

The vicious rhetoric and unfounded charges that have flowed almost continuously from Senator McGovern and Sargent Shriver represent a "scenario of smear and demogoguery", unprecedented in American presidential politics. The scenario is being directed by Senator McGovern and has touched almost every issue of the campaign.

On the Vietnam War

"He (President Nixon) has descended to a new level of barbarism and foolhardiness for no other reason than to save his own face and to prop up the corrupt regime of Thieu."

Senator McGovern
AP April 16, 1972

The President is gearing US withdrawal "to a political schedule" in an effort to maximize his re-election chances.

Senator McGovern
UPI July 28, 1972

"Instead of being a peacemaker, Nixon stands today as the number one warmaker in the world at this time."

R. Sargent Shriver
UPI August 24, 1972

Shriver called Mr. Nixon the world's biggest "war-maker."

The Washington Evening Star
August 25, 1972

Shriver called the President, the "No. 1 bomber of all time."

The Washington Evening Star
September 19, 1972

Senator McGovern charged the Nixon Administration as being "war-mongers."

Washington Post
September 6, 1972

"I want to be blunt about it. He's playing politics with the lives of American soldiers and with American prisoners rotting in their cells in Hanoi. He's putting his own political selfish interest ahead of the welfare of these young Americans and ahead of the taxpayers of this country who are bearing this burden."

Senator McGovern
NBC Nightly News
April 28, 1972

"... Nixon was again deceiving and misleading the American people by" pretending there was a chance for a negotiated settlement of the war.

Senator McGovern
UPI, July 28, 1972

The President Compared to Hitler

"U. S. bombing of Indochina is the most barbaric act that's been committed by any modern power since the death of Adolph Hitler."

Senator McGovern
UPI March 1, 1971

"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 the Jews in Germany in the 1930's."

Senator McGovern
AP June 29, 1972

On the Nixon Administration and Business

"I charge flatly that the Nixon Administration is owned body and soul by big business."

Senator McGovern
UPI April 3, 1972

"Nixon's PR men have been manipulating the US public for 3-1/2 years while the President has been selling out to 'special interests'." The Administration "has the coziest relationship with big business since the Administration of Harding back in the days when they talked about a scandal a day."

Senator McGovern
AP September 8, 1972

Senator George McGovern today attacked the Nixon economic policies as "a calamity for every man and woman in America except those with special entree to the White House."

Press Release
August 6, 1972

"The Nixon record is one of giveaways to the big corporations and take-aways from the average taxpayer."

Senator McGovern
Press Release
August 6, 1972

The President as a World Leader

"President Nixon is power mad and interested in power."

R. Sargent Shriver
New York Times
September 9, 1972

Mr. Nixon is "like a reformed drunk" for visiting Moscow and Peking after a career as an anti-communist.

R. Sargent Shriver
Washington Post
September 8, 1972

On the President and Youth

"The Nixon Administration is running against our own children and attacking the youth of this country like some kind of animal or bird that feeds on its young."

R. Sargent Shriver
Newark News
September 29, 1970

"... any young person or man or woman who works with their hands and who supports Richard Nixon is too confused to know which way is up..."

Senator McGovern
NBC News
September 11, 1972

On the POW's

Senator McGovern accused President Nixon of "playing politics with the three prisoners of war that Hanoi has already offered to release."

AP
September 25, 1972

On Organized Labor

"Any labor man or woman who supports Mr. Nixon is going to have a bad deal and I think they deserve it."

Senator McGovern
Channel 10, Columbus, Ohio
September 20, 1972

"In every stage in his career Richard Nixon has said no to programs designed to benefit the workers of this country."

Sargent Shriver
UPI October 4, 1972

President Nixon will "destroy collective bargaining in this country" with compulsory arbitration.

Senator McGovern
New York Times
September 27, 1972

On the Campaign

"(McGovern) compared the Republican opposition with the Ku Klux Klan and accused the GOP of bribing militant minority leaders to hold down the vote among blacks and Mexican Americans."

Washington Post
October 7, 1972

How McGovern's Key Advisors Regard Nixon

"Richard Nixon is a shifty politician and he always has been."

Frank Mankiewicz
Political Director

"He's an amoral man."

John Holum
Chief Legis. Aide

"He's an evil man."

Pat Caddell
Youth Pollster

"He's a son-of-a-bitch."

Frank Dutton
Campaign Coordinator

"I have an abiding hatred of Richard Nixon."

Jean Westwood
Democratic National Chairperson

On the President and his Administration

He termed the Administration "the most immoral and the most corrupt administration in the history of this country."

Senator McGovern
Boston Globe
October 4, 1972

"we're going to tell the truth about Tricky Dick."

Senator McGovern
Washington Post
October 7, 1972

McGovern said Nixon first won office in '46 in "one of the filthiest, most immoral U.S. campaigns ever... We have a President whose career, from the very beginning, has been based on demagoguery, fear and division, divisiveness -- the very thing America can least afford."

CBS News
September 27, 1972

the Nixon administration - "the most corrupt" in history... is paying Chicago minorities to stay away from the polls."

Senator McGovern
Washington Evening Star
October 6, 1972

Shriver called President Nixon a "psychiatric case"

Washington Post
September 14, 1972

Shriver said the President was "power mad"

New York Times
September 9, 1972

Referring to the President's position on American POW's, Senator McGovern said: "That's a lie."

New York Times
October 1, 1972

Senator McGovern told his audience that President Nixon was a "fraud"

New York Times
October 4, 1972

McGovern accused the President of "drunken sailor spending" on wasteful military overkill.

AP
October 5, 1972

Shriver likened the President to "a reformed drunk."

Washington Post
September 8, 1972

Senator McGovern and his Vice-Presidential running mate Sargent Shriver have achieved an all-time low in the history of American presidential politics. Their desperate campaign to smear and defame President Nixon is a shocking display of incompetency, irrelevancy, and irresponsibility. The American electorate is being turned off by it all, and surely will deliver that message to the demagogic duo on November 7, 1972.

Original Lecture

2-29

young people -

Helmerson -

Empty Cannon -

Thank you for understanding + support:

Today I report on our talks -

① most concern in Communism.

② ~~more~~ Concern the world -

- but no secret deals.

Must keep that trust -

H - Their students

of Ph. - strong

desires -
must we
respect him

Meeting:

Mass - one hour.

① only head of state - (20 people)

② Spoke freely -

~~his~~ his humor.

his toughness -

his earthiness -

his quibbles -

U.S. has departed -

Reinvigorated the
people -

Struggle - is very
to Program

↳ Lippman - pin -

Chow -

20 hours -

gracious - & tougher the point
the softer the voice -

Easy, humor -

Enormous knowledge of world -

Knowledge of R.N.

H - An handling
of self still
coming through?

OK - embryo -

① Clean bottles -
between R.N. & Chow

② R.N.'s enormous
properties + his -

③ Subtlety -

④ Toughness -

⑤ Problem ahead -

Each man books
others had read

Tanaka -

Why did we meet - Position of U. Nam

1. Not common beliefs.

but interests &

& hopes -

2. They disagree totally but

1. We do not threaten them -

2. Peace they need - (Comm. Race & stops)

1. American Program in Asia in their interests.

1. Japan - again -

2. Should be no super power - dominating area -

3. Peace in their interest

our conduct: fact:

1. Not friendship but strength, reliability, trust -

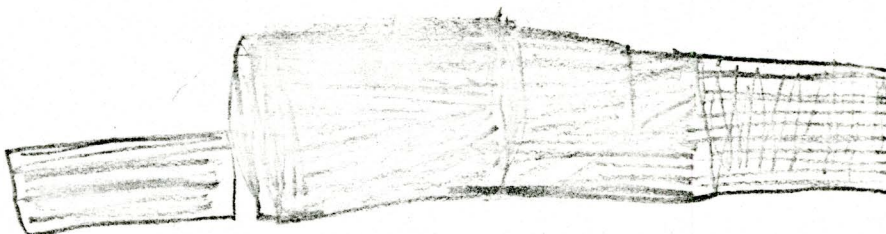
Future:

1. Be slow but steady

2. Existing will be noted - hurt us but expect it,

3. Contacts - Program -

4. Competition = long term { Their dedication -
strength - }



Inevitable for
Program



~~of the~~
in other countries

Common ground -
"Must not be a
structure built on sand."

Upheld is an increase
not decrease -

OK backed off from Dulles

His surname is same
in China as Fuchs
(who found something 1,000,000)

Biggest change after 2^d
world war was
liberating China.

① People will fill
the vacuum -

② Expansion of America
~~that~~ not be nuclear

No opposition to good
U.S. + Soviet Relations

- ① Limiting armaments
race is bad for all
- ② Why does Soviet
attack you—

③ Questions

Talk only about
situation around us.

- ① Have obligation
to support V. Nam—

② All must stop

It should take
bold action in V. Nam -
or otherwise S. U.
benefits -

① We ~~must~~ are
not concerned by
that

De Gaulle was right
in Algeria - to withdraw

② Whether France
was a world power
was not relevant

V. Man

If peace brought
about at an earlier
date - we would
has return more
influence

Know Ho in '22 in
France -

Policy toward Indo China
difficult for Korea -
France compelled
it by 7th fleet + Yala

Have

We can wait
a little longer -

We've waited 20 years

① Won't establish
any bases there -

No desire to send any
men abroad -

② Dems put us on Spot -
"Have come to China to
settle P. Nam"

③ of course impracticable

Can be no vacuum
in the world -

Hurley - enthusiastic for
Coalition -

① Stalin told him

Didn't learn of Yalta
for Soviet - for KMT.

Understand when U.S.
supported Chiang -

① Missed opportunity
to rectify

2-24

Less difficult for
China - We must do something

⑧ Leaders of 2 parties
should come -

Neither seeks
Hegemony -

⑧ Liberation - double
standards -

⑧ Want RN recruited -

Taiwan 

Direction - must
be pointed out -

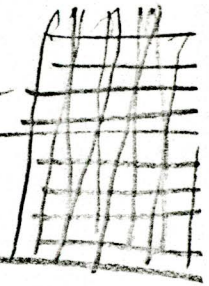
Liberation peaceful -
① "If they don't
~~but~~ want it -
what do we
do - " ? -

~~Taiwan~~ Can't wait
10 years -

① $\frac{1}{2}$ — ①
 $\frac{1}{3}$ -

Exchange View - only

Q V. Nam -



~~Handwritten scribble or signature~~

Korea : ~~VMB~~

Japan :

State of War
still exists because
Chang's Treaty
is not valid.

(X) Restore Diplomatic
relations.

(X) Mutual Non
aggression pact with
Japan?

④ Sino Japanese friendship
would not appear
~~and~~ Japanese relations
with other countries

2-23-72

Ko encouraged the '62
Indians

Ko - too up nuclear
agents in '59 -

Too Announced appearance of Chen -

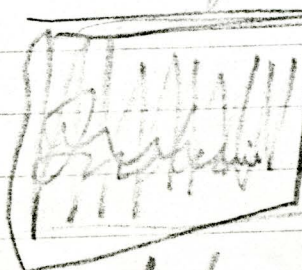
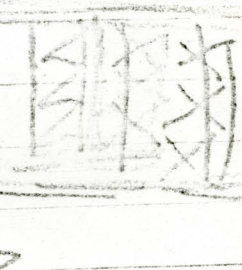
62 Indians behind Rumi - we would
not retaliate"

Diamond - Rumi -

Jim Bhatt's answer -

Pakr Should concentrate to win a victory
in Pakr ~~in~~ not others.

Thought Pakr could win war.

 'Beauty lies at 

Korea - 

Japan -

5 principles.



WEEKEND NEWS REVIEW

March 6, 1972

The major stories from Sat. - Sun. TV and wires:

- Marcos calls for an Asian summit as follow-up to RN's Peking trip.
- VC destroy 3 ammo barges near Saigon.
- Thieu calls for counter-guerrilla warfare.
- Violence erupts in N. Ireland again.
- Dita Beard, ITT lobbyist, is located in a Denver hospital. Eastland's hearings will resume Mon. WH aide Flanigan's involvement is questioned.
- Muskie and McGovern squabble in N. H. TV debate over -- not the issues -- but who was first to disclose money sources.

Saturday, March 4

CHINA

Philippine Pres. Marcos proposed an Asian summit conference, including the PRC, as a follow-up to RN's Peking visit. Marcos, making the announcement after a 2-hour briefing by Green, said Green assured him in "the strongest possible terms" that the US has no plans to withdraw from Asia. Marcos said such a summit has become more practical in view of foreign policy developments in the region and that ASEAN will hold a ministerial meeting in April to discuss an expanded Asian Chiefs of state meeting.

Life's Sidey on Agronsky and Co. asserted that "a lot more happened than we were told about" on RN's trip and that "there must have been" some secret deals. Lisagor of the Chic. Daily News said it's more likely to have been the week that changed RN but Thimmesch of the L.A. Times opined that it changed RN's political poll ratings, but Kilpatrick wasn't sure. Kilpatrick, however, came almost

*18- not a
the left (Sidey et al)
will try to
develop*

H + K -
note - The Times
summary of week end
at trip - comes out
overwhelmingly negative
R-note

equal to Buckley's evaluation, saying that when he read the Taiwan provisions of the communique, he instantly saw it as a "sell-out." Sidey countered that RN simply moved toward the obvious -- that PRC and Taiwan are one -- and RN's journey was simply "a footnote" to the settlements made by HAK beforehand. Lisagor insisted that RN "went farther" than he wanted to; was a victim of a tough Chou; and that all RN got was the mere exchange of people. Sidey said that the PRC is so pre-occupied with domestic problems, they should not be viewed as a "rapacious, expanding" power in Asia. Lisagor agreed -- they've got "one foot in the bicycle age."

In terms of the election, Lisagor felt that nothing much came out of the trip; that by September it will "go by the wind" dwarfed by the economy and RN's trip to the USSR... then said it will have "marginal" benefit to RN. Sidey thought it will be of no help, tho Thimmesch said it would.

On Wash. Week in Review, Lisagor said that the Admin is now talking more realistically about the results of RN's PRC trip, but that the Taiwan portion of the communique was a "veiled eviction notice" to C-K-Shek. Corddry of the Balt. Sun said that the Pentagon is "non-communicative," about Taiwan, but that US troops on Taiwan don't indicate a sell-out. He said the USAF Security Service, "which eaves-drops on PRC," is likely to stay put and that any defending that Taiwan needs will be done by its own 400,000-man force.

INDOCHINA

CBS noted NVN charges that US raids in the north hit civilian targets. ... NVN charges 10 children and several women were killed.

SVN reinforced 10,000 ARVN troops in the Central Highlands. Only small engagements are reported so far.

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Friday - December 4, 1970

10:00 Former Governor John B. Connally.

The President's Office.

11:00 Swearing-In Ceremony for Mr. William D. Ruckelshaus.

The Press Center.

3:15 Miss Susan C. Butterfield - (Mr. Alexander P. Butterfield)

The President's Office.

5:50 Depart the White House South Lawn via helicopter for Andrews Air Force Base.

6:10 Depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One for New York City.

8:35 THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSES THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF MANUFACTURERS.

The Waldorf-Astoria.

11:30 Return to the White House.

The First Lady will accompany the President to New York City and she will attend the National Association of Manufacturers' Dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria.

RE: Quotations

SOCIAL PERMISSIVENESS i. e., the excusing, condoning, and encouragement of violence or disruption.

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July 18, 1966

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DISSENT

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

Muskie, Louisville Courier-Journal
September 12, 1968

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(Socialism) describes what is needed ... the Democratic Party must henceforth use the word 'Socialism'

The Democratic Party has disintegrated ... it is not the so-called liberal party that it was a few years ago. It almost has got to be the party of extremists in so far as these so-called liberals or new lefts, or what

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George Meany

First Week of September - 1970

SOUTH VIETNAM

"We ought in a way to welcome North Vietnam's pre-eminence in Indochina because, while North Vietnam has shown itself strong enough to dominate Indochina if left alone by outside powers, it has also shown itself willing and able to resist Chinese domination."

Fulbright - April 2 - 1970

October 15, 1970

PERMISSIVE QUOTES

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We should not be "worrying about insurrection throughout the United States."

Issues and Answers
July 16, 1967

PHILIP HART

"However, every student has a clear cut constitutional right to be a member of SDS without fear that such membership will result in loss of his student deferment; in fact, no one should be reluctant to join a political organization because he might be thrown into the Army for belonging."

Congressional Record
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JOHN LINDSAY

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Speaking at University of
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April 29, 1970, Facts on file
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REESTABLISH RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. Several messages on crime by President.	1. Prod the Congress to pass proposed legislation.	
2. Efforts by the Attorney General to secure better coordination of local anti-crime activities.	2. Take some dramatic steps to strengthen law enforcement in our nation's crime-ridden capital.	
3. Appointment of strict constructionists of the Constitution to the judiciary.		

STOP THE INFLATION

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. Reduced Federal spending plans about \$7 billion below Johnson budget.	1. Induce state and local governments to follow Federal example on construction.	
2. Requested and obtained (in part) extension of surcharge.	2. Prod the Congress to grant extension of surcharge beyond this December.	
3. Pledged to keep spending from rising above \$192.9 billion.	3. Oppose publicly, each Congressional appropriation that goes beyond the budget.	
4. Encouraged Federal Reserve Board to pursue a restrictive monetary policy.	4. Urge business and labor to practice restraint with regard to increases of wage and prices.	
5. Ordered 75% cut in Federal construction contracts.	5. Explore desirability of new legislation with regard to the extension of credit.	

ENHANCE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. Proposal for a major reform of the draft to reduce uncertainty for young men.	1. Prod Congress to pass draft reform and voting rights legislation.	
2. Appointment of a Commission to draw plans for establishment of an all-volunteer armed force.	2. Adjust military pay scale for Fiscal 1971 so as to facilitate an early transition to an all-volunteer armed force.	
3. Proposal for expansion of guarantees under the Voting Rights Act.		
4. Relaxation of controls on foreign direct investment.		
5. Resignation of General Hershey.		

MAKE THE TAX SYSTEM MORE EQUITABLE

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. A far-reaching message on tax reform which proposed to free millions of individuals below the poverty line from Federal income tax and to strip away special tax privileges from many of the wealthy.	1. Prod the Congress to pass tax reform legislation.	
2. Appointed task force on Business Taxation.	2. Keep reminding the country, first, that this Administration pioneered in tax reform, second, that the Democratic charge that we seek to reduce taxes on businesses and raise taxes for individuals is the very opposite of the truth.	

STRENGTHEN ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THE FAMILY

<u>Action taken</u>	<u>Proposed action</u>	<u>General comments</u>
1. Proposals to Congress for a revolutionary reform of the welfare system.	1. Prod the Congress to pass above legislation.	
2. For expansion fo food stamp programs.	2. Present to the Congress a plan, now undergoing final refinements, for tax credits for job training and investment in poverty areas.	
3. For improvements in unemployment insurance.		
4. For enlargement of social security benefits.		
5. For protection of the health and safety of coal miners.		
6. For subsidies on private loans to students.		
7. For comprehensive legislation on occupational safety.		
8. For a national computer job bank.		
9. For court enforcement authority of EEOC.		

INCREASE RESPONSIBILITY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND PRIVATE
CITIZENS IN HANDLING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. Proposal for revenue-sharing plan.	1. Prod the Congress to pass proposed legislation.	
2. Proposal to decentralize manpower training programs	2. Stir up interest in these proposals around the country.	
3. Proposals for block grants in education and hospital construction.	3. Get voluntary program off the ground.	
4. Establishment of an Office of Intergovernmental Relations.		
5. New massive program of voluntary activities for dealing with problems of the disadvantaged.		

RESTORE FAITH IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. Instructed Cabinet and staff to run an "open Administration."	1. Prod the Congress to pass proposed legislation.	
2. Stopped manipulation of release dates for statistics.	2. Bring public controversy among Cabinet members and among White House staff to an end.	
3. Took Post Offices out of politics.	3. Convey to the public the government's concern for the individual's dignity and well-being.	
4. Proposed electoral college reform, grant consolidation authority, joint funding legislation, reorganizing the Post Office so that it can be run on business principles.	4. Give citizenry a vision of a noble future.	
5. Focused on neglected problems by establishing an Urban Affairs Council, a Council on Environmental Quality, and an Advisory Council on Government Organization.		
6. By making massive proposals for mass transportation, airways and airport development, and welfare reform.		
7. By establishing task force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities and other subjects of citizen concern.		

CONVINCE HANOI THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICAN PEOPLE
ARE DETERMINED TO SUPPORT U.S. PRESENCE IN SOUTH VIETNAM UNTIL AN
HONORABLE SETTLEMENT IS REACHED

<u>Action Taken</u>	<u>Proposed Action</u>	<u>General Comments</u>
1. Contacts with private groups and organizations nationwide.	1. Prior to October 15 discretely arrange for the President to address a well-represented news media forum and explain clearly that a plan is in motion, and that to allow ourselves to be affected by internal dissent can only prolong the waiting period.	
2. Adoption of theme -- "Tell it to Hanoi".	2. Continue to encourage, with utmost discretion, all forms of peaceful demonstration of administration support.	
3. Initial steps to organize nationwide Citizens Committees for Peace With Honor in Vietnam.	3. Announce by the year's end a decision to resume military operations or to begin full-scale withdrawal (with supporting rationale made clear).	

BULLETIN

THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE PROVES EFFECTIVE

Evidence of the effectiveness of the Wage-Price-Rent freeze in stabilizing prices, restoring consumer confidence, and strengthening the economy is now beginning to come in. It shows that the freeze has worked and that the nation is now on its way to the goal of prosperity with peace, without inflation. Here are the facts:

PRICES

- The Wholesale Price Index (WPI) dropped .3% in September and again by .1% in October.
- The important industrial commodities component of the WPI dropped by .1% in September, and by .3% in October (seasonally adjusted) -- the October drop was the largest decline in 11 years.
- Of 3885 prices tabulated in a special Department of Commerce wage-price freeze survey, 87% showed no change in price from August to September during the freeze. 6% actually declined, while fewer than 8% increased.
- The rate of inflation as measured by the GNP deflator has been dropping steadily. In the first quarter of 1971 it was at a 5.2% annual rate; 2nd quarter, 4.1%, and third quarter, 3.0%.

CONSUMER CONFIDENCE

- The Sindlinger Consumer Confidence Index shows that consumer confidence is steadily increasing. It was 117.7 immediately before the imposition of the freeze: 120.6 on October 6; 123.0 on October 20; 126.7 on November 3; and 127.9 on November 10. It continues to climb.
- The McGraw-Hill Survey of Plant and Equipment Spending Plans for the Fall of 1971 shows an anticipated increase in capital spending of 7% -- representing the first real increase in capital investment since 1969.

EMPLOYMENT

- Total employment since June increased by 1.4 million jobs. Unemployment rate in the survey week immediately prior to the freeze was 6.1% -- presently 5.8%.
- All important married men category reached a low 3.0% -- the lowest in a year.
- Total employment increased by a substantial 300,000 jobs from September to October.

INTEREST RATES

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

<u>Item</u>	<u>Rate Before Freeze</u>	<u>Present Rate</u>
Treasury Bills	5.37 %	4.12 %
Corporate Bonds (AAA)	7.71	7.26
Municipal Bonds	6.17	5.24
Prime Rate	6.00	5.50

RETAIL SALES

- Retail sales for October running close to 12% over October of 1970.
- Extension of consumer installment credit for September reached a \$12 billion annual rate -- an all time high record.
- Consumers are now buying more and saving less. Saving as a percent of disposable personal income dropped from 8.2 to 7.7% from the 2nd to the 3rd quarter of this year.

HOUSING STARTS

- Private housing starts in 3rd quarter were at annual rate of over 2.1 million. Rate of housing starts in first 10 months of 1971 is at a higher annual rate than any year in history. This means more sales of consumer goods like furniture and appliances.

AUTOMOBILE SALES

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

SUMMARY

Thanks to the cooperative efforts of the American people, the wage-price freeze has proved effective. There is every reason to predict that the post-freeze initiatives will work as well, if not better. All Americans are desirous of prosperity in a full generation of peace. The foregoing data suggests that we are on the right road toward that goal.

TO: WH STAFF

This TV Guide article detailing veteran reporter Howard K. Smith's views on the media might be of interest to you.

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THERE IS A TV BIAS

On Nov. 12, 1969, when the liberal media were angrily aboil over Vice President Agnew's blasts at the liberal left and its frequently violent crusades, a quiet voice on ABC-TV declared: "Political cartoonists have that in common with the lemmings, that once a line is set, most of them follow it, though it lead to perdition. The current cliché shared by them and many columnists is that Spiro Agnew is putting his foot in his mouth (and) making irredeemable errors.... Well, ... I doubt that party line... There is a possibility it is not Mr. Agnew who is making mistakes. It is the cartoonists."

One week later, on Nov. 19, 1969, when the liberal media were even more violently aboil over the climactic Agnew speech blasting bias in network news, that same quiet voice on ABC-TV once again was heard: "I agree with some of what Mr. Agnew said. In fact, I said some of it before he did."

The speaker was Howard K. Smith, ABC's Washington-based anchor man, ex-CBS European correspondent, and winner of a constellation of awards for foreign and domestic reporting. Mr. Smith had, indeed, said some of what Mr. Agnew said before Mr. Agnew had said it. For several years, despite his respect for network news departments and their achievements, he has been criticizing his colleagues--on the air and off--for falsifying U. S. political realities by means of biased reporting.

Mr. Smith is by no means an unqualified supporter of Mr. Agnew, and he has reservations about The Speech. To name the two most important: "A tone of intimidation, I think, was in it, and that I can't accept... Also a sense that we do things deliberately. I don't think we do them deliberately."

Mr. Smith, however, says: "I agree that we made the mistakes he says we made." And he himself levels charges at the network news departments.

In fact, according to Howard Smith, political bias in TV reporting is of such a magnitude that it fully justifies the explosion we have seen. Here is this insider's analysis of the problem.

His candor begins at the very base of the network news operation--namely, with the political composition of the staff. Networks, says Mr. Smith, are almost exclusively staffed by liberals. "It evolved from the time when liberalism was a good thing, and most intellectuals became highly liberal. Most reporters are in an intellectual occupation." Secondly, he declares that liberals, virtually by definition, have a "strong leftward bias": "Our tradition, since FDR, has been leftward."

This is not to say that Mr. Smith sees anything wrong with being a leftist--"I am left-of-center myself." But he sees everything wrong with the dissemination of an inflexible "party line"; and this, he charges, is what liberal newsmen are doing today: "Our liberal friends, today, have become dogmatic. They have a set of automatic reactions. They react the way political cartoonists do--with over-simplification. Oversimplify. Be sure you please your fellows, because that's what's 'good.' They're conventional, they're conformists. They're pleasing Walter Lippmann, they're pleasing the Washington Post, they're pleasing the editors of The New York Times, and they're pleasing one another."

He says a series of cartoonlike positive and negative reflexes are determining much of the coverage.

He names a series of such negative reflexes--i. e., subjects which newsmen automatically cover by focusing on negatives. Herewith, excerpts from his comments

Race: "During the Johnson Administration, six million people were raised above the poverty level... And there is a substantial and successful Negro middle class. But the newsmen are not interested in the Negro who succeeds--they're interested in the one who fails and makes a loud noise. They have ignored the developments in the South. The South has an increasing number of integrated schools. A large part of the South has accepted integration. We've had a President's Cabinet with a Negro in it, a Supreme Court with a Negro on it--but more important, we have 500 Negroes elected to local offices in the deep South! This is a tremendous achievement. But that achievement isn't what we see on the screen."

Conservatives: "If Agnew says something, it's bad, regardless of what he says. If Ronald Reagan says something, it's bad, regardless of what he says. Well, I'm

unwilling to condemn an idea because a particular man said it. Most of my colleagues do just that."

The Middle Class: "Newsmen are proud of the fact that the middle class is antagonistic to them. They're proud of being out of contact with the middle class. Joseph Kraft did a column in which he said: Let's face it, we reporters have very little to do with middle America. They're not our kind of people... Well, I resent that. I'm from middle America!"

The Vietnam War: "The networks have never given a complete picture of the war. For example: that terrible siege of Khe Sanh went on for five weeks before newsmen revealed that the South Vietnamese were fighting at our sides, and that they had higher casualties. And the Viet Cong's casualties were 100 times ours. But we never told that. We just showed pictures day after day of Americans getting the hell kicked out of them. That was enough to break America apart. That's also what it did."

The Presidency: "The negative attitude which destroyed Lyndon Johnson is now waiting to be applied to Richard Nixon. Johnson was actually politically assassinated. And some are trying to assassinate Nixon politically. They hate Richard Nixon irrationally."

If this is a sampling of the liberal reporters' negative reflexes, as seen by Howard Smith--what then are the positive reflexes? He provides an even more extensive set of examples--subjects on which, he says, his colleagues tend to have an affirmative bias and/or from which they screen out negatives. Again here are excerpts from his comments:

Russia: "Some have gone overboard in a wish to believe that our opponent has exclusively peaceful aims, and that there is no need for armaments and national security. The danger of Russian aggression is unreal to many of them, although some have begun to rethink since the invasion of Czechoslovakia. But there is a kind of basic bias in the left-wing soul that gives the Russians the benefit of the doubt."

Ho Chi Minh: "Many have described Ho Chi Minh as a nationalist leader comparable to George Washington. But his advent to power in Hanoi, in 1954, was marked by the murder of 50,000 of his people. His consistent method was terror. He was not his country's George Washington--he was more his country's Hitler or Stalin... I heard an eminent TV commentator say: 'It's an awful thing when you can trust Ho Chi Minh more than you can trust your President.' At the time he said that, Ho Chi Minh was lying! He was presiding over atrocities! And yet an American TV commentator could say that!"

The Viet Cong: "The Viet Cong massacred 3000 Vietnamese at Hue alone--a massacre that dwarfs all allegations about My Lai. This was never reported on."

Doves: "Mr. Fulbright maneuvered the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution through--with a clause stating that Congress may revoke it. Ever since, he's been saying: 'This is a terribly immoral thing.' I asked him: 'If it's that bad, aren't you morally obligated to try to revoke it?' He runs away! And yet Mr. Fulbright--who incidentally has voted against every civil-rights act--is not criticized for his want of character. He is beloved by reporters, by everyone of my group, which is left-of-center. It's one of the mysteries of my time!"

Black Militants: "A few Negroes--scavengers on the edge of society--have discovered they're riding a good thing with violence and talk of violence. They can get on TV and become nationally famous."

The New Left: "The New Left challenges America. They're rewriting the history of the Cold War. Some carry around the Viet Cong flag. Some shout for Mao--people who'd be assassinated in China! They've become irrational! But they're not portrayed as irrational. Reporters describe them as 'our children.' Well, they're not my children. My children don't throw bags of excrement at policemen... If right-wing students had done what left-wing students have done, everyone, including the reporters, would have called in the police and beaten their heads in. But we have a left-wing bias now, that has 30 years of momentum behind it."

What do Mr. Smith's examples of negative and positive biases add up to, politically? He says: "The emphasis is anti-American." In fact, as he portrays the pattern, it is a dual emphasis: This coverage as described by Mr. Smith is anti-American in that it tends to omit the good about America and focus on the bad. And it is also biased in favor of attackers-of-America by tending to omit the bad about them and focusing on the good. Mr. Smith has actually reconstituted here a loose variant of the New Left line. And New Left attitudes are influencing newsmen,

he says.. "The New Left," says Smith, "has acquired a grave power over the liberal mind."

This is not a new charge--it is the essence of the public outcry against network news, and it's the essence of the long-standing conservative charges against the newsmen. Mr. Smith himself, although he's been described as a "conservative" because he supports the war, is, as he says, a Leftist--indeed, a semisocialist who shares many views with economist John Kenneth Galbraith. He has been one of TV's most ardent fighters for civil rights--too ardent, Smith says, for CBS's tastes, which is one reason why, he adds, he is at ABC today. He is generally in disagreement with political Conservatives on virtually everything. And, for that matter, he finds it psychologically easier to defend TV news departments than to criticize them. But on this issue of anti-American, pro-New-Left bias in the network news departments, his observations are identical to those coming from the right.

His explanation of the causes of this pattern, however, are quite different from those which emerge from the right. Where conservatives are often inclined to see this pattern as a deliberate, conscious and intellectually potent conspiracy, Mr. Smith sees it as the opposite--as a largely unconscious phenomenon, stemming from intellectual impotence, from such qualities as "conformism," "hypocrisy," "self-deception" and "stupidity."

One of the chief conformist patterns, he says, is the automatic obedience to a convention of negativism in journalism itself, often for self-serving reasons. "As reporters, we have always been falsifying issues by reporting on what goes wrong in a Nation where, historically, most has gone right. That is how you get on page one, that is how you win a Pulitzer Prize. This gears the reporter's mind to the negative, even when it is not justified."

But how about the opposite form of bias--a chronic omission of negatives and the unremitting focus on the good in our country's enemies? Here Mr. Smith tackles the New Left influence head on. He attributes it to a mental vacuum in the liberal world:

"Many of my colleagues," he says, "have the depth of a saucer. They cling to the tag 'liberal' that grew popular in the time of Franklin Roosevelt, even though they've forgotten its content. They've really forgotten it. They don't know what 'liberal' and 'conservative' mean any more! They've forgotten it because the liberal cause has triumphed. Once it was hard to be a liberal. Today it's 'in.' The ex-underdogs, the ex-outcasts, the ex-rebels are satisfied bourgeois today, who pay \$150 a plate at Americans for Democratic Action dinners. They don't know what they stand for any more, and they're hunting for a new voice to give them new bearings."

The search for a "new voice," he says, has catapulted such men into the arms of the New Left: "They want to cling to that thrill of the old days, of triumph, and hard fighting. So they cling to the label 'liberal,' and they cling to those who seem strong--namely, the New Left. The New Left shouts tirades, rather than offering reasoned arguments. People bow down to them, so they have come to seem strong, to seem sure of themselves. As a result, there's a gravitation to them by the liberals who are not sure of themselves. This has given the New Left grave power over the old Left."

It is this New Left "power" over many of the Nation's liberal reporters, he says, that underlies an anti-American and pro-radical bias in network coverage--and that underlies public anger.

What is the solution to this problem, as envisaged by Mr. Smith?

Let public protest rip, he says. He experiences a twinge of discomfort over the fact that his solution is identical to Mr. Agnew's: "There have been very unpleasant, even threatening, letters," he reports. "But, quite literally, what Mr. Agnew suggests is all right."

Public protest, he thinks, will knock these men back into contact with U. S. political realities.

The networks have ignored this situation, despite years of protest, because they have power. And you know what Lord Acton says about power. It subtly corrupts. Power unaccountable has that effect on people. This situation should not continue. But I wouldn't do anything about it. I would let public opinion and the utterances of the alleged silent majority bring about a corrective. The corrective? Just a simple attempt to be fair--which many people have thrown aside over the last few years."