

MEETING WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
GOLDEN SPIKE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION COMMISSION

THE WHITE HOUSE

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1969

THE PRESIDENT:

At 10:30 a.m. the following persons will be escorted to
your office for a brief visit:

Mr. Thomas M. Goodfellow, Chairman
of the Golden Spike Centennial Celebration
Commission and President of the Association
of American Railroads.

Mr. J. Paull Marshall, Assistant Vice President,
Association of American Railroads.

Honorable James M. Beggs, Under Secretary
Department of Transportation.

Senator Wallace Bennett, Utah, Member of the
Commission.

Mr. Goodfellow will give you a brief report on the planned
activities for May 3-10 celebration which commemorates completion
of the first transcontinental railroad.

NOTE:

You were invited to participate in the
re-enactment of the 1869 link up at
Promontory, Utah, but the invitation
was regretted.

GOLDEN SPIKE CELEBRATION COMMISSION MEETING CON'T:

THE PRESIDENT:

Mr. Goodfellow will then present you with a commemorative silver medallion and a reproduction of an authentic railroad poster advertising the opening of the transcontinental rail link.

NOTE:

There will be brief photo coverage of the presentation.

It is estimated that your participation will be of approximately ten minutes duration at the conclusion of which your guests will be escorted from your office.

victim and a staunch Republican. During the campaign the President indicated that if he was elected he would have her to the White House. And this is that occasion.

Q Did he meet her up there in Connecticut during the campaign?

MR. ZIEGLER: Yes, he did.

At 10:30 tomorrow the President will meet with Thomas M. Goodfellow, Chairman of the Golden Spike Commission. He will present the President with a Medallion commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad, and also a copy of an 1868 poster.

At 11 a.m., the President will meet with members of the President's Advisory Commission on Executive Organization. That is the Commission chaired by Roy Ash.

I believe you know the other members of the Commission.

At 11:45, the President will meet with Secretary Walter Hickel, regarding his upcoming trip to the Trust territories. Secretary Hickel leaves on May 1.

At 3:45, the President will meet with Mr. Gardner Stout. Mr. Gardner Stout is a representative from the American Museum. The American Museum loaned to the President the painting of Theodore Roosevelt, which is hanging in the Cabinet Room. That painting was painted by P.A. DeLaszol.

At 4:15, the Quadriad will meet with the President in the Cabinet Room.

At 8 o'clock tomorrow night there will be a White House dinner honoring Duke Ellington. That will be a black tie dinner.

For the broadcast representatives here tomorrow night, we will accommodate film coverage of the entertainment portion of the affair in the Residence.

Q Any sound?

MR. ZIEGLER: Yes, there will be sound and film.

Q Any messages in sight tomorrow?

MR. ZIEGLER: No.

Q Is that live?

MR. ZIEGLER: No, not live. It will be open for film coverage.

Q Several of us have been trying to get an interview with Mr. Ash and a couple of weeks ago we asked you if you could give us some help. Do you think that could be arranged?

MORE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

Subject: The President's meeting with Securities and Exchange
Commission Members, May 7, 3:15 PM

1. Chairman and Three Commissioners

<u>Name</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Tenure</u>	
Hamer H. Budge, Chairman	Boise, Idaho	6/5/69	(to be reappointed)
Hugh F. Ownes	Oklahoma City	6/5/70	
Francis M. Wheat	Los Angeles	6/5/71	
Richard B. Smith	Bronxville, N.Y.	6/5/72	

2. Chairman Hamer Budge will discuss issues presently
before the SEC.

3. Issues:

(1) Mutual Fund Legislation

SEC View: Last year, the Senate passed a mutual fund
bill which was a compromise evolved by the Senate Committee
on Banking and Currency between the Commission's proposals

and the objections of the investment company industry. The House did not act on this legislation.

This session Senator Sparkman introduced S. 34, which is identical with the bill which passed the Senate. At Senator Sparkman's suggestion, the Commission has been discussing this legislation with representatives of the Investment Company Institute in an effort to arrive at a mutually acceptable solution. The only significant area which is now in controversy is the treatment of management fees for investment companies. The Commission believes that there should be a forum in which the reasonableness of such fees may be tested, while the industry has been reluctant to accept this. There is a substantial possibility that the Commission and the Investment Company Institute will be able to arrive at a solution in the near future.

President's View: No position while efforts are being made toward a solution.

(2) Activity in the Securities Markets

SEC View: There are now some 26 million investors compared with 17 million in calendar 1962. Trading on the

New York Stock Exchange on April 30 exceeded 28,250,000 shares.

President's View: This increase in "Capitalism of the People" is a fine thing; but it increases the ^{burden of} responsibility of the SEC to both protect the investor and to keep the industry healthy and free of unnecessary interference.

(3) Institutional Shareholding and Trading

SEC View: There has been a great increase in institutional activity in the stock market. Institutions now hold almost \$260 billion worth of stock, or nearly 34 percent of the total outstanding, compared to \$65 billion, or 23 percent ten years ago. This growth is primarily attributable to two things: First, ⁽¹⁾ various types of institutions, such as pension funds, college endowments and life insurance companies, have appreciably increased the proportion of their assets invested in stocks as compared to bonds, and secondly, ⁽²⁾ mutual funds, which invest almost wholly in stocks, have been growing very rapidly. The patterns of institutional trading have also changed. Institutions are far more active. Turnover rates for mutual funds have

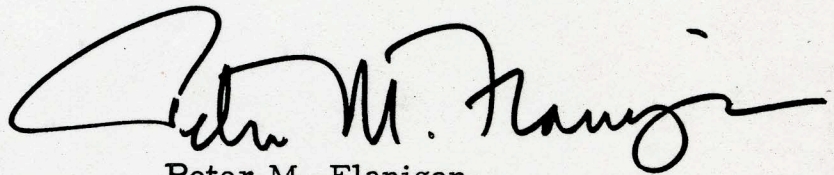
risen from 21 percent in 1965 to 47 percent in 1968. There has been a steady, although not so dramatic, increase in the turnover rates of certain other institutions, such as pension funds and insurance companies. This increase in turnover rates is apparently due to increased competition between institutions to achieve performance, i.e., profits from securities investment not only for the long term but short term as well. The combined impact of greater institutional holdings and greater institutional activity has caused the institutional share in the volume of trading on the New York Stock Exchange to increase significantly. It rose from 24 percent in 1960 to 33 percent in 1966, and by now may well amount to approximately 50 percent. Last year, Congress authorized the Commission, in consultation with the securities industry and other interested parties, to make a study of institutional investments. This study, which is expected to be a far-reaching economic analysis as well as an analysis of institutional impact on the securities markets, is now under way.

President's View: Interested in the outcome.

(4) Activity at the Commission and Resulting Problems

SEC View: Tremendous growth and change in the securities markets and the resulting increase in workload of the Commission has not been accompanied by an increase in the Commission's staff, which is presently about the same as it was in fiscal 1966. This presents a serious problem to the Commission.

President's View: This problem can be given sympathetic consideration when the fiscal restraints of the current year are behind us.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Peter M. Flanigan". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "P" and a long, sweeping underline.

Peter M. Flanigan
Assistant to the President

May 22, 1969

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. KLEIN
MR. CHAPIN
MR. WARREN

- (1) Ron Ziegler has ^{said} ~~stated~~ positively that he cannot participate in a news plan meeting Monday and Thursday mornings immediately following Bob Haldeman's 8:00 a.m. meeting ... a time period best suited to Herb Klein and Dwight Chapin.
- (2) Dwight Chapin ^{has} told me ^{that} ~~on the telephone this evening~~ that it was ^{is usually} ~~"absolutely"~~ impossible for him to break away from his duties Monday and Thursday evenings near the close of business ... a time period selected some 2 months ago by Ron Ziegler as being the most suitable to him.
- (3) Seldom if ever has the originally scheduled 4:45 p.m. Monday and Thursday meeting been held on time ... due ~~of course~~ to the busy schedules of principal participants ^{to many various and sundry priority} and contingencies, ~~which arise so abruptly from time to time.~~ The planning sessions have been held on these evenings at ^{hours} ~~times~~ varying from 5:00 ~~p.m.~~ to ^{8:00} ~~7:30~~ p.m.
- (4) ~~To my best recollection,~~ Ron Ziegler has attended no more than 5-6 of the ²¹ ~~19~~ meetings held thus far, ^{and} I would guess that Herb Klein, due to an equally busy schedule

attended ~~9-10~~ 9 or 10.
has been to only ~~10-12~~ of the 19 sessions.

~~I have paid
typical May. No one has been from
at 5:00. Driver will call me at 4:00.
I am going to see him.
Driver will call me at 4:00.
I am going to see him.~~

~~I am~~

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1969

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Safeguard Compromise

Reference: Your approval of Ken BeLieu's June 10th suggestion that we get together with Mel Laird and Henry Kissinger and work out some "modification language" with which we can easily live.

Under most circumstances I appreciate the desirability of being prepared and having a contingency plan available, but in the case of our Safeguard campaign I believe any talk -- even any consideration -- of "compromise" (at this time) is unjustified and extremely risky. My concern stems from the fact that a leak is almost inevitable -- and news of that kind in enemy hands would not only serve to discredit you personally and the Administration generally but it would deal a really devastating blow to our admittedly slight but definite position of advantage.

A victory on this controversial issue is more than important; it is absolutely essential. Whereas you know that better than anyone, most of the rest of us thoroughly understand. We have gradually -- (perhaps all too gradually at times) -- picked off several of the target Senators and are now, in my opinion, on the threshold of breaking the opposition's back. They are beginning to show signs of "running scared"; they are openly conceding some 50 votes; and although I don't know what success you had with Margaret Smith earlier tonight, I do know that a new rumor is out to the effect that even Muskie might come out way "if we handle things properly." Why then should we now get out the white flag? Whether we intend to wave it once, twice, or not at all, the mere knowledge of its existence will excite and energize the other side and seriously threaten a

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

*To Harlow
Butterfield
B. J. ...
There must be
no talk of compromise
with defense
(& particularly
with Parkland)
Harlow - on
a completely
top secret basis
should talk
with Stearns -
to see who he
advises.
Kissinger should
keep in touch
with aides
who would like
an excuse to
come over.
Don't bother
with Eagle-Schmid
i.e. play
a hard line publicly -
a very careful
explanatory line privately*

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

reversal of the currently favorable trends. In short, the whole business worries me. With the strength of those convictions which were ours on March 14th, continued concentration on influencing the uncommitted, and some quite intensive but very adroit stroking of those who are wholly or only partially with us, we can win without a compromise.

In that this memorandum is for your information and consideration only I am not going to conclude with a specific recommendation. However, early next week you may wish to consider one of the following courses of action:

- (1) Call a halt to the "compromise" contingency preparations, and thereby nip in the bud all possible murmurings or outright charges of our having in hand a fallback position;
- (2) Alter slightly the instructions to proceed with a "compromise" contingency plan by excluding DoD's participation ... because that Department's involvement increases by a considerable factor the chances of a security breach; or
- (3) Leave things as they are, at least for the time being.

A
ALEXANDER P. BUTTERFIELD

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1969

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

*To Harlow
BeLieu
Butterfield*
① There must be no talk of compromise with defense (& particularly with Parkland)
② Harlow - on a completely top secret basis should talk with Stennis - to see who he advises.
③ Kinzig should keep in touch with aides who would like an exercise.
④ Don't bother with Easton-Schmid
⑤ i.e. play a hard line publicly - & a very careful explanatory line privately

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

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ALEXANDER P. BUTTERFIELD

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Determined to be an
Administrative Marking
Not National Security Information
By 545 NARA Date 3/21/2016

DIRECTOR
Mr. Ken BeLieu

ACTION COORDINATOR
Mr. Alex Butterfield

— flow of material —

SAFEGUARD SUPPORT GROUP (in EOB)

- (1) Mr. Chas West, Exec VP Nat'l Strategy Info Ctr, NYC...consultant; general supervision of Support Gp.
- (2) Mr. Jim Keogh, or rep; final writing.
- (3) Dr. Larry Lynn, NSC Staff...rep for HK; writes and reviews materials.
- (4) Col. Rob't J. Bennett, USA, PIO to LGen Starbird; writer and PIO advisor.
- (5) Col. John B. Trussell, USA, Instructor Army War College; speech writer.
- (6) LtCol Bruce Jacobs, Army Nat'l Gd; VP Grey Advtg, NYC; PIO and PR expert.
- (7) Mr. Jay Wilkinson, White House Staff; assists in coordinating action items.
- (8) Two stenos; 1 fm WH Staff; 1 fm DoD.

— flow of material —

DEFENSE

Mr. R. Fryklund
Spec'l Asst
to DepSecDef
(J. Friedheim)

CABINET

Mr. J. Whitaker
Cabinet
Secretary

PRIV. SECTOR

Mr. Chas West
Consultant
(NYC)
(P. Flanigan)

POLITICAL

Mr. Harry Dent
Ass't Counsel
(Sears & Morton)

MEDIA

Mr. Herb Klein
Dir. Comm.
(Paul Costello)

SENATE

Mr. Ken BeLieu
Dep Ass't
Cong'l Liaison
(B. Harlow)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 19, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alexander P. Butterfield *APB*

SUBJECT: Information re Safeguard Campaign

Late yesterday afternoon you asked that you be provided by 8:00 a.m. today whatever pre-March 14th survey statistics were made public concerning Senatorial views on an ABM defense system. That information is attached.

A brief "talking paper" outline describing the strategy by which you have made so much headway, and gained the Senatorial support which is conceded to you at the present time, is being prepared by Jim Keogh's staff . . . and will be completed by noon today.

The very thorough double-checking which you requested on Senators Cook, Anderson, Prouty, Ellender, Gravel, J. J. Williams, Cannon, and Boggs is in progress. That report, too, will be ready by noon.

Extracts from UPI Release Appearing in March 8th
WASHINGTON EVENING STAR Under the Heading

POLL FINDS ABM SENATE FOES
LACK 5 VOTES FOR A MAJORITY

- Opponents of the proposed Sentinel antiballistic missile system are within five votes of a majority in the Senate, a United Press International survey shows.
- Of 91 Senators or their spokesmen responding to the survey, 46 said they are opposed or leaning against deployment of the Sentinel system, 20 said they would vote for an ABM defense system and 25 were undecided.
- The polls showed 16 Republicans among the 46 who oppose deployment. The 20 who indicate they favor an ABM include eight Democrats.
- A Republican freshman -- Sen. Charles Mc. Mathias of Maryland -- yesterday devoted his maiden speech to opposition to the ABM, and he was given support on the floor by Sens. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., Jacob Javits, R-N. Y., Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., and others.
- In an 11th-hour bid to get Nixon to scrap the plan, the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday formally called for delay in deployment of any new weapon systems until the administration "has had time to make an earnest effort to pursue meaningful discussions with the Soviet Union."

Copy of full article attached.

Poll Finds ABM Senate Foes Lack 5 Votes for a Majority

By United Press International

Opponents of the proposed Sentinel antiballistic missile system are within five votes of a majority in the Senate, a United Press International survey shows.

Of 91 Senators or their spokesmen responding to the survey, 46 said they are opposed or leaning against deployment of the Sentinel system, 29 said they would vote for an ABM defense system and 25 were undecided.

The polls showed 16 Republicans among the 46 who oppose deployment. The 20 who indicate they favor an ABM include eight Democrats.

President Nixon is in Key Biscayne, Fla., studying pro and con papers on the issue. Despite some indications the controversial Sentinel defense project would get his go-ahead, Nixon told newsmen he has not yet made up his mind. He plans to announce his decision early next week, probably Tuesday.

The UPI survey, conducted during the past week, indicates Nixon could pick up some support for the ABM if he proposes putting the nuclear-tipped defensive missiles far from the nation's major population areas.

Hard Core Against

Though there is still a hard core of sentiment in the Senate against deployment of any kind of an ABM system now, the survey results may not be as lopsided as they seem.

Most of the undecided are Republicans who could be expected to follow the President's recommendations, especially if he makes a strong appeal for deployment in the interest of national security.

Among the 46 Senators in the "no" column are a dozen who might be persuaded to vote for the Sentinel if Nixon asks for deployment in rural areas.

Whatever deployment Nixon recommends, however, will face tough opposition when the Senate votes later this year on authorization and money bills for the system.

The poll indicates opponents would have the edge if Nixon proposes the sort of ABM system the Johnson administration began last year—one to protect the American population from a suicidal nuclear strike by China.

Work on the Sentinel was stepped in January amid protests from major metropolitan areas like Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles, selected as sites

for the defensive nuclear silos.

This "bombs-in-the-backyard" opposition has gained support in the Senate, including Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield, Democratic Whip Edward M. Kennedy and Republican John Sherman Cooper.

A Republican freshman—Sen. Charles Mc. Mathias of Maryland—yesterday devoted his maiden speech to opposition to the ABM, and he was given support on the floor by Sens. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., Jacob Javits, R-N.Y., Foreign Relations

Continued From Page A-1

Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., and others.

In an 11th-hour bid to get Nixon to scrap the plan, the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday formally called for delay in deployment of any new weapon systems until the administration "has had time to take an earnest effort to pursue meaningful discussions with the Soviet Union."

A Treaty Violation Seen

Some critics contend that deploying Sentinel would violate the spirit of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, which comes up for formal debate Monday. One section requires nuclear powers to embark on an early date on negotiations to halt the nuclear arms race.

Mansfield told the Senate yesterday that a decision to deploy the Sentinel is likely to mean the beginning of another round of armaments escalation.

"Sentinel will not add one iota to the security of life in the United States," he said. "It may well detract from it."

Meanwhile, advocates of the Sentinel are urging Nixon to pull back from the full program by reducing the number of missile sites from 20 to a half-dozen, the Associated Press reported.

Sen. Milton R. Young, R-N.D., told an interviewer that he had urged the scaled-down version of the Sentinel when Nixon met with GOP congressional leaders Thursday night at the White House.

Extracts from WASHINGTON POST Staff
Article Which Appeared in the March 10th
Issue of that Newspaper Under the Heading

SEN. STENNIS WAVERING ON ABM

- With liberal opposition closing ranks, Mr. Nixon, if he decides for the system, will face his first big fight in the Senate. It promises, according to polls released by the wire services, to be close.
- Of 100 Senators, the Associated Press found 47 against ABM, 24 for it and 29 undecided. United Press International found 45 Senators opposed or inclined to be opposed, 20 in favor and 25 undecided.

Copy of full article attached.

PAUL COSTELLO
ALEX BUTTERFIELD
1969 JUN 18 PM 7:08

MONDAY MORNING

WASHINGTON POST - 10 MARCH 1969 P-1

Sen. Stennis Wavering On ABM

By Robert C. Maynard
Washington Post Staff Writer

Once a strong supporter of the Sentinel anti-ballistic missile system, Sen. John C. Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said yesterday he isn't sure it should be deployed at present.

Stennis, hedging on whether he still supports the defensive missile program, called ABM, said he will conduct a full study of the program as soon as President Nixon announces his decision.

The President, pondering several weeks whether to propose the deployment of the missiles, said at his Tuesday evening press conference that he will announce his decision early this week.

Responding to reporters' questions on the CBS program "Face the Nation," Stennis said that if the President makes a plea for the ABM, "I would think it would pass the Senate."

In his hearings, Stennis said, he wants to examine two things, "the threat, what is different from what it was a year ago, and what progress has been made on the ABM from a year ago."

Noting that he once opposed and then favored ABM, Stennis said:

"I always said that I favored an ABM as purely a defensive measure . . . But I said, until last year, that it still is in the research and development stage and not up to the deployment stage."

As for his present stand, Stennis said in answer to a question, "I am not on the fence." But then he said, "These missiles vary greatly in their progress and development. I want to take another look at that."

Asked if the Sentinel ABM system might not ultimately cost many billions of dollars, Stennis said:

"Well, this will prove to be a progressive program, I believe, more and more as we go on. As you know, it will require greater and greater installations."

While Stennis appeared not fully decided in favor of the ABM, the controversial missile program was being lambasted by others yesterday.

Former Vice President Hubert Humphrey, speaking on ABC's "Issues and Answers," made an impassioned plea against deployment of the ABM at this time.

"I don't believe we should precipitously upset what I consider to be a very delicate and strategic balance in nuclear weaponry between ourselves and the Soviet Union," Humphrey said.

"The climate is right now, and ripe, for disarmament negotiations, for discussions. Let's not lose this opportunity. We have a chance of a lifetime."

The argument of a precious opportunity to negotiate a slowdown of the arms race was also used by Prof. Abram Chayes of Harvard Law School, who appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press," aired here on WRC-TV, to denounce proposed deployment of the ABM.

"We are at a moment of opportunity," said Chayes, a former legal adviser to the State Department, "a potential turning point when it might be possible, really, to make some progress toward turning down the arms race."

Chayes said the "moment of opportunity" occurs now because the United States and the Soviet Union are relatively evenly matched in strategic weapons, "the Russians want to talk" and a new Administration can enter talks not bound by the commitments of the previous Administration.

"All that adds up," Chayes said, "to a moment of opportunity for real progress. Those moments are rare. If they are lost, they don't come again very soon."

Appearing with Chayes was the Provost of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, former White House science adviser.

As he has said of the ABM before, Wiesner stated flatly, "In my judgment it won't work. It won't provide the defense that people claim it will."

Wiesner and Chayes head a task force appointed by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) to study the entire ABM picture. Both men were advisers to President John F. Kennedy.

The Sentinel, on which deployment work was halted in February after an outcry from urbanites near whose cities the missiles were to have been placed, is called a "thin" defensive system.

Its purpose, as stated by Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, is to deal with the relatively modest nuclear delivery system of China for about the next decade.

The principle on which the system is based is that its two component, missiles—Spartan and Sprint—are sent aloft to meet incoming missiles and knock them down in space.

Opponents of the system, such as Wiesner and Chayes,

argue that such a system is a hit-and-miss proposition at best. At worst, it could set off a spiraling new armaments race between the United States and the Soviet Union, opponents say.

Wiesner called it a "multi-billion-dollar mistake" yesterday, warning that the "thin" system's estimated cost of \$10 billion could give way in time to a "thick" system costing as much as 10 times the present estimates.

Laird, as one argument in support of the Sentinel, has said the system would enhance the U.S. bargaining position in talks with the Soviet Union on reducing armaments.

"I have heard about Secretary Laird's statement that we need a \$5 billion poker chip to go into talks with," Chayes said in a voice dripping with ridicule. "But I don't see that we have to deploy this system, or begin to deploy it, to have the value of that as a potential option in bargaining with the Russians."

With liberal opposition closing ranks, Mr. Nixon, if he decides for the system, will face his first big fight in the Senate. It promises, according to polls released by the wire services, to be closer.

Of 100 Senators, the Associated Press found 47 against ABM, 24 for it and 23 undecided. United Press International found 45 Senators opposed or inclined to be opposed, 20 in favor and 25 undecided.

Even though at present the single largest block is opposed, most of those undecided are Republicans likely to follow the Republican President.

End 2A

{ PAUL COSTELLO
{ ALEX BUTTERFIELD

SENTINEL-SENATE

WASHINGTON (AP)--PRESIDENT NIXON FACES THE DANGER OF A SERIOUS POLITICAL SETBACK IN THE SENATE UNLESS HE CUTS BACK PLANS FOR THE SENTINEL ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM, AN ASSOCIATED PRESS POLL INDICATED TODAY.

IT DISCLOSED DRAMATIC GAINS BY ABM OPPONENTS ON THE EVE OF NIXON'S DECISION, WITH 47 OF THE 100 SENATORS SAYING THEY WILL OPPOSE FUNDS THIS YEAR FOR SENTINEL SITES, ONLY 24 IN FAVOR AND 29 PRESENTLY ON THE FENCE.

THE POLL SHOWED THAT A NUMBER OF SENATORS WHO SUPPORTED THE SENTINEL LAST YEAR HAVE SWITCHED POSITIONS, EITHER TO OUTRIGHT OPPOSITION OR TO AN UNDECIDED STANCE. A HEAVY MAJORITY OF NEWCOMERS EITHER OPPOSE THE PROJECT OR ARE UNDECIDED.

NIXON TOLD NEWSMEN IN FLORIDA "I'M STUDYING THE ABM THIS WEEKEND." HE HAS SAID HE WILL ANNOUNCE EARLY IN THE WEEK HIS DECISION WHETHER TO CONTINUE, SCRAP OR CUT BACK THE SENTINEL SYSTEM LAUNCHED DURING THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION.

THE RESULTS OF THE POLL STRENGTHEN THE POSITION OF SOME KEY SENATE REPUBLICANS ADVOCATING THAT THE PROJECT BE CONTINUE BUT ON A CURTAILED SCALE.

INSTEAD OF PLACING SENTINEL SITES AROUND 15 OR 20 CITIES, THEY URGE PUTTING ONLY THREE TO FIVE NEAR CITIES FOR A STARTER, AND DEPLOYING OTHERS AROUND INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES SITES.

THE 47 SENATORS WHO SAID THEY WOULD OPPOSE SENTINEL SITE FUNDS REPRESENT A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE OVER THE 34 WHO LAST JUNE SUPPORTED A ONE-YEAR DELAY IN DEPLOYMENT ON THE VOTE THAT MARKED THE HIGH WATER MARK OF ABM OPPONENTS FOR 1968.

JA129PES MARCH 8

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WASHINGTON -- ADD SENTINEL-SENATE (51)

OPPONENTS INCLUDE 32 DEMOCRATS AND 15 REPUBLICANS. SUPPORTERS INCLUDE 13 DEMOCRATS AND 11 REPUBLICANS.

SENATORS LEADING THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PROJECT CLAIM FROM 55 TO 57 VOTES, AND A CHECK OF THE 29 UNCOMMITTED SENATORS INDICATE THEIR TOTAL MAY BE ACCURATE.

BUT 17 OF THE 29 ARE REPUBLICANS, AND NIXON COULD PROBABLY PICK UP MOST OF THEIR VOTES IF HE TRIMS BACK THE SENTINEL SYSTEM.

SENATORS WERE ASKED: "WOULD YOU FAVOR PROVIDING FUNDS THIS YEAR TO CONSTRUCT SITES FOR THE SENTINEL ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE?"

A SECOND QUESTION INDICATED THAT A CLEAR MAJORITY OF THE SENATE FAVORS A CONTINUATION--AND POSSIBLY EVEN AN INCREASE--OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANTIMISSILE SYSTEMS.

THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION ADVOCATED WHAT IT CALLED A THIN SYSTEM DESIGNED TO PROTECT AMERICANS AGAINST THE THREAT OF CHINESE ATTACK IN THE 1970S. THE COST IS NOW ESTIMATED AT \$5 BILLION TO \$6 BILLION.

TYPICAL OF THE GROWING RESERVATIONS WAS THE COMMENT BY SEN. JOHN MCCLELLAN OF ARKANSAS, SECOND-RANKING DEMOCRAT ON THE DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.

"I FAVOR AN AGGRESSIVE CONTINUED PROGRAM OF RESEARCH," HE SAID. "BUT AS TO DEPLOYMENT, I HAVE A CERTAIN RESERVATION BASED ON EFFECTIVENESS."

End 28

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 19, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Alexander P. Butterfield

Subject: Current Status Report on Specific Senators re
Safeguard Issue

Prior to reporting on those Senators whose names you mentioned to me late yesterday afternoon, let me first confirm the fact that a thorough "double-checking" operation was outlined at a long morning meeting of the Safeguard Campaign Planning Committee ... and is in motion already. Participants will leave no stones unturned in their efforts to assure the votes of those Senators who by all outward appearances are with us, and to sway to our side those who leave any doubt whatever as to their voting intentions.

Current status reports on Senators in whom you expressed a particular interest appear below:

Category I

(Senators in whom you seem most interested)

(1) Senator Anderson

(a) In charge -- Scoop Jackson

(b) Probable vote -- A strong "aye"

(c) Current status -- He gave his word that he would be with us; however, Scoop Jackson is going to stay close to him and help ensure the supporting vote.

(2) Senator Prouty

- (a) In charge -- Bryce Harlow
- (b) Probable vote -- Uncommitted at the moment, but we have reason to believe that he will vote "aye".
- (c) Current status -- Both Harlow and BeLieu believe that the Senator will give us his vote during his office call tomorrow afternoon. If he does so, he will probably ask that the information be kept strictly confidential. All other information appears in the memorandum which Ken BeLieu prepared for your reading prior to the scheduled Friday afternoon meeting. (That memorandum is on your desk.)

(3) Senator J. J. Williams

- (a) In charge -- Ken BeLieu
- (b) Probable vote -- A strong "aye"
- (c) Current status -- Ken BeLieu feels that Williams is solidly behind us. However, we plan to pay close attention to him re our stroking activities.

Category II

(The Senator you wanted checked out with John Mitchell)

Senator Cook

- (a) In charge -- Dale Grubb in Harlow's office and General Bernie Shriever
- (b) Probable vote -- "Nay" at the moment.

- (c) Current status -- I talked to John Mitchell about Cook and he said that as recently as early this week he lunched with Cook and got the distinct feeling that the Senator wants badly to be courted. He said also that Cook is appallingly lacking in knowledge of the Safeguard system. It was apparent from this information that Cook is vulnerable and should be a prime target. Dale Grubb, a regular golfing partner of Cook's, is going to do a little courting during an already-scheduled golf game this weekend, and Bernie Shriever is going to do the same thing during a separate golf game planned with the Senator for Monday or Tuesday of next week. Additionally, we are going to work out a special session for Cook with Henry Kissinger ... possibly tied in with a luncheon appointment at the White House Staff Mess.

Category III
(Other Senators mentioned)

- (1) Senator Ellender
- (a) In charge -- Russell Long
- (b) Probable vote -- "Nay"
- (c) Current status -- Over the past two-month period we have had three sets of contradictory prognoses from Russell Long concerning the Safeguard voting intentions of Ellender. But because the latest word is to the effect that "he will not be swayed from his opposition stand," Ken BeLieu believes that he is a lost cause.

(2) Senator Cannon

- (a) In charge -- Ken BeLieu with the assistance of Nevada's Governor Paul Laxalt and Clint Murchison ... but very little pressure has been applied in recent weeks.
- (b) Probable vote -- "Nay"
- (c) Current status -- Both Harlow and BeLieu say that Cannon has committed himself to Ted Kennedy, that Kennedy's money is helping to support him, and that he will most assuredly vote with the opposition.

(3) Senator Gravel

- (a) In charge -- Carl Bendetsen
- (b) Probable vote -- Uncommitted
- (c) Current status -- As you know, Gravel has been precisely in the middle of the road from the beginning. However, American Petroleum Company representatives are working on him as are a number of other businessmen and several prominent Alaskan news editors and publishers, and recently Carl Bendetsen said that he knew how to get Gravel ... and that he would "take the project on as a personal crusade." He is a prime target.

(4) Senator Boggs

- (a) In charge -- Ken BeLieu
- (b) Probable vote -- "Aye"
- (c) Current status -- The Senator gave a speech for us not long ago and we have no apparent reasons to believe that he will move to the "nay" column. This is not to say that we are going to leave him alone. He will receive lots of attention and subtle stroking. Additionally, one of his best friends and a World War II colleague, General Bob Grow, is going to keep an eye on him and help ensure Boggs' supporting vote.

A few early (1969)
MEMOS to P - which
impressed him (& helped me - e.g.
assignment to HRH's of a)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 19, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Alexander P. Butterfield *APB*

Subject: Information re Safeguard Campaign

Late yesterday afternoon you asked that you be provided without delay:

- (1) A short paragraph or two describing our Safeguard Campaign ... i.e. our low-key approach, our always above-board tactics, our continuous appeal to only logical and rational reasoning, and resultantly the effectiveness of our strategy as so clearly indicated by the magnitude of our achievements to date; and
- (2) Confirmation that a thorough "double-checking" operation is in progress (which includes all U.S. Senators other than those totally committed to the opposition), along with a current status report on Senators Anderson, Prouty, and J.J. Williams in one category ... Marlow Cook in a second category ... and Ellender, Gravel, Cannon and Boggs in a third and final category.

Item (1) material is at Tab A, and Item (2) material is at Tab B.

Q. Are you prepared to accept some form of compromise on ABM?

A. Compromise has always been an element in legislation -- but there must be no compromising our national security.

I am encouraged by what appears to be happening to the "undecided" votes in the Senate. You may recall that back in early March, the United Press reported that some 46 Senators were against an ABM system, 20 were for, and 25 were undecided.

Now it is generally agreed that the vote is nip and tuck, with the balance beginning to tip in our favor. That can only mean that the Senators who were uncommitted either way at the start have been coming down -- almost unanimously -- on the side of a Safeguard defense.

There are two reasons for that trend: first, I believe the Administration has made a calm, rational presentation of its case. And secondly, I believe the case for Safeguard makes good sense to all those who approach the subject with an open mind.

(Safire)

