

Eugene McCarthy

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MC CARTHY '76

EUGENE McCARTHY OF MINNESOTA,
INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY
OF THE UNITED STATES, IS SUPPORTED BY
CITIZENS ALL AROUND THE COUNTRY WHO ARE
TIRED OF TWO-PARTY FAILURES AND WHO WANT
A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE IN '76.



GENE McCARTHY SERVED FOR TEN YEARS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND FOR
TWELVE YEARS IN THE U.S. SENATE. HE HAS BROAD EXPERIENCE IN ECONOMICS
AND FOREIGN POLICY, THE TWO MOST CRITICAL SUBJECTS A PRESIDENT MUST
DEAL WITH. LONG BEFORE IT WAS POPULAR TO DO SO, HE OPPOSED THE WAR IN
VIETNAM AND ABUSES OF POWER BY THE WHITE HOUSE, THE FBI, AND THE CIA.

McCARTHY HAS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR JOB CREATION AND FOR FIGHTING
INFLATION. HE HAS LONG FAVORED REDUCTION OF MILITARY SPENDING. HE HAS
A DEEP COMMITMENT TO THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND THE OTHER CONSTITUTIONAL
GUARANTEES OF OUR POLITICAL LIBERTY.

WE ARE WORKING TO PLACE EUGENE McCARTHY'S NAME ON THE BALLOT IN
ALL FIFTY STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

JOIN US!

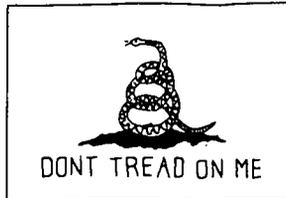
I WANT TO VOLUNTEER FOR GENE McCARTHY'S CAMPAIGN.

NAME _____

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~~(PLEASE RETURN TO McCARTHY '76, 1225 CONNECTICOT AVE., NW, WASHINGTON,
D.C. 20036. PAID FOR BY McCARTHY '76, MARY MONROE, TREASURER.)~~
(PLEASE RETURN TO McCARTHY '76, 1440 N STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, D.C.
20005. 202/737-4900. Paid for by McCarthy '76, Mary Monroe, Treasurer.)



THE INDEPENDENT WAY

On January 12, 1975 Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota announced as an Independent candidate for the presidency of the United States.

A GOOD PRECEDENT

The Independent route to the presidency requires some explanation. This is true even though the citizens who wrote our Constitution intended the presidency to be free of parties and factions. George Washington, our first President, was an Independent. In his Farewell Address, he warned "in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party..."

But Washington's warning was soon forgotten. Political parties gained control of the nominating process through caucuses, conventions, and primaries.

VOTERS ARE READY

The failures of today's political parties have alienated large numbers of American voters. A 1974 survey commissioned by the Republican National Committee showed that 40% of adult Americans consider themselves to be Independents.

Many voters who still identify as Republicans or Democrats are unhappy with their parties. Many are ticket-splitters who are ready for another choice on the presidential level. A Phillips-Sindlinger poll of September, 1974 indicated that 55% of the American people want more than two choices in the 1976 presidential election.

HOW TO DO IT

Placing an Independent national ticket on the ballot requires no party structure. Nor does it involve candidates for offices other than President and Vice President.

We will qualify our ticket for the ballot by meeting requirements of the individual states from late 1975 through the summer of '76. Most states require the filing of a certain number of signatures on petitions; the number varies from 300 in North Dakota to 100,000 or more in a few states. Voters who sign our petitions will actually nominate our candidates. This is a more direct form of voter participation than the party method of electing convention delegates.

After the petitions are filed, all we have to do is win the general election.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING INDEPENDENT

The Independent route to the White House has great advantages over the party method of selecting candidates:

--It assures voters of a genuine alternative in the 1976 election. Too often the major parties offer bland candidates who are close on the issues, or offer such extreme choices that voters do not want either one. We offer a third choice.

--It is more in keeping with the intent of the founding fathers, who wanted a nonpartisan President. It offers voters a chance to make the President what the founding fathers had in mind: a servant of the people and of the Constitution.

--It will provide a President who is free to choose all Cabinet officers and administrators on the basis of skill and experience. An Independent President can select the best persons for all jobs--including the best Republicans and the best Democrats.

OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Eugene McCarthy served for ten years in the U.S. House of Representatives and for twelve years in the United States Senate. He has broad knowledge and experience in economics and foreign policy, the two most critical subjects a President must deal with.

When others hesitate or try to evade a hard issue, Gene McCarthy steps forward and takes a stand. He recognizes problems before they become crises and proposes good solutions before the problems go beyond control.

As President he will meet the hope that John Adams once expressed in the White House:

I pray heaven to bestow the best of blessings
on this house and all that shall hereafter
inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men
ever rule under this roof.

Gene McCarthy: Off and Running

"FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, BEFORE IT BECAME FASHIONABLE, McCARTHY WAS A RARE SPOKESMAN FOR CHANGING THE PACE OF AMERICA; HE TALKED THEN ABOUT THE NEED TO REDUCE FUEL CONSUMPTION AND THE USE OF FEDERAL POWER TO REQUIRE SMALLER CARS. HE ADVOCATED FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR MASS TRANSIT WHEN ALMOST EVERYBODY ELSE WANTED MORE MULTILANE HIGHWAYS.... MANY THINGS McCARTHY SAID BACK THEN WHEN AMERICA LIVED ON A GO-NOW-PAY-LATER PHILOSOPHY HAVE NOW COME TO PASS. AND HE BELIEVES THE NATION IS READY TO ACCEPT MORE CHANGES...."
--LAWRENCE O'ROURKE, PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN, MAY 23, 1975

"LET GENE McCARTHY RUN AS AN INDEPENDENT FOR PRESIDENT IF THAT'S HIS BAG, BUT DON'T FORGET THAT IN THE PROCESS HE'S BECOMING A CHIEF SPOKESMAN FOR REMEDYING OUR NEGLECT OF THE NATION'S RESOURCES...." --FORMER GOVERNOR TOM McCALL, OREGONIAN, MAY 25, 1975

"IN CONTRAST WITH ALL THIS MEANINGLESS, AMORPHOUS, DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN, ALL-THINGS-TO-EVERYBODY, ADVERTISING AGENCY KIND OF CENTRIST POLITICS, GENE McCARTHY STANDS OUT LIKE SITTING BULL AT A U.S. CAVALRY REUNION...." --MICHAEL KILIAN, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, MARCH 11, 1975



"THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS WILL APPLAUD EUGENE McCARTHY'S CALL FOR STRIPPING THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE MYSTIQUE AND TRAPPINGS THAT HAVE SURROUNDED IT IN RECENT YEARS.... McCARTHY, AS USUAL, HAS POINTED US AGAIN IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION."

--MADISON CAPITAL TIMES EDITORIAL, APRIL 29, 1975

"McCARTHY, AN INDEPENDENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, CALLED FOR CREATION OF NEW JOBS BY SHORTENING THE WORK WEEK OR WORK YEAR AND FOR 'ASSURING AN ADEQUATE INCOME TO THOSE WHO ARE UNABLE TO WORK.'McCARTHY'S NOTION IS PRACTICAL AND WORKABLE."

--CHICAGO DAILY DEFENDER EDITORIAL, MAY 6, 1975

"DURING TWO DAYS OF CAMPAIGNING IN MIAMI THIS PAST WEEK, McCARTHY RECEIVED AN EXCEPTIONALLY WARM RECEPTION FROM COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THE VERY LIBERAL CONCERNED DEMOCRATS.... McCARTHY, WHOSE INDEPENDENT STATUS GIVES HIM A DETOUR AROUND THE PRIMARIES, IS CONFIDENT HE CAN GET ON FLORIDA'S BALLOT. HE SEES 'NO PROBLEM' IN MUSTERING THE NEEDED 36,000 SIGNATURES." --JOHN McDERMOTT, MIAMI HERALD, JULY 20, 1975

"I THINK HE CAN WIN.... I LIKE HIM AND I THINK HE WOULD MAKE A GOOD PRESIDENT. HE HAS ONE OF THE MOST INTELLIGENT AND ORIGINAL MINDS I'VE EVER SEEN IN POLITICS. CERTAINLY COMPARED TO ANYONE ELSE IN THE FIELD, THERE'S NO COMPARISON. THE DEMOCRATIC FIELD IS COMPLETELY EMPTY. HE KNEW MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE LAST TIME, YOU KNOW. I THINK HE CAN DO IT."

--RICHARD N. GOODWIN, QUOTED IN CRAWDADDY, JULY, 1975

CAMPAIGNING

Eugene McCarthy

In many ways, it's the same Gene McCarthy we've always known who's out around the country now, working to build an independent candidacy for the presidency next year. He stands on the stage of a dark Gothic auditorium at the University of Chicago, and it seems exactly the right setting for him, the mystic of American politics. A deep red velvet curtain hangs high behind a raised lectern that is more a pulpit, and as he preaches from it, bright sunlight streams through a sculptured window and catches his ascetic profile. His hair is grayer and he is a bit heavier than in 1968, but the aloofness, the self-containment, the untouchableness of the man remain unchanged, his most distinguishing characteristics.

Like some cardinal of the medieval church, who has come to have his ring kissed and to administer absolution to the errant, he explains his challenge to the two-party system to several hundred college students who listen respectfully to the figure of history before them.

"Papal succession"

"I don't know when it ever became a system," he says with that air of tolerance others reserve for children. He reminds his audience that the parties are not mentioned in the Constitution, that the Founding Fathers, in creating the Electoral College, envisaged the selection of a President by a gathering of wise men beholden not to any party structure but to their own best judgment. He points out the irrationality of blind party loyalty, whereby Democrats who supported Lyndon Johnson on Vietnam immediately turned around and opposed his successor, Richard Nixon, who pursued essentially the same policy.

"You can see where this has become part of the national inheritance," he tells the students. "It's like papal succession." And he cites the inability of Republicans, knowing that the office of the presidency had been demeaned and compromised by Nixon, to oppose him actively until the very end. Finally, he notes the public clamor for an alternative to the two major parties, as reflected in the public opinion polls, the rise in the independent vote, and the severe drop in all voting. All these he

sees as indications that the two-party system is ripe for taking, or at least for shaking, by someone who can call up the better nature of the country, as he himself did in 1968.

"You make a judgment whether the test ought to be made," he told the boys at Shattuck Academy in Faribault, Minnesota, at a later stop, "and if you're there, you do it." It was the kind of observation that one running more on principle than on any determination to succeed might have made. But McCarthy is campaigning and organizing full-time—and enduring the considerable psychological discomfort of not being taken seriously. He has quit a part-time teaching job in New York and is funding his effort with the proceeds of lectures, for which he charges \$1000. He is living in Washington with his son and trying to finish a book on contemporary America: he's a kind of homegrown, latterday Tocqueville, whom he quotes repeatedly.

Word Person

Beyond the solitary nature of his current undertaking, the major difference between 1968 and now is, of course, that McCarthy doesn't have the issue of a war with which to build a political force. Still, at Oakton Community College outside Chicago, he told a group that pressed him on the point, "I hope there will be a response. I don't think it will be the emotional thing it was in '68. You can't protest against inflation the way you can against a war."

In his speeches, mostly on college campuses, McCarthy relies on other issues he raised in 1968, employing the same professorial style, flavored with an undiminished cutting wit, that made him the candidate of the erudite and the politically irreverent seven years ago. He reminds his audiences of his 1968 warnings against excessive personalification of the presidency, now adding to his familiar jibes at Johnson references to Nixon's ornately costumed palace guard. In 1968, he said that he would tear down the fence around the White House and let people get closer to the presidency; now he says he would plow under the Rose Garden and plant squash and cabbage to keep the office in reasonable perspective. He asked one audience of students whether they could picture a White House press release that read, "The President came out into the cabbage patch and made a heroic statement."

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He calls unequivocally for resumption of the war on poverty and a shortened work week to spread jobs and cut unemployment. He promises a foreign policy that reflects rather than undermines American idealism. He has some new issues as well, such as the lack of responsibility in the automobile industry and the need to hold it to account: "You could have had the right wheel of every Chevrolet fall off and they would have said, 'It's a bad year,' like a blight of bad apples. . . . If Karl Marx had known about the automobile, he would have written another chapter saying, 'Capitalism needs either war or the automobile.'"

And as befits an independent candidate, McCarthy twits Republican Gerald Ford and Democrat Henry Jackson alike—sparing the liberals who might be expected to cut into his own vote. He recalls Ford's observation that "truth is the glue of the American government," then notes that the President comes from Grand Rapids, the furniture capital of America. "You read a man's metaphor," he says, "and you know something about what he is."

He says that Ford recalled Paul Revere's historic warning as "One if by day, two if by night," and suggests that Jackson would have said, "One if by land, two if by sea; one and two is three. They're also coming by air and we'd better be ready for them." And on military preparedness and the defense budget, he speculates: "If we told Henry Jackson we have no blowguns and poison darts, he'd say, 'We'd better



Eugene McCarthy

get some. We're underprepared . . . He'd put in a bill saying we ought to have parity with Brazil. After all, the Panama Canal is narrow."

McCarthy remains, above all, a word person, amused by what others do with words, and even more so by what he does with them. The Nixon "team's" equating the Vietnam war with a football game particularly entertains him. He says former Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird dealt with the ineffectiveness of the South Vietnamese troops by explaining, "We look upon them as an expansion team." And he applauds Nixon's use of "incursion" to describe his invasion of Cambodia because, "You can't make a verb out of it. You can say to them, 'Stop invading,' but you can't say, 'Stop incursing.'"

As in 1968, one often gets the impression that McCarthy is talking to edify himself as much as anyone else. At Oakton College, a sudden heavy rain began to pelt the tin roof over his head, making it impossible for his audience to follow what he was saying. "It's all right," he said when somebody suggested he wait for the rain to stop, "I can hear."

Slipping

Not everyone who hears him is as impressed as people were in 1968. To some younger students, who remember him vaguely or have read about his challenge to Johnson, he is more a curio, a political museum piece to be seen when he comes to town. John Thorbeck, a twenty-three-year-old graduate of Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, told me: "He's lost his issue and that takes away much of his dynamism. He's older. He's professorial now. I don't think he's a real viable candidate."

But if McCarthy has lost something, he seems to have gained a measure of forbearance that was often lacking in 1968. Traveling alone and unheralded, he puts in long days marred by inconveniences and what he would surely have treated as intrusions seven years ago. No student group seems too small these days to warrant a long interview. He spends much time in open-ended discussion with anybody who encounters him. He is reaching out for disciples one by one, with only the barest staff and some local volunteers, and he has to sell himself all over again. It's not that he enjoys the grilling he faces, but he puts up with it with at least a



Venita is a shy little girl with big, dark eyes. You can see by her wistful expression that she has known much suffering in her short life in India.

She hardly remembers her parents. Her mother was in ill health when Venita was born. She died when Venita was only two years old.

Her father earned very little and lived in one room in a tenement in Delhi. He was unable to support and care for the frail little girl. He asked a children's Home, affiliated with the Christian Children's Fund, to take care of his daughter.

There is still a sad, haunting look that lingers in Venita's dark eyes. But she's improving. Gradually she's losing her shyness, and she smiles and plays with other children who share the same room at the Home.

Venita now has the care she needs. Her CCF sponsor here in this country is helping give her a better chance for a useful, happy life.

But there are many other needy children still waiting for sponsors.

You can sponsor such a child for only \$15 a month. Just fill out the coupon and send it with your first monthly check.

You will be sent the child's photograph, name and mailing address, plus a description of the project where the child receives assistance.

Venita has known a lot of suffering.

You may write to your sponsored child and your letter will be answered. You will get the child's original letter and an English translation. (Children unable to write are assisted by family members or staff workers.)

Your love can make a big difference in the life of a needy little child. Please fill out the coupon now . . .

Sponsors urgently needed in Brazil, India, Guatemala, Indonesia, Kenya and Thailand.

Write today: Verent J. Mills

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc.

Box 26511, Richmond, Va. 23261

I wish to sponsor a boy girl in

(Country) _____

Choose any child who needs my help. I will pay \$15 a month. I enclose first payment of \$_____. Send me child's name, mailing address and picture.

I cannot sponsor a child but want to give \$_____.

Please send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Member of International Union for Child Welfare, Geneva. Gifts are tax deductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto, 7.

AT2890

CAMPAIGNING

show of cordiality, and that in itself is a change.

Driving back from Oakton late at night, he sat hunched and tired in the front seat of a Volkswagen and restrained-ly responded to a string of questions from a Northwestern University student who was considering active support but wanted assurances on where McCarthy stood. As the questions were posed, the answers came more testily, but they came, until the student was taken to his residence in Evanston. Only then was McCarthy driven to his downtown Chicago hotel. In one sense the episode was a measure of how far McCarthy has slipped politically. In another sense, it seemed to say something about how committed he is to what he's trying to do—a question always raised by his old backers who want to believe again but feel that they were burned by him in 1968.

This time McCarthy is looking past the presidential primaries that were his undoing seven years ago at the hands of the brash Bobby Kennedy, past the major party conventions, to the general election campaign. While Democrats and Republicans alike destroy each other in the primaries and at their conventions, he predicts, he will be inexorably building another liberal army at the grass roots, at least 5000 strong. The objective is to win ballot position for McCarthy-committed electors in all fifty states in what he says will prove to be at least a four-candidate race—the Democrat, the Republican, George Wallace, and himself. The result, he acknowledges, will probably be a deadlock, with no one candidate receiving a majority of the electoral votes. The Constitution requires under such circumstances that the election go to the House of Representatives, with the next President presumably chosen by a straight major-party vote. What good will that do McCarthy, the fallen-away Democrat, the independent?

"You could negotiate a settlement in the Electoral College so it wouldn't have to go to the House," McCarthy says. "If we had electors in the Electoral College, we might have a voice."

In any such negotiation, he himself would not seem the likely beneficiary, so alienated is he now from regular Democrats. However, as a counter to Wallace and an alternative to him, the choice of McCarthy would not be in-

conceivable. And at a minimum, Gene McCarthy would again be charting unknown political waters, confirming his place in history as an innovative maverick, marching to his own drummer. He does not share the fears of others, as expressed in a question from a University of Chicago student, that a multi-candidate field would turn the election process over to the Congress. "They couldn't do worse than the people did the last time," McCarthy responded. "Congress has only elected the President twice, and they picked Thomas Jefferson and one of the Adamses. That wasn't too bad."

Aardvark Party

So it's not surprising now to find McCarthy out in the country doing his own thing. Those who dismiss him as a kind of Democratic Harold Stassen do not begin to gauge the man's perspective on history. What can a politician who has helped dump an incumbent President do for an encore? Well, how about creating an enduring third party, seizing upon the national mood of disenchantment with the established parties?

Characteristically, McCarthy doesn't talk of any new party, preferring to refer to a new "movement" that shuns party structure, in keeping with the original constitutional concept. But ironically, the new campaign finance law against which he has filed suit (in concert with Conservative Senator James L. Buckley of New York, a delicious McCarthy touch) could provide the financial base for development of such a party, looking past 1976 toward 1980.

The law provides that any independent candidate who receives 5 percent or more of the total popular vote is entitled to federal reimbursement of campaign debts, at a rate based on his vote, from the same income tax checkoff pool that is to provide the Democratic and Republican nominees with \$20 million each. Also, a party that has received at least 5 percent of the vote in a previous presidential election qualifies for federal money on a similar vote formula for the next general election. Together, the provisions could give a McCarthy party several million dollars going into 1980. "You could almost perpetuate it as a political movement," he says. "It could be a revolving fund."

But that's not his intent now, he says. Instead, he is fighting the new law on the grounds that it deprives citizens

who want to give more than the \$1000-per-candidate limit of their First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and petition. Subsidizing the two major parties, he says, is like having two supported religions in the country. "I'm sure if it had been brought up at the Constitutional Convention," he told the University of Chicago audience, "it would have been thrown out in three minutes."

As a practical consideration, it makes his fund-raising immeasurably more difficult, since liberal fat cats traditionally have been soft touches. "It's almost as easy to get \$10,000 as it is to get \$1000," he says. To fill the gap left by the demise of the big contribution, he is considering seeking money in conjunction with his petition effort for ballot position in each of the states. In California, for instance, about 350,000 signatures are required to qualify for a place on the ballot, and McCarthy may ask everyone who signs to give a dollar. In some states, however, only a relative handful of signatures is needed.

As for the reimbursement if he wins 5 percent of the vote, McCarthy says now he won't ask for it, because he is opposing the whole law on principle. However, the situation could look different to him in November, 1976, if his effort has yielded any promise of building a continuing third party.

For now, though, McCarthy's eye is on 1976 with no greater expectations than testing the political establishment and its clichés about what is and is not possible. At Oakton Community College, somebody asked him if his campaign had a symbol. He thought for a minute, then said he had decided to use the subject of one of his poems—"The Aardvark"—an African anteater. "The interesting thing about the aardvark," he said, using lines from the poem, "is that we've never been able to determine that it evolved from anything, or evolved into anything. Also, it can't distinguish colors; it sees gray both night and day. And it lives by eating termites, which thrive on dead wood . . . But I wouldn't want to press this too far."

The audience chuckled. Good old Gene McCarthy. But of course he can't be taken seriously. Not twice.

—JULES WITCOVER

REPORTS & COMMENT CONTRIBUTORS

Stanley Meisler is a correspondent for the Los Angeles Times, based in Mexico City.

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McCarthy: end vice-presidency

By the Associated Press
New York
Former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy says that "little good would be served by the impeachment of President Nixon" — but Congress might instead abolish the vice-presidency and change the process for picking a presidential replacement.

"Impeachment," he says, would do little more than "satisfy public outrage over Watergate" at a time when "we have been reassured that the courts of the land will curb the excesses of presidential power and protect the integrity of the Constitution."

Mr. McCarthy, who unsuccessfully challenged then-Vice-president Hubert H. Humphrey for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1968, suggests that the institution of the vice-presidency be abolished.

"It seems to destroy the characters of the men who hold the office" and "sets the stage for unlikely successions," at the same time that "balancing a ticket confuses an election," he says.

Mr. McCarthy suggests a new way to fill vacancies in the office of president could include reconvening the Electoral College.

"In case of resignation under pressure or impeachment and conviction," he says, "we should consider it as if the government had fallen" and allow the House of Representatives to choose a new president.

McCarthy Eyes Link With Mathias

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

1/21
Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) and former Democratic Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, disaffected with their respective parties, have been considering a possible merger of their efforts into a third-force campaign for the presidency, it was learned yesterday.

Mathias said last night that "there've been no agreements and I don't anticipate any statements.... It's very premature to talk about choosing up sides with any particular person."

The two met in Mathias' Senate office in the Russell Office Building yesterday, held a meeting about two weeks ago and have another scheduled tentatively for a week from today.

McCarthy could not be reached for comment last night, but his campaign manager, Ronald Cocome, in acknowledging the ongoing talks between the two, said that "they both feel they can't operate within the confines of the two parties."

McCarthy, he said, is "becoming convinced there's almost a real need for an anti-party party."

McCarthy, a senator from 1959 to 1971 and a congressman for a decade before that, is generally credited with having forced President Johnson out of a reelection campaign in 1968.

McCarthy sought the presidency as a Democrat again in 1972 and for the past year has been seeking the presidency as an independent.

Mathias recently made public statements about his displeasure with the trend in which the Republican Party has been moving, which he sees as overly conservative.

Mathias' disaffection with the GOP became clear several months ago when he told Washington political writers that he was strongly con-

sidering a "third-force" candidacy.

"The Republican Party," he said then, "may seal its own death warrant if it ignores this third force." He said both major parties had become too ideological to attract the new breed of independent voters, whom he felt would soon begin asserting their power.

He said last night that he has been "going around the country exploring the possibilities" and has not decided whether to run himself or with anyone.

Mathias said that McCarthy has been talking with a number of possible runningmates.

Cocome said, however, that the McCarthy campaign's steering committee, which has about 80 members, looks more favorably on Mathias than any other possible runningmate.

The McCarthy-Mathias conversations, Cocome said, have focused on "staff and procedure and issues. They have had differences on some substantial issues. Of course they're not trying to mimic each other, and we're not trying to write a platform, but they don't know each other too well."

Their Senate terms overlapped for only two years, said Cocome, and "when you're going to be together that long, you have to know each other. Unlike the two parties, they're going to have to work together a longer time."

If an arrangement between the two is worked out, the current strategy would continue of entering no primary contests and focusing the campaign's energies on getting on general election ballots in every state.

The first deadline for qualifying for a state ballot is in Mathias' home state, Maryland, on March 8.

Candidate file



EUGENE MCCARTHY

2-Party System Rapped

McCarthy Says Independent Likely in 1976

An assault on the established two-party political system in the U.S. is under way and former U.S. Sen. Eugene McCarthy said Saturday he believes the public might be willing to shed party affiliations to support an independent for president in 1976.

McCarthy, 58, was in Columbus for a speech at the Center for Tomorrow sponsored by the Southern Ohio Episcopal Diocese.

HE SAID HE was "prepared to run as an independent in 1976," and said perhaps another half dozen independent candidates will surface over the next 18 months.

The strengths an independent candidate could draw on, McCarthy said, are the failures of either the Democrats or Republicans.

"Neither party," he said, "is facing up to the real problems facing America today."

"IT'S NOW evident that many of the things we talked about in the Internal Revenue Service and the FBI from presidential influence.

The former Minnesota senator outlined the way he would like to see future

JAN 13 1975

By Miller

Plans to seek presidency

PAGE ONE

McCarthy enters race as independent

MADISON, Wis. (AP) —Former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, declaring the Democratic party has begun to "hedge and compromise" on the issues, has announced he will run for president in 1976 as an independent.

About 400 well-wishers gathered at a theater here Sunday night to hear the former Minnesota senator announce his candidacy. McCarthy drew strong support here in his unsuccessful 1968 run for the Democratic presidential nomination.

McCarthy's announcement

came just one day after another former senator, Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, announced he will seek the Democratic presidential nomination next year.

Harris said the nation needs a program of tax rebates, massive public employment and enforcement of antitrust laws to ease the economic burden on middle income and poor Americans.

Harris made his announcement in Concord, N.H. New Hampshire is the scene of the first presidential primary of

1976.

It was in New Hampshire in 1968 that McCarthy, speaking out against U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, began his campaign aimed at unseating President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter announced earlier they would seek the Democratic nomination. Sens. Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas and Henry M. Jackson of Washington are considered probable candidates for the Democratic bid.

Leaders of the Wisconsin Committee for a Constitutional Presidency, which encouraged McCarthy's candidacy, said they hope to put independent candidates on ballots in all 50 states.

McCarthy, 58, said the Democratic party is "no longer an adequate instrument through which candidates can be selected and elected."

He said he began to wonder about the party's vitality because of its inability to defeat Richard M. Nixon in two presidential elections. He said that

his doubts about the party increased when he realized it was beginning "to hedge and compromise" on major issues in order to seek a broad political base.

"What they offer will not be adequate to meet the problems of the country," he said of the Democrats. "We will have better solutions."

Timothy Provis of Madison, a McCarthy backer, said the committee is not a party, but a political coalition unhappy with both major parties.



EUGENE McCARTHY
Announces candidacy

George F. Will

McCarthy: Looking Ahead to '76

On a table in his living room rest two instruments of high art—a violin and a baseball. They symbolize the man, who is a puzzling blend of seriousness and playfulness. Eugene McCarthy, a baseball player who sank to the Senate, is a former first baseman, a constant poet, and a once and future presidential candidate.

McCarthy recently helped launch the Committee for a Constitutional Presidency. Its first act was to virtually launch McCarthy's 1976 independent presidential campaign. He says it would be fine with him if someone else stepped forward to run as the committee's candidate. He compares himself to John the Baptist, noting that "if no one else had showed up, he (John) might have gone ahead with the movement." The statement tells you who will have to show up to cause McCarthy to step aside.

But politically (as well as sartorially—today he is wearing blue jeans and a white shirt with French cuffs) he does not seem to have thought with his usual clarity about what he is doing.

Regarding substantive policies, as distinguished from "procedural" questions about government, he seems uninterested, perhaps because he is orthodox. He is just another liberal, whose policies regarding welfare and regulation of the economy would expand the size and cost of government. He would make the government more powerful in dealing with the American people and less powerful in dealing with the Soviet government.

Like every liberal reformer, he says he wants to attract a constituency of conscience rather than a coalition of interests. But reformers like McCarthy have helped make such a constituency especially hard to form. The government, bloated by liberal policies of intervention throughout American life, has become a servile state, at once dangerous and anxious to please. It serves an electorate that increasingly is organized into interest groups that are simultaneously dependent and aggressively demanding.

Regarding what he calls "procedure," the "due process" by which high office is acquired and used, McCarthy professes to believe that George Washington "probably was the last President who was elected constitutionally" because he was the only President elected before parties "intruded" between candidates and the



electorate. He somehow thinks his candidacy will help create a system in which people will vote for "electors—people whom they believe in."

McCarthy hopes these trusted and presumably independent electors will assemble as the electoral college, reason together, and then select a President from among the various candidates. But it is bizarre to talk, as he does, about making the electoral college into a deliberative body, which it certainly was not when twice electing George Washington—unanimously. McCarthy is carrying strict construction of the Constitution to the point of parody when he says that our presidential elections since 1786 have not been constitutional because electoral votes have been cast to express party mandates.

The 1976 election is more than two years away and already McCarthy is using hyperbole of a sort that once was beneath him. An example: "I do not think we have had anything close to a constitutional presidency since that of Harry Truman."

McCarthy rightly insists that there is an honorable third party tradition in the United States. But there also is a tradition of zany political capers. He exemplified the former tradition in

1968, but may exemplify the latter in 1976.

In 1968 the Vietnam war, President Johnson's high-handedness and, finally, the treatment McCarthy and his supporters received at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, ignited McCarthy. Always controlled, never demagogic, uniquely respectful of the electorate, he burned with flames of ice. His campaign posters accurately said: "He stood up alone and something happened."

Today his principal passion seems to be cold disdain for Democratic liberals who did not stand with him. His candidacy is only apt to injure the Democratic Party. One can understand why Democrats who used to support him now censure him (as T.S. Eliot was censured) as "a good writer and a bad influence."

His current issues, like that playful stuff about a deliberative electoral college, seem suspiciously like mere excuses for a campaign that will enable him to punish Democrats for leaving him, a prophet, without honor in his own party. Until he finds issues worthy of him, discovering the political essence of the still-mysterious McCarthy will seem more like peeling an onion than cracking a clam.

Sen

McCarthy Tries Minnesota Comeback

Special to The New York Times

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 27 — Former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy has made a four-day tour of Minnesota's sixth Congressional District to assess his chances of making a political comeback next year in the House of Representatives.

He received a mixed reception this week from local officials and rank-and-file members of the Democrat-Farmer-Labor party. Critics attacked Mr. McCarthy on two counts, arguing that he spoiled Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's chance to be elected President in 1968, and that he was now threatening to spoil the prospects of former State Representative Richard Nolan, the nominee in the Sixth District last year.

Mr. Nolan, 29 years old, narrowly lost the 1972 election to Representative John M. Zwach, a Republican, who has announced that the current term, his fourth, will be his last.

As Mr. McCarthy, 57, travelled through the district — a 22-county region in central and southwestern Minnesota — he was met by persistent criticism in local newspapers and at personal appearances.

Endorsement Delay Scored

Apparently the most damaging accusation was that Mr. McCarthy's delay in endorsing

Mr. Humphrey until late in the 1968 Presidential campaign, after the collapse of his own antiwar candidacy at the Democratic National Convention, cost Mr. Humphrey the election.

This long-standing wound among the Democrats, especially those intensely loyal to Mr. Humphrey, appeared to be exacerbated by the fresh outbreak of public rage at President Nixon over the Watergate case.

In response, Mr. McCarthy told a student audience at Southwest State College in Marshall that the idea he had cost Mr. Humphrey the Presidency was "a washed out proposition."

"I've never had Senator Humphrey complain about that," he said.

The students responded warmly to his remarks.

But Marshall's newspaper, The Messenger Independent, greeted him the next morning with the banner headline, "DFLers Don't Want McCarthy to Rock the Boat." The paper is edited by an admirer of Mr. Nolan's, and also carried a hostile editorial under the headline, "Senator McCarthy Is Living in the Past."

Mr. McCarthy's message at this early stage of his campaign deals not with the turmoil surrounding Mr. Nixon's Presi-

dency, but with a possible remedy.

What he has in mind, Mr. McCarthy told his listeners this week, is to build "a more significant role" for the House, to restore it to the place it occupied in Government in the era of John Quincy Adams, who left the Presidency in 1829 and went back to serve 17 years in the House.

The issue that overrides all of the others, Mr. McCarthy said, is, "How do we make the Government operate properly?"

In his judgment, the House might be reinvigorated by the election of 10 to 20 capable leaders "who have been around for awhile," and who have a broad objective.

Mr. McCarthy expressed surprise at the extent of the criticism directed at him from party members who were his allies for 22 years.

He said that his message was not easy to grasp and that he did not expect people to listen intently on his first trip.

However, by the time his trip ended, he had made visible progress. In an editorial, The St. Cloud Times, the biggest newspaper serving the northern, most-populous part of the Sixth District, saluted Mr. McCarthy as "an elder statesman anxious to improve our political system."

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McCarthy for President? ^{Sen} Again

POLITICS:

The Non-Party

McCarthy for President? Again? That was the prospect raised last week by a new political organization called the Committee for a Constitutional Presidency. Its honorary chairman, former Minnesota Sen. Eugene McCarthy, looked every inch the candidate as he told a press conference in Chicago that his new committee would buck the trend of "no-choice" elections by offering a choice of its own. "There might be a better candidate than I in 1976," he admitted—but he and his followers seemed far from convinced of that.

If McCarthy does run, it will be from a new kind of non-party base; the new committee, he told reporters, would shun "the structure of formal political parties, which now comes between the candidate and the electorate." According to the committee, the traditional two-party system was seriously in need of an overhaul. "Everybody talks about 'believing' in the two-party system," McCarthy remarked to a colleague. "But it is not something you 'believe' in. It is not a religion. It must be examined, and if found not working, then something must be done about it."

Progress: McCarthy announced that the committee would spend most of 1975 "slowly educating" the public about how traditional party politics has muddied the electoral process and allowed the Executive to run afoul of the Constitution. "From 1789 to 1972, roughly, we went from Washington to Nixon, from John Adams to Spiro Agnew, from Alexander Hamilton to John Connally, from John Jay to John Mitchell," McCarthy said. "You have to begin to ... wonder how much of that kind of progress you can stand."

In 1976, the committee plans to name candidates for President and Vice Presi-

dent, mounting petition drives in each state to get the candidates a place on the ballot. Contributions are limited to \$15,000 per person per year, but the group already has some gilt-edged backers—notably William Clay Ford, brother of Henry Ford II and owner of the Detroit Lions, and Karl Gruhn, president of Tonka Mills. "We have enough money to see us through the next several months," says McCarthy.

McCarthy carefully avoids calling his committee a political party. But while the non-party's non-candidate maintains that the committee will not engage in active campaigning, McCarthy and his colleagues clearly are counting on sympathy and votes from the 33 per cent of American voters who call themselves independents. Whether those chickens will come home to roost remains to be seen. Said one Washington veteran of the "old" politics: "For all the talk about the end of the Imperial Presidency, it took about 48 hours for Jerry Ford to be deified. And besides," he added, "most people still love a parade."

Sept. 9, 1974

Buckley and McCarthy Joining To Fight Campaign Reform Act

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11— Senator James L. Buckley of New York, a Conservative-Republican, and Eugene J. McCarthy, a former Senator from Minnesota and a liberal Democrat, announced today that they would jointly challenge the constitutionality of this year's Campaign Reform Act.

Together with Ira Glasser, the executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, they disclosed at a Capital Hill news conference that they would file suit in Federal court on Jan. 2, the day after the act takes effect.

Mr. Buckley called the group "an odd coalition." But Mr. Buckley and Mr. McCarthy have in common an interest in minor parties, which they say, would suffer under the statute. Mr. Buckley won election in 1970 on the Conservative line; Mr. McCarthy hopes to run for President as a third-party nominee.

"It is the same," Mr. McCarthy said of the reform act, "as saying the country is going to have two established religions. It makes it almost impossible to have an effective challenge to the two established parties."

The principal challenge, the three men said, will be made on the ground that the new law violates First Amendment guarantees of freedom of expression by "limiting political activity, circumscribing speech, institutionalizing advantages for incumbents, authorizing unprecedented Government surveillance over political association and establishing broad investigative powers of doubtful constitutionality."

The law, which grew out of the Watergate scandals, would limit campaign contributions and expenditures, provide public funds for Presidential campaigns and set up new and stricter enforcement machine-

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11-17-15

McCarthy File

7/23/76 Monitor

Independent candidate for '76

McCarthy: issues raised quietly

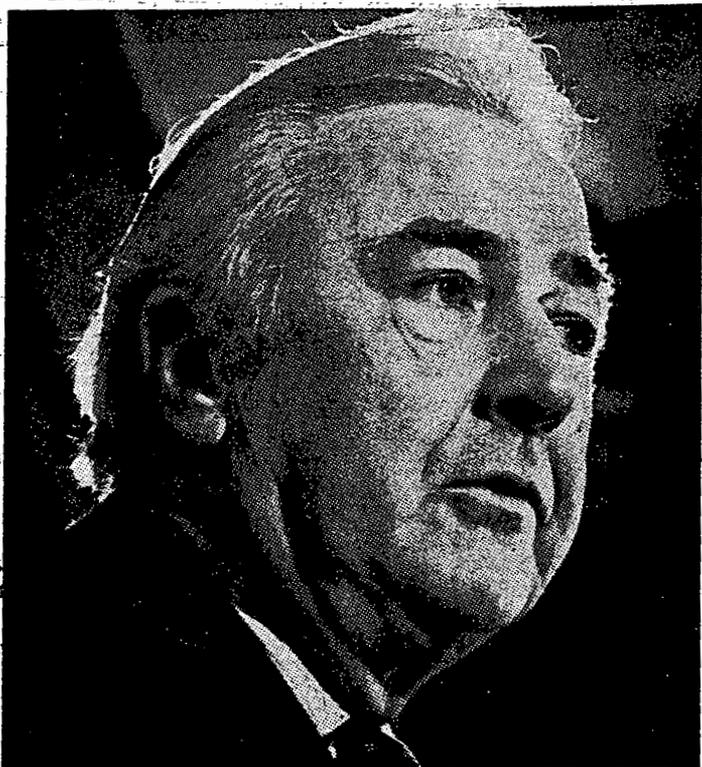
By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Gene McCarthy was eating scrambled eggs with a roomful of reporters one morning at a press breakfast, but leaving them hungry for what they really wanted.

They kept prodding him with questions that should have produced a newsy answer, but former Senator Eugene McCarthy, who is an independent candidate for president, gently sidestepped most of them.

Finally, after Mr. McCarthy had done a minuet around a question about Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, one exasperated



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

McCarthy — the land of aardvarks is behind him

Profile

columnist said, "Well, Gene, you realize, of course, that answer is absolutely headline-proof." Gene McCarthy just smiled his dry, whimsical smile.

This man who meets the press as though he were conducting a seminar on Aristotelian philosophy may be the quietest candidate of 1976. In her book "Private Faces, Public Places," Abigail McCarthy writes, "The relaxed understatement of his manner is so marked, it sometimes becomes confused with unflattering qualities. People don't realize how deeply he feels and are surprised when he takes such decisive action." She was speaking of the then-Democratic senator's decision to run for the presidency in 1968 on the antiwar issue. It was a decision that galvanized the peace movement into a potent force in the United States, eventually driving President Lyndon B. Johnson to withdraw from the race.

At this point Mr. McCarthy faces the same problem he did in 1968: being taken seriously as a candidate. One longtime McCarthy watcher quips, "It's like A. A. Milne running for president," a political dig but a tribute to Mr. McCarthy's gift for whimsy.

Mr. McCarthy himself, who amazed his early critics in 1968 by the success and force of his campaign, speaks with a tinge of bitterness about being taken seriously.

"In '68 the New York Times decided after three or four days in New Hampshire [for the primary] that it wasn't a serious campaign and took their people out . . . but, of course, they were wrong. And what we were saying was important whether the campaign was going any place or not. It shouldn't have been the primary determination. . . . The press says if you're just trying to educate people, that's not serious. You somehow have to swear on a blood oath that you're going to do anything to get elected."

He speaks in a voice that is like chinchilla: soft, furry, gray. You have to listen hard to hear him: "We've got to get through to the country what they ought to be thinking about, get some attention. And the press can do it if they set their minds to it, I think. I announced for the presidency the same day Zsa Zsa [Gabor] got married for the sixth time. I don't think I should have been on the front page, necessarily, I wasn't a headline. But I don't think she should have been either.

I certainly had some things to say about policy and government in the announcement which probably should have been printed,

somewhere. Instead of that they'll say on page 18 that McCarthy announces he'll be an independent candidate for president and it's sort of 'so what, you know?'"

Mr. McCarthy still has some things to say about politics and government as he sits tall in blue shirt sleeves behind an almost bare desk at his McCarthy '76 headquarters here. He is asked how the country would be different if he were president:

"I don't know whether the president has that much power over the country. One shouldn't be arrogant enough to say he's going to change it. I've been critical of presidents who regard themselves as the incarnation of the country. . . ."

"I don't think you really ought to open up [inaugural addresses] by declaring war on the whole world. . . . Most of them know what our military power is anyway. Our attitude toward the world would, I hope, be closer to the attitude reflected by Thomas Jefferson when he talks about 'a decent respect for the opinion of mankind,' instead of a rather arrogant assertion of our military power and of our disposition to use it.

"And secondly, I think we could expand the area of individual liberties, particularly be more careful about the way in which the powers of our governmental bureaucracy are used against the people. The abuses of the FBI and the CIA, for example. . . ."

He talks in a casual professional manner, this son of a Watkins, Minnesota, cattle dealer. A graduate of St. John's University at 19; he started out teaching high school before getting his master's degree from the University of Minnesota.

In his book of poetry, "Other Things and the Aardvark," he writes "I am in the land of the aardvark walking west while all the aardvarks are going east." As independent now, does he feel that he's still in the land of the aardvarks? There is a McCarthyesque pause, then, "I don't think so. We sort of made that case before we decided to do this, that there's a good chance of success and there's a need for it."