general downtrend in ratings which occur during a President's term in office."...Final Gallup 1971 assessment of popular support for leading Democrat Presidential contenders shows Muskie continuing to lose ground to Kennedy with rank and file party members. EMK tops Muskie, 32–25; HHH third, 19; then McGovern, five. Kennedy's margin over Muskie was four points in Aug., five in Nov., now seven...A *Washington Post* survey of 300 voters in cross-section precincts in eight states shows Teddy

Kennedy "Not Honest"

Kennedy receiving two negative comments for every positive one. In most cases voters rated EMK inferior to JFK and RFK. Commented a San Jose housewife on Kennedy: "A President is supposed to be able to react in emergencies, and I have a feeling of no trust for Mr. Kennedy." The survey concluded that Muskie is not yet the strong, broadly admired champion the Democrats need to defeat President Nixon. "If Muskie stumbles, the Democrats have a long way to go to bring up any one else to replace him," the *Post* story observed...Syndicated columnist Tom Braden reports on survey taken by Muskie people showing Kennedy having a higher "hostility rating" among Democrat voters than any other candidate. "Not honest" is the phrase most frequently used as descriptive of Kennedy by those who would vote against him.

Jimmy "The Greek" Likes Nixon

Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder rates President Nixon a 7–5 bet to beat Sen. Edmund Muskie next year. Jimmy's private poll of 700 women between the ages of 30 and 50 showed 59 percent answering in the negative when asked if they would trust Teddy Kennedy.

(Continued next page)

The Press: Mrs. Lisabeth Bamberger Schorr, wife of CBS reporter Daniel Schorr, is serving as a member of Sen. Edmund Muskie's "unofficial, non-publicized, group of health experts" to assist the Senator in the development of a national health policy. In contrast, when his wife took a job several months ago as press aide to Martha Mitchell, William Woestendiek was fired by a N.E.T. station in Washington from his $50,000 a year job because, the station management said, his wife's job constituted a conflict of interest for him...The Media Industry Newsletter has surveyed 2,309 N.Y. City executives in and out of the media and has found that overall they are 57 percent Democratic, 40 percent GOP, 2 percent for Wallace, 1 percent undetermined.. In the book publishing field, 74 percent of the respondents said they are Democrats, only 25 percent GOP. Democrats also dominated broadcasting, 56 to 43; newspapers and magazines, 50–45 (4 percent for Wallace); but the GOP won in advertising, 50–45 percent. A non-media portion of the survey showed more Democrats than GOP, 58–42, in the banking business on Wall Street.

ADA Rates the Candidates

The ultra-left-wing Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) has issued its lifetime ratings for the 12 announced, unannounced and potential Presidential candidates. The rating is based on each candidate's record when he or she served in the Congress: Humphrey, 97; Rep. Patsy Mink, 95.8; Muskie, 93.7; Rep. Shirley Chisholm, 91.7; Kennedy, 91.5; McGovern, 87; McCarthy, 86.2; Jackson, 83.4; Lindsay, 74; McCloskey, 54.7; Mills, 41.9; and Nixon, 19... Democratic National Committee Counsel Joe Califano, appearing on Elizabeth Drew's PBS interview show "Thirty Minutes With...," says his party's political intellectual effort in the last few years has been so hung up on Vietnam and party reform that "we have neglected the substantive issues."

Meany Primes GOP Pump

As a result of AFL-CIO President George Meany's rudeness to President Nixon, many Democrats have sent money to the GOP. Typical is a check received from a Dallas attorney with an accompanying letter which reads, in part, "I am normally a Democrat, however, my check for $100 to the Republican Party is enclosed, and I hope Mr. Meany's senseless and uncouth actions at Miami will have the effect of waking up a lot of other people as it did me."

Robert Behn, executive director of the Ripon Society, has confirmed to *First Monday* that the Society has traded mailing lists with the Council for a Livable World. Since 1962, the Council has contributed over $1 million in support of 44 Senatorial candidates and incumbents: 39 Democrats and 5 Republicans. The Ripon Society calls itself "a Republican research and policy organization."

Jackson in Trouble

The *Orlando* (Fla.) *Sentinel's* Jack McDavitt writes that while he should be making a great showing in the Sunshine State, Sen. Henry Jackson's Presidential campaign "isn't getting off the ground. There's no real groundswell of enthusiasm, no indication of the rank and file political worker busting down doors to help." The problems, says McDavitt, are Jackson himself (as a speaker he's bad news), and his staff, which is not briefing him adequately nor scheduling him at the right places at the right time. Examples: a fundraiser scheduled during the Thanksgiving weekend resulted in nearly half of the 370 seats being empty; when asked in Brevard County about contract negotiations involving local workers, NASA and the Labor Dept., Jackson was unfamiliar with the important issue. An additional problem for Jackson seems to be a reluctance on his part to follow the advice of his advisers. Asked on "Meet the Press" about Democrat economist Walter Heller's statement that by this November the economy may have improved to the point where the Democrats no longer have an issue, Jackson strongly disagreed. According to press reports, one of Jackson's economic advisers is, you guessed it, Walter Heller.

Shortage of Riot Gear?

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) has awarded Miami $400,000 to purchase sophisticated police equipment and to train security forces for the Democratic National Convention. Some of the equipment that reportedly will be purchased includes: 2,000 plastic handcuffs, body armor, bull horns, face shields for riot duty, gas grenades, grenade launchers, portable radio transmitters, fingerprint kits, and a 22-passenger minibus to transport police and prisoners. The only thing worrying the city of Miami, *First Monday* has learned, is whether or not they will have enough equipment left over to handle the trouble *outside* the convention hall.

Monday. JAN. 10, 1972

MAN OF THE YEAR

TIME

JANUARY 3, 1972

Nixon: Determined to Make a Difference

He reached for a place in history by opening a dialogue with China, ending a quarter-century of vitriolic estrangement between two of the world's major powers. He embarked upon a dazzling round of summitry that will culminate in odysseys to Peking and Moscow. He doggedly pursued his own slow timetable in withdrawing the nation's combat troops from their longest and most humiliating war, largely damping domestic discord unparalleled in the U.S. in more than a century. He clamped Government controls on the economy, causing the most drastic federal interference with private enterprise since the Korean War. He devalued the dollar, after unilaterally ordering changes in monetary policy that sent shock waves through the world's markets, and are leading to a badly needed fundamental reform of the international monetary machinery.

In doing all that—and doing it with a flair for secrecy and surprise that has marked his leadership as both refreshingly flexible and disconcertingly unpredictable—Richard Milhous Nixon, more than any other man or woman, dominated the world's news in 1971. He was undeniably the Man of the Year.

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PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON OUTSIDE THE SAN CLEMENTE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE

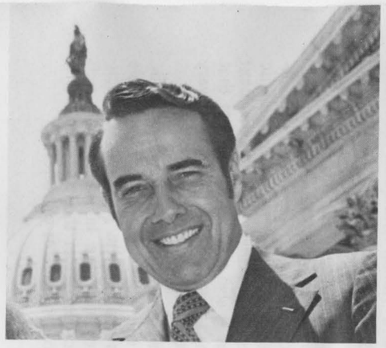
Newsweek

January 3, 1972

Nixon '71: A Vintage Year

As 1971 hastened to its close and the rest of the nation paused for the holidays, Richard Nixon bustled about like a man determined to cram every possible bit of official business into the calendar's dwindling moments. He darted to Bermuda for talks with British Prime Minister Edward Heath, returned to Washington to present framed commissions to his two new Supreme Court Justices, Lewis Powell and William Rehnquist, celebrated a family Christmas with the new in-laws, then prepared to take off again for another summit, this one with West Germany's Willy Brandt in Key Biscayne. The crowded Yuletide schedule was designed to clear the path to more dramatic summits in Peking and Moscow next year but it also pointed up the fact that 1971 had been, on the whole, a very good year for Mr. Nixon.

...something about the American Presidency and about the American people reserves the greatest praise for the activist President, the innovator who sets fresh courses rather than the administrator who consolidates old ones.



1972 Will Be A Great Republican Year

The start of a new year is a time for predictions and it takes no crystal ball or occult powers to see what the future holds.

1972 will be a Republican year—a year that in President Nixon's words will be "a great year." The bold initiatives taken in 1971 turned this country, and the world, around. In the year just ended, Americans who had been certain of the inevitability of inflation and cynical about the possibilities of peace became accustomed to looking forward again. In 1972 the world will move closer to peace and the people of this country will continue to move forward to genuine prosperity rooted in peace.

1972 will be a busy year for the Nixon Administration. In the first three years of Richard Nixon's first term, imaginative and resolute policies were begun which will continue to develop and gather force in the months to come.

Vietnamization is working. In the coming year the skillful leadership of Richard Nixon will be good enough to end our involvement in war and it will be good enough to do it with our honor and the integrity of South Vietnam intact. In 1972 American casualties in Vietnam declined dramatically. 1972 will see them drop to zero as our combat role ends and our men continue to come home.

The New Economic Policy is working. In the coming year, the energetic leadership of Richard Nixon will be determined enough to restore our economy to a stable prosperity without war and without inflation. Employment will rise but no longer will a single American depend on war for his job.

The dynamic, aggressive policies of this President are working. He has given the American people what they want and what they need and what they had found themselves lacking for too long. He has given us leadership.

The strong Republican leadership of Richard Nixon has been successful enough to move this country forward again and to restore the faith of its people in the greatness of their country. In 1972 the vigorous leadership of this President and of this Administration will be successful enough to assure the re-election of Richard Nixon and to re-establish the status of the GOP as the majority party.

In short, 1972 promises continued progress in the fight against inflation and the transition from a wartime economy to peace-time prosperity. 1972 promises the world a reduction in the conflict among nations as the foreign policy initiatives of Richard Nixon further enhance the prospects for lasting peace.

1972 will end as it has begun—as a Republican year marked by dynamic Republican leadership and by strong and growing support for the GOP.

These are my predictions. I state them simply and with confidence, in the certainty that the success of

1971 will be repeated and built upon in 1972.

Chairman, Republican National Committee

Monday. JAN. 10, 1972

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Volume 3, No. 44

THE SENATOR AND THE RADICALS: HUBERT JOINS BUG-OUT BRIGADE

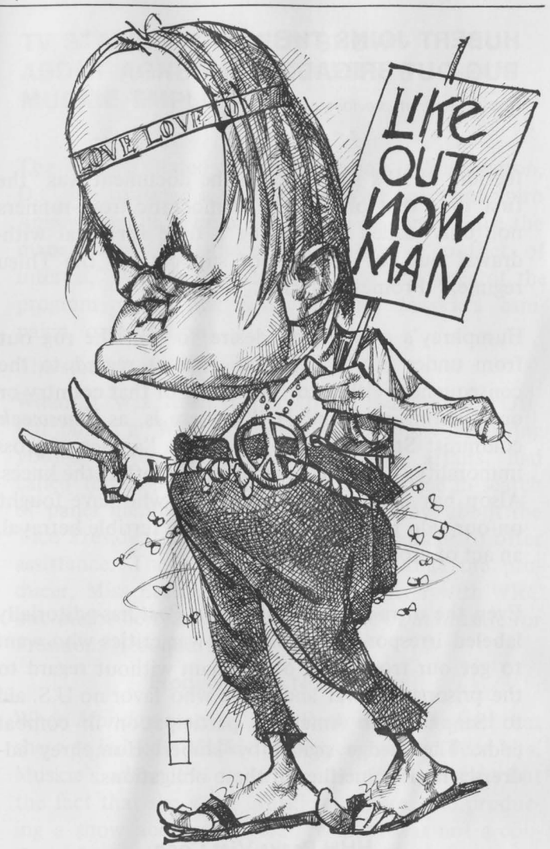
"It won't be easy. It will be frustrating and at times heartbreaking. But if we are not to deny the principles in which we believe, we must stay and see it through. And the free nations of the world need to know that we have the vision and endurance to do so."—Vice President Hubert Humphrey about Vietnam, quoted in the Department of State Bulletin, May 16, 1966.

In signing a pledge affirming his support for the removal of all U.S. support from the South Vietnamese government, Sen. Hubert Humphrey has ceased being a responsible spokesman for his party and has instead cast his lot with the extreme left whose goal has always been not merely a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam but rather a U.S. defeat and a Communist take-over of that country.

As reported by the *New York Times*, Humphrey spoke recently to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and after his talk two leaders of "a national organization of radical scientists and engineers" persuaded HHH to sign a pledge affirming his support for: 1) the setting of a date for total withdrawal of all U.S. forces, including air power, from Indochina and the stopping of all bombing; 2) removal of U.S. support for the Thieu government in Saigon.

Humphrey First to Sign-Up

As quoted in the *Times*, one of the radical leaders,



John Froines, a defendant in the Chicago 7 trial and a leader of last Spring's Mayday disruptions whose goal was to shut down the Federal Government, was happy and somewhat surprised at Humphrey's de-

(Continued next page)

HUBERT HUMPHREY ON THE BOMBING—THEN AND NOW

Sen. Humphrey's criticism of President Nixon's efforts to take all steps necessary in Vietnam to protect American lives, including selective bombing of North Vietnam, is strange. Strange because it was Vice President Hubert Humphrey who was a strong defender of this very concept when his party and his President were bombing. For example: In a *Washington Post* story dated Aug. 20, 1968, HHH was reported as taking a "hard line" on Vietnam, particularly the bombing of North Vietnam, saying that the war would not be solved by "weakness and withdrawal." HHH declared that "no President has the right to sacrifice the men of this country to make himself look good," according to the *Post*.

In 1967 before the Grocery Manufacturers of America, Humphrey raised the question of bombing and noted that the subject always came up in the U.S. but almost never in Vietnam. If you're a doubter about the efficacy of the bombing, Hubert declared, "you ask any of the American boys dug in under artillery fire along the DMZ. I suggest you ask our troops in the Central Highlands in the Delta who face mortars and guns carried in from the North."

Admittedly the fact that Hubert Humphrey is currently at odds with his former self on yet another issue is hardly news. But for the record, somebody ought to mention it.

HUBERT JOINS THE BUG-OUT BRIGADE

(Continued from previous page)

fection. HHH's signature on the document was "the first time that one of the Democratic front-runners not only called for setting a date for total withdrawal but for removal of support for the Thieu regime," Froines declared.

Humphrey's new found desire to pull the rug out from under South Vietnam without regard to the consequences either to the people of that country or our fighting men and POW's there is, as *Newsweek* columnist Stewart Alsop has put it, "an act of gross immorality." To cut South Vietnam off at the knees, Alsop has written, "to force those who have fought on our side to surrender would be a terrible betrayal, an act of gross immorality."

Even the ultra-liberal *Washington Post* has editorially labeled irresponsible those anti-war critics who want to get our troops out of Vietnam without regard to the prisoners-of-war and those who favor no U.S. aid to Saigon after American participation in combat ends. The pledge signed by Hubert Humphrey addresses itself to neither of these obligations.

HHH Backs Viet Cong

Commenting on Humphrey's signing of the radical, cut-and-run pledge, the *Washington Daily News* editorialized: "It is disappointing that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, with his long acquaintance with foreign affairs, has embraced the Viet Cong's key plank for 'settling' the Vietnam war. Sen. Humphrey now has completed a long voyage from apologist for President Johnson's conduct of the war to backer of the radical antiwar position....it is shocking that a responsible politician would buy the Communist line that the way to peace is by 'removal of support' for Saigon. This is a cover phrase for withholding military and economic aid from the Thieu regime, while China and Russia continue to lavish weapons on the North Vietnamese.

"It is also a euphemism for betraying the anti-Communist South Vietnamese who fought on the American side.

"In the long run, the Communists well may prevail in Vietnam, but we see no reason why the United States or Sen. Humphrey should make it easier for them."



ONE OF THE MORE important victories for President Nixon in his relations with the Democrat-controlled Congress last year was Senate confirmation of his two Supreme Court nominees, Lewis Powell (left) and William Rehnquist. The President is shown here giving the two men their respective commissions of appointment. In announcing their nominations last year President Nixon praised Powell and Rehnquist as men who will "add distinction and excellence in the highest degree to the Supreme Court of the United States."

PRESIDENT NIXON MAKES IT OFFICIAL: HE'S A CANDIDATE

President Nixon has made it official: He is a candidate for re-election.

The President's announcement of candidacy came in a letter to former Gov. Lane Dwinell of New Hampshire responding to Dwinell's request that the President's name be entered in the primary.

Dwinell is chairman of the New Hampshire Committee to Re-Elect the President.

In his response, President Nixon said:

"It was in New Hampshire that I began my campaign for the Presidency four years ago, and I remember well the opportunity that campaign provided to visit so much of the state and to meet so many of its people. I have tried to be true to the trust they expressed, and to carry forward the effort we began in New Hampshire in 1968: to bring peace and progress both abroad and at home, and to give America the leadership it needs for a new era of national greatness.

Significant Beginnings

"We have made significant beginnings in these past three years. I want to complete the work that we have begun, and therefore I shall be a candidate for re-nomination and re-election. I deeply appreciate the confidence expressed by those who signed the petitions, and I shall do all in my power to be worthy of that confidence.

"In addition to New Hampshire, I shall also permit my name to be entered in the other primaries. As I am sure you will understand, however, it will not be possible for me to campaign actively and personally in any of the primary elections. I feel it is essential, particularly in this year when events of such importance to the world's future are taking place, that at least until the Republican Convention the President should refrain from public partisan activities in order to conduct the business of government with the minimum intrusion of purely political activity."

The President also notified New Hampshire Secretary of State Robert L. Stark that he is a candidate for a second term. Stark had wired the President that petitions to qualify his name as a candidate for President had been filed by the Dwinell committee and that the President had 10 days to disavow the filings.

TV STATION CANCELS SHOW ABOUT AGNEW PRODUCED BY MUSKIE EMPLOYEE

The NBC affiliated television station in Washington, D.C. has canceled a show about Vice President Spiro Agnew two days before it was to be taped since the management felt there was a clear "conflict of interest," *Monday* has learned. The producer of the program works for Sen. Edmund Muskie's campaign organization.

The story is as follows:

When it was learned that the producer of "Off Campus," a WRC Channel 4 TV show featuring young people talking about current affairs, had called the Republican National Committee in search of panel members for an upcoming show about the Vice President, *Monday* called the producer to offer assistance. The station told *Monday* that the producer, Miss Brennan Rash, was no longer with WRC but might be reached either at home or at Muskie for President Headquarters.

Producer Sees No Conflict

When *Monday* reached Miss Rash she confirmed that she was indeed a Muskie employee and had been Mrs. Muskie's advance woman for about two weeks. But the fact that she was a Muskie employee and producing a show about the Vice President was not a conflict of interest, she told *Monday*. It "has nothing to do with it," she declared.

Miss Rash explained to *Monday* that she was a "free lance producer" for WRC, was no longer with the station and was producing the Agnew show as one of her last three shows; shows that had been in preparation before she took the job with Muskie. She said the Agnew show was being done with her boss' full knowledge that she had gone to work for Muskie in the meantime.

Later in the day Miss Rash called *Monday* back with the information that she had discussed the matter with her boss, Burton Bridgens, manager of the station's department of community affairs, and he had decided to cancel the show.

Manager Sees Conflict

Monday spoke with Bridgens and asked him why he had waited until two days before the show was to be taped to cancel it (and then only when *Monday* called matters to his attention) when he knew Miss Rash was the producer and that she had gone to work for Muskie about two weeks earlier. Bridgens replied that he probably should have done it earlier, that he had "other things on his mind" and that in

(Continued next page)

CONGRESS MUST ACT ON EMERGENCY STRIKE LEGISLATION AND ACT NOW

The Democrat-controlled 92nd Congress returns to Washington this week facing the same unacted on "Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970" that President Nixon submitted nearly two years ago. The only thing different is that since the legislation was sent to Capitol Hill there have been several rail crises and port shutdowns which, as the President has put it, "have retarded economic recovery and injured thousands of individuals who have no direct voice in the disputes process that can so adversely affect them."

In a statement to the Congress at the end of the session last year the President again urged passage of the legislation noting: "Workers in many industries have been thrown out of work. Losses in perishables have been tremendous. The overall impact on the American people, and especially our farmers, has been devastating."

Farmers Hurt Badly

To say that farmers have been devastated by the West Coast dock strike is to put it mildly. "We estimate this strike has cost our farmers about a billion dollars in income they might have gotten otherwise," Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz declared on the NBC Today Show. "We estimate it's lowered the price of corn perhaps 10 cents a bushel, and the price of soybeans perhaps 20, 25 cents a bushel in mid-America. This is a serious thing." Butz added that he would be "pleased" if some of the Democratic Presidential candidates, who weep "crocodile tears" for the poor farmer, would go to the Senate Labor Committee and urge the passage of the Administration's legislation so that something can be done to stop the catastrophic work stoppages in public transportation. "If they're really serious about helping farm income, I'd be pleased to have them do this," said Butz.

One Democrat farm state Senator who does not seem serious about the problem of the farmer of his home state of Iowa is Harold Hughes. A source close to the Senate Labor Subcommittee, which has held eight days of hearings on the Nixon legislation, tells *Monday* that Hughes attended none of the hearings. A Hughes aide says this is not true, that Hughes attended two of the eight hearings but he was not sure which ones. The other six hearings were missed, the aide explained, because the Senator was either traveling or had more important hearings to attend.

The Nixon Administration's emergency strike legislation would protect the public interest wherever a threatened or actual strike or lockout in the transportation industry imperiled the national health or safety. In recognition of the special nature of the transportation industry, the bill would empower the President to use, in addition to the basic emergency disputes provisions of the Labor Management (Taft-Hartley) Act, one of three new options for dealing with national emergency disputes in transportation, which would include trucking, maritime and longshoring, as well as railroads and airlines:

1. The cooling off period could be extended;
2. Partial operation of an industry could be imposed;
3. Final offer selection.

Commenting recently on Congressional inaction regarding strikes in the transportation industry, the *Wall Street Journal* declared: "You would think that Congress would be growing tired of the pattern.... Maybe a new dock emergency will be enough to make the lawmakers move. It should be apparent by now that present transportation labor policy is little better than no policy at all."

TV STATION CANCELS SHOW

(Continued from previous page)

his job he reviews only finished programs. He explained that because of Miss Rash's job with Muskie there was "a clear conflict of interest" but the show would "probably not have been approved" anyway. There are two safeguards to prevent such conflicts, he said—himself and a broadcast standards editor.

Bridgens said he appreciated *Monday* calling the matter to his attention as he would "anyone taking an interest in our programs."

SEN. MUSKIE'S FUNERAL ORATION, OR WAS THAT A PRESIDENTIAL ANNOUNCEMENT?

Clearly Sen. Edmund Muskie is not bullish on America.

Watching the Maine Democrat on television last week one had the feeling of witnessing not just another politician announcing that he wants to be President, but rather seeing a third rate funeral orator eulogizing a dying if not already dead United States of America.

Seriously. Think about what Muskie said: The United States is no longer a nation of moral leadership, no longer a nation of high purpose, no longer a symbol of hope for all mankind. "Most of us feel the country is headed in the wrong direction," Muskie declared, citing a list of things which he felt were "not good."

The Muskie announcement was, as RNC Chmn. Bob Dole labeled it, "a sorry spectacle of yet another pub-

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SEN. MUSKIE'S FUNERAL ORATION

(Continued from previous page)

lic figure bad-mouthing the United States of America." Muskie devoted his entire statement to what supposedly is wrong with America, Dole noted, without even a suggestion that there is any goodness in the nation or its people. "Obviously he intends to seek the office of the presidency at the expense of our national confidence and pride," Dole declared.

Another of Muskie's problems, in addition to his incipient case of acute doom-mongering is, as the *Christian Science Monitor* put it editorially, he is "a candidate without a target." Calling the Muskie meanderings "a pale and sad thing" compared to his election eve broadcast in 1970, the *Monitor* pointed out that President Nixon "is now the man who is provably and visibly winding down the Vietnam war, checking the rise in wages and prices, bringing down the level of unemployment and presiding over some working progress in all sorts of 'good' directions, such as anti-pollution."

But Muskie seems to have been somewhere else while all this was going on. He is still telling press conferences that among the "basic issues" in '72 are the war in Vietnam and the return of prosperity. What is at issue? The war is being ended and the economic outlook is good.

Muskie as Santa Claus

Sen. Muskie also speaks of a "divided and doubtful people, lacking a sense of purpose." Whether or not this applies to the United States as a Nation is debatable but it surely seems to apply to the Senator who, incredible as it may seem, is asking the American people to allow him a little on-the-job-training in the most important position in the world. In a recent TV interview with newsmen in Portland, Maine, Muskie declared: "Whether or not I can really meet the test of the Presidency, I don't suppose I would know until and unless I'm elected."

(For the record, Muskie's concept of what test he has to meet is unique to say the least. A *Washington Star* story last month quoted the Senator as telling a startled shopper in a toy store in New Hampshire: "After all, the job I'm aspiring to is the job of Santa Claus. I've got to get in practice.")

As a slogan for his campaign, Sen. Muskie has chosen "A New Beginning." With his own strong ties to the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its record of war, inflation and domestic turmoil, the Senator's desire to start out with a clean slate is understandable. But the slate is not clean. And because of what is written on it there is every reason to believe that if either he or his party were to regain power the much-heralded "New Beginning" would have the same old ending.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

There's no doubt about it. Hubert Humphrey is slipping. According to the *Washington Post*, when Humphrey addressed the American Association for the Advancement of Science last month and was narrowly missed by a thrown tomato, he could only comment lamely: "May I suggest that the Minnesota Twins can use a good pitcher and I don't mind being the target." This clearly is not the Humphrey of old. The old Hubert Humphrey would have scooped up the splattered tomato, expressed his pride that someone cared enough about him to throw a tomato, launched into a multi-houred defense of American agriculture and most likely closed out with a denunciation of the tomato thrower but a compassionate defense of why he threw it stating something to the effect that if he lived under the conditions certain tomato-throwers do, "I could throw a mighty good tomato myself."

McCarthy, Hartke Hit Colleagues

Both former Sen. Eugene McCarthy and Sen. Vance Hartke have come out swinging for the Presidency and so far have knocked down mostly Democrats. McCarthy has characterized all his Democratic opponents as losers noting that Muskie was a late convert against the war and "the most active representative of Johnson Administration policy at the 1968 convention." Hartke's hang-up is the Democrat multi-million dollar debt. He is blaming Humphrey and Muskie saying that in order to be "a responsible candidate you also ought to be responsible for your debts." Hartke's concern with the debt is undoubtedly in part attributable to the fact that his party's deadbeat image has personally inconvenienced him. Recently in Los Angeles, a hotel where he was staying asked him to pay his $47 room rent in cash. There was a similar occurence in New Hampshire. So far there has been no progress on the Democrat's $1.4 million phone bill, *Monday* has learned. The Democratic Party has provided the telephone company with no plan for reducing the debt. The Republican Party, on the other hand, has paid off all 1968 campaign debts to both airline and telephone companies.

GOP Professional Staff Conference

The 1972 RNC Professional Staff Conference will be held Jan. 19–22 at the Marriott Twin Bridges Motel, Washington, D.C. State and county chairmen and professional staff members will attend. The Conference will concentrate on building strong party organizations for 1972 and will feature seminars on research, communications, manpower mobilization and fund-raising. Additional information can be obtained from RNC Deputy Chairman Ed DeBolt.

Pollwatch: For the third year in a row, President Nixon heads the list of men the American people admire most in the world today, according to pollster George Gallup. Vice President Agnew made the list again for 1971 as he did the previous year. Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie, who was sixth in 1970, failed to make the 1971 list...On the 1971 most admired women list were Mrs. Nixon, in the number two spot; Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower, Martha Mitchell and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith...The Iowa College Poll shows students divided among many candidates for President. President Nixon and Muskie are tied with 12 percent each, McGovern and Hughes are second with 11 apiece and Kennedy is third with five percent... The Nebraska Poll shows President Nixon's job rating performance registering 64 percent approval, 27 disapproval and 9 have no opinion. Fifty-five percent of those polled favored Vice President Agnew's reelection; 60 percent agreed with President Nixon on wage-price controls, 16 percent with George Meany and 24 percent had no opinion.

Black Solon Doesn't "Dig" Muskie

Sen. Muskie continues to be haunted by his no-blacks-on-my-ticket-cause-I'd-lose remark. The California legislature's leading black, Sen. Mervin Dymally has endorsed Humphrey declining to back Muskie because as he put it, "I just don't dig the cat." Blacks dream for the top spot, Dymally explained, and to tell them they can't make it as Muskie did "means to deny their aspirations to the highest land in this land." Dymally said he saw nothing honest about "dampening the hopes of a struggling people."... Speaking of Muskie, it was only after watching his televised announcement last week that one suddenly realized just how enjoyable the last 10 minutes of "The Glen Campbell Show" can be.

Big labor and the Democratic Party are reportedly sweating a National Right-to-Work Legal Defense Fund Foundation class action law suit filed in Washington, D.C. on behalf of 22 California aerospace workers. The suit seeks to take away the tax exemption of unions using dues for political purposes. Scripps-Howard staff writer Dale McFeatters has reported that the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions are seeking to more than double for the '72 Presidential campaign the estimated $6 million they raised from their members in 1968. The thrust of the AFL-CIO's drive is "to oust Mr. Nixon," reports McFeatters.

Where is Teddy Kennedy?

SPEAKING:

Today—Vice President **Agnew**, Iranian Businessmen, NYC; Communications chief **Klein**, Fed. Home Loan Bank Board, Annapolis, Md.; Consumer Adviser **Knauer**, Nat'l Home Furnishings Assn., Chicago; Tues.—Int. Sec. **Morton**, Atlantic Coast Governors Conf., Wash., D.C.; Counselor **Rumsfeld**, Furman U., Greenville, S.C.; Comm. Sec. **Stans**, Iranian Businessmen, NYC; Wed.—Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Nat'l Assn. of Wheat Growers, Denver; Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, World Affairs Council, Boston; **Knauer**, Pa. Council of GOP Women, Harrisburg; **Stans**, Portland, Me., Chamber of Commerce; Thurs.—Maritime Chmn. **Bentley**, Rotary Club, Houston, Tex.; **Morton**, Explorers Club, NYC; RNC Chmn. **Dole**, FCC Bar Assn., Wash., D.C.; **Butz**, Kansas Agricultural Conv., Topeka and Salina Chamber of Commerce; Fri.—**Morton**, *N.Y. Times* Editorial Bd., NYC, **Knauer**, Jaycees of Indianapolis; Sat.—**Klein**, Arkansas Press, Little Rock; **Dole**, University Club, Wichita, Kan.

Monday. JAN.10,1972

republican national committee

Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

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Monday. JAN. 17, 1972

Progress in Inflation Fight Predicted for '72

Washington: 'Hottest Retail Area in the Nation'

1972 to be good year for livestock markets

Building Contracts in Area Top 1970 by $73 Million

77% Growth in GNP Seen by '85

Economic Outlook: Happy 1972

Retailers See Gains

Auto sales set speedy pace

Recovery Seen In New England

Building Vigorous

Sprinkel Sees Good Year for Business; You, Too

Bright Economic Picture Is Painted for Chamber

The New York Times

NATIONAL ECONOMIC SURVEY

Economy on an Express Track

Better business year forecast

19,000 new housing units possible for area in 1972

U.S. Blue-Collar Workers Ordered Raises by Nixon

Airlines Better Off

Housing Starts Up

Point of View

The Individual Investor Is Stepping Up Trading

Sharp growth for electronics

St. Louis to experience economic growth in 1972

Nixon's Economic Policies

Bigger Role Predicted for Productivity

A Farm-Belt Town Optimistic on '72

Commodity Exchanges Expect Record Tradi

Firm sees good year for trucks

U.S. Automakers Looking For Record 1972 Output

Wall St. Begins '72 By Echoing Optimism Of Economists

Buyers Here Call Outlook Much Rosier

Stocks advance broadly

10 economists optimistic for '72

Are Seen Bearing Fruit

1972 Economic Gains Forecast For Minnesota

Several Foresee Good Gains For 1972

Motor carrier revenues hit

Area Employment Increases 2800 During Month

States Seek Faster Growth

Car Sales Set Record Of 10,155,411 in 1971

1972: Period of Achievement

$15,000 incomes have tripled

GLAMOUR ISSUES LEAD STOCK RISE

Dow Move Up 4.14 to Close at 912.10—Advances Top

THE WEEK IN FINANCE



In 1971 President Nixon attacked the nation's economic ills, brought men home from war, and sought devalued dollar.

Economy Improves During Post-Freeze Period
(See Story Inside)



United States Shall Lead In Space

(Excerpted from Presidential statement, January 15, 1972)

I have decided that the United States should proceed at once with the development of an entirely new type of space transportation system designed to help transform the space frontier of the 1970s into familiar territory, easily accessible for human endeavor in the 1980s and '90s.

This system will center on a space vehicle that can shuttle repeatedly from earth to orbit and back. It will revolutionize transportation into near space, by routinizing it. It will take the astronomical costs out of astronautics. In short, it will go a long way toward delivering the rich benefits of practical space utilization and the valuable spinoffs from space efforts into the daily lives of Americans and all people.

In the scientific arena, the past decade of experience has taught us that spacecraft are an irreplaceable tool for learning about our near-earth space environment, the moon, and the planets, besides being an important aid to our studies of the sun and stars. In utilizing space to meet needs on earth, we have seen the tremendous potential of satellites for intercontinental communications and world-wide weather forecasting. We are gaining the capability to use satellites as tools in global monitoring and management of natural resources, in agricultural applications, and in pollution control. We can foresee their use in guiding airliners across the oceans and in bringing televised education to wide areas of the world.

However, all these possibilities, and countless others with direct and dramatic bearing on human betterment, can never be more than fractionally realized so long as every single trip from earth to orbit remains a matter of special effort and staggering expense. This is why commitment of the space shuttle program is the right next step for America to take, in moving out from our present beachhead in the sky to achieve a real working presence in space—because the space shuttle will give us routine access to space by sharply reducing costs in dollars and preparation time.

The new system will differ radically from all existing booster systems, in that most of this new system will be recovered and used again and again—up to 100 times. The resulting economies may bring operating costs down as low as one-tenth of those for present launch vehicles.

The resulting changes in modes of flight and re-entry will make the ride safer and less demanding for the passengers, so that men and women with work to do in space can "commute" aloft, without having to spend years in training for the skills and rigors of old-style space flight. As scientists and technicians are actually able to accompany their instruments into space, limiting boundaries between our manned and unmanned space programs will disappear. Development of new space applications will be able to proceed much faster. Repair or servicing of satellites in space will become possible, as will delivery of valuable payloads from orbit back to earth.

The general reliability and versatility which the shuttle system offers seems likely to establish it quickly as the workhorse of our whole space effort, taking the place of all present launch vehicles except the very smallest and very largest.

It is also significant that this major new national enterprise will engage the best efforts of thousands of highly skilled workers and hundreds of contractor firms over the next several years. The amazing "technology explosion" that has swept this country in the years since we ventured into space should remind us that robust activity in the aerospace industry is healthy for everyone—not just in jobs and income, but in the extension of our capabilities in every direction. The continued preeminence of America and American industry in the aerospace field will be an important part of the shuttle's "payload."

"We must sail sometimes with the wind and sometimes against it," said Oliver Wendell Holmes, "but we must sail, and not drift, nor lie at anchor." So with man's epic voyage into space—a voyage the United States of America has led and still shall lead.

Richard Nixon

Monday. JAN. 17, 1972

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Vol. 4, No. 45

THE DEMOCRAT FRONT-RUNNERS AND VIETNAM; SHOULD MUSKIE AND HUMPHREY BE GIVEN AMNESTY?

"We believe that containment of communist aggression regretfully involves direct confrontation from time to time and that to retreat from it is to undermine the prospects for stability and peace."—Sen. Edmund Muskie defending Johnson-Humphrey Administration Vietnam policy before the Philadelphia Allied Jewish Appeal, Feb. 28, 1966.

Vietnam "is our greatest adventure, and a wonderful one it is."—Vice President Hubert Humphrey quoted in the Washington Daily News, *Nov. 1, 1967.*

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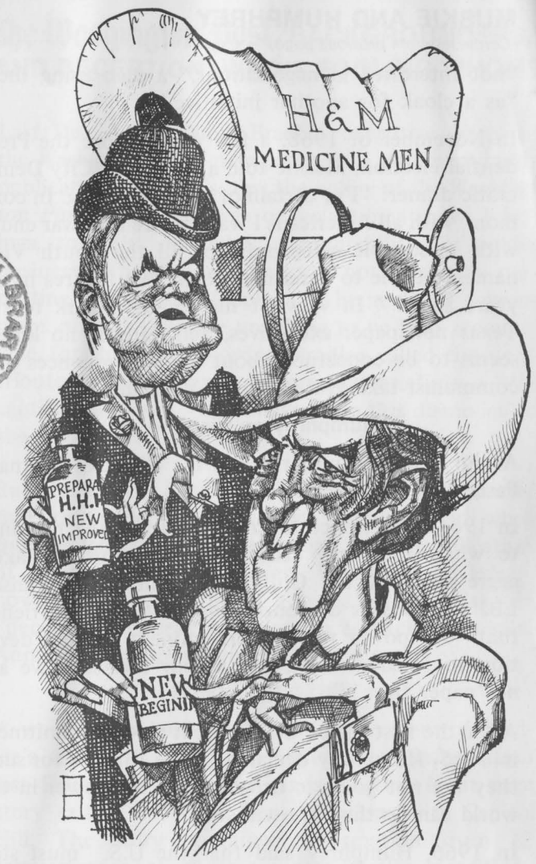
If either Sen. Muskie or Sen. Humphrey is the Presidential nominee of his party, and it now appears one of them will be, the crucial issue facing the American electorate in the campaign will be one of Vietnam and amnesty. Not amnesty involving draft dodgers, deserters and the government—but amnesty involving the Democratic nominee and the American people. In other words, if Muskie is the nominee, the question for the American people will be: Should we forget and put into the White House a man who now admits that he erred in not speaking out enough against the war in Vietnam?; if Humphrey is the nominee, the question will be: Should we forget and put into the White House a man who now admits that he erred in speaking out too much for the war in Vietnam. In either case, with their severely damaged credibility regarding the war, neither man should be a match for President Nixon, who will be going to the people about Vietnam with a record of solid achievement.

The Muskie-HHH Record

Consider the Muskie-Humphrey record.

Sen. Muskie, whose criticism of the war in Vietnam dates approximately from the first day President Nixon inherited the war from Sen. Muskie's party, now says the war is "wrong" and "a mistake." Muskie has even gone so far as to tell a meeting of Texas newspaper executives that a coalition government in South Vietnam "doesn't bother me" because even if a communist government did evolve from a coalition government, "there are different types of communism, and some are better than others."

This indifference to a communist take-over in South Vietnam is a far cry from a speech Muskie gave in 1966 in Philadelphia where he backed the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's Vietnam policy of "unremitting pressure in a carefully measured response to the aggression of the enemy." This course, said Muskie, "is the course which I think makes the most sense."



Muskie also told his audience that what was at stake in Vietnam was "the credibility of our word and our nation." Its loss "would be an enormous setback for the forces of freedom," he declared.

Vietnam in National Interest

In 1967 in a speech to a college audience in Herman, Pennsylvania, Sen. Muskie defended the Vietnam commitment as being "critical" to the national interest of the United States.

In September of 1968, Muskie was critical of Presidential candidates who might say anything that could possibly undermine the progress of peace talks in Paris. He said Hanoi might construe such statements as a "repudiation of the President" (at that time a Democratic President) and that such remarks would be a "disservice" to the country.

Muskie's hopes for the success of the negotiations did not however prevent him from attacking President Nixon, only four months after his election, as a man

(Continued next page)

MUSKIE AND HUMPHREY

(Continued from previous page)

"not interested in negotiations," a man using them "as a cloak for another initiative."

In November of 1968, a few days before the Presidential election, Muskie told a New York City Democratic dinner: "I'm certain of only one thing. In common with all Americans I want to see that war ended with reasonable safeguards for all the South Vietnamese people to determine their own futures in the years ahead." In view of his recent remark to the Texas newspaper executives, Sen. Muskie no longer seems to be concerned about the consequences of a communist take-over of South Vietnam.

Humphrey on Vietnam

As for Hubert Humphrey and the Ghost of Vietnam Past:

In 1964 in reference to President Johnson's response to what Humphrey called the communist's "naked aggression" in the Gulf of Tonkin, HHH praised LBJ's actions as demonstrating to America's friends that "our power remains pre-eminent and our devotion to freedom firm, and to our foes that we are no 'paper tiger.' "

After the first major U.S. combat troop commitment in 1965, Humphrey declared: "One thing is for sure, they are not going to drive us out. No power in the world can do that. We will stick."

In 1966, Humphrey said that the U.S. "must stay and see it through" in Vietnam so the free nations of the world know "we have the vision and endurance to do so."

In 1967, HHH said of Vietnam: "Our own security is at stake. That's why we're there."

But now, things are different. Radical scientists are throwing tomatoes at Humphrey and he is signing their pledges to get out of Vietnam lock, stock and barrel without so much as a mention of our prisoners of war or the fate of the South Vietnamese people.

Commitment "Invalid"

Having rhetorically greased the skids for our long slide into Vietnam, Humphrey is now denouncing as "invalid" the commitments of five American Presidents to that country. What is needed now, says HHH implying that he could provide it, is "leadership and vision." This from a man who has conceded his own myopia and followship on the Vietnam war.

If, as Senators Muskie and Humphrey say it will be, credibility is going to loom large as an issue in this year's Presidential contest, the outlook for these two gentlemen is grim indeed.

U.S. ECONOMY IMPROVES RAPIDLY DURING POST-FREEZE PERIOD

There is much recent evidence to show that the American economy is responding positively to President Nixon's new economic initiatives. Post-freeze economic data, measuring the health of the economy in diverse ways, underscore quite clearly the reason for the increasing optimism of the Nation's leading economists. The wage-price freeze worked, and there is every reason to believe that the post-freeze initiatives will, too. 1972 should indeed be a very good year. Here are the facts:

Prices

- The Consumer Price Index (CPI) for November registered 3.5% above a year ago—the smallest annual rise since February 1968.
- The annual rate of the Wholesale Price Index (WPI) in the Sept.-Nov., 3-month period *declined* .8% compared to the *rising* 4.6% in the 6 months prior to the freeze.
- The annual rate of the Industrial Commodities component of the WPI, over the 3-month period, *declined* 1.3% compared to the rate *increase* of 5.7% over the preceeding 6 months.
- Of the 87,000 items tabulated in a special Department of Labor survey, over 90% remained unchanged or declined from Sept. to Oct. (monthly-compared items).

Consumer Confidence

- The Sindlinger Consumer Confidence Index is steadily *increasing.* It was 117.7 immediately before the imposition of the freeze; 128.5 on November 17; 128.8 on November 24; 129.4 on November 31; 129.9 on December 8; 130.1 on December 15; and 130.3 on December 22.
- Employment in November continued to rise despite the rise in unemployment. Employment is up *over* a million and a half workers since June. Employment has reached 80,000,000 for the first time ever.
- There was another increase in the average work week in November (up an average of .3 hours in manufacturing, and .1 hours overall) which means many more people are working many more hours.
- Interest Rates have continued to decline—the Federal Reserve Board has lowered the discount rate. Treasury Bills are below the 4% yield rate—the lowest since last Spring.

- November estimates for retail sales are 13% above a year ago. In the first four weeks of December sales were 10% ahead of the comparable period a year ago.
- Auto sales continue at an all time record high.
- The Industrial Production Index (output of the Nation's factories, mines and utilities) rose .8% in November to a seasonally adjusted 107%. This registers the largest advance since the Spring of 1971.
- The rate of housing starts in the first 10 months of 1971 was at a higher annual rate than any year in history and it is still rising.

Personal Income

- From October to November there was a 3.5 billion dollar annual rate increase in overall personal income.

As for 1972, the President's new economic program together with basic factors at work point to a good year. Overall growth, as measured by real Gross National Product, may be expected to accelerate from last year's moderate pace. Contributing to this improvement will be the tax measures which the President recommended in August and which the Congress enacted in December with some modification. The realignment of currencies arranged in December, resulting in a more competitive position for American products at home and abroad, will also serve to bolster domestic economic activities.

More Jobs

The result of the policy stimulus will be registered in more jobs and real purchasing power. The unemployment rate has stubbornly remained in the 6% zone during the past year, but it may be expected to decline in 1972 as employment continues to expand. Improved employment conditions and rising income could bring good gains in consumer spending. Residential construction promises to continue strong, aided by continued availability of mortgage funds and interest rates below the peak levels of 1969-70. A stepped up rate of investment in new plants and equipment is likely, fostered by stronger business conditions, the investment tax credit, and growth in corporate profits.

There is good prospect of achieving the significant reduction in the rate of inflation that was one of the key objectives of the bold moves initiated last summer. The Phase II program is helping toward this end. At the same time, fundamental economic forces, including a more rapid rise in productivity, will compliment the controls program in reducing inflation and inflationary expectations.

The Washington Post, 'BACKGROUNDERS,' AND DECEPTION; WHO'S FOOLING WHOM?

Last Dec. 17 Benjamin Bradlee, executive editor of the *Washington Post* newspaper, in a statement in his publication said "it is now the policy of the *Washington Post*, in its coverage on government news briefings, to insist on public accountability for public business....The public interest is not served by permitting statements of policy to be made by government officials who are unwilling to be held accountable for their own words." Bradlee called the unattributed information in background briefings a "deception" and said: "We...have done this disservice to the reader long enough."

But a look at the *Post* since Bradlee's statement shows that the paper is continuing to engage in what Bradlee labels "deception," that is, the publication of unattributed information. The only difference now is that those being allowed by the *Post* to "deceive" their readers appear to be exclusively anti-Administration news sources. For example:

Blind Quotes Used

A week and a half after the announcement of Bradlee's new *Post* policy on unattributed information last December, the paper ran a lengthy, front page story critical of White House relations with Capitol Hill. The story contained information from 13 sources—none of which was specifically identified. The references were instead to "several persons interviewed," "one legislative observer," and "one Senator."

A week later, the *Post* ran another lengthy, front page story in its Sunday paper highly critical of the U.S. Information Agency and it's director Frank Shakespeare. The story contained information from 12 unattributed sources including "one senior staff member," "a young officer" and "people in the upper echelon."

(A footnote to the USIA story: The reporter who wrote it, Stanley Karnow, has on at least one occasion "stalked out" of a State Department briefing when the briefer attempted to put some remarks on background, according to *Newsweek* magazine.)

In an effort to understand what *Post* policy is, *Monday* spoke with Bradlee who conceded that as regards the *Post's* new policy on backgrounders and the two stories in question, there are inconsistencies. "Our halo is on crooked," Bradlee admitted. "I think we have been guilty of imprecise attribution since we made our new policy on backgrounders."

(Continued next page)

"BACKGROUNDERS,"

(Continued from previous page)

The *Post* executive editor said that he now doubts if the two stories in question "would get through the desk" because "the thing that concerns you concerns us." Bradlee explained that the stories got into print "because we are frail" and have not been able to immediately implement the new policy.

Bradlee however strongly argues that there is a distinction between situations in which the *Post* "in a one on one situation" seeks information on stories and controls the timing of things, and a situation where the government, as he put it, "calls you in and asks you to empty your cup while they fill it." He said he felt the latter was a greater deception than the former. But this is not to say the former is deceitful so much as it is "a not acceptable degree of vagueness," Bradlee said.

When *Monday* suggested to Bradlee that the *Post* editorially attack itself for not practicing what it preaches on unattributed information, he laughed and replied: "Our assistant managing editor is in the process of doing a piece on this."

THE POLITICS OF OMISSION

Having given up "The Politics of Joy," Hubert Humphrey has substituted "The Politics of Omission." Certainly his announcement for President was most interesting not for what was said but for what was left unsaid. For example, HHH now says that if he had been elected in 1968 "we would be out of that war." What he didn't say is that if he and his party had been more cautious we most likely would never have been in the Vietnam war or any of the other three wars this century that his party involved us in. HHH now says that what is needed is "to put our house in order" and "to get our country moving again." What he didn't say is that the last time things were turned over to people talking this way the "house" was almost wrecked and the country very nearly brought to a halt. Commenting on Humphrey's candidacy, the *Washington Star* noted editorially that HHH "continues to subscribe to the liberal cliches and programmatic ideas of years ago." And why shouldn't he, he invented many of them.

PRESIDENT STRONG ON PERFORMANCE: HAS NO USE FOR PUFFERY

What do the American people want? Performance or puffery?

President Nixon made the point clearly and forcefully in his recent televised conversation with CBS White House Correspondent Dan Rather.

"...my strong point is not rhetoric, it isn't showmanship, it isn't big promises—those things that create the glamour and excitement that people call charisma and warmth," the President said.

"My strong point, if I have a strong point, is performance. I always do more than I say. I always produce more than I promise...generally speaking, whether it is in the foreign field or in the domestic field, I believe that actions are what count. I also think that is what the country needs."

Hot Rhetoric, Big Promises

"...I think what got us into the trouble that we reaped in 1968, and a lot of it carried over to 1969, was hot rhetoric, big promises and then failure to come through on them."

"I feel that when the trouble of a nation has been caused by too much rhetoric, the cure for that trouble is not more rhetoric. What I think, therefore, is needed at this time, in order to gain the confidence of the people and let me put it more directly, in order to give the people of this country confidence in their government, is for their government to do something—to produce something."

"....What we have to do—...all of us in a position of responsibility in our society—is to restore confidence that this is a good country, that our government can produce, and the way to do that is to set our sights high, but make our promises realistic and then get some performance. I think at the conclusion of my term, I am going to have quite a bit of performance."

President is Right

And the evidence so far shows that the President is right. The Vietnam war has almost ended. Summit conferences with the Russians and the Chinese are scheduled for Moscow and Peking. A wide-ranging domestic program including proposals for welfare reform, government reorganization, health care and environmental protection has been proposed.

If the American people want puffery, they will have to go somewhere else. If they want performance, President Nixon's the one.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

The war in Vietnam continues to wind down. The withdrawal of 70,000 more U.S. troops from South Vietnam over the next three months, announced last week by President Nixon, will reduce the authorized American force to 69,000 by May 1. When President Nixon took office in January of 1969, there were 543,400 American troops in Vietnam.

Must Reading for Muskie

This year's FBI annual report is must reading for Sen. Edmund Muskie. Two of the Maine Senator's co-endorsers of the April 24, 1971 anti-war demonstration in Washington, People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), are identified in the report as extensively infiltrated and dominated by the Communist Party of the United States. Muskie, on April 5, 1971, urged all Americans to join in the demonstration to bring a quick end to the war. "I endorse and support this meeting on April 24...And I urge those who participate to carry their arguments on, beyond the days of demonstrations, into political processes and institutions of our Government. For the success of their cause lies there," Muskie declared.

Hartke a Stalking Horse?

Rumor of the Week: Vance Hartke is a stalking horse for Endicott Peabody.

Pollwatch: *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Irv Kupcinet says odds-maker Jimmy (the Greek) Snyder now rates President Nixon a two to one favorite to win re-election...A state-by-state survey by the *Christian Science Monitor* shows President Nixon beating Sen. Muskie, winning 35 states and 315 electoral votes; beating Sen. Kennedy with 40 states and 374 votes; beating Sen. Humphrey with 39 states and 374 votes; and beating Sen. Jackson with 42 states and 468 votes...*Washington Star* columnist Morrie Siegel reports that a poll taken in Israel shows President Nixon is the third biggest "hero" in that nation, topped only by Prime Minister Golda Meir and Defense Minister Moshe Dayan...A *Chicago South Suburban News* survey of 150 college and high school voters, who will cast their first votes this November, shows 45 percent favor the re-election of President Nixon; the rest are divided between Muskie and Humphrey...The Nebraska Poll shows 70 percent of the people against amnesty for young men who left the country or went to jail to evade the draft; 19 percent for; 11, no opinion.

ME, TOO

"So this is what I offer and ask of you...Not a promise to solve our problems overnight...but a commitment to make a new beginning."—*Sen. Edmund Muskie announcing his Presidential candidacy, Jan. 4, 1972*

"The Seventies will be a time of new beginnings, a time of exploring both on earth and in the heavens, a time of discovery."—*President Richard Nixon in his 1970 State of the Union address.*

DNC Chairman Larry O'Brien says President Nixon's only hope to win this year is to get George Wallace into the Presidential race. Which is an odd statement considering that only a few weeks ago O'Brien was pushing hard for a campaign finance plan which would have guaranteed Wallace a $6 million campaign kitty.

NFRW Board Meeting

Connie Armitage, President of the half-million member National Federation of Republican Women, has designated "Challenge of '72" as the theme of the NFRW Board meeting to be held in Scottsdale, Arizona, Jan. 19-22.

Youth, campaigning, public relations and the news media are topics to be covered by workshop speakers that include Bernie Wynn of the *Arizona Republic*, Dr. Bruce Merrill of Arizona State U.; Donna Reddick, National YR Co-Chairman; and Timothy Hayes of KTAR-TV. Other featured speakers at the meeting will be Ariz. Gov. Jack Williams, Presidential Counselor Harry Dent and RNC Co-Chairman Anne Armstrong.

GOP Outlook in Va., Wis.

Warren French, Jr., Va. State Republican Chmn., tells *Monday* chances are "excellent" that the GOP will retain the House seat of retiring Rep. Richard H. Poff. The front-runner for the job is the retiring minority leader of the Va. House Caldwell Butler of Roanoke, says French...Things also look good for the GOP in Wisc. Mrs. Joanie Jackson, 1st vice chairman of the state Republican Party says she believes the possibility of keeping the House seat of retiring Rep. John Byrnes is "very good." Contenders for the job include the minority leader of the state assembly, Harold Froehlich, and the state's attorney general, Robert W. Warren...Things look uphill in Texas,

(Continued next page)

though. The chances of the GOP taking Demo Rep. John Dowdy's House seat are "pretty tough," the exec director of the party, James Kane, tells *Monday*. Kane says East Texas is "real Democrat country" and it'll probably take a generation to make serious Republican advances in the area. Dowdy announced retirement after being convicted of accepting a $25,000 bribe to block Federal prosecution of a con man who admitted cheating Washington, D.C. homeowners.

The *Anchorage Daily Times* has editorially criticized Alaska Sen. Mike Gravel for appearing as the keynote speaker at the national convention of the radical People's Party. The paper, noting Gravel's infrequent visits to his home state, called the speech "just one more disappointing drop of water in a cup that already overflows with disappointments for Alaskans who once held high hopes for this young politician." Observing the Senator's travels to the convention and his hobnobbing with Dr. Spock and the doctor's friends in the Gay Liberation Front, the *Times* wonders if the Senator's trip was paid for by the People's Party or the people of Alaska...The Democratic Party in Illinois continues to set records. The recent indictment of U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Otto Kerner marks the first time in history a Federal judge has been indicted while on the bench, according to *Time* magazine.

New women's lib magazine *Ms.* says of Teddy Kennedy: "Kennedy's staff situation reflects a sexist attitude. Women held 77 percent of the jobs on his Senate staff during the first six months of 1971 but received only 58 percent of the total payroll. Men hold all but one of the top positions in his office. Hardworking women—called 'Boiler Room Girls'—keep the Kennedy machine going at lower levels, but they get rewarded with parties, not promotions."...

In an excerpt from his upcoming biography, Kennedy is quoted as saying of Chappaquidick: "Whether the accident is fading as an issue or not is not my criterion for being in public office or staying out of it." As to whether he thought the incident would have a continuing impact on his political career, EMK replied: "I suppose it will." But he added that it will not effect his plans, whatever they might be.

SPEAKING:

Today—Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, Howard U., Washington, D.C.; Int. Sec. **Morton**, Chamber of Commerce, Baltimore, Md.; Consumer adviser **Knauer**, Wives of Presidential Interchange Execs, Wash., D.C.; RNC Co-Chmn. **Armstrong**, Townhall Meeting, Corpus Christi, Tex.; Tues.—Pres. Counselor **Rumsfeld**, Insurance Information Institute, N.Y.C.; Vice President **Agnew**, Touchdown Club, Birmingham, Ala.; HEW Sec. **Richardson**, Nat'l Assn. State Boards of Education, Wash., D.C.; Wed.—**Richardson**, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Chamber of Commerce; Labor Sec. **Hodgson**, Electronic Industries Assn., Phoenix; RNC Chmn. **Dole**, RNC Professional Staff Conf.; Wash., D.C.; **Agnew**, Printing Industry Assn. of Northern Ohio, Cleveland; Thurs.—Treas. Sec. **Connally**, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Wash., D.C.

Fri.—Pres. Counselor **Dent**, Nat'l Fed. of Rep. Women Board meeting, Scottsdale, Ariz.; Communications chief **Klein**, Sarasota, Fla. Chamber of Commerce; **Connally**, Conference Board of New York, N.Y.C.; **Agnew**, Exec Comm. of Nat'l Governors Conf., Wash., D.C.; EPA Admin. **Ruckelshaus** and Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Nat'l Cattleman's Assn., Denver, Colo.; Sat.—**Volpe**, Nat'l Assn. of Women Highway Safety Leaders, Orlando, Fla.; **Armstrong**, NFRW Board meeting, Scottsdale, Ariz.

Monday. JAN. 17, 1972

republican national committee

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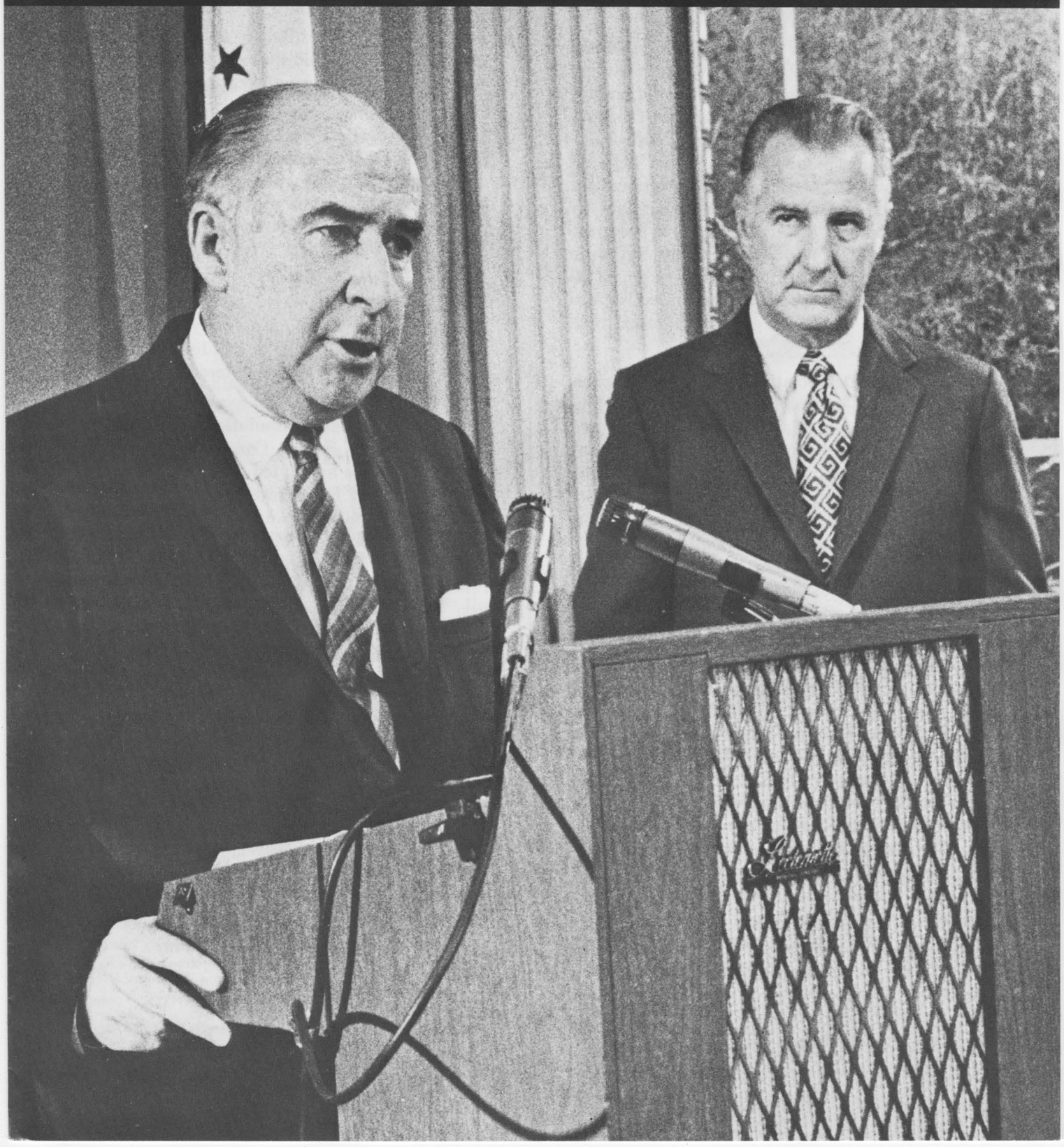
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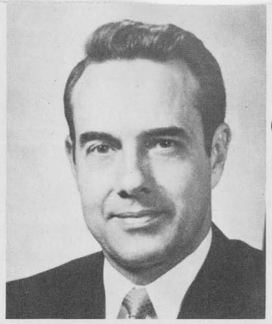
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Monday. JAN. 24, 1972

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, through Vice President Spiro Agnew and Attorney General John Mitchell, has announced a new, multi-million dollar initiative in the battle against crime. (See story inside)





Demo War Critics Backed Escalation, Now Try To Duck The Issue

(Excerpted from a speech before the Republican National Committee's Professional Staff Conference, Washington, D.C.)

As you may have observed, the Democrat presidential sweepstakes is under way. If Mr. Muskie's curious declaration that nothing in America is good enough and Mr. Kennedy's personal slurs against President Nixon are any indication, the level of political dialogue in the coming months won't be very high. At this point, we are still waiting for it to bottom out. The President has been called a barbarian, not by the usual screwballs in the street, but by a Congressman. Evidently this is what passes for leadership in the Democrat party. Mr. Kennedy chose to attack his country from the alien precincts of a United Nations dinner, presuming to outline America's moral obligations.

The fact that the Democrat party—traditionally this Nation's war party—is responsible for a conflict which has cost the lives of over 55,000 Americans is a source of some distress to the present crop of Democrat hopefuls, particularly since they are each individually so deeply implicated in that conflict. They have obviously concluded that a good offense is the best defense in this matter, and it is difficult sometimes to keep in mind how the war in Vietnam started and how it is being ended—who started it, and who is stopping it.

Sen. Edmund Muskie informed the Nation recently that "it is not good enough—indeed it is indefensible—that people are still dying, at our hands, in a war that is wrong...a war most Americans rejected long ago." Sen. Hubert Humphrey said a few weeks ago: "I believe in the total withdrawal of all U.S. forces as quickly as humanly, technically possible. I believe in a total end to the war." Sen. Edward Kennedy: "My opposition to the continuation of the war in Vietnam is full and unqualified." And Sen. George McGovern: "The most tragic diplomatic and moral failure in our national experience."

If you listen to all this, if you read the amendments these men introduce and support on the floor of the Congress to tie the President's hands in his effort to get us out of Southeast Asia, you might think that perhaps it was Hubert Humphrey who is cleaning up the mess in Vietnam, and not Richard Nixon.

They all seem to have a better idea about how to get out of Vietnam than the President. And I can well understand how some of them might reach that conclusion. You would think the people that got us into Vietnam would know how best to get us out—but war isn't like follow the leader and, as I recall, the only direction the people who got us into Vietnam seemed to ever take was *further* into Vietnam.

The Democrats have kept up a constant flow of criticism and crocodile tears for the last three years in the obvious hope that the American people will forget the sordid role their own party played in deliberately plunging us into the Vietnam quagmire.

As American troop strength in Vietnam grew and grew through the mid-sixties, today's critics of the war were loyally supporting the policies of the war party.

I think those who supported the escalation in Southeast Asia now owe it to the President to support the de-escalation. I think those who wrongly sent our boys to Southeast Asia are under obligation to support the President as he rightly brings them home.

It is time to place the responsibility where it lies. Much more importantly, it is time we studied the origins of the Vietnamese war in a thorough, comprehensive and unemotional way so that we can find out what really led to the disaster which President Nixon faced when he entered the White House in 1969.

I shall soon prepare a resolution calling for the appointment of a special Congressional investigating committee, to be appointed on a bi-partisan basis by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House—a committee whose purpose will be to investigate and evaluate the causes and conduct of the Vietnam war. The American people have had enough rumors, enough leaks, enough "inside stories," enough lies. The American people want the truth. It is time the Congress showed them the respect they deserve and give them the truth.

Bob Dole

Monday. JAN. 24, 1972

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MUSKIE UNDER PRESSURE: THE POLITICS OF BUST

"As soon as certain topics are raised, the concrete melts into the abstract and no one seems able to think of turns of speech that are not hackneyed: prose consists less and less of words chosen for the sake of their meaning, and more and more of phrases tacked together like the sections of a prefabricated hen-house..."—George Orwell in "Politics and the English Language."

The Guinness Book of World Records does not now list the most evasive Presidential candidate to ever appear on a nationally televised news show. But if it ever does, Sen. Edmund Muskie's recent appearance on "Meet the Press" should win him the title.

In his first nationally televised appearance in an uncontrolled setting since announcing his candidacy, Muskie came off as weak, indecisive and disingenuous. He was a master of obfuscation. He vacillated on Vietnam, dodged on defense and backpedaled on busing. There was no question for which he did not have a non-answer. When exposed to the pressure of tough, hard questioning by the press, the Politics of Trust became the Politics of Bust:

Vacillating on Vietnam

Vietnam. Saying he was confused about Muskie's position on American aid to South Vietnam after all U.S. troops are withdrawn, the *Washington Post's* David Broder asked if he favored aid or not? Muskie answered with his usual conundrum that "the question of transitional aid would depend, I think, upon the nature of our withdrawal, whether or not it is the result of a negotiated withdrawal or a negotiated date, a unilateral date for withdrawal."

NBC's Douglas Kiker later bored in with the same question. If he were President and inherited a 30,000 man U.S. residual force, would he set a withdrawal date, remove all U.S. troops, air power and military and economic aid from the South Vietnamese government in order to get the POW's back? Muskie hedged again, pledging himself to an objective of "complete withdrawal" and "a negotiation initiative" in hopes this would be the best way to get the POW's back and achieve the other objective of safe withdrawal of remaining U.S. forces.

Dodging on Defense

Defense. Specifically how much would you reduce defense spending and in what areas, syndicated columnist Robert Novak asked? Muskie dodged: "I don't think that you can, in advance, specify a number that fixes the line between national security and national insecurity." Don't the voters have a right to know this if they are going to vote for you? The voters should have "a thoughtful, rational budget built upon principles that a candidate clearly enunciates," Muskie replied, enunciating none of those principles. When do you think the voters should know what type of defense budget you favor, Novak started to ask. Muskie broke in with a smile: "Well, elect me President and I will try to present one."



SUPERMUSKIE: Able to duck issues in a single bound.

Campaign Financing. Noting that he was campaigning on the slogan "Trust Muskie," the *N.Y. Times'* R.W. Apple asked the Maine Democrat why it wasn't possible for him to set a new standard of conduct by unilaterally disclosing the names of those individuals bank-rolling his campaign. Muskie said that to do so would make him a "target." It would also limit his money-raising possibilities, he explained, because his contributors would feel inhibited by such an "unequal requirement."

The reasons now offered by Muskie as to why he won't disclose his finances are a far cry from his testimony last March before a subcommittee of the

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THE POLITICS OF BUST

(Continued from previous page)

Senate Commerce Committee when he expressed hope that something could be done to separate money from politics. At that time, Muskie said it could be done "easily." The only thing needed "is a little political leadership that will raise its sights beyond immediate partisan advantage..." he declared. It is now clear that that leadership will not be exercised by Sen. Muskie.

Backpedaling on Busing

Busing. Asked if he favored a recent Federal Court decision involving Richmond, Va., and requiring massive compulsory busing, Muskie ducked, calling busing "a difficult problem," a "least desirable answer" and not "the total answer." Explaining that he had not read the 300 page court decision, Muskie said: "I am not prepared to say either that busing is no answer or that it ought to be excluded."

Commenting editorially on what they called some of the "simplistic pap" Muskie has been putting down, (Example: "The surest way to make jobs is to make jobs."), the *Washington Daily News* noted that while some of the Democratic front-runner's "wisdom" might send a Zen Buddhist into rapturous contemplation of his navel, "it's hardly adequate for the American taxpayer-citizen who wants to know precisely how these things are to be done, how much they will cost and what their long-range domestic or international effects will be."

Credibility is a legitimate enough issue, the *News* declared. "But the candidate who chooses to make it one carries an extra burden of proof of his own credibility."

JACKSON AND "DAMN FOOLS"

Sen. Muskie is not the only Democratic Presidential hopeful having difficulty explaining just exactly what it is he is talking about. Sen. Henry Jackson is another. One of Jackson's favorite statements is: "I'm a liberal but I'm no damn fool." CBS' Mike Wallace recently confronted Jackson and asked him just who the damn fools are he is talking about.

Sen. Jackson: Well, I think unfolding events will make it easy for the voter to make that decision.

Wallace: Mrs. Jackson....

Mrs. Jackson: What? (laughing)

Wallace: Would you care to say a few words about damn fools?

Sen. Jackson: She's looking at me—I am one once in a while.

NEW ANTI-CRIME PROGRAM AIMED AT STREET CRIME AND BURGLARIES

The Nixon Administration has announced a major new initiative in the battle against crime—the High Impact Anti-Crime Program. As explained by Vice President Agnew, head of the Office of Intergovernmental Relations, the program "is designed to reduce street crimes and burglaries by significant amounts in a reasonably short period of time."

The goal of the program is to make a quick, high impact against burglaries and a variety of street crimes—robbery, mugging, assault, rape. "We hope to reduce street crimes and burglaries by five percent in two years and as much as 20 percent in five years in each of the cities in which the program is being implemented," the Vice President declared.

Public Education Program

As a part of the program, there will be a public education program to inform citizens on how they can better protect themselves and their property. This education effort also will involve research and application of present techniques for the most effective system of locks and alarms.

Next, there will be more effective anti-crime patrols by police—and this could include more policemen, plus better equipment, tactics and training. Police would stress not only crime prevention, but increased apprehension of offenders as well. New equipment might include helicopters and improved radio systems to get police to the crime scene faster.

The High Impact Program will also involve special programs to prosecute street crime and burglary offenders. This means more effective and larger staffs of prosecutors and special court dockets for these offenses.

At the same time, great emphasis will be placed on rehabilitating offenders. In each city, special projects will begin for rehabilitation of street crime and burglary offenders—to take every step to try to prevent them from returning to a life of crime.

In his briefing explaining the program, Attorney General John Mitchell pointed out that from the beginning of his Administration "President Nixon has taken the lead in the war on crime" and the Justice Department has given it "top priority."

Crime Epidemic Momentum Slowing

Mitchell said that he was encouraged by the latest crime figures released by the FBI which show "the national crime epidemic is losing its momentum." For example: For the first nine months of 1971 there was a six percent increase in the designated seven major crime categories over those in the same period



PRESIDENT NIXON has appointed Dr. Arthur S. Flemming as his Special Consultant on Aging. "I am determined that the voice of older Americans will be heard in the White House" when matters affecting their interests are being discussed, the President declared. Dr. Flemming, a distinguished public servant, was Secretary of HEW under President Eisenhower and Chairman of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging. Dr. Flemming is shown here being congratulated after his swearing in. Mrs. Flemming is with him.

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in 1970. While this is obviously of concern, Mitchell pointed out that the figure must be "viewed in perspective" against increases in the same period of previous years—19 percent in 1968 (the last year of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration), 11 percent in 1969, and 10 percent in 1970. "In other words, while the occurence of crime is still outrunning the prevention of crime, we are gaining on it."

Mitchell called the new High Impact Anti-Crime Program "a new step forward in the war against crime."

The program is beginning in eight major cities and will be expanded in the near future to as many as ten others. Ultimately it is hoped the program will be in operation in virtually every city in the Nation with a significant crime problem.

The eight cities selected for the initial phase of the program are Newark, Baltimore, Atlanta, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, St. Louis and Portland, Oregon. During the next 24 months, they will be allocated up to a total of $160 million—an average of $20 million each.

The major action agency at the Federal level will be the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the Department of Justice.

TEDDY KENNEDY'S GUILT COMPLEX AND PRESIDENT NIXON

"Self-projection. When the endangering forces or impulses within oneself create anxiety which cannot be dealt with for what it is, one may project these impulses, or others akin to them, upon other persons, and then attack those persons. The ground for the attack as typically stated is some error, fault or misdeed, which bears some kinship to an unacceptable element within the attacker himself." — From the book "Guilt and Redemption" by Lewis Joseph Sherrill.

Looking at some of the phrases used by Sen. Teddy Kennedy in a recent speech before the Washington Press Club, one might think the Senator had chosen the occasion to answer some of the unanswered questions about what happened on Chappaquiddick Island.

For example, Kennedy spoke of "a spirit now in crisis," "a crisis of performance," "a crisis of morality," the need to "wash away the stain," a "stench of incompetence...and corruption." He talked about unlocking doors "the sooner...the better;" he admitted that "all men make mistakes;" he spoke of intoxication, "innocent men and women and children," "human dignity," "human values lost;" and "insensitivity to the suffering of our fellow citizens." He lamented the "seeming inability to do what we know is right;" "misguided policies of the recent past." Finally, he called for a "certain kind of moral order," an order based on things like "hope and work and faith and love."

Personal Attack on President

But Kennedy's address was not about Kennedy. It was merely another one of his routine personal attacks on the President of the United States. It was, as GOP Senate leader Hugh Scott called it, "intemperate and immature." It was as RNC Chairman Bob Dole labeled it, "the usual cacaphony of mindless negativism about our country." And it most certainly was, as House Republican Whip Les Arends branded it, "petulant political opportunism."

Kennedy's address was also riddled with untruths. In a factual rebuttal of Kennedy's reckless rhetoric on the race issue, HEW Secretary Elliott Richardson has pointed out that the performance of the Nixon Administration in the area of civil rights has: led to the dismantling of the dual school system; increased aid to black colleges to $125 million; proposed the

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TEDDY KENNEDY

(Continued from previous page)

Nation's first comprehensive emergency school assistance act to deal with the problems of racial isolation; undertaken a drive for minority-owned bank deposits resulting in an increase in deposits of $195 million created the first program ever to provide jobs and training to minorities, as in the Philadelphia Plan.

Utopian Visionary

But Kennedy's speech was more than all these things. It was the ravings of a Utopian visionary suffering from a case of chronic *weltschermz*, that is, a mental depression caused by the comparison of the actual state of the world with a non-existent and unattainable ideal state.

Kennedy is one of those, described by President Nixon in his State of the Union address, who tells us we are evil because we are not yet perfect, that we are corrupt because we are not yet pure, that all the sweat and toil and sacrifice that have gone into the building of American were for naught because the building is not yet done.

In short, Kennedy is a defeatist. He is also a man troubled by a gnawing guilt complex, which is understandable. But it would be nice if he would quit taking it out on the President of the United States.

DON'T ROCK THE BOAT

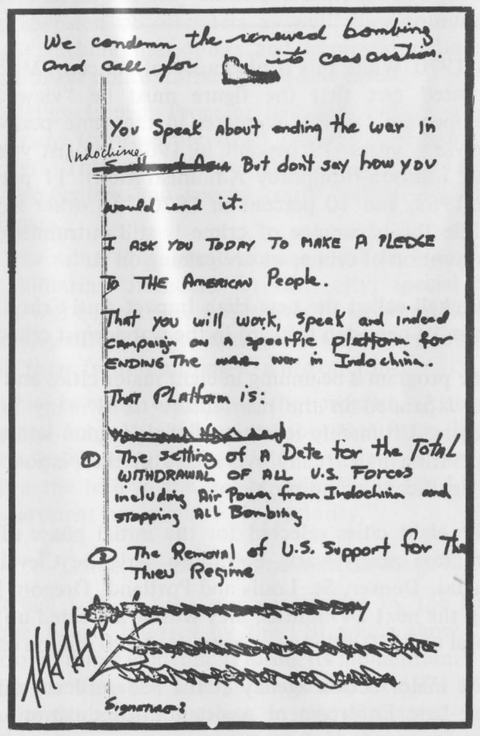
"Mr. Speaker, this House and this Country must consider both the long-range and the short-range chances for peace in this world. The Congress and the President need to cooperate in this search for peace. I think it would be a serious mistake for this Congress at this time to do anything that would materially hamper or adversely interfere with the present efforts that are under way to bring the war in Southeast Asia to an end, which I believe is the desire of everybody in the House and the overwhelming desire of our people generally. The President is going to Peking, the President is going to Moscow, and it seems to me that to rock the boat at this time or to take any action that would likely be so construed would be most damaging to our efforts to promote the course of peace."
—Rep. George H. Mahon, Democratic Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

RADICAL NEWS AGENCY DISTRIBUTES HUMPHREY-SIGNED PLEDGE

The radical, pro-Viet Cong Liberation News Service is circulating a reproduction of the pledge (below) recently signed by Sen. Hubert Humphrey in which he affirmed his support for the removal of all U.S. support from the government of South Vietnam. The pledge, signed by HHH at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, was drafted by two radical scientists and makes no mention of American POW's or men missing in action. Humphrey signed the pledge after being heckled and pelted with tomatoes.

One of the drafters of the statement was John Froines, a defendant in the Chicago 7 trial and a leader of last spring's Mayday demonstrations which sought to shut down the U.S. government.

The caption circulated with the reproduction of the pledge says HHH signed the pledge "as a part of the general harassment of the scheduled speakers."



POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

RNC Chmn. Bob Dole will soon be sending a letter to the party press and the regular press stressing the importance of voter registration this year. The letter will point out that in 1968 more citizens of voting age (38 million) were unregistered than voted for President Nixon. Registration should be a "prime concern," Dole says. "From the precinct level up, this is our primary task as concerned Republicans."

The Democrats last week "answered" President Nixon's State of the Union address in a televised, phone-in show in which viewers were told they could call collect. What was not make clear is how a party with a phone bill of nearly $1.5 million can accept collect calls.

Rumor of the Week: The Democratic National Committee is presently considering a plan whereby if, by convention time, there are more candidates than delegates, the candidates will hold their own convention and select delegates. Just what will happen then is not clear.

Pollwatch: Oddsmaker Jimmy (the Greek) Snyder now rates Sen. Muskie's chances of getting his party's nomination better, 5–2, an improvement over the 5–3 odds a month ago. However, Jimmy considers President Nixon an 8–5 bet to beat Muskie, a slight improvement over the 7–5 odds a month ago. The President is given an 11–5 edge over Sen. Humphrey or Jackson, a 13–1 advantage over Kennedy and a 3–1 wager over anyone else who gets the Democrat nomination. Vice President Agnew is rated a 10–1 choice for renomination as the President's running mate.

NAME THAT QUOTE

"Our enemy is not the President of the United States, whether the incumbent, his successor to come, or his predecessors.

"The Constitution charges the President with the duty of conducting our foreign relations by and with the advice of the Senate. It makes him the leading actor; not a spectator and a mere witness. And this role has been discharged by successive Presidents of the United States throughout the nearly two centuries duration of the Constitution. It was never intended by the Founding Fathers that the President of the United States should be a ventriloquist's dummy sitting on the lap of the Congress."

Sen. J. William Fulbright, quoted in the Democratic Digest, *April, 1954.*

STATE OF THE UNION

The February issue of *First Monday* will carry a report on President Nixon's State of the Union address.

The *Portland* (Maine) *Press Herald* has labeled Sen. Muskie's televised announcement of his Presidential candidacy "not one of the high points" of his career. The paper called it "disappointing," "political theatricality," and "patent artificiality."...In a press conference announcing the endorsement of Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Muskie has ducked the issue whether or not he favors giving the right to strike to public employees...Zinging his former running mate, Muskie announced at the opening of his new Washington campaign headquarters that there will be "no Humphrey techniques—we want to win this election."...The director of the "non-partisan, citizen's lobby" Common Cause voting rights project, Anne Wexler, has joined the Muskie campaign as executive director of National Citizens for Muskie. Mrs. Wexler is also the Connecticut Democratic state committeewoman and held this post while she worked for John Gardner's organization.

Washington Post columnist Kenneth Crawford points out that while Eugene McCarthy is now attacking Sens. Muskie and Humphrey for their support of the Vietnam war, he is no less a convert than they. McCarthy, along with all the other Democratic Presidential hopefuls, voted for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution which gave the Johnson-Humphrey Administration the authority to do whatever was necessary militarily to achieve U.S. objectives in Vietnam...The *N.Y. Times* reports that Eugene Garfield, president of the Auto-Train Corp. has withdrawn as the finance chairman of Sen. Vance Hartke's Presidential campaign after a columnist pointed out that Hartke is chairman of the Senate's Surface Transportation subcommittee that oversees the regulation of railroads. Charles Roche, Hartke's campaign chairman, however, is still with the Senator. Roche is on leave from the Freight Forwarder Institute. The Institute has a bill on shipper-railroad contracts pending before the Hartke subcommittee, according to a report in the *Indianapolis Star.*

French newspaper reporter Max Clos, returned from South Vietnam, writes: "The truth is this: The Saigon regime has made astounding progress for the past two years, while in the meantime the Viet Cong have seen the influence vanish which it had for so long exerted on the Vietnamese population."

The *Wall Street Journal* reports liberal Democrats will suffer most from Congressional redistricting. As many as 15 are in danger of losing their seats next year...Noting the inaction of the Democrat-controlled Congress on President Nixon's tax cut measure requested last August, the N.Y. *Daily News'* Jerry Greene says the Demos in the House and particularly the Senate "appear bound to throw yet another factor into the presidential contest—Congressional lethargy."...In an effort to improve communications between young people and his administration, California Gov. Ronald Reagan is participating in a question and answer column which appears in some 23 university and college newspapers around the state. The idea of a Claremont College student, Chip Goodman, the column has also been requested by several weekly newspapers and at least one high school.

The Federal Reserve Board has reported that industrial production scored a solid .7 percent gain in December, indicating an improving economic picture... The Commerce Dept. reports that for the four weeks prior to Christmas, the real volume of sales of stores handling Christmas-type merchandise registered an increase of more than five percent over the similar 1970 period. The increase is the largest year-to-year advance since 1966.

Colorado Gov. John Love has endorsed President Nixon for re-election...California Rep. H. Allen Smith, ranking GOP member of the Rules Committee and a member of the House for 16 years, has announced he is retiring...James T. Neal is the new GOP state chairman in Indiana...The Census Bureau reports that contrary to popular belief more than half of the U.S. population is not under 25. The median age in 1971 is estimated at 27.1 The age is somewhat lower than 1960 and 1950 but still high compared to 1910 when it was 24.1 years and the nineteenth century when it was considerably below that figure...The White House has appt'd the first media specialist for the Spanish-speaking. Carlos Conde, formerly director of information for the Civil Rights Commission, is now working for Herb Klein, communications director for the executive branch.

SPEAKING:

Today—Vice President **Agnew**, RNC Chairman **Dole**, EPA Admin. **Ruckelshaus** address Nat'l Homebuilders Assn., Houston; HEW Sec. **Richardson**, Kansas State U., Manhattan, Kan.; Counsellor **Finch**, Eastern Regional Secondary School Athletic Directors, Wash., D.C.; Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, FAA symposium, Wash., D.C.; Tues.—Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Foreign Agriculture Officers, Wash., D.C.; Labor Sec. **Hodgson**, UAW Nat'l Legislative Conf., Wash., D.C.; HUD Sec. **Romney**, Homebuilders, Houston; **Dole**, Assn. Equipment Distributors, Chicago; Wed.—Treas. Sec. **Connally**, Richmond, Va. Chamber of Commerce; **Agnew**, Executives of Construction Industry, N.Y.C.; **Dole**, American Dehydrators Assn., Bal Harbor, Fla.; **Ruckelshaus**, Rep. Women of Capitol Hill, Wash., D.C.; Communications chief **Klein**, Newsmakers luncheon, N.Y.C.; Fri.—**Romney**, Metropolitan Growth Conf., Boston and Harvard Business School, Cambridge; Sat.—**Agnew**, Daytona Beach Jaycees; **Dole**, Kansas State, Topeka; **Ruckelshaus**, Va. Legislature, Williamsburg; **Richardson**, N.H. State Bar, Concord.

Monday. JAN. 24, 1972

republican national committee

Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

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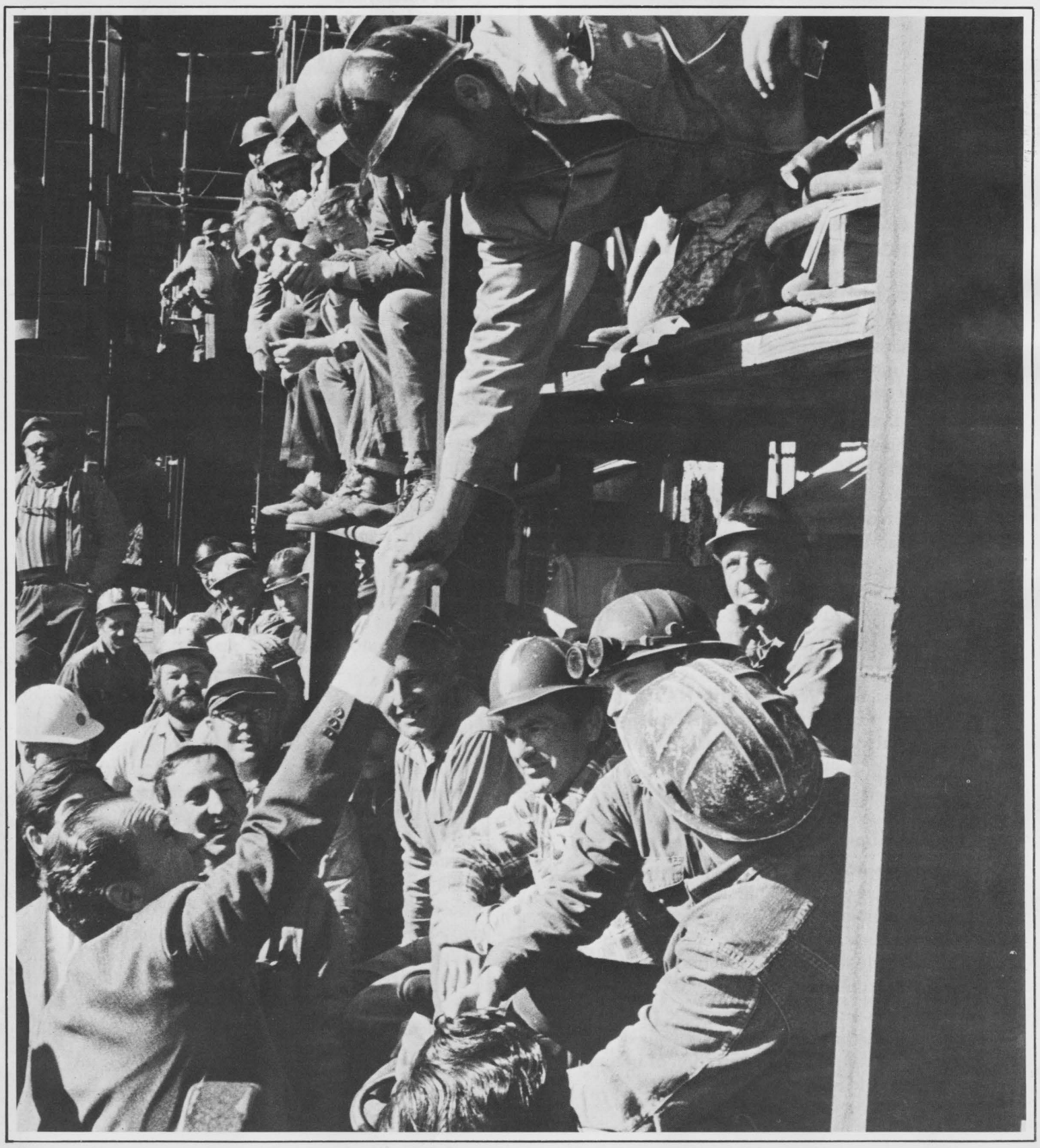
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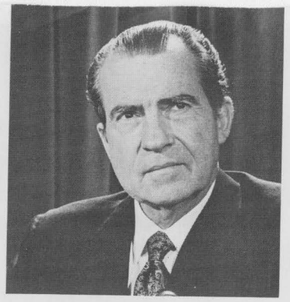
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Monday. JAN. 31, 1972

PRESIDENT NIXON greets a hardhat in San Diego. The President was recently on the West Coast officiating at the signing of a $54 million maritime contract in that city.





Strategy For Peace

(Excerpted from President Nixon's 1973 Budget Message)

The highest priority of my Administration is to bring about an era of peace and prosperity. We are pursuing this goal through partnership with our allies, military strength adequate to deter aggression, negotiations with those with whom we differ, and foreign assistance that encourages self-sufficiency.

We seek peace to reduce the human suffering that is an inevitable part of war. With peace we can release energies and resources that can be used to improve the quality of life everywhere. We have accomplished much of this high purpose during the past three years—particularly as a result of the Vietnamization program.

South Vietnamese forces have assumed the responsibility for ground combat operations. Vietnamization is moving forward in other areas as well. As a result:

- **U.S. casualties due to hostilities have been averaging less than 10 per week, as compared with 300 per week in 1968.**
- **the authorized troop level in South Vietnam will have been reduced from 549,500 in January 1969 to 69,000 as of May 1, 1972; and**
- **draft calls have been reduced from a Vietnam war high of 382,000 to 94,000 in calendar year 1971, as we move toward the goal of zero draft calls.**

Negotiations with the Soviet Union on strategic arms limitations are progressing.

Agreement has been reached with NATO members on a five-year plan to strengthen their defenses, with a substantial increase in their financial contribution.

Security assistance programs are being planned with a view toward better coordinating them with our overall security effort. In some cases, this may permit additional reductions in U.S. manpower needs overseas.

Our efforts toward peace have not been—and will not be—at the expense of our military strength. Indeed, measures to maintain that strength are a vital part of our peace efforts. Accordingly, this budget proposes a substantial increase in defense programs to provide for the following improvements:

- **additional resources for our strategic forces to increase emphasis on our sea-based strategic deterrent force and to continue modernization of present offensive and defensive forces;**
- **a major increase in shipbuilding, reflecting the high priority I place upon modernizing our naval forces; a sizable increase in research and development to assure continuation of our technological superiority;**
- **newer equipment, higher manning levels, and further training to improve the ability of the National Guard and Reserves to supplement the Active Forces;**
- **continued development and procurement of more effective weapons systems for the land and tactical air forces; and**
- **a major effort to achieve an all-volunteer force. Toward this end, a career in the Armed Forces was made more attractive by doubling the basic pay of first time enlistees in November 1971. Other increases in military pay are budgeted for January 1972 and 1973.**

Strong foreign assistance programs are also an essential part of our strategy for peace, serving to:

- **implement the Nixon Doctrine by helping foreign nations assume a greater share of the responsibility for their defense;**
- **strengthen the economies of developing nations;**
- **provide humanitarian assistance and relief.**

We must be steadfast in our foreign assistance. We are moving from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation and increased reliance on our allies to defend themselves. In this setting, I have carefully weighed our basic assistance requirements against our domestic priorities, and now submit a program based on a thorough assessment of what is essential. We must not undercut the efforts of developing nations to stand on their own. Nor can we shortchange the nations now shouldering the burden of their own defense after they—and we—have given so much.

Richard Nixon

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Monday. JAN. 31, 1972

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MUSKIE BANDWAGON HAS A SLOW LEAK AND A BLOWOUT: FLORIDA AND IOWA

The Muskie Presidential bandwagon has tire trouble. There's a slow leak in Florida and there has been an unexpected blow-out in Iowa. Top Muskie campaign strategists are reportedly beginning to panic and not without good reason. Here's why:

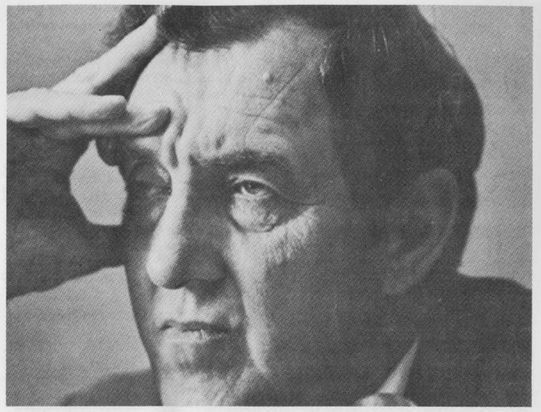
Florida. Muskie is blowing it in the Sunshine State for a number of reasons. First, there's his knee-jerk denunciation of President Nixon's $5.5 billion space shuttle program as "pork barrel politics." The space industry in Florida means jobs. The State ranked third in the allocation of Federal aerospace spending in 1970, receiving $357 million in NASA funds. The four counties that would benefit most from the Muskie-opposed program—Orange, Volusia, Brevard and Seminole—contain nearly one-fifth of all the registered Democrats in the State. In a tight race involving Muskie, Humphrey and Wallace, the votes of the people in these areas could determine the winner.

Jackson Hits Muskie

Muskie's chief primary opponents as well as all the major newspapers in the State are backing the President's proposed space shuttle project.

Sen. Henry Jackson opened his Central Florida campaign headquarters with a blistering attack on Muskie telling voters: "I won't be coming into your State and saying I'm going to put you out of the space business." Jackson also condemned Muskie for opposing the ABM, noting that many of Martin-Marietta's 8,000 Orlando employees are working on the Sprint missile, an integral part of the anti-ballistic missile system. Sen. Humphrey has also strongly backed the space shuttle.

Some other reasons for Muskie's slippage in the Sunshine State are Alabama Gov. George Wallace and Sen. Hubert Humphrey. Last August when Muskie sent a message to his supporters in Florida telling them that their State's primary "may well determine" the 1972 Democratic nominee, the Maine Democrat was top-dog with virtually no opposition in sight. But now things are different. Wallace, who pulled 624,207 votes for President in 1968, and Humphrey, who garnered 676,794, are in the race. A recent Muskie poll taken by the Democrat front-runner's own people showed him in a near dead heat with Wallace and HHH: Muskie, 26 percent; Wallace, 24; and Humphrey, 23. Muskie's name recognition was at 73 percent; Humphrey's, 88. A poll conducted by the Humphrey people last December showed Muskie running third: Wallace, 27; Humphrey, 23; and Muskie, 22.



MUSKIE: Top strategists beginning to panic.

Thus with the drastic change in the outlook for a victory in the Florida primary it comes as no surprise that Muskie is now downplaying the importance of the primary in the State that Gov. Reubin Askew called "a microcosm of the country."

Asked earlier this month in a New Hampshire press conference about the importance of the Florida primary, Muskie replied that as he sees it, "it's become so overcrowded, so fragmented, that it may well be a lesser test than it was perceived to be a month ago." Muskie went on to say that his objective was to win but if he lost "to explain the results" so the press "can't attach any significance to it. That's my job."

Muskie's Dade County chairman, Florida House Speaker Richard Pettigrew, however, sees things differently. He's telling people the primary outcome will be meaningful despite the crowded field. "It will be as conclusive as the Democrats of Florida want it to be," says Pettigrew.

Iowa. The results of the Hawkeye State's recent Democratic precinct caucus elections have been a bitter disappointment to the Muskie camp. Hoping that their man would score a smashing victory in this first state to have its delegates on record for a Presidential hopeful, Muskie instead got only a little over one-third of the votes with an almost identical number favoring an uncommitted position. Sen. McGovern drew about 23 percent of the vote.

Iowa No Impetus For Campaign

As the *Washington Post's* William Chapman analyzed it: "The results gave no new impetus to the Muskie campaign. He entered the Iowa contest as the front-running candidate nationally. In addition, he had the support of the principal Democratic politicians in Iowa and most of the influential United Auto

(Continued next page)

THE MUSKIE BANDWAGON

(Continued from previous page)

Workers leadership. Nonetheless, he got little more than a third of the vote."

The *N.Y. Times'* political reporter R.W. Apple, labeled the Muskie victory "clouded" by the strong showing of McGovern. Commenting on the larger uncommitted vote, nearly twice as big as predicted by the Democratic State Chairman, Apple wrote that it is "further evidence that, here at least, many Democrats do not consider his nomination inevitable."

What happened in Iowa where Muskie strategists were privately predicting a 50–55% vote for their man? One disgruntled Muskie worker told *Monday:* "We simply got out-organized. The McGovern people were here for a couple of months; the Muskie people in Washington didn't really start giving us any attention until the last two weeks before the election.

"I think they attached too much importance to Sen. Hughes' endorsement of Muskie. Hughes just isn't as popular as he used to be. Muskie's showing here hurts. There's no telling what kind of impact it will have in New Hampshire and Florida. But it won't be good."

A HOT LETTER TO MUSKIE

In an attempt to learn just how much Sen. Muskie has been hurt in Central Florida by his opposition to President Nixon's space shuttle program, *Monday* spoke with a local Democratic official in Brevard County, the home of Cape Kennedy. Active in local politics for 10 years, the official said Muskie's primary campaign was "bombing out" and that she was "very, very disappointed" in his opposition to the space shuttle. "I think he's being advised very poorly," she declared. "Many Democrats I know have left Muskie and are now going for Humphrey."

The woman told *Monday* that as a result of Muskie's opposition to the space shuttle she had written him a letter about the matter letting him know that many people in her area were referring to him as an "idiot," a "dumb jerk" and other things too strong to mention. "It's my harshest political letter ever," she said, "and it's still on the table cooling off."

PRESIDENT AGAIN ASKS DEMOCRAT CONGRESS TO GET MOVING ON DISASTROUS DOCK STRIKE

President Nixon has proposed to the Democrat-controlled Congress special legislation to set up immediately a three-member arbitration board to deal with the West Coast dock dispute. This work stoppage is "intolerable in its effects upon millions of Americans" and "threatens the Nation's health and safety," said the President. "I am determined that we shall end it at once."

Stressing the urgency of the situation in his message to the Congress, the President declared: "This is a vital matter to the people of this country, and the Nation can afford no delay."

Dimensions of Destruction

The dimensions of destruction which this strike is wreaking upon its victims include:

- Thousands of farmers reaping a harvest of despair as their export crops are blocked by closed ports. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been lost.
- The danger that some trade losses will be permanent as foreign purchasers believe U.S. markets to be unreliable.
- Layoffs, reduced operations, and even business failures hang over the heads of many Americans directly or indirectly in exports.

Hoping to enlist the support of the Democratic Presidential hopefuls in the Senate who have often given a lot of lip-service to the plight of the farmer, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz has written Sens. Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, Hartke and McGovern and asked them to use their influence and get behind the President on this issue.

Butz Prods Democrats

"You are looked upon as a leader in your party and in the Senate as a national leader as a result of being a candidate for the Presidential nomination of your party in 1972," Butz wrote. "It is vital to the farmers that you use your influence in support of the emergency action in Senate Joint Resolution 187 now before Congress which provides a procedure for settling the disputes on the Pacific Coast and in Hawaii. It is also vitally important that you support S. 560, the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act, which provides long-range sensible solutions for dealing with the East Coast and Gulf dispute and other transportation work stoppages that are so harmful to farmers. This is urgent and requires immediate action."

PRESIDENT'S VIETNAM PEACE INITIATIVES PULL RUG AND FLOOR FROM UNDER CRITICS

"We went through last year without answering months of criticism...we endured months of criticism about deadlocks, about failures to respond...about lack of imagination, because we thought there was a chance of making progress..."—Dr. Henry Kissinger, press conference, Jan. 26, 1972.

President Nixon's revelation of 30 months of secret Vietnam peace negotiations will, in a manner of speaking, separate the men from the boys. It will show the American people who is interested in peace or who is interested in making partisan political hay at the expense of the President of the United States. As the *Christian Science Monitor* noted editorially, for the President's Democratic opponents who have charged him with prolonging the war, his peace-making effort "utterly demolishes that particular political issue."

The proposals put forth by the President have drawn wide-ranging support. The *N.Y. Times* says they "merit support from all shades of American opinion and a positive response from the other side." The *Washington Star* editorializes that "it will take a very determined critic to find much fault with the Vietnam peace plan." Observes the *Star:* "There should also be a considerable amount of crow-eating among those who have accused the Administration of obduracy in trying to find an honorable solution to the war."

Hypocrisy of Hanoi

The Democratic Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. F. Edward Hebert, said the President "tore the mask of hypocrisy from the face of Hanoi." May Rose Evans of Oakland, California, whose husband is missing in Laos, said of the President's proposal, "it's great. I think finally we can stop all these people saying if we can just set a date, this is it. We have offered all these things and they just have said no." The *Washington Daily News* said that if the North Vietnamese are half as interested in ending the war as they have been claiming, the President's settlement plan "gave them the opportunity, plus." The plan, says the *News*, is "eminently fair, even generous."

In his televised address, the President pointed out that his plan is a plan that is fair to North Vietnam and fair to South Vietnam. "The only thing this plan does not do is to join the enemy to overthrow our ally, which the United States of America will never do. If the enemy wants peace, it will have to recognize the important difference between settlement and surrender."



TENNESSEE SEN. BILL BROCK (center) and Washington Redskins fullback Tommy Mason, listen as Los Angeles Ram linebacker Marlin McKeever makes a point. The three were participants in a press conference announcing the formation of the Young Voters for the President Committee. Sen. Brock is Chairman of the Congressional Advisory Committee, Young Voters for the President. The membership of the YVPC includes such well-known personalities as: Clint Eastwood, Miami Dolphin quarterback Bob Griese, Chad Everett and former Miss America, Mary Ann Mobley.

The President stressed his willingness to negotiate peace immediately but warned that if the enemy's answer is to step up their military attacks, "I shall fully meet my responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces to protect our remaining forces."

Responding to those Democratic Presidential aspirants who have criticized the President's efforts for peace, RNC Chairman Dole said:

Irresponsible, Self-Serving Attacks

"I am amazed and saddened at the irresponsible and self-serving Democrat attacks on the efforts by the President to end the killing in Vietnam and to bring our prisoners of war home. In complete disregard of the substance or purpose of the President's peace proposals, the Democrat Presidential contenders have denounced the President's efforts even before Hanoi had a chance to denounce them.

"Sen. McGovern, faced with the clear evidence of the agonizing, painstaking efforts on the part of the President to end the war, can think of nothing more responsible to say that to infer that the President is a liar.

"Sen. Hartke, the man who has been quoted as suggesting that we should abandon our prisoners of war,

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VIETNAM PEACE

(Continued from previous page)

now accuses the President of dealing in the darkness 'to save his own face and that of a corrupt dictator.'

"Sen. Kennedy's remarks are distinguished only by their remarkably consistent disregard for the facts. Any reasonable person could not have listened to the President's speech and come to the conclusion that this President is not interested in ending the war. That is unbelievably irresponsible behavior.

"Sen. Humphrey, running for President as usual, and running behind as usual, sounded willing to make the supreme sacrifice for peace. He said, 'If this helps the President politically, it's just the price we'll have to pay.'

Muskie Ignores Facts

"And Sen. Muskie says he is pleased that the President is adopting Democrat initiatives—conveniently ignoring the fact that the proposals stated publicly by the President had been pursued privately by the President shortly after he came into office.

"President Nixon's disclosure of his eight point peace plan for Indochina was received with hope and, I think, with pride by most Americans who are sincerely and responsibly concerned about the prospects for peace in that troubled region of the world.

"Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield has called it ' a big step forward,' and his positive appraisal has been echoed by most of my colleagues. These Democrat candidates, however, have proved their distressing willingness to obstruct the prospects of peace and undermine America's faith in its government when to do so holds promise of getting their stalled campaigns moving."

NAME THAT QUOTE

"The Democratic Party has at one and the same time happily embraced anti-civil rights interests and illiberal doctrines in some areas and liberal courses in other areas. In the big cities of the North it has shaped itself into machine governments which have been as inward-grown and regressive as their allies of convenience in the South. Often it is only the perpetuation of a status quo—most often patronage—which has been the motivational force. Power has been used or taken either for the feeding process or for its own sake."

Democrat John Lindsay in his book "Journey Into Politics," written in 1967 when he was calling himself a "Republican."

DEMOCRAT STATE OF UNION ANSWER CRITICIZED AS TOO PARTISAN

The Democrats so-called answer to President Nixon's State of the Union address was bitterly partisan, unenlightening and rigged. It sharply contrasted with the President's speech which the *Washington Post* labeled "low key, non-partisan, earnest" and "presidential."

The atmosphere in the TV studio was one of contrived approbation. According to an account in the *Post*, the studio audience consisted of about 150 partisan Democrats sitting in bleachers facing the panel. "Just before air time, a voice from the control room directed: ' Will everyone please applaud enthusiastically.' They did, and occasionally did so throughout the program."

Calls Screened

According to a report in the *Washington Star*, the Democrats had a bank of legislative assistants to screen incoming phone calls to see that only the questions they wanted answered got on the air. Out of the 100,000 calls made to the show, called "Your Voice Counts," only six got on the air.

The *Star* reported that not all callers were friendly and several called the newspaper during and after the show to complain about not getting a chance to rebut some of the things the Democrats were saying.

The *Chicago Tribune* reported similar viewer outrage at being unable to get through to the show with questions not compatible with the Democrat line. Spokesmen for NBC, ABC, CBS and WGN said the complaints primarily concerned the fact that only certain people—mainly Democrats—were allowed to get through on the special open line installed by the Democratic Party.

The *Tribune* reported several callers complaining that they were cut off when it became apparent that their question was favorable to President Nixon's address. One "flak catcher" at WGN said the most frequently used words to describe the Democrat's show were "ridiculous" and "farce." She said it was also a big day for anxious parents who were worried that the show would not be off in time for the regularly scheduled noontime broadcast, "Bozo's Circus."

Press Comment Not Good

Press comment on the Democrat show has not been good. The *N.Y. Times* noted a "paucity of fresh thought among the Democrats" and observed there was "scant information on exactly how the Democrats, if restored to White House control, would overcome such problems" as they talked about. The

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DEMOCRAT STATE OF UNION

(Continued from previous page)

Chicago Tribune called it "a series of personal attacks too biased for even a half-wit to find credible." *Life* magazine's Washington bureau chief Hugh Sidey labeled it "a political Lawrence Welk Show" with "More actors and more gimmickry than I've seen for a long time." Sidey said he felt the show "fell short" and that the Democrats "had no alternatives." Syndicated political columnist Warren Rogers declared: "I think it was all tears and flapdoodle and accomplished nothing. It was a pretty sorry show on their part."

Syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft agreed saying the most significant thing about the show was that the second team or "taxi squad" was on the air. But with the intra-party fight going on in the party for President it was understandable, Kraft said. "You know, they don't want to put Vance Hartke and Mayor Yorty on camera."

Monday spoke with one of the callers who did get on the air, Indiana University student Gregory Steele, and asked him what he thought of the show. He liked the "logistics," he said, but as far as answering what the President said, what the Democrats had to say was "not very appropriate." Steele said he thought there was too much "politicizing going on" and that, for the most part, the Democrats so-called answers were "grossly inadequate." Asked what he learned from the show, Steele replied: "Not much."

DEMOCRATS REFUSE SOLDIER'S CALL

One of those who took the Democrats up on their offer to call collect with a question was Air Force Master Sergeant John Harte, who was at the time listening to the show over American Forces Radio in Wakkanai, Japan. "I just tried to call the Democrats who attacked President Nixon, but they wouldn't accept my call," Harte told a reporter for the Delaware County (Pa.) *Daily Times*. Harte said he wanted to ask the Democrats why they were not commenting on the President's success in ending the American involvement in Vietnam and why they were not mentioning what he had done about the problems of poverty. "Some of us who have put time in the service would like to hear both sides," Harte declared.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

Sen. Muskie continues to ride tall in the straddle. One wonders if there are any questions he would respond to directly. (Maybe, maybe not, one can almost hear him answering.) "We'll lose if he's nominated," says superdove, former U.S. Sen. Ernest Gruening about Muskie. "He wiggles and wobbles all over the place."

Muskie Ducks on Anderson Leaks

Asked in a N.H. press conference if he were President whether or not he would have the Justice Dept. investigate to find out who leaked secret information to columnist Jack Anderson, Muskie ducked saying he would first undertake to shape a policy so that people would not have to resort "to indirect means to find out what my administration represented." Muskie then admitted that in his own presidential campaign he has had a leak problem and "in all frankness I try to find where they came from." Muskie said that he has not been very successful in finding the culprit. Suggestion: Perhaps he should undertake to shape a policy so that people will not have to resort to "indirect means" to find out what their candidate represents.

The legendary Muskie temper is back in the news. Women's lib spokesman Gloria Steinem says that when she questioned Muskie in an interview in 1970 about the Vietnam war, the Senator blew his top. When she pushed him on his position on the war, she quotes the Senator as saying: "How did this girl get in here? Get her out of here." She said he calmed down in an hour and the interview resumed.

Muskie Packs Press Conferences

Syndicated columnist Warren Rogers reports that newsmen have complained to Muskie's press secretary that packing his press conferences with cheering partisans is demeaning to the press. The press aide promised it would be stopped...*Monday* has learned that Muskie is using his Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations staff to call various government departments and agencies to compile facts and figures which are being used by his campaign operation in both Washington and the major primary states...In an article distributed by the American Indian Press Assn., Vine Deloria, Jr. says that a Muskie Presidency would be a "disaster" and "a step backward." Commenting on a recent Muskie mailing to Indians stressing his civil rights record, Deloria sadly notes that the Democratic front-runner "looks like a liberal who wants to integrate Indians."

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* is having a hard time with Muskie's campaign slogan "A New Begin-

ning." Checking the dictionary the paper wonders just how there could be any such thing since "what is begun is begun and isn't subject to repetition."... Wincing from the slogan himself, the *Chicago Daily News'* columnist Mike Royko comments: "If he means going back four, eight or a dozen years and doing them over again, I do get a clear mental picture. I also get a twitch under my left eye."

According to those in a position to know, Sen. George McGovern's recently proposed $54.8 billion defense budget (a cut of about $20 billion from the real budget) would: freeze the U.S. into a second-rate security posture; doom the Strategic Arms Limitations talks; encourage Soviet nuclear blackmail; dump a million more defense and civilian personnel onto the unemployment roles; dissolve NATO before the Soviets agree to reduce their forces in Eastern Europe; leave world sealanes hostage to the Soviet navy; result in the President of the United States having to crawl to the bargaining table as a supplicant; and end U.S. world leadership both diplomatic and economic. The McGovern plan should more accurately be called a defenseless budget.

More flak for Muskie from his home state on the style of his Presidential announcement. The Topsham *Maine Times* calls it "pure choreography in a moldy media manner." What voters must be watching most about Muskie, says the *Times*, is an issue that he long ago took unto himself—"his own integrity and candor as a public servant."...A source close to Sen. Hubert Humphrey tells *Monday* that HHH does dye his hair and the man personally doing the tinting is Harold L. Knight, owner of Harold of K men's hairstyling salon in Washington. Knight tells *Monday* he has "no comment" on what he does for any of his clients.

The Democratic National Committee has assigned Sen. George McGovern 62 hotel rooms for next summer's convention in Miami Beach. Are there that many people for McGovern?

SPEAKING:

Today—Vice President **Agnew**, Chamber of Commerce, Baltimore; Counsellor **Finch**, CCOSS conference, Dallas; Treas. Sec. **Connally**, Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburgh; Tues.—**Finch**, San Fernando Valley Service Clubs, Tujunga, Calif.; Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Org. of Professional Employees of USDA, Wash., D.C.; HUD Sec. **Romney**, Congressional Prayer Breakfast; Maritime Comm. Chmn. **Bentley**, Century Club, Concord, Calif.; Dep. Atty. Gen. **Kleindienst**, Duval Co. Medical Society, Jacksonville, Fla.; Wed.—**Agnew**, Calvin Bullock Forum, NYC; Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, Trans. Assn. of America, NYC; **Bentley**, Nat'l Women's Political Caucus, Wash., D.C.; **Finch**, Western Fairs Assn., Anaheim, Calif.; **Romney**, Lincoln Day dinner, Seattle; Congressional Relations chief **MacGregor**, AARP legislative council, Wash., D.C.; CEQ Chmn. **Train**, Wash. Workshops Congress seminar, Wash., D.C.; Thurs.—Telecomm. Dir. **Whitehead**, Armed Forces Comm. & Electronics Assn., Wash., D.C.; **Agnew**, Boy Scouts Dawn Patrol breakfast, NYC; **Romney**, Metro. Growth Conf., Seattle; State Sec. **Rogers**, White House Conf. on Narcotics Addiction, Wash., D.C.; Labor Sec. **Hodgson**, AIA Industrial Relations Comm., Wash., D.C.; Fri.—**Romney**, Metro. Growth Conf., San Diego; **Finch**, CCOSS, Denver; Comm. Sec. **Stans**, Internat'l Police Academy graduation ceremony, Wash., D.C.; Counsellor **Rumsfeld**, Senate Youth Pgm, Wash., D.C.; Int. Sec. **Morton**, N.H. Comm. for the Re-Election of the President, Concord, N.H.

Monday. JAN. 31, 1972

republican national committee

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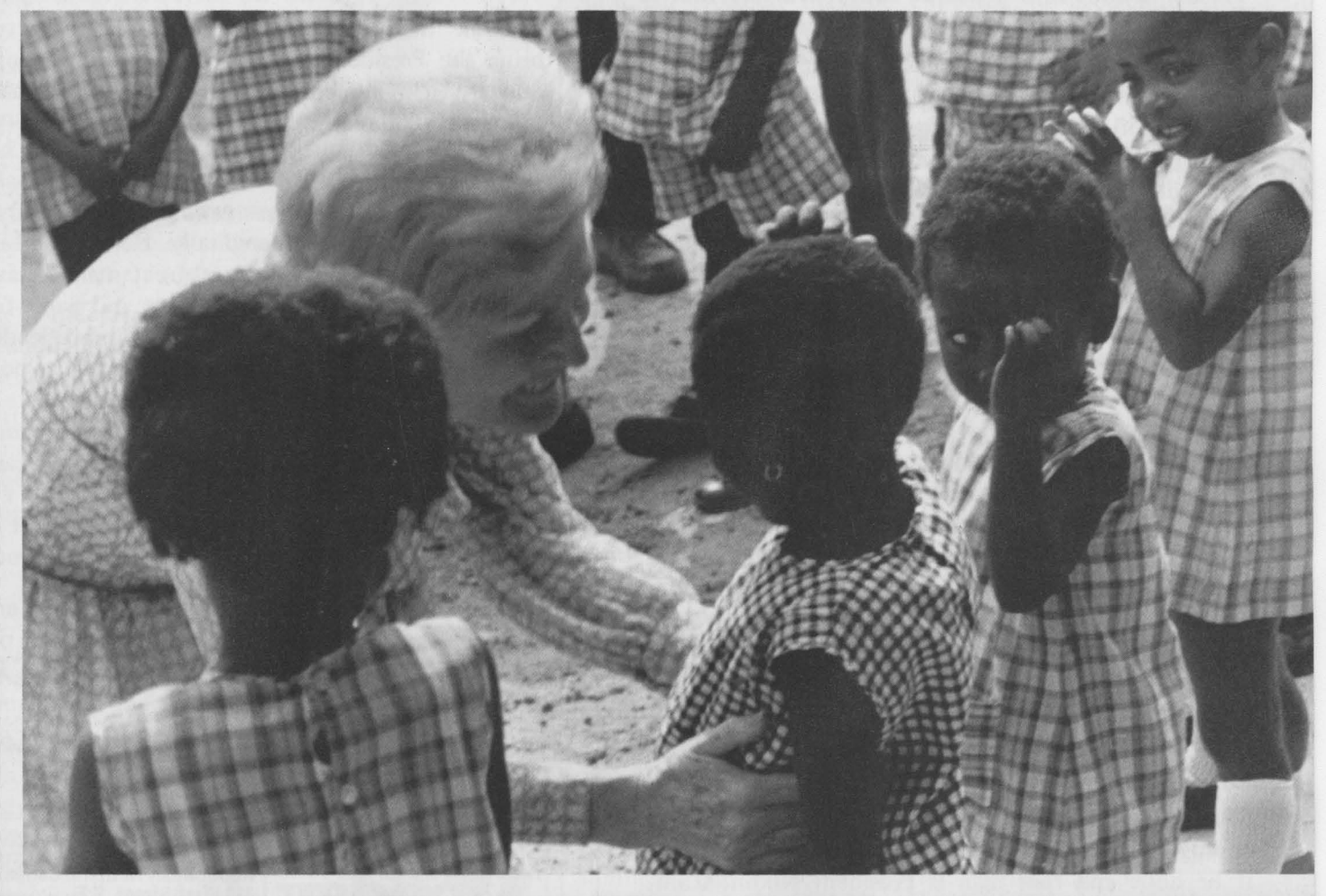
NEWSPAPER

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First Monday

February 7, 1972



AND EVERYWHERE THE LITTLE CHILDREN. Rated by the world's press as a top diplomat in a lifetime that has taken her to 74 foreign countries; at home in the company of heads of state, First Lady Pat Nixon has a special appeal for children in every land. Her 10,000-mile, three-country visit to Africa last month was no exception. (See page 5). Here, she makes friends with a young set of African ladies in the day nursery at the Medina Training Center in Ghana.

First Lady of American Friendship

(Special Center Section)



Young People Should Remember What President Has Done

(Jody Smith is the 19-year-old Republican Mayor of Ayrshire, Iowa and a member of the Young Voters for the President Committee)

Many people have said that the youth vote will go Democratic. I don't agree. It won't, if the young people of America will:

Remember the riots, the disorders, the heated words and the great polarization of America when the President came into office in 1969. Compare that to the calm and sense of purpose throughout our Nation today. From where I sit, that means a lot for all of us.

Remember all those people in 1968 who spoke of peace in Vietnam—well the President is bringing peace in Vietnam, one that we can be proud of, and peace in the world as well. I know he is going about it carefully and realistically.

It won't be easy all the time and he knows we must keep up our strength to insure the peace, but I think we're very close to his goal of a full generation of peace. Young people agree with that goal and will enthusiastically support a President who is dedicated to real peace.

Remember that it was President Nixon who took the tough—but necessary—actions to move the economy from a wartime basis to a peacetime footing. It hasn't been easy, but the worst is behind us and real prosperity, based on the productivity of the American people has begun. The great shift in reordering our priorities, a favorite call among some young people, is evident when it is remembered that defense spending in 1968 was 45% of the budget—human resources 33%; but in 1971 defense made up 34% of the budget while human resources was 42%.

Remember that for all the loud calls for reform and ending of the draft, one man alone has directed that it be done and that man is President Nixon. I am, like most young men of America, ready and willing to defend my country, and the volunteer army concept would remove the unpleasant sense of coercion. The draft reforms and the moves toward a volunteer army will also result in a better army.

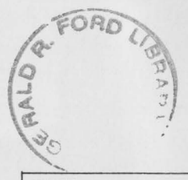
Remember that this President is the one who proposed the most sweeping series of environmental programs ever offered by a head of State. He too, shares our concern with the future well being of the people and the environment. Here again, Mr. Nixon took action where so many had talked and so few had done.

Remember that this President is the one who has reversed the trend of having more and more things done by Washington. The people in the State and local levels of government are good people who only ask for the money and the authority to tackle their problems. Revenue sharing and the greater role given to local governments in most programs of this Administration are evidence of the President's belief that government must be brought closer to the people.

Remember that this President is the one who doubled educational opportunity grants while tripling funds for college loan programs. In this, as in so many of his actions, he has sponsored proposals to give young people the opportunities they need to develop character and to follow their chosen careers.

I think that if we in the Republican Party can bring the President's record to the young people of our country—a record too often viciously distorted or simply ignored—we can then count on the youth vote to help re-elect the President.

I have followed the President's career closely and have spoken with him personally. He is a good man—indeed, I believe him to be a great man. I have announced my willingness to support and work for his re-election. I call upon all of you who are leaders in the Party to recruit as many young people as possible to work in the campaign ahead, not doing make work projects, but in worthwhile activity. It is a campaign that, for the future of us all, we must win. It can't be done without the votes and support of the young. We have the right man standing for the right issues to attract the youth vote—so let's go out and win them.



Jody E. Smith

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U.S. ECONOMY IMPROVES RAPIDLY DURING POST-FREEZE PERIOD

There is much recent evidence to show that the American economy is responding positively to President Nixon's new economic initiatives. Post-freeze economic data, measuring the health of the economy in diverse ways, underscore quite clearly the reason for the increasing optimism of the Nation's leading economists. The wage-price freeze worked, and there is every reason to believe that the post-freeze initiatives will, too. 1972 should indeed be a very good year. Here are the facts:

Prices

■ The Consumer Price Index (CPI) rose at a 1.7% seasonally adjusted rate during the 3-month freeze period. This was the lowest rate of increase for a comparable time period since the three months ending April 1967. With the termination of the freeze, the CPI rose more rapidly in December but was still only 3.4% above a year ago.

■ The Wholesale Price Index (WPI) rose at only a 1.5% annual rate from August to December 1971.

■ Of the 120,000 consumer items tabulated in a Department of Labor survey, (excluding raw agricultural products), prices were unchanged between October and November for 86% of the items and declined for 6.5%.

Other Indicators

■ The Sindlinger Consumer Confidence Index continues to rise. It was 117.7 immediately before the imposition of the freeze; 128.5 on November 17; 130.1 on December 15; and 131.4 on January 19.

■ Evidencing strength in the employment picture, the length of the average work week in manufacturing industries rose from 40.1 hours in November to 40.3 hours in December. The average overtime rose from 3.0 to 3.1 hours per week in the same period.

■ The Index of Industrial Production (output of the Nation's factories, mines and utilities) rose 0.7%, seasonally adjusted, from November to December, including a substantial increase of 0.8% in output of manufacturing industries.

■ Private housing starts reached a record high annual rate of 2,517,000 in December and are still rising.

Gross National Product

■ The Nation's Gross National Product rose $19.6 billion or at an annual rate of 7.7% from the third to the fourth quarter. The most notable fact about the overall increase was that a healthy 6.1% was represented by real gross and only 1.5% by higher prices.

■ Personal income rose sharply in December to an annual rate of $883.8 billion, almost $9 billion above the November rate. The advance in total wages and salaries more than accounted for the month to month gain, there being some decline in dividend income.

As for 1972, the President's new economic program together with basic factors at work point to a good year. Overall growth, as measured by real Gross National Product, may be expected to accelerate from last year's moderate pace. Contributing to this improvement will be the tax measures which the President recommended in August and which the Congress enacted in December with some modification. The realignment of currencies arranged in December, resulting in a more competitive position for American products at home and abroad, will also serve to bolster domestic economic activities.

More Jobs

The result of the policy stimulus will be registered in more jobs and real purchasing power. The unemployment rate has stubbornly remained in the 6% zone during the past year, but it may be expected to decline in 1972 as employment continues to expand. Improved employment conditions and rising income could bring good gains in consumer spending. Residential construction promises to continue strong, aided by continued availability of mortgage funds and interest rates below the peak levels of 1969-70. A stepped up rate of investment in new plants and equipment is likely, fostered by stronger business conditions, the investment tax credit, and growth in corporate profits.

There is good prospect of achieving the significant reduction in the rate of inflation that was one of the key objectives of the bold moves initiated last summer. The Phase II program is helping toward this end. At the same time, fundamental economic forces, including a more rapid rise in productivity, will compliment the controls program in reducing inflation and inflationary expectations.

HELP!

FIRST MONDAY can always use help. If you have an idea for a story or see something in the newspaper or on television that you think we might be interested in, drop us a line c/o the Republican National Committee, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Thank you.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

(Reprinted from *The Wall Street Journal*)

Unemployment. Of all the economic numbers tossed about with minimal understanding these days, the one representing the unemployment rate probably tops the list of the most-used and least-comprehended. Few political speeches can do without it. Reformers trumpet it. Talk about it is heard from the pulpit and in the seminar. It besprinkles the chitchat of the cocktail hour. Even school kids refer to it. But there is, withal, much more talk than clear thought on the subject. And maybe another try at keeping it in perspective is warranted.

Fluctuating within a fraction of a point for more than a year, the much-mouthed figure now stands at 6.1%. Contrasting this with manpower-tight wartime rates (more men in the armed services, more workers in defense plants), most commentators seem to take it for granted that this represents a very bad situation indeed.

But others are beginning to wonder. Looking about them for other evidences of really large-scale joblessness, they find themselves confused. The following paragraph reflects this confusion. It is excerpted from a letter among those flowing across this writer's desk.

"There is something wrong — radically wrong—with the unemployment figures. With all the unemployed reported, it would be reasonable to assume that you could get a car washed, that you could get a house painted, that an electrical contractor could hire helpers, that it would be possible to employ people for clerical positions such as bank clerks. . . . But I have checked many sections of the country and they all report the difficulty in finding people *to take jobs."*

The letter writer may be guilty of exaggeration. And his cross-country survey may have been less than scientific. But he has a point. And it is this: Sure, there are people out of work today—there always are. But is the situation now anything like as bad as it is commonly painted? And if it is indeed so bad, why is it that would-be employers so often find it hard to hire people?

These questions aren't easy to answer. But an honest effort can be made.

The best starting point is a look behind the 6.1% figure at the total number of people classified as unemployed, and a breakdown as to who they are. The Labor Department's estimates for December are as follows.

Age-Sex Groups	*Jobless*
Males, 20 yrs and over	2,141,000
Females, 20 yrs and over	1,710,000
All Teenagers (16-19 yrs)	1,365,000
Total	5,216,000

As a source of public befuddlement on the overall unemployment picture, the most important figure by far in the above table is the one for teenagers. The teenagers, of course, represent only a tiny fraction of the working manpower in the nation, but it will be noted that they account for more than a fourth—26 out of every 100—of the "unemployed."

Over half of all employed teenagers quite logically only work part-time—on after-school jobs and such. But if any one of these kids is looking for even an after-school job and can't find it, he counts just as much in the overall unemployment total as an out-of-work head of a family.

Under this system of calculation, the teenage unemployment rate, now above 17%, gives a boost to the overall unemployment rate drastically out of line with the teenager's working role in the economy. The December jobless rate for adult men was actually only 4.4%—and for married men only 3.3%.

Teenage unemployment heavily concentrated in big-city slums is a serious thing. Hundreds of thousands of deprived youths, oppressed by grinding poverty, frustrated by idleness, tempted by drugs—their plight adds up to a dangerous, crime-breeding rash of sores on the social body. Only the blind can fail to see the evil in it and be concerned about finding a remedy. But to use this situation to help paint a picture of massive joblessness among bread-winning adults is plainly misleading.

Now note the womenfolk in the unemployment breakdown. Women play a far greater role in today's payroll working force than they did just a few years ago. Wage-earning females have increased by nearly 10 million in the past decade—a gigantic leap of some 50%. And just as they have increased their role in the work force, they have increased as a factor in the unemployed totals.

It will be noted in the table above that more than 1.7 million, or roughly a third of the total unemployed, are adult women. And, more important, they account for 44 of every 100 adults classified as unemployed.

But there are not many women electrical workers. Or house painters. Or car washers. Or TV repair technicians. Or auto mechanics. The list of jobs where womanpower, swollen as it is today, just doesn't fit importantly into the picture goes on and on.

Thus when you remove from the unemployed the largely unskilled and largely part-time-available teenagers, plus the women, who are not trained for so many occupations, you begin to get at least a partial answer to the man who wonders why, "with all the unemployed reported," it is often so hard to hire people.

It should be noted that adult women, as a source of family income, are not to be compared with the teenagers. Many women today provide the sole support for their families. And many more provide a sizable part of it.

But as a group (a now big group, remember) they are still to a much greater degree in-and-outers in the labor market than are the men. Far less than half of the women labeled unemployed are so classified because they lost jobs. A recent (November) Labor Department estimate figured 15% of the jobless adult women were thus listed because they had quit their last jobs voluntarily. And another whopping 44% had actually been out of the labor market for some time, and, deciding to work again, hadn't found jobs to their liking.

No, the "6.1% unemployed" figure is not one to be happy about. But the public misconception it engenders is probably too big to measure.

—JOHN O'RILEY



First Lady of American Friendship

MAKING FRIENDS IN GHANA. Pat Nixon stops to admire the work of a weaver-craftsman at Accra's Cultural Center.

. . . not even a lion

In the TIME article on Pat Nixon's African mission, reprinted here, the editors pay tribute to her lionesque courage—noting that "no lion would dare take on the First Lady's imposing retinue of 40."

That "retinue" included 35 members of the press—there to record their individual impressions and opinions from a vantage point that gave them not only an open view of the First Lady in the public arena but an inside look at the lady herself as a fellow trouper during an agenda-jammed journey that took them through three countries and 10,000 miles in eight days.

Few notables in the public eye are ever accorded the rare accolade of a unanimously favorable press. But Pat Nixon in Africa—even as Pat Nixon at home or in any of the 74 foreign countries she has visited—once again won the honors.

TIME

JANUARY 17, 1972

THE FIRST LADY:

African Queen for a Week

DURING World War II, Eleanor Roosevelt logged thousands of miles visiting American troops overseas and meeting with exiled leaders in London. Mrs. John Kennedy lent her special brand of jet-set elegance to her husband's presidency by making unofficial trips to India and Pakistan. Lady Bird Johnson, who generally confined her traveling to the continental U.S., journeyed to Greece for the funeral of King Paul. But no First Lady in history has quite matched the Pat Nixon traveling road show, which last week wound up a resoundingly successful eight-day, 10,000-mile, jet-propelled good-will tour of the West African nations of Liberia, Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Mrs. Nixon so endeared herself to Africans that she won the ultimate tribal accolade of the Ghanaian chieftains, who told her she had cemented a friendship that "not even a lion could destroy."

No lion would dare take on the First Lady's imposing retinue of 40, which included Evangelist Billy Graham, Mrs. John H. Johnson, wife of the publisher of *Ebony* and *Jet*, and Bernard Lasker, former chairman of the New York Stock Exchange board of governors.

The official purpose of the trip was to have Mrs. Nixon represent the President at the inauguration of William R. Tolbert Jr., a longtime friend of both the Nixons and Graham, as President of the Republic of Liberia.* Ghana and the Ivory Coast were added, Mrs. Nixon candidly admitted, "because I only had time for two others, and they asked me first."

After a sleepless nine-hour flight to Liberia, followed by a frenetic twelve-hour day of state activities, she told a news conference: "Being First Lady is the hardest unpaid job in the world." The eager, enthusiastic Liberians helped prove her point. She was greeted by Tolbert in a red-carpet ceremony complete with ruffles and flourishes and 19-gun salute usually reserved for a head of government. Dressed in red, white and blue, she kept solemn step with the military tattoo as she reviewed the Liberian honor guard. Following the ceremony, she rode at Tolbert's side in an open-car motorcade along the 40-mile highway to Monrovia, the capital. Beneath the welcome banners that punctuated the arch of entwined banana trees, villagers abandoned their huts to greet her with cheers and, of course, miniature American flags. Liberians have a historical tie to the U.S.: their country was settled by freed American slaves in 1822.

Grand Cordon. At the inaugural ceremony, held in blistering 100° heat, President Tolbert praised Mrs. Nixon as a "testimony of the strength, solidarity and permanence of this special relationship between our countries." Afterward she conferred privately with Tolbert for half an hour; among other things, they discussed President Nixon's forthcoming China trip. The fun began the following day, when brightly clad tribal dancers performed for her on the rooftop terrace of the eight-story presidential mansion. To Mrs. Nixon, the dance was extraordinary: the pulsing beat of drums and hollow logs, the rhythmic clacking of ankle shells, the sinuous writhing of bare-breasted women within inches of her chair. She enjoyed herself thoroughly, and at the end of the dance, gracefully stood as two women wrapped her in a brilliant blue lappa suit and a towering head tie.

The Liberian visit was crowned by the inaugural ball, where Mrs. Nixon was given the nation's highest decoration, the Grand Cordon in the Venerable Order of the Knighthood of the Pioneers of African Redemption.

Points of Pride. In Ghana, the First Lady renewed another friendship—with ancient Chief Nana Osae Djan II. At his tribal home in Aburi, she sat next to the blind old chief while a glittering ribbon of royal ladies brought her a garland of kente cloth and baskets of fruit. Mrs. Nixon, who rarely dances at her White House parties, joined the ladies in a tribal dance. Later she met with President Edward Akufo-Addo at his sumptuous hilltop palace in Accra, where she was greeted by seven heralds sounding throaty blasts on their elephant tusk horns.

Mrs. Nixon and her entourage took off for the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan for more of the delightful and exhausting same: a quarter of a million people spilling into the streets, a lavish banquet in President Felix Houphouet-Boigny's palace, and a visit to a school for modern homemaking. Throughout the trip, with laudable subtlety, she avoided all American aid projects, concentrating instead on local points of pride. Finally, depleted but happy, the Pat Nixon troupe flew back to Washington.

The trip brought to 74 the number of foreign nations the peripatetic Pat Nixon has visited. It also satisfied her husband's unabashed penchant for firsts. Never before had an American First Lady visited Africa, acted as the nation's official representative at an event of state, or conferred with heads of state on behalf of her husband.

More important, Mrs. Nixon won thousands of new friends and once again proved that, taken from beneath the penumbra of the White House, she is an engaging, effervescent personality in her own right. "I wanted to show that we are good neighbors, good friends," she said of her trip. At a press conference in Accra, she also announced that her husband would run for re-election, and pronounced his chances "very good." Asked if she would politic for the President, Mrs. Nixon got understandable laughter with the reply: "I thought that's what I've been doing."

* The Nixons met the Tolberts in 1957 on a visit to celebrate the independence of neighboring Ghana. Both Nixon and Tolbert were then No. 2. Graham and Tolbert are fellow Baptist ministers.

Newsweek

January 10, 1972

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THE FIRST LADY:

Fellow Traveler

Pat Nixon is the most widely traveled First Lady in the nation's history. Since Dick Nixon set off on his long road to the White House, she has visited all of 74 countries, from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia. With a record like that, it's hard to break new ground—but this week Mrs. Nixon will do just that on her eight-day trip to West Africa. She will add a new country to her list (Ivory Coast), revisit two others (Liberia and Ghana) and set a precedent of sorts in the process: for the first time, a First Lady will be officially representing the President in Africa.

Mrs. Nixon has been prepping for the trip for weeks. The President himself helped her work out what she will tell her hosts about the forthcoming journeys to Peking and Moscow. And the U.S. ambassador to Liberia, Samuel Z. Westerfield, will accompany her, along with Mrs. John H. Johnson, wife of the publisher of Ebony magazine, Bernard J. Lasker, the former chairman of the board of the New York Stock Exchange, and the Rev. Billy Graham. . .

January 17, 1972

. . . She smiled a lot, waved, shook hands like a campaigner, and she was never too tired to greet crowds of admiring Africans, some of whom had waited hours for a glimpse of her.

Officially, Mrs. Nixon was on a diplomatic and ceremonial trip that included briefing African leaders on her husband's forthcoming journeys to China and Russia. But it was in the personal encounters that Pat Nixon blossomed. "It's just great to be here," she enthused during her first stopover, in Monrovia, Liberia. "I can't wait to get around and meet some people." And that's exactly what she did.

Embrace: At the airport in Monrovia, she immediately waded into a cheering crowd of 1,000. Wherever she went in Liberia, Pat was greeted by Africans waving little American flags.

At the inauguration ceremony for President William R. Tolbert Jr., the official reason for her visit, Mrs. Nixon won the affection of tens of thousands of Africans by giving Tolbert, the grandson of an American slave, a warm cheek-to-cheek embrace. But her ultimate triumph came on her last day in Liberia at a colorful performance of tribal dancing, singing and drumming, complete with girls with painted bodies and bare breasts. Mrs. Nixon let a group of Liberian women wrap a blue headtie and a long tie-dyed African dress around her. She pirouetted and modeled, and warmly shook hands as the Africans made approving clatter with drums and rattles.

In Ghana, her next stop, she parried tricky questions over U.S. foreign aid and blithely let it slip that her husband would run again for President and be re-elected "because he's the best man." And she listened with obvious delight to the witty bantering of members of the National Assembly of Ghana, who gave her a rousing standing ovation. But again, as in Liberia, it was Pat's encounters with the African people that were most remarkable. At a hilltop festival held especially in her honor, she joined with noble Ghanaian women in a traditional tribal dance, mincing in a tiny promenade, and was told by the gathered chieftains that her visit had cemented a friendship "not even a lion could break." Later, over coffee, she bubbled, "I am really just so fond of the Ghanaian people."

Her welcome in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, was perhaps the warmest of all. President Felix Houphouet-Boigny had fire-boats hooting in the bay, and the newspaper Fraternite-Matin covered its front page with her photograph and the headline: WELCOME PAT NIXON. An estimated 100,000 Africans —the largest crowd of her tour—jammed the 7-mile route from the airport to the Presidential Palace in a pouring tropical rain, and cheered and drummed and danced in traditional greeting. And Pat Nixon, who stood bareheaded in her open car, waved back. "Wasn't that great?" she said upon arriving at Houphoust-Boigny's sumptuous palace. It was—and if West Africa's delight with Mrs. Nixon was any gauge, she could turn out to be the surprise star of her husband's forthcoming trip to Peking.

Sioux Falls Argus-Leader

Wed., Jan. 5, 1972

Pat Nixon Rates As Top Diplomat

It may be said without fear of contradiction that Pat Nixon has been exquisitely charming in her official African visitation.

No stuffed-shirt male diplomat from the Department of State has done better. Few have done as well.

She has made a few mistakes in protocol because she has been functioning in an unfamiliar role. But she has apologized in a delightfully informal way that has pleased her hosts.

Other first ladies of the land have performed in undertakings of this kind but none has done as well as Mrs. Nixon. Mrs. Lyndon Johnson was more self-possessed but a bit too much more so. Mrs. John Kennedy had almost too much glamour and too much of a pseudo-aristocracy. Mrs. Dwight Eisenhower disliked the role and veered away from it. So did Mrs. Harry Truman. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt was too aggressive.

But Pat Nixon fits well into the position of the average American woman—a typical example of our femininity at its best. She isn't too sleek and too chic. She is demure but not so much so that her personality is erased. She is well-dressed but not over-dressed. She has an inviting smile and a heart-warming humility.

No one would ever suggest Mrs. Nixon to be the nation's first female president. But surely she deserves a top honor as the nation's best first lady over a long period of years.





IVORY COAST WELCOME. In Abidjan, 250,000 cheering people jammed the First Lady's 7-mile motorcade route. (Below) Newly inaugurated Liberian President William R. Tolbert, Jr. presented her with his nation's highest decoration — the Grand Cordon in the Venerable Order of the Pioneers of African Redemption. (Right) Ladies of Monrovia dress her in a handmade lappa suit, traditional costume of Liberia.







A DURBUR IS A FESTIVAL. Mrs. Nixon joins Aburi noblewomen in traditional dance during DURBUR given in her honor by the tribe's Nana (Chief) Osae Djan II (see below) and receives gifts of fruits and handmade fabrics. (Left) A warm African welcome. (Right) A cuddle-pup for a tiny patient at the Princess Marie Louise hospital for children in Accra, Ghana.







GIFTS OF AFRICAN FRIENDSHIP on display in The White House. On table from left to right: A lappa suit in dark blue silk; carved ivory tusk from Abidjan, the Ivory Coast; ancient brass urn from Accra, Ghana; a piece of kente cloth and black leather sandals from Aburi, Ghana; carved wooden plaque from Accra, Ghana; (the table is covered with cloth from Ghana.) In display case from left to right: Emerald green moire silk sash and decoration presented to Mrs. Nixon by President William R. Tolbert, Jr.; the official copy of the citation read by President Tolbert to Mrs. Nixon during the ceremony; a hand carved ivory statue of a man presented in Abidjan, Ivory Coast; an ebony Impala given in Accra, Ghana; a gold filigree box and delicate gold bracelet from Abidjan, Ivory Coast; an ivory and gold necklace, bracelet and earrings from Monrovia, Liberia; a doll from Accra, Ghana; pair of carved ivory busts from Monrovia, Liberia. Foreground left: Ashanti Chieftain stool and citation presented by Nana (Chief) Osai Djan II in Ghana.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, 1972

The New York Times

A Medal for Mme. Nixon

They loved her in Monrovia.

Mrs. Richard M. Nixon was in the capital of the Republic of Liberia—founded 150 years ago by freed American slaves—for the inauguration of William R. Tolbert Jr. as the nation's 19th President. And Mr. Tolbert, 58, a Baptist minister, calling Mrs. Nixon a woman of "courage, strength of character and fortitude of spirit," presented her with the Grand Cordon of the Most Venerable Order of Knighthood of the Pioneers of the Republic of Liberia. The next day she was treated to a special entertainment at Monrovia's Executive Mansion. For the occasion, Mrs. Nixon was garbed in native dress with a bouffant head scarf and tapped her feet to tribal drums while dancing girls, their bodies painted blue, pranced by.

They loved her in Accra, too.

As Mrs. Nixon arrived in Ghana's capital on Wednesday for the second stop of her African tour she was met at the airport by hundreds of Ghanaians singing and playing drums. Later she addressed a high-spirited meeting of the National Assembly and told the delegates, "Your assembly is a little bit different from ours. There they don't have half as much fun."

Her final stopover was the Ivory Coast capital, Abidjan. Despite intermittent rain, on her arrival there Friday, she was greeted by a crowd of 75,000. They included men wearing feathers and fiercely painted tribal masks, women shaking gourds that rattled, neat rows of uniformed school children waving and giggling and even a few of the French who dominate life in the steamy West African country. Along the eight-mile route from the airport well-wishers cheered and chanted: "Vive Mme. Nixon!"

February 7, 1972

CONGRESS MUST ACT ON EMERGENCY STRIKE LEGISLATION AND ACT NOW

The second session of the Democrat-controlled 92nd Congress returned to Washington facing the same unacted on "Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970" that President Nixon submitted nearly two years ago. The only thing different is that since the legislation was sent to Capitol Hill there have been several rail crises and port shutdowns which, as the President has put it, "have retarded economic recovery and injured thousands of individuals who have no direct voice in the disputes process that can so adversely affect them."

In a statement to the Congress at the end of the session last year the President again urged passage of the legislation noting: "Workers in many industries have been thrown out of work. Losses in perishables have been tremendous. The overall impact on the American people, and especially our farmers, has been devastating."

Farmers Hurt Badly

To say that farmers have been devastated by the West Coast dock strike is to put it mildly. "We estimate this strike has cost our farmers about a billion dollars in income they might have gotten otherwise," Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz declared on the NBC Today Show. "We estimate it's lowered the price of corn perhaps 10 cents a bushel, and the price of soybeans perhaps 20, 25 cents a bushel in mid-America. This is a serious thing."

Hoping to enlist the support of the Democratic Presidential hopefuls in the Senate who have often given a lot of lip-service to the plight of the farmer, Secretary Butz has written Sens. Muskie, Humphrey, Jackson, Hartke and McGovern and asked them to use their influence and get behind the President on this issue.

"You are looked upon as a leader in your party and in the Senate as a national leader as a result of being a candidate for the Presidential nomination of your party in 1972," Butz wrote. "It is vital to the farmers that you use your influence in support of the emergency action in Senate Joint Resolution 187 now before Congress which provides a procedure for settling the disputes on the Pacific Coast and in Hawaii. It is also vitally important that you support S. 560, the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act, which provides long-range sensible solutions for dealing with the East Coast and Gulf dispute and other transportation work stoppages that are so harmful to farmers. This is urgent and requires immediate action."

NEW ANTI-CRIME PROGRAM AIMED AT STREET CRIME AND BURGLARIES

The Nixon Administration has announced a major new initiative in the battle against crime—the High Impact Anti-Crime Program. As explained by Vice President Agnew, head of the Office of Intergovernmental Relations, the program "is designed to reduce street crimes and burglaries by significant amounts in a reasonably short period of time."

The goal of the program is to make a quick, high impact against burglaries and a variety of street crimes—robbery, mugging, assault, rape. "We hope to reduce street crimes and burglaries by five percent in two years and as much as 20 percent in five years in each of the cities in which the program is being implemented," the Vice President declared.

Public Education Program

As a part of the program, there will be a public education program to inform citizens on how they can better protect themselves and their property. This education effort also will involve research and application of present techniques for the most effective system of locks and alarms.

Next, there will be more effective anti-crime patrols by police—and this could include more policemen, plus better equipment, tactics and training. Police would stress not only crime prevention, but increased apprehension of offenders as well. New equipment might include helicopters and improved radio systems to get police to the crime scene faster.

The High Impact Program will also involve special programs to prosecute street crime and burglary offenders. This means more effective and larger staffs of prosecutors and special court dockets for these offenses.

At the same time, great emphasis will be placed on rehabilitating offenders. In each city, special projects will begin for rehabilitation of street crime and burglary offenders—to take every step to try to prevent them from returning to a life of crime.

In his briefing explaining the program, Attorney General John Mitchell pointed out that from the beginning of his Administration "President Nixon has taken the lead in the war on crime" and the Justice Department has given it "top priority."

Mitchell called the new High Impact Anti-Crime Program "a new step forward in the war against crime."

The program is beginning in eight major cities and will be expanded in the near future to as many as ten others.



FOOTBALL DEMOCRAT STYLE

"Just the other day, they tell me, Larry O'Brien had some of the Democratic hopefuls out on the practice field, testing them for the quarterback slot in a triple-option offense.

"It was really something to see, according to my informants. And very revealing.

"For example, George McGovern wanted to pitch out to a trailing back—but couldn't find anyone trailing him.

"Scoop Jackson ran into trouble, too. He couldn't find his Florida primary receiver—but he Meanys to keep trying.

"George Wallace found he had reported to the wrong team. Coach Larry O'Brien won't even talk to him or show him the play book.

"Vance Hartke thought about using a quarterback sneak. But, unfortunately, Jack Anderson was out of town.

"Then came Ted Kennedy. He faked up the middle, faked right, faked left—and finally decided to run himself. When he was brought down for no gain, he complained about the condition of the field.

"John Lindsay got a turn, too, even though he's a new member of the squad. It was a typical Lindsay performance. First, he changed uniforms. Then he fumbled for a twelve-yard gain. That wasn't too bad, but when the play was called back for clipping, he asked the referee for a general amnesty.

"Gene McCarthy went Mayor Lindsay one better. When a demonstrator ran onto the field to break up the practice, he handed him the game ball.

"But the biggest disappointment of all was Ed Muskie. He drew a five yard penalty for taking too much time in the huddle making up his mind. And when Hubert was last heard from, he was still calling an audible at the line of scrimmage."—*Excerpted from a speech by Vice President Agnew before the Touchdown Club of Birmingham, Alabama.*



THE DEMOCRAT FRONT-RUNNERS AND VIETNAM; SHOULD MUSKIE AND HUMPHREY BE GIVEN AMNESTY?

"We believe that containment of communist aggression regretfully involves direct confrontation from time to time and that to retreat from it is to undermine the prospects for stability and peace."—Sen. Edmund Muskie defending Johnson-Humphrey Administration Vietnam policy before the Philadelphia Allied Jewish Appeal, Feb. 28, 1966.

Vietnam "is our greatest adventure, and a wonderful one it is."—Vice President Hubert Humphrey quoted in the Washington Daily News, *Nov. 1, 1967.*

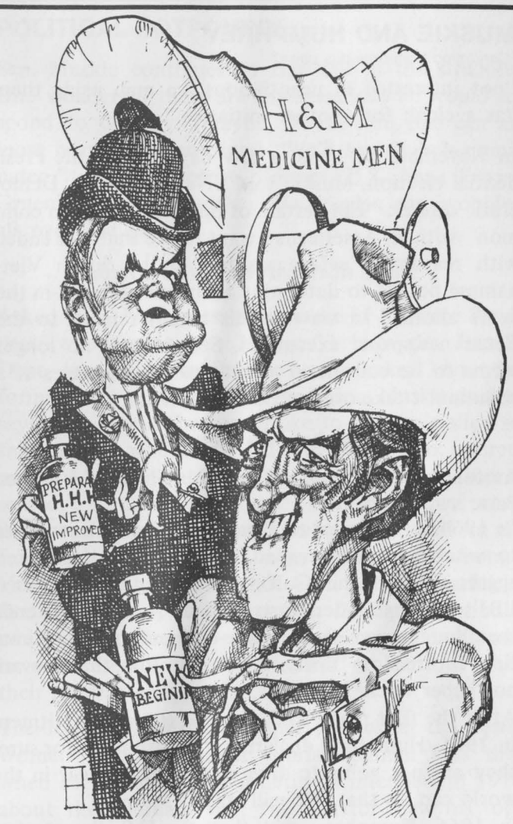
If either Sen. Muskie or Sen. Humphrey is the Presidential nominee of his party, and it now appears one of them will be, the crucial issue facing the American electorate in the campaign will be one of Vietnam and amnesty. Not amnesty involving draft dodgers, deserters and the government—but amnesty involving the Democratic nominee and the American people. In other words, if Muskie is the nominee, the question for the American people will be: Should we forget and put into the White House a man who now admits that he erred in not speaking out enough against the war in Vietnam?; if Humphrey is the nominee, the question will be: Should we forget and put into the White House a man who now admits that he erred in speaking out too much for the war in Vietnam. In either case, with their severely damaged credibility regarding the war, neither man should be a match for President Nixon, who will be going to the people about Vietnam with a record of solid achievement.

The Muskie-HHH Record

Consider the Muskie-Humphrey record.

Sen. Muskie, whose criticism of the war in Vietnam dates approximately from the first day President Nixon inherited the war from Sen. Muskie's party, now says the war is "wrong" and "a mistake." Muskie has even gone so far as to tell a meeting of Texas newspaper executives that a coalition government in South Vietnam "doesn't bother me" because even if a communist government did evolve from a coalition government, "there are different types of communism, and some are better than others."

This indifference to a communist take-over in South Vietnam is a far cry from a speech Muskie gave in 1966 in Philadelphia where he backed the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's Vietnam policy of "unremitting pressure in a carefully measured response to the aggression of the enemy." This course, said Muskie, "is the course which I think makes the most sense."



Muskie also told his audience that what was at stake in Vietnam was "the credibility of our word and our nation." Its loss "would be an enormous setback for the forces of freedom," he declared.

Vietnam in National Interest

In 1967 in a speech to a college audience in Herman, Pennsylvania, Sen. Muskie defended the Vietnam commitment as being "critical" to the national interest of the United States.

In September of 1968, Muskie was critical of Presidential candidates who might say anything that could possibly undermine the progress of peace talks in Paris. He said Hanoi might construe such statements as a "repudiation of the President" (at that time a Democratic President) and that such remarks would be a "disservice" to the country.

Muskie's hopes for the success of the negotiations did not however prevent him from attacking President Nixon, only four months after his election, as a man

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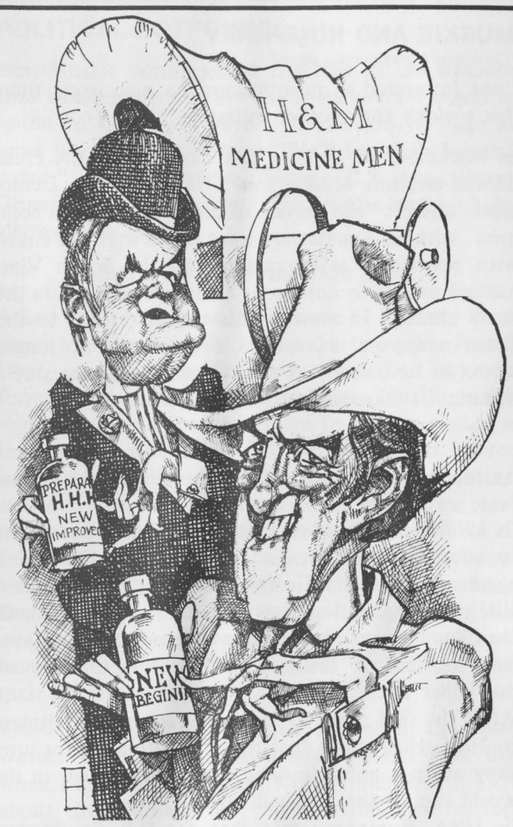
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MUSKIE AND HUMPHREY

(Continued from previous page)

"not interested in negotiations," a man using them "as a cloak for another initiative."

In November of 1968, a few days before the Presidential election, Muskie told a New York City Democratic dinner: "I'm certain of only one thing. In common with all Americans I want to see that war ended with reasonable safeguards for all the South Vietnamese people to determine their own futures in the years ahead." In view of his recent remark to the Texas newspaper executives, Sen. Muskie no longer seems to be concerned about the consequences of a communist take-over of South Vietnam.

Humphrey on Vietnam

As for Hubert Humphrey and the Ghost of Vietnam Past:

In 1964 in reference to President Johnson's response to what Humphrey called the communist's "naked aggression" in the Gulf of Tonkin, HHH praised LBJ's actions as demonstrating to America's friends that "our power remains pre-eminent and our devotion to freedom firm, and to our foes that we are no 'paper tiger.' "

After the first major U.S. combat troop commitment in 1965, Humphrey declared: "One thing is for sure, they are not going to drive us out. No power in the world can do that. We will stick."

In 1966, Humphrey said that the U.S. "must stay and see it through" in Vietnam so the free nations of the world know "we have the vision and endurance to do so."

In 1967, HHH said of Vietnam: "Our own security is at stake. That's why we're there."

But now, things are different. Radical scientists are throwing tomatoes at Humphrey and he is signing their pledges to get out of Vietnam lock, stock and barrel without so much as a mention of our prisoners of war or the fate of the South Vietnamese people.

Commitment "Invalid"

Having rhetorically greased the skids for our long slide into Vietnam, Humphrey is now denouncing as "invalid" the commitments of five American Presidents to that country. What is needed now, says HHH implying that he could provide it, is "leadership and vision." This from a man who has conceded his own myopia and followship on the Vietnam war.

If, as Senators Muskie and Humphrey say it will be, credibility is going to loom large as an issue in this year's Presidential contest, the outlook for these two gentlemen is grim indeed.

TEDDY KENNEDY'S GUILT COMPLEX AND PRESIDENT NIXON

"Self-projection. When the endangering forces or impulses within oneself create anxiety which cannot be dealt with for what it is, one may project these impulses, or others akin to them, upon other persons, and then attack those persons. The ground for the attack as typically stated is some error, fault or misdeed, which bears some kinship to an unacceptable element within the attacker himself." — From the book "Guilt and Redemption" by Lewis Joseph Sherrill.

Looking at some of the phrases used by Sen. Teddy Kennedy in a recent speech before the Washington Press Club, one might think the Senator had chosen the occasion to answer some of the unanswered questions about what happened on Chappaquiddick Island.

For example, Kennedy spoke of "a spirit now in crisis," "a crisis of performance," "a crisis of morality," the need to "wash away the stain," a "stench of incompetence...and corruption." He talked about unlocking doors "the sooner...the better;" he admitted that "all men make mistakes;" he spoke of intoxication, "innocent men and women and children," "human dignity," "human values lost;" and "insensitivity to the suffering of our fellow citizens." He lamented the "seeming inability to do what we know is right;" "misguided policies of the recent past." Finally, he called for a "certain kind of moral order," an order based on things like "hope and work and faith and love."

Personal Attack on President

But Kennedy's address was not about Kennedy. It was merely another one of his routine personal attacks on the President of the United States. It was, as GOP Senate leader Hugh Scott called it, "intemperate and immature." It was as RNC Chairman Bob Dole labeled it, "the usual cacaphony of mindless negativism about our country." And it most certainly was, as House Republican Whip Les Arends branded it, "petulant political opportunism."

Kennedy's address was also riddled with untruths. In a factual rebuttal of Kennedy's reckless rhetoric on the race issue, HEW Secretary Elliott Richardson has pointed out that the performance of the Nixon Administration in the area of civil rights has: led to the dismantling of the dual school system; increased aid to black colleges to $125 million; proposed the

(Continued next page)

TEDDY KENNEDY

(Continued from previous page)

Nation's first comprehensive emergency school assistance act to deal with the problems of racial isolation; undertaken a drive for minority-owned bank deposits resulting in an increase in deposits of $195 million created the first program ever to provide jobs and training to minorities, as in the Philadelphia Plan.

Utopian Visionary

But Kennedy's speech was more than all these things. It was the ravings of a Utopian visionary suffering from a case of chronic *weltschermz*, that is, a mental depression caused by the comparison of the actual state of the world with a non-existent and unattainable ideal state.

Kennedy is one of those, described by President Nixon in his State of the Union address, who tells us we are evil because we are not yet perfect, that we are corrupt because we are not yet pure, that all the sweat and toil and sacrifice that have gone into the building of America were for naught because the building is not yet done.

In short, Kennedy is a defeatist. He is also a man troubled by a gnawing guilt complex, which is understandable. But it would be nice if he would quit taking it out on the President of the United States.

NAME THAT QUOTE

"Our enemy is not the President of the United States, whether the incumbent, his successor to come, or his predecessors.

"The Constitution charges the President with the duty of conducting our foreign relations by and with the advice of the Senate. It makes him the leading actor; not a spectator and a mere witness. And this role has been discharged by successive Presidents of the United States throughout the nearly two centuries duration of the Constitution. It was never intended by the Founding Fathers that the President of the United States should be a ventriloquist's dummy sitting on the lap of the Congress."

Sen. J. William Fulbright, quoted in the Democratic Digest, *April, 1954.*

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

Sen. Muskie continues to ride tall in the straddle. One wonders if there are any questions he would respond to directly. (Maybe, maybe not, one can almost hear him answering.) "We'll lose if he's nominated," says superdove, former U.S. Sen. Ernest Gruening about Muskie. "He wiggles and wobbles all over the place."

Muskie Ducks on Anderson Leaks

Asked in a N.H. press conference if he were President whether or not he would have the Justice Dept. investigate to find out who leaked secret information to columnist Jack Anderson, Muskie ducked saying he would first undertake to shape a policy so that people would not have to resort "to indirect means to find out what my administration represented." Muskie then admitted that in his own presidential campaign he has had a leak problem and "in all frankness I try to find where they came from." Muskie said that he has not been very successful in finding the culprit. Suggestion: Perhaps he should undertake to shape a policy so that people will not have to resort to "indirect means" to find out what their candidate represents.

The legendary Muskie temper is back in the news. Women's lib spokesman Gloria Steinem says that when she questioned Muskie in an interview in 1970 about the Vietnam war, the Senator blew his top. When she pushed him on his position on the war, she quotes the Senator as saying: "How did this girl get in here? Get her out of here." She said he calmed down in an hour and the interview resumed.

Hartke a Stalking Horse?

Rumor of the Week: Vance Hartke is a stalking horse for Endicott Peabody.

Politics of Thrust: The *N.Y. Times* reports that as a Philadelphia newsman prepared to follow Sen. Muskie into an elevator after the Senator had come out of a meeting in Mayor Frank Rizzo's office, a Muskie aide whispered to a large plainsclothes police officer that the reporter's presence "would be bothersome." The policeman then pushed the newsman out of the elevator and onto the floor, according to the *Times*... United Press International reports that Sen. Muskie has refused to be pinned down on whether he would accept a woman as a vice presidential running mate. Muskie, who earlier pinned himself down and said he would not run with a black because it

would end his political career, dodged the female issue saying: "I haven't computerized my mind to the electability of every possible vice presidential candidate. I'm still seeking the presidential nomination."

Sen. Muskie's campaign headquarters has put out a press release announcing the endorsement of former California Rep. Jerry Voorhis, a man defeated by Richard Nixon in 1946. As the losers line up behind Muskie one wonders: Can Alger Hiss be far behind?

Humphrey is Slipping

There's no doubt about it. Hubert Humphrey is slipping. According to the *Washington Post*, when Humphrey addressed the American Association for the Advancement of Science last month and was narrowly missed by a thrown tomato, he could only comment lamely: "May I suggest that the Minnesota Twins can use a good pitcher and I don't mind being the target." This clearly is not the Humphrey of old. The old Hubert Humphrey would have scooped up the splattered tomato, expressed his pride that someone cared enough about him to throw a tomato, launched into a multi-houred defense of American agriculture and most likely closed out with a denunciation of the tomato thrower but a compassionate defense of why he threw it stating something to the effect that if he lived under the conditions certain tomato-throwers do, "I could throw a mighty good tomato myself."

Humphrey and the "Rednecks"

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who over the years has presented himself as the champion of the working man, has labeled the people of Northern Florida "rednecks." In a Jan. 15 Washington press conference Humphrey was asked by a reporter if he was aware that when he was in Dade County a busing boycott was going on. HHH replied: "No, I wasn't in Dade County. I was in what they call redneck territory (Northern Florida) and they didn't mention having any trouble." Webster's Third New International Dictionary defines "redneck" as one belonging to or identified with the laboring class of the rural South. The dictionary notes that the term is usually used "disparagingly."



"The increasing dependence of our elections upon money is a distortion of the elective process and produces terrific pressures toward corruption."–*Sen. Muskie before the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, March 3, 1971.*

"I don't think the American rank and file understand the extent to which people give large sums of money without asking any quid pro quo."–*Sen. Muskie before a group of contributors who had paid $500-a-plate to eat dinner with him; quoted in the* Portland *(Maine)* Press Herald, *Jan. 14, 1972.*

According to those in a position to know, Sen. George McGovern's recently proposed $54.8 billion defense budget (a cut of about $20 billion from the real budget) would: freeze the U.S. into a second-rate security posture; doom the Strategic Arms Limitations talks; encourage Soviet nuclear blackmail; dump a million more defense and civilian personnel onto the unemployment roles; dissolve NATO before the Soviets agree to reduce their forces in Eastern Europe; leave world sealanes hostage to the Soviet navy; result in the President of the United States having to crawl to the bargaining table as a supplicant; and end U.S. world leadership both diplomatic and economic. The McGovern plan should more accurately be called a defenseless budget.

The Democratic National Committee has assigned Sen. George McGovern 62 hotel rooms for next summer's convention in Miami Beach. Are there that many people for McGovern?

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Monday. FEB. 14, 1972

MUSKIE AND PEACE IN VIETNAM: WHAT PRICE POLITICS?

(See story inside)

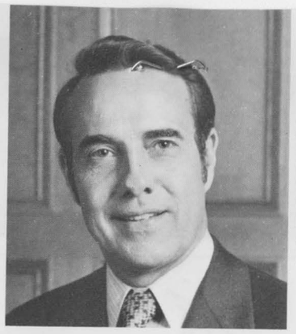
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"Let the jury consider their verdict," the King said for about the twentieth time that day.

"No, no!" said the Queen. "Sentence first—verdict afterwards."

—Alice's Adventures in Wonderland



President Seeks Honorable Peace In Vietnam

(Excerpted from an address by RNC Chmn. Bob Dole before the Missouri State Republican Lincoln Day Dinner in St. Louis.)

Our desire for peace and our resolve that the peace should be an honorable one has been nowhere so clearly demonstrated as in the Nixon policies on Vietnam. The Vietnamization plan, from its inception, has been designed not only to end our American involvement in that war but to end that war itself. The most recent development with respect to that war and the prospects for peace offer a fresh perspective on the President's policies for peace. And as well they cast new light on the political opposition to those policies.

The facts are these. In 1969, when President Nixon took office, almost 550,000 American servicemen were on duty, in combat or combat support assignments in Southeast Asia. That was the situation this President inherited from his Democrat predecessors.

He did not inherit a plan for bringing them back. He did not inherit a plan for ending the war. The Democrats who had gotten us into the conflict—and who are now advising several Democrat presidential contenders—have been unable to conceive of a way to terminate that war. It was left to Richard Nixon to do that. But in the campaign of 1968, the President had promised that he had such a plan.

And shortly after he took office he produced that plan and put it into operation.

The plan was Vietnamization. And it is working.

Prior to Vietnamization, American casualties were averaging some 300 men a week. Sometimes even more. Now, it is running less than 10 a week. That is still too many. One American's death in combat is too many. With Vietnamization, however, the number has been on a steady decline and I am confident that soon, perhaps not this week or the next, but very soon American casualties in Vietnam will be reduced to zero.

Just as our casualties have dropped, so has our involvement. By July of 1971, our troop commitment in Vietnam had been reduced to half of its peak 1968 level. By the beginning of this year it had been reduced to a third of that. And by May 1, some 480,000 American servicemen will have been brought home, cutting our force there to less than a seventh of its former size.

Vietnamization was and is more than a policy merely to get our men out of combat in Southeast Asia. It is more than a policy to bring Americans home. It is a plan to do that with American honor and Vietnamese integrity intact. And it is succeeding. It is a plan to strengthen the capability of the South Vietnamese themselves—to give them the ability to defend themselves and to stand firmly against the aggression of the North. And a strong and self-reliant South Vietnam is our greatest hope for an end to the war. And that plan is working.

But the President has described Vietnamization as the long route to peace. And at the same time that he has pursued that carefully designed policy, he has also been making vigorous efforts to win peace through negotiations at Paris.

His dramatic disclosures about the secret negotiations conducted by Dr. Kissinger over the course of the last 30 months have revealed just how vigorous and comprehensive and unremitting these efforts have been.

They revealed the lengths to which Richard Nixon has gone—since the very start of his Administration—to try to achieve a just and a fair settlement of the conflict in Vietnam. The eight point peace plan offered first in private and now made public by the President has been hailed almost universally as fair, and by some as an even generous proposal.

For the majority of Americans, the President's announcement was the cause of hope and of pride. For those who still had felt that there was some reason to doubt, it offered the final proof of this Administration's resolve to go "the extra mile for peace."

Bob Dole

(Center Section -- Frank Leonard, Frank Foster)

Monday. FEB. 14, 1972

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MUSKIE AND PEACE IN VIETNAM: WHAT PRICE POLITICS?

"Let the jury consider their verdict," the King said for about the twentieth time that day. "No, no!" said the Queen. "Sentence first—verdict afterwards."—Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.

Unlike President Nixon, Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie does not appear to know the difference between settlement and surrender.

In the second point of his two point Vietnam peace plan, as reported by the *N.Y. Times*, Muskie makes it clear to the South Vietnamese government "that it must seek a political accomodation with the Communists or lose even indirect United States military support after American forces withdraw."

No Surrender, Says Nixon

President Nixon, on the other hand, was very explicit in his televised address on January 25 that the U.S. would have no part of the type of thing Muskie is suggesting. Explaining his plan for peace the President declared: "The only thing this plan does not do is to join our enemy to overthrow our ally, which the United States of America shall never do. If the enemy wants peace, it will have to recognize the important difference between settlement and surrender."

Sen. Muskie's rejection of President Nixon's peace proposal, even before the Communists rejected it, and his proposal that the U.S. put pressure on Saigon to cave in to Communist demands, has come under fire in the press and from Democrats and Republicans alike.

Secretary of State William Rogers labeled the Muskie remarks "most inappropriate and harmful to our national interest." Muskie's speech in which he put forth his two point peace plan, said Rogers, "will be very harmful to the prospects for successful negotiations to end this war." Rogers pointed out that "if the enemy feels that he can divide the American people, then the prospects for peace are dim indeed in terms of a negotiated settlement."

The Secretary of State said that every Presidential candidate should ask himself when he makes a statement whether it serves the national interest or not. Any candidate suggesting what amounts to a total defeat, Rogers declared, discourages the incentive of the other side to negotiate a settlement between now and the election. Anything beyond President Nixon's proposals, "any acceptance now to allow a total takeover of South Vietnam by the Communists



would be a total defeat for the United States," said Rogers. "It would be a very black day in our history."

Muskie Plan "A Sell-out"

The *Washington Star* editorialized that the Muskie proposal to force the South Vietnamese to knuckle under to Communist demands "would cause dancing in the streets of Hanoi if put forward by a President in office." Labeling the Muskie plan "particularly unhelpful" and "a sell-out," the *Star* said that at this critical juncture it did not help the cause of peace or the repatriation of American POW's 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," the *Star* declared. "They must ponder the choice 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."

The *Washington Post's* chief political correspondent, David Broder, touched on this same point. Broder accused Muskie of being "disingenuous" when he argues that in offering his peace plan he is simply exercising his rights as a Senator to express alternative views. "Obviously, Hanoi weighs his statements in a different scale than it does those of other Democrats who have little chance of being President," Broder wrote. It is "naive," Broder says, to assume that there may not be a cost to the American bargaining position

(Continued next page)

SEN. MUSKIE

when an opponent of the President, a man given a 50–50 chance of succeeding him in less than a year, offers the enemy what are, in effect, easier terms for settlement than the President himself is publicly offering.

Not in U.S. Interest

Commenting on the Muskie plan, the *Washington Daily News* said: "We fail to see how it could be in America's interest to undermine people who have been fighting on our side."

Newsweek columnist Stewart Alsop declared that to deny the South Vietnamese the means to defend themselves and thus force a Communist regime on them, "would be an act of crass betrayal, the crowning tragedy of a tragic war, and a long farewell to all our greatness."

(One of Muskie's problems, revealed in the Alsop column, is that he just doesn't seem to know what's going on. Talking to Muskie on the phone, Alsop read to him Dr. Henry Kissinger's description of a U.S. offer made to the Communists but rejected last spring, an offer which is identical to point one in the Muskie plan. As Alsop reports it: "The Senator had apparently never heard of the May offer, and he was clearly surprised.")

The *Detroit News* criticized Muskie for coming "closer to outright rejection of Mr. Nixon's plan than the enemy has done." The rhetoric spewing forth from the Democratic Presidential candidates about their own plans and in criticism of the President's efforts for peace "hardly provides the unity that is needed to impress the enemy with this country's determination to stay the course until a fair settlement can be reached," the *News* declared.

Disservice to Country: Jackson

Washington Sen. Henry Jackson, a fellow Democratic Presidential hopeful said that he felt Muskie had done a "disservice to the country" by rejecting President Nixon's plan for peace. "I feel deeply we should give the President elbow room here," Jackson declared. "I think the President is entitled to some breathing space in order to continue negotiations. He needs bipartisan support if he's going to accomplish anything."

RNC Chmn. Bob Dole said that Muskie's remarks "indicate that he lacks the wisdom, maturity and the sense of responsibility needed to guide the Nation in the 1970's." "The worst kind of gutter politics," said Sen. Bill Brock of Tennessee. House GOP leader Rep. Gerald R. Ford labeled the Muskie statements a "blatant misrepresentation of the President's peace initiatives, aimed at furthering the Senator's political ambitions."

THE CANDIDATE AND NEGOTIATIONS: 1972 MUSKIE MEET 1968 MUSKIE



In offering a peace plan of his own during a time of delicate peace negotiations and thus undermining the chance for the success of those negotiations, 1972 Presidential candidate Edmund Muskie has rejected the sound advice of 1968 Vice Presidential candidate Edmund Muskie.

Throughout the 1968 campaign, Muskie emphasized the importance of the candidate saying nothing that might jeopardize the progress of the Paris peace talks, at that time being conducted by a Democratic Administration.

On Sept. 6, 1968 the *Baltimore Sun* newspaper quotes Muskie as saying Hanoi could construe such statements as a "repudiation of the President" (at that time a Democratic President) and that such remarks would be a "disservice" to the country.

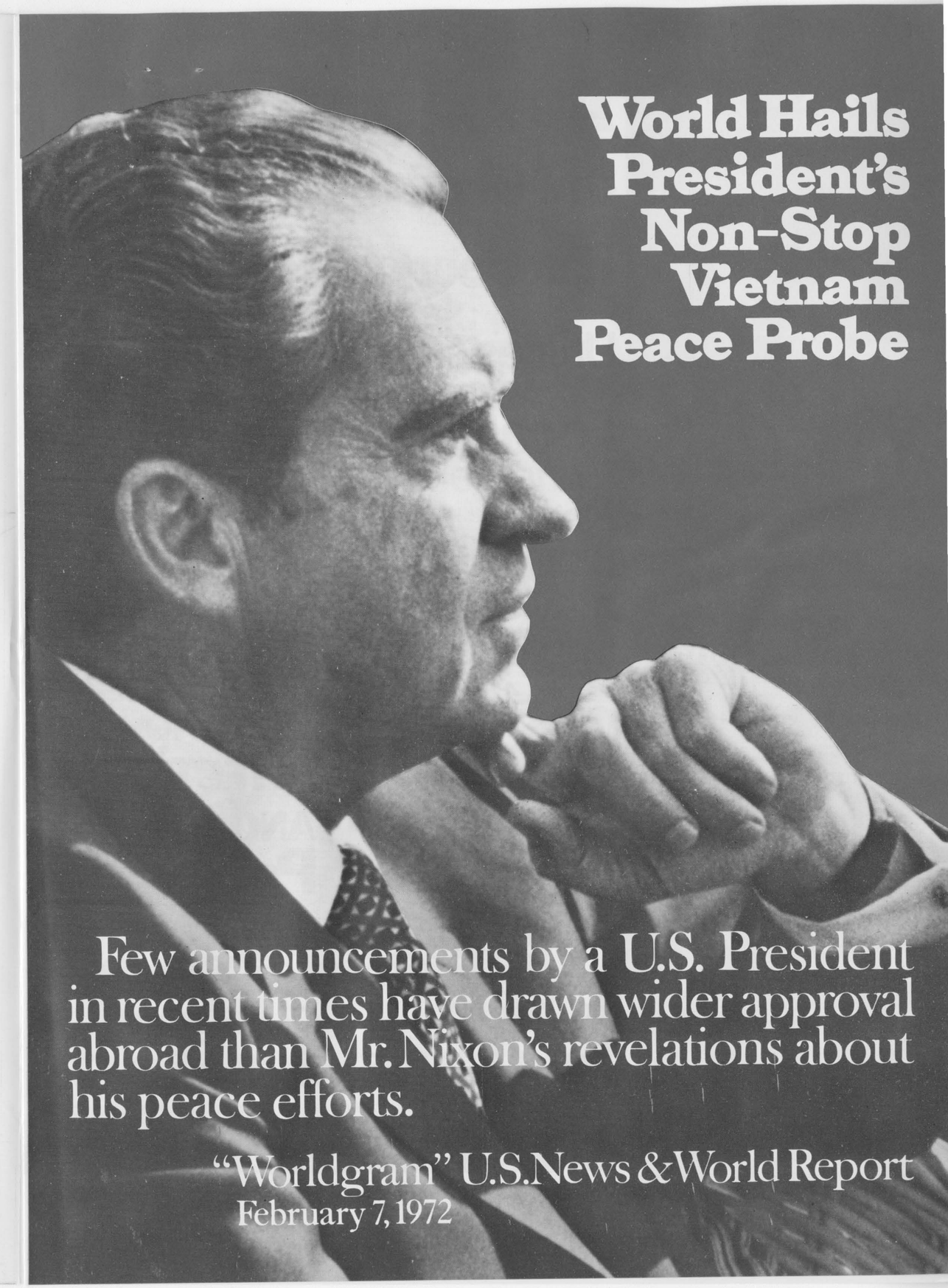
The Oct. 22, 1968 *Washington Post* quotes Muskie as saying about the peace talks: "Sure it would be nice if all we were dealing with is a problem in a classroom that has no impact on our national policies or our men in South Vietnam...but we (Muskie and Humphrey) don't want by anything we say to jeopardize the talks."

Again, in a speech that same month to the Headline Club in Chicago, Muskie said he would not endanger peace negotiations "for the purpose of appearing to give you a frank, honest, open answer..." "Would you rather have a frank exposure about what is going on in Paris now?" he asked. "Or would you rather have a cease fire?"

In sharp contrast to Presidential candidate Muskie's present behavior, Presidential candidate Richard Nixon in 1968 scrupulously avoided saying anything that might have undermined peace negotiations going on at the time.

Candidate Nixon in September of 1968 declared: "At the present time, negotiations are going on. I hope they're successful. I know that any chance for

(Continued page 9)



Americans Stand Firm with President

West Germany

Retains initiative without giving away a single trump.

DUESSELDORF HANDELSBLATT

Italy

Never before such realistic and conciliatory proposals by the U.S.

IL TEMPO ROME

Malaysia

President proves himself earnest in his search for peace.

BERITA HARIAN

Australia

President Nixon's offer so fair and just that if it is rejected no one but the North Vietnamese can be blamed for war's continuation.

SYDNEY DAILY TELEGRAPH

Israel

The maximum concessions a U.S. President can make for his country.

YEDIOT ARHARONOT

Sweden

President Nixon has drawn the line through his critics' rhetoric.

DAGENS NYHETER

South Korea

Peace will be won by Mr. Nixon's strength and patience.

DONGA ILBO

Austria

Nixon's offer is so realistic that Hanoi cannot properly say no.

KRONEN--ZEITUNG

Indonesia

A concrete plan worthy of fair and serious consideration.

FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK

Norway

All who say the U.S. must leave Vietnam ought now hasten to urge Hanoi to accept Mr. Nixon's peace proposals.

MORGENBLADET

Impressively Reasonable

Norman Kempster UPI

Rates Serious Hanoi Reply

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Unifies Nation on Vietnam

JACKSONVILLE JOURNAL

Focal Point for Unity

NASHVILLE BANNER

Nixon's Blockbuster may Unblock Impasse

THE NEW REPUBLIC

No Stone Unturned

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Puts Record Forward

Edwin Newman NBC

Critics' Puny Carping... no Validity

WASHINGTON NEWS

Effective and Persuasive

Marvin Kalb CBS

Puts Hanoi Talks in True Focus

ORLANDO SENTINEL

Dispels Doubt of Nation's Sincerity

LONG BEACH PRESS-TELEGRAM

Nixon Offers Just Basis For Negotiating end of war

THE DENVER POST

Remarkable

PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN

A Modern Classic

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Simply Made to End War

WASHINGTON STAR

Undermines Hanoi's Double Game.

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS

Dramatic, Sincere, Searching

BOSTON HERALD TRAVELLER

Even Critics Approve

Walter Cronkite CBS

Everyone Likes Nixon's Bid

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Different, Hopeful

Tom Jerriel ABC

The Record Shouts

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS

Earnest, Genuine Effort

BALTIMORE SUN

Peace Cards on Table

FLORIDA TIMES UNION

Marked Advance, Merits Support and Hanoi Response

NEW YORK TIMES

Japan

Realistic American pledge to help in postwar economic reconstruction.

ASAHI

Holland

It is obvious that President Nixon is very anxious to end the war.

DE TELEGRAAF AMSTERDAM

Luxembourg

Really sensational. Nixon offers a just peace. Who can object?

RADIO LUXEMBOURG

Singapore

These are honorable terms for all.

STRAITS TIMES KUALA LUMPUR

France

Perserverance worthy of echoing response from the other side.

LE MONDE

Switzerland

Restores credibility of the United States government. Hanoi could yield under world public opinion.

NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG

Thailand

Shows Mr. Nixon has not been sitting back, or pursuing will-o-the-wisp of military victory. His actions are best yet for ending war.

BANGKOK WORLD

India

Reasonable basis for fair settlement. There is little substance in Hanoi's complaints.

MADRAS MAIL

United Kingdom

A sign of Mr. Nixon's serious search for a peace agreement.

LONDON TIMES

FEBRUARY 1, 1972

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

A Lesson About Credibility

Whenever anything is disclosed about the inner workings of foreign policy, the important thing to look for is what light it sheds on the government's credibility and trustworthiness—or anyway, so we have gathered from what has captured headlines these past few years.

Somehow, though, this instant tradition seems to have been ignored in the case of the newly disclosed efforts to negotiate a Vietnam settlement.

It's a pity, for quite a bit can be learned about our times by setting the public record of the last few years beside the secret negotiating efforts disclosed last week. There is a lesson about credibility, and that lesson should not be ignored simply because it's not the currently fashionable one.

What the comparison reveals is that just as the administration was doing everything it could imagine to strike a compromise with Hanoi, its credibility was taking beating after beating for failing to do enough to strike a compromise with Hanoi.

Remember the public record: Senators were suggesting that the administration could not be trusted to do its best at negotiating, so legislation was necessary to compel it to be more forthcoming. Prestigious commentators and editorialists were saying the solution in Vietnam could come only when the administration dropped its thoughts of a "military solution" and finally got serious about negotiating.

Senators, newsmen and others interviewed the North Vietnamese negotiators in Paris, and found they were models of reasonableness, ready to settle the war if only Mr. Nixon were not so blind and intransigent. Assurances from our negotiators that this attitude did not prevail at the actual bargaining table were quickly dismissed on the ground that everyone knows the government lies. In short, the administration found its credibility constantly impugned.

All this, until last week, the administration bore in silence. The President and his top officials never disclosed what they knew: That in fact ever since 1969 Henry Kissinger had been periodically winging off to Paris for the most serious bargaining. That in fact the Americans had offered to set a withdrawal deadline. That in fact the Americans and South Vietnamese had offered that fondest dream of the doves, the resignation of President Thieu. That in fact Hanoi spurned all this, all the while publicly denouncing the United States for failing to respond to *its* proposals.

The administration did not disclose this, did not defend its credibility, because it feared that doing so would jeopardize whatever chance might actually remain of negotiating a settlement in the secret talks. In other words, it was precisely because the American government was doing the honorable and responsible thing that its credibility was under attack, that an acid was eating away at that most precious asset of a democratic government, the trust of its citizens.

The administration's decision to make the record public reflects its judgment about the balance between the benefits of secret negotiations and the damage to its credibility. It's not difficult to conclude that since Hanoi is obviously not about to budge at a secret offer, perhaps a public one is worth trying. And in making the record public Mr. Nixon is asking for a bit more trust from the people and the Congress.

The President has a point. If we are to mark up against the government every deception anyone can uncover or concoct, let us also mark up for the government those times when it has behaved better than its critics have charged. And here is an instance, and scarcely a small one, that gives no support to the view that the American government is somehow sinister.

In this instance, rather, the record supports the view that as human institutions go a democratic government is reasonably trustworthy, that the American leaders are selected from among the American people, and that by and large they are more likely than not to do the decent thing.

MUSKIE DODGES ON DETAILS OF HIS ACCOMMODATION PLAN

Commenting on part two of Sen. Muskie's two point peace plan, the part requiring Saigon to reach an accomodation with the Communists or face a cut-off of U.S. aid, the *N.Y. Daily News* suggested that since the Democratic front-runner has chosen to make Vietnam a partisan political issue, "He is now duty bound to tell Americans just how much he would crawl to get the U.S. out of Vietnam." But it doesn't look like he's going to. It appears that on Vietnam, like all the other issues, Muskie has considerably more ideas about what ought not to be done than he does about what should be done.

Muskie Ducks Details

Asked after the presentation of his two point peace plan just how long military aid to Saigon would continue, if he were President, and what he would do if North Vietnam refused to release American POW's until a political accomodation is made in South Vietnam, Muskie ducked. "I don't think it's useful to pose apocalyptic negatives," he said when newsmen pressed him for details. He said he could not anticipate "every twist and turn" of the future in Vietnam but could only spell out a broad plan for total U.S. withdrawal in hopes that North Vietnam would respond.

"I'm not going to try to dot every i and cross every t," Muskie dodged. "I can't control what the reactions will be."

While Sen. Muskie now favors forcing South Vietnam into an accomodation with the Communists, he has not always felt that way. Back in February of 1966, when the Johnson-Humphrey Administration was escalating the war in Vietnam, Muskie was very leary of the Communists and the danger they posed to the "freedom elements" in South Vietnam.

Viet Cong "Sticky Problem"

The role of the Viet Cong in the negotiating process, he admitted, would be "a sticky problem." "If we gave the Viet Cong too large a role before we negotiated, we might hamper the ability of whatever government emerged in South Vietnam to develop viability, independence, and the ability to decide its own country's destiny," Muskie declared.

Two years later in his testimony before the Democartic Platform Committee, Muskie voiced the same fears. "Our objective" in the Paris peace talks, he said, should be to resolve each point of discussion "in such a way as to safeguard, to the maximum extent possible, the right of all the people of South Vietnam to choose their own way. *It does not seem wise to me to try to unilaterally resolve those questions in advance.*"

COLLEGE PAPER SUPPORTS NIXON PEACE PLAN

We feel that Nixon has a very good plan and it should be carried through. He asked Hanoi to accept eight proposals. The main ones being a total withdrawal from South Vietnam in six months, an exchange of prisoners which would start on the same day as unilateral withdrawal, a general cease-fire throughout Indochina, and new presidential elections with President Thieu resigning one month before. President Nixon has every intention of ending the war right now—if Hanoi will accept his proposals.

The same paper that carried this story carried the reactions of the opposing Democratic Party leaders. All the ones interviewed referred to Nixon's announcement. The typical response was, "How can Hanoi accept such proposals?" The question remains, how come these same men were asking Nixon for these demands?

We admire some of the Congressional leaders though, they are trying to get the opponents to stand behind Nixon. It would be nice to see the country once again stand united behind the President.

It would be great if the presidential candidates could let their disputes with the President ride and help end the war that was not started by Nixon.—*Excerpted from an editorial in the Asbury College "Collegian," Wilmore, Ky., Feb. 1, 1972.*

THE CANDIDATE AND NEGOTIATIONS

(Continued from page 4)

their success would be destroyed in the event the enemy in Hanoi got the impression that a candidate for President, a man who might be President, might come into power and thereby give them an opportunity which they could not get from the present negotiations.

"As far as I am concerned, I do not intend to say anything. I do not intend through a mouthful of words to destroy any chance for negotiations for peace. Let the President of the United States have a chance to negotiate. We have one President, one Commander-in-Chief at a time."

This was good advice four years ago; it's good advice now. Sen. Muskie as well as the other Presidential candidates should heed it.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S PEACE PLAN: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question: Did the North Vietnamese ever offer to release American POW's in exchange for the U.S. setting a fixed withdrawal date?

Answer: No. To the contrary, the North Vietnamese have always insisted that any military settlement (withdrawal, cease-fire or exchange of prisoners) would have to be accompanied by a complete political settlement.

Question: Has the U.S. offered a withdrawal date in exchange for the return of POW's?

Answer: On May 31, 1971, the U.S. proposed a deadline for the withdrawal of all American forces in return for a cease-fire agreement and exchange of all prisoners. The North Vietnamese rejected this offer, not on the grounds that the cease-fire or any aspect of our proposal was unacceptable, but rather on the grounds that any proposal that did not include political elements could not even be negotiated.

Question: Has the U.S. offered a fixed date for the withdrawal of all military forces?

Answer: Yes. On August 16 it was proposed that a date be set for withdrawal which was nine months after signing an agreement, or to put it another way, the U.S. said, "We are prepared to withdraw by August 1, 1972, provided an agreement is reached by November 1, 1971." This was part of an overall plan that included political elements because they continued to insist on this. In October the U.S. shortened the withdrawal period.

Question: Is the U.S. willing to accept a fixed withdrawal date for the exchange of prisoners alone?

Answer: As it has been indicated, the U.S. is prepared, once the comprehensive agreement is signed in principle, to begin implementing the withdrawal and prisoner exchange portions, even while the other elements are still being ironed out, provided that final agreement is reached within that six-month period in which the withdrawals are running.

Question: Why has the U.S. proposed that a cease-fire be part of a military settlement?

Answer: The North Vietnamese themselves included the cease-fire in the 9-point proposal they put forth on June 26. The issue of the cease-fire itself has not been the reason for the rejection by the North Vietnamese or our proposals. A cease-fire is important to permit the safe withdrawal of American forces and to bring about not only an end to U.S. involvement, but an end to the war itself—and to bloodshed in Indochina.

Question: Various Congressmen who talked to the North Vietnamese in Paris reported they would be willing to free all American prisoners in exchange for a pledge to withdraw American troops on a date certain. Is this true?

Answer: They were misled. While the U.S. was negotiating their secret 9-point proposal, the North Vietnamese were berating us publicly for not responding to the public seven points of the Vietcong proposal.

Successions of Americans came back from Paris saying that they knew that if we would just make a proposal in the military field this would unlock the door. At those precise moments, the North Vietnamese were telling us there was no solution possible that did not include a political element.

Finally, the North Vietnamese publicly (even before the President spoke) stated there could be no military settlement by itself and announced they would reject a withdrawal date for POW exchange plan.

Question: Did the North Vietnamese actually ask that the government of South Vietnam be overthrown?

Answer: Categorically, yes. The record is clear that they asked the U.S. to change the government directly, leaving the method to the U.S. They have been categorical in their continued insistence on the removal of the Thieu government as an essential condition of any settlement.

Question: Why did the U.S. decide to make public these secret negotiations now?

Answer: It was believed that the time had come to focus public attention world wide on the reasonableness of the U.S. position. The North Vietnamese were guilty of gross public distortions to win public opinion for positions they were unwilling to agree to privately.

Also, the difference between U.S. public and private positions had reached a point which could undermine credibility and demoralize the American people. The U.S. was being accused of not responding to points long ago responded to privately. The time had come to end, or at least reduce, domestic disharmony on this issue. To end the war as a united people has profound significance for America.

Question: In view of all this, what is it the critics really want the U.S. to do?

Answer: Obviously all that could be left is surrender—either to leave Vietnam without our prisoners or to agree to overthrow a government and abandon the people for whom 45,000 Americans have died and billions in our Treasury have been spent, leaving Asians to kill Asians with no hope of either a military or political settlement. This is not the course the U.S. will follow.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

The battle within the Muskie organization for the candidate's political soul appears to be over and the extreme left-wing forces victorious. A source close to the Muskie camp tells *Monday* that the Maine Democrat's sharp attack on President Nixon's efforts to extricate the U.S. honorably from Vietnam was prompted by Sen. McGovern's strong showing in the recent Iowa precinct caucuses and John Lindsay's better-than-expected effort in Arizona. Muskie reportedly feels that the only way he can stop McGovern and Lindsay from stopping him is by staying at least as far left as they are on the Vietnam issue. This could prove difficult, however. McGovern has said that as President he would accept the Viet Cong peace proposals in "five minutes" because it is the best that could be hoped for. This prompted one observer to note: "With McGovern as President the Viet Cong proposal might even be better than could be hoped for."

Muskie and Pollution

An irate Maine resident writes the *Maine Sunday Telegram:* "I saw Senator Muskie on TV last night on the bank of the Cuyahoga river in Ohio. So far I have not seen Muskie standing on the banks of the Androscoggin, that flows through his birthplace, Rumford, Me., and is classed one of ten most polluted rivers in the U.S. I haven't heard of Muskie looking at the Presque Isle river here in Maine, the one he helped be declassified, and which has now become a cesspool, not only in Maine but also in our neighbor, New Brunswick. I suppose Sen. Muskie can't be bothered with a State that has only 4 electoral votes."

The *Portland* (Maine) *Press Herald* reports that one of Sen. Muskie's favorite lines in campaigning in Fla. and N.H. is: "Wouldn't it be nice if we had a country we can love, believe in, work for and die for?" Does this mean the Senator does not now love America, believe in the country, work for and think enough of it to die for? Wouldn't it be nice if someone would ask him?

Question of the Week: Does anyone really care what makes Eugene McCarthy run?

Muskie Anti-Smoking Stand Hurts in Ky.

Kentucky's Democratic Gov. Wendell Ford has got himself in crossways with the folks at home by endorsing Sen. Muskie for President. The press has dredged up a 1969 Muskie quote in which he expressed his view that "it is imperative that action by taken to curb and decrease cigarette smoking in the interest of public health."...The Associated Press reports that during a question and answer period with students at a high school in Milford, N.H., Sen. Vance Hartke was asked if he thought a student should be forced to attend a political rally. When Hartke replied no, the student left...UPI reports that local Democrats in Caspar, Wyo., did not think it was funny when the latest edition of the city phone directory listed Democratic Party headquarters under "amusement companies" in the yellow pages...N.Y. Mayor John Lindsay is mailing out his political schedule in city hall envelopes and at city expense... The Bradley University *Scout* reprints for interested readers, avowed Presidential non-candidate Teddy Kennedy's summary of his Senate work last year, "thoughtfully mailed to college papers around the country by his office."

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"He might even be a better President because of Chappaquiddick."—*Wisconsin Gov. Patrick J. Lucey on Teddy Kennedy, explaining that the event had a "sobering and maturing effect" on the Senator, quoted in the* Baltimore Sun, *Feb. 9, 1972.*

New Hampshire Youth Like Nixon

Pollwatch: A New Hampshire Public Television Network poll of young voters taken in the middle part of last December shows President Nixon favored in the Republican primary 70—30 over California Rep. Paul McCloskey. On the Democrat side, the young people liked Kennedy over Muskie 35—28; McGovern, 22; HHH, 7; Yorty and Jackson, 3; and Lindsay, 2. Asked their choice if the Presidential election were held today: Nixon, 22; Kennedy, 21; Muskie, 21; McGovern, 12; McCloskey, 6; Lindsay, 5; HHH, 3; Jackson, 1; Yorty, 1; others, 8. The two page questionnaire was distributed to 1,000 18—24 year old students in public and private high schools, colleges, vocational schools, secretarial and business institutes.

In another poll by the same outfit, President Nixon bested the front-running Democrats in two out of three respective cities in three different states. In Meredith, N.H., the President topped Muskie 34 to 11; HHH, 8; Jackson, Kennedy, McCloskey, 3; Lindsay and McGovern, 2; and "don't know," 32. In Randolph, Vt., the President with 39 beat McGovern, Lindsay and McCloskey who had 11; don't know, 28. In Norway, Me., Muskie's home state, Muskie had 48, the President 29. Humphrey was third with 7; don't know, 12; others favored, 4. The tri-city survey was conducted by phone in late January and the sample size was about one percent of the registered voters in each town.

"Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavor," by Charles de Gaulle, quotes the late French leader as saying when he met Vice President Nixon: "He struck me as one of those frank and steady personalities on whom one feels one can rely in the great affairs of state if they ever were to reach the highest office."... Maurice Stans has labeled as "an outright lie" Democratic claims that Republicans have collected $30 million for the 1972 election. The rumors are being spread to thwart GOP fund-raising, Stans declared... HEW Secretary Elliott Richardson has written a letter to Sen. Hubert Humphrey outlining for him the "decisive steps" taken by the Nixon Administration to deal with the problem of inflation in health care costs. Richardson invited HHH to join in supporting pending Administration legislation now stalled in the Democrat-controlled Congress. Humphrey, obviously confusing Congress with the Administration, had charged in Fla. that nothing was being done about the rising cost of health care.

Commenting on a recent Federal court decision ordering a merger of several Richmond, Va. predominantly white, suburban school districts with the predominantly black inter-city school system, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell said: "The concept of breaking up governmental units for the purpose of bringing about racial balance doesn't appeal to me in the slightest. It seems to me that in this particular case, the Federal Courts are imposing their mandates on state and local governments that are charged with providing the education system, and as long as those states and local governments do not violate any existing Constitutional principles, I do not believe that the courts should impose their will on that local option."

The *Washington Daily News* reports that a Jan. 19 newspaper in Zambia, Africa, headlined that Michigan Democrat Rep. Charles Diggs, Jr. said: "Blow Up U.S. Firms in South Africa." The *News* quotes Diggs, former head of the Congressional Black Caucus, as saying he didn't mean that. What he says he said in the press conference in Lusaka about the General Motors plant in S. Africa is: "If somebody drops a fire bomb there, somebody will get the message that these companies do have a moral responsibility that they ought to live up to." How what he admits saying differs from what the paper said he said, the Congressman did not say.

SPEAKING:

Today—Counsellor **Rumsfeld** and RNC Chmn. **Dole**, Rep. Congressional Boosters, Palm Beach, Fla.; HUD Sec. **Romney**, University Club, Wash., D.C.; Vice President **Agnew**, Copley Newspapers, Borrego Spgs., Calif.; Tues.—Labor Sec. **Hodgson**, Opportunities Industrialization Ctr., Wash., D.C.; HEW Sec. **Richardson**, Nat'l Council of Jewish Women, Wash., D.C.; Comm. Sec. **Peterson**, Amer. Chamber of Commerce, Mexico City, Mex.; Int. Sec. **Morton**, Valley Conservation Assn., McCook, Neb.; Wed.—**Hodgson**, Nat'l Freight Traffic Assn., NYC; Def. Sec. **Laird** on NBC Today Show; **Agnew**, Amer. Assn. of School Admin., Atlantic City, N.J.; Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Tenn. Livestock Assn., Nashville; **Stans**, NAM, Boca Raton, Fla.; Thurs.—**Hodgson**, Contractors Mutual Assn., Wash., D.C.; Treas. Sec. **Connally**, Wash. Press Club; **Dole**, Lincoln Day dinner, Pittsburgh; Comm. chief **Klein**, Assn. of General Contractors, Los Angeles; Counsellor **Finch**, CCOSS, Atlanta, Ga.; Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, Business Council, Wash., D.C.; **Butz**, Alpha Zeta luncheon, Wash., D.C.; Fri.—**Volpe**, Baltimore Jr. Assn. of Commerce; **Klein**, Amer. College PR Assn., Newport Bch., Calif.; **Dole**, Lincoln Day dinner, Middletown, Ohio; **Rumsfeld**, U of N.H.

Monday.FEB.14,1972

republican national committee

Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

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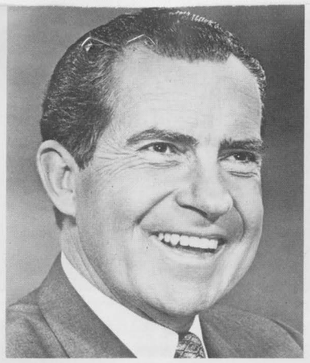


Monday. FEB. 21, 1972

Mr. Robert Brown
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JOURNEY FOR PEACE. On the first leg of his historic trip to China, President and Mrs. Nixon board a helicopter to Andrews Air Force Base and wave goodbye to well wishers on the White House lawn. In a departure statement, the President said the U.S. and China must "find a way to see that we can have differences without being enemies in war." The President and his party will return to Washington next Monday, February 28.





1971 a Move Toward A Generation Of Peace

(Excerpted from "United States Foreign Policy for the 1970's, The Emerging Structure of Peace," a report by President Richard Nixon to the Congress, February 1972)

I have stated many times that we seek a generation of peace. That is the goal of this Administration, and it is against that standard that the initiatives of 1971 should be judged.

In the last analysis, only the future will tell whether or not the developments of the past year have truly brought us closer to that goal. All we can say with certainty now is that a generation of peace is a more credible goal at the end of 1971 that it appeared to be at its beginning. It may still appear to be distant. It does not, however, still appear fanciful and utopian.

That fact in itself is important. Both this country and the world need a brighter vision than managing crises and aiming only at staving off the ultimate conflagration. The influence which history and our own efforts have given this Nation can—and must—be used for something more than an organization of world affairs which aims merely at keeping international animosities in some sort of tenuous, fragile and constantly endangered balance. The containment of enmity is better than its release. But it is not enough as a permanent goal.

No More Shortsighted Policy

For too long, American policy consisted of reacting to events. We had a sense of mission, but rarely a clear definition of our purpose. We were drawn into situations, responding tactically, without a clear perception of where we would end up. When we were not forced by events, we seldom struck out along new paths because we had no positive conception of where we wanted to go.

Our times demand more. A durable peace is a set of conditions and requires a conscious effort to create those conditions. Peace will not come about by itself, with us passively looking on or striking moralistic poses. Nor will it come about automatically with the ending of a war. How many wars in this century have ended without bringing a lasting peace because statesmen failed to shape a durable peace out of the conditions which emerged from the conflict? This is why it makes a difference how we liquidate the vestiges of an earlier era as we move into the new. The future of peace—in Asia, in the Middle East, in Europe—depends in large measure upon the steadfastness and purposefulness of American policy all around the world.

Today the United States is once again acting with assurance and purpose on the world stage.

Vietnam War Winding Down

Vietnam no longer distracts our attention from the fundamental issues of global diplomacy or diverts our energies from priorities at home.

Our dramatic departures of the past year—the fruits of our planning and policies over three years—reflect the historical conditions we see today and the historic possibilities we see for tomorrow. They were momentous steps, accelerating the very process of change which they addressed. The world—and we ourselves—are still in the process of adjusting to the developments we have set in train. But we know where we are going. We are moving with history, and moving history ourselves.

There will always be conflict in the world, and turbulent change and international rivalries. But we can seek a new structure of global relationships in which all nations, friend and adversary, participate and have a stake. We can seek to build this into a world in which all nations, great and small, can live without fear that every conflict contains for them the potential for Armageddon. In such a structure of peace, habits of moderation and compromise can be nurtured, and peoples and nations will find their fullest opportunities for social progress, justice, and freedom.

This is what we mean by a generation of peace.

Richard Nixon

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O'BRIEN PUTS PARTY ABOVE COUNTRY IN PLAYING POLITICS WITH VIETNAM

Of all the Democrats who have switched clothes on Vietnam, none have turned their coats faster and in a more pronounced manner than Democratic National Chairman Larry O'Brien.

As one of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's chief tub-thumpers for escalation in Vietnam, O'Brien repeatedly urged audiences to get behind the President on the war and show the enemy the United States was not divided and weak.

For example, in July of 1966 in an address in Washington, D.C., O'Brien declared:

Support the President

"We must show the world that we are determined to see a successful conclusion to our fight for freedom in Vietnam...To achieve this end, we must show that we are united behind the President's policy of fearless resistance to aggression. As our President strives to convince the aggressors that this final form of warfare must be abandoned, we must not permit anyone to believe that his policy is a minority policy...Let us end any delusion, *any war prolonging delusion,* by showing the President in unmistakable fashion that he has your support as well as your prayers in these trying times."

In 1966, O'Brien told an audience: "I know you will perform your *patriotic duty;* I know you will continue to give the President your active support and your prayers as he strives to secure a just peace—not only for the people in Vietnam but for all people who treasure liberty and yearn for democracy."

Hanoi Watching Dissent

In another talk in August of 1966, O'Brien pointed out in an Arlington, Va. address: "Hanoi sees in our dissent over our policy in Vietnam direct evidence that we are not mentally prepared. As the result of some dissenting voices at home, Hanoi sees us as a nation of affluent summer soldiers and sunshine patriots, a land of contented consumers."

In June of 1967 in South Orange, N.J., O'Brien spoke derisively of so-called "peace lovers" and contrasted them with President Johnson whom he called a "peace maker."

"There's nothing special about a peace lover. Even a loud one," O'Brien asserted before a Seton Hall University commencement crowd. "But it takes considerable thought, energy, imagination, diplomacy, and, in the world in which we live, sometimes force to be a peace maker. The President needs help in

'And That's the Jackass that Pushed Me In'



making peace. He's asked for it, but sometimes he can only hear the anguished cries of peace lovers."

But things are different now for Larry O'Brien. The former cheer-leader for the Johnson-Humphrey policies of escalation in Vietnam is now an outspoken critic of President Nixon's policy in Vietnam which has brought home nearly all the men sent to war by Mr. O'Brien's party. O'Brien has now joined the "peace lovers" whose anguished cries he used to delight in mocking.

O'Brien Rejects Unity Now

Appearing recently on the NBC Today Show, the Democratic National Chairman was asked if there wasn't some validity to Republican suggestions that a united front behind President Nixon might help in negotiating a way out of Vietnam. O'Brien disagreed saying such an idea is "injurious to the future of the Nation" and "detrimental to every American."

Why what O'Brien himself advocated in 1966 and 1967 is now harmful to the Nation, O'Brien did not say. NBC's Bill Monroe did not ask him. But the answer is apparent. When Larry O'Brien, who once called for unity behind a Democratic President making war, now rejects a call for unity behind a Republican President making peace, one can only conclude that the primary motivation is political. Clearly the Democratic National Chairman is putting his party above his country when it comes to the issue of Vietnam.

LARRY O'BRIEN, PATRIOTIC DUTY AND VIETNAM; OR, MY HOW TIMES CHANGE ESPECIALLY WHEN YOUR PARTY'S ESCALATING THE WAR AND THE OTHER PARTY IS BRINGING THE TROOPS HOME

When his party and his President were escalating the war in Vietnam, there wasn't a hawkier hawk around than Larry O'Brien. In speeches from one end of the country to the other O'Brien defended both the U.S. commitment to South Vietnam and the conduct of the war itself.

In Des Moines, Iowa in 1966, O'Brien talked about appeasement, Neville Chamberlain, warned against "trembling knees" in fighting for freedom, and declared: "Let us remember in defending Vietnam...we are defending Iowa...and Massachusetts...and all the free world." Appeasement, O'Brien warned, "is but a down payment on a mortgage that comes due quickly and is payable in blood."

Vietnam and Newark

In New Jersey, at a dinner honoring a Democratic Congressman, O'Brien spoke of Americans fighting and dying in Vietnam to protect "freedom here in Newark..." To those who argued priorities, O'Brien responded: "The Nation is strong enough, secure enough, dedicated enough to defend freedom abroad while meeting our responsibilities at home."

In Washington speaking to a group of magazine publishers, O'Brien denounced the enemy in Vietnam as "modern age pirates, assassins, terrorists, and saboteurs....The hard lesson is that we do not find peace through cowardice or appeasement," he declared. "History shows that weakness tempts aggression, and strength deters it."

In Oakland, California, O'Brien labeled calls for a U.S. pull out from Vietnam not only simple but "simple-minded." To abandon an ally such as South Vietnam to Communist aggression, he said, would be to break faith "with ourselves."

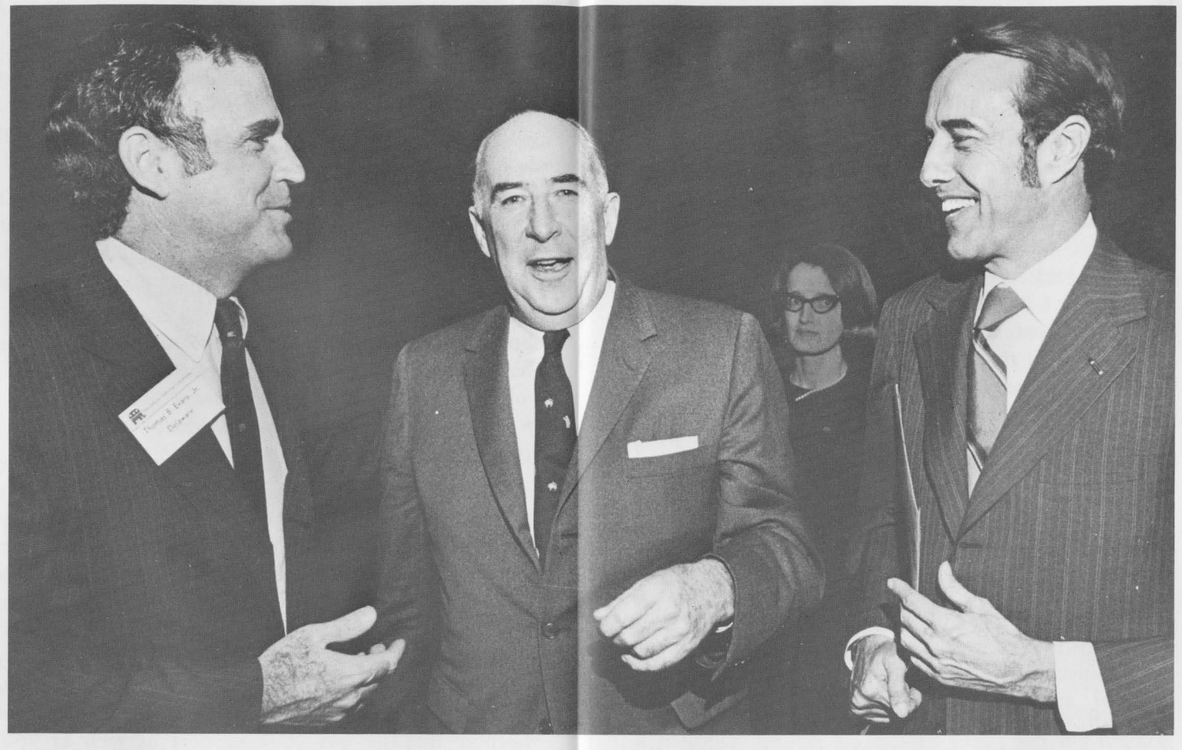
O'Brien Defends Elections

In Lincoln, Nebraska, O'Brien defended the 1966 elections in South Vietnam calling them "a 'shot heard throughout Asia,' just as two centuries ago we fired the shot heard round the world."

In San Juan, Puerto Rico, O'Brien told a National Association of Postmasters audience to speak out on the issue of how to achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam. "Pin down those who substitute wishes for hard thought," he urged. "Ask them what they would do if the Communists continue to refuse to come to the peace table."

This was a good question in 1966 when O'Brien asked it and it is a good question now. Larry?

Monday, Feb. 21, 1972



ATTORNEY GENERAL JOHN N. MITCHELL (center) has resigned to join The Committee for the Re-Election of the President. In his letter accepting Mitchell's resignation, President Nixon praised him as a man who had helped develop "greater public support for the forces of law and justice throughout the country." Mitchell is shown here at a GOP reception with RNC Co-Chairman Tom Evans (left) and RNC Chairman Sen. Bob Dole. As Mitchell's replacement, the President chose Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst.

PRESIDENTIAL PRESSURE ON CONGRESS, BIG LABOR MOVES DOCK STRIKE TOWARD SETTLEMENT

While many are now claiming credit for Congressional movement toward passage of legislation to curb nationally disruptive strikes in the transportation industry, and for the settlement of the disastrous West Coast dock strike, the fact of the matter is that the driving force behind each of these accomplishments is President Nixon and his Administration.

The record speaks for itself:

Over two years ago, the President sent to the Democrat-controlled Congress a special message on labor disputes in the transportation industry and proposed the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970, designed to mitigate work stoppages which imperil the national interest.

Action Urged Two Years Ago

In March, the President sent a special message to Congress to avert stoppage of rail service and submitted legislation urged the previous month. In September, following two more rail crises, the President, in a letter to Congressional leaders, again urged passage of his legislation to settle long-standing railway labor disputes once and for all. In December, the President signed temporary legislation dealing with RR strikes and again called for passage of his still pending legislation.

In February of last year, the President sent a second message to Congress recommending passage of his Emergency Public Interest Protection proposal, saying that the need was more urgent than ever. In May, in a statement on signing into law a provision to end crippling national RR strikes, the President once more underscored the need for passage of permanent legislation to deal with the problem. In September, the President met with both sides in the West Coast dock strike to promote settlement. In a media briefing he again stressed the need for legislation to deal with not only that strike but other strikes in transportation industry as well.

(Continued next page)

PRESIDENT TELLS CONGRESSMEN THAT STATUS QUO ON BUSING IS UNACCEPTABLE

President Nixon has met with several members of Congress and assured them that the status quo on busing is unacceptable to him and that something is going to be done about the matter and done soon. Things will not be allowed to remain as they now are, the President told the Congressmen.

Ron Ziegler, White House press secretary, said that during the one and a half hour meeting with members of the House and Senate who are promoting anti-busing Constitutional amendments, the President assured them "he is not going to leave the situation as it is."

"The question here," Ziegler said the President believes, "is what is the best solution to the problem—Constitutional amendment or other courses of action."

Busing Counter-Productive

Noting that there is now a situation where court-ordered busing is of such a magnitude that it is widely believed counter-productive to the education of the children involved, Ziegler said: "We're not going to leave the situation as it is. The question is not identifying the problem, the question is how to proceed."

Commenting on the meeting with the President, Senate GOP Whip Robert Griffin said: "It was very clear from the meeting that the President is going to do something about it (busing) in the near future."

Tennessee Sen. Howard Baker, also in the meeting, said: "My own private judgment is that as a result of the President's opposition to busing for racial balance, we are about to see an end to the problem of busing as we know it, as it is required by district courts in some jurisdictions."

To make recommendations to deal with the problem of busing, President Nixon has asked a Cabinet-level committee to study all possible solutions and approaches and submit the suggestions to him after he returns from his trip to China.

President Long Opposed to Busing

President Nixon has long been an outspoken foe of busing children to achieve racial balance. In August of last year, the President declared: "I am against busing as that term is commonly used in school desegregation cases. I have consistently opposed the busing of our Nation's school children to achieve a racial balance, and I am opposed to the busing of children simply for the sake of busing.

Last November, the President congratulated House Republican leaders on anti-busing amendments attached to a school aid bill. White House press secre-

(Continued next page)

BUSING

(Continued from previous page)

tary Ziegler commented on the House action: "I believe it supports the posture that the President has taken regarding busing." One of the amendments passing the House, which prohibits any of the $1.5 billion in school aid from being used for busing, was specifically requested by the Nixon Administration.

While President Nixon has stated unequivocally his opposition to forced busing to achieve a racial balance, the Democrats position on the issue (with the notable exception of Sen. Henry Jackson) is not very clear.

Asked on the NBC "The Loyal Opposition" show what her party might say on the issue of busing, Pat Harris gave an answer the wishy-washiness of which undoubtedly turned Sen. Muskie green with envy.

Democrats Wishy-Washy on Busing

Starting with an appeal to deal with what she called "the realities of the 20th Century," the Chairman of the Credentials Committee of the Democratic National Committee suggested that "sense" be talked to the American people on the issue. She was for the control of local school boards, she went on, but "that is not the issue here." The issue is "quality education," she said, and busing does not affect negatively the quality of anybody's education. Coming out foursquare for the position that no child should be educationally "unduly disadvantaged," Mrs. Harris then finally got around to busing, which she said must be continued if this means that "all children have access to the best education," which she didn't say it meant. Mrs. Harris concluded with: "I think we are going to talk about issues like this, the reality, and not the phoniness."

Moving on to other new "realities" in an obvious effort to get off the busing issue, DNC Chairman Larry O'Brien at this point turned the conversation to how little free TV time the Democrats were being allowed by the networks, an hour of which he and his fellow Democrats were enjoying at the time the charge was being made.

HUBERT AT THE STAKE?

"To the extent that the Democratic Party permits its campaign against Mr. Nixon to turn into a kind of grand internal heresy proceeding against itself on Vietnam, Senator Humphrey figures to be among the first led to the stake."–*Excerpted from* Washington Post *editorial comment on HHH's announcement of his candidacy for President.*

DEMOCRATS IGNORE STRIKE PLEA

Within the past month, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz has written two letters each to Senators Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern, Jackson and Hartke requesting that they "heed the call of farmers and join us in our efforts to deal reasonably and sensibly–and immediately–with the transportation work stoppages." Pointing out that the West Coast dock strike is costing the American farmer $5 and a half million in reduced farm product exports every working day of the week, Butz asked the Democratic Presidential candidates to use their influence to support the emergency strike legislation before Congress. To date, only one, McGovern, has responded and he declined to help. The other Democrats have not yet answered the Secretary's letters.

DOCK STRIKE

(Continued from previous page)

In December, President Nixon again issued a public statement on the urgency of emergency strike legislation. Since his first message, there had been many railroad and port shutdowns. The legislation still languished deep in a Democrat-controlled committee. In January, in his State of the Union address, the President again issued a public call for his legislation and sent a message to Congress providing procedure for settlement of the West Coast dock strike and calls for action to prevent crippling transportation strikes.

President Meets With Governors

In February, this month, the President met with the Governors of California and Washington on the problem and for the umpteenth time asked Congress to take action.

Also this month, the President sent another message to the Congress again urging enactment of the West Coast Dock Strike Resolution and the Crippling Strikes Prevention Act (formerly the Emergency Public Interest Protection Act of 1970).

As the Congress began to focus on the West Coast Dock Strike legislation, the disputants on both sides began to negotiate seriously to settle their differences. As was predicted, passage by the Congress of the emergency legislation coincided with settlement of the West Coast dock strike.

The Crippling Strikes Prevention Act is designed to avoid national calamities brought about by such transportation disruptions as the dock strike. The dock strike was settled through the persistent efforts of the President–hopefully the Crippling Strikes Prevention Act will be enacted by Congress with the same determination.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

While his aides are publicly telling the press that the Senator is pleased with all the attention his criticism of President Nixon's Vietnam peace plan has gotten him, privately Sen. Edmund Muskie is said to be furious over the amount of flack he has taken. A source within the Muskie organization tells *Monday* that Muskie, who originally praised President Nixon's peace disclosures, feels his advisors gave him bum dope in suggesting that he attack the President's efforts for peace. Those giving Muskie the bad advice were Paul Warnke, Clark Clifford and Averell Harriman. The Muskie attack on the President was written by these three men and Tony Lake of the Senator's staff. The speech was handed to Muskie at the last minute and he read it for the first time while actually delivering it.

Muskie Patronizes White-Only Club

When Sen. Edmund Muskie resigned his membership in the white-only Congressional Country Club a few weeks ago, an aide told the press that he had decided to call it quits because during his two years as a member he had been unable to change the policy from within. *Monday* has learned that as revolting as the Senator may have considered the Club's policy as a member, he has no qualms about playing it's golf course as a guest, most recently on Feburary 6. At that time, Muskie played with Maine Democratic Rep. William Hathaway and Dick Kurras, a lobbyist for American Ingbretzin steamship line.

Muskie Theme Song?

Suggested campaign song for Muskie: "Vacillating Rhythm."

College Students for Nixon

Pollwatch: President Nixon has won New Hampshire's second mock college election. With 43 percent of the N.H. Technical Institute student body voting, the President topped Sen. Muskie 47 percent to 19 percent; McCloskey, 14; McGovern, 13; HHH, 2; Jackson, 2; Yorty and Lindsay, 1; and Endicott Peabody's stalking horse, Sen. Vance Hartke, 0. In a previous mock election on the campus of N.H. College, the President beat Muskie 32 percent to 28 percent; McGovern, 15; HHH, Lindsay, McCloskey, 3; and Ashbrook, Hartke and Yorty, 1...The current Gallup Poll shows President Nixon's popularity at a four month high with 53 percent of Americans expressing approval of his performance in office...a U. of North Carolina statewide poll shows the President beating Muskie, 40–29 percent; Kennedy, 38–35; and HHH, 45–23.

GOP LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

The Republican National Leadership Conference will meet in Washington, D.C. March 1-4 with the theme "Together–Again!" for this invitational gathering of top echelon Republicans from the 50 states. The purpose of the Conference is to bring together Party leaders, elected Administration officials and the 1972 campaign team. Administration briefings, workshops and panel discussions with top Republican political professionals and campaign specialists will be featured. Speakers for the Conference include: Sens. Lowell Weicker, Bill Brock and Gordon Allott; Reps. Bill Steiger, Jack Kemp, Bill Archer and Jerry Pettis. There will also be a White House reception hosted by Julie Eisenhower and a banquet at the end of the Conference honoring Vice President and Mrs. Spiro Agnew and members of the Cabinet and their ladies.

Washington Daily News columnist Clare Crawford reports that Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel is furious at Sen. Hubert Humphrey for showing up at his mother's funeral immediately after announcing that he (HHH) would be entering the Maryland Presidential primary. Humphrey is not close to the Governor and did not know Mrs. Mandel at all.

In direct violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, Sen. George McGovern's campaign operation has sent a fund solicitation letter to a Federal agency. The "Dear Friend" plea for cash was received by the Interior Dept's Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. Such violations of the law are punishable by up to three years in prison, a fine not to exceed $5,000, or both...The *Baltimore Sun's* Adam Clymer reports from Tempe, Arizona that in the recent Democratic scrap there for delegates: "John Lindsay had a smoke-filled room here. But his has wheels and the smoke wasn't tobacco, but marijuana. His campaign staff was busing college students to the polls, providing a keg of beer and letting them bring their own grass..."

Foot-In-Mouth for Udall

Quote of the Week: Muskie's man in Arizona, Rep. Morris Udall, gets jeers and cat-calls from 18-year-olds, Mexican-Americans and Negroes when, in seeking to convince them that the Democratic Party reforms are working he tells them they can either take or leave things because they are "free, white and 21."

When asked by CBS's Mike Wallace if he thought Sens. Muskie, Humphrey, McGovern or Mayor John Lindsay were giving aid and comfort to Hanoi with their calls for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, AFL-CIO President George Meany replied, "Well, I think that when you make a speech publicly, and you disagree with the President of the United States, who is still the President of the United States, no matter what anyone thinks, who is the Commander-in-Chief, who has this responsibility, who has access to all the information, far more than members of the Senate, and so on and so forth, I think when you're publicly trying to dictate terms to the President of the United States that he should submit to Hanoi, I think you are unconsciously, unwittingly aiding Hanoi."...The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* has characterized as "eloquent testimony" a lengthy diatribe against U.S. foreign policy by Arkansas Sen. William Fulbright published in the *New Yorker* magazine.

Sen. George McGovern has withdrawn a radio commercial using the voice of the late Robert F. Kennedy. McGovern said that the tape would be redone so the listener would know the voice endorsing him was that of RFK and not Teddy Kennedy. All of which prompted one observer to comment: "I have a better idea. Why doesn't McGovern leave the radio commercial as it is and withdraw himself?"

Secretary of Labor J. D. Hodgson and James F. Gates, Jr., National Chairman of the Jobs for Veterans Committee, in a joint letter to 800 of the Nation's top corporate executives have called for intensified effort to provide returning veterans with worthwhile jobs and training opportunities. The bid to private industry followed closely the Labor Department's meeting with 15 top Federal officials to map renewed action of major Federal departments and agencies in pushing ahead President Nixon's six-point jobs-for-veterans program...Iowa Rep. William J. Scherle writes in his newsletter that those who criticized Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz when he was nominated should acknowledge that he has done far more for the farmer in a few short months than many other Secretaries have done in their entire term of office.

SPEAKING:

Today—Maritime Comm. Chmn. **Bentley**, General Stevedoring Conf., Vancouver, Canada; Counsellor **Finch**, Dartmouth U., Hanover, and Lincoln Day dinner, Keene, N.H.; RNC Chmn. **Dole**, Lincoln Day dinner, Toledo, Ohio; Tues.—HEW Sec. **Richardson**, Nat'l Governors Conf., Wash., D.C. Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Outlook Conf., Wash., D.C.; VA Admin. **Johnson**, Lincoln Day dinner, Des Moines, Iowa; Wed.—Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, Greater Nashua Chamber of Commerce, N.H.; Labor Sec. **Hodgson**, Nat'l Alliance of Business Employment, Wash., D.C., Vice President **Agnew**, Nat'l Governors, Wash., D.C.; Communications chief **Klein**, Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, N.H.; Thurs.—Def. Sec. **Laird**, Nat'l Governors, Wash. D.C.; **Bentley**, Clemson U., S.C.; **Finch**, Assn. of Bay Area Governments, San Francisco; Int. Sec. **Morton**, GOP Exec. Comm., Tallahassee; EPA Dir. **Ruckelshaus**, Lincoln Day dinner, Indianapolis; Fri.—**Butz**, Agri-Business & Rural Affairs Comm. of U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Wash., D.C.; **Richardson**, GOP function Lincoln City, and City Club of Portland, Ore.; **Dole**, Lincoln Day dinner, Knoxville, Tenn.; Treas. Sec. **Connally**, Mortgage Bankers Assn., Houston; **Hodgson**, Executive Club of Chicago; Sat.—HUD Sec. **Romney**, Fla. Engineering Society, Miami; **Hodgson**, Labor Policy Assn., Williamsburg, Va.; **Butz**, S.C. Jaycees, Charleston, and Va. Agri-Business Council, Richmond.

Monday. FEB. 21, 1972

republican national committee

Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

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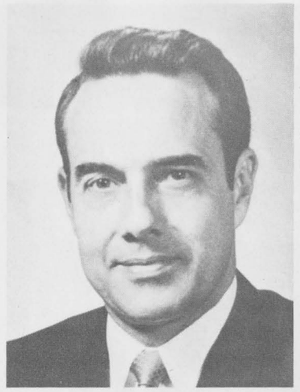
Mr. Robert Brown
176 EOB

Monday. FEB.28,1972

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JAY F. MORRIS (right), Chairman of the 1972 Young Republican Leadership Conference, discusses program plans with National Committee Co-Chairmen Tom Evans and Anne Armstrong. This year's YR conference will stress seminars and workshops on every phase of campaign activity interspersed with briefings on national issues by top White House, Congressional and Administration officials. More than 1,000 delegates from all 50 states are expected to attend the event which will run from March 8—11 at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. For more information write to the YR's at 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, or call (202) 484—6680.



Mitchell Record On Crime A Good One

(Excerpted from a Lincoln Day address in Middletown, Ohio)

Just as they have obstructed the peace abroad, the Democrats have obstructed the President's efforts to win the peace here at home in the fight against crime.

But they have not succeeded in their obstructionist work on this front either. We have been fortunate, over the last 37 months to have John Mitchell as our Attorney General. He has announced that he will leave that post at the end of the month. But he leaves behind him a record of effective leadership and proud accomplishment at the Justice Department.

Crime Rate Slows

Look at the Nixon-Mitchell record. In the past three years, crime has declined in many of our major cities and nationally the rate of increase in crime has been slowed to a five year low.

Traffic in illegal drugs has been severely curtailed and we have encouraging progress in the battle against organized crime. And the Federal government's expenditures against crime and for assistance to local law enforcement agencies has increased 200 percent since 1969.

We have been fortunate to have men like John Mitchell at the top of our federal law enforcement structure. And we are fortunate too that it has fallen to this President to fill four seats on the U.S. Supreme Court. For the President understands–and his appointees understand–that while the criminal has his rights, society, too, has an equal and prior right to protection from the criminal elements in our midst.

In spite of the Democrats who have opposed the Administration at every turn in its law enforcement proposals; in spite of Democrat obstructionism in the fight against crime; in spite of the Democrat attempts to misrepresent and underestimate the high stakes in effective law enforcement, American people, if we tell the story long enough and loud enough, will give this Administration the high marks it deserves for restoring the peace at home and abroad.

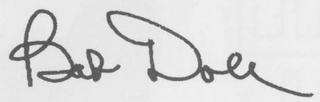
Our job now, as Republicans, is all the more important, and all the more difficult. Strange as it may seem, there will be those who may believe the misrepresentations of the Democrat candidates. Unless we tell the story of Richard Nixon's accomplishments–unless we tell that story over and over again–there will be those who will be taken in by the oversimplications and banality that the Democrat candidates will try to pass off as leadership. There will be some–those presumably who in Lincoln's phrase, can be fooled all of the time–who will fail to appreciate the opportunities that Richard Nixon has opened up for this country. It is our job to get to those people, to tell them the record of this Administration and to impress upon them what the Democrat candidates would offer as an alternative.

1972–A Republican Year

I believe though, that if we do our job, then 1972 is going to be a good year. It will be a Republican year when we will see the re-election of the President and the restoration of the Republican Party to its majority status as Republicans are elected to local, state and national offices all over this land.

1972, as the President has said, is going to be a great year for this country. Continued progress in the fight against inflation and the successful transition from a war-time economy to peace-time prosperity will bear out his prediction.

1972 will be marked by the most significant developments in international relations since the end of World War II. It promises in fact to mark a turning point in the post war era when peace–once at best the object of cynicism and despair–will become, at long last, a realistic and realizable goal.



Chairman, Republican National Committee

Monday. FEB. 28, 1972

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DEMOCRATS ARE WONDERING: WILL WE HAVE A PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE? WILL OUR CONVENTION BE OVER BY NOVEMBER?

> *"We are split. We have not yet gotten over the division of the 1968 convention. There are indications a substantial number of Democrats would leave the party and create a fourth party if certain people got the nomination."–Pierre Salinger, quoted in the* Orlando, *(Fla.)* Sentinel.

As Democratic National Convention time approaches, many Democrats are wondering not about who their party's Presidential nominee will be but rather whether or not they will have a nominee at all. Many members of the opposition party are afraid that due to irreconcilable differences among party factions and the resulting chaos in Miami Beach, the Democratic Party's July National Convention will still be in session come November.

In the words of one McGovern Reform Commission member, Prof. Austin Ranney of the University of Wisconsin: "Nixon could be elected by default, because the convention may be tied up for four months by credentials challenges."

1968 Could Look Like a Picnic

Whether or not Prof. Ranney's speculation becomes a reality is, of course, problematical. But there are numerous reasons why this year's Democratic National Convention could make their1968 debacle look like a picnic:

■ **Party Reforms.** To begin with, there are the reforms, the 18 specific changes in party rules and practices which each state must have adopted in order to be seated at the convention.

As columnist Joseph Alsop points out, the reforms contain "a horrendous contradiction," that is, an emphasis on the fullest representation of the oppressed minorities and a requirement that convention delegates be chosen by the freest, most open democratic procedures.

Noting that the latter may not result in the former, Alsop says "this will really drive the left-wingers stright around the bend.

"One can already foresee Eugene McCarthy spouting perfervid indignation, while Mayor John Lindsay displays his torso and gives vent to fashionable outrage. One can vividly picture Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith and Rep. Bella Abzug doing a death-dance of rage together."

Nasty, Open Credentials Fight Seen

Will Davis, a member of the reform commission and a former chairman of the Texas State Democratic



executive committee, also sees trouble. He expects "a big, nasty open credentials fight" at the convention. Davis adds: "I sure hope we don't have one, but I think we will. There are just too many opportunists and troublemakers in the Democratic Party who will seize any chance to make a challenge, hoping to aid their candidate and to advance their platform ideologies."

The *Wall Street Journal* reports that Democrats are braced for "legal donnybrooks" surrounding the convention and they expect lawsuits and other contests over delegate choice, seating, party reforms–"before, during and after Miami." The *Journal* quotes one party stalwart as predicting the "most litigious convention" in history.

■ **Organized Labor.** Big labor has shown no interest whatsoever in party reform. The *National Journal* reports that when the McGovern Reform Commission held its hearings, labor's representative, the United Steel Workers of America's president I.W. Abel, attended no meetings. Instead he sent an aide who showed up at only two sessions.

The *Journal* quotes DNC Chairman Larry O'Brien as saying AFL-CIO President George Meany is "less than enthusiastic" about reform. Other sources from within the AFL-CIO are quoted as saying that Meany and COPE's director, Alexander Barkan, feel there is no need to reform a convention system that has given the Nation Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson. Thus, any challenges to labor, which is expected to put millions of dollars behind the Democratic Presidential nominee, could get very sticky.

ADA as Watchdog

■ **The Americans for Democratic Action.** The ultra-liberal ADA, according to the *Nashville Banner's* political writer Charles Overby, has stated its in-

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DEMOCRATS

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tention to act as "a national watchdog" to insure compliance with the reform guidelines. Already this outfit is beginning to bark.

In a letter this month to each of the potential Presidential candidates, the ADA points out where their campaigns have not faithfully adhered to the reforms as regards slate-making, and the reasonable representation of minorities, women and youth. The letter reports the findings of a slate-making subcommittee which shows that in five political jurisdictions (N.H., Mass., Ill., Ohio and the District of Columbia) "there has been little fidelity to the letter and the spirit" of the reforms. The ADA will undoubtedly be in the thick of any challenges.

■ **Larry O'Brien.** The Democratic National Chairman's efforts to boss the convention and run the show himself could be an issue. The *Washington Post's* political writer David Broder reports O'Brien is "doing his damnest to keep control of the vital power centers of the convention." Broder says that O'Brien's former Post Office Department Deputy is the convention manager—"which means O'Brien will control the logistics, the schedule and the communications network in Miami Beach."

The anti-O'Brien forces, and there are many, including the militant reformers, will be closely watching this leader of the Old Guard who to many symbolizes what went wrong in Chicago in 1968.

"MANY CHALLENGES"

That there will be challenges to various states in the 1972 Democratic National Convention is a certainty.

Kenneth A. Bode, director of the Center for Political Reform, tells *Monday* that he sees "many challenges" of state delegations. As of now Bode says Texas, Louisiana, Illinois and Arizona will be challenged and by convention time there "certainly will be more."

In a speech last year, Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris vowed to assist in challenging the seating of any state delegation that is not approximately 53 percent female.

Asked about the possibility of what could happen at the Democrat Convention where there may be several hundred black delegates and a few hundred Wallace delegates, Bode laughed and replied: "It could be fun."



WORKING TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT, Paul Cardamone (left) registers a New Hampshire voter. An 18-year-old student at Siena College in New York, Cardamone was among 350 Young Voters for the President who teamed up to ring over 10,000 N.H. doorbells in a one-day drive to locate unregistered voters.

NEW HAMPSHIRE IS NIXON COUNTRY AND WILL PROVE IT MARCH 7th

New Hampshire is still "Nixon Country" and the voters of the Granite State will prove it to the Nation again in the Primary Election March 7.

On that day, New Hampshire voters—including thousands of 18–24 year-old first time voters—will go to the polls to carry on their tradition of providing the Nation's first election year barometer.

Heading into this year's contest, President Nixon is the strongest of all candidates, Republican or Democrat.

Record of Accomplishment

Mr. Nixon's appeal is his record of accomplishment: the new foreign policy that gives self-reliance to our allies and an open door for dialogue with China and Russia, the new direction in the economy, the new role for young people in American society, the new leadership on the drug and crime problems, and the new trend towards returning government to the people.

The New Hampshire Committee for the Re-Election of the President has been entrusted with the job of reminding all voters of that record.

"We have developed a tremendous grass roots program for this campaign that will carry the President to his first victory on the road to his re-election," said former New Hampshire Gov. Lane Dwinell, Chairman of the New Hampshire Committee. "Thousands of volunteer workers have been using their energies in support of the President all over the State."

These volunteers have been working in all phases of the campaign. Young volunteers have spent time canvassing New Hampshire urging people of their same age group to register and vote. Others have been telephoning friends and neighbors to remind them that the President again wants and needs their support.

President's Team Helps

Members of the President's team have also helped. These included Cabinet Secretaries Elliott Richardson, John Volpe, Rogers Morton and George Romney. Senators, Congressmen, Governors and others have trooped through the snow of New Hampshire.

"We want the people of New Hampshire to know how much the President appreciates their past backing and how much he values this first primary," said Francis Dale, Chairman of the National Committee for the Re-Election of the President.

"We think New Hampshire will say 'Thank you, Mr. President for a job well done' by giving him a victory at the polls March 7."

ERA OF LICENSE IS ENDING

"There are those who would revel in seeing us destroy ourselves as a Nation through an erosion of our moral fiber and our spiritual values. I must confess there have been times when I thought we would oblige them. The 1960's developed a wave of unchallenged lawlessness, disrespect for our country and its institutions, and disclaimers of the need for any moral discipline. A radical permissiveness threatened to engulf and destroy us in the name of tolerance and sophistication. We are still reaping the results of that temporary insanity and probably will be for some time to come. But I believe we are now fully awake to these dangers—as a Nation and as a people—and that the end of the Era of License is finally at hand."—*Vice President Spiro T. Agnew before the U.S. Masonic Order, Excelsior Chapter of Rose Croix, Collingswood, N.J.*

FULBRIGHT DEMONSTRATES POWER OF ARROGANCE IN EFFORT TO KILL FREEDOM RADIOS

Nearly six years ago, in one of his typical, anti-American diatribes, Arkansas Sen. J. William Fulbright deplored what he called the "arrogance of power." This "psychological need," as Fulbright called it, is one where "nations seem to have to prove that they are bigger, better or stronger than other nations." Implicit in this drive, Fulbright declared, "is the assumption that the proof of superiority is force..."

In recent weeks, in his efforts to kill off Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, Sen. Fulbright has exhibited a domestic version of that which he formerly deplored, an attitude which might be called the power of arrogance. The phrase being defined as a need that certain Senators seem to have to prove that they are bigger, better and stronger than other members of Congress. Implicit in this drive is the assumption that the proof of superiority is seniority.

Fulbright Does What Soviets Couldn't

In his all-out campaign to permanently stifle the voices of RFE and RL, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Fulbright has, as columnists Evans and Novak put it, "come perilously close to doing what two decades of Moscow's electronic jamming could not do: end non-governmental communication between the United States and some 200 million residents of the Soviet Union and 100 million in five other Communist countries."

As reported by the columnists, Fulbright's efforts to kill the two voices of freedom have gone beyond the bounds of fair play. Last summer after "doggedly slowing down" legislation to fund the two radios, Fulbright urged delay on the matter until the Library of Congress Research Service could work up a study examining whether it is in the public interest to finance such a venture.

In the meantime, the Senate and the House by the end of November passed separate bills authorizing funding of the radios at between $35 and $38 million a year.

When in January of this year, the Library of Congress presented to Fulbright draft reports praising the work of the two radios, he asked that researchers rework the papers, according to Evans and Novak.

Fulbright Intransigent

Last week, for the second time, Senate and House conferees met to iron out their differences. But Fulbright and his two Democratic colleagues, Sens. Symington and Church, were still totally intransigent.

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FULBRIGHT

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"They told us, in effect, that if we wanted the authorization to continue, we had to accept the Senate version," GOP Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen of N.J. told *Monday*. "We offered two compromise plans but they were both rejected."

Frelinghuysen said he was offended by Fulbright's attitude and labeled his actions "a serious abuse of the legislative process." As legislators, the N.J. Republican declared, "we have an obligation to try to reach an agreement. The Senate must respect the views of the House and accept the fact that compromise may be necessary if an agreement is to be reached."

Fulbright and his Senate colleagues were so disagreeable that they refused to sign a conference report stating that the conferees were unable to agree.

Next Step Being Discussed

At *Monday* press time last week, the next step to save the two radios was under discussion with nothing definite being decided. As it stands now, there is enough money in the pipleine to fund RFE and RL only through mid-March.

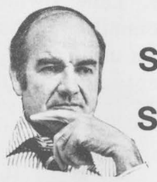
In his desire to "liquidate" RFE and Radio Liberty, Fulbright is at odds with nearly everybody. In a letter to the chairman of the RFE Fund backing the radios, President Nixon has expressed his view that the free flow of information and ideas among nations "is indispensable to more normal relations between East and West and to better prospects for an enduring peace."

The *N.Y. Times* has praised the two stations' work as having "a lasting validity and importance" and noting that the "chief gainers" from their death would be the Soviet bloc's "hard-liners" who hate the radios as allies of the liberal and progressive elements in the Communist world."

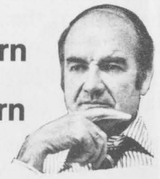
The *Washington Post*, praising the professional nature, effectiveness and the responsibility of the radios, said the only question for Congress is now the two stations can be set up in a more permanent way and go on doing what they're doing.

Democrats, Labor Back Radios

Democratic Sens. Hubert Humphrey and Gale McGee have hailed the work of RFE and RL. The AFL-CIO adopted a resolution at their convention calling for full funding of the operations. Former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Foy Kohler, has called continued operation of the stations "in the U.S. public interest and in the interest of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."



Sen. McGovern Meet Sen. McGovern



"The report that I am considering opposing the school bussing orders of Federal courts, or the recent decision consolidating school districts in Richmond, Virginia, is totally without foundation....I believe that school bussing and redistricting, as ordered by the Federal courts, are among the prices we are paying for a century of segregation in our housing patterns."–*Excerpted from statement from McGovern for President headquarters, Jan. 25, 1972.*

"Democratic Presidential candidate Senator George S. McGovern says the Federal Government should work to end de facto segregation in housing rather than try to force school desegregation by busing. The South Dakota lawmaker, in a speech to students at Manchester Central High School, said busing has been tried in this country for 50 years without success."–*Excerpted from United Press International dispatch, Feb. 12, 1972.*

But perhaps the most moving plea came in a letter to Fulbright from a member of the West German Parliament: "Why do you say that their (the stations) activity is obsolete? Don't you understand Senator what it means to billions of people in Eastern and Central Europe, the Balkans, the great spaces of Russia, the Baltic States as far as away as the immense virgin lands of Siberia, to hear 'clean information' with good quick commentary in their native tongue, all the time? There are actually many millions who listen to these voices from the distant free world–for whom the news from Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty represents the only connection with the non-communist world. Moreover they learn via the airways of the West very often much more correctly what is going on in their own countries and in the Socialist camp. You should remember that the frightening events of December 1970 in the Polish port cities of Danzig, Stetton and Zappa where the communist dictatorship ordered hundreds of workers shot to death were communicated to the world by means of these radio stations first, in a way which made further suppression of the news impossible."

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

It now appears that in addition to being afraid that he would be "unelectable" with a black as his running mate, Sen. Edmund Muskie has serious doubts about the advisability of being seen with even a picture of a Negro. Syndicated political columnist Warren Rogers reports that handlers of Muskie were pleased with a TV commercial featuring their man making an appeal aimed at Florida's white blue collar workers until they noticed a picture of the late Dr. Martin Luther King hanging on the wall behind the Democratic Presidential hopeful. "So, the commercial was scrubbed," says Rogers. And in its place will be a family scene, presumably all white.

Kennedy Favors Amnesty for Deserters

Seemingly unnoticed by the press is the fact that Sen. Edward Kennedy has become the only major American politician to advocate total, unconditional amnesty for not just draft-dodgers but deserters as well. Appearing recently on Clifford Alexander's television show, "Black on White," Kennedy was asked his position on the young men who have deserted or refused to serve in the Armed Forces. EMK replied: "Well, I favor amnesty, and I don't believe we ought to set conditions for people to receive amnesty....it was these young people who left the country that were right about the war, and why they ought to be additionally penalized for their deep-seated feelings or beliefs is something I don't understand."...The *Philadelphia Bulletin* quotes Mayor Frank Rizzo as saying he would campaign actively against Kennedy "anywhere in the country" if he turns out to be the Democratic Presidential nominee. Citing Kennedy's behavior at Chappaquiddick, Rizzo said: "I don't believe he has the moral fiber to lead us."

Jackson Criticizes Press

Washington Sen. Henry Jackson seems to be running against the press about as hard as he is against his Democratic opponents. In recent weeks, he has criticised the wire services for running a photo he didn't like, because it made his crowd look smaller; and in his campaign publication, *The Occasional Observer*, *N.Y. Times* reporter Paul Delaney has been given the Westbrook Pegler Award for writing a story about Jackson which the *Observer* says "contained a falsehood, a half-truth, or a discrediting innuendo in every single paragraph, and there were 28 of them."...Sen. Vance Hartke has done the impossible. He has out-McGoverned McGovern on defense. In an interview in the *Miami Herald*, Endicott Peabody's stalking horse has advocated a "50 percent" cut in the defense budget.

THE CHINA TRIP

The March 6 issue of *First Monday*, which will be delayed a week, will contain an eight page report on President and Mrs. Nixon's historic trip to China.

The Press: CBS' Charles Kuralt, host of the award-winning "On the Road" feature, says in a Columbia Journalism Review interview that "part of the American malaise is the communications explosion–dumping bad news on everybody's head all the time." Kuralt says he finds it helpful "to my own peace of mind" when he returns from a trip to "sometimes turn off the TV and throw away all those (news) magazines and go contemplate the sun going down. I think that each person has to give a little daily consideration to his own soul, even at the expense of his being well informed." Disputing the idea that America is in terrible trouble (an idea Kuralt says is formed from reading the papers and listening to the news), the CBS reporter observes that in traveling the country "you do not get the feeling of a country on the brink of revolution or torn apart by hatred–the kind of impression you might get if you only read the page 1 stories."

Muskie Daughter on Dad's Temper

Speaking of her father's legendary short fuse, Melinda Muskie says in an article in *Seventeen* magazine: "He doesn't have a physical temper, like ripping a phone off the wall, but he has a temper with words–that really can't hurt anybody, except himself."...The *N.Y. Times* reports that Muskie's "politics of trust" is undergoing its toughest test on the Nation's campuses and thus far is getting little more than passing grades. The *Times* quotes an exasperated Vietnam veteran as saying he had the same reaction to Muskie as he had earlier when he heard Humphrey. "They tell me what's wrong with Nixon and what the country's problems are but not what they're going to do, specifically."...Muskie organizer Anne Wexler tells *National Observer* political reporter James Perry that the "trust Muskie" bit is "fraught with danger." If Muskie trips somewhere or does not come through when he should, "then you've blown that one right out of the water, and you're vulnerable as hell to everyone of your opponents," says Mrs. Wexler. "Besides, it's not substantial enough to run on."

The Supreme Court has ruled that the State of Indiana may recount some of the votes in Sen. Vance Hartke's narrow 1970 re-election victory over

Republican Richard Roudebush. The results of the election showed Hartke the winner by 4,383 votes out of 1.7 million cast. The new tally of votes will take place in 464 precincts in 11 counties. Roudebush told *Monday* he was "very pleased" with the high court's decision and looked forward to the outcome of the recount with "full confidence." Whether or not Roudebush is to replace Sen. Hartke as a result of the recount should be known in from four to six weeks.

News Lead of the Week: from the *N.Y. Daily News*—"Milwaukee, Feb. 21—Angered by the mugging yesterday of labor leader David Dubinsky (in NYC), Mayor Lindsay accused the Nixon Administration today of being remote from the problems of urban violence."

The *Chicago Tribune* quotes McGovern-backer actress Shirley MacLaine as saying that "New York is Lindsay's Chappaquiddick." As for Sen. Ted Kennedy, Miss MacLaine sees him as not being interested in the Presidency. "So much has happened to him that his own concerns are involved more now with the fate of mankind," she said. "I think the way he's thinking....I think he's above the political arena and more concerned about the human race." In other words, in Miss MacLaine's eyes, Chappaquiddick will not be Sen. Kennedy's Chappaquiddick.

Life magazine reporter Sara Davidson, after spending three months talking with 120 high school students at more than a dozen schools around San Francisco and N.Y. (areas tending to be in the vanguard of political and social movements), has found that what the young people want at this moment is "not newness, experiments or more change, but rather, security, stability, personal fulfillment and material comfort." Having tried activism, says reporter Davidson, "many are now uncertain what it is possible to achieve through mass protest." It is easy to misread this return to level-headedness and jump to the conclusion, as have Sen. Edward Kennedy and others, that the mood of youth is "uncomfortably reminiscent of the Silent Generation of the '50's." But it is not this at all, says Davidson. "What is being mistaken now for apathy seems, instead, an exhaustion with the techniques of dissent and a refusal to invest further energy until there is greater chance of positive returns." In other words, today's young people have more sense than Sen. Kennedy.

Sen. George McGovern's chief political adviser, Frank Mankiewicz has hailed Daniel Ellsberg as "an authentic American hero." Mankiewicz made the remark at a recent Washington, D.C. fund-raiser for Ellsberg. Ellsberg has been indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of stealing and distributing Defense Department documents.

SPEAKING:

Today—Trans. Sec. **Volpe**, Tuskegee Inst., Ala.; EPA Dir. **Ruckelshaus**, Pa. Environmental Council, Philadelphia; Tues.—RNC Chmn. **Dole**, Insurance Savings & Loan, Wash., D.C.; Ag. Sec. **Butz**, Pacific NW Farm Forum, Spokane, Wash.; Wed.—HUD Sec. **Romney**, Nat'l Assn. of Mutual Saving Banks, Wash., D.C.; VA Admin. **Johnson**, American Legion, Wash., D.C.; **Ruckelshaus**, Lincoln Day dinner, New Albany, Inc.; Maritime Comm. Chmn. **Bentley**, State of New York Maritime College, NYC; Thurs.—**Dole**, Lincoln Day dinner, Annapolis, Md.; Def. Sec. **Laird**, Assn. of Commerce & Industry, Bloomington, Ill.; **Bentley**, Kingspoint Club of Washington, D.C.; Sat.—**Dole**, GOP fund-raiser, St. Petersburg, Fla.

Monday. FEB.28,1972

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