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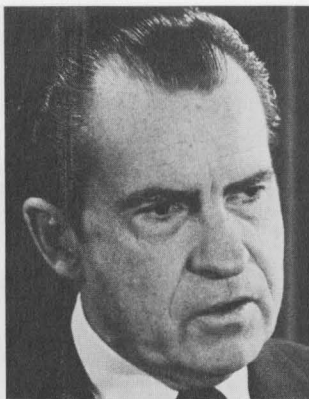
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October 2, 1972

First Monday



A New
Majority



OUR GOAL: UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER OF DEATH MERCHANTS WHO TRAFFIC IN HEROIN

(Excerpted from President Nixon's remarks to the International Narcotics Control Conference, Department of State, Sept. 18, 1972)

As President of the United States, I feel that I bear no more solemn trust than to help to win this battle and as public officials, everybody in this room, people who represent America in this country and all over the world, you could not be engaged in a finer humanitarian cause than in winning this battle against drug abuse.

As we all know, the global drug problem is enormously difficult. It doesn't lend itself to immediate or simplistic solution. Nevertheless, looking back over the three years since I declared total war on drug abuse and labeled it America's public enemy number one, I think the depth of our national commitment is clear. Our total federal funding for this effort has increased 11 times over what it was in 1969. It is up to almost three-quarters of a billion dollars of the budget currently pending in the Congress.

From an organizational standpoint, we have mobilized to meet this problem on all fronts. We have set up a Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention to direct the treatment and rehabilitation work under Dr. Jaffe. We have also set up in the Department of Justice a new Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement to attack domestic distribution and pushers and I have named a Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control which coordinates our world-wide campaign to cut off the sources of supply.

Here we are attacking the problem therefore on all fronts in the most effective way that we can through our various government agencies.

I also have assumed some personal responsibilities. I have been deliberately cracking the whip, as many of you in this room know, in my personal supervision of this program and I have to admit that we have knocked some bureaucratic heads together because of my directive, which I gave in the East Room two years ago, that government agencies should quit fighting each other about this problem and start fighting the problem.

I wanted to see some solid results coming through in terms of saving the lives of thousands of young people who otherwise would have become hopeless drug addicts. And now we can look at some of the results. We can view them not with complacency, but with some pride and also with the determination to go forward to get even better results in the future.

Dr. Jaffe, in his field, reports that we have created more federally funded drug treatment capacity in the past year than in the 50 years before that. We now have the capability to treat over 100,000 drug addicts in these programs.

If the Congress approves the pending drug funding request, we should have the capacity, if needed, to treat a quarter of a million heroin addicts in America by this time next year.

Now, that, of course, is a sobering number—the fact that we might need the capacity to treat a quarter of a million indicates the enormity of the problem and the need to work on it, not only on the treatment area, but also particularly in the source of the supply and in the enforcement area.

Turning to the law enforcement area, the number of arrests of drug traffickers in this last fiscal year was double the number in 1969. The seizures of heroin and other illicit drugs are at an all-time high. But as I have told those who reported to me just in the last month on this, this isn't good enough. We have to double the number, triple the number and go from there to a complete victory over those who are engaged in this trade.

Very sharp increases in the price of heroin throughout the eastern United States indicate that the supply is drying up and that the pressure is on the criminal drug trade. And I can assure all of you, and I can assure those who may be the subject of those who might be prosecuted, that we are going to keep the heat on until the despicable profiteers in human misery are driven out of their hiding places and are put in prisons where they belong. Nor will this effort stop at our own borders.

The men and women who operate the global heroin trade are a menace not to Americans alone, but to all mankind. These people are literally the slave traders of our time. They are traffickers in living death. They

COVER—President Nixon is a popular man and wherever he goes he is greeted by enthusiastic crowds. The President is shown here shaking hands with people in Honolulu before he met with Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka.

First Monday

October 2, 1972

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

FIRST MONDAY Vol. 2 No. 6 Published monthly by the Republican National Committee and mailed to all contributors of at least \$15, of which \$2 is for subscription to FIRST MONDAY per annum. When changing address please send us both the old and the new. NEWSPAPER. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

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October 2, 1972

must be hunted to the end of the earth. They must be left no base in any nation for their operation. They must be permitted not a single hiding place or refuge from justice anywhere in the world and that is why we have established an aggressive international narcotics control program in cooperation with the governments in more than 50 countries around the world. That is why I have ordered the Central Intelligence Agency, early in this Administration, to mobilize its full resources to fight the international drug trade, a task, incidentally, in which it has performed superbly.

The key priority here is the target on the traffickers wherever they are, to immobilize and destroy them through our law enforcement and intelligence efforts and I commend all of you on the fine initial progress which has been made in these programs.

France, Paraguay, Laos, Thailand, Turkey are just a few examples of the many countries where the work of American officials, from the Ambassadors down, throughout the Embassies abroad, in partnership with local officials has produced important breakthroughs—huge heroin seizures, key arrests and in the case of Turkey, the courageous decision to eradicate the opium poppy itself. And that action, incidentally, is a great tribute not only to that government, but to our own government and particularly to those in the State Department and in the Embassy in Turkey who worked on this problem.

The people of the United States, especially the young people, are profoundly indebted to you, all of you in this room, most of whom I will not have a chance to meet personally, to thank personally for what you have worked on and what you have done, and yet, we have to do a lot more, as you all know, to win this war and we must do it with even more of a sense of urgency than in the past.

In working on narcotics control around the world, I want you to convey this personal message from me to the foreign officials with whom you may be meeting. Any government whose leaders participate in or protect the activities of those who contribute to our drug problem should know that the President of the United States is required by statute to suspend all American economic and military assistance to such a regime and I shall not hesitate to comply with that law where there are any violations.

I consider keeping dangerous drugs out of the United States just as important as keeping armed enemy forces from landing in the United States. Dangerous drugs which come into the United States can endanger the lives of young Americans just as much as would an invading army landing in the United States. Every government which wants to move against narcotics



PRESIDENT NIXON in March of this year, traveled to New York City to observe first-hand the Federal-State law enforcement aspects of the fight against drug abuse. The President (center), shown here talking with customs officials at JFK Airport, labeled drug abuse "public enemy number one."

should know that it can count on this country for our wholehearted support and assistance in doing so.

Three years ago, the global heroin plague was raging almost completely out of control all over the world; time was running out for an entire generation of our children, the potential drug victims of the next few years.

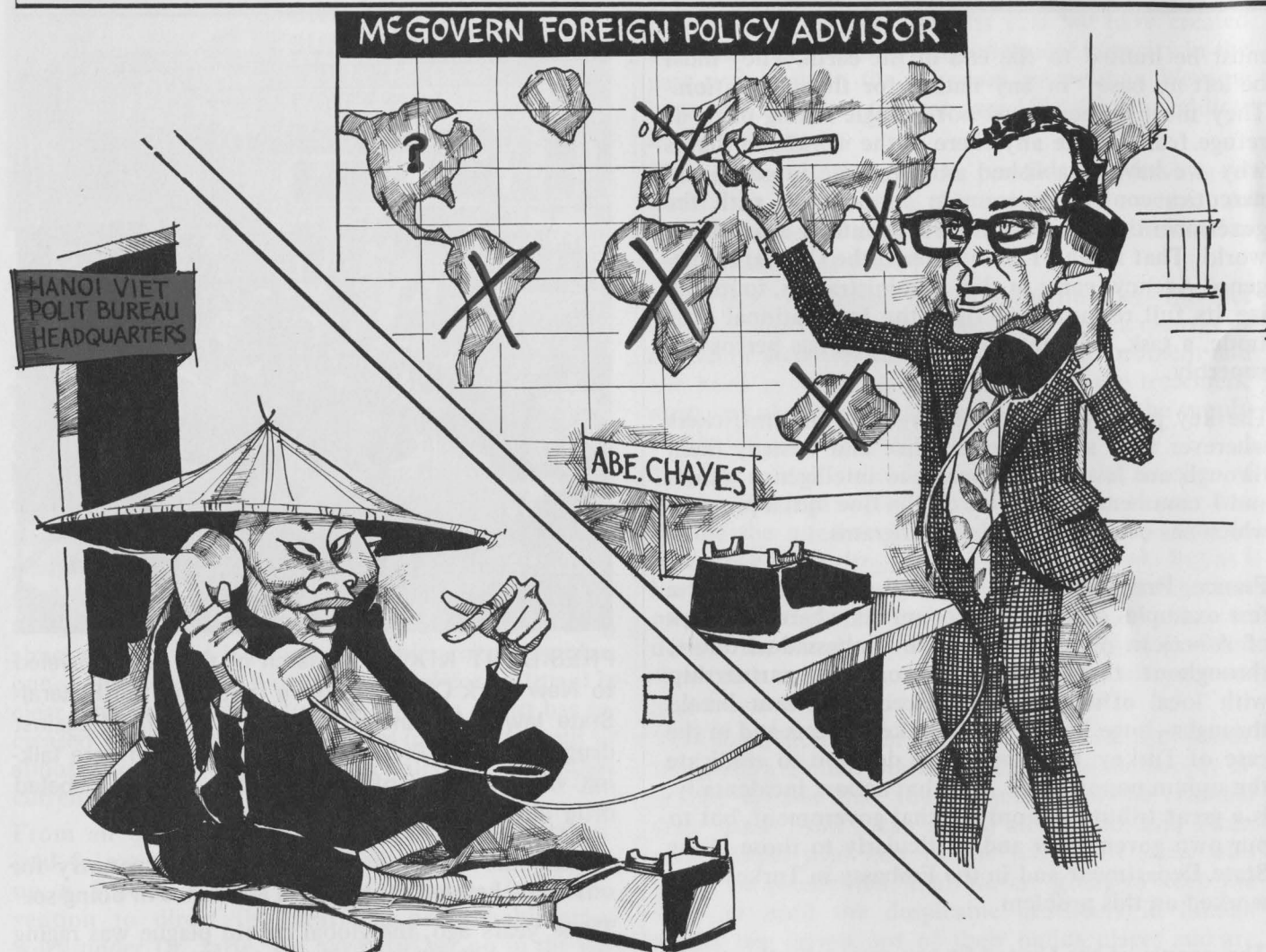
But then we launched our crusade to save our children and now we can see that crusade moving off the defensive, on the offensive, and beginning to roll up some victories in country after country around the world and in the United States as well.

And what is our goal now? We are living in an age, as we all know, in the era of diplomacy, when there are times that a great nation must engage in what is called a limited war. I have rejected that principle in declaring total war against dangerous drugs.

Our goal is the unconditional surrender of the merchants of death who traffic in heroin. Our goal is the total banishment of drug abuse from the American life. Our children's lives are what we are fighting for. Our children's future is the reason we must succeed.

We are going to fight this evil with every weapon at our command and with your help and the support of millions of concerned Americans, we are going to win.

Richard Nixon



"Look, no sweat with Southeast Asia, Western Europe, Africa or Latin America, but getting the Americans out of the United States may take a little bit longer..."

ADVISOR REVEALS THAT McGOVERN FOREIGN POLICY WOULD BE BASED ON APPEASEMENT OF COMMUNIST ADVENTURISM, SELL-OUT OF AMERICAN ALLIES

"But in one area he has not yet enunciated a comprehensive doctrine, and it is in the area in which President Nixon feels himself on safest and strongest ground—foreign policy—the probable direction of diplomacy under a McGovern administration can only be deduced from occasional comments, scattered documents and the testimony of his chief adviser."—Robert B. Semple, Jr., writing in the *N.Y. Times*, Sept. 13, 1972.

Sen. George McGovern's foreign policy has slipped out over dinner in Paris* and as revealed by a top adviser is based on appeasement of Communist adventurism up to and including the overthrow of sovereign governments friendly to the United States.

McGovern's foreign policy views were revealed in a shocking interview at a dinner in Paris with Abram Chayes, chairman of a foreign affairs advisory panel to the Democrat Presidential nominee. As recorded by *Newsweek* magazine's Arnaud de Borchgrave, the question and answer session went as follows:

Q. You say you would cut off all military aid to Saigon as soon as the McGovern Administration takes over. But what if the North Vietnamese also insist that the United States cease all economic aid to the South Vietnamese regime before the prisoners are returned?

A. Well, we'll cut that, too, then. We're not interested in keeping any presence there at all.

Q. What if Hanoi then insists that we must dump Lon Nol in Cambodia and Souvanna Phouma in Laos—re-

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*"As it turns out (surprise!), Chayes is 1,000 percent behind the things he said in his interview. In a letter to *Newsweek*, he says the interview as reported is "seriously inaccurate;" de Borchgrave says: "He is wrong, and I have my notes to prove it."

FOREIGN POLICY

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leasing, say, 100 American prisoners to sugarcoat the pill?

A. I don't think Hanoi will want Communist regimes in Cambodia and Laos, at least not right away. But if it does, then we'll have to dump Lon Nol and Souvanna Phouma, too.

Q. And what happens if Hanoi says we must dismantle all bases in Thailand before they will release the rest of the prisoners of war?

A. We can live with that, too. After all, Thailand is already making deals with Peking.

Q. Are you saying that if he is elected, McGovern would be prepared to abandon not only all of Indochina but the other nations of Southeast Asia as well?

A. We don't belong there.

Western Europe Bug-Out

While traveling in Europe "to clarify" George McGovern's foreign policy views to U.S. allies, Chayes also, in the words of *N.Y. Daily News* columnist Jerry Greene, "left the distinct impression that with a McGovern victory in November, an American bug-out in Europe would be foreordained."

Commenting on these McGovern views, Kenneth Rush, Deputy Secretary of Defense, told the National Security Industrial Association that they "would mean that the NATO alliance, the most successful instrument of peace in history, would be summarily abandoned by us, its creator, whose strength and nuclear deterrent are essential to the maintenance of peace."

"This cavalier disregard of our allies, the cynical violation of treaty and other commitments advocated by this adviser to a Presidential candidate, would lead to a loss of all our partners. This policy would put us on a speedway to isolationism and on a road leading to chaos and conflict—and away from peace and world order."

George, The Soviets' Friend

Deputy Secretary Rush also criticized remarks by McGovern in a *Fortune* magazine interview in which he said that he did not expect, if he were elected, that the Soviets would test his toughness because: "I think they would regard me as a friend and would do everything to keep my friendship."

Commented Rush:

"Now, I can assure you, on the basis of years of personal negotiations with tough-minded, realistic rep-

McGOVERN DEFENSE POLICIES "INSANE," SAYS DEAN RUSK

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk has labeled as "insane" the defense policies advocated by George McGovern.

A story in the Sept. 19 *N.Y. Times* quotes Rusk as saying: "When I hear one of the candidates [McGovern] say that he's going to cut back on our conventional forces because we can destroy the Soviet Union and China 20 times over, this is going down a road of insanity on the basis of any serious analysis."

Rusk said the McGovern policy of almost complete reliance upon a nuclear deterrent is "insane" because it lacks credibility "and I think that is a major problem for us."

Rusk made his remarks while participating in a seminar at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, N.C.

representatives of the Soviet Union, that being friendly is not enough to bring about satisfactory agreements with the Russians.

"I can assure you that the Soviet Union is not moved by mere smiles or frowns from any President of the United States.

"I can assure you that bringing joy to the heart of any President of the United States is not one of the objectives of Soviet foreign policy.

Friendship Not Important

"And, I can assure you that the foreign policy decisions of the Soviet Union are not arrived at by considering whether they will promote or impair a chummy relationship with any U.S. President.

"On the contrary, success in negotiation—with Russia, or anybody else—comes only when our country is strong and when it is led by a strong, decisive and realistic President.

"Presidential leadership has been the single most important ingredient in the transition we have made these last four years from an era of confrontation toward an era of negotiation. Only the tough issues go to the President. Only a pragmatic leader can make these hard choices—clearly and decisively. Only an experienced leader can keep his mind open to opposing points of view and yet unify his administration behind his decision.

"Leadership does not permit equivocation, naivete,

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McGOVERN FOREIGN POLICY

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backtracking, indecision or ambiguity. We have seen President Nixon meet the most gruelling tests of leadership, facing some of the most difficult problems any President has ever had to deal with, and doing so with signal success."

McGovern Perception Questioned

Editorially questioning whether or not McGovern understands what the defense of Western Europe involves, the British publication *The Economist* says: "The trouble with his [McGovern's] proposals is that they would make it very much harder to defend western Europe without having a nuclear war, which makes Mr. McGovern's good intentions somewhat academic." Noting that the removal of more than half the American contingent would mean that Europe could not defend herself against a Russian attack for more than four and possibly only one day before resorting to nuclear weapons, the paper declares: "It is therefore irrelevant for Mr. McGovern to say that the troops he had taken away could be flown back to Europe, in 15 or 20 or 25 days, unless he is confident that he would have enough advance warning of a Soviet attack."

Whether he realizes it or not, says *The Economist*, McGovern is reverting to the strategy of "massive nuclear retaliation" and that so long as he sticks to his numbers game, "the suspicion will remain that he does not understand the issues involved."

Commenting on McGovern's proposals to sell-out Southeast Asia, Sen. Roman Hruska says:

"What George McGovern proposes is no less than an Asian Munich—a surrender of principles and peoples so callow as to make Neville Chamberlain appear a latter-day statesman."

"The answer to Mr. McGovern is simple enough. It is that as long as men love freedom, they are not going to participate in the wholesale destruction of sovereign nations. And as long as Americans have a vote, they will not elevate to office men whose statesmanship has been forged on the anvil of surrender."

LET'S KEEP THE PRESIDENT

"This is a time to put partisan politics aside and vote for the man who can best guide America during the next four years. That man is President Richard Nixon."—*Excerpted from an editorial in the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal endorsing the re-election of the President.*

McGOVERN NOT ONLY WANTS TO RETURN TO NEO-ISOLATIONIST FORTRESS AMERICA CONCEPT, HE WANTS TO DISMANTLE FORTRESS, SAYS LAIRD

"Sen. McGovern doesn't just want to return to a neo-isolationist Fortress America, he wants to dismantle the Fortress," says Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird in response to the most recent McGovern defense posture issued by a panel of his advisers on national security.

"Sen. McGovern is desperately seeking to escape the consequences of his own Defense Budget proposals. This new White Paper endorses and muddles his White Flag-Surrender approach to national security," Laird declares.

"He and his panel—many of whom served at a time when more than one-half million Americans were being sent to Vietnam—know that this Administration rejected when it assumed office their policy of trying to act as a world policeman. President Nixon is replacing the previous role of world policeman with a new policy of partnership with our allies, a policy that calls for our partners to provide more cops on the beat in their own neighborhoods, and the people who wrote this report know it."

Giveaway-Now-Beg-Later

"There are many curious aspects to this new White Paper, which will presumably be followed by yet more rewrites of the giveaway-now-beg-later McGovern approach. But nothing is more curious than that this new attempt to retreat from the facts of national security is a budget without a limit, for it gives no numbers at all."

"It is apparent that Sen. McGovern is trying to hide from his own, previously announced budget, but the American people can see through that."

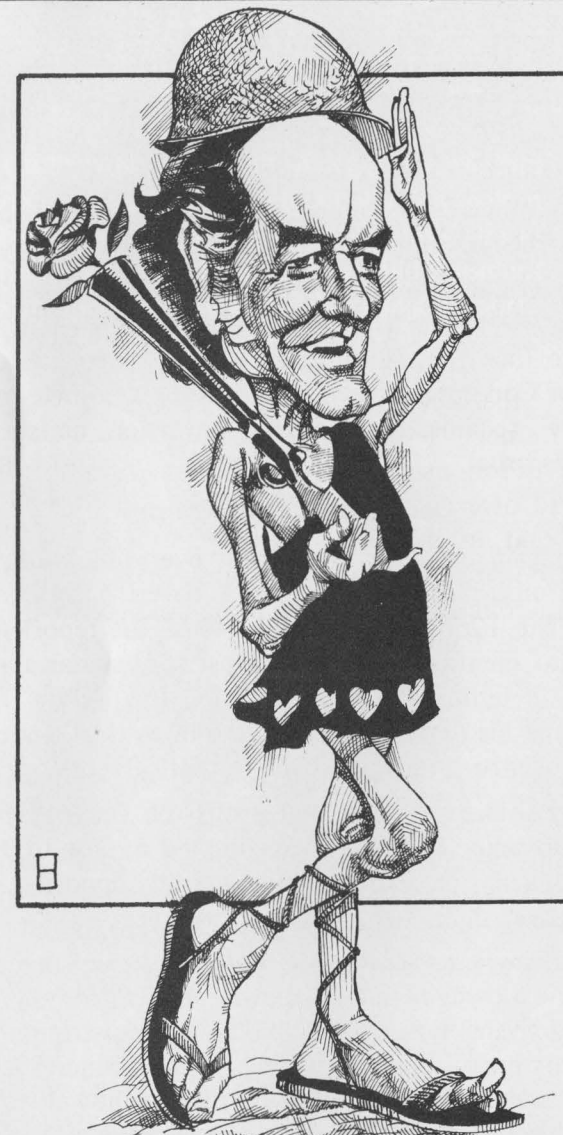
General Comments on Latest Defense Scheme

It is an arm waving, mushy attempt to once again teeter-totter on the key issues of national security—mixed with "me-too-isms" for less of the same without addressing the fundamental issues raised by Sen. McGovern's own Defense posture issued in January 1972. It ignores most of the key questions raised by the previous document and McGovern's subsequent dialogue. It attempts to back track from McGovern's previous posture without addressing the specifics, but rather by glossing over the numbers with rhetoric.

McGovern Muddles

The panel claims he would "keep American military defense strength second to none." It has already been shown how his proposed defense posture, issued in January, would make the U.S. *second* period. In this new attempt to teeter-totter, he has

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muddled but re-endorsed that fundamental danger. The panel claim that McGovern would "recognize the very serious limits on the ability of military power alone to solve the problems America faces internationally," makes one wonder if he has heard of President Nixon's new foreign policy, and the Strategy of Realistic Deterrence, which points out and builds on this precept, contrary to the previous Administration's philosophy.

The panel claims McGovern would provide America with adequate forces to deter and support commitments, while cutting back the total Defense budget significantly, thus freeing billions for urgent public needs at home. McGovern must be ignorant of what has happened in the past four years, when the Defense budget has gone down from 42 percent to 30 percent of our Federal Budget, down from 9 percent to about 6½ percent of GNP, and down from about 30 percent to about 20 percent of net public spending. He has ignored the comprehensive treatment of this subject in the detailed look at the realities associated with Defense spending which was recently issued by the Department of Defense.

Details Missing

The panel claims that McGovern's proposed military posture "on any sensible definition of 'inferiority'...would put the U.S.

inferior to no nations." Where are the details of this "second to none" posture? They are not present. *Claims*, not *facts* and *rhetoric*, not *rationale* are proposed to solve the problems.

The panel claims that Sen. McGovern has shown that he understands what must be done. His programs will "enhance, not weaken our security" and that "he should be given the chance to do it." Perhaps, if we all lived in McGovern's dream world, we could afford to take such a chance. But, in the real world of today this failure to face up to these realities is a chance America cannot take.

The panel report claims that three out-moded concepts are implicit in the Nixon Administration's military planning:

- "1. That it is America's responsibility and destiny to undertake unilaterally the policeman's role throughout the world;
- "2. That our military might should play a decisive role in influencing the political development of other nations; and
- "3. That numerical superiority in weapons connotes, in itself, an improvement in national security."

The panel members must be living in another world. By its words and its actions the Nixon Administration has shown decisively that these out-moded concepts (which may have been those of previous Administrations) do not form a part of its national security planning. Further, the distinction "national security" as opposed to "military" planning has been emphasized by this Administration, starting with the revitalization of the National Security Council in 1969.

Where were the panel members as the Nixon Administration reduced U.S. forces not just through Vietnamization but through effective application of the Nixon Doctrine to move away from the out-moded policeman role, clearly describing that role as out-moded? Where have they been as Secretary Laird has been advocating and implementing the philosophy of more cops provided by our allies and friends in their own neighborhoods, as opposed to the U.S. being the cop on every beat throughout the world?

Where have the panel members been when the Nixon Administration pursued and achieved new burden-sharing in Europe through historic programs developed by the European nations themselves?

The panel claims that "We can and must provide Israel with the military equipment it requires to cope with local threats and at the same time our military presence in the Mediterranean must dramatize our determination to protect Israel's security."

The original McGovern paper never mentioned the word "Israel" once—or, for that matter, Egypt," "the Suez Canal" or "Arab." This oversight is corrected many times over in the present papers. McGovern has at last discovered Israel, but he still would hamstring the Sixth Fleet's stabilizing strength in the Mediterranean. His previous budget—not modified in this latest approach—dramatized the unilateral nature of his force reductions, particularly in the Navy.

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NEO-ISOLATIONIST

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The panel's summary forgets to mention American POW's and MIA's. The President will not forget or abandon these men.

What is McGovern trying to hide?

—Earlier, McGovern proposed \$54.8 billion in spending for Fiscal Year 1975. The new package mentions no total at all.

—Aircraft carriers—the original proposal called for six. This proposal gives no numbers.

—Troops in Europe—McGovern originally proposed a unilateral cut from 300,000 to 130,000, or a slash of 170,000. This proposal gives no numbers.

—National Guard—earlier McGovern proposed only a domestic militia role for the National Guard. Now he says that the Guard will provide backup combat divisions in a military role—but still no numbers.

—Procurement programs—McGovern provided earlier a clear listing of those programs he would cancel. Now his proposal is apparently just to follow new concepts.

Invents Figure

McGovern does invent one new number. He says Defense spending will be \$100 billion by 1977. The Brookings Study is quoted as the source of this estimate. Charles Schultze, who prepared budgetary material for the current McGovern study, also developed the Brookings Study. It's interesting to note that the Brookings Study projected Defense spending for FY 1977 under two options:

—The high option, adding forces to the present program would cost \$107 billion.

—The low option, if cutbacks were to be made from present programs, would cost \$86 billion.

The lowest option that was offered by Schultze in the Brookings Study—\$86 billion—is \$31 billion higher than the budget level advocated by Sen. McGovern (\$54.8 billion in 1975). Perhaps that's why the present study does not advocate any specific Defense budget level. This is known: National Defense spending *rose* by \$32 billion from FY 1965 to FY 1969—the four years his panel members were in control, and it *falls* by \$3 billion for FY 1969 to FY 1973—the four years of President Nixon's transition from war to peace.

Defense Spending Down

It is also a fact that National Defense spending in FY 1973, in dollars of constant buying power, is at the lowest point since FY 1951. Every bit of the change in Defense spending over all those years is more than accounted for by general price increases and by pay raises enacted by the Congress.

McGovern is critical of Defense manpower, yet our manpower levels are at the lowest level since 1950.

Once again, we are told that we ought to reconvert to civilian pursuits. Where has the Senator been? From FY 1968 to FY 1973, we have cut back 2.8 million personnel—35 percent—and we have cut purchases from industry by 40 percent. In dollars of constant buying power, the Defense budget has been cut by a third—the largest and sharpest cut since World War II.

McGovern says we should plan for conversions. The fact is, we have been converting. He's been in the Senate these past four years, with his party in control of Congress. If he has, as he puts it, some "imaginative" schemes for handling conversion, he is a bit late, as usual.

Democrats Defense Waste

Once again, we hear about cost over-runs, with the usual misleading use of figures covering estimates from the 1960s to the 1980s. What the report neglects to mention is that the most spectacular allegations—including the C-5A and the F-11—date from the time his panel members were in control. Indeed, most over-runs they allege are in that category.

We are told once again that profits on Defense work are too high. The GAO was directed by law to look into this matter, and concluded just the opposite.

While the new McGovern panel repeats all the horror stories about waste, goldplating, mismanagement, over-runs and excessive profits, they don't bother to mention that the Nixon Administration has cut this procurement area by 44 percent since 1968—back essentially to the pre-war or Eisenhower levels, absorbing a decade of inflation, technological growth and war costs.

McGovern Figures Wrong

This Administration has its priorities wrong, says George McGovern. The fact is that George McGovern has his figures wrong. From FY 1968 to FY 1973, National Defense spending *drops* by \$2 billion. Other Federal spending *rises* by \$74 billion. There are a lot of statements in the current McGovern package about how America can be remade out of Defense cutbacks. No cutbacks are likely to loom very large compared to \$275 billion—and McGovern no longer even hazards a guess as to just how big a cutback he is talking about.

The current McGovern paper says that his expert advisers are not in complete agreement on each particular line item in the January McGovern package. That is understandable, to say the least. But in many key areas the present paper is so vague and ridden with generalities that it is hard to say what the experts have agreed upon, if anything.

A CAT CAN LOOK AT A KING, as the old saying goes, and obviously a baby can look at a President. The little fella shown here checking out the Chief Executive greeted President Nixon during a rally at the San Diego airport.



HEAD OF McGOVERN-SHRIVER NEWS SERVICE SAYS HE WILL NOT PUBLISH McGOVERN'S STATEMENTS LIKENING NIXON TO HITLER

The head of the McGovern-Shriver News Service says the Service will not publish Sen. George McGovern's remarks likening President Nixon to Adolf Hitler, because the Service publishes only "responsible" material.

Reached at his home in Kennebunkport, Maine, John F. Wood, editor and publisher of the Service, told *First Monday* that he was unfamiliar with McGovern's remarks likening the President to Hitler but even so "we would not publish them in the News Service because we're publishing a responsible news service." Wood said he would not reprint any quote by anybody likening President Nixon to Hitler because "he's our President and we should all give him the respect of the office he has."

Likens President to Hitler

A UPI report of March 1, 1971 records that: "Senator McGovern, D-S.D., says the U.S. bombing of Indochina 'is the most barbaric act that's been committed by any modern power since the death of Adolph Hitler.' "

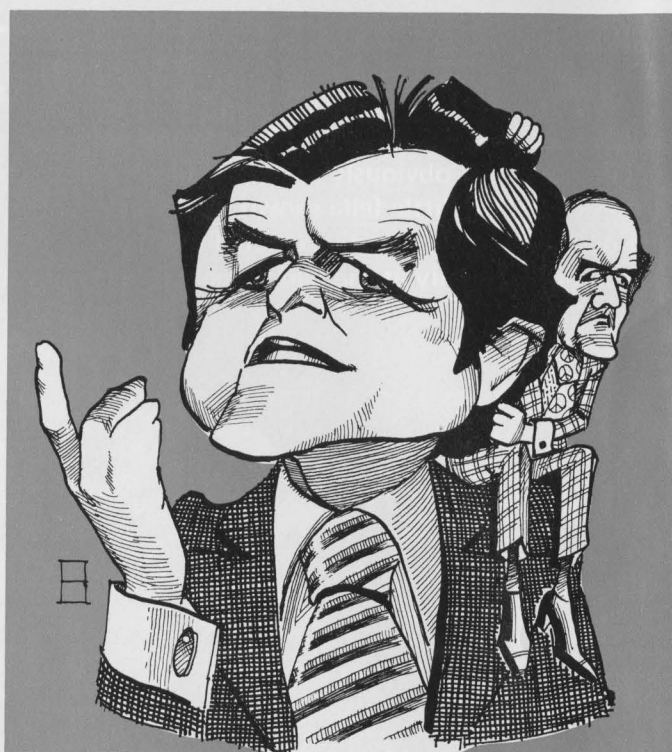
In a June 29, 1972 interview with Gregg Herrington of the AP, Mr. McGovern said: "I've said many times that the Nixon bombing policy on Indochina is the most barbaric action that any country has committed since Hitler's effort to exterminate Jews in Germany in the 1930's."

As reported in the *Washington Evening Star-News*, Aug. 16, 1972, Sen. McGovern linked the President of the United States—without the slightest scintilla of proof—to an alleged break-in to Democrat Party headquarters and said: "Now this is the kind of thing that you expect under a person like Hitler."

Indicates Shriver Out of Bounds, Too

When asked about Sargent Shriver's remarks labeling the President "the number one bomber of all time" and another comment likening him to a "reformed drunk," Wood also expressed ignorance of these slurs but indicated that they also would not be published by his service.

During the interview, Wood spoke highly of the Republican publications *Monday* and *First Monday*. "You put out a damn good publication," he said, damn good. I read it every week—really...it's one of the most intelligently edited things I've seen in the campaign. I respect what you're doing. You're doing a tremendous job."



TEDDY SIGNS FUND-RAISING LETTER FOR GEORGE BUT REFUSES TO PUT HIS OWN MONEY WHERE HIS MOUTH IS

"Whether you can only give \$5 or afford \$1,000, you can play a part in this historic opportunity. Through your contribution, you can join the McGovern Million Member Club. Won't you join us in this great endeavor?"—Sen. Edward Kennedy in a "Dear Friend" fund-raising letter for George McGovern.

Is Teddy Kennedy behind George McGovern 1,000 percent?

This is a question that is being asked more frequently as a result of it being revealed that as far as the McGovern-Shriver ticket is concerned, Kennedy is not putting his money where his mouth is.

As reported in the *Washington Star-News* on Sept. 20: "The Kennedy family has not contributed to Sen. George McGovern's campaign even though a Kennedy in-law, Sargent Shriver, is on the ticket as the vice presidential candidate."

Contributions Hoped For

The *Star-News* report quotes McGovern's anti-Polish joke telling finance chairman Henry Kimelman as saying: "We hope to get some contributions from the Kennedys. We would welcome it. I can't think of anything we'd rather have. But we haven't received any."

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TEDDY

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The Associated Press quotes Sargent Shriver as saying: "I would have hope if they [the Kennedys] are interested in the success of the campaign, they would make a contribution." Evidently not privy to his wife's financial affairs, Shriver says that "except for the possibility of my wife" none of the Kennedys have kicked in with any cash yet.

Why the tight-fistedness on the part of the Kennedy clan?

Women's Wear Daily's Kandy Stroud reports that it might be because they feel it would be throwing good money after a bad candidate: "In spite of Teddy's apparent fencing for George and all his vigah-rous speeches, some sources say Kennedy has written McGovern off as a dead duck. As one Kennedy staffer told *WWD*, 'Thirty-four points is just too long a way to go.' "

Rigor Mortis Sets In

While rigor mortis may have set in on McGovern, Kennedy seems very much alive and appears to have his eye not on 1972 but 1976. The degree to which Kennedy outshone McGovern during their joint campaigning tour last month was commented on by McGovern himself: "We were walking down the street in Pittsburgh this morning and a woman almost knocked me down to grab Senator Kennedy's hand," George told a Philadelphia audience. "She said, 'Oh, Sen. Kennedy, I can hardly wait until 1976.' Then she saw me and said, 'I'm sorry, Sen. McGovern, but that's how we feel in Pittsburgh.' "

On the road covering the Ted and George Show, *Washington Star-News* columnist Mary McGrory writes: "Teddy came to introduce George McGovern to the crowds he helped to assemble. But he has brought his political gifts to such a pitch of showmanship that he practically extinguished the principal in the process."

Kennedy on McGovern

Kennedy himself did little to dispell suspicions that it was Teddy and not George that he was campaigning for. When asked by a *N.Y. Times* reporter whether the crowds were turning out to see him or McGovern, Kennedy responded immediately with a firm, and this is a direct quote from the *Times*: "Oh, well—I—it's—I, I think he's—uh—got tremendous strength and commitment by a lot of people."

The *Des Moines Register's* James Flanburg reports that "the only time he [Kennedy] appeared serious

all day" when he was in Des Moines campaigning with McGovern, "was when he ripped the television set in his motel room from station to station to see how he'd done."

If, as Kennedy has written in his fund-raising letter, he really believes the McGovern-Shriver campaign is an "historic opportunity" and a "great endeavor" the outcome of which "will tell us what kind of country we will have," it is odd that he is refusing to financially participate at a moment when the campaign could most use his cash. But then perhaps he is looking forward to another "historic opportunity," like say in four years.



PRESIDENT NIXON gives Mamie Eisenhower a kiss on the cheek. The President visited Mrs. Eisenhower at her Gettysburg farm before he went to the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach. Mrs. Eisenhower was unable to attend the Convention.

Editorial Cartoonists look at The Democrats



"And now our latest guest on 'Vice President for a Week,' all the way from Hyannis Port, R. Sargent Shriver!"



"We're for the workingman 1,000%"



No Matter How Many Times He Grinds It, It's Still Baloney!



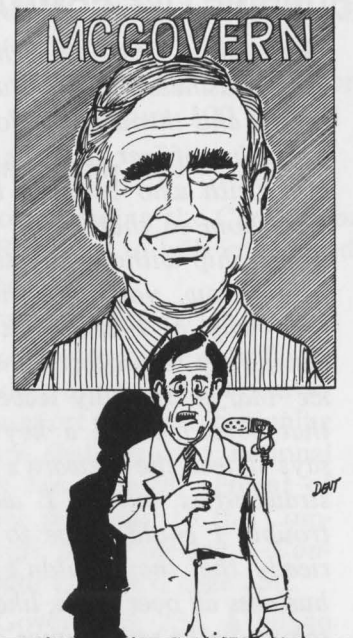
"We Like Part About Begging"



'JUST ENOUGH PRAGMATISM TO GET ELECTED:'



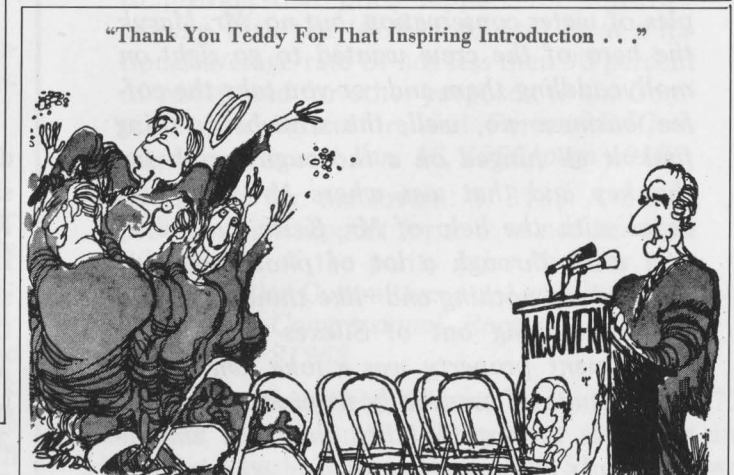
Just Can't Seem To Swallow It!



"THE CANDIDATE WILL ISSUE A STATEMENT AT 3 P.M. — AND A CLARIFICATION AT 6:30 P.M."



"Swell of you to join us, Ted!"



"Thank You Teddy For That Inspiring Introduction . . ."



'They're Modified Plans Of His Modified Plans'



MORE AND MORE McGOVERN SOUNDING LIKE COMMANDER QUEEG

"Well, now, starting right with that strawberry business the real truth is that I was betrayed and thrown and double-crossed by my executive officer and this precious gentleman Mr. Keith who between them corrupted my wardroom so that I was one man against a whole ship without any support from my officers—Now, you take that strawberry business—why, if that wasn't a case of outright conspiracy to protect a malefactor from justice—Maryk carefully leaves out the little fact that someone had a key to the icebox. He says it was the steward's mates who ate the strawberries but if I wanted to take the trouble I could prove to this court geometrically that they couldn't have. It's the water business all over again, like when the crew was taking baths seven times a day and our evaps were definitely on the fritz half the time and I was trying to inculcate the simplest principles of water conservation, but no, Mr. Maryk the hero of the crew wanted to go right on mollycoddling them and—or you take the coffee business—no, well, the strawberry thing first—it all hinged on a thorough search for the key and that was where Mr. Maryk as usual with the help of Mr. Keith fudged it. Just went through a lot of phony motions that proved nothing and—like thinking the incessant burning out of Silexes which were government property was a joke, which was the attitude of everybody from Maryk down, no sense of responsibility though I emphasized over and over that the war wouldn't last forever, that all these things would have to be accounted for. It was a constant battle, always the same thing, Maryk and Keith undermining my authority, always arguments, though I personally liked Keith and kept trying to train him up only to get stabbed in the back when—I think I've covered the strawberry business and—oh, yes, Stilwell's court-martial. That was a disgraceful business, quite typical—."—Commander Queeg, in "The Caine Mutiny."

If one listens closely to Sen. McGovern explain things, one hears the faint clicking of ball-bearings being fondled.

For example, in an interview on a Seattle TV station in response to a national poll showing strong labor support for President Nixon, McGovern cavalierly



dismissed the views of millions of working Americans saying: "Any laboring man or woman who supports Richard Nixon ought to have his head examined." In other words, as McGovern sees it, it's all very simple: Union members who favor the re-election of the President are crazy.

A few days later, responding to a Gallup Poll showing him losing to President Nixon among voters under 30, McGovern declared: "Any young person or any man or woman who works with his hands who is for Mr. Nixon is too confused to know which end is up, and that goes for Mr. Gallup, too." Again a very simple explanation: Anyone for the President and not for McGovern, is just mixed up.

In Columbus, Ohio, "tired of bad news," according to the AP, McGovern attacked what he termed "nutty" public opinion polls and "lousy" newspaper columnists. Calling the polls "rubbish," McGovern expressed his belief that the pollsters "make these things up in the backroom somewhere."

The *Christian Science Monitor* reports that the McGovern camp is hard at work on plans it hopes will give the campaign a needed lift—"a new tone of thoughtfulness in the candidate's messages to the public." Needless to say, in view of McGovern's recent utterances, the plan cannot be put into action too soon.

BOTH SIDES OF STREET BEING WORKED BY McGOVERN ON PARITY ISSUE; FARMERS TOLD ONE THING, HOUSEWIVES ANOTHER

"In the face of an increase in food prices, the administration meanwhile criticized McGovern. Herbert Stein, chairman of President Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, said a McGovern pledge to raise farm prices supports to 90 percent of parity would mean a 10 percent increase in food prices, but did not mention that the Democratic nominee has dropped that proposal."—Associated Press, Sept. 8, 1972.

Each time Sen. McGovern's espousal of 90 percent parity is pointed out—along with the attendant high food prices it would bring—news stories, apparently spread by Sen. McGovern's political staff, pop up denying that Sen. McGovern advocates 90 percent parity. It is time to put the issue to the test of documentation.

Sen. McGovern has advocated anywhere from 90 percent to 110 percent of parity. Where he stands tomorrow is anyone's guess.

Calls for 100% Parity

Speaking in Illinois on Feb. 5, 1972, George McGovern's position was recorded by the *Illinois State Journal* as follows: "Critical of U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz and the administration's opposition to price support legislation, McGovern said he would have an agriculture secretary who would work to convince Congress and urban citizens that 100% parity for the farmers is in the interest of all Americans."

During the primary campaign in Oregon last spring McGovern put out a paid political advertisement in Portland which was headlined: "You Know Where I Stand." Among those places where Mr. McGovern stood was: "I will push for programs to save the family farm—including a guaranteed 100%-of-parity return on wheat."

In a campaign document called "McGovern on the Issues" which circulated widely during the primaries, McGovern included a section on agriculture. It said, "McGovern Proposals Include:....100% parity on wheat."

In the *Congressional Record* of April 21, 1972, Democrat Rep. James Abourezk of South Dakota pushed McGovern's agriculture positions per an entry titled: "Senator George McGovern: Income and The Future

of the Family Farm." Therein, on page E4159, McGovern said: "The Secretary of Agriculture has the authority to set price supports at 90 percent of parity. This authority should be used until a program is devised which would insure 100 percent of parity."

Three Bills Call for 90%

On three other occasions, reading the *Congressional Record* is instructive. Referring to bills introduced in Congress, the following is found:

1967—"By Mr. McGovern: S. 7. A bill to provide a special export wheat payment to farmers for a portion of crops of wheat and to provide that price support for corn, beginning with the 1967 crop, shall be at a national average rate of not less than 90 percent of parity, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry."—*Congressional Record*, Jan. 11, 1967, page 190.

1969—"By Mr. McGovern:....S. 236. A bill to provide a special export wheat payment to farmers for a portion of crops of wheat and to provide that price support for corn, beginning with the 1969 crop, shall be at a national average rate of not less than 90 percent of parity, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry."—*Congressional Record*, Jan. 16, 1969, page 1010.

1972—"By Mr. McGovern: S. 3138. A bill to provide price support for milk at not less than 90 percent of the parity price therefor. Referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry."—*Congressional Record*, Feb. 7, 1972, page S1253.

Speaking in Springfield, Illinois on Aug. 16, 1972, McGovern again promised 90 percent of parity and \$1.80 for a bushel of corn (up from \$1.12). He was asked what would happen to meat prices if grain prices went up so drastically. McGovern responded: "Well, if grain prices go up, then beef prices go up too."—*Washington Post*, Aug. 17, 1972.

Again Backs 90%

Later, on Labor Day and in the days after, McGovern began traveling the country saying: "Nixon inflation is ground into every pound of hamburger you buy." It was evident by now that George McGovern was trying to have it both ways—high prices for the farmers and low prices for the housewife. At least 90 percent parity for the farmer, while his press spokesmen assured reporters in Washington that Sen. McGovern did not really mean 90 percent.

On Sept. 8, as reported above, when McGovern was taken to task on his 90 percent parity promise, the AP story denied, on McGovern's behalf, that he still

(continued next page)

Basic Philosophy Hidden

Look at McGovern's Early Record Urged

By KEVIN P. PHILLIPS

WASHINGTON — Since July, George McGovern has twice attacked President Nixon by liken-

son. I am amazed that the press has not dug more deeply into the record of 1943-55 to understand and peg the George McGovern of 1972. For

as the formative ones still guiding McGovern's thinking:

"Politically, he had fashioned an ideology that would change little if at all during the course of the next two decades."

By and large, McGovern is trying to avoid public discussion of his activities in the late Forties and early Fifties. According to Anson, "McGovern's own feelings about Wallace are one of the

chenbusch, a turn-of-the-century Baptist theologian and leftwing "Social Gospel" exponent. During the Nineteen-forties, McGovern sometimes compared elements of Communism (as he now compares his own social philosophy) to the basic thrust of the Sermon on the Mount. Is this religious background a clue to McGovern's radical social policies?

McGovern's leftwing memberships: Richard Nixon's affiliations are a matter of record, but there is no pub-

McGOVERN ON PARITY

advocated 90 percent parity. The very day that McGovern's people were denying the 90 percent parity point, McGovern was talking to farmers in Des Moines, Iowa and Paul Hope reported it as follows in the Sept. 9, 1972 issue of the *Washington Evening Star-News*: "After he left the farm, McGovern spoke at an airport rally in Des Moines and promised that if he is elected he would see that 'parity' is put at no less than 90 percent."

Finally, as if there were any question left on the authenticity of the 90 percent parity business, McGovern traveled to Mankato, Minnesota and spoke to farmers at the annual Farmfest. From a transcript of that speech comes the following: "And these are some of the things I propose to do. First, I propose

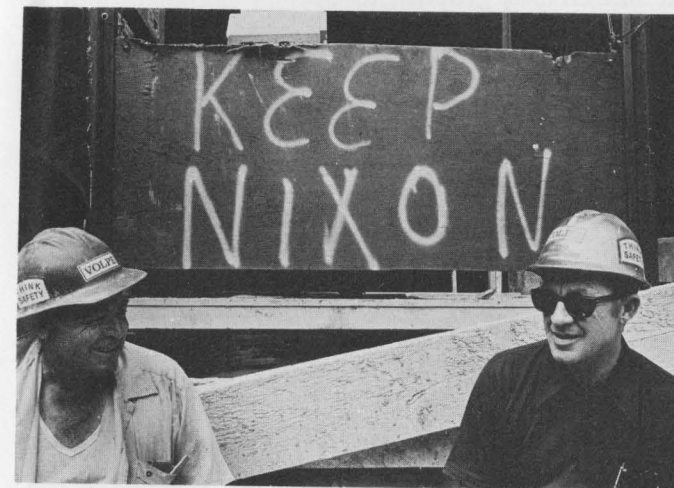
to raise farm income with the authority that the President and the Secretary of Agriculture already has (sic). The Department of Agriculture now has authorization in the law to raise farm income to 90 percent of parity, and I intend to use that authority as President of the United States."

If anything should bring McGovern's credibility into question, the above scenario should. He is clearly telling farmers one thing and housewives another—playing the age-old game of "politics as usual."

Were it not for the dumping of Sen. Eagleton by McGovern, we could have visions of George McGovern campaigning in the farm belt in the next few weeks promising: "I will give you 1000% parity...."

October 2, 1972

AMERICAN WORKER'S REAL WAGES RISE STEADILY UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON, AGNEW TELLS UNION GROUP



CONSTRUCTION WORKERS in Washington, D.C. express their preference in no uncertain terms.

(Excerpted from an address by Vice President Agnew before the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union's Convention in Las Vegas, Nev., Sept. 11, 1972)

"There has been a lot of talk from certain sources recently about what this Administration hasn't done for the American worker. Well, let me give you the facts with a very few statistics. Under President Nixon the real wages of American workers have risen steadily. Real wages is a shorthand term used by economists and statisticians to describe the difference between the purchasing power of the dollars we are now receiving and the purchasing power of the dollars we received some years ago. Between 1965 and 1968, real earnings of workers rose by less than one percent. In short, after the typical workman had finished reading the newspapers, and hearing on television for three years about the tremendous amount of economic growth experienced by our country, he was only one percent better off in the marketplace. Inflation ate up the rest.

"We inherited this situation and attempted strongly through conventional, accepted government policies to reverse the tide in 1969 and 1970. And we found that the momentum of inflation was difficult to overcome.

"However, in 1971 our efforts began to pay off. Real weekly earnings rose by 2.5 percent annually in the first eight months of 1971, and at the rate of 3.8 percent annually after President Nixon's New Economic Policy was initiated. That, my friends, is progress.

NEW POLS

"McGovernites who believe in abortion-on-demand, \$6,500 income for all, rights for homosexuals, and repeal of the income tax, all obeyed the 'back-off-of-it' instruction from McGovern's lair. The word was transmitted regularly by Mankiewicz and Gary Hart, McGovern's campaign director.

"The reasoning went like this: George McGovern is with you down deep on all these controversial issues, but in order to get elected, he must disavow them now. But wait until he is President, then you'll see him push for what you want. You know George is with you, heart and soul.

"McGovern's disciples believe with him that shrewdness is needed to beat the system. First, arouse the alienated and dissatisfied with attacks on the system. Next, as the Army marches into battle, back off unpopular issues. Finally, on victory, do what you originally promised. Thus McGovern has backed off amnesty, marijuana, abortion, \$1,000 for all, and this week, in a little noticed story, changed his attitude on the Vietnam war. Egad!

"The question remains: Does George McGovern really mean any of this and do his disciples believe in the doctrine of shifting views to get elected as the highest form of new morality?

"The old pols who exited here undramatically used to be loud and were haloed in cigar smoke. Somehow their lies were more palatable."—Columnist Nick Thimmesch writing from Democrat National Convention in Miami Beach.

Moreover, 2.2 million new jobs have been created since the start of the new economic policy just a little over one year ago. This has been accomplished in the face of a deliberate winding down of the war—and the return of hundreds of thousands of American men to civilian jobs....

"We still have problems and we must not neglect them. The unemployment rate has dropped—but not enough. But we are on the right road. And no version of the strange, new "Flexinomics" being tested and scrapped by a desperate candidate in the heat of a campaign should change our course."

NEW McGOVERN TAX PROPOSALS LABELED APPLE FULL OF WORMS, SOUR WINE IN OLD BOTTLES

"Sen. George McGovern's new tax reform proposals are like, to borrow from Shakespeare, a 'goodly apple rotten at the heart.' Outwardly, the McGovern apple, rosy and smooth, glistens tantalizingly, but bite into it and you get a mouthful of worms."—*Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch*.

"In toto, the Senator's proposed economic and welfare programs are sour wine in old bottles. They represent a strategic retreat, but not necessarily abandonment, of his earlier proposals to give each American a \$1,000 federal check each year whether or not he or she needs the money.

"In falling back before the pressure of adverse public opinion, the senator engaged in the hoariest of political demagoguery. He holds out the promise of reforming taxes, of easing the pain of the local tax burden simply by adding to the federal load, without acknowledging that the load has to be borne by the taxpayer."—*The San Diego Union*.

Still Doesn't Add Up

"The new McGovernomics still doesn't add up....Mr. McGovern makes it all sound deceptively simple, but it was that way with his first plan, too...But he continues to confirm the conclusion of his friendly biographer, Robert Sam Anson, that 'generally his friends, not to mention his critics, cite economics as McGovern's weakest point, both politically and intellectually.'"—*Omaha World-Herald*.

"For Americans who are concerned about inflation, about swollen federal spending, about the increase in governmental power—and about the continued growth of a productive economy—Mr. McGovern presents, all in all, a discouraging picture."—*Baltimore Sun*.

"It is human nature to want something for nothing, and politicians have been catering to this trait for as long as anyone remembers. Senator George S. McGovern's speech to the New York Society of Security Analysts was, unfortunately, in this mold.

"The trouble comes with McGovern's insistence that he can do all this..."

"As a practical matter, it isn't possible, and the South Dakotan is being disingenuous when he leads the American people to think that it is.

"In real life, therefore, a McGovern Administration would be faced with the necessity of either raising everybody's taxes or abandoning its national income insurance plan."—*Los Angeles Times*.

"But Mr. McGovern's plans are still riddled with old flaws and have picked up some new ones. For instance, he now favors treating all capital gains as ordinary income—something he said only last May that he did not propose to do.

"But if Mr. McGovern were to confine himself to what is fair and sensible, he could not begin to conjure up, even on paper, the vast amounts of money he needs to finance promises he has made."—*Chicago Tribune*.

Credibility Questioned

"Whether the McGovern package restores credibility to the Democratic nominee's handling of economic matters is seriously in doubt. He has twisted and turned so often in recent months on both taxes and welfare that no one can be sure that this is his definitive word....McGovern's troubles in trying to devise coherent policies on taxes and welfare derive from the fact that there is no easy, quick, fair road to tax reform nor any magic plan that will automatically clear up the welfare mess."—*Omaha World-Herald*.

"The oil depletion allowance, for instance, may in many instances give too much of a break to wealthy oilmen. But the point of it is to encourage investment in new oil wells, the exploration for new sources of oil and gas. In this time of the energy crisis, and the need for new energy sources, who can say the aim of that tax law is bad? Or take the capital gains tax, at present much lower on income realized from an investment held at least six months or more. McGovern would eliminate that tax break. And yet wouldn't that eliminate the availability of capital for a number of enterprises? Enterprises attractive as investments only because of the possibility of capital gains income?"—*Atlanta Constitution*.

"Senator McGovern must be credited with being a sincere, if somewhat naive, man whose sympathies are with the poor, who most need a sympathetic champion. But despite his good intentions, his economic programs won't wash—at least as disclosed thus far.

Proposals Are Unworkable

"They've been modified once. Perhaps they'll be modified further. Unless they are they will remain unworkable."—*The Wichita Eagle*.

"But what about the other new programs McGovern is supporting? The new model says nothing about the health insurance plan proposed by Sen. Kennedy and supported by McGovern. This alone would require \$57 billion in new revenue. And what about the rest of the McGovern-supported proposals: veterans' benefits, revenue sharing, guarantees for small busi-

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McGOVERN TAX PROPOSALS

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nesses against bankruptcy, 100 percent farm parities, school spending increases and so on? Is McGovern dropping his support for all of these, or does he propose to finance them by deficit spending? The weird suspicion begins to arise that neither McGovern nor his Harvard-MIT economists can, in fact, add."—*Columnist Jeffrey Hart*.

"In the McGovern scheme, no special tax incentives would stimulate investment and business expansion. A moral judgment is made that the men who work must be treated the same by the tax collector as those who invest. This has a ring of justice which is confounded by economic realities.

"By changing the tax structure in the name of justice, McGovern would remove the stimuli for investment, and, in the process, make it harder for many millions of investors to realize their personal hopes for future economic security."—*Columnist Richard Wilson*.

"McGovern also said little to dispel the pervasive conviction on the Street that his tax-big, spend-big programs would touch off another corrosive round of inflation. James Wadsworth, of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, said the latest McGovern plan for welfare reform might create new demand for goods so great that the economy's productive capacity would be unable to match it—and thus trigger demand-pull inflation. And Stovall cautioned that income redistribution would automatically shift funds from saving and investment to spending on such consumer goods as liquor and color television sets.... Chrysler chairman Lynn Townsend for one, dismissed the whole thing as 'not a good program. I just don't think it adds up.'"—*Newsweek*.

"There are significant omissions involving enormous costs. There appear to be as many loopholes in the McGovern program as there allegedly are in the present tax code.

"Whether by design or inexcusable error, the result is a superficial program full of appealing ingredients. But its nutritive value as an on-going economic policy cannot accurately be analyzed because of tenuous links to figures and circumstances which are not spelled out.

"Until the public is given the complete picture, the McGovern program can only be viewed as a highly diffused work of political art—impressionistic, not realistic. As noted elsewhere, it tends to simplify the complicated, and grapples with illusion. In short, another exercise in implausibility."—*Youngstown (Ohio) Vindicator*.



Jean Westwood
Meet
Sargent Shriver
And
George McGovern

"Americans will no longer accept campaign rhetoric which is full of innuendo or platitudes, empty promises or undocumented charges."—*Democrat National Committee Chairman Jean Westwood at Fair Campaign Practices Code signing, Sept. 19, 1972*.

"I've said many times that the Nixon bombing policy on Indochina is the most barbaric action that any country has committed since Hitler's effort to exterminate Jews in Germany in the 1930s."—*McGovern quoted by The Associated Press, June 30, 1972*.

"Shriver described Mr. Nixon as 'like a reformed drunk' for visiting Moscow and Peking after a career as an anti-Communist."—*Article in Washington Post, Sept. 8, 1972*.

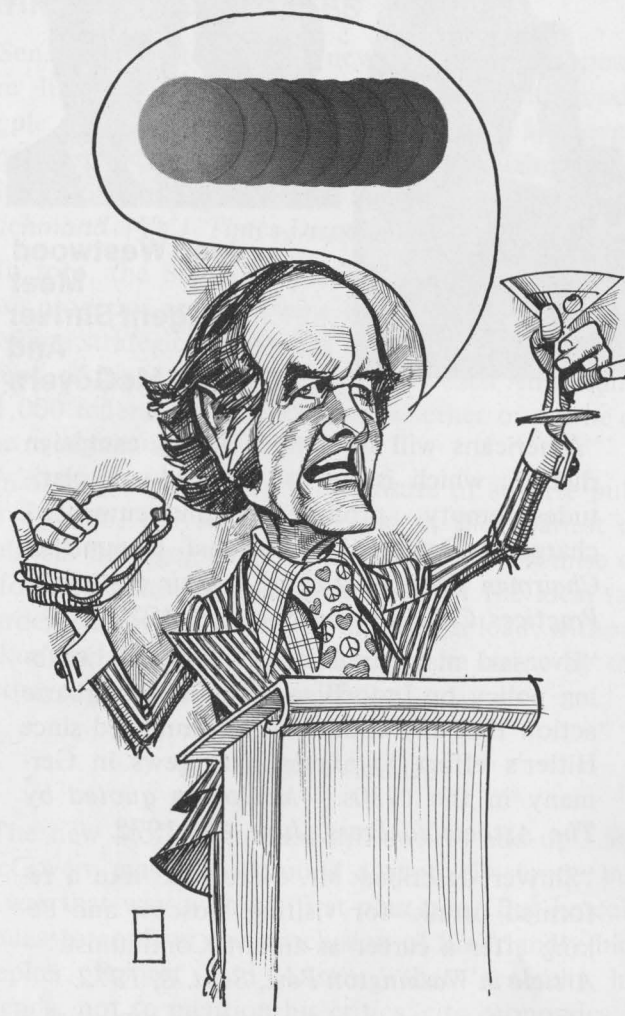
"He [Shriver] also declared that President Nixon is 'interested in power—economic power, political power, military power...He's mad.'"—*Article in Washington Post, Sept. 9, 1972*.

"Nixon is the number one bomber of all time, and that includes Julius Caesar and anyone else you can think of."—*Shriver quoted in United Press International story, Sept. 19, 1972*.

HELP!

FIRST MONDAY can always use help and would appreciate yours. If you run across an item in the paper, see something on TV or hear something on the radio that you think might be of interest, drop us a note here at the Republican National Committee, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. While you're at it, we would also like to know what you think of your publication, FIRST MONDAY. Thank you.

GEORGE McGOVERN, MARTINI LUNCHES AND BOLOGNA SANDWICHES



"Demagogue—a leader who makes use of popular prejudices and false claims and promises to gain power."—Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary.

In his travels around the country talking about tax reform and what he'll do if elected, George McGovern is reportedly getting applause with a line that goes like this:

"There is something wrong with a tax system that permits a corporate executive to deduct from his tax bill the price of his \$20.00 martini luncheon and you can't deduct the price of a bologna sandwich."

In making this point, one would expect that McGovern's tax reforms would either outlaw the deductibility of martini lunches or allow the deductibility of bologna sandwiches. But they in fact do neither. As *Washington Post* reporter William Greider has noted:

"Despite the martini and bologna rhetoric, Sen. McGovern's elaborate plan for tax reform does not

propose to do anything about the business deductions that are its target...the \$20 martini lunch would still be deductible as a legitimate business expense."

Greider might also have pointed out that as things stand now, there are circumstances under which bologna sandwiches are deductible. According to "Your Federal Income Tax," (page 59) the simplified Internal Revenue Service guidebook, an employee is allowed a deductible business expense if he incurs expenses "required or expected" by his employer in connection with his work. Thus, it is clear that what is legally allowed to be written off has nothing to do with the type of food being consumed—martini lunch or bologna sandwich—but rather with whether or not the expense incurred is business-connected.

McGOVERN SHOULD REPUDIATE UNDERHANDED ASSISTANCE HE'S RECEIVING FROM HANOI

"Another American prisoner of war asked his wife in a Hanoi Radio Broadcast today to send a \$25 donation to Sen. George McGovern's presidential campaign....The latest message....was the eighth from a POW broadcast by Hanoi Radio in the last nine days. Five of the eight urged support for McGovern."—Associated Press, Sept. 13, 1972.

The North Vietnamese Communists are interfering intolerably in the American domestic political process. Their insensitive use of American POWs is but another example of the callous inhumanity displayed by Hanoi. Unfortunately, Hanoi has not been in the least discouraged by George McGovern, the recipient of its assistance.

The fact that out of the eight Hanoi Radio broadcasts, five have carried endorsements of McGovern, is a terrible example of how the Communists are trying to interfere in the 1972 presidential election campaign. But there are other examples as well.

Hanoi Paper Backs McGovern

Item: On June 10, 1972, the Hanoi party daily, *Nhan Dan*, ran a commentary entitled: "The McGovern Phenomenon and Nixon's Cruel War." The commentary boasted that the "McGovern phenomenon is the product of the present U.S. political situation. The birth of this phenomenon is linked to the fact that throughout the past four years, the Nixon Administration has carried out a cruel, stubborn, and perfidious policy on the Vietnam and Indochina issue." In what is no less than an endorsement, the Hanoi daily proudly noted that McGovern's "voice of opposition has resounded more and more powerfully among the

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HANOI

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different strata of the American people." Then it noted that McGovern has on many occasions "sternly condemned Nixon for conducting in Vietnam the dirtiest and cruelest war in the history of mankind."

Item: Further attempts at interference by Hanoi in American politics came during the visit of Ramsey Clark, a McGovern supporter, to North Vietnam. Here, a former Attorney General of the United States traveled to the enemy's capital to be heard later on official enemy propaganda broadcasts. While in Hanoi, Ramsey Clark repeatedly told American POWs that he hoped for a "big" McGovern victory in November. "If McGovern were elected, the war would end on the day he came into office...." On his return to America Clark again pointed out the need for McGovern's election and also passed word from Hanoi that if McGovern were elected, more POWs would be released. (Evans-Novak column, *Washington Post*, Sept. 8, 1972).

Communist Violations Ignored

The unfortunate part of this whole business is that not once have McGovern or Clark used their positions to denounce the North Vietnamese. Not once have they mentioned Hanoi's total refusal to abide by the Geneva Accords with reference to prisoners.

Worse, when letters and messages from POWs to their families are few and far between, it is despicable that the Communists would restrict the few messages coming out to endorsements of Sen. McGovern. McGovern might do well to make a public announcement asking Hanoi to allow personal messages sent to American families and cease using obvious propaganda messages for the McGovern-Shriver public relations campaign.

It is time for Hanoi to understand that the vast majority of Americans resent its interference in a free political process. Then again, the fact that Hanoi has never had such a process may make it difficult for the Communists to understand this point. But Sen. McGovern *does* understand such a process. It's time for him to declare publicly that he repudiates the underhanded assistance he is receiving from the enemy.

McGOVERN'S BEGGING

"If McGovern wins, our nation will have turned full circle. It will be 'millions for tribute, but not one cent for defense.'"—N.B. Dismukes, *Dallas, letter-to-the-editor, Time magazine.*

COLUMNIST KRAFT FLAT WRONG IN STATEMENT ABOUT PRESIDENT'S POPULARITY

"Between now and Election Day, the heat of political battle is apt to cause most of us to say and think some silly things about the presidential candidates."—Syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft, *Baltimore Sun*, Sept. 5, 1972.

In one of Disraeli's novels there is a character named Mr. Kremlin who is described as being "distinguished for his ignorance for he had only one idea and it was wrong." Looking at a couple of recent Joseph Kraft columns and checking them against the facts, it appears the only difference between Mr. Kraft and Mr. Kremlin is that Mr. Kraft has more wrong ideas.

For example, in a column on August 31 in the *Washington Post*, Kraft asserted: "Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Nixon is not popular. The very polls which show him way ahead of Senator McGovern also show that he does poorly on such questions as managing the economy, handling the Vietnam war, or bringing the country together. Mr. Nixon's support, in other words, is broad but shallow. He is vulnerable to the kind of campaign Senator McGovern is now in a position to mount."

President on Busing

Continuing to hammer on this theme, again in a column on Sept. 5 in the *Baltimore Sun*, Kraft declared: "He (the President) has no instinct for drawing the country together. On the contrary, he has exacerbated the most serious domestic division—the division on race—by whipping up the issue of busing."*

In this same column, Kraft also charged that "in a sense" the President's "great achievement" in foreign policy has been "to keep the war going." The President, Kraft wrote, "is not a man to keep the conscience of the country."

Looking at the polls one wonders which ones columnist Kraft is looking at. The July 17 Harris Survey shows the American people tending to agree with President Nixon on 15 out of 16 key issues. Specifically, on Vietnam, by a 52-33 percent margin, a majority feels it finds itself "personally in agreement" more with President Nixon than Senator McGovern on

(continued on next page)

*This particular kind of charge is one that cannot be avoided. Had the President failed to speak out on busing, he undoubtedly would have been accused of failing to exert the moral leadership his office requires. Now that he has spoken out, and Kraft disagrees, the President is accused of polarizing the country. Thus for a columnist like Kraft it's a heads-I-win-tails-you-lose proposition. The country, incidentally, seems pretty much together on the busing question. A July Harris Survey showed the public opposed to busing to achieve integration by 81-14 percent.

COLUMNIST KRAFT

(continued from previous page)

the key question of ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam. On the economy, the Harris Survey shows that by 47-24 percent, most Americans say they feel more in agreement with the President than McGovern on the question of "checking rises in the cost of living."

President Ahead of McGovern

As for being the man to bring the country together or "keep the conscience of the country," as Kraft put it, the polls show the President favored in this area also. A Harris Survey in the *Washington Post* on August 28 showed that 60 percent of "likely voters" personally trust Richard Nixon in the White House more than McGovern, whom 27 percent preferred. Thirteen percent were "not sure."

In a recent Yankelovich poll taken for *Time* magazine, the President topped McGovern by 21 percentage points on the question of who could better "raise the moral standards of the country." Noted *Time*: "Nixon's strength is as broad as it is deep. He polls well even among voting groups that McGovern counts on heavily."

"Alienated" for President

Even among what Lou Harris calls one of the original hopes of the McGovern campaign—the so-called "alienated" voters, a recent survey showed that President Nixon holds a 46-43 percent lead with voters in this category.

As to Kraft's charge that it is President Nixon and not the Communist aggressors in North Vietnam who have kept the war in Vietnam going, this is such an absurd allegation that it is barely worth noting much less answering.

Thus, from the aforementioned poll figures, it is clear that it is not the President's popularity that is "broad but shallow," as Kraft has charged, but rather Kraft's knowledge of the President's popularity.

PRESIDENT DESERVES ANOTHER TERM

"We think that Richard Nixon, in his first term, has gone a long way toward 'bringing us together again' and that he richly deserves another term to keep on with the work. Considering the ferocious strain of the job and its ephemeral compensations, we are lucky that he is willing to take it on again."—Excerpted from editorial, *Sarasota (Fla.) Herald-Tribune*.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI

The extent to which President Nixon has in fact wound down the war in Vietnam was dramatically illustrated when it was announced that for the week ending Sept. 16, no Americans died in that conflict and seven were wounded. For the comparable time period in 1968, the last year the Democrats were in power, 217 Americans died in the Vietnam war and 1,485 were wounded.

Can McGovern Carry South Dakota?

As McGovern continues to sag in the polls, there is now evidence that he may be unable to carry even his home state of South Dakota. A recent private state-wide poll shows the President topping McGovern 56-28 percent with 17 undecided. As to how the people rate McGovern on how he's doing his job as Senator, the negatives outnumber the positives by 49-34 percent with 17 undecided...Meanwhile, the *Sturgis (S.D.) Tribune* raps McG for appealing in a full-page ad to South Dakotans to vote for him because he's from the Prairie State. Editorializes the *Trib*: "It is surprising that a candidate who says he wants to campaign on the issues would make such an emotional appeal to native pride and provincialism. It insults the intelligence to suggest that South Dakotans would support a candidate, especially for the highest office in the land, simply because, by accident of birth, he is a native son. It indicates a desperateness that is becoming characteristic of the McGovern campaign."

Ribicoff Raps McGovern Tax Plan

Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, one of McGovern's most liberal supporters, says that as McGovern's tax program exists now, "I couldn't buy" it. Ribicoff told Elizabeth Drew on her show "Thirty Minutes With..." (Sept. 14): "I think I would want to take another look at the capital gains aspect. My feeling is that the capital gains proposals could discourage investments. And we do have to have new formations of capital to keep industry and business going." Ribicoff also labeled McGovern's original welfare proposal "a disaster."

Polish-Americans Endorse Nixon

For the first time in its 28 year history, the Ohio Division of the Polish American Congress has endorsed the Republican Presidential ticket. "We are opposed to the takeover of the Democratic Party by the new element, the type of persons that are behind McGovern," says the President of the group, George Wrost.

McGOVERN SISTER SAYS SHE'S BEHIND GEORGE 100 PERCENT

The *Sioux Falls*, South Dakota *Argus-Leader* recently ran a lengthy Associated Press article which consisted of interviews with George McGovern's two sisters, Mrs. Olive Briles of Sisseton, S.D. and Mrs. Mildred Bardy of LeMars, Iowa. Notably lacking in the article was any mention of McGovern's positions on the issues and where the sisters stood in relationship to these positions. Reached at her home, *First Monday* asked Mrs. Briles what she thought about her brother's \$1,000-for-everybody scheme, his remarks about begging being preferable to bombing, and the dumping of his first running mate, Sen. Thomas Eagleton. "I don't intend to discuss these things with you, I really don't," McGovern's sister declared. "I agree 100 percent with my brother and intend to back him on all his stands." Are you 1,000 percent behind him?, *First Monday* asked. Mrs. Briles hung up.

Women's Wear Daily reports that Democrat National Chairman Jean Westwood, who was in the mink business for 25 years, will campaign this fall "swathed in the stuff." This, despite the ecology buffs in the McGovern camp, says *WWD*. Wow, this could be some scene when Jean in mink, Eleanor in her Adolfo double-knits (\$260-\$1,000 per suit) and Sarge in his Cardin suits and Gucci loafers all hit the nearest ghetto to talk about, what else—poverty in America.

Nixon Popularity Upsets McGovernites

Distraught woman overheard at McGovern fund-raiser in Chevy Chase, Md.: "I tell you, I'm sick. Once I get out of the Washington, D.C. community, everybody I talk to likes President Nixon and thinks he's doing a fine job. I mean everybody. Even my own aunt told me she was voting for Nixon. Nothing McGovern is doing is catching on. Not even the Watergate thing. Nobody cares."...Another angry McGovernite volunteer quoted in *Women's Wear Daily* commenting on fund-raising party at Kennedy home in Hickory Hill where the pool area was cordoned off: "You call this a people's party? I've worked my tail off for McGovern lining up millionaires and millionaires who get special attention, but when it comes to kids who paid \$15 a person you segregate them out, feed them crappy hamburgers and orange pop and let the elite sit around the pool eating gourmet food. It looks terrible. It's a giant rip-off."

The Press: Sometimes it seems that heads-they-win-tails-you-lose. Take for example a recent NBC News broadcast about how U.S. troop withdrawals in Vietnam have hurt a Da Nang orphanage. As Arthur Lord summed up: "Clearly the American GI's who helped build and support this orphanage did a find thing. But now most of the GI's have gone home and the problem is that the children are still here."...Martin Agronsky, in the *Washington Star-News* (Sept. 15): "Washington journalists are too inbred: we talk too much shop. You can tell how we stick together by how fast stories get around. It is almost incestuous."...Story that no Americans died in Vietnam during one week for the first time in seven years, carried on: page 21 in the *Washington Post*; page 39 in the *Boston Globe*; page 16 in the *Chicago Tribune*; and page 19 in the *L.A. Times*.



FIRST MONDAY editor John Lofton, Jr. (right) talks with top McGovern aide Pierre Salinger at a fund-raising garden party in Chevy Chase, Md. Salinger said he disagrees with McGovern's remarks that President Johnson inherited the Vietnam war from President Kennedy. Salinger, who worked for JFK and who is close to the Kennedys, says that Kennedy's commitment to Vietnam was very limited; Johnson's was not. When asked why McGovern said his meeting with LBJ was one of the "most treasured" moments of his life, Salinger laughed and said: "Oh, you know how politicians are when they make statements like that." Salinger also said he believes that McGovern's recent proposal for aid to parochial schools is unconstitutional.

First Monday

While campaigning in the 1959 general elections, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan reminded the English that they were only trustees of their nation, not the owners. He admonished them to think of that trust, a trust which they held for themselves, their children and their grandchildren, and not to gamble it away by their vote. Here is a thought of which the American people should be reminded between now and November 7: quoting Sir Winston Churchill, "To build is the laborious task of years. To destroy can be the act of a single day."

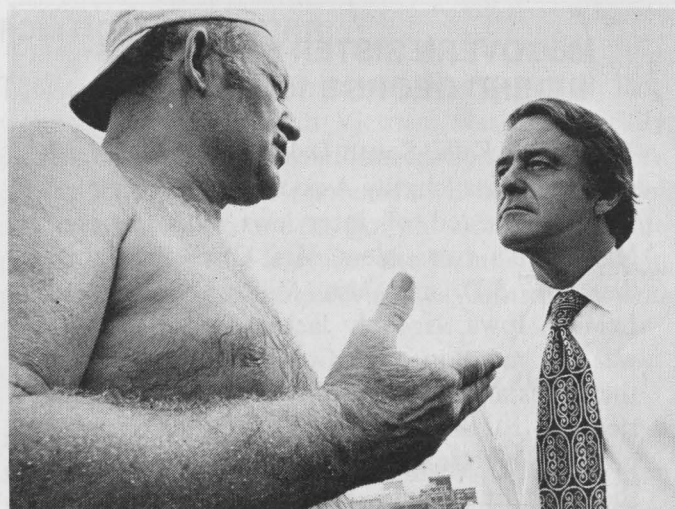
Truer Words Were Never Spoken: "I considered sending Pierre Salinger or Ramsey Clark here for me today, but they both told me they felt safer representing me in Hanoi than in Wall Street."—*McGovern speaking to the Security Analysts Assn., Sept. 29, 1972.*

Sounds From the High Road: Defending her man, McGovern supporter Shirley MacLaine is quoted by *Newsweek* magazine as saying: "I'd rather have a candidate who mumbles than a candidate who murders."

Cartoon of the Week: By Bill Mauldin in the *Chicago Sun-Times*: long-haired, draft dodger to friend: "If McGovern wins, I'm going home and my dad's coming to Canada."

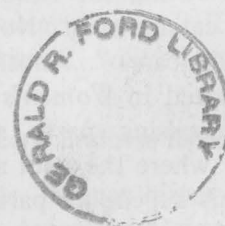
Sargent Shriver says President Nixon has "one overwhelming ambition in life—to demolish the Democratic Party." Which makes one wonder—after what McGovern and the McGovernites have done to the party, what's left to demolish?

When he scrapped his \$1,000-for-everybody scheme McGovern also had to scrap what was to have been his national campaign song, "This Grand is Your Grand."



"YA KNOW, Mr. Shriver, I was thinkin,' since it don't look too good for you fellas, that maybe you could have that White House dinner out at your place and then maybe give everybody that thousand dollars. Whattaya think, huh?"

Long-time Republican leader Mrs. Anna Chennault has officially announced the formation of "The Committee of U.S. Citizens in Asia for Nixon." Serving as co-chairman is A. Lewis Burridge, prominent American businessman in Asia. The executive director is Marshall L. Hendricks, an international lawyer based in Washington, D.C. The committee plans to wage an energetic and forceful campaign to get out the vote of U.S. citizens residing in Asia, and to generate funds for the re-election campaign. Country chairmen are: George I. Purdy, George Zettler, Japan; Paul C. McCann, Korea; John F. Shoemaker, Hong Kong; Donald I. Marshall, Philippines; John M. Ahrens, Thailand; Sesto E. Vecchi, South Vietnam; Edward Hamilton, Australia. Country chairmen will soon be announced for the Republic of China, Indonesia, Singapore and other countries in Asia.



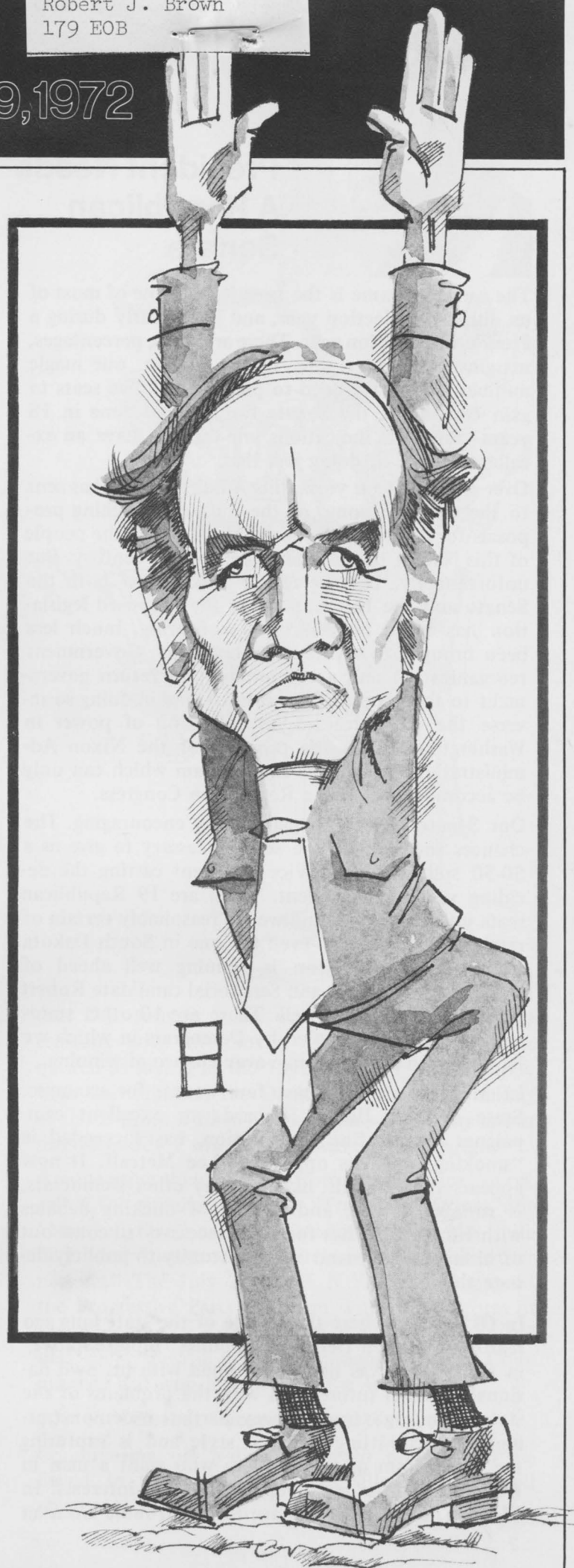
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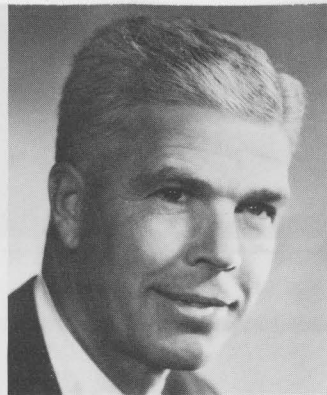
Robert J. Brown
179 EOB

Monday. OCT. 9, 1972

**Advance copy of
McGovern plan
to end the war
in Vietnam.**

**Why George's
latest promises
are worthless,**
(See Story Inside)





President Needs A Republican Senate

The numbers game is the favorite pastime of most of us during an election year, and particularly during a Presidential election year. There are polls, percentages, margins of victory, etc. In the Senate, our magic number is five. We need to pick up just five seats to gain control of the Senate for the first time in 18 years. Present indications are that we have an excellent chance of doing just that.

Over the past four years, this Administration has sent to the Congress some of the most far reaching proposals for dealing with the problems facing the people of this Nation that we have seen in this century. But unfortunately, because of the make-up of both the Senate and the House, most of the proposed legislation has never even received a hearing, much less been brought to a vote by either body. Government reorganization and a commitment to return government to the people of the country and in doing so reverse the trend toward centralization of power in Washington—this is the program of the Nixon Administration, and this is the program which can only be accomplished with a Republican Congress.

Our Senate races look particularly encouraging. The chances to gain the five seats necessary to give us a 50-50 split (with the Vice President casting the deciding vote) are excellent. There are 19 Republican seats up for election, and we are reasonably certain of retaining all of them—even the one in South Dakota where President Nixon is running well ahead of native-son McGovern and Senatorial candidate Robert Hirsch is faring very well. There are 10 other states with seats now occupied by Democrats in which we have an even or better-than-even chance of winning.

In Montana, in the past few weeks, for example, State Senator Henry Hibbard, an excellent campaigner with a fine organization, has succeeded in "smoking out" his opponent, Lee Metcalf. It now appears that Metcalf, like so many other Democrats, is running scared, and instead of ducking debates with Hibbard, he has found it necessary to come out of hiding and demand an opportunity to publicly debate the issues.

In Oklahoma, where the people of the state long ago realized that their Democrat-populist representative in the Senate was more concerned with his own national political future than with the problems of the state, former governor Dewey Bartlett is demonstrating his hard-hitting political style and is capturing the enthusiasm of voters there who want a man in Washington who truly represents their interests. In addition, the Democrats are in real trouble from an

organizational point of view. Ted Kennedy was scheduled to appear at a fund raiser in mid September, but when the Democrat candidate for the Senate decided that Teddy was too close to McGovern, Fred Harris and the rest of that clique in the Senate, the newspapers say he moved to cancel the affair, at which point the Democrat State Chairman resigned, throwing the whole staff organization into turmoil.

An interesting pattern has developed in most of the Senate races where Democrat incumbents are seeking re-election. In almost every instance they are running away from their standard-bearer, George McGovern, scared to death of being associated with his lack of organizational ability, his naive approach to foreign policy and his total lack of credibility with the voters. Nevertheless, he is their standard-bearer and his proposals, if he should be elected, are the ones they will develop.

In the South and Southwest we have excellent chances in New Mexico, Oklahoma, Montana, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia. In Rhode Island, John Chafee is well ahead of liberal Claiborne Pell. And in Minnesota, dark horse Phil Hansen is giving McGovern look-alike Walter Mondale a run for his money, with President Nixon a solid favorite there.

Our job in the home stretch of this campaign is to get the message to the voters that the time has come to put an end to the philosophy that multi-billion dollar packages of cure-all laws, which in reality are bureaucratic nightmares filled with empty promises, are the means for dealing with the problems of this Nation. We in the Republican Party—given the chance—can respond to the growing desire of the majority of Americans that we put an end to centralized government and the philosophy that nothing can be done right unless it is done in Washington. It is our hope that an effective presentation of this message and a candid discussion of the issues will convince the voters to send a Republican Congress to Washington next January to work with President Nixon in returning the power and the revenue to the levels of government where it can be most productive.

Peter H. Dominick
Chairman, Republican Senate Campaign Committee

Monday. OCT. 9, 1972

MONDAY, a weekly publication is sent to contributors of \$25.00 or more. Of which \$5.00 is for subscription to MONDAY per annum.



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

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Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered magazines to the Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Vol. 4 No. 27

Monday, Oct. 9, 1972

McGOVERN "DOVE STORY" OMITTS BACKING OF HENRY WALLACE; PART OF SLICK, MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO SHOW CANDIDATE AS NON-CONTROVERSIAL, REGULAR GUY

"People want a clear idea of a candidate, not an image that's false, that's TV, that's movies."—R. Sargent Shriver, quoted in the Arizona Republic, Sept. 25, 1972.

Writing Sept. 8 in the *Detroit Free Press*, political reporter Robert S. Boyd said: "The selling of George McGovern is a carefully programmed exercise in modern political image-building."

Truer words have never been written. A look at McGovern's spot ads and most recently, his half-hour biography—A Charles Guggenheim "Dove Story"—clearly shows that McGovern is running a slickly deceptive media campaign designed to conceal from the American people his extreme left-wing political beginnings as well as his current controversial far-out stands on such issues as amnesty, abortion, marijuana, national defense and welfare.

Wallace Association Omitted

A case in point is the recently nationally televised half-hour McGovern biography broadcast on CBS. In dealing with what the narrator of the film called McGovern's "journey into politics," an 11-year part of that trip—from the end of World War II to 1956—was completely omitted. It is during this time frame that McGovern was an enthusiastic supporter of Henry Wallace for President.

As McGovern biographer Robert Anson tells it in his book, "McGovern: A Biography":

"McGovern's own feelings about Wallace are one of the few things he does not readily volunteer about his past. One searches his official biography in vain for some mention of the man, or McGovern's regard for him."

False Impressions Conveyed

Noting that McGovern's campaign propaganda conveys the impression that his beliefs have never been anything except the most regular Democrat kind, Anson writes:

"It was more than ordinary political support. Intellectually, emotionally, politically, McGovern was committed to Wallace and to what he perceived as the cause he stood for. After school, he cranked an ancient mimeograph machine in the teaching assistants' lounge, turning out leaflets for Wallace and for a variety of anti-Cold War causes..."

According to Anson, McGovern still believes that Henry Wallace was correct. "I felt then as I do now,



that U.S. foreign policy was needlessly exacerbating tensions with the Soviet Union..." McGovern is quoted as saying in the 1972 book. "I wasn't happy with the direction the Democratic Party was taking in those times. *I liked what Wallace had to say about foreign policy. I still think he was essentially right.*"

Among other things, the platform that Wallace ran on called for repudiation of the "Truman Doctrine," the "Marshall Plan" and the abandonment of U.S. military bases "designed to encircle and intimidate other nations." The July 26, 1948, *N.Y. Times* compared the Progressive Party platform with the platform of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and reported that every specific point recommended by the Communists had won approval by the Wallaceites.

Eleanor Roosevelt Blasts Wallace

Commenting on Wallace's foreign policy, still believed in today by McGovern, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in "My Day," in 1948:

(continued on next page)

McGovern Film-Maker Ducks Missing Decade Question

Hoping to find out what happened to the missing McGovern decade, particularly McGovern's backing of Henry Wallace, *Monday* called the head of Guggenheim Productions, Inc., Charles Guggenheim, at his home and put the question to him. "I don't know," Guggenheim replied (long pause). "I should talk to the man who wrote it." When informed that his production manager Peter Vogt earlier in the day had said that the omission was a "creative decision" that he (Guggenheim) was "responsible for," Guggenheim hung up the phone. *Monday* then called back eight times only to have the phone hung up each time after one ring. On the ninth call, the phone rang over 50 times, then was answered by Guggenheim and the dialog was as follows:

Guggenheim: "Captain Dougherty, Third Precinct."

Monday: "Captain Dougherty, I'd like to speak to your superior to complain about you taking so long to answer your phone. This could have been an emergency and a matter of life or death."

At this point, Guggenheim hung up again.

McGOVERN "DOVE STORY"

(continued from previous page)

"When Mr. Wallace assumes that by changing certain of our policies until we resemble Mr. Chamberlain, hat in hand, approaching Hitler, we will have the results which he calls 'peace and abundance,' I am afraid he is doing more wishful thinking than realistic facing of the facts."

Writing in an article in the April 1949 issue of "The Progressive," Sen. Hubert Humphrey, acting national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) declared:

"Mr. Wallace's crusade was a crude Communist-front enterprise, conceived, nurtured, and finally wrecked by the Communists with their morbid capacity for destroying the things they profess to love....Throughout the campaign Mr. Wallace repeatedly made it plain that he regarded what he called 'peace' as the main issue—peace in his curious vocabulary representing surrender of democratic principles in favor of acquiescing to Soviet imperialist ambitions."

Writing in his book, "The Vital Center," Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. labeled Wallace a "well-intentioned

wooly-minded, increasingly bitter man who was made to order for Communist exploitation..." The Wallace movement, says Schlesinger, "represented the most considerable political undertaking ever attempted by the Communists in the United States."

Describing those delegates who attended the Wallace Progressive Party Convention, (McGovern went as a member of the Illinois delegation) *Newsweek* magazine observed:

"The delegates had come from far and wide. Most of them were young, a few were Townsendite elders. They were disgruntled, the discontented, the wishful, the wistful and the starry-eyed. They were a perfect front for the convention bosses."

Realizing that everything about a man's life cannot be covered in a half-hour show, it still seems that at least a few seconds could have been devoted to McGovern's involvement with Henry Wallace, especially since McGovern says today that he still believes in the essential correctness of the Wallace foreign policy.

WHATEVER McGOVERN GOING TO SAY ABOUT VIETNAM MEANINGLESS BECAUSE HIS CREDIBILITY IS NO GOOD

"McGovern just blew it. People just don't trust him anymore."—Tom Rabuchin, a 20-year-old college junior, quoted in the *N.Y. Times*, Oct. 2, 1972.

Regardless of what he says this week about what he would do as President to end the war in Vietnam, George McGovern's promises are worthless because his word is no longer reliable. Whatever it is that McGovern is now going to say he is 1,000 percent behind as regards Vietnam is meaningless, because McGovern's pledges rarely endure much longer than the time it takes to make them. In short, McGovern's credibility rating is zero.

Evidence abounds that McGovern is no longer believable:

President More Believable—Gallup

■ A Sept. 28 Gallup Poll reports: "Although Senator George S. McGovern's party strategists have sought to make political capital by ascribing a credibility gap to President Nixon, the President is seen as 'more sincere and believable' than Mr. McGovern by a six to two margin with the Nation's voters."

In other words, the American people by an overwhelming majority don't believe McGovern when he says he is more believable than President Nixon.

The Gallup Poll also showed that even among Democrats, by a 38-37 percentage, the President topped

McGovern in credibility. In the case of young voters between the ages of 18 and 29, a constituency ritualistically conceded to McGovern by the media a few months ago, the President by 57-28 percent is looked upon as more believable, more sincere (15 percent had no opinion.)

Commenting on McGovern's credibility crisis, the *Washington Post's* William Chapman wrote on Oct. 2: "Today, the public opinion polls record a drastic change in the public's perception of George McGovern. He is viewed as untrustworthy and indecisive, a non-leader in whom less than a third of the people place confidence. By the pollster's scales, there has been no more decisive turn-about in public attitudes this year."

■ In another *Washington Post* story based on interviews with 443 registered voters in 50 precincts of the 10 largest states, Haynes Johnson writes: "McGovern, the Presidential candidate of candor and a different approach throughout the long primary season, is now regarded by many Americans as a man who lacks convictions, changes his mind, goes back on his word, says one thing in public and follows another course in private. He is, in this view, merely another politician after all—and you can't trust the breed. Seldom has the public perception of a major political figure changed so rapidly."

McGovern Unrealistic, Wishy-Washy

The *Post* reporters who traveled across the country talking to voters came back with similar impressions about the current reaction to McGovern, says Johnson. "He is criticized not only for changing his mind—the most common reaction—but for promising too much, for being unrealistic, indecisive and 'wishy-washy.' Even among voters who will support McGovern, there are deep reservations about his ability to control situations."

■ In a similar vein, the *N.Y. Times's* Steven Roberts reports a growing disenchantment with McGovern, that "he is not getting the overwhelming support he had hoped for, or the outpouring of volunteer help to man his grass-roots organizations."

Roberts quotes a Harvard senior as saying of the Democrat Presidential nominee: "McGovern's recent compromising and vacillation disillusioned enough people so that they question the extent to which they will actively support him."

A graduate student in education at Long Beach State says: "I was much more idealistic last spring, I really thought McGovern was great. He seemed to know what he was saying, to stand firm, but since then he's begun to crumble. He doesn't seem to be the strong, dynamic candidate he once was. He doesn't show the strength and command he should, and that's much more important than the issues."

Man of the Soil



McGOVERN SLINGING MUD, CAMPAIGN LOSING GROUND; DEMOCRAT SAYS HE'S IN GUTTER WITH CORRUPTION CHARGES

"He who slings mud generally loses ground."—Adlai Stevenson, 1954.

The observation last week by George McGovern's oldest daughter that her father "hasn't caught on," is, to understate things, an understatement. It's a little like saying that the Titanic performed less than satisfactorily on her maiden voyage or that Gen. Custer's problem was that he had a disagreement with a few Indians.

There are no doubt many reasons why McGovern is turning people off. But high on the list has got to be his reckless rhetoric and wild charges. McGovern has slung mud on nearly every body regardless of their race, creed, color or national origin. When the polls showed strong rank and file labor support for President Nixon, McGovern suggested that those who prefer the President to him were mentally ill. When another survey showed him losing to the President among voters under 30, McGovern attacked this group and said they were "mixed up."

Attacks Media, Pollsters

When the media and the pollsters failed to bring good news about his candidacy, McGovern attacked them too, using the words "nutty" and "lousy" and accusing the pollsters of making up the polls in back-rooms somewhere.

As a matter of fact, McGovern's campaign has be-

(continued on next page)

McGOVERN SLINGING MUD

(continued from previous page)

come so dirty that he is now being denounced by some of his Democrat supporters. At a recent luncheon in California, Rep. Jerome Waldie agreed with a questioner in the audience that McGovern's corruption charges are really "getting into the gutter." Waldie, according to the *Washington Post*, said he did not approve of this charge or the repeated McGovern statements likening the President to Adolph Hitler. "I find no comfort in a Presidential campaign descending to that level," the Democrat Congressman declared.

Rhetoric Divisive—Life Magazine

Commenting recently on McGovern in an editorial, *Life* magazine said: "In a time that seeks unity, his rhetoric is divisive. To a country grown wary of bureaucracy and the philosophy that increased Federal spending is the answer to most social problems, he offers more big-government solutions. And even on the issue of Vietnam he seems to have lost part of his war-weary following because his answers often seem more emotional than realistic."

So it's true, McGovern is not catching on. As the Richmond (Va.) *News-Leader* has observed editorially:

"American voters evidently are not prepared to cast their ballots for a man who likens Richard Nixon to Adolph Hitler. A man who cites Ramsey Clark as a hero in combatting crime. A man who (over the past weekend) says that the Nixon Administration is 'playing politics' with three American POWs released by the Vietnamese Communists. A man who sought to sell us Thomas Eagleton as a candidate superior to Spiro Agnew. A man who, in contradicting the Kennedy cliché of asking what every American can do for his country, would give every American a thousand dollars. A man who would charge the President with 'deliberately putting people out of jobs.'"

So, really the surprising thing about the Democrat Presidential nominee is not that he has so little support but that he has any at all, considering the type of mud-slinging campaign he has run thus far.

NAME THAT QUOTE

"Anyone who runs for re-election for or against the war in Vietnam is doomed to be disappointed. This is not an issue to be exploited for political purposes."

Sen. George McGovern, Congressional Record, April 25, 1967.

TARGET '72 PROJECT REACHES MORE THAN 10 MILLION HOMES IN SEARCH OF EVERY POSSIBLE REPUBLICAN VOTE

Two hundred fifty volunteers assemble on a frosty morning in Genesee County, N.Y....50,000 homes visited in Virginia in a single afternoon....a canvass kick-off with 2,000,000 voters contacted one Saturday....a total so far of more than 10,000,000 homes reached in search of every Republican voter. This is TARGET '72 in action.

This year, when the polls and the campaign and the candidate all look so good, there is only one way Republicans will lose—and that is to forget about voting.

Republicans Working Hard

The Political Division of the Republican National Committee and thousands of Republican leaders across the country aren't going to let that happen. Using the TARGET '72 techniques for voter identification/registration/turnout, thousands of Republican workers are working hard to ensure the highest possible vote for GOP candidates on election day.

While the media has focused on the candidates, surrogates and issues, party volunteers have quietly been going door-to-door in hundreds of communities. They have been identifying favorable voters and registering new Republican voters in impressive numbers.

RNC Deputy Chairman Ed DeBolt of the Political-Research Division points out:

"These TARGET '72 techniques which were developed over a year ago have made possible the greatest mobilization of Republican campaign workers in recent history. State, county and local Republican organizations have met the challenge of this vital campaign year and are playing a major role in conducting the grass roots efforts to re-elect President Nixon and win victories for all Republican candidates. Never before has the Republican Party launched such an extensive door-to-door campaign in so many communities across this land."

TARGET '72 has been in existence since last fall but the most successful single application of these techniques occurred on September 16. This was the **National Canvass Kick-Off**, a joint effort by the Committee for the Re-election of the President and the Republican National Committee where 50 surrogates in as many cities led thousands of door-to-door canvassers into the precincts on behalf of President Nixon's re-election. The Canvass Kick-Off was an impressive demonstration of the program's capability and served as a fitting launching point for the final phase: Election Day voter turnout—appropriately dubbed, "Sixty Days to Victory."

POLITICAL POTPOURRI

The Associated Press reports that the FAA is investigating reports that George McGovern was allowed to take over the controls of a jetliner in flight. United Press International reports that American Airlines has cut off air credit travel to the Democratic National Committee for failure to pay more than \$6,000 in overdue bills. Maybe George was just practicing for the day, probably not too far away, when he'll be forced to fly his own campaign plane.

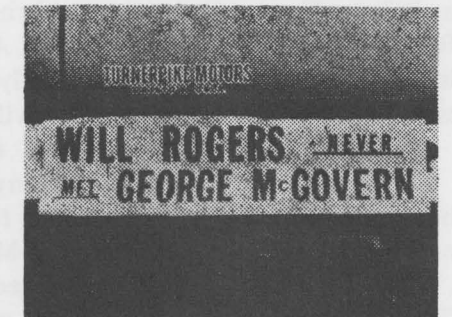
Quote of the Week: "We've got to rehabilitate the candidate. We've got to show he isn't a soft-headed weenie."—*McGovern aide, quoted in Time magazine, Oct. 9, 1972.*

Israeli Officials Furious With McGovernites

While they're not talking about it publicly, officials at the Israeli Embassy are privately furious at an attempt by a handful of McGovernites to turn their National Independence Day celebration into a McGovern-for-President rally, *Monday* has learned. The story, from a source at the John F. Kennedy Center where the incident occurred last week, is as follows: 24 McGovern backers bought a block of tickets immediately in front of the box Sen. McGovern was to sit in to watch the concert by Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra celebrating the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Israel as a state. On cue, when McGovern entered, the McGovernites began clapping loudly and cheering their man. However, virtually nobody else responded and the whole thing fizzled. What has angered and chagrined Israel officials is that the effort by the McGovernites to give McGovern a rousing welcome, and in the process embarrass Administration officials attending the concert, shows a callous insensitivity to the legitimate desires of the Israeli's to stay out of U.S. partisan politics.

McGovern Quota Talk Nonsense

Quite often, George McGovern's devotion to quotas has him talking nonsense. In recent remarks to a group of Negro publishers, McGovern is quoted as saying: "If I'm elected President, there won't be a token black in my cabinet, or a single appointment to the Supreme Court, but I intend to make appointments to positions on the basis of the reasonable relationship of the racial or ethnic group to the general population." Thus, by McGovern's own percentage-of-the-population standard, to follow through on his promise, he should be talking about expanding Court membership to 10 and appointing another white person, not a black since blacks already comprise one-eighth of the Court's make-up which is more than the approximately 10 percent of the population that they are as a racial group.

McGOVERN NOT FIRST CHOICE OF WILL ROGERS, JR.

—Tulsa Tribune

Despite the fact that his father never met George McGovern (he died in 1935), Will Rogers, Jr., who also has never met George McGovern, is upset that somebody is circulating bumper stickers reading: "Will Rogers Never Met George McGovern." What's bugging Will, Jr. is that the bumper sticker implies that had Will, Sr. met McGovern he most likely would have revised his remark about never having met a man he didn't like. Will, Jr. has labeled the bumper sticker "a shocking insinuation against my father's character and a devastating assault upon his philosophy." Will, Jr. himself, however, seems less than enthusiastic about McGovern. Are you for him? *Monday* asked in a telephone interview. "Of course," he replied. Was he your first choice for the nomination? "No, by no manner of means—he was not."

The McGovern half-hour biography which was shown on the night of Oct. 1 on CBS evidently really brought viewers to their feet...not to cheer but to dump George. A Nielsen overnight rating in N.Y. City showed that the McGovern "Dove Story" got a 10.6 rating; NBC, showing "McCloud," got an 11.3; and ABC, showing the F.B.I., got a 26.6. The show prior to McGovern's half hour, "M.A.S.H.," had a rating of 34.0, which means that when the Prairie Populist hit the screen two-thirds of the people watching either changed channels or turned off their sets.

Wife Criticizes McGovern on Vietnam

George McGovern's anti-Americanism evidently is too much even for his wife. *Time* magazine (Oct. 9) reports: "A few years ago, Eleanor also argued that George was too harsh on American policy in Vietnam and not harsh enough on North Vietnam." Where are you, Eleanor, now that you are really needed?

Monday, Oct. 9, 1972

Headline of the Week: "McGovern Popularity Parallels The Boll Weevil in Georgia."—*The Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel*, Sept. 30, 1972.

The Press: Pollster George Gallup has told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (Oct. 4) that American prestige is at a low point in the world, partly because U.S. press services, in concentrating so heavily on the negative side of things, "have given a distorted picture" leaving the impression with many people abroad that problems in America are worse than they really are...The two-year old, strongly pro-McGovern monthly, "The New Democrat," has folded due to "severe financial problems." The mag was edited by Steve Schlesinger, son of Arthur, Jr...Radio Hanoi continues to give substantial coverage to McGovern's charges against President Nixon. Most recently (Sept. 29) it carried two reports on his attacks criticizing the President on crime and urban problems. On the same date, Radio Hanoi also quoted a *N.Y. Times* editorial critical of American bombing of North Vietnam.

Having already verbally trashed rank and file union workers who favor the re-election of the President, young voters for the President, certain unnamed pollsters and newspaper columnists and defensive professional football players, it was of course only a matter of time until the Nation's bankers got theirs from the McGovern-Shriver team. That time has arrived. The Oct. 2 *Baltimore Sun* quotes Sargent Shriver as saying: "Politicians are sort of open, human, warm types of people. Politicians have to be oriented towards people. They are understanding types if they are any good. But when you get into areas like banking, you really don't give a damn about people. What you are interested in is money..."

Rhode Island Democrat Sen. Claiborne Pell, in a tight race with Republican John Chafee, is falling over himself running away from McGovern. The *Providence Sunday Journal* (Sept. 17) quotes Pell as saying McGovern's recommended massive slash of the defense budget would slice "too deeply into our defense muscle and capabilities."

A Democrat Congressman who over a year ago met with Communist negotiators and said they had promised to release American POW's in return for a U.S. war pull-out date, now says that N. Vietnamese and VC negotiators are "a frenzied, paranoid group" who will never bargain away the prisoners "until we completely give in and deliver up the South Vietnamese government to them." The Associated Press (Sept. 17) quotes Rep. Robert Leggett of California as saying: "Until...we stop trying to deal with them as rational people, we're just playing games. They totally hoodwinked (former Attorney General Ramsey) Clark. They're sucking in everybody they can."

The Press: Is there a "new" David Broder? In 1970 when Vice President Agnew was traveling around the country socking it to the Democrats, the *Washington Post's* national political correspondent, David Broder, labeled him "the modern master of the art of political insult." Now in 1972, when he has changed his style to suit a different campaign, Broder is writing that the question for the Vice President now is whether or not he can keep his audiences from snoring. Commenting on a recent Agnew quote that he has changed and those who don't believe it can ask his speech writers Don Rickles and Howard Cosell, Broder writes: "For the sake of his future audiences, if not the future of his career, it's to be hoped that Cosell and Rickles arrive soon."

Monday. OCT. 9, 1972

republican national committee

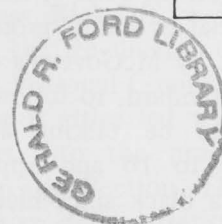
Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

310 First Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003

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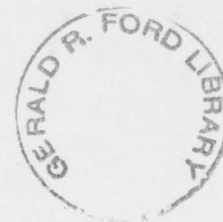
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BULLETIN NO. 23

OCTOBER 9, 1972

GEORGE
MCGOVERN



MCGOVERN'S OCTOBER 10th VIETNAM SPEECH--POINTS TO PONDER

"I'm going to do two things that night. I'm going to tell exactly how I think we went wrong in Vietnam and how as President of the U.S. I will bring that war to an end and restore all of our prisoners to their homes within 90 days of the inauguration."

Speech--Buffalo, New York
October 4, 1972

"I am not now, nor have I ever been, an advocate of unilateral withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam. I have voted for all the appropriations supporting our men."

Interview--Mitchell (S.D.)
Daily Republic as quoted in
Rapid City Journal
June 2, 1967

As this Answer Desk goes to press, it is impossible to know exactly what George McGovern will say on October 10. However, it is interesting to note that he will "tell exactly how we went wrong in Vietnam." If indeed our policy was "wrong," then Senator McGovern was wrong too. An analysis of his record clearly shows that George McGovern did speak and vote in favor of U.S. policy in Vietnam throughout the 1960's. For example:

1964

On August 7, 1964, McGovern voted in favor of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which supported President Johnson's actions in ordering retaliation against attacks on U.S. forces by the North Vietnamese.

On September 25, 1964, the Senator voted for H.R. 11380 which provided \$125 million for Vietnam.

1965

"...since we have become steadily more involved in the Vietnam struggle for the past 11 years, mistake or not, we cannot now abruptly withdraw and leave our South Vietnamese ally at the mercy of the Guerilla forces."

"...President Johnson has conducted our military effort there with restraint and prudence that entitles him to the confidence of the American people and the respect of the world. The carefully selected retaliatory air strikes in North Vietnam which he ordered can be justified. President Johnson is a man of peace--not a warhawk."

Aberdeen American News
March 13, 1965

On August 25, 1965, George McGovern voted for H.R. 9221 which provided \$1.7 billion for the Vietnam War.

1966

"While I believe that our unilateral involvement and its recent acceleration has been a mistake, we have made public and private commitments that must be considered. A holding action, which reduces the loss of life and protects our position for whatever time is necessary to secure an honorably negotiated settlement, is now the most realistic strategy.

"Such a policy requires patience and restraint, qualities not easily summoned in wartime."

Mademoiselle
March 1966

McGovern voted to kill Senator Wayne Morse's amendment to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (March 1, 1966).

McGovern voted to table Senator Ernest Gruening's amendment prohibiting the use of draftees in Southeast Asia (March 1, 1966).

McGovern voted in favor of supplying funds for Vietnam on eight occasions (three different votes on S. 2791 and other votes on H.R. 12169, H.R. 13546, S. 2950, H.R. 15941, and H.R. 15750).

1967

"I am not now, nor have I ever been, an advocate of unilateral withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam. I have voted for all the appropriations supporting our men."

Interview--Mitchell (S.D.)
Daily Republic as quoted in
Rapid City Journal
June 2, 1967

"We can't pull out, we can't go back on our commitment...."

Watertown (S.D.) Public Opinion
April 29, 1967



McGovern also voted in favor of S. 665, H.R. 7123 (which included \$12,196,520,000 earmarked for Vietnam) and H.R. 10738, all of which provided funds to continue the United States involvement in Southeast Asia.

1968

McGovern voted for H.R. 17734 which included \$3.7 billion for Vietnam and also released \$2,687,902,000 in previous appropriations for the war. The South Dakota Senator also voted for H.R. 18785 authorizing \$207 million for the Vietnam War and H.R. 18707 which included \$25.5 billion for Vietnam.

1969

McGovern voted for H.R. 11400 which included \$1.27 billion for Vietnam and H.R. 15090 authorizing \$23.2 billion for the war.

1970

McGovern voted for:

H.R. 19590 which included \$15-20 billion for Vietnam

It is also interesting to note Senator McGovern's promise to explain how he "will bring the war to an end...." The South Dakotan's past record as a prognosticator is rather poor.

MCGOVERN PREDICTIONS:

"We can be thankful that the American people in their wisdom elected to the Presidency Lyndon Johnson, who has not only given repeated assurances that he seeks no wider war in Vietnam, but has offered to proceed at any time with unconditional negotiations."

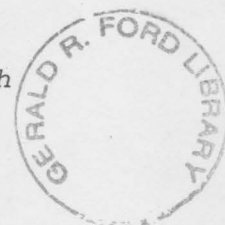
Congressional Record
April 18, 1965

"I have no doubt...that if we began withdrawing our troops while moving towards a defensive strategy the other side would quickly respond by easing off the military pressure."

Baltimore Sun
July 3, 1969

NOTE:

On April 4, 1972, the Washington Post reported that the Pentagon estimated that the North Vietnamese had moved about 30,000 men into the battle near the DMZ. Approximately 50 tanks or armored vehicles and dozens of artillery pieces and other weapons had also moved across the DMZ. (This was their answer to the systematic troop withdrawal of nearly half a million men by the Nixon administration during the last 3 1/2 years.)



"I will have very little comment on the war from here on out."

New York Times
August 24, 1971

"The army of South Vietnam has never demonstrated over the past 15 years a capacity to stand on its own feet, on its own strength."

Speech
Valley Jewish Community Center
California
May 28, 1972

NOTE:

Presently the South Vietnamese are shouldering all the responsibility for the ground fighting (except for some help from the South Koreans in one sector). The South Vietnamese also carry out a substantial portion of the tactical air strikes.

Today, McGovern says that he has been consistently opposed to U.S. policy in Vietnam since 1963. This is not true. Today, McGovern makes predictions about the war but in the past his predictions have not come true. On October 10, the Senator will speak on Vietnam; who can believe him?

FINANCIAL REPORTING

"I want every American to know that we're going to publish the names and the amount of contribution of every dollar that comes into this campaign....

"We'll welcome the GAO or any other investigation who wants to look at our files."

George McGovern
Washington Press Conference
August 28, 1972
(Emphasis added)



Unfortunately for the South Dakotan, the American people are beginning to find out from where McGovern does in fact receive his money. In an initial report released on October 6, the General Accounting Office said:

"...the reporting of transfers between the McGovern for President--D.C. Committee and other McGovern committees is replete with errors and inconsistencies which have made tracing and auditing of these transactions very difficult. More importantly, these errors and inconsistencies tend to frustrate the disclosure objectives of the (Federal Election Campaign) Act."

Specifically, the GAO found several "apparent violations" of campaign laws:

- A McGovern committee failed to comply with legal record-keeping and reporting requirements with respect to the ticket sales for a rally at Madison Square Garden in June which collected \$289,000.
- Another McGovern committee failed to report that \$25,106 worth of advertisements it placed in five newspapers in late August were paid for by the political arm of the Communications Workers of America.
- Yet another McGovern committee illegally accepted \$10,000 in contributions from foreign nationals.

On the campaign trail, McGovern says:

"You pay for every loophole in the tax law that benefits someone else....Now we ought to remind us today to say 'no taxation without justice for all the people of this land.'"

San Francisco, California
September 4, 1972

Yet all the while McGovern campaign aides were facilitating the use of "loopholes" by McGovern's big money men. For instance:

- Playboy's Hugh Hefner made contributions of \$2,500 each to 15 McGovern committees--ten of which had the same officers. He was apparently trying to divide his donations into smaller amounts to avoid the federal gift tax assessments he should have to pay as a large contributor.
- Like Hefner, the GAO found that "several of the committees to which Mr. (Stewart) Mott contributed had the same officers." Mott, in fact, made 61 contributions to various McGovern committees (total amount contributed and loaned: \$447,207).

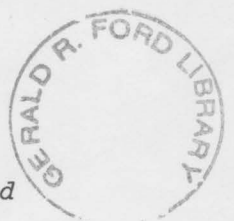
Clearly,--George McGovern and his slogan-makers are being less than candid in claiming that "the people are paying for this campaign with their hard-earned dollars."

ERRATA

In Answer Desk Bulletin #21, page 117, the following correction should be made in the McGovern voting record on law enforcement:

McGovern missed seven of the eleven votes on this year's Handguns bill (S. 2507).

Answer Desk Bulletin #21 incorrectly states that McGovern missed eight of the votes on this bill, including final passage. However, McGovern was present and voting for final passage of the bill.



Robert J. Brown
179 EOB

Monday. OCT. 16, 1972

PRESIDENT AND MRS. NIXON last week received a warm welcome from the hundreds of thousands of people who lined the streets to greet them in Atlanta, Georgia. While in the Peach State capital, the President met with about 150 Republican and Democrats-for-Nixon leaders from 10 Southern states.





President Needs A Republican House

As we go into the final weeks of the 1972 campaign, I am asking each voter to cast at least two ballots this year—one for President Nixon and one for the local Republican candidate for Congress. I am pleased that the President's policies are being enthusiastically received by the American public. Now, each vote can be made to count double—by casting it for a Republican Congressman to back up the President.

We are aiming high this year. Although predictions too often go awry in the closing days of a campaign, I do feel we'll make substantial Congressional gains—at least 20 seats in the House of Representatives and conceivably a sufficient number to obtain control from the Democrats. Much depends upon the size of the President's vote, of course. If he wins with more than 60 percent of the vote, I feel control will be within our reach.

21 Retiring Members

We had several drawbacks going into this campaign. For one thing, 21 of our Republican House members are retiring at the end of this year, which means we've had to mount vigorous defensive campaigns to keep those seats. On the other hand, we came out of re-districting nationwide with a net potential gain of about half a dozen seats.

This year, as in the past, we have an excellent slate of candidates across the country—most of whom are conducting hard-hitting campaigns of the type which will carry them all the way to Washington next January. A recent Harris poll shows voters giving Republican Congressional candidates a five-point increase over a similar rating at this point in the 1970 campaign. All of this portends substantial gains.

The Democrats are vulnerable. We are emphasizing that for 18 straight years they have controlled both Houses of the Congress. If there are poor laws, they shaped them. If there are ineffective programs, they passed them. If Federal spending is rampant, they control the purse strings. We are out to restore responsible and responsive representation to Congress this year.

President Nixon has proposed a sound legislative program—to deal with problems of the environment,

the cities, health care and Federal reforms to save the taxpayers' money. These proposals have been largely ignored by the Democrat Congressional leadership. We are out to oust the dormant Democrats this year.

This is a unique campaign. At the Congressional level, we have Democrat incumbents who are pretending that their party doesn't have a platform. We have Democrat incumbents who are running away from their Presidential ticket as fast as their stump speeches will take them. Despite the fact that nearly every Democrat incumbent is waging an every-man-for-himself campaign, they cannot escape the Democrat record of legislative lagging. We are out to get the foot-draggers this year.

Money Needed

To do the job will take money. While the President's Re-election Committee coffers are being filled, we find that funds are hard to come by at the Congressional level. So this is a plea for funds. We need a war chest if we are going to be able to provide our candidates with adequate funding to cash in on a great opportunity to replace recalcitrant Democrats with Republicans who can and will work.

I'm asking that Republicans all across the country join us in this effort to dislodge Democrats. Talk it up. Tell your friends and neighbors the importance of voting twice—not the "Vote early and often" philosophy of Cook County—but for the President and Republicans down the line. And contribute, if you can, to the Congressional campaigns.

Winning the Presidency means winning a battle. Winning the Presidency and Congress will mean we have won the war. We are out to win the war this year.

Rep. Bob Wilson, Chairman, Republican Congressional Committee

Monday. OCT. 16, 1972

MONDAY, a weekly publication is sent to contributors of \$25.00 or more. Of which \$5.00 is for subscription to MONDAY per annum.

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310 First Street, S.E.
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Vol. 4 No. 28

Monday, Oct. 16, 1972

WHAT IS McGOVERN SECRET PLAN TO GET POW'S BACK IF COMMUNISTS WON'T RETURN THEM AFTER U.S. LEAVES?

"Actually, North Vietnam cannot benefit any more than South Vietnam, from a prolonged conflict. I would hope we would be prepared to wage such a conflict rather than to surrender the area to Communism."—Congressional Record, Jan. 15, 1965.

"Although I have questioned our involvement, I have never advocated that we surrender or withdraw from Vietnam until we can negotiate an honorable end to the fighting. That is why I have voted for all the military appropriations for the war."—"Senator George McGovern Reports" Newsletter, Feb. 1967.

"We cannot surrender or withdraw from Vietnam, nor have I recommended that."—"Senator George McGovern Reports" Newsletter, May 1967.

In presenting his formula for the Communist take-over of South Vietnam, George McGovern has left unanswered a crucial question: What is the McGovern secret plan for getting American prisoners of war back if the Communists refuse to return them after the United States has withdrawn?

In his nationally televised address, the Democrat Presidential nominee declared that after taking his Presidential oath, he would notify U.S. negotiators in Paris to tell representatives of the Communist side that the U.S. had taken steps to end all hostilities and that it is now expected that the Communists would return all POW's and account for all men missing in action. "We will expect that process to be completed in 90 days to coincide with our complete withdrawal from the war." Expect it or what?

POW Group Head 'Disappointed'

The question is not a frivolous one and occurred immediately to Mrs. Evelyn Grubb, national coordinator of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, the largest POW and MIA organization in the country.

"I'd like to know the answer to this question myself," Mrs. Grubb told *Monday*, "but McGovern never mentioned it."

Mrs. Grubb, who said she was "terribly disappointed" by the McGovern talk, says neither she nor her organization have ever put this question to McGovern because to do so would be useless since "he has no grasp on anything."

GEORGE'S BIG GUN



N.Y. Daily News

Mrs. Grubb said she was upset that McGovern had ignored the fact that throughout history POW's have been returned during wars while hostilities were continuing; that he failed to mention that the Geneva Convention has provisions making it mandatory that sick and wounded men be allowed to come home; and that he never once mentioned the 603 men presently being held captive by the Viet Cong Communists in South Vietnam.

Misstatements on POW's

"There was hardly a paragraph in his speech concerning prisoners in which there was not a misstatement of fact," declared Mrs. Grubb, whose husband was shot down in 1966 and has not been heard from since. "If we had to depend on him [McGovern] to solve our plight with these men, I think we would be sorely disappointed."

Mrs. Grubb is undoubtedly correct when she says it would be useless to query McGovern on the question of how to get POW's back if the U.S. withdrew and the Communists refuse to return the men. A look at

(Continued next page)

McGOVERN SECRET PLAN*(Continued from previous page)*

the record shows that when this question comes up, it is ducked or waffled on.

In an article in the Sept. 13, 1972, *N.Y. Times*, McGovern's legislative aide and architect of his defense budget, John Holum, is asked what would happen if Hanoi, out of residual mistrust of American intentions and promises, decided to hold the prisoners hostage against any future American return to Vietnam. Holum replied: "I don't like that question."

McGovern Position Fuzzy

What McGovern himself says on the question, is like most of his positions on other issues, fuzzy. A background paper issued with the McGovern Vietnam speech argues that by keeping carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin until the prisoners were released, "President McGovern will retain the option of military action to secure their return."

But in an interview with the *Baltimore Sun's* Adam Clymer on July 18 of this year, McGovern is quoted as saying: "I can't conceive of any situation in which we would use naval and air forces to try to release prisoners, because it hasn't worked."

The McGovern plan for ending the war on Communist terms has drawn sharp criticism from Defense Secretary Melvin Laird as well as from some in the press who McGovern might have thought would receive his proposals favorably.

"Unconditional Surrender"—Laird

Defense Secretary Laird labeled McGovern's speech "unique in American political history" in that it marked the first time a major party candidate seeking the Presidency has advocated "unconditional surrender." The Secretary also expressed shock and disappointment that McGovern was completely silent on the importance of the Geneva Conventions and North Vietnamese aggression in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

"By running up the white flag of surrender before negotiations go forward, whether it be in mutual and balanced force reductions, whether it be on the Middle East...SALT or on all these other areas, will assure one thing, and that is failure on the negotiation front," Laird said.

In an analytical piece on the McGovern plan, the *N.Y. Times'* Max Frankel said that McGovern had "invited the American people to support a plan whose military essentials amount to virtually total acceptance of the demands of the Viet Cong and their allies in North Vietnam."

Times Vice President and columnist James Reston criticized McGovern for detailing a plan "too specific and too one-sided," a plan that "went so far in meeting Hanoi's war aims..."

Of the McGovern plan, Reston writes:

"This is far more than a promise to withdraw all Americans from Indochina within 90 days. It is a threat to withdraw future military aid to Saigon while leaving the Soviet Union and China free to continue sending military arms to Hanoi and the Viet Cong."

Calling McGovern's plan "virtually a formula for surrender" and a proposal for "peace at any price," Reston says McGovern's policy is one "not only of abandoning Thieu but wounding him on the way out."

Communist Propaganda Trick

Noting McGovern's attempt to personalize the American interest in South Vietnam around President Thieu, the *Wall Street Journal* says this "is of course one of the Communists' propaganda tricks."

Commenting on McGovern's vow to remove "all salvageable American equipment" from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the *New York Daily News* asks:

"Would that mean snatching rifles out of the hands of South Vietnamese soldiers? Stripping them of artillery and tanks? Crippling their small air force?"

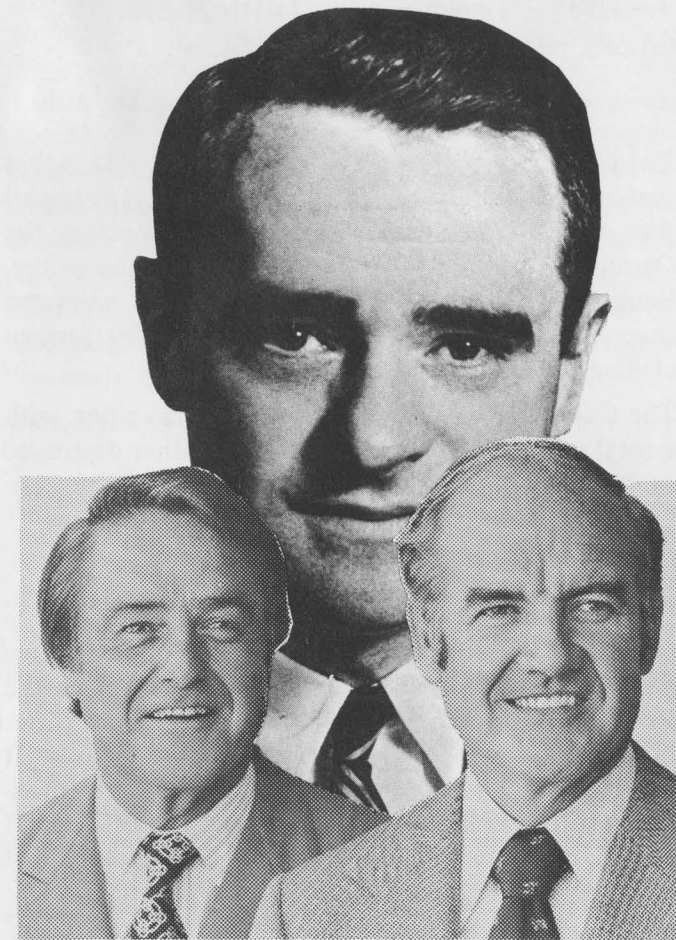
Accessory to Butchery

"It would be disgrace enough for the U.S. to abandon an ally. But to denude South Vietnam of every means for self-defense, delivering 17 million people into the hands of a merciless enemy, would make the U.S. an accessory to the butchery that would follow."

The *Washington Star-News* editorializes:

"McGovern, in short, proposes an Asian Munich, a recipe for disaster. It would leave the peoples of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to the tender mercies of the Communists and endanger the security of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. It would undermine the faith of nations as disparate and far-flung as Iran, Israel and West Germany in the value of an American commitment. It would mock the sacrifice of the 50,000 Americans who have lost their lives in the defense of South Vietnam, the hundreds of thousands wounded there and the expenditure of billions of dollars..."

"McGovern's proposals are neither new, realistic, nor imaginative. He proposes not negotiation but capitulation, not an honorable end to the war but a surrender which would lead to a further bloodbath of those who have placed their faith in the United States, not a solution, but an abdication of responsibility."

**GEORGE McGOVERN & TOM EAGLETON:
THE ISSUE THAT WON'T GO AWAY**

*"As I was going up the stair,
I met a man who wasn't there.
He wasn't there again today.
I wish, I wish he'd stay away."
Hughes Mearns, The Psychoed.*

On Sept. 26, Max Frankel of the *N.Y. Times* reported that George McGovern feels that while young people remain somewhat perturbed by the Eagleton affair, he can never explain all that happened, and they will have to take his conduct there "on faith." McGovern reportedly added that young people are sophisticated enough in any case not to buy the line that George McGovern has changed.

Well, as on most other things, McGovern is now being proven wrong on just how gullible he thinks young people are.

Students Disillusioned

The *N.Y. Times* on Oct. 10 reports that thousands of students in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, on campuses traditionally among the most liberal in the country, are discouraged and disillusioned over McGovern's Presidential campaign.

"From Princeton to Yale, from Brooklyn College to Skidmore, thousands of students said they were disillusioned with Senator McGovern because of his dumping of Senator Thomas F. Eagleton as a running mate, a shift to the center on some issues and accommodations with professional politicians," the *Times* reports.

The *Times* quotes Judy Fields, a senior at Cornell as saying:

Typical Politician

"I liked him when he was an underdog, when he seemed to have a degree of integrity and wasn't a typical politician. I thought he had transcended typical politics, and then, after the Eagleton affair, I realized he hadn't, and that he wasn't even a good typical politician."

Edward Schimmel, a City College senior majoring in political science, is quoted as saying of McGovern: "I know McGovern is going to get wiped out—he'll make Alf Landon look like a winner."

Writing in the *Burlington, Vt. Free Press*, (Oct. 3) Gannett newspaper Washington Bureau Chief Jack Germond reports: "Long after it was supposed to have been forgotten, the Eagleton episode is haunting the Presidential campaign of George McGovern." Germond says that many liberal would-be supporters of McGovern, particularly among the young, are dismayed over the dumping of Sargent Shriver's predecessor. "With some of the young people, that really blows their minds," Charles Manatt, the California Democrat Chairman and McGovern's state campaign director, is quoted as saying.

Under Skin Irritant

The surprising thing to McGovern, says Germond, is the way the Eagleton thing has survived with "politicians discovering that it is still there, under the skin, as an irritant to many voters who otherwise might prefer McGovern to President Nixon."

The *N.Y. Daily News'* Frank Jackman writes (Oct. 11): "Many Democratic politicians believe that despite the subsequent dumping of Eagleton, the South Dakota Senator has never recovered from the blow." Jackman quotes Boston Mayor Kevin White as saying that he has "never seen one thing hurt a candidate so much" as the Eagleton affair hurt McGovern. White explained that it seemed to undercut McGovern's stance of being "above politics," of being a man who would do the "right thing" regardless of what happened.

McGovern Credibility Hurt

"There is no doubt that the Eagleton affair has cut deeply into McGovern's credibility," says Jackman.

(Continued next page)

GEORGE MCGOVERN & TOM EAGLETON

(Continued from previous page)

James Naughton writes in the *N.Y. Times* (Oct. 7) that McGovern believes that he misjudged the impact the Eagleton affair would have on his Presidential candidacy and "now appears to have failed to perceive how lasting the political damage would be."

Naughton quotes Dan Horgan, a co-chairman of the McGovern New Jersey campaign, as speaking of the difficulties of winning traditional Democrats back to the Party: "The whole thing comes down to one word—Eagleton. I find the thing all over the state. People say, 'Explain the Eagleton thing to me.'"

More About Eagleton

And there are indications that there is more to be explained. Naughton reports principal McGovern fundraiser Miles Rubin as suggesting that the full story about Eagleton's role in the controversy has still not been told. Rubin is quoted as cryptically remarking that "to make public what really happened goes against what George McGovern stands for."

That George McGovern is being seriously rattled by the public's decreasing confidence in his credibility is revealed in an intimate interview (Oct. 6) with *Life* magazine's Richard Meryman.

"This credibility thing is very serious," McGovern says. "I just talked on the phone to one of my people in South Dakota—and he tells me some people there doubt my word! In my home state!"

Press at Fault

McGovern's explanation for his crumbling credibility is, like most of his other explanations for things, very simple: It is the fault of the press.

"I think the press was very, very harsh on us with every single mistake that was made," McGovern tells his *Life* interviewer. "They almost seemed to revel in our misfortune. And next to the candidate himself, the way he is perceived and interpreted by the press is the most important factor in an election."* Says McGovern of the press: "Maybe they don't trust me, but I don't trust them either."

Thus, as the Democrat Presidential candidate becomes more obsessed with his own lack of credibility and more irritable with the press, perhaps in early November as the first snow begins to fly, our TV sets will show us a weeping George McGovern, standing on the back of a flatbed truck in front of the National Press Building in Washington, D.C. excoriating the national press corps. Who knows, something similar happened once before.

*Actually McGovern is suffering from a problem touched on by Hubert Humphrey when he said in N.Y. City (April 25, 1966): "It is always risky to speak to the press: They are likely to report what you say."

McGOVERN AND TOTALITARIANISM: NAZIS, NO; GENERAL GIAP, SI

(Excerpted from John Chamberlain's syndicated column, Oct. 4, 1972)

The difference between war in 1972 and 1945 is that now we see it on TV. This adds a dimension of horror that was not there when the Allies were knocking the German economy to pieces. A careful researcher, Benjamin Colby of Washington, D.C., has estimated that, during the Second World War, 537,000 German civilians were killed by bombing.

The Colby account has it that 61 German cities, with a total population of 25 million, were either destroyed or devastated beyond recognition. Britain, by contrast, got off lightly, with a loss of 60,000 civilians.

Keeping Our Perspective

Cologne, save for its cathedral, and Hamburg were gutted; Dresden was gratuitously ruined after the Allies had the war all wrapped up. Because Hitler was what he was, a monster, I don't weep for what happened to his country, which had become a totalitarian war machine. But the facts about World War II bombing should be reviewed from time to time just to keep our perspective on the Vietnam war.

Where Tokyo was burned out by fire bombs, Hanoi, the capital of a Far East totalitarianism, still stands. Where Hamburg was practically obliterated, the port of Haiphong has been largely spared. As for the North Vietnamese dikes, which should have been breached seven years ago (such action would have ended the war and spared some forty thousand American casualties), they are still intact, a monument to our mistaken soft-heartedness.

Senator George McGovern, who goes about the land weeping for the North Vietnamese Prussians, is fully cognizant of the nature of air warfare. After all, he flew 35 World War II missions. By his own description, he bombed through overcast, which means that he could have hit civilians and even, if they had been present, a dike or two. His admiring biographer, Robert Sam Anson, quotes him as saying to a friend after the war, "you just dropped those damn bombs where you could and got the hell out of there." On one occasion his plane, the "Dakota Queen," jettisoned its bombs over Yugoslavia, vaporizing a farm house. It wasn't bomber pilot McGovern's fault that the bombs hit where they did, and he subsequently kicked the careless bombardier off his crew. But he made no issue of the episode, nor did he report a conversation he heard about a possible war crime involving fighter pilots who shot Italian civilians off a bridge for sport. If he had, we might have had a My Lai then.

(continued on page 7)

McGovern has never made excuses for being part of something in World War II that he condemns in Vietnam now. We must assume, then, that he makes a distinction between the spread of Fascism and the spread of Communism. It was all right to hit civilians inadvertently in the course of doing away with the Nazis. But when a General Giap, pursuing his Communist objectives, stages an invasion of another country through a demilitarized zone and through bordering neutrals, it is not the same thing as Hitler swinging through the neutralized North European lowlands or descending on neutral Norway.

Not, at least, in the mind of George McGovern.

POLITICAL POTPOURRI

Have you ever wondered what President McGovern would do on his 91st day in office after solving all the problems?

Dole Raps McGovern on Ellsberg

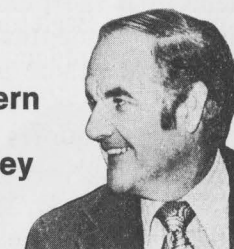
RNC Chairman Bob Dole has termed George McGovern's support of Daniel Ellsberg and his feigned outrage at the Watergate case "a splendid example of the double standard of the radical left." Dole referred to an interview with McGovern in October's *Intellectual Digest*, in which McGovern admits knowing of the Pentagon Papers theft before it was public knowledge and admits that he "encouraged" Daniel Ellsberg "to go to the *New York Times*," adding "I'm glad he did and I think he performed a tremendous service." Coupled with McGovern's demagoguery on the Watergate case, Dole said this is proof that "when it comes to the theft of secret documents, George McGovern practices a double standard."

McGovern Never Mentions "Amnesty"

Did you notice that in his TV talk about Vietnam, George McGovern never once mentioned the word "amnesty." Oh, he talked about it. He said he would give draft-dodgers "the opportunity to come home," as he put it, quickly adding that personally, if he were in their position, he would volunteer two years of public service on subsistence pay (remember that would be \$6,500 a year guaranteed annual income if George is President) to demonstrate that the objection was not to serving the Nation but to participating in the Vietnam war. Because of the way in which he phrased it, the distinct impression was left that McGovern as President would, like McGovern the person, require repatriated draft-dodgers to do two years domestic service in order to be amnestied. But George never really said it. Talk about tricky.



**George McGovern
Meet
Hubert Humphrey**



"I have read their (the Republicans) campaign literature. And let me tell you this: the whoppers they are going to tell you about their own record and policies are nothing compared to the whoppers they are going to tell you about mine. One of the biggest ones they have in circulation is the preposterous charge that my policies will cost you jobs, here in aerospace, and here in Southern California."—*McGovern to the International Association of Machinists Annual Convention, Los Angeles, Calif., Sept. 6, 1972.*

"It's Lockheed's Tri-Star they're building, and here in Southern California that means 15,000 jobs and feeding 20,000 wives and children. I cast the deciding vote to create those jobs. Sen. McGovern voted no. I voted yes."—*Sen. Hubert Humphrey, quoted in the Baltimore Sun, May 30, 1972.*

**SARGENT SHRIVER
AND
1984**

"Philadelphia, Oct. 4—Accusing the Nixon Administration of an 'obsession with power,' Sargent Shriver called today for a revitalized State Department that would function as a ministry of peace."—*N.Y. Times, Oct. 5, 1972.*

"They were the homes of the four Ministries between which the entire apparatus of government was divided: the Ministry of Truth, which concerned itself with news, entertainment, education, and the fine arts; the Ministry of Peace, which concerned itself with war; the Ministry of Love, which maintained law and order; and the Ministry of Plenty, which was responsible for economic affairs. Their names, in Newspeak: Minitrue, Minipax, Miniluv, and Miniplenty."—*George Orwell writing in his novel, "1984."*

Monday, Oct. 16, 1972

The first segment of Ralph Nader's study of Congress, "Who Runs Congress," is getting less than rave reviews. *Time* magazine calls the book "neither explicit or persuasive in presenting its view of the problems that short-circuit congressional progress," labeling it "tendentious, hostile and superficial." *Time* notes that there is "nary a footnote to indicate its



Nader

sources" and says it is "hastily edited" and "flawed by a number of factual errors and incorrect data."

A case in point of the bum dope being pedaled by Nader and his Raiders, is GOP Rep. Clarence Brown. In a discussion of conflicts of interest, Brown is cited as currently owning a radio

station while at the same time serving on the Communications Subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. The fact of the matter is that Brown sold his station two years ago and retains absolutely no interest in it at all.

In one of his TV commercials about welfare, McGovern says: "I'm not talking about supporting a person who has their health and their physical capacity to work. I wouldn't give them a dime." The fact of the matter is that the multi-billion dollar welfare programs McGovern supports have no work requirement in them, thus rendering meaningless any distinction by the candidate between potential welfare recipients who are able-bodied and those who are not.

The *Washington Star-News*' Paul Hope quotes Hubert Humphrey as reminding his audiences that among the other reasons why President Nixon ought to be

defeated is that he "heaped scorn and ridicule on courageous Harry Truman." Now, since Humphrey obviously believes that a very important qualification for the President is one's treatment of Harry Truman, perhaps when he's through with the President, who was after all a Republican arguing against a Democrat, he will remind his audiences that George McGovern, a Democrat, militantly opposed Harry Truman and the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Not only did McGovern oppose Truman and work for Henry Wallace, he has said that he still believes Wallace's foreign policy was "essentially right." How about it, Hubert?

"Average Man" Hits McG on POW's

Richard J. Johnson of Rolling Meadows, Illinois, is a registered Democrat and was recently scientifically selected as an "average man" by the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT). For one week Johnson traveled with the McGovern campaign while NPACT filmed his experiences as he watched rallies and speeches, saw position papers hammered out and, on two occasions, talked personally with the candidate. Before he joined the McGovern campaign, Johnson was undecided as to who to vote for but was "leaning toward Nixon." Johnson tells *Monday* that he is "still leaning toward Nixon." The Illinois Democrat expresses skepticism about McGovern being able to do what he is promising to do, specifically in the areas of tax reform and Vietnam. Regarding the latter and McGovern's promise to withdraw in 90 days and get the POW's back, Johnson says: "I don't see how he could possibly do this and so far he hasn't told us."

What ever happened to Larry O'Brien?

Monday. OCT. 16, 1972

republican national committee

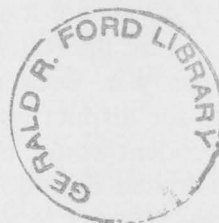
Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

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NEWSPAPER

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letter from **Monday.** OCT. 23, 1972



Not only is this Presidential election of 1972 the clearest choice ever between Presidential candidates—it places before the people the opportunity to choose the direction this nation will take as it moves rapidly into the 21st century.

We have the opportunity to choose between an America turned topsy-turvy by radical policies of change for the sake of change, or an America that takes strength from its traditional values to solve the problems of her people.

The following are some of the issues in detail.

Defense and Foreign Policy

From McGovern—A Proposal: Slash the Department of Defense budget by \$30 billion, cutting the Marines one-third; Air Force personnel one-third and interceptor planes by one-half; Navy personnel by one-fourth.

McGovern further proposes no modernization of obsolete or aging military equipment and the unilateral removal of one-half of American troops stationed in Europe.

From President Nixon—ACTION: The complexities of international relations in this fast-moving world of the nuclear age require imaginative but responsible American defense and foreign policies that stand up squarely to new realities and changing requirements.

The Nixon Doctrine is a fundamental departure from the old, and outmoded "world policeman" policy that committed America to "pay any price, bear any burden" in defense of the free world. It is instead a more meaningful policy of partnership under which America will continue to honor her treaty commitments while at the same time insisting that her allies share the burden of their own defense.

President Nixon, as evidenced in his visits to Peking and Moscow and the agreements reached there to limit strategic nuclear arms, has made great steps toward bringing the world closer to a generation of peace. But he is aware, too, that American military strength is the best guardian of peace.

San Diego Union, May 23, 1972: "It is clear from the standpoint of national security, Sen. McGovern's proposed defense budget simply is unreal in today's hostile world. From the standpoint of foreign policy it would leave the United States exposed to blackmail."

St. Louis Globe Democrat, Sept. 23-24, 1972: "Sen. George McGovern's bargain-basement plans for national defense would so deplete the United States' capacity for conventional warfare that a future President's only option to major aggression would be nuclear arms.

"In fact, it was only because the United States maintained its strong defense that the Russians agreed to limit their nuclear arms, and are now willing to talk about further negotiations."

Time Magazine, June 26, 1972: "...The net effect of McGovern in the White House would likely be that the United States would be living more dangerously."

Los Angeles Times, Oct. 5, 1972: "It was a celebration (the signing of the SALT agreements) to be shared by the world, no matter that the agreements are modest, what Mr. Nixon quite correctly calls 'the beginning.' They represent one of the great accomplishments of Mr. Nixon's Presidency, of the postwar period. They signal that Soviet-American relations now are friendlier, less suspicious, more relaxed than at any time since the Cold War chilled before the Berlin Blockade."

Newsday, Oct. 4, 1972: "As both President Nixon and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko acknowledged, the SALT accords are only the 'first step' in curbing the nuclear arms race. But like that historic footfall on the moon, this first step represents a giant leap for mankind."

Nashville Banner, Oct. 2, 1972: "On another front, the President, through the sheer force of his actions, has thawed considerably the international cold war that had kept the world taut with tensions since World War II. Mr. Nixon's visits to China and Russia—the first ever for an American president—are remarkable examples of his willingness to infuse realism into our diplomatic efforts, while still maintaining our national self-dignity."

Vietnam

From McGovern—A Proposal: Immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and equipment without conditions. He calls for no ceasefire, makes no provision for South Vietnam to defend itself and gives no credible assurance of return of U.S. prisoners of war.

The Nixon Action: In his 1968 campaign, President Nixon pledged a phased withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. And he has kept that promise.

Through his program to Vietnamize the war, the ground combat role has been gradually turned over to the South Vietnamese. More than 500,000 American fighting men have been brought home.

President Nixon has endeavored, through both public and private sessions in Paris, to negotiate a settlement to the war.

He has offered fair—even generous—proposals for peace and has been met only with silence from both the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong—and scorn from George McGovern.

His latest proposal—and the most generous—now rests on the table, as it has since May. It offers a withdrawal of American forces within four months after an agreement for an internationally supervised ceasefire, the return of American prisoners of war and an accounting of those listed as missing in action.

And yet the North Vietnamese would add another condition to peace—the help of the U.S. government in illegally overthrowing the present government of South Vietnam. This the President cannot and will not accept.

From the Press—Some Comment:

Santa Monica Evening Outlook, Sept. 23, 1972: "How he [McGovern] would abandon our Vietnam commitment without a shattering effect on our allies around the world, and how in that posture he would 'arrange' for the Communists to give up hostages that are the most valuable prize this war has given them, he does not trouble to say."

Milwaukee Sentinel, Sept. 26, 1972: "McGovern's reaction tells a lot about how he apparently would do business if he were president: Do whatever the other side tells you to do, no matter whether it is right or in America's best interest. But then most Americans have known this about McGovern ever since he said he would be willing to go begging to Hanoi."

Crosby Noyes, *Washington Star*, Sept. 19, 1972: "What the American voter can't stomach, it appears, is a candidate who would cheerfully sacrifice a nation that the United States has fought for seven years to preserve—a candidate who with a clear conscience and high sense of moral righteousness, would sell out 15 million South Vietnamese to their mortal enemies."

Cincinnati Enquirer, April 15, 1972: "It all sounds so simple, and, from Senator McGovern's viewpoint, it probably is. All he would have to do is meet the enemy's equally simple demands for surrender. Of course, it would involve betraying an ally, but such moral complications tend to clutter the beautiful simplicity of Mr. McGovern's plan."

Sioux Falls (S.D.) Argus Leader, Sept. 1, 1972: "Nixon's policy is the correct one—the one that will end the war sooner than a letup in bombing. All the North Vietnamese have to do is to move toward a settlement. So far they haven't. It's their move. They can end the killing."

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Sept. 14, 1972: "Public endorsement of President Nixon's Vietnam policies is clearly justified by his record."

"The war goes on, yes, but not because Richard M. Nixon ignored a campaign promise of 1968. It goes on because the Communist rulers of North Vietnam lust for South Vietnam and refuse to consider the extremely generous peace proposals the President has offered."

Orlando Sentinel, Sept. 29, 1972: "President Nixon's policy of Vietnamization is succeeding so well it is an embarrassment to the Soviet Union."

Economy

From McGovern—A Proposal: End wage and price controls substituting voluntary guidelines similar to those in effect during Johnson Administration; vest sole power to reverse violations of guidelines in the President.

From President Nixon—ACTION:

Voluntary guidelines under the Democrats had not worked. The ever upward inflation was the result of years of spend-now-pay-later Democrat policy.

Although by August 1971 significant progress had been made in reducing inflation and reaching record employment levels, the Administration sought to accelerate this progress.

On August 15, 1971, President Nixon announced Phase I of his activist economic policy—a 90-day freeze on wages and prices, coupled with new job-creating programs.

The Phase II program is composed of a Pay Board and Price Commission made up of members representing business, labor and the public. Their task has been to keep wage increases within the President's 5.5 percent increase guideline, and prices within his 2.5 percent increase guideline.

When Phase I began, inflation—as measured by the Consumer Price Index—was rising at an annual rate of 3.8 percent. In the six-month period ending in August 1972, it was down to an annual rate of 2.5 percent.

In September, the number of persons with jobs increased 250,000 (seasonally adjusted) to an all-time high employment total of 82.2 million persons—an increase of 2.4 million job holders in just the last year. At the same time, the unemployment rate was declining to 5.5 percent.

The average weekly earnings of rank-and-file workers are up, too, and are increasing significantly faster than are consumer prices. Average weekly earnings have risen 7.1 percent over the past year, compared to the 2.9 percent increase in consumer prices.

From the Press—Some Comment:

Birmingham News, Aug. 30, 1972: "Some of his [McGovern's] proposals are punitive against those who risk capital for a living; others are based on notions of social engineering. But all would suffer alike from his absurd proposals."

Time Magazine, June 26, 1972: "Clearly, McGovern's egalitarianism would cause severe dislocations in the economy. Inherited wealth is a source of the risk capital that helps new companies get started and nourishes inventions."

Houston Chronicle, Sept. 26, 1972: "The report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics that the pace of inflation has been slowed is a significant victory for President Nixon."

Omaha World Herald, Sept. 20, 1972: "But the picture is one of inflation under control and the average man is better off than he was a year ago or a month ago. As a political issue, the state of the economy is a strong plus for the President."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Sept. 28, 1972: "The national economy also is enjoying a strong, steady growth that should continue for some time to come. Mr. Nixon's well balanced economic programs deserve much of the credit."

Buffalo Evening News, Sept. 25, 1972: "As for the senator's charge that the Nixon program has so distorted the economy 'by unjust and unworkable controls that working people of this country have been robbed of a decent standard of life,' that can be chalked up to excessive political rhetoric unsupported by economic facts."

"The latest national figures show that inflation is subsiding and that real purchasing power—not merely dollar gains wiped out by higher prices—of workers is growing substantially."

Monday. OCT. 23, 1972

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Washington, D.C. 20003

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Senator Bob Dole—Chairman
Republican national committee

Monday, OCT. 23, 1972

Welfare

From McGovern—A Variety of

Proposals: The McGovern proposals which have ranged hither and yon over the last year or so include:

- 1) his support of the National Welfare Rights Organization's demand for a minimum income for a family of four of \$6,500 and supplementary payments to families until income reaches \$12,000 a year;
- 2) his \$1,000 per person grant to every man, woman and child; and
- 3) his \$4,000 minimum income for a family of four, called National Income Insurance.

Also, proposed by McGovern is a subsidy of up to 80 percent of previous salary for aerospace and defense workers laid off as a result of his proposed \$30 billion cut in the defense budget.

From President Nixon—ACTION: In August of 1969, President Nixon submitted to Congress a comprehensive welfare reform plan. It proposed reforming the system to provide every needy person with benefits while insisting that those who are able seek jobs or job training. Also written into that proposal were work incentives which would provide assistance to the working poor to make work more attractive—and more lucrative—than welfare. No such work incentive provisions can be found in any McGovern proposal on welfare reform.

From the Press—Some Comment

Time Magazine, June 26, 1972: "This [McGovern's] program raises the question of whether McGovern understands, as Lyndon Johnson did not, that spending more money does not necessarily cure social ills."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Aug. 30, 1972: "This newspaper has no confidence that McGovern and his ultra-liberal advisers have anything more than a vague idea of what their new National Income Insurance plan would cost..."

Omaha World-Herald, May 17, 1972: "So welfare wouldn't be welfare. It would be called something else and would therefore disappear. Simple. Maybe too simple."

Los Angeles Times, Aug. 31, 1972: "And, whereas President Nixon's own welfare reform plan would provide benefits for the working poor—those whose job earnings leave them below the poverty line—it is not at all clear that McGovern's plan would do so. If it wouldn't, a working mother earning \$3,500 a year would fare worse than a non-working mother receiving \$4,000 in welfare."

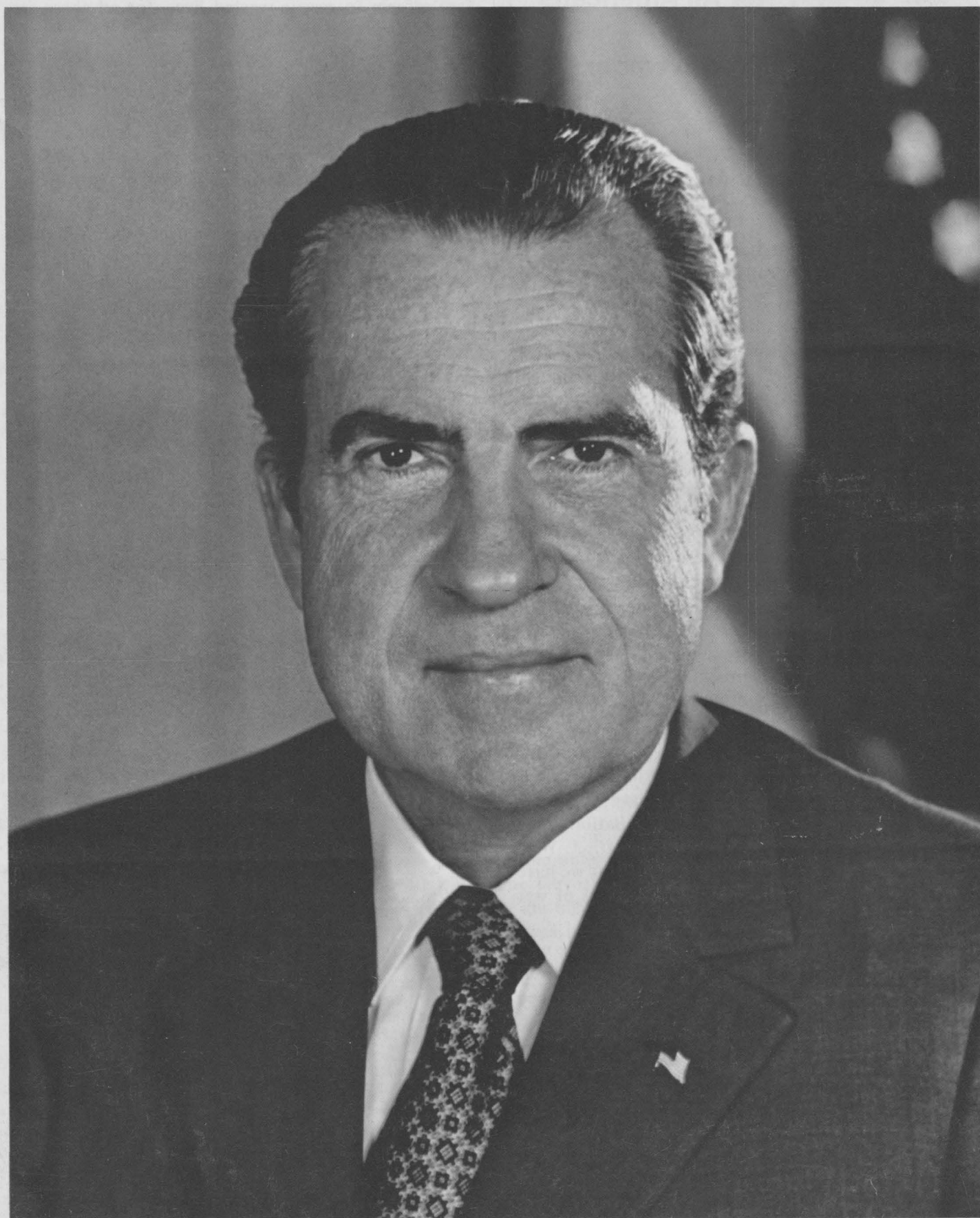
Henry J. Taylor, *Richmond Times Dispatch*, Sept. 22, 1972: "His [McGovern's] pitch is about as useful to the national welfare as a surgeon's plan to cure a patient of heart disease by cutting out his heart and throwing it away."

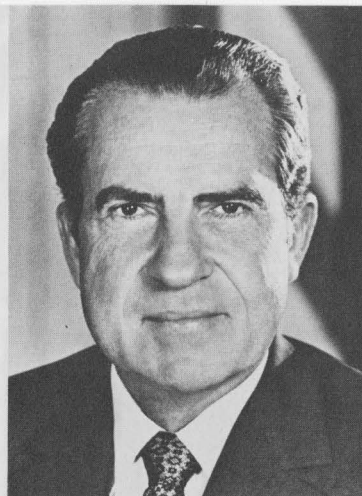
Philadelphia Inquirer, Sept. 10, 1972: "His [President Nixon's] attempt to bring about this sweeping reform of the welfare system answers McGovern's question of what Richard Nixon has done to clean up the welfare mess."

[McGovern's many proposals are] "why people are asking the Democratic nominee to clarify his welfare reform plan. It's a proper question which deserves a better answer than the lame attempts to blame President Nixon for the failure of an indifferent Democratic Congress."

November 6, 1972

First Monday





It's Crucial That All Americans Vote November 7

On November 7, the American people will make a choice which will help to determine the future of this country and the world for years to come. This is why it is so important that every citizen eligible to vote should go to the polls on Election Day.

This election is critical—not just as a choice between personalities or party labels, but as a referendum on two fundamentally different approaches to leadership, two sets of ideas about what government should do and what America should be, which are as opposite as they have ever been between two candidates for the Presidency.

Record of Accomplishment

The America in which I campaigned for President four years ago was a land burdened with doubts about our destiny as a free society and weary of the quest for peace in a world of increasing conflict and danger. Much has changed; we are beginning to see the emergence of a new America in a new world; but I want to see the job through. I believe we have written a record of accomplishments which should be expanded, not swept away.

In particular, I want to complete the foundations for a full generation of peace among nations. With our visits to Peking and to Moscow we have taken the long step from confrontation to negotiation; now must come another step, to full cooperation. With firm policies in Vietnam and the Middle East we have banked the fires of war; now the last sparks of war must be extinguished.

With the nuclear arms limitation agreements, the new self-reliance of our allies, and the streamlining of our military spending and force levels, we have lightened the burdens of defense; now the resources thus freed must be put to work bettering human lives.

Unfinished Work at Home

Here at home, too, there is unfinished work to be done. We have cut inflation in half and brought a new resurgence in our economy, but we must now push

on to a solid and lasting prosperity, fairly shared among all Americans and unmarred by war or an eroding dollar. We must build upon our gains against crime, drugs, and permissiveness. We must cut through partisanship with decisive legislative action for additional revenue sharing to revitalize State and local government, for executive reorganization to make the Federal Government more responsive, for welfare reform to rescue wasted lives—for all these are ideas whose time has come.

We must press the environmental crusade and make our peace with nature. We must continue reaching for new excellence in education, in health care, in the quality of urban and rural life. We must complete the task of eradicating every vestige of discrimination, and the move on to shape a truly open society made fair not by quotas but by merit.

And we must do all this in a way that gives the individual citizen more say in his own life, not more bureaucratic meddling—more relief from higher taxes and prices, not more public claims on the money he earns.

Challenges for the 70s

These are America's challenges for the 1970s. Given a chance to continue pursuing them, I look for our progress in the next four years to accelerate dramatically.

Some people believe that the United States is past its prime, and that 1972 is a year for starting all over again. But I see America still on the road of greatness, and I see it as our duty to keep her steady on that course.

We must go forward together, and to do so we need to hear the clear voice of a new American majority, speaking out for freedom at home and for lasting peace in the world. That is why it is crucial that all Americans go to the polls and vote on November 7.

Richard Nixon

First Monday

November 6, 1972

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

FIRST MONDAY Vol. 2 No. 7 Published monthly by the Republican National Committee and mailed to all contributors of at least \$15, of which \$2 is for subscription to FIRST MONDAY per annum. When changing address please send us both the old and the new. NEWSPAPER. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

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November 6, 1972

AGAINST ALMOST INSURMOUNTABLE ODDS, SHRIVER DOES IMPOSSIBLE: HE SLINGS MORE MUD THAN McGOVERN

"I can't stand the deafness of those politicians who go around giving speeches calling their fellow Americans ugly names and spreading divisiveness and rage."—R. Sargent Shriver quoted in the Chicago Daily News, Aug. 11, 1972.

Against almost insurmountable odds, Sargent Shriver has done the impossible: He has slung more mud than George McGovern. Always a man who has welcomed a challenge, Shriver has, since becoming McGovern's 10th choice for Vice President, said of the President of the United States: that he is "like a reformed drunk;" that he is "power mad;" that he is the "number one bomber of all time;" that he is the "greatest con artist" in American political history; that he spends most of his time "figuring out ways to keep America number one in the power to kill and destroy people abroad..." and that his sending Dr. Henry Kissinger to Paris to attempt to negotiate an end to the war in Vietnam is the "most immoral thing Richard Nixon has ever done since being in the White House."

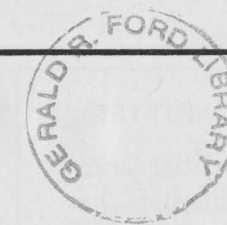
In addition to his hysterical verbal assaults on the President, Shriver has called for a psychological investigation of the President's campaign slogan and attacked Dr. Kissinger for going to Moscow "to dance with the Czar's daughter or whatever she is." At one point in the campaign, Shriver, before a group of students, brought his rhetorical blunderbuss to bear on all Republicans, accusing them of being pro-business and, quoting from that great classic "Rub-a-Dub-Dub," having done nothing for "the butcher, the baker or the candlestick maker."*

Shriver Mr. Malaprop

That Sargent Shriver was destined to become the Mr. Malaprop of the campaign, was indicated in his speech accepting the Democrat Vice Presidential nomination. In this address, Shriver declared that on election day Americans will choose "between special treatment for corporate interests and general neglect of the public interest..."

In Minneapolis, speaking to the Inter-City Management Association, Shriver told his audience: "On

*Shriver has had some good things to say about people, however, like politicians who, in an interview with the *Baltimore Sun* on Oct. 2, he praised as being "sort of open, human, warm types of people" as opposed to bankers who he attacked as not really giving "a damn" about people, only money.



November 7, the choice of the century will be between a hollow brain and a hollow program—the New Federalism of the Nixon Administration as compared to a new American alliance proposed by George McGovern."

On Sept. 14, papers across the country carried a photo of Shriver slapping his forehead in embarrassment after inadvertently (?) forgetting who his running mate was and telling a labor group: "We will carry California for Nixon and Shriver."

On occasion, Shriver has been a blatant practioner of the oldest of the old politics—saying one thing in one part of the country, and another different thing in another part of the country. For example, when he was in Little Rock, Ark., on Sept. 9, Shriver referred to Confederate Generals Robert E. Lee and J.E.B. Stuart as "great Americans." But on Oct. 2, in Rockford, Ill., in a talk to labor leaders, Shriver referred to Southerners in the War Between the States as "traitors—fighting for the other side."*

(continued next page)

*In his Little Rock talk Shriver showed his ignorance of history. He criticized the Nixon so-called "Southern Strategy" as "nothing more than warmed over Reconstruction." If the Administration's alleged "Southern Strategy" were what its critics say it is, that is a policy of favored treatment of the South, it would, of course, be the opposite of Reconstruction.

THE MOVING HAND HAVING WRITTEN

"Already Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Sargent Shriver, or at least his staff, has made a memorable impression on *Time* correspondent Sam Iker. When he was covering Shriver in Houston Iker, naturally, wrote a file to New York. It was ferried helpfully to Western Union by a Shriver press aide. Funny thing was that when he later caught up with a rerun of his copy, Iker noticed that the opening paragraphs had been rewritten to reflect unqualified praise for the candidate. 'After passionate assurances that no one on the staff would dream of pulling such an unprecedented, idiotic stunt,' says Iker, Shriver's Washington press secretary, John Twohey, began tracking down the mystery rewrite person. The culprit turned out to be a middle-aged woman identified only as Edith, a McGovern volunteer, who was trying through unorthodox methods to help her man. Edith has since been let go. 'It was just one of those freak, never-happened-before will-never-happen-again type things,' says Iker. 'Moreover, it was one lousy job of rewriting.'—From "F.Y.I.," *Time* magazine's house organ.

SHRIVER SLINGS MORE MUD THAN

In at least one instance, Shriver has been Orwellian, calling for a revitalized State Department that would function as a "ministry of peace." The Ministry of Peace was an institution in George Orwell's novel "1984," which "concerned itself with war."

To sum up Sargent Shriver's problem, he is, as one who knew him well when he was U.S. Ambassador to France, has put it, "all foam, froth and frippery. He's simply not very bright. There's really not much to him. Deep down, he's very shallow. Sarge is a hyperactive Hubert Humphrey without any of Hubert's smarts."

Writing recently in the *N.Y. Times Magazine*, Peter Jenkins says of the Democrat Vice Presidential candidate that he adopts a "grapeshot approach and never puts one man on a job when six will do... Everybody makes the point that he needs the restraint of others, especially when he gets his salesman's foot in the door. He is full of bright ideas but scores about two out of 10."

Jenkins quotes a fellow old New Frontiersman on Sarge: "At the Peace Corps he took lots of brave and

principled decisions, but there was a fraudulent side to him. He had the P.R. man's concern with how it sounded rather than how it actually was. He was capable of proposing that chorus girls see off the volunteers from the New York docks, just to get into the papers."

After an interview with Shriver, Jenkins writes: "The Shriver charm is powerful and the enthusiasm infectious. No doubt he is a good man. But when I looked at my notebook later there wasn't much there."

Those who are closest to Shriver are the toughest on him. Former LBJ press secretary Bill Moyers has said that Shriver "can clothe a liberal idea in the most respectable conservative language. He'll persuade them it's patriotic. He's like the Apostle Paul, 'all things to all men,' when he is interpreting an idea he is selling."

McGovern Raps Shriver

Newsweek magazine quotes McGovern as saying when a prominent Democrat mentioned Shriver was a possible running mate: "Shriver! Who wants him? All that Shriver talk is coming right from Shriver himself."

The *N.Y. Post* quotes a McGovern aide as saying: "Shriver? What's he done except marry well?" The *N.Y. Times* quotes a dubious Shriver aide as referring to his boss as "Babbitt in a \$400 suit."

Writing in 1964 in the liberal *New Republic* magazine, Murray Kempton labeled Shriver "a militant visionary." Observed Kempton: "Shriver may be the first man ever seriously mentioned for Vice President of the United States whose temperament never distracts him from what are essentially problems of local government. This, in fact, is the weakness most often suggested by critics who have tried to assay his national political potential; they cannot imagine him engaging a cosmic issue."

NAME THAT QUOTE

"We've got inflation that is out of control. Now, let's admit it, I do certainly, that the inflation began under the Democrats. It began under President Johnson in 1966. I argued at that time for taxes to pay for the war in Vietnam but the decision was made against it. And, instead, we started financing the war in Vietnam on credit. And that was the beginning of inflation."

R. Sargent Shriver, speaking in Scranton, Pa., at the Hotel Casey in support of Congressional candidate Edward Smith, Sept. 15, 1970.



ONE OF THE HARDEST CAMPAIGNERS for the President's re-election has been the Vice President, Spiro T. Agnew. Over the past several weeks, the Vice President has traveled tens of thousands of miles bringing the Administration's positive record of achievement to millions of people in cities throughout the Nation. Vice President Agnew is shown here greeting admirers at an airport rally in London, Kentucky on September 23.

WHAT IS MCGOVERN SECRET PLAN TO GET POW'S BACK IF COMMUNISTS WON'T RETURN THEM AFTER U.S. LEAVES?

"Actually, North Vietnam cannot benefit any more than South Vietnam, from a prolonged conflict. I would hope we would be prepared to wage such a conflict rather than to surrender the area to Communism."—*Congressional Record*, Jan. 15, 1965.

In presenting his formula for the Communist takeover of South Vietnam, George McGovern has left unanswered a crucial question: What is the McGovern secret plan for getting American prisoners of war back if the Communists refuse to return them after the United States has withdrawn?

In his nationally televised address, the Democrat Presidential nominee declared that after taking his Presidential oath, he would notify U.S. negotiators in

Paris to tell representatives of the Communist side that the U.S. had taken steps to end all hostilities and that it is now expected that the Communists would return all POW's and account for all men missing in action. "We will expect that process to be completed in 90 days to coincide with our complete withdrawal from the war." Expect it or what?

POW Group Head 'Disappointed'

The question is not a frivolous one and occurred immediately to Mrs. Evelyn Grubb, national coordinator of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, the largest POW and MIA organization in the country.

"I'd like to know the answer to this question myself," Mrs. Grubb told *First Monday*, "but McGovern never mentioned it."

Mrs. Grubb, who said she was "terribly disappointed" by the McGovern talk, says neither she nor her organ-

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McGOVERN SECRET PLAN

(Continued from previous page)

ization have ever put this question to McGovern because to do so would be useless since "he has no grasp on anything."

Mrs. Grubb said she was upset that McGovern had ignored the fact that throughout history POW's have been returned during wars while hostilities were continuing; that he failed to mention that the Geneva Convention has provisions making it mandatory that sick and wounded men be allowed to come home; and that he never once mentioned the 603 men presently being held captive by the Viet Cong Communists in South Vietnam.

Misstatements on POW's

"There was hardly a paragraph in his speech concerning prisoners in which there was not a misstatement of fact," declared Mrs. Grubb, whose husband was shot down in 1966 and has not been heard from since. "If we had to depend on him [McGovern] to solve our plight with these men, I think we would be sorely disappointed."

Mrs. Grubb is undoubtedly correct when she says it would be useless to query McGovern on the question of how to get POW's back if the U.S. withdrew and the Communists refuse to return the men. A look at the record shows that when this question comes up, it is ducked or waffled on.

In an article in the Sept. 13, 1972, *N.Y. Times*, McGovern's legislative aide and architect of his defense budget, John Holum, is asked what would happen if Hanoi, out of residual mistrust of American intentions and promises, decided to hold the prisoners hostage against any future American return to Vietnam. Holum replied: "I don't like that question."

McGovern Position Fuzzy

What McGovern himself says on the question, is like most of his positions on other issues, fuzzy. A background paper issued with the McGovern Vietnam speech argues that by keeping carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin until the prisoners were released, "President McGovern will retain the option of military action to secure their return."

But in an interview with the *Baltimore Sun's* Adam Clymer on July 18 of this year, McGovern is quoted as saying: "I can't conceive of any situation in which we would use naval and air forces to try to release prisoners, because it hasn't worked."

The McGovern plan for ending the war on Communist



terms has drawn sharp criticism from Defense Secretary Melvin Laird as well as from some in the press who McGovern might have thought would receive his proposals favorably.

"Unconditional Surrender"—Laird

Defense Secretary Laird labeled McGovern's speech "unique in American political history" in that it marked the first time a major party candidate seeking the Presidency has advocated "unconditional surrender." The Secretary also expressed shock and disappointment that McGovern was completely silent on the importance of the Geneva Conventions and North Vietnamese aggression in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

"By running up the white flag of surrender before negotiations go forward, whether it be in mutual and balanced force reductions, whether it be on the Middle East...SALT or on all these other areas, will assure one thing, and that is failure on the negotiation front," Laird said.

In an analytical piece on the McGovern plan, the *N.Y. Times'* Max Frankel said that McGovern had "invited the American people to support a plan

whose military essentials amount to virtually total acceptance of the demands of the Viet Cong and their allies in North Vietnam."

Times Vice President and columnist James Reston criticized McGovern for detailing a plan "too specific and too one-sided," a plan that "went so far in meeting Hanoi's war aims..."

Of the McGovern plan, Reston writes:

"This is far more than a promise to withdraw all Americans from Indochina within 90 days. It is a threat to withdraw future military aid to Saigon while leaving the Soviet Union and China free to continue sending military arms to Hanoi and the Viet Cong."

Calling McGovern's plan "virtually a formula for surrender" and a proposal for "peace at any price," Reston says McGovern's policy is one "not only of abandoning Thieu but wounding him on the way out."

Commenting on McGovern's vow to remove "all salvageable American equipment" from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, the *New York Daily News* asks:

"Would that mean snatching rifles out of the hands of South Vietnamese soldiers? Stripping them of artillery and tanks? Crippling their small air force?"

Accessory to Butchery

"It would be disgrace enough for the U.S. to abandon an ally. But to denude South Vietnam of every means for self-defense, delivering 17 million people into the hands of a merciless enemy, would make the U.S. an accessory to the butchery that would follow."

The *Washington Star-News* editorializes:

"McGovern, in short, proposes an Asian Munich, a recipe for disaster. It would leave the peoples of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to the tender mercies of the Communists and endanger the security of Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. It would undermine the faith of nations as disparate and far-flung as Iran, Israel and West Germany in the value of an American commitment. It would mock the sacrifice of the 50,000 Americans who have lost their lives in the defense of South Vietnam, the hundreds of thousands wounded there and the expenditure of billions of dollars....

"McGovern's proposals are neither new, realistic, nor imaginative. He proposes not negotiation but capitulation, not an honorable end to the war but a surrender which would lead to a further bloodbath of those who have placed their faith in the United States, not a solution, but an abdication of responsibility."

FACTS ARGUE AGAINST McGOVERN ASSERTION THAT COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF SOUTH VIETNAM WOULD NOT RESULT IN BLOODBATH

Newman: You think, in other words, that there will be no bloodbath and...

McGovern: That is my view. I think that is a fear that cannot be sustained by the facts.

—Excerpt from an interview of George McGovern by Edwin Newman on the *Today Show*, NBC, Aug. 30, 1972.

Since George McGovern expressed his disbelief in the bloodthirstiness of the Communist enemy (based on facts he did not cite), the following have been reported:

■ **Item:** *N.Y. Times*, Sept. 9, 1972, a defector from the North Vietnamese Army said that his unit had gunned down civilian men, women and children and South Vietnamese soldiers without discrimination as they fled south from Quang Tri City in late April and early May. The defector was quoted as saying that all were fired at "because the North Vietnamese Communists considered them to be followers of the enemy. That is why they all had to be killed."

Land Mine Executions

■ **Item:** *Washington Star-News*, Sept. 25, 1972, UPI story quotes a military spokesman as reporting that Communist troops rounded up 120 civilians from three villages near the central South Vietnam coast and executed with land mines 40 of those whom they believed supported the Saigon government.

■ **Item:** *Washington Star-News*, Oct. 6, 1972, an AP story reports that Viet Cong terrorists blew up houses, hospital wards and part of a school at the Happy Haven orphanage and leper colony near Da Nang. One elderly woman was killed and 20 persons wounded.

Writing in the *N.Y. Times Magazine* (Oct. 15), John Carroll, who covered the Vietnam war for the *Baltimore Sun*, says: There is an "impressive body of writing" which says that after the Communists took over North Vietnam in 1954, there were executions on a mass scale in which the so-called "land-reform" tribunals administered death penalties, often on the basis of death quotas for each village. For example:

Robert Shaplen, the respected *New Yorker* correspondent and author of several books on Southeast Asia, including "The Lost Revolution," estimates that between 40,000 and 50,000 people were killed during the land-reform period.

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First Monday

BLOODBATH

(continued from previous page)

Hoang Van Chi, a North Vietnamese intellectual who fled in 1955 and is now in Washington with the Agency for International Development, has written that 100,000 died following a Central Committee order raising the death quota from one to five per village.

Prof. Gerard Tongas, a French Vietminh sympathizer who stayed in North Vietnam until 1959 and developed a loathing for the regime, wrote that 100,000 died under a formula of one execution per 500 inhabitants, "which meant easily an average of 5 or 10 per village."

P.J. Honey, a British authority, writes that "hundreds of thousands of patently guiltless people were done to death in the most cruel fashion...."

Relatives Killed

Anita Lauve Nutt, now a Rand Corporation consultant, says that as an official in the United States Embassy in Saigon in the mid 1950s, she handled "stacks" of reports from Vietnamese families whose relatives were killed in the land reform.

Similarly, Robert F. Turner, a researcher at Stanford's Hoover Institute, writes that as an American official in 1971 and 1972, he interviewed witnesses from "widely scattered parts" of North Vietnam, including two who had actually been judges in the tribunals. His conclusion: "Whether the actual bloodbath was 300,000 or 500,000—it is quite clear that a major purge did occur and that the casualties numbered in six digits."

The late Bernard B. Fall, one of the few scholars to be held in high regard by doves and hawks, alike, wrote: "While it is obviously impossible to give precise figures, the best-educated guesses on the subject are that probably close to 50,000 North Vietnamese were executed in connection with the land reform and that at least twice as many were arrested and sent to forced labor camps."

2,000 Murdered in Hue

Those who believe the Communists have changed since they took over North Vietnam have only to look at what they did in 1968 when they briefly occupied the South Vietnamese city of Hue.

As Viet Cong expert Douglas Pike describes it, in addition to the initial executions of civil servants, police officials, military men and community leaders, there was an ominous phase during which the Communists thought they could hold the city forever, and set out to shape it to their liking.

"Orders went out," Pike writes, "to round up what one prisoner termed 'social negatives.' " Pike estimates that 2,000 died in this period, including a significant portion of the intellectual community. Not only was one man executed, but so were his wife, his married son and daughter-in-law, his young, unmarried daughter, a male and female servant, their baby, the cat and the goldfish.

Arab Terrorists Supported

In addition, North Vietnam has voiced support for others who use terror and political assassination. In radio broadcasts following the brutal murder of members of the Israeli Olympic team, Radio Hanoi and Hanoi's largest paper voiced support for the extremist actions carried out by the Arab terrorist "Black September" group.

Thus, while George McGovern may not believe that a Communist take-over of South Vietnam would result in a bloodbath, while Sen. Edward Kennedy feels such charges are merely "political rhetoric," and while Sen. J. William Fulbright has labeled the argument "phony," the facts argue against them.

As reporter John Carroll put it in his *N.Y. Times Magazine* article: "If the Communists take control in South Vietnam and do not execute large numbers of people, it will be a very real departure from past practices."

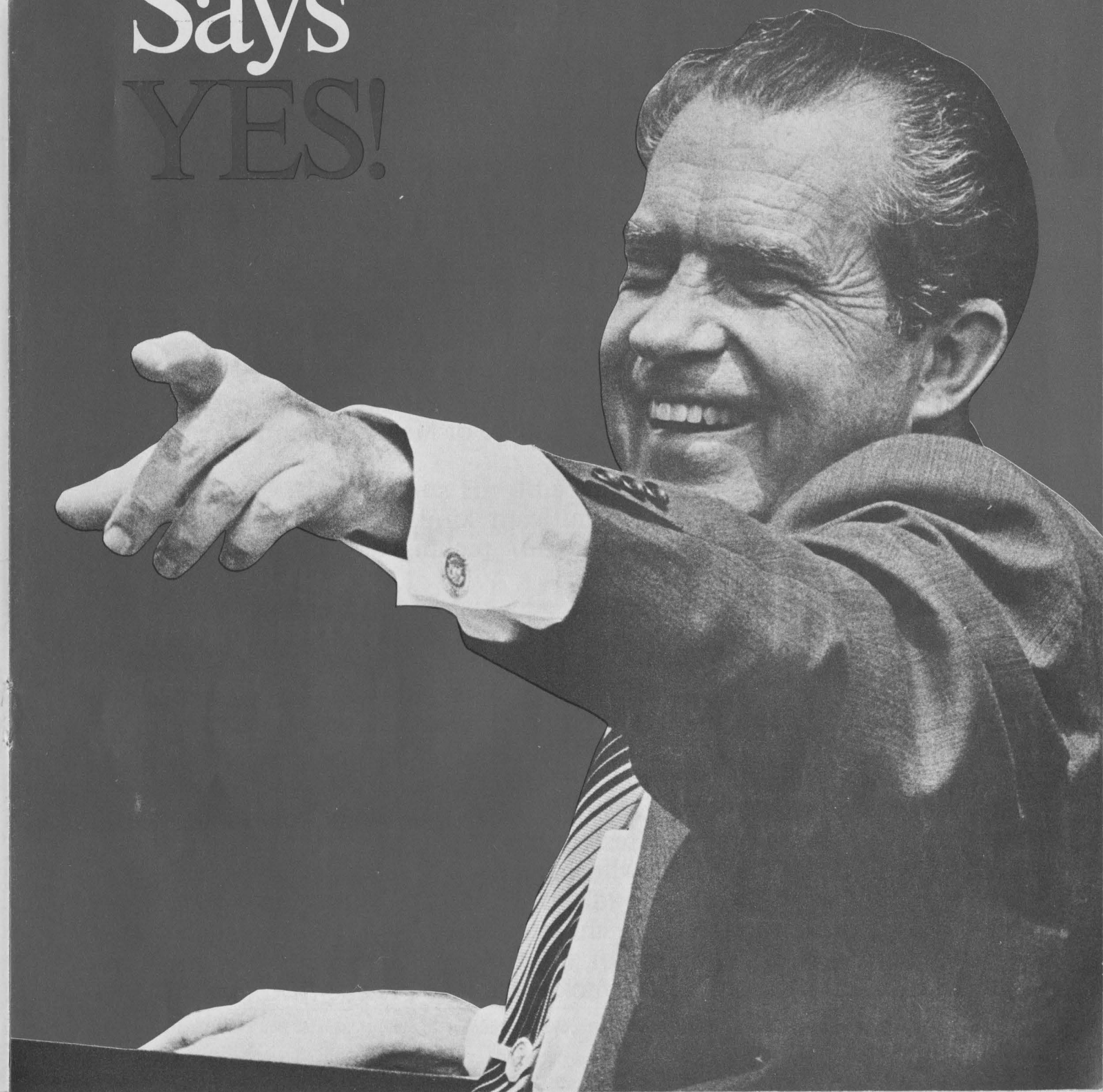
McGOVERN UNFIT FOR PRESIDENCY

"In a way it's too bad the Democratic candidate is so demonstrably unfit for the job of President of the United States. He is a kindly man who is staggering under a load of good intentions. He would make some congregation a wonderful pastor.

"But in the White House we need a man who understands the world as it is, who is willing to confront a foreign enemy on its own terms, who has pondered the ramifications of all he proposes to do, who recognizes that in human affairs realism is superior to the most impassioned wishing, who does not change his mind every other day, and who can convince America's millions he is the man to follow.

"Perhaps many men could fill those requirements, but not one of them is named George McGovern."—Edwin A. Roberts, Jr. writing in the *National Observer*, Oct. 14, 1972.

The Press Says YES!





The President and the Press

One of the most remarkable developments in the Nixon Administration years has been the deep and amazing support of the President and his programs by the nation's press—*amazing*, because the American free press is generally tough on Presidents no matter who occupies the hot seat in the Oval Office; *more* amazing because Richard Nixon and the editorial community have had more than their share of Mexican stand-offs through the years.

In some cases, the new wave of editorial support has been grudging—which, in the end is the most significant kind, since it means that the President is winning by *doing* and *not* picking up points on charisma alone.

For the most part, however, the editorial endorsements of the Nixon Administration have been wholehearted and sincere—stemming from the minds and hearts of men and women who have a vast stake in the American democracy, the freedom of its institutions, its standing as a tower of peace in the world and its ability to provide peace and prosperity for all its people.

This special section of FIRST MONDAY is dedicated to all of the nation's editors who have stated their conviction that President Nixon is the man who has stood the test against their own high standards and merits Re-Election. To those who have not chosen to endorse the President in 1972, we offer the friendly opinion that four more Nixon years can very well prove them to have chosen wrongly.

Herewith, a small sampling of the 80% of American newspapers (estimated by Editor & Publisher), who do endorse President Nixon.

FIRST MONDAY Special Section Published by The Republican National Committee. Senator Bob Dole, Chairman. Frank M. Leonard, Editor. Frank M. Foster, Design.

Evidence is Lopsided in Favor of President Nixon

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER

We'll Take Nixon

THE TIMES DEMOCRAT
DAVENPORT, IOWA

Unique Record

MEXICO LEDGER

Nixon-Agnew Team is Head and Shoulders Above McGovern-Shriver

ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

President Nixon Best for Nation

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS

A Vote for Nixon

HERALD-BANNER
GREENVILLE, TEXAS

Nixon: Our First Republican Endorsement

ADVANCE-REGISTER

Nixon's Record Proves He Deserves Re-Election

GALVESTON NEWS TEXAS

He Has Stood Tall

DALLAS TIMES HERALD

Future of Free World Hinges on The President's Re-Election

THE SHREVEPORT TIMES

Classic, Crucial Choice We Endorse Mr. Nixon

NASHVILLE BANNER

Must Unite in Mighty Effort for President's Re-Election in Nov.

ROLLA DAILY NEWS

Let's Keep The President

JACKSONVILLE JOURNAL

Nixon Inspires Trust

SHREVEPORT, LA.
SHREVEPORT JOURNAL

Nixon Responsive To American Hopes

TUCSON DAILY CITIZEN

We Like President Nixon

JOURNAL AND REPUBLICAN
LOWVILLE, N.Y.

THE CHOICE IS CLEAR: PRESIDENT NIXON

LOS ANGELES TIMES

Unhesitating Support

NORTH PLATTE
(NEBRASKA) TELEGRAPH

Nixon's The One!

GREENSBURG (PA.)
TRIBUNE-REVIEW

Four More Years for Nixon

McKINNEY (TEXAS) EXAMINER

Impressive Record

Speakers in both parties and news analysts in all media have described the upcoming election as the most clear-cut choice in a century between rival political philosophies.

"The choice in this election," Mr. Nixon told the GOP convention, "is not between radical change and no change. The choice is between change that works and change that won't work."

The President brings to U.S. voters an impressive record of change that works. He has earned another term in the world's most powerful office.

SANTA MONICA EVENING OUTLOOK

For Nixon-Agnew

We have seen enough of the way Mr. Nixon has conducted the Presidency and of the way Mr. McGovern has conducted his campaign to convince us that the United States cannot afford this change at this time.

On the basis of the issues that count, and the confident direction that the government needs, it would be a frightening tragedy not to reelect the Nixon ticket.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Urge Re-Election of Nixon-Agnew

KILGORE (TEXAS) NEWS HERALD

Nixon For President

No administration, no President can ever deal successfully with all the problems of our day. Many of these problems indeed seem intractable, no matter who is in the White House. But we believe Richard Nixon has pursued policies which in the main have been constructive and beneficial to the people of this nation and promise a measure of peace in the world.

We endorse him for a second term as President of the United States.

DAILY NEWS-RECORD
HARRISONBURG, VIRGINIA

Nixon Truly Represents The American People

BURLINGTON FREE PRESS

Nation and World Need Four More Nixon Years

It probably will come as no surprise to our readers to learn that we at the Utica newspapers favor the reelection of President Richard M. Nixon.

We believe that he has done a good job during these four years of his first term. We believe that he would do even better during his second.

Those are reasons enough for reelecting a President, unless there is a candidate in the field you can honestly believe would do better.

We do not believe Senator George McGovern is such a candidate. For some of us, the thought of his being in the White House and heading the government is frightening.

UTICA (N.Y.) OBSERVER-DISPATCH

Sensible Road to Peace

The Enterprise-Journal endorses President Richard Nixon for re-election. . . He chose the sensible road to peace.

McCOMB ENTERPRISE-JOURNAL



Momentous Choice Between Continuation and Destruction

The choice this year will be between the continuation of traditions familiar to Americans and a shift to radical policies that would change the whole way of life, the whole nature of our nation, the whole balance of power in the world.

The 1972 election offers not men with just differences of degree or vigor. It offers men who are widely divergent, a choice between continuation and destruction. The presidential race this year provides a momentous choice—with momentous effects on all Americans.

CHATTANOOGA NEWS-FREE PRESS

Has Met The Tests And Met Them Well

THE DALLAS NEWS, though a Democratic (conservative) newspaper, believes that the best interests of this country will be served by the reelection of Republicans Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew to direct the executive branch of our government.

DALLAS NEWS

Administration's Viable Programs Against McGovern'-Excessive Promises

LOS ANGELES HERALD EXAMINER

Nixon Knows The Issues

From tax reform to reducing crime, President Nixon is the best man in November. He can continue to strengthen us within and without, maintain the sound principles of old while rejecting the bad and replacing them with the new. He can keep us a nation united rather than one divided.

PORT ARTHUR (TEXAS) NEWS

Crucial to this Point in History

The road from near-chaos in 1968 to the new security of 1972 was not an easy one. Nixon's inheritance upon ascending to the presidency was not all glamor; there were an unprecedented array of burdens and problems.

Nixon answered the challenges and has led the nation forward. His speech Wednesday had the tone of a man who has the confidence, the very real assurance, that his administration is crucial to this point in history.

And, with this point, we find it difficult to disagree.

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA ENQUIRER

Record of Vast Accomplishment

Although the political campaigning is far from over, The Press Democrat has seen enough that it endorses Richard M. Nixon for re-election as President of the United States.

It is hardly a difficult decision. The choice is between a strong and effective leader of vast accomplishment and an opponent who yesterday was "1,000 per cent" in favor of somebody or something, and today has switched positions.

THE PRESS DEMOCRAT

Deserves Re-Election

We think the President deserves re-election on the basis of his record, and we strongly recommend it.

NORTHERN VIRGINIA DAILY

One of the Great Presidents

Since his inauguration three and a half years ago, Richard Nixon has grown on us. Although everything he has done has not met with our approval, most of it has. We have now reached the point where we are of the opinion that Richard Nixon will go down in history as one of the nation's great presidents.

MISS. DAILY LEADER



Scripps-Howard Editors: Nixon Best Choice, Has Kept His Cool

Four years ago when the editors of The Scripps-Howard newspapers met in editorial conference, they decided together that Richard M. Nixon was the best choice for president at that time.

They believed then that Nixon offered the best hope of bringing about changes in national policy in orderly fashion. They believed he was likely to cool the divisiveness which beset the country in 1968.

They believed he was best able to slow the rampagous growth and cost of government and to tackle the problem of galloping inflation.

They believed he would wage war on crime. And, especially, they saw him as a man who could make a decision and carry out.

Now, four years later, the Scripps-Howard editors again choose Nixon—not because he has delivered perfectly on allof these problems, nor because on most of the overriding problems, the really giant ones, he has made solid progress. In some ways, remarkable progress.

He has kept his cool. He has stuck largely to his announced plans. He has tempered the hostility of the Communist powers. He has negotiated the beginning steps toward disarmament. He has enhanced the country's prestige in world affairs. He has established a general credibility.

And he has been a working president—diligent in seeking answers to a staggering accumulation of problems, domestic and world-wide.

His batting average is high.

* * * *

The alternative to another term ofr Nixon is a candidate whose positions and policies we find largely unacceptable. Particularly is this true of his "scuttle and run" policy on Southeast Asia in which he would at once cut off all aid to countries aggressed upon by North Vietnam.

We seriously doubt too that Senator George S. McGovern has the capacity and the leadership quality needed for the awesome job of president.

Rarely has the choice been so clear.

Going away, Richard M. Nixon is the better man to lead this country through the next four years.
SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPERS

We Need This Man

"This country and the world need the continued leadership of our President. I say to you delegates, to you my fellow citizens of America, we need this man.

We need this man of action, this man of accomplishment, this man of experience, this man of courage. We need this man of faith in America."

So said Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller at the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach when he nominated President Richard M. Nixon for reelection Nov. 7.

To us, the Rockefeller statement rings as true as the Liberty Bell before it contracted that unfortunate crack while sounding forth the glories of George Washington's Birthday in 1846.

Accordingly, THE NEWS whole-heartedly endorses Richard Milhaus Nixon for reelection as President of the United States, and Spiro Theodore Agnew for reelection as Vice President.
N.Y. DAILY NEWS

Nixon: Choice for Many

WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL

Nixon's Re-Election Vitally Necessary

It didn't take a great deal of es-haustive analysis and research to arrive at the conclusion which The Californian presents today and that is that the re-election of Richard Nixon as President of the United States is vitally necessary in the best interests of the country and all of its people.
THE CALIFORNIAN

President Has Held Fast To the Temper of the Times

By holding fast to the temper of the times, taking steps ahead with heed, the President has stabilized a political system that was veering dangerously close to disaster. In getting back to where the people are, Richard Nixon has renewed faith in democracy.

With his record to date, there is ample reason to believe that Richard M. Nixon, given the opportunity, could in four more years move the United States ahead so that on its 200th anniversary life at home, as well as abroad, will be more satisfying. We urge our readers to give him that opportunity when they go to the polls on Nov. 7.
HARRISBURG (PA.) PATRIOT-NEWS

We Still Say: Nixon's The One

We remember candidate Nixon in 1968, and we supported him prior to the Republican convention and during the general election campaign.

He has certainly not broken the faith with this voter, and we don't believe he has with others.

Now, four years later, we can say once again: Nixon's the one.
ORLANDO SENTINEL

Hearst Newspapers Endorse The Nixon-Agnew Ticket

Without going into details, it is obvious that this nation today is far less tense and far better off than it was in riot-torn 1968. The danger of major international wariare has been greatly decreased by the Nixon initiatives in Peking and Moscow. And the prospect of a new era of economic stability is reflected in every key financial index.

We think most Americans will vote for more of the same in November. The alternative is a vacillating, inexperienced team of reckless talkers with wildly unsound promises and a shamefully defeatists attitude on Vietnam—most recently underscored by McGovern's astonishing admission that the Communists will take over in that country if he is elected.
SAN ANTONIO LIGHT

Has Earned Support of All He Deserves That Support

INDIANAPOLIS STAR

Editorial Board Votes to Endorse: Nixon-19, Dr. Spock-1, McGovern-0

BURLINGTON (WIS.) STANDARD PRESS

Nixon's The Man!

On election day in November the American people will make one of the most important and fateful choices in all our nation's history.

Although we have not always agreed with the President, we believe that if the nation elects Nixon we will have four more years of sound, safe, sensible government.

Nixon is a peace-loving man of patriotism, integrity, intelligence and common sense.

Nixon stands for a strong America—strong abroad, strong militarily, strong economically, strong morally. He will never retreat into long discredited isolationism. If Nixon is re-elected America will continue to be a power second to none, playing its rightful role in world affairs, ever seeking peace with justice.

Again in 1972 we support Richard Nixon, and we do so this time because he is the ONLY man for our country.

MERIDIAN, MISS. STAR

Our Choice Clear and Decisive As the Man Himself—Nixon!

FAYETTEVILLE (N.Y.) EAGLE BULLETIN & DEWITT NEWS TIMES



PRESIDENT HAS SHOWN HE CAN HANDLE THE JOB

CHICAGO TODAY

**Four More Nixon Years?
We Hope So!**

FORBES MAGAZINE

Re-Election of Nixon is Logical.

THE JERSEY JOURNAL

**NIXON:
Clear Choice**

TULSA WORLD (OKLA.)

**We'd Recommend Richard Nixon
Even Against A More Plausible
Candidate Than Sen. McGovern**

INDIANA HERALD-ARGUS

Better Times Ahead With Nixon

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

**Voters Should Return
Nixon to White House**

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

**OUR choice is another
Nixon Administration**

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

Georgia: Vote Nixon-Agnew!

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

**People Must Speak
— Overwhelmingly —
For Richard Nixon**

MIAMI HERALD

**President Nixon
Has Won Respect
and Support**

THE NEWS TRIBUNE
WOODBIDGE, N.J.

Nixon Good For The U.S.

LIFE MAGAZINE

**NIXON Qualified
to Lead Nation**

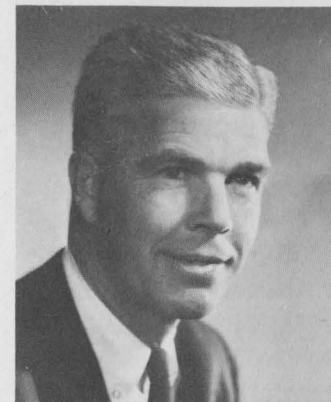
CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

**We Are Impressed.
Re-Elect Nixon**

ST. JOSEPH NEWS-PRESS

November 6, 1972

**DOMINICK, WILSON STRESS
IMPORTANCE OF ELECTING
REPUBLICAN CONGRESS**



Sen. Dominick



Rep. Wilson

In exclusive interviews with *First Monday*, the chairmen of the Senate and House campaign committees stress the importance of not only re-electing President Nixon, but also giving him a Republican Congress.

"In the Senate, our magic number is five," says Sen. Peter Dominick of Colorado, chairman of the Senate Campaign Committee. "We need to pick up just five seats to gain control of the Senate for the first time in 18 years."

"The chances to gain the five seats necessary to give us a 50-50 split (with the Vice President casting the deciding vote) are excellent. There are 19 Republican seats up for election, and we are reasonably certain of retaining all of them—even the one in South Dakota where President Nixon is running well ahead of native-son McGovern and Senatorial candidate Robert Hirsch is faring very well. There are 10 other states with seats now occupied by Democrats in which we have an even or better-than-even chance of winning.

"In the South and Southwest we have excellent chances in New Mexico, Oklahoma, Montana, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia. In Rhode Island, John Chafee is well ahead of liberal Claiborne Pell. And in Minnesota, dark horse Phil Hansen is giving McGovern look-alike Walter Mondale a run for his money, with President Nixon a solid favorite there.

"Our job in the home stretch of this campaign is to get the message to the voters that the time has come to put an end to the philosophy that multi-billion dollar packages of cure-all laws, which in reality are bureaucratic nightmares filled with empty promises, are the means for dealing with the problems of this Nation. We in the Republican Party—given the chance—can respond to the growing desire of the

majority of Americans that we put an end to centralized government and the philosophy that nothing can be done right unless it is done in Washington."

Rep. Bob Wilson of California, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, tells *First Monday*:

"We are aiming high this year. Although predictions too often go awry in the closing days of a campaign, I do feel we'll make substantial Congressional gains—at least 20 seats in the House of Representatives and conceivably a sufficient number to obtain control from the Democrats. Much depends upon the size of the President's vote, of course. If he wins with more than 60 percent of the vote, I feel control will be within our reach.

21 Retiring Members

"We had several drawbacks going into this campaign. For one thing, 21 of our Republican House members are retiring at the end of this year, which means we've had to mount vigorous defensive campaigns to keep those seats. On the other hand, we came out of redistricting nationwide with a new potential gain of about half a dozen seats.

"This is a unique campaign. At the Congressional level, we have Democrat incumbents who are pretending that their party doesn't have a platform. We have Democrat incumbents who are running away from their Presidential ticket as fast as their stump speeches will take them. Despite the fact that nearly every Democrat incumbent is waging an every-man-for-himself campaign, they cannot escape the Democrat record of legislative lagging. We are out to get the foot-draggers this year.

Money Needed

"To do the job will take money. While the President's Re-election Committee coffers are being filled, we find that funds are hard to come by at the Congressional level. So this is a plea for funds. We need a war chest if we are going to be able to provide our candidates with adequate funding to cash in on a great opportunity to replace recalcitrant Democrats with Republicans who can and will work."

HELP!

FIRST MONDAY can always use help and would appreciate yours. If you run across an item in the paper, see something on TV or hear something on the radio that you think might be of interest, drop us a note here at the Republican National Committee, 310 First St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. While you're at it, we would also like to know what you think of your publication, FIRST MONDAY. Thank you.

McGOVERN PERMISSIVENESS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH PRESIDENT'S STRONG STAND FOR LAW AND ORDER

Almost half (72) of the Nation's major cities (155) recorded actual decreases in serious crime in the first six months of this year. The recent release of the FBI crime statistics for the first six months of this year shows serious crime in the United States increased at the smallest rate than any time since the FBI began issuing quarterly reports 12 years ago.

The increase in both violent and property crime was held to just one percent. During the same period in 1971, violent crime increased by 11 percent and property crime went up six percent. These latest FBI crime statistics confirm that the President's tough anti-crime programs are taking hold.

State, Local Grants Increased

■ Federal law enforcement grants to states and localities total over \$1.5 billion for the past three years—compared with only \$22 million during the three years prior to the Nixon Administration.

■ The President's tough Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 launched special grand juries, extended federal jurisdiction to major gambling operations and provided longer sentences for hard-core criminal offenders. Convictions against organized crime increased by 50 percent and indictments doubled between 1969 and 1971.

■ The President's all-out attack on "public enemy number one"—drug abuse—combines international initiatives and tough domestic law enforcement with expanded treatment programs.

Supreme Court Appointments

■ The President's Supreme Court appointments and his constant support of law enforcement leaves no doubt as to his own personal determination to combat crime and the permissiveness of the '60s.

Sen. McGovern, in startling contrast, fairly reeks of the permissive answers and sociological solutions attempted in the '60s.

■ "I am against the death penalty."—*Newsmakers*, a California TV show, June 14, 1972.

■ On marijuana, McGovern has suggested regulating marijuana like alcohol and removing the Federal Government entirely from anti-marijuana enforcement (February 15, 1972), but he now refuses to discuss the subject. His position is clearly a permissive one.

■ When George McGovern supports corrections reform, he is referring to "community-based cor-

rections"—which puts convicted criminals immediately back into our cities and neighborhoods for their rehabilitation with the hope that the law-abiding citizens can make the adjustment.

McGovern and Justice

■ When George McGovern talks about breaking the logjams in our courts, he advocates the Ervin-Hart bill which "would permit no more than sixty days between arrest and trial of any man or woman" (September 28, 1972). But he doesn't tell you *how*. If more than 60 days elapse, the accused automatically gets off scot-free. That's not swift justice—that's no justice at all!

■ George McGovern's "support" for our Nation's police means giving them more college "education," he never refers to standing behind them, getting better equipment, or making their job any easier. Professors of sociology seldom know what is needed to enforce the law in our Nation's cities.

■ George McGovern has ducked support for any major criminal legislation. It's hard to find McGovern's votes on the major criminal legislation: He missed all the votes on the Gun Control Act of 1968, and six of the votes on the Organized Crime Control Act of 1969.

Pro-Pornography?

■ McGovern did manage to make it for one sort of crime vote—that on pornography. Apparently, he's for it. On October 13, 1970, McGovern was one of five Senators to vote against a sense of a Senate Resolution rejecting the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.*

President Nixon's tough opposition to the spread of pornography was supported by 60 Senators who resoundingly rejected the report of that Commission which recommended an end to all controls on pornography.

McGOVERN FOR NIXON

George McGovern is not old enough to vote this year but if he were he says he would not vote for George McGovern but Richard Nixon like his father is going to do, according to the *Washington Star-News*. "I just don't think McGovern has the leadership qualities it takes," says McGovern. "He seems to be very unorganized and unsure of his policies." George McGovern is 17 and a student at American University in Washington, D.C. George McGovern is 50 years old and running for President of the United States.

*In a 1971 *Playboy* magazine interview, McGovern expressed a lack of concern about the breakdown in moral values saying: "As for the change in sex mores, I'm not particularly concerned about it. People today are simply more honest about and at ease with sex."

FRIENDLY BIOGRAPHER QUESTIONS McGOVERN'S QUALIFICATIONS TO BE PRESIDENT

Writing in this month's *Harper's* magazine, George McGovern's friendly biographer Robert Anson, seriously questions whether or not the Democrat Presidential nominee is qualified to serve as the Nation's chief executive.

In a passage that reminds one of McGovern's naive Vietnam plan which relies solely on Communist goodwill to get our POWs back, Anson quotes a former McGovern aide who worked for him at Food for Peace: "He [McGovern] was of the school that the wish is the father of the thought, and sometimes we were left hostages to fortune in the belief that goodness would win out."

Noting that McGovern by his own admission likes the broad brushstrokes of policy, not the fine details, Anson writes:

"The question one has to ask is whether such a man makes a good President. McGovern may well be, as Arthur Schlesinger puts it, 'the best listener in American politics.' But, as President, McGovern will have neither the time nor the opportunity to 'humanize' every question of policy. Paper, to quote Hemingway's memorable phrase, 'doesn't bleed,' and it is paper, very important paper, with which McGovern will almost always have to deal. Then there is the further question of how McGovern will resolve questions to which there is no immediately recognizable 'good' and 'bad' side. A leading liberal theoretician, who has known and worked closely with McGovern for nearly a decade, is plainly worried. 'The things McGovern has made his reputation on—Vietnam, defense spending, hunger, even tax reform—are easy things,' he notes. 'The choices, to a humanist like McGovern, are not difficult. But most things, certainly most things with which a President must deal, often are not a question of choosing between a good and a bad, but two goods or two bads. Frankly, I am not sure how McGovern will do in that situation.'

"A good argument might be made that, as President, McGovern could leave the technical expertise, what he considers the dull, unimportant work, to his subordinates. But again a potential problem arises. For one of the marks of a great Presidency is the ability to choose subordinates wisely and, once they are chosen, to delegate authority to them judiciously, so it is left for the President to administer the results of their work. On this score, McGovern's performance has been woefully uneven. On the one hand, he assembled one of the most dazzling, proficient

GOOD ADVICE THEN—GOOD ADVICE NOW

"Some people who question our fighting ideals are not really sincere. Certain critics merely hope to embarrass the Administration in the delicate task of conducting our foreign relations.

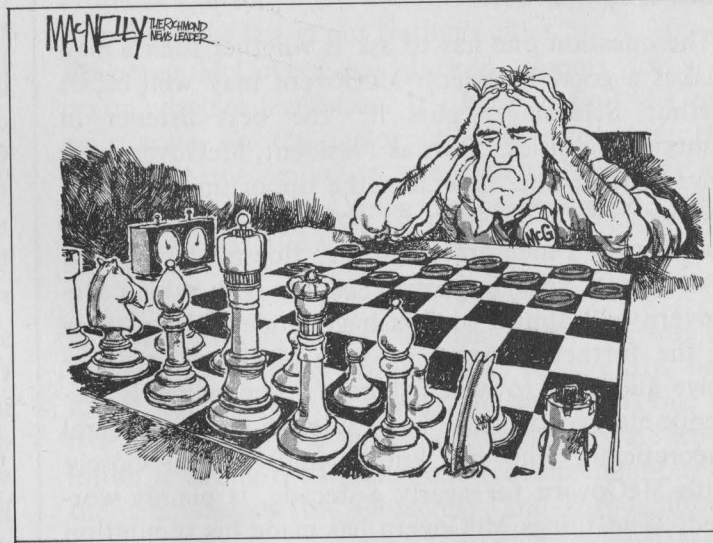
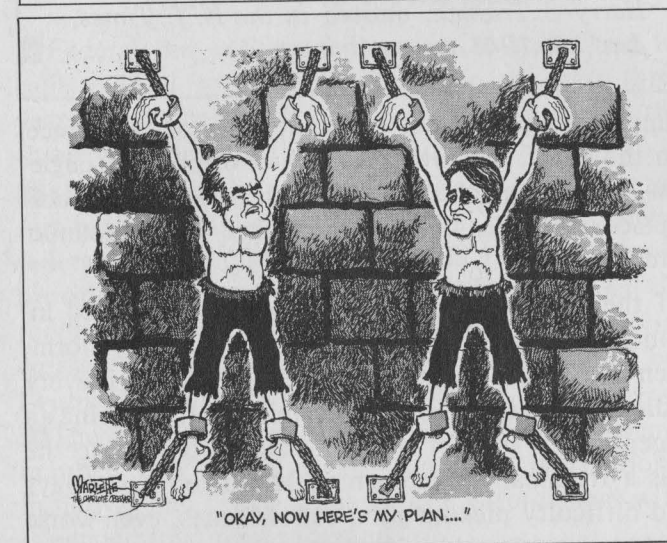
"As long as hostilities last no loyal American should speak or act in any way which would give aid or comfort to the enemy. This should be a duty for all of us.

"All Americans should support our men to the utmost, which means also to stop wordy sniping at our Allies. Even the worst blunders made by any of the allied nations face into relative insignificance when compared with the conduct of our enemies."—*President Harry S Truman, quoted in the N.Y. Times, Jan. 30, 1945.*

campaign organizations of recent political experience. On the other, McGovern's conduct during the Eagleton episode and the subsequent search for a suitable replacement can only be described as tragicomic farce.

"If the Eagleton matter were merely an isolated instance, a freakish deviation from the steady norm, then McGovern might be excused. But there is every indication that the Eagleton affair, far from being an exception, is part of a continuing pattern. Since he was a freshman Congressman, McGovern has always had difficulty picking good subordinates, even worse problems getting rid of bad ones. For years, his staff was riddled with intellectually weak sisters whom McGovern consistently refused to fire. His own explanation was that their loyalty—so and so would 'lie down in front of a truck for me,' he would say—far outweighed their incompetence. The reasons were more complex than that, and, as always, McGovern's moralism—his decency, as it is more popularly called—was at the base of them. Then, as well as now, McGovern hated to hurt people; he will, in fact, do almost anything to avoid it. Good Christian that he is, McGovern is also a believer in redemption, not only divine but temporal. These two factors, combined with an academic's distaste for office drudgery, have, to be kind about it, made McGovern something less than the model of the complete administrator. 'I used to think McGovern simply didn't like administering,' said one of his key staffers in the aftermath of the Eagleton fiasco. 'Now I think he has a positive bias against any administration at all.' "

Editorial Cartoonists Look at the Democrats



McGOVERN "DOVE STORY" OMITTS BACKING OF HENRY WALLACE; PART OF SLICK, MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO SHOW CANDIDATE AS NON-CONTROVERSIAL, REGULAR GUY

"People want a clear idea of a candidate, not an image that's false, that's TV, that's movies."—R. Sargent Shriver, quoted in the *Arizona Republic*, Sept. 25, 1972.

Writing Sept. 8 in the *Detroit Free Press*, political reporter Robert S. Boyd said: "The selling of George McGovern is a carefully programmed exercise in modern political image-building."

Truer words have never been written. A look at McGovern's spot ads and most recently, his half-hour biography—A Charles Guggenheim "Dove Story"—clearly shows that McGovern is running a slickly deceptive media campaign designed to conceal from the American people his extreme left-wing political beginnings as well as his current controversial far-out stands on such issues as amnesty, abortion, marijuana, national defense and welfare.

Wallace Association Omitted

A case in point is the recently nationally televised half-hour McGovern biography broadcast on CBS. In dealing with what the narrator of the film called McGovern's "journey into politics," an 11-year part of that trip—from the end of World War II to 1956—was completely omitted. It is during this time frame that McGovern was an enthusiastic supporter of Henry Wallace for President.

As McGovern biographer Robert Anson tells it in his book, "McGovern: A Biography":

"McGovern's own feelings about Wallace are one of the few things he does not readily volunteer about his past. One searches his official biography in vain for some mention of the man, or McGovern's regard for him."

False Impressions Conveyed

Noting that McGovern's campaign propaganda conveys the impression that his beliefs have never been anything except the most regular Democrat kind, Anson writes:

"It was more than ordinary political support. Intellectually, emotionally, politically, McGovern was committed to Wallace and to what he perceived as the cause he stood for. After school, he cranked an ancient mimeograph machine in the teaching assistants' lounge, turning out leaflets for Wallace and for a variety of anti-Cold War causes..."

McGovern Film-Maker Ducks Missing Decade Question

Hoping to find out what happened to the missing McGovern decade, particularly McGovern's backing of Henry Wallace, *First Monday* called the head of Guggenheim Productions, Inc., Charles Guggenheim, at his home and put the question to him. "I don't know," Guggenheim replied (long pause). "I should talk to the man who wrote it." When informed that his production manager Peter Vogt earlier in the day had said that the omission was a "creative decision" that he (Guggenheim) was "responsible for," Guggenheim hung up the phone. *First Monday* then called back eight times only to have the phone hung up each time after one ring. On the ninth call, the phone rang over 50 times, then was answered by Guggenheim and the dialog was as follows:

Guggenheim: "Captain Dougherty, Third Precinct."

First Monday: "Captain Dougherty, I'd like to speak to your superior to complain about you taking so long to answer your phone. This could have been an emergency and a matter of life or death."

At this point, Guggenheim hung up again.

According to Anson, McGovern still believes that Henry Wallace was correct. "I felt then as I do now, that U.S. foreign policy was needlessly exacerbating tensions with the Soviet Union..." McGovern is quoted as saying in the 1972 book. "I wasn't happy with the direction the Democratic Party was taking in those times. I liked what Wallace had to say about foreign policy. I still think he was essentially right."

Among other things, the platform that Wallace ran on called for repudiation of the "Truman Doctrine," the "Marshall Plan" and the abandonment of U.S. military bases "designed to encircle and intimidate other nations." The July 26, 1948, *N.Y. Times* compared the Progressive Party platform with the platform of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and reported that every specific point recommended by the Communists had won approval by the Wallaceites.

Eleanor Roosevelt Blasts Wallace

Commenting on Wallace's foreign policy, still believed in today by McGovern, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote in "My Day," in 1948:

(continued from previous page)

McGOVERN "DOVE STORY"

(continued from previous page)

"When Mr. Wallace assumes that by changing certain of our policies until we resemble Mr. Chamberlain, hat in hand, approaching Hitler, we will have the results which he calls 'peace and abundance,' I am afraid he is doing more wishful thinking than realistic facing of the facts."

Writing in an article in the April 1949 issue of "The Progressive," Sen. Hubert Humphrey, acting national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) declared:

Crude Communist Front

"Mr. Wallace's crusade was a crude Communist-front enterprise, conceived, nurtured, and finally wrecked by the Communists with their morbid capacity for destroying the things they profess to love....Throughout the campaign Mr. Wallace repeatedly made it plain that he regarded what he called 'peace' as the main issue—peace in his curious vocabulary representing surrender of democratic principles in favor of acquiescing to Soviet imperialist ambitions."

Writing in his book, "The Vital Center," Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. labeled Wallace a "well-intentioned woolly-minded, increasingly bitter man who was made to order for Communist exploitation..." The Wallace movement, says Schlesinger, "represented the most considerable political undertaking ever attempted by the Communists in the United States."

Describing those delegates who attended the Wallace Progressive Party Convention, (McGovern went as a member of the Illinois delegation) *Newsweek* magazine observed:

Tools of Convention Bosses

"The delegates had come from far and wide. Most of them were young, a few were Townsendite elders. They were disgruntled, the discontented, the wishful, the wistful and the starry-eyed. They were a perfect front for the convention bosses."

Realizing that everything about a man's life cannot be covered in a half-hour show, it still seems that at least a few seconds could have been devoted to McGovern's involvement with Henry Wallace, especially since McGovern says today that he still believes in the essential correctness of the Wallace foreign policy.



"I want you to know, Ted, I appreciate the fund-raising letter you wrote for me. Now, do you think you might be able to come up with some funds for me?"

POLITICAL POTPOURRI

Seriously, what would President McGovern do on the 91st day after solving all the country's problems?

Gaffe of the Week: "Nixon has been sitting in the White House...while George McGovern has been exposing himself to the American people."—*R.I. Gov. Frank Licht speaking for McGovern in Boston, reported in the N.Y. Daily News, Oct. 14, 1972.*

The Press: Noted astrologer Carroll Righter says that in this Presidential year, CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite enters a critical period which could haul him down from national prominence. Cronkite "must overcome the temptation to editorialize and take sides if he wants to stay on top," says Righter. His aspects are excellent as long as he maintains strict non-partiality and he remains a reporter and an observer rather than a politician. Walter's chart, says Righter, "clearly shows that politics is an area he should not touch under any circumstances."

The Columbus Dispatch (Oct. 1) reports that Alva Bonda of Cleveland, chairman of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) Consumer Services Corp., has contributed \$100,000 to George McGovern's Presidential campaign.

DAILY WORLD

New York, Saturday, October 14, 1972

Hall calls McG peace plan a 'step forward'

By RICK NAGIN

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 13 — Gus Hall, Communist Party Presidential candidate, said yesterday that the peace plan proposed Tuesday by Sen. George McGovern is "a great step forward."

McGovern, Hall told newsmen at a press conference here yesterday, "now presents a real policy the people's demands for peace. He urged increased mass pressure to force President Nixon to end of ending the war if he can help it. What Nixon is doing, said Hall, is 'trying to orchestrate various

Dole Raps McGovern on Ellsberg

RNC Chairman Bob Dole has termed George McGovern's support of Daniel Ellsberg and his feigned outrage at the Watergate case "a splendid example of the double standard of the radical left." Dole referred to an interview with McGovern in October's *Intellectual Digest*, in which McGovern admits knowing of the Pentagon Papers theft before it was public knowledge and admits that he "encouraged" Daniel Ellsberg "to go to the *New York Times*," adding "I'm glad he did and I think he performed a tremendous service." Coupled with McGovern's demagoguery on the Watergate case, Dole said this is proof that "when it comes to the theft of secret documents, George McGovern practices a double standard."

Did you notice that in his TV talk about Vietnam, George McGovern never once mentioned the word "amnesty." Oh, he talked about it. He said he would give draft-dodgers "the opportunity to come home," as he put it, quickly adding that personally, if he were in their position, he would volunteer two years of public service on subsistence pay (remember that would be \$6,500 a year guaranteed annual income if George is President) to demonstrate that the objection was not to serving the Nation but to participating in the Vietnam war. Because of the way in which he phrased it, the distinct impression was left that McGovern as President would, like McGovern the person, require repatriated draft-dodgers to do two years domestic service in order to be amnestied. But George never really said it. Talk about tricky.

First Monday

More criticism from the Left of the McGovernites' elitism. Socialist Irving Howe writes in "Dissent": "There remains a central weakness, however, in this new movement: its lack of strong plebeian support and participation. It is a weakness that need not be fatal at this stage of development, for new movements tend first to flourish among persons who enjoy the possibilities of relative leisure and who are inclined toward generalized ideas. But if the McGovern movement fails to gain strong support among the American workers and the lower-middle class, then not only will it not be able to win the election it will not 'deserve' to. Let us remember that the use of the populist label to describe the McGovern movement is imprecise. Populism in America, whatever else it may have been, was a deeply plebeian mass movement. McGovernism is thus far a movement of academics, professionals, young people, and the like who employ a populist rhetoric. There is a difference; indeed, it could make all the difference."

18-Year-Olds Support Nixon

Eighteen-year-old voters will support Nixon in November, despite the fact that the same age group favored McGovern last year, according to the largest national survey of high school achievers ever conducted. In this year's Nationwide survey of more than 24,000 student leaders, 70 percent of whom are voting age, 47 percent indicated they would vote for Nixon, as opposed to 37 percent who favored McGovern, and 16 percent who favored another candidate, gave no preference, or were just under 18 and not old enough to vote. Last year the same survey indicated just the opposite. McGovern drew 47 percent of the group's support in 1971, Nixon was favored by only 37 percent, and 16 percent indicated another choice or no choice at all. The survey



Shirley MacLaine
Meet
Henry Kimelman



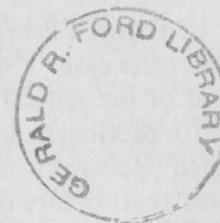
"If George McGovern gets in the White House it is not a political change that is going to occur, it's a social change. He's not kidding about the redistribution of wealth."—*McGovern-backer, actress Shirley MacLaine, quoted in Time magazine, Sept. 25, 1972.*

"His [McGovern's] few rich contributor's don't need reassuring, Kimelman says, since 'they are intelligent and enlightened enough to know that when the Senator talks about redistribution of wealth, he doesn't mean taking away from the rich but creating a more equitable system through full employment.'"—*McGovern National Finance Chairman Henry Kimelman, quoted in the Washington Star-News, Sept. 3, 1972.*

of attitudes and opinions of outstanding high school graduates was conducted by the publishers of *Who's Who Among American High School Students*, Northfield, Illinois.

The September issue of *First Monday* ran a photo of Vice President Agnew, golfer Doug Sanders and John Wayne all laughing very hard. We have since found out who it was that was so entertaining: comedian Foster Brooks, a regular on "The New Bill Cosby Show."

58-42.



ROBERT BROWN
EXECUTIVE OFFICE BLDG
ROOM 187
WASHINGTON DC 20500

Monday. NOV. 20, 1972

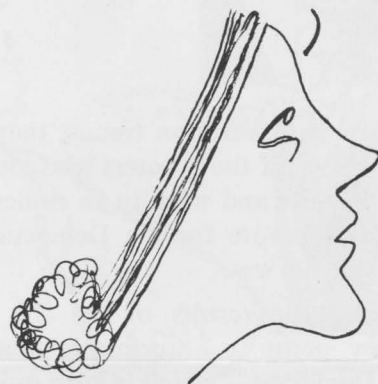
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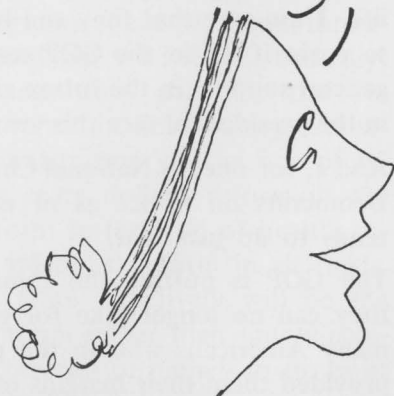
Ramsey Clark?



Jane Fonda?



Pierre Salinger?



Hubert Humphrey?



Edmund Muskie?



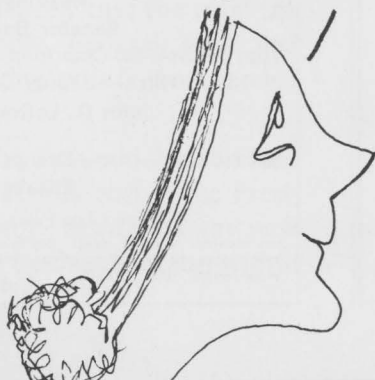
Sargent Shriver?



George McGovern?



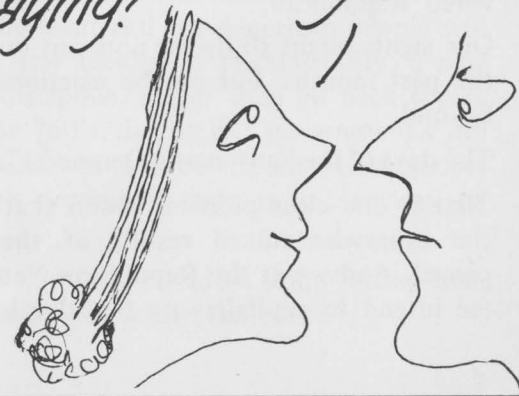
SIGH-



What are you playing?



Nostalgia '72



Apologies to Jules Feiffer



Our Determination: To Build A Republican Majority

As I read current registration trends, they point to a decline in number of those voters who identify themselves as Democrats and who, in an earlier day, would be relied upon to vote for the Democrat candidate no matter who he was.

And as I read the results of the '72 presidential election, they point to a decline in number of the "automatic Democrat," which in turn points to a day not far in the future when the automatic Democrat majority, in the voter registration rolls as well as in the Congress and many statehouses also will be a thing of the past.

The results of this election were mixed. We suffered some disappointing and even distressing losses in Congress and in some Governors' races. At the same time, however, the President won a stirring and unprecedented landslide endorsement for his Republican policies.

And in that victory, I see hope for—and the grounds for our determination to build—a Republican majority in this country.

The opposition party not just in its choice of a candidate, but in its party's prescription for the Nation—the Democrat platform adopted in Miami in July—has taken a giant step to the rear, breaking ranks with the politics of most Americans.

Republican ascendancy surely is not inevitable. But it certainly won't be served by a negative concentration on our unexpected losses this year. It can be fostered, however, by seizing upon our unexpected opportunity which is the result of this election.

It can be served, in other words, by our commitment to hard work, from this day on, in the effort to win over permanently the support of those voters who this year, for the first time in their lives may have voted Republican.

Our sights ought to be set now not on the events of the past months, but on the elections of 1974 and beyond.

The days of the "automatic Democrat" are numbered. That is one clear political lesson that emerges from the otherwise mixed results of the election just passed. And we at the Republican National Committee intend to capitalize on that development and to

go forward with programs to win over permanently to the Republican banner many of those formerly straight-ticket-voting Democrats who voted, this year for the first time, for a Republican candidate for office when they cast their vote for the President.

If the old politics were defined by the real or perceived rote allegiance of supposedly solid voting blocs—ethnics, working men and women, Catholics and Jews—to any presidential candidate who bore the Democrat label, then George McGovern succeeded in his goal of destroying the old politics. In the presidential election of 1972, that old pattern of American voting habits burst asunder just as did the "new politics" bubble which some thought would take its place.

The overwhelming support which the President won at the polls from areas of traditional Democrat strength is both proof and promise to me that an enduring myth about American politics—the myth of permanent Republican minority status—can be proven invalid. Many millions of Americans voted on the seventh, for a Republican for the first time in their life. I am sure that they can be counted upon to do so again if we in the GOP set to work to earn their general support in the future as we won their support in the presidential race this year.

And I, for one, as National Chairman, am putting the Democrats on notice as of now, that the GOP intends to do just that.

The GOP is putting the Democrats on notice that they can no longer take for granted the support of many Americans who in the past have traditionally provided them their margins of victory.



Bob Dole

Chairman, Republican National Committee

Monday. NOV. 20, 1972

MONDAY, a weekly publication is sent to contributors of \$25.00 or more. Of which \$5.00 is for subscription to MONDAY per annum.

Republican National Committee
310 First Street, S.E.
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Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered magazines to the Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Vol. 4 No. 29

Monday, November 20, 1972

PRESIDENT PLEDGES END TO PERMISSIVENESS, LESS AND BETTER GOVERNMENT AND MORE CONSERVATIVE JUDGES

In an exclusive, copyright interview shortly before the election with the *Washington Star-News*' Garnett Horner, President Nixon has made clear his determination to end "the whole era of permissiveness," reduce both the size and the cost of the Federal government and to continue to appoint conservative judges to the courts.

Noting that the suggestion had been made that if he were to win big he would be free to advocate some massive, new social programs, the President declared:

"Nothing could be further from the mark."

A Reform Administration

"This country has enough on its plate in the way of huge new spending programs, social programs, throwing dollars at problems. What we need is, basically, reform of existing institutions and not the destruction of our tried values in this country. Consequently, the next administration will be one of reform, not just adding more dollars—reform in the field of education; reform in the field of health; reform in Federal-state relations; reform in all fields. Reform using money more effectively will be the mark of this administration, rather than simply coming up with huge new bundles of money to throw at the problems. I don't believe that the answer to the Nation's problems is simply massive new programs in terms of dollars and in terms of people."

What has to be realized, the President pointed out, is that many of the solutions of the '60's were "massive failures."

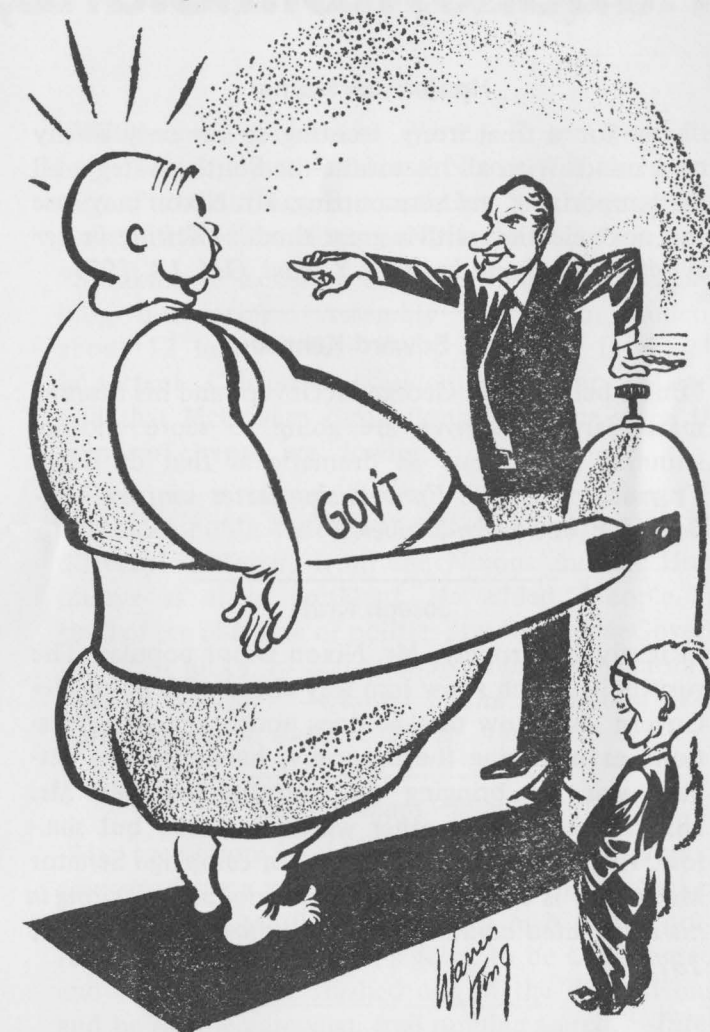
"They threw money at the problems and for the most part they have failed and we are going to shuck off those programs and trim down those programs that have proved simply to be failures," he declared.

No Tax Increase

On the subject of taxes, the President said "there will be no solutions of problems that require a tax increase." The President is convinced that the total tax burden of the American people, Federal, state and local, has reached the "breaking point" and cannot go higher.

Government reforms have to be ones which will make the government "run better at less cost," the President declared. "The reforms also, insofar as any new programs are concerned, must be ones that are within our budget limitations."

'YOU, LEANER AND STRONGER!'



N.Y. Daily News

On the subject of the judicial system in this country the President said that he intends to continue "to appoint conservative judges to the courts. I do. The courts need them and they need men like Rehnquist and Burger and Blackmun and Powell on that court, not reactionary judges but men who are Constitutional conservatives, because the trend had gone too far in the other direction...I think we have got to continue to reverse that trend in the whole field of law enforcement."

Returning to the subject of government, the President observed: "I feel very strongly that this country wants, and this election will demonstrate that the American people want and the American people will thrive upon a new feeling of responsibility, a new feeling of self-discipline, rather than go back to the thoughts of the '60's that it was government's job every time there was a problem, to make people more and more dependent upon it to give way to their whims."

What is needed now, the President said, "rather than more government is better government."

Pundits, Politicians, and Their Predictions on the Presidency: Read'em and Weep...

Harriet Van Horne

"Now for a final irony, existing so far only in my own mind. With all his soothe-the-South strategy, all his temporizing and sermonizing, Mr. Nixon may lose the next election with a great thud."—*Writing in her syndicated column in the N.Y. Post, Oct. 18, 1971.*

Sen. Edward Kennedy

"But I believe that George McGovern and his running mate Sargent Shriver are going to score another stunning upset, one as dramatic as that of Harry Truman in 1948."—*Fund-raising letter sent by Kennedy for McGovern-Shriver.*

Joseph Kraft

"Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Nixon is not popular. The very polls which show him way ahead of Senator McGovern also show that he does poorly on such questions as managing the economy, handling the Vietnam war, or bringing the country together. Mr. Nixon's support, in other words, is broad but shallow. He is vulnerable to the kind of campaign Senator McGovern is now in position to mount."—*Writing in his syndicated column in the Baltimore Sun, Aug. 31, 1972.*

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley

"On Nov. 7, we'll have the greatest victory that the Democratic party has ever had in any presidential election."—*Quoted by UPI, Sept. 12, 1972.*

Tom Wicker

"California, of course, is too big a state for the outsider to gauge quickly, or perhaps at all. For what a preliminary impression may be worth, George McGovern does seem better off here than in most key states, with a reasonable, if not overwhelming, chance to win."—*Writing in his column in the N.Y. Times, Nov. 2, 1972.*

(President Nixon won California by over 1 million votes.—Ed.)

Sen. Edmund Muskie

"On the assumption that the Nixon support around the country is actually quite 'soft,' Muskie is counseling his old rival, McGovern, to concentrate on what he considers the 'public doubts' about the President, to focus on his 'shortcomings.'"—*Quoted in the Bangor (Me.) Daily News, Oct. 9, 1972.*

Sargent Shriver

"All the King's horses and all the King's men aren't going to be able to put Richard Nixon back into office again."—*In an address before the Democrat State Convention in Little Rock, Ark., Sept. 9, 1972.*

Sen. Mike Mansfield

"Washington—If the Republicans keep up their 'great, smooth, well-run' campaign, they will succeed in propelling Democrat George McGovern into the White House, Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield predicted today.

"They will paint McGovern as a little David with a little slingshot going against a big Goliath," Mansfield said, "and Americans like an underdog.

"I encourage the Republicans to keep it up. They have a great campaign, a smooth campaign, a well-run campaign and in my opinion an over-organized campaign. It's going to mean a big boost for McGovern."—*Senate Majority Leader Mansfield, quoted by UPI, Sept. 22, 1972.*

Frank Mankiewicz

"While many Jewish voters were disenchanted with Democrats over the summer, Mankiewicz said, many have returned to their traditional Democratic allegiance. He estimated that Nixon would receive less than 'the 20 percent of the Jewish vote he had in 1968.'"—*McGovern chief political adviser Frank Mankiewicz, quoted in the N.Y. Post, Oct. 23, 1972.*

(It is estimated by pollster Lou Harris that President Nixon in fact received about 43 percent of the Jewish vote.—Ed.)

Nat Hentoff

"At present I am in what appears to be a small minority who believe that George McGovern is going to take this state handily—with or without Meade Esposito and Patrick Cunningham. If I'm right, a transformed Democratic party could then take the governorship (with Basil Paterson) and Javits' seat (with Abzug).

"Ingenuous," huh? Okay, despite all the current 'deep' analysis of the odds against McGovern in the state and in the country, I predict here and now that he'll win nationally by at least five percentage points. And I think that's conservative. He'll do at least as well in New York State."—*Writing in his column in the Village Voice, July 27, 1972.*

Larry O'Brien

"But I predict that the 1972 campaign will go right down to the wire. In the closing days of this campaign I expect George McGovern and Sarge Shriver to electrify this country with the most dramatic come-from-behind victory since Harry Truman embarrassed the *Chicago Tribune*."—*McGovern National Campaign Chairman at a dinner in Hartford, Conn., Sept. 30, 1972.*

James Reston

"It is probably a little too early to count on a thumping Republican victory. It's a good bet, but it's no cinch."—*Writing in his column in the N.Y. Times, July 23, 1972.*

Jean Westwood

"National Democratic Chairwoman Jean Westwood Friday predicted a presidential victory for George McGovern that would be reminiscent of Harry Truman's surprise win in 1948.

"We're going to win by a narrow margin," the husky-voiced party chairman said in a news conference here. "It will be a Harry Truman all over again."—*Democrat National Chairperson quoted in the Atlanta Constitution, Oct. 28, 1972.*

Richard Goodwin

"Soon thereafter he [Hubert Humphrey] was to become the second victim—President Johnson being the first—of the new politics, the politics of discontent. It is increasingly likely that President Nixon will be the third.

"The felt deterioration in our national life has continued. Thus, as McGovern began his campaign, the constituency of discontent was still there, and larger than ever. The most important question was his ability to put it together. Once that was resolved, again in New Hampshire, the road to the nomination was clear. And so, for the same reason, is the road to the White House."—*Writing in Newsweek magazine, July 10, 1972.*

Julian Bond

"Sen. George S. McGovern will be elected President 'by a hair,' Julian Bond, George state representative, predicted last night."—*Quoted in the Kansas City Times, Sept. 26, 1972.*

Warren Rogers

"Williamsburg—Columnist Warren Rogers predicted here Tuesday that President Nixon will be 'a one-term President' and forecast that Sen. George McGovern will be the victor in November....

"Speaking to a session of the 16th annual Williamsburg International Assembly of Foreign Students about 12 hours before the polls closed in the all-important California presidential primary, Rogers said that McGovern came along at a time when the 'winds of change' are blowing.

"There is a strong feeling, he said, among the American public that they want somebody who looks different—different from the Nixons and the Humphreys—as their president. He added, 'people are tired of the old style of politics and George McGovern has been lucky to come along when the electorates want a change.'"—*Quoted in the Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch, June 7, 1972.*

Sen. Abraham Ribicoff

"My prediction is, Liz, that George McGovern is going to have a very, very strong comeback. And by October first, you'll see him very high in the polls. And by October 15th, it's going to be a horse race, and Nixon will be flushed out of the White House and be on the campaign trail running scared."—*Interviewed on Elizabeth Drew show, "Thirty Minutes With..." Sept. 14, 1972.*

John Kenneth Galbraith

"He said that Nixon supporters who have decided that they have already won the election 'are going to have the surprise of their life.

"It would be wrong to suggest that over the country McGovern is ahead, but he isn't nearly as far behind as the polls have suggested," Galbraith said."—*Quoted in the Milwaukee Sentinel, Oct. 14, 1972.*

Sen. Fred Harris

"Concord—Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., said yesterday Democratic presidential hopeful George McGovern can win because voters are beginning to be more aware of economic issues.

"The World Series is over," Harris said over sausage and eggs. "Only now, I think, are the people beginning to be ready to think on the issues. They get interested toward the end."—*UPI dispatch in the Manchester (N.H.) Union-Leader, Oct. 24, 1972.*

1973 EXPECTED TO BE ANOTHER GOOD YEAR ECONOMICALLY, COMMERCE DEPARTMENT REPORT SAYS

The U.S. economy is expected to exceed the official target of six percent growth this year, providing "a springboard for another vigorous expansion in 1973," according to a new report by the Commerce Department.

The report, the *Interim Review of the Economy: The Expanding Economy of 1972*, is a follow-up to the *U.S. Industrial Outlook 1972*, published earlier this year, and is designed to be a decision-making tool for both business and government.

In releasing the report, Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson said that it provides an account of the strengthening and broadening economic expansion under way in the U.S. economy. It includes an overview of general economic trends to date in 1972, highlighting their impact on business and industrial activity, and a preview of probable economic developments for the balance of this year and 1973.

Major Sectors

Prepared jointly by the Office of Harold C. Passer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, and the Bureau of Domestic Commerce, the review discusses major sectors of the economy, as well as analyzing 20 major industries.

The 20 key industries covered in the report are steel, copper, paper and board, industrial inorganic chemicals, air conditioning and commercial refrigeration, construction, mobile homes, machine tools, metal cans, automobiles, truck and bus chassis, tires and inner tubes, lighting fixtures, household appliances, photographic equipment, soft drinks, domestic telephone and telegraph, television broadcasting, retail trade and banking.

All 20 of these industries are anticipated to show gains in both 1972 and 1973, with most of the increases for both years falling in the 7 to 15 percent range.

In the report's overview of the economic situation, the major reasons cited for predicting a banner year in 1973 include:

- The continuing rise in the Composite Index of Leading Indicators which are still in a vigorous up-trend.
- The sustained climb in durable goods order and backlogs.
- Indications of another strong gain in business plant and equipment spending.
- The likelihood of substantial additions to inventories, which are at a low level in relation to sales.



- An expected improvement in the foreign trade picture, which has been a negative factor this year.
- A favorable outlook in credit markets with funds expected to be adequate for business expansion and for financing home mortgages and large consumer purchases.

The report, in discussing prospects for 1973, states that "it appears that the economy will enter the year in a strongly rising trend, but with still enough slack in capacity utilization so that major production bottlenecks can be avoided."

More Progress

It also forecasts that more progress will be made in reducing inflation and reducing the unemployment rate as employment continues its strong climb.

In recent months, employment has registered a year-to-year gain of 2.5 million jobs and the unemployment rate has been at 5.5 percent, representing a decline from the six percent level earlier in this year. Expectations are that this rate will decline further by year-end.

BALLOTS, BABIES

"The morning after suffering perhaps the worst defeat in presidential election history, George McGovern thanked the people of Massachusetts, the only state he carried. McGovern said he was especially pleased to have won here because Massachusetts is 'where it all began.' Actually it all began in Plymouth, and President Nixon carried that town by about 300 votes, 4809 to 4518."—*Editorial in the Boston Herald Traveler Record American.*

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

Still his shy, unassuming, humble self, George McGovern has told the *Washington Star-News*: "I don't see myself as the real loser in 1972, I see the country as the loser." In an interview in the *N.Y. Times*, McGovern conceded that the country is not ready to accept his views "right now" but that they'll come to those views "very quickly."

McGovern vs. the "Wreckers"

In that same *Times* interview, McGovern pledged to try and prevent the people he called "wreckers" from regaining a dominant role in the Democrat Party. George McGovern griping about people wrecking the Democrat Party is a little like Jack the Ripper complaining that he's afraid to walk the street at night because of a soaring crime rate.

People Afraid of McGovern

McGovern says President Nixon won by appealing "to the fears and anxieties of the people." And technically, he's correct. The people were afraid and anxious that if the President were not elected again, George McGovern would be.

Teddy Talk

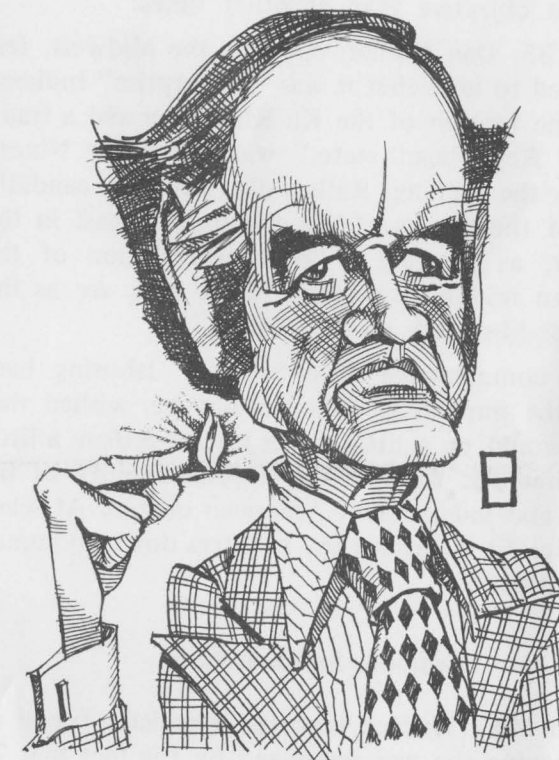
No sooner had the 20-foot McGovern-Shriver sign been carted off to the Smithsonian Institution than there was Teddy Talk. Columnist Tom Braden asked members of the Washington "in-Establishment" why they are pushing Sen. Walter Mondale instead of EMK for President in 1976. Three answers were given: 1) It's bad for the party to look to the same family for two decades; 2) When the clinch comes, Kennedy won't run; and 3) Chappaquiddick ended Kennedy. He'd be a bigger burden than Eagleton.

McGovernism Without McGovern

Another problem for Kennedy is that he represents McGovernism without McGovern. He campaigned hard for the Democrat Presidential nominee and differs with him on no substantial issues. As the *N.Y. Times*' columnist Anthony Lewis observes: "In policy terms Kennedy's position is not really different from McGovern's." Notes *Newsweek* magazine: "Kennedy, as it happens, is as far left as McGovern politically..." Commenting on this liability, Sen. Ernest Hollings, head of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, says Kennedy is going "to have to get right on the issues" in order to be elected because "the country is not going for any of this way out stuff."

There are even indications that Kennedy himself has clearly read the election results, realized where the action isn't and is waffling accordingly. *Newsweek* reports that he is less worried about the intra-party

QUOTE OF THE WEEK



"Senator George McGovern says he is determined to 'keep the heat on' President Nixon to end the war in Vietnam, to reduce military spending and to reorder national priorities."—Lead paragraph on McGovern interview story, *N.Y. Times*, Nov. 14, 1972.

fight and more concerned about winning back the confidence of traditional Democrats—specifically Roman Catholics and ethnic voters. Kennedy is said to believe that voters in these groups swung to Wallace and the President because they are disenchanted with liberal government overplanning. "The days of the five-point program as a response to problems are over," Kennedy told *Newsweek*'s John Lindsay. If Kennedy really believes this, it will be interesting to see if he will re-introduce during the next Congress his multi-billion dollar, totally-Federalized five-point national health plan.

Senator Mushy

Same Old Mr. Ed: With Democrats left and right fighting over whether or not Jean Westwood should be removed as Democrat National Chairperson, Sen. Edmund Muskie says: "I'm not anti-Westwood or pro-Westwood. The question of considering party leadership after an election defeat is a valid principle."

The Press: For the most part, the networks played the Nixon landslide pretty straight. There were, however, some instances when reporters appeared less than objective than at other times:

■ On CBS, Dan Rather, covering the Midwest, felt compelled to note that it was "no surprise" Indiana, "one-time bastion of the Ku Klux Klan and a traditionally Republican state," was going for Nixon. Later in the evening, Rather did, however, candidly interpret the results of the election, at least in the Midwest, as showing a "counterrevolution of the American middle" rejecting "what they see as the bankrupt liberalism of the 1960's."

■ CBS commentator Eric Sevareid, laboring hard under the impending Nixon avalanche, wished that things would be a little closer just to restore a little more innocent faith in the unpredictability of the ornery and independent American citizen. At least, said Eric, "it might cut the pollsters down to human size a little more."

Cronkite Jumps Wallace

■ When Mike Wallace reported a pollster friend of his as saying she was impressed by the fact that 73 percent of registered voters say they are sick and tired of hearing people attack patriotism, morality and other traditional American values, Walter Cronkite jumped in sputtering: "Who do they—who do they think—did—did she say, Mike?—attacks patriotism and morality? I don't know of anybody attacking these two constants..." Wallace replied saying that what he imagined it meant was that in the perceptions of millions of Americans that is what was done during the Democratic Convention in Miami and what McGovern and his supporters were also perceived as doing throughout the campaign. And that's the way it is, Walter.

Monday. NOV. 20, 1972

republican national committee

Senator Bob Dole—Chairman

310 First Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003

■ On NBC, at one point early in the evening, "too early to tell yet," he said, Douglas Kiker nonetheless expressed his opinion that "it appears that the Republican Party just may be becoming the white man's party in the South."

■ When John Chancellor criticized President Nixon's surrogate campaign, David Brinkley commented: "Well, he was doing what McGovern would have done had their situations been reversed." Chancellor replied: "I'm not so sure about that. I just don't know."

■ Cassie Mackin, late in the evening, dropped all pretense to objectivity lamenting the fact that early on in the campaign McGovern got a "very unfortunate public image on the three A's...acid, amnesty and abortion." He sort of got stuck on these things, said Cassie, and "I think, rather unfairly..."

McGovern Can Be Beat in '74

South Dakota Republican State Chairman Robert Burns tells *Monday* there's a good chance that McGovern can be defeated when he comes up for reelection to the Senate in 1974. "The chances should be excellent," says Burns, "in view of the fact that he lost his home state this year by a 57-43 percent margin. His image here is that of a radical, one who is out of step and out of touch with the people here in the state of South Dakota." Possible McGovern opponents mentioned by Burns: Jim Abdnor, who was just elected to Congress in the second district; and Bob Hirsch, who lost this year to James Abourezk in a contest for Karl Mundt's Senate seat. Burns says there are also other possible McGovern opponents besides the two he mentioned.

Even Jimmy (The Greek) Snyder missed a few. Of the 33 Senate elections he gave odds on, he struck out on eight.

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NEWSPAPER

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ROBERT BROWN
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Monday. JAN. 15, 1973



HOLTON NEW HEAD OF GOP GOVERNORS

NEW OFFICERS of the Republican Governors Association are Governor Linwood Holton of Virginia (left) and Governor Winfield Dunn of Tennessee. Holton was elected Chairman and Dunn, Vice Chairman at the Winter Conference held recently in Phoenix, Arizona. The incumbent Governors and the Governors-elect met with the Vice President, RNC Chairman Bob Dole and Co-Chairmen Anne Armstrong and Tom Evans during the Conference which also included discussions of the 1972 campaign, revenue sharing, and local/state/federal cooperation.





Only President Not Congress Can Negotiate End to War

(The following article originally appeared as a column in the New York Times, January 9, 1973.)

There is only one way the Congress of the United States can end the war in Vietnam—by forcing a surrender of almost all American objectives in Southeast Asia.

This is a fact of international life which is very often misunderstood by sincere people who honestly want to see the bloodshed and the hostilities in Indochina brought to an end.

Indeed, the only way that a reasonable cease-fire and the return of American prisoners of war can be arranged is through the process of negotiation. The Congress is not empowered to nor is it capable of conducting, these negotiations. The only action possible would be to render American military forces completely impotent by cutting off their funds and thus paving the way for a Communist victory of Hanoi's own making.

At this time, the Senate and House Democrats who are threatening to tie President Nixon's hands are threatening to prolong the war. They might just as well send a message to the Communist bosses in Hanoi telling them to "hang in there" until Congressional patience is exhausted.

We already know how delicate are negotiations in Paris. The Administration's critics, however, have ignored this and are embarking on a negative, counter-productive course born of an almost psychopathic desire to embarrass President Nixon and deny him the credit for ending a war which began under one Democrat President and was escalated enormously under another Democrat President.

When Democrat caucuses in Congress threaten to cut off funds if a settlement is not reached by a certain date, they are deliberately encouraging Hanoi's representatives at the peace negotiations to hold off agreement on any kind of a settlement until after that date. I can understand the frustration which is so rampant in Congressional circles because of Hanoi's backing and filling on provisions for arranging a cease-fire. I can also understand the unhappiness caused by the renewed bombing of North Vietnam on orders of President Nixon.

But it stands to reason that the frustration and unhappiness on Capitol Hill cannot begin to equal the frustration and unhappiness in the White House. And it does Mr. Nixon's critics no credit to run around suggesting that President Nixon is gleefully bombing North Vietnam out of a spirit of hatred or revenge.

Anyone who makes this kind of suggestion has to be a Nixon-hater of so rabid a breed that he has lost all sense of proportion and decency.

Those of us who have watched and consulted with the President during the entire Vietnam mess which Lyndon Johnson left on his doorstep can attest to the President's deeply-held wish for a speedy end to the hostilities, the bloodshed and the imprisonment of American fighting men. It is the in-

tensity of his feeling which has given Mr. Nixon the courage to go ahead with the course of action he knew (perhaps better than any other living American) would bring down on him a new torrent of criticism and abuse from many directions, both at home and abroad. And it was the intensity of his desire for an end to the bloodshed that gave him the courage to act in a way he realized would enrage the liberals and the doves and the demagogues on Capitol Hill.

In this whole situation a few basic facts need to be outlined and underscored:

■ President Nixon and his advisers have more information than anyone else, in or out of Congress, about the true status of the peace talks and what factors are involved in motivating the Communists to drop their impossible dream of complete control of Indochina.

■ That President Nixon and his advisers know better than anyone else, in or out of Congress, how best to bring about a speedy agreement for a cease-fire and the return of American prisoners.

It stands to reason that the President felt renewed bombing of North Vietnam was not only the best but the only way to get the peace talks back on the road to ultimate agreement.

I believe the President and Henry Kissinger recognized in the changing demands of the Hanoi representatives a belief that they could go on arming for the destruction of South Vietnam as long as this task required and without interference from American bombers. I believe the President and Mr. Kissinger recognized in the attitude and the actions of the Hanoi negotiators a belief that they could act militarily without interference in the belief that American public opinion and Congressional sentiment would never sanction a resumption of the bombing of military targets in the Hanoi and Haiphong areas.

Had our negotiators permitted this Hanoi attitude to go unchallenged the peace negotiations would have dragged on until either we gave in on every Communist demand or until the doves in Congress forced an American surrender on Communist terms.

Barry Goldwater

Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Arizona

Monday. JAN. 15, 1973

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Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered magazines to the Republican National Committee, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Vol. 5 No. 1

Monday, January 15, 1973

MINORITY BUSINESS GAINS IN 1972 POINT TOWARD FURTHER ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The movement to bring black, Spanish-speaking, American Indian, and other minorities into the American business mainstream recorded unprecedented gains in 1972, according to the Commerce Department's Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE).

Some of the major advances in the development of business opportunities for minorities reported by OMBE include:

■ the obligation of \$866.5 million in Federal funds for minority business programs, more than four times the funding level in 1968.

■ the purchase of \$394 million in minority-produced goods and services by the Federal government skyrocketing from \$13 million in 1969.

■ the contracting by OMBE of 245 organizations to offer business assistance to minorities in communities across the nation with \$49.4 million in funds.

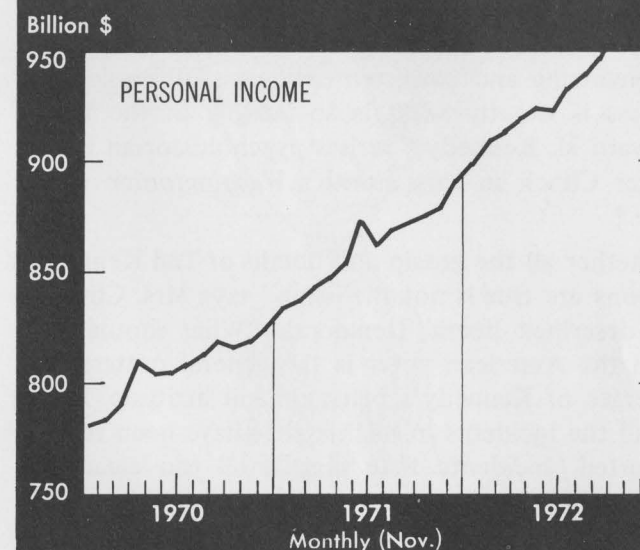
■ the \$1 billion five-year loan commitment to minority business by the American Bankers Association, which reported that \$411 million of that figure had been reached in the second year.

■ the initiation of a program to encourage State governments to mobilize business development. Currently, nine states have complete programs—State OMBEs—to assist minority business growth.

"The progress we have made this past year toward a meaningful inclusion of minorities in the nation's economic life is without precedent," stated OMBE Director John L. Jenkins. "If one year can be said to have been the upward year in the minority business program in terms of real outlays of resources by the public and private sectors, it has been 1972.

"In the past year, we have seen the expansion of the program into the local community through 140 business development organizations and into the private business community through the formation of the first National Minority Purchasing Council, consisting of chief executives of major corporations, and through a new variety of minority business resource programs and market opportunities offered by the private sector," he continued.

According to Jenkins, 1972 saw the servicing of over 16,000 minority businessmen, the packaging of 1,500 loans, and the extension of management and technical assistance to over 5,000 minority firms. He added that OMBE's field office network grew from eight offices to 25 in 1972.



PERSONAL INCOME WILL SOON TOP TRILLION DOLLAR MARK

Personal income is growing rapidly as the economy expands and it will soon touch the trillion-dollar mark.

In November, according to the Commerce Department's Bureau of Economic Analysis, personal income rose by \$8.7 billion over October to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$972.5 billion, only \$27.5 billion below the trillion-dollar level. The November annual rate was \$93 billion above that for November 1971.

Dr. Harold C. Passer, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, noted that personal income has gone up an average of more than \$7.5 billion a month on an annual basis for the last 12 months, and that it will probably hit the trillion-dollar level by the month of April.

Jenkins cited the fact that the need for a national minority business program grew out of a special census taken in 1969 which showed that while minorities constitute 17 percent of the U.S. population they operate four percent of the nation's businesses which account for only .7 percent of the total receipts of all U.S. firms.

"A groundwork in government and in private industry has been set for 1973 to surpass 1972 in the way of correcting that disparity," Jenkins declared. "We are talking here of a multiplier effect for the resources allocated in 1972, resources which will generate new resources for minority business development in 1973."

KENNEDY RECORD LACKS CONVINCING, CONSISTENT EVIDENCE OF PRESIDENTIAL FITNESS, SAYS PSYCHOHISTORIAN

"Convincing and consistent evidence of Presidential fitness is exactly what is so lacking in the life of Edward M. Kennedy," writes psychohistorian Nancy Gager Clinch in this month's *Washingtonian* magazine.*

"Whether all the gossip and details of Ted Kennedy's liaisons are true is not the issue," says Mrs. Clinch, a self-described liberal Democrat. "What should concern the American voter is the general pattern that emerges of Kennedy's behavior and attitude. Let us recall the incidents in his life that have been reliably reported, incidents that suggest all too clearly an underlying trend toward reckless behavior replete with elements of arrogance, grandiosity, and an underlying self-contempt:"

■ He was expelled from Harvard for cheating on an exam.

■ He was thrown out of a rugby game after three violent arguments with opposing team members. (See box)

■ As a law student, he was convicted of three reckless driving violations, which included racing through red lights at night at excessive speeds.

■ Campaigning for Jack, he piloted a plane, rode bucking broncos, and made his first ski jump off a dangerous slope, all with little instruction or experience.

KENNEDY RECKLESSNESS

"The evidence of recurrent Kennedy recklessness, indifference to danger, and bodily self-injury is too clear to be ignored. Disaster may come whether we wish it or not. But if part of us is unconsciously drawn to the pain or destruction of the disliked self, sooner or later disaster will almost certainly be ours. Some form of self-punishment is always present in a neurotic emotional pattern, although it may be well disguised from the casual observer, and most often from the victim himself. When the neurotic is also a national leader, his self-defeating impulses may seriously affect not only his fate, but the fate of his country and fellow citizens as well."—*Excerpted from "The Kennedy Neurosis," a book by Nancy Gager Clinch, published by Grosset & Dunlap.*

*Mrs. Clinch defines psychohistory as the combined use of psychology, history and related disciplines (such as political science, sociology) to explore the dynamics between personality and society in every level of human complexity.

KENNEDY UNDER PRESSURE

"Back in Harvard in 1954, Ted Kennedy's hostilities burst out into the open again during a rugby match. Teddy got into three fist fights and was finally thrown out of the game by the referee, the only player this referee had ever expelled in thirty years of officiating. The referee himself had a cogent comment on Teddy's behavior: 'I've thought a lot about that game since. Rugby is a character-building sport. Players learn how to conduct themselves on the field with the idea that they will learn how to conduct themselves in life. Rugby, like life, can be rough. Knocks are given and taken, but you must play by the rules. When a player loses control of himself three times in a single afternoon, to my mind, that is a sign that, in a crisis, the man is not capable of thinking clearly and acting rationally. Such a man will panic under pressure.'"—*Excerpt from the Washingtonian article "Why Ted Kennedy Will Never Be President," January 1973.*

■ On a hazardous night plane landing in bad weather, he reportedly failed to buckle his seat belt and was seriously hurt when the plane crashed.

Chappaquiddick

■ He confessed to driving off a narrow bridge at night and accidentally killing a woman passenger, an accident he failed to report for nine hours.

Even in Kennedy's "best moments," writes Mrs. Clinch, there are familiar elements of political expediency. "Teddy opposes the Vietnam war eloquently—but belatedly. He voted for the Equal Rights Amendment for Women—but after years of opposition. His strongest concerns, such as Vietnamese refugees and national health insurance, are not high-risk political issues. Kennedy, like his brothers, shows no sign of going where others have not dared or of making strong commitments and sticking to them against strong opposition."

Ted Kennedy in the total picture is "not impressive" for his dedication to principles and the long, hard, often unrecognized work necessary to put them into action, she writes, adding: "His is most often the public relations path of flashy appearance and minimal content."

As to why this is so about Kennedy, the author offers her opinion: "This is the great pathos of all neurosis: Crippled by forces we never began, we become too often passive toward their malignant growth, and al-

low ourselves to remain stunted and thwarted as unre-sisting victims."

What is so extraordinary today is that so much of Ted Kennedy's obvious neurosis is being forgotten or ignored by his admirers, says Mrs. Clinch. Quoting a *Newsweek* item which noted that there is about Kennedy nearly a universal presumption that his party's nomination is his almost by prerogative if he wants it and if he stays out of trouble, she declares:

"It is precisely this easy American ability to forgive and forget the irrational and disastrous deeds of our national leaders, past and present, that is so frightening. Any person, man or woman, who truly aspires to be President of the United States should aim at giving convincing and consistent evidence of his fitness for that very demanding role....Convincing and consistent evidence of Presidential fitness is exactly what is so lacking in the life of Edward M. Kennedy."

Reckless, Self-Indulgent

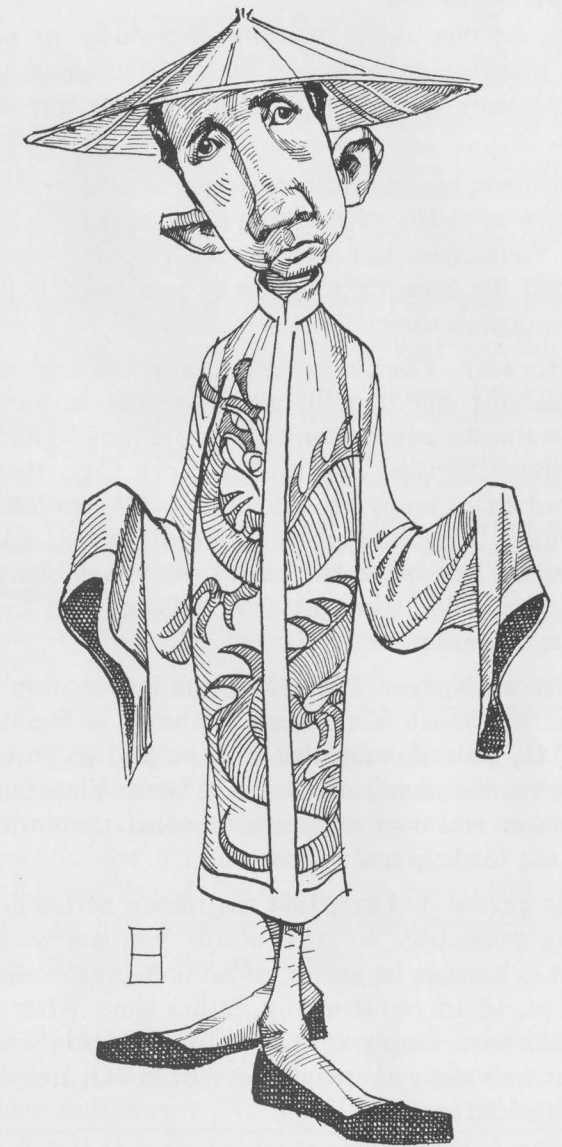
While the author predicts that because of his own "built-in propensities for recklessness, self-indulgence, and tragedy" Kennedy will never make it to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue as anything other than a non-resident, she says the essential question remains:

"Will the United States elect a President who was capable of one Chappaquiddick, who has exhibited frequent irresponsible behavior, and who has revealed the psychic probability of a similar future calamity? Or will we instead summon our own emotional toughness to prove ourselves a people more impressed by maturity than charisma?"

A copy of the *Washingtonian* magazine article about Kennedy can be obtained for 50 cents by writing the publication at: 1218 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C., 20036. A copy of Mrs. Clinch's book, "The Kennedy Neurosis: A Psychological Portrait of a Political Dynasty," can be purchased for \$10 from Grosset & Dunlap, Order Dept., 51 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10010.

SHE SAID IT, NOT US

"I do not myself subscribe to the view held by some in journalism that engaging the wrath of both sides in any dispute means—as the saying goes—that 'we must be doing something right.' On the contrary, it seems to me that one must not discount the possibility that it means we are doing everything wrong."—*Excerpted from address by Katherine Graham, President of the Washington Post Co., to the Commonwealth Club of California, Nov. 17, 1972.*



ATTENTION RAMSEY CLARK: FOR YOUR INFORMATION...

Since launching their brutal offensive against South Vietnam last spring, the North Vietnamese Communists have repeatedly rocketed and shelled South Vietnamese cities killing thousands of innocent civilians and reducing to rubble thousands of dwellings in the process, creating tens of thousands of homeless refugees.

Now along comes Ramsey Clark and some of his friends to try and help. But not the victims of Communist aggression. No, Mr. Clark and his crew have instead formed an organization to help rebuild a North Vietnamese hospital damaged in the recent U.S. bombing of that country.

Curious to know whether this fund-raiser for the enemy is his first effort to help war victims or

(Continued next page)

RAMSEY CLARK

whether he has done anything previously to help South Vietnamese victims of North Vietnamese violence, *Monday* spoke with Clark and put the question to him.

No, this was his first effort, he explained, pleading ignorance as to the existence of organizations to help South Vietnamese war victims. As he put it, he has "not had the occasion to know of such specific projects or organizations."

Well, for Mr. Clark's information there are such organizations and if he'll take a minute to drop a note to the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc. in New York City, they'll be more than happy to send him a 22-page list. A list which includes numerous groups which Clark says he has not heard of, outfits with such obscure names as CARE, the American National Red Cross and the Salvation Army.

In addition, Nguyen Dinh Nam, the information officer at the South Vietnamese Embassy in Washington, D.C., tells *Monday* that he'll be glad to provide Clark with the names of some 122 South Vietnamese orphanages and over 60 welfare organizations which could use his help and money.

But the excuse by Clark that the reason he has done nothing previously to help South Vietnamese war victims is because he knows of no such organizations to do so, is, to put it mildly, rather lame. After all, he could have simply formed an organization which is what he's done to rebuild the Bach Mai Hospital in North Vietnam.

NIXON AND TRUMAN

"There is a direct and unmistakable parallel between the courageous and visionary leadership of Harry S Truman and that of Richard M. Nixon. We are absolutely and totally convinced history will confirm the correctness of President Nixon's decisions on such controversial matters as wage-and-price controls, opening of relations with Red China, expansion of trade with the Soviet Union, and the search for peace through strength in Indochina.

"Harry S Truman had 'guts' and did what he knew was right despite the harping of petty and largely uninformed critics who bore none of the responsibility of the Presidency. And the same is exactly true of Richard M. Nixon, whose acts of courage and vision will rank in the long reach of history on a level at least as high as those of his predecessor whose death we mourn this week."—*Excerpted from editorial in Burlington (Vt.) Free Press.*

POLITICAL POTPOURRI:

Newsman who talk with Ted Kennedy say that when the subject of the Presidency and 1976 comes up, Teddy abruptly suggests that they go see Minnesota Sen. Walter Mondale, who EMK refers to as an "up and coming young man." Sources close to Kennedy say that with the front-runner position being as vulnerable as it is, Kennedy's strategy is to try and build up anybody for President other than himself. Speaking of Kennedy, while he is and undoubtedly will continue to try and disassociate himself from George McGovern and his positions on the issues, a look at the record shows that they are as alike as the proverbial two peas in a pod. According to official Senate tally sheets, during the six years in which they have served together in the Senate, there were (through June last year) 2,273 record votes on which Kennedy and McGovern either voted or indicated a position. The two voted together on 1,948 votes or 86 percent of the time.

McGovern Tried to Milk Milk Lobby

Back during the campaign there were press reports that George McGovern and his lawyers were considering challenging in court a 1971 increase in government price supports of milk allegedly linked to money contributed by dairy farmers to the Nixon campaign. Now comes the report that a month prior to his considering court action, Old Honest George, Old Mr. Decent was in fact himself meeting secretly in motel rooms with the dairy lobby and asking for money. The *Washington Star-News'* James Polk reports that pretrial testimony in a court suit shows that McGovern met with milk leaders in a motel in Austin, Texas, the same day he experienced what he labeled one of the "great treasured" moments of his life, a meeting with LBJ at the ranch. Polk quotes a dairy official as recalling that McGovern had made his appeal by saying that milkmen knew that "campaigns require financing and that he would be grateful if we saw fit at some stage to help him finance his campaign."

Media, Union Prestige Ebbing

Pollwatch: A Lou Harris Survey sampling public confidence in leaders of both public and private institutions shows the leaders of the mass media doing worse than any leadership group in our society except for organized labor...A current Gallup Poll shows labor unions as declining in public esteem to their lowest point in four decades. The decline, says Gallup, undoubtedly stems in part from frustration over strikes, particularly those that directly affect the public welfare.

The Press: Syndicated columnist Tom Braden writes in the *Washington Post* that "there is not the slightest indication" that U.S. bombing has weakened North Vietnam's will. Braden is wrong. There was just such a "slight indication" last Oct. 27 when the *N.Y. Times* reported that foreign diplomats with contacts in Hanoi listed as key elements in Hanoi's decision to accept a cease-fire the following: 1) The heavy bombing of N. Vietnam and the mining of Haiphong convinced the North Vietnamese politburo that the Communist offensive which began last March 30 could not deal a decisive defeat to South Vietnam; 2) Hanoi apparently believed that the best that could be gained was a long and costly, bloody stalemate and, in the words of a Communist diplomat, the operation had entered the phase of "diminishing returns;" 3) The unfavorable military picture by the end of September forced the decision that what could no longer be accomplished on the battlefield, might now be attained through political action; 4) The damage inflicted in N. Vietnam by the bombing appeared, after more than six months, to outweigh the advantages of a return to "protracted warfare," let alone those of a sustained series of offensives.

Newsweek Cover Misleading

Newsweek magazine's cover story on "Nixon and the Media" quotes ultra-left-wing *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff saying that without being "hysterical" or "paranoid" he thinks the First Amendment is under attack by the Administration. An insight into Hentoff's political awareness can be gained from the following excerpt from his July 27 *Voice* column last year: "Okay, despite all the current 'deep' analysis of the odds against McGovern in the state and in the country, I predict here and now that he'll win nationally by at least five percentage points. And I think that's conservative. He'll do at least as well in New York State." President Nixon carried N.Y. by over a million votes...The *Newsweek* cover on the President and the media issue was also a little

WISHFUL THINKING

"Despite all the evidence of Nixon's lead, reporters wrote over and over that McGovern would close the gap at the end of the campaign and that it would be a close election.

"It was nonsense. These reporters were not only misperceiving the public, they were engaging in wishful thinking."—*Syndicated columnist Robert D. Novak, during a journalism seminar sponsored by Monmouth College and the Asbury Park (N.J.) Press.*

NO TIME FOR MEDDLING

The diehard dove faction in Congress appears bent on one more try at sabotaging President Richard M. Nixon's continuing efforts to find a just end to the Vietnam war.



Henry Kissinger

A move is afoot as the lawmakers reconvene today to bind Mr. Nixon's hands and undercut his bargaining position with resolutions and condemnations of the now-ended bombing offensive of the Hanoi-Haiphong area.

We hope there are enough level-headed, right-thinking, fair-minded lawmakers in Congress to put the twittering defeatists in their place.

Talks between Presidential aide Henry Kissinger and Red envoys will begin again in Paris on Monday. With the negotiations at

a delicate state, the least the Capital Hill doves can contribute is a decent silence.

Voters made it abundantly clear in November that they side solidly with Mr. Nixon in his determination to stand firm against settlement that would be a surrender in disguise.

Let's give the President the fullest possible chance to achieve what he and most Americans want—peace with honor.

(Editorial from the N.Y. Daily News)

misleading, featuring a montage of news stories in the shape of the President's profile. One story shown was noting the fact that postal increases had played a part in the demise of *Look* magazine, the clear implication being the Administration planned this which is, of course, to use Hentoff's words, somewhat hysterical and paranoid.

The *Washington Star-News'* astute Pentagon correspondent Orr Kelly writes that in addition to being "quite inexpensive" in cold, purely military terms, the recent U.S. bombings of North Vietnam resulted in much less North Vietnamese loss of life compared with the saturation bombing of World War II. Says Kelly: "Both the North Vietnamese and American military experts agree that the bombing caused enormous physical damage. In contrast to this damage to property, a North Vietnamese study showed that 1,318 had been killed by more than 1,000 bombing sorties carried out against Hanoi in a 10-day period. Those figures would indicate that each attack cost only about one life. This compares with the great bombing campaigns of World War II, when intensive raids killed tens of thousands of persons in Berlin, Dresden, Tokyo and other German and Japanese cities."

New Book on Taft

Worth Reading: And of special interest to Republicans, James T. Patterson's excellent biography of Sen. Robert A. Taft. Being lauded as perhaps the best book ever on Taft, it is available from Houghton-Mifflin Company, 2 Park St., Boston, Mass. The price: \$12.50.

Monday, January 15, 1973

About 48 percent of the 11 million persons 18-20 years of age enfranchised when the voting age was lowered to 18 reported having voted in the November Presidential election, according to the Bureau of the Census. The estimated total 18-20-year olds who said they voted was 5.3 million; the total 21 to 24 years who said they voted was 51 percent of 13.6 million in that age bracket. Voter participation was highest among persons 45 to 64 years old, 71 percent of whom reported having voted in November. Overall, 63 percent of the population of voting age was estimated to have participated in the November election. The rate was 64 percent for men and 62 percent for women.

KENNEDY ON VIETNAM

"As you may know, I said in February that our aim must be an honorable negotiated settlement—one which does not involve the surrender of vital United States interests, and at the same time recognizes that dissident elements in South Viet Nam can have a legitimate role to play in the future of their country...And in May, I stated that whatever our aims, they cannot be achieved unless the non-communist forces of South Viet Nam can achieve political stability and compose their differences without internal strife. For the war is ultimately a political war; it will not be won by military force, though force is necessary to convince the Viet Cong and North Viet Nam that they must come to a peaceful compromise."—*Excerpt from a letter to a New York constituent from Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, June 20, 1966.*

A LITTLE PERSPECTIVE

"Bombing which kills civilians is a harsh topic. I hate to comment on it. But since the weekend editorials, led by the *New York Times*, bring it up with strong language and weak memory, I beg to strengthen memory.

"The *Times* called the recent attacks terror-bombings, unprecedented, without Congress's permission.

"Well, consider this: Who was the biggest—to use the *Times*' word—'terror bomber' of all? FDR, whose bombings killed many hundreds of thousands. An article in the *Times* some time back assessed him to be our third greatest President.

"Who was the most spectacular? Truman, who with just two bombs wiped out two whole Japanese cities. The *Times* and others lavished praise on Truman last week.

"Who ranks third in this grim competition? Eisenhower, who not only commanded the World War II bombings, but as new President in 1953—without Congressional permission—ordered the first saturation bombing of North Korea with B-29's—at great cost in civilian casualties—to end the dismal war.

"I don't seek to justify those precedents—that is too big a question for this short space. I just want to point out they happened, and incidentally were much more costly than Nixon's recent action."—*Editorial commentary by ABC's Howard K. Smith, Jan. 8, 1973.*

Monday. JAN. 15, 1973

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