

## **George McGovern**

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CANDIDATES' POSITIONS

ON

MAJOR ISSUES

....GOVERNOR'S COPY

Prepared by:

Intergovernmental Relations  
Division  
Office of Planning & Budget

### GEORGE MCGOVERN, A Biographical Sketch

George McGovern was born on July 19, 1922, the son of a Wesleyan Methodist Minister in Avon, South Dakota. Six years later, the family, which now included two boys and two girls, moved to Mitchell, a relative metropolis of 6,000 which Senator McGovern still thinks of as his home.

Educated at local public schools, McGovern was attending Dakota Wesleyan University when World War II erupted. He enlisted in the Army Air Corps, won his wings as a bomber pilot, and flew 35 missions over Europe from bases in Italy and North Africa. On his 30th mission, when flak struck his plane and mortally wounded his navigator, McGovern nursed the disabled plane to a crash landing on the Adriatic island of Vis and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for valor.

After the war, McGovern returned for his bachelor's degree at Dakota Wesleyan, and went on for a doctorate in history at Northwestern. In 1953, while he was teaching political science and history at Dakota Wesleyan, he decided to enter politics full-time.

Just 30, McGovern became the first salaried organizer for the almost non-existent Democratic Party in South Dakota. After three years of intensive and successful efforts to rebuild the party, he ran for Congress on a shoestring budget and won. He served two terms in the House, and in 1960 President John F. Kennedy appointed him Director of the Food for Peace program. From this post, McGovern initiated the modern American program of food assistance, eliminating surpluses at home while feeding the poor around the world.

In 1962, McGovern ran for the Senate and unseated the incumbent Republican by 597 votes. In the Senate, McGovern soon established himself as a leading liberal and spokesman for farmers in the Plains States. He was the first United States Senator to speak out against American involvement in the Indochina war. Since September of 1963 he has led the evergrowing anti-war movement in the Congress and in the nation. In 1968, the Vietnam issue drew him to the candidacy of Robert Kennedy. After Kennedy was assassinated, McGovern was urged to hold Kennedy's anti-war supporters together by running himself at the Chicago convention. He received 146½ delegate votes after a 23 day campaign, and became one of the leaders and strongest voices in the Democratic Party.

Since 1968, Senator McGovern has intensified his opposition to the war. With Senator Mark Hatfield, he co-sponsored a resolution requiring the withdrawal of all American forces by the end of 1971. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Need, he helped focus attention on widespread malnutrition in this country. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee's McGovern Commission, he pressed successfully for party reforms which will insure an open, broadly representative convention in 1972.

On January 18, 1971, Senator McGovern formally announced his candidacy for the office of President of the United States. It was an unprecedented early announcement, but necessary in order to conduct the campaign with candor, and at the same time to make up lost ground on his opponents. Since then, he has traveled the country seeking support, developing the themes of his campaign, and looking and learning about America. According to the latest polls, he is steadily gaining ground in this greatest endeavor any American can undertake.

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				- KEY -										
ADA	COPE †	NFU †	ACA	ADA	COPE †	NFU †	ACA							
<b>ALABAMA</b>				<b>IOWA</b>				<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>						
Allen	15	25	36	75	Hughes	96	73	100	9	McIntyre	67	83	100	27
Sparkman	19	82	55	37	Miller	11	25	36	84	Cotton	0	17	20	96
<b>ALASKA</b>				<b>KANSAS</b>				<b>NEW JERSEY</b>						
Gravel	81	89	90	0	Dole	4	17	33	71	Williams	93	92	91	5
Stevens	48	60	55	36	Pearson	37	36	45	50	Case	81	83	82	0
<b>ARIZONA</b>				<b>KENTUCKY</b>				<b>NEW MEXICO</b>						
Fannin	0	25	9	95	Cook	33	42	55	70	Anderson	48	50	56	26
Goldwater	4	10	14	100	Cooper	33	33	64	39	Montoya	74	70	100	19
<b>ARKANSAS</b>				<b>LOUISIANA</b>				<b>NEW YORK</b>						
Fulbright	85	75	100	14	Ellender	19	60	36	60	Buckley*	4	8	11	87
McClellan	30	45	45	64	Long	19	67	50	61	Javits	70	64	73	22
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>				<b>MAINE</b>				<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>						
Cranston	89	92	100	0	Muskie	85	83	100	7	Ervin	30	25	36	87
Tunney	96	91	100	5	Smith	19	40	56	61	Jordan	44	56	90	61
<b>COLORADO</b>				<b>MARYLAND</b>				<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>						
Allott	4	36	36	73	Beall	22	25	36	57	Burdick	85	75	100	25
Dominick	7	17	10	96	Mathias	63	58	60	21	Young	15	33	45	78
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>				<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>				<b>OHIO</b>						
Ribicoff	93	75	100	5	Kennedy	100	83	100	5	Saxbe	30	38	33	63
Weicker	30	18	63	57	Brooke	78	60	67	24	Taft	30	17	9	64
<b>DELAWARE</b>				<b>MICHIGAN</b>				<b>OKLAHOMA</b>						
Boggs	26	50	40	48	Hart	96	75	82	4	Harris	63	78	100	17
Roth	19	8	27	67	Griffin	33	8	33	65	Bellmon	11	17	33	63
<b>FLORIDA</b>				<b>MINNESOTA</b>				<b>OREGON</b>						
Chiles	56	50	75	37	Humphrey	89	91	100	5	Hatfield	74	33	64	20
Gurney	4	36	20	95	Mondale	100	83	100	9	Packwood	30	20	44	60
<b>GEORGIA</b>				<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>				<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>						
Gambrell	30	73	60	45	Eastland	7	33	27	74	Schweiker	70	50	82	33
Talmadge	22	70	36	70	Stennis	7	42	18	77	Scott	26	50	27	45
<b>HAWAII</b>				<b>MISSOURI</b>				<b>RHODE ISLAND</b>						
Inouye	63	100	91	0	Eagleton	89	67	100	24	Pastore	74	64	82	17
Fong	19	42	45	50	Symington	85	83	91	25	Pell	89	75	82	23
<b>IDAHO</b>				<b>MONTANA</b>				<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>						
Church	93	83	100	17	Mansfield	78	75	91	11	Hollings	44	75	73	39
Jordan	15	0	30	86	Metcalf	74	92	100	14	Thurmond	0	25	9	96
<b>ILLINOIS</b>				<b>NEBRASKA</b>				<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>						
Stevenson	100	75	100	14	Curtis	4	9	9	100	McGovern	96	75	100	9
Percy	56	27	70	41	Hruska	0	25	9	91	Mundt†	4	—	50	—
<b>INDIANA</b>				<b>NEVADA</b>				<b>TENNESSEE</b>						
Bayh	96	80	90	14	Bibie	33	75	64	42	Baker	4	27	30	55
Hartke	81	90	100	13	Cannon	41	75	82	39	Brock	0	17	11	93

ADA— Americans for Democratic Action  
COPE—AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education  
NFU— National Farmers Union  
ACA— Americans for Constitutional Action

	ADA	COPE	NFU	ACA
<b>TEXAS</b>				
Bentsen	88	82	88	88
Tower	88	82	88	88
<b>UTAH</b>				
Moss	88	82	88	88
Bennett	88	82	88	88
<b>VERMONT</b>				
Aiken	88	82	88	88
Stafford*	88	82	88	88
<b>VIRGINIA</b>				
Byrd, Jr.**	88	82	88	88
Spong	88	82	88	88
<b>WASHINGTON</b>				
Jackson	88	82	88	88
Magnuson	88	82	88	88
<b>WEST VIRGINIA</b>				
Byrd	88	82	88	88
Randolph	88	82	88	88
<b>WISCONSIN</b>				
Nelson	88	82	88	88
Proxmire	88	82	88	88
<b>WYOMING</b>				
McGee	88	82	88	88
Hansen	88	82	88	88

Democrats *Mills* 22-90 62-33  
Republicans

\* Buckley elected as Conservative

\*\* Byrd elected as Democrat

†Member did not serve for entire period covered by voting studies.  
‡Scores were compiled by Congressional Quarterly from the votes selected by the organization.

†Sen. Karl Mundt (R S.D.) did not receive a COPE or ADA rating because he was not present for any of their selected votes.

## HOW SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS RATE SENATORS

**ADA (Americans for Democratic Action)**—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced for the ADA position on 27 selected votes from 1971. The percentages were compiled by ADA. Failure to vote lowers the scores.

**NFU (National Farmers Union)**—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with, was paired for or announced for the NFU position on 11 selected votes from 1971. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by CQ.

**COPE (AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education)**—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position on 12 selected votes of 1971. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by CQ.

**ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action)**—The percentage of the time each senator voted in accordance with the ACA position on 24 selected votes of 1971. Failure to vote does not lower the scores, which were compiled by ACA.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

# Labor Letter

5-23-72

## A Special News Report on People And Their Jobs in Offices, Fields and Factories

LABOR POLITICOS mount a last-ditch drive to head off McGovern.

At least 85% of California's union leaders are going "all-out" for Humphrey in the state's June 6 primary, figures an AFL-CIO insider. The retail clerks, powerful in California, came out for HHH yesterday. One labor man's assessment: "We've got to beat this guy (McGovern), but do it in a way we can always get behind him" if he is nominated. Unionists brimming Humphrey's "worried worker brigades" at plant gates will stress that "destroying the Defense Department" could also destroy jobs.

McGovern's surge hampers the AFL-CIO's drive to elect 600 unionists as delegates to the Miami convention. Labor could wind up with under 400 delegates, its strategists now concede. One reason: Labor focused its efforts on getting its members on the Humphrey and Muskie primary slates, so few union men wound up on McGovern's delegate lists. California is a prime example; Humphrey's slate includes 67 unionists while McGovern's has only seven.

McGovern's liberalism worries some union political operatives. "He's nominated, 'I just don't think we could get our people steamed up for him,'" frets one.

### GEORGE MCGOVERN, A Biographical Sketch

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#### X 4. CONSERVATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Senator McGovern has long been a leading advocate of conservation and environmental protection. Throughout his congressional career he has consistently supported all environmental protection laws, and he has worked particularly conscientiously on the ecological problems of the Great Plains States.

##### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A comprehensive proposal for a national policy on conservation development and natural resources, including a White House Council of National Resource Advisors.
- 2) A new public lands use policy, designed to serve the needs of all the American people.
- 3) A world environmental institute to deal with the threat to our environment on a world-wide scale.
- 4) A new super-agency, patterned after NASA, to deal with pollution. Proposed first-year budget for this agency: \$3 billion.
- 5) The Great Plains Conservation Program.
- 6) The Great Prairie Lakes Waterway.
- 7) A national Wilderness Preservation system, which would protect our nation's wetlands.
- 8) A halt to the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project.
- 9) The Great Lakes National Recreation Area in the Upper Missouri Basin.
- 10) A federally guaranteed right for all Americans to a pollution-free environment, enforceable through anti-pollution suits in federal and state courts by ordinary citizens against other citizens or government agencies.
- 11) Provision for protected areas in Maryland, California, Indiana, and the Plains States.
- 12) Strong opposition to the development of the SST, both for ecological protection and because it is not a high priority need.

##### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

Senator McGovern has co-sponsored all major environmental protection laws introduced during his terms in the House and the Senate. Among those of which he has been the principal sponsor:

THE RIVER BASIN PLANNING ACT OF 1966.  
THE MISSOURI RIVER RECREATION PROPOSALS OF 1969. (S. 234 and S. 235)  
THE GREAT PLAINS CONSERVATION PROGRAM ACT OF 1969. (S. 43)  
THE GREAT PRAIRIE LAKES NATIONAL RECREATION AREA OF 1969. (S. 248)  
THE NATIONAL LAND USE POLICY ACTS OF 1969 AND 1970, providing for a national policy on environmental protection. (S. 237 and S. 3354)  
THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL BANK ACT OF 1970. (S. 4465)  
THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ENHANCEMENT ACT OF 1971, which provides for controls of strip mining. (S. 1498)  
--Amendments to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to impose excise taxes on polluters. (S. 3057 and S. 3058)  
--The Environmental Protection Acts of 1970 and 1971. These proposals supplement existing as well as proposed legislation. Together they: 1) grant to all citizens a federally guaranteed right to a pollution-free environment, 2) provide for enforcement of that right through suits by ordinary citizens in federal and state courts, and 3) give citizens standing in federal and state courts to challenge administrative decision-making where it is lax in the implementation of environmental policy. (S. 3575 and S. 1032)

##### McGOVERN ON THE ENVIRONMENT:

"We're not going to have another chance at replacing these resources once they're destroyed. I believe that they're God-given resources that this country has been more richly endowed with than any other people in all of the life of mankind. And we have a special obligation as stewards of what we have been entrusted with to take care of it, not to abuse it, not to destroy it, not to foul our own nest to the point where an enjoyable life becomes impossible." February 10, 1971

## 5. THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Senator McGovern has been a zealous defender of our constitutional system and of the individual liberties in the Bill of Rights. In response to Executive-branch dominance of recent years, Senator McGovern has sought to return to Congress its Constitutional status as a co-equal branch. He has consistently opposed attacks on the court system by those who in preaching law and order attempt to undermine the fundamental rights of the citizenry.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Support for the First Amendment right of the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Boston Globe, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and other newspapers to publish the Pentagon Papers.
- 2) Repeal of the repressive preventive detention, "no-knock" and wire-tapping provisions of the Administration-approved D.C. Crime Bill.
- 3) Opposition to the proposed House contempt citation against C.B.S. television resulting from the documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon."
- 4) Opposition to tactics of violence or coercive force from whatever source.
- 5) Condemnation of those Administration officials who condone unwarranted and widespread surveillance of citizens through the use of wire-taps and other electronic devices.
- 6) Support for efforts to limit the pervasive power of computer data banks

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE VOLUNTARY MANPOWER PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1965, which would have set in motion the necessary mechanisms for the establishment of a volunteer army.  
THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1970, which extended the right to vote in all elections to 18-to-20-year-olds.  
THE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN AMENDMENT OF 1970, which would finally guarantee an equal status with men in American society.

### McGOVERN ON THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES:

"The Administration has dealt not so much with our problems as with the politics of those problems. Its goal has been to isolate the dissatisfied citizens of the nation, while claiming to represent the nation's major interests. It seeks to discredit those who disagree. It sets group against group. It tries to frighten the news media, turn old against young, and isolate those against the war. While the President walks the high ground, the Vice-President and the Attorney General execute the strategy of fear and division." January, 1970

"Those revolutionaries who proceed on the notion that the end justifies the means are striking out against the very ends of peace and justice they claim to pursue. This is the cruelest hypocrisy of our times."

September 1, 1970

X 6. CRIME AND JUSTICE

George McGovern believes that the first task of society is to protect its citizens' lives and property. He has repeatedly called for a concerted effort to destroy the social roots of crime. Senator McGovern has criticized the current Administration both for failing to deal with the menace or organized crime, and for attempting to suppress the legitimate rights of law-abiding Americans.

McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A Policeman's Bill of Rights, patterned on the original GI Bill, to provide policemen with an opportunity for Federal-subsidized higher education, and to offer incentives for young Americans to undertake police careers.
- 2) Stricter controls and enforcement on the sale and possession of handguns without encroaching on the rights of sportsmen.
- 3) Major improvements in correctional facilities, with strong emphasis on rehabilitation, as the only effective way to eliminate a great portion of repeater crimes.
- 4) Development of better police-community relations programs, and better police education programs.
- 5) The creation of a National Advisory Commission on Interstate Crimes.
- 6) Improved programs to prevent juvenile delinquency.
- 7) Stronger penalties for the use of guns in violent crimes.
- 8) Action to guarantee that funds are employed for improving police and penal facilities.
- 9) An end to preventive detention, expanded wire-tapping, excessive bail, no-knock searches, and mandatory minimum sentences, as they are ineffective and probably unconstitutional in the fight against serious crimes.
- 10) A critical reconsideration and reform of the grand jury system.

McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT REFORM AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT OF 1971, alternative proposals to the Administration's District of Columbia Omnibus Anti-crime Bill.

THE SPEEDY TRIAL ACT OF 1971. (S. 895)

THE POLICEMAN'S BILL OF RIGHTS OF 1971. (S. 2232)

THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1967, which would improve our nation's attempts to combat juvenile delinquency.

THE GUN CONTROL BILL OF 1968, which orders stiffer penalties for the use of firearms in violent crime. (S. 3681)

THE NATIONAL LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1305)

The repeal of the Emergency Detention Act. 1971 (S. 592)

--Legislation to improve the judicial machinery for the selection of juries, 1969. (S. 2454)

McGOVERN ON CRIME AND JUSTICE:

"(President Nixon's promises to end the crime crisis) will be unfulfilled because the harder constructive task has been largely avoided. There has been no major effort to make the basic change and improvement in correctional facilities that is the precondition for eliminating the high proportion of repeater crime. There is no major new effort on the part of the Administration to secure better gun control, to develop police-community relations programs, to professionalize and educate the police. But we have seen a slowdown in the effort to eradicate a major source of the crime problem, the decaying urban environment that deprives and demoralizes the individual." July 21, 1970

"From political intimidation and conspiracy trials to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, Come home, America." March 21, 1970

## X 7. DEFENSE POLICY

Senator McGovern believes that the legitimate national security interests of the United States have been ill-served by the growth of an excessive, wasteful, overly large military establishment at the expense of our vital economic and social health. He has consistently pointed out the dangerous economic and political consequences of a permanent arms industry and the responsibility of civilian leaders for the growth of the military-industrial complex. He believes that excessive military spending weakens our national security.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A phased reduction by fiscal 1975 to baseline defense outlays of \$54.8 billion, as against Administration estimates of \$87.3 billion (1972 program in 1975 dollars).
- 2) Total active duty military manpower of 1,735,000, composed entirely of volunteers, including 10 Army and 2 Marine land divisions; 600,000 reserves, or nine land division equivalents, with improved combat capabilities; plus 761,000 DOD civilian personnel. Two Army divisions would be stationed in Europe.
- 3) 26 tactical air wings, including 18 Air Force, 6 Navy and 2 Marine Corps double wings, with modernized close air support and air superiority aircraft.
- 4) Naval forces constructed around 6 attack aircraft carriers and 1 amphibious Marine Expeditionary Force, with necessary escorts; improved sealift capacity, and construction toward an expanded force of 84 nuclear attack submarines.
- 5) A mixed nuclear deterrent composed of 41 Polaris/Poseidon submarines, 1,000 ICBM's, and 200 manned bombers, with the capability to strike approximately 3500 targets.
- 6) An annual research and development program of \$5.5 billion.
- 7) Suspension of production, testing and deployment of the MIRV system pending the outcome of the SALT negotiations and for as long as America's deterrent capacity is not imperiled.
- 8) Creation of a Permanent Commission of Defense Review to provide the Congress with a thorough and ongoing knowledge of defense and national security affairs. Among its responsibilities would be the preparation each year of an alternative budget which takes into account broad national priorities on arms control and foreign relations.
- 9) Curtailment of military aid to such repressive and undemocratic regimes as those in Pakistan, Greece and South Vietnam.
- 10) Continued military assistance to Israel, combined with efforts to secure a negotiated Arab-Israeli settlement, in order to insure the maintenance of the balance of power critical to peace in that part of the world.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE ABM AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would have deleted funds for the ABM. (Amd. No. 180 to H.R. 17123)  
AN AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would have cut funds for the B-1. (Amd. No. 820 to H.R. 17123)  
THE VOLUNTARY MANPOWER PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1969, which would have terminated all draft inductions, and provided decent pay for servicemen and their families. (S. 503)  
THE VIETNAM DISENGAGEMENT ACTS OF 1970 and 1971, which would have cut off funds for any military operations in South Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos after December 31, 1971. This bill received 42 votes in the Senate last June, but support is growing and Senator McGovern plans to reintroduce it until it succeeds.  
AN AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would limit military spending to \$66 billion. (Amd. No. 861 to H.R. 17123)  
--Legislation to create an Office of Defense Review, 1969. (S. 3023)

### McGOVERN ON DEFENSE POLICY:

"America must end its obsessive emphasis on arms production and military force. We can talk about saving our environment, or rebuilding cities, or ending poverty, poor health care, and bad housing; but none of those things will be adequately addressed as long as we are pouring our money, energy, and blood into the cauldron of war and the unchecked production of military armament." December, 1969

"What I propose is that we spend all that is necessary for a prudent national defense. And I propose that we spend no more than that."

January, 1972

## X 9. DRUGS

Senator McGovern recognizes the widening scope and persistency of narcotics addiction in the United States. He has consistently supported Congressional legislation which acknowledges that heroin and other hard drug addiction preys not only on the users but is a major factor in the tragic crime rate.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A \$1.5 billion attack on the burgeoning drug problem in this country.
  - \$550 million specifically earmarked for increased drug law enforcement;
  - \$200 million for aggressive international efforts to stem illegal drug traffic;
  - \$500 million for more successful treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts including \$25 million specifically for neighborhood crisis centers in urban areas;
  - \$20 million to support and train personnel for work in the rehabilitation of addicts.
  - preparation and dissemination of an entire range of educational materials to be designed especially for secondary and elementary schools.
- 2) No person should be sent to jail for the mere possession or use of marijuana.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE ACT OF 1970, which provided comprehensive new legislation concerning treatment and rehabilitation of drug abusers, law enforcement authority in the field of drug abuse, and research into the problem of drug abuse. (S. 674)

THE FEDERAL DRUG ABUSE AND DRUG DEPENDENCE PREVENTION, TREATMENT, AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1971, which established a National Institute on Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence in the Public Health Service. It further provided emergency funding for state and local drug prevention treatment and rehabilitation programs. (S. 1835)

THE DRUG DEPENDENT OFFENDERS TREATMENT AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1971, which made all drug-dependent persons convicted of a Federal crime eligible for treatment and rehabilitation services. (S. 1836)

### McGOVERN ON THE DRUG PROBLEM:

"The American drug scene is dominated by harsh realities. Optimistic appraisals and easy solutions have no place; the problem is already acute and it is growing worse. And there are no simple answers." February 16, 1972

## 10. ECONOMIC CONVERSION

Senator McGovern was the first member of Congress to propose a national program for economic conversion. Reducing the war in Indochina, Congressional cutbacks in wasteful military programs, a partial slowing of the arms race, and the partial reduction of unnecessary aerospace expenditures have created economic hardships for workers, their communities and businesses dependent on government spending. Senator McGovern's Peacetime Transition proposals represent a sensible way to redirect the course of our national economic life.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Assistance to industry during the period of conversion from war to peace production.
- 2) The establishment of a system of income support benefits coupled with educational and training incentives for all workers who feel the impact of changing job requirements.
- 3) Creation of a conversion trust fund to be built up from a portion of the profits earned on military and other contracts. This fund will support conversion programs and employee benefits.
- 4) A system of tax rebate incentives to encourage industry to plan for the transfer of its workers and its facilities to peacetime production.
- 5) The creation of a National Commission of Peacetime Transition to assist industry during the period of conversion.
- 6) Immediate benefits for workers and communities that are affected by cut-backs in arms and aerospace spending.
- 7) Regulations to allow military contractors to write the costs of conversion planning into their contracts.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE NATIONAL PEACETIME TRANSITION ACT OF 1971, to assist industry and workers in their adjustment to economic conversion. (S. 1191)  
THE EMERGENCY TRANSITION ALLOWANCE ACT OF 1971, which will provide immediate benefits for workers and communities that are affected by cutbacks in arms and aerospace spending. (S. 1631)  
THE CONVERSION RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971. (S. 32)  
THE ALTERNATE DEVELOPMENT AND PEACETIME TECHNOLOGY ACT OF 1971. (S. 967)  
THE ECONOMIC CONVERSION LOAN AUTHORIZATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1261)  
THE ECONOMIC CONVERSION ACT OF 1970. (S. 4430)  
THE FLEXIBLE FISCAL POLICY ACT OF 1970. (S. 3715)  
--Legislation providing for utilization of defense manpower in transportation research, 1971, (S. 1382)

### McGOVERN ON ECONOMIC CONVERSION:

"Preparation for economic conversion can, in the long run, enhance the productive and marketing genius which we would like to characterize American industry, reducing costs of production and strengthening our position in international trade." March 3, 1969

"It is irresponsible to undertake the production of superfluous weapons systems solely because of jobs involved. The MIRV, AEM, and other such systems fuel the deadly arms competition; they waste scarce resources which are needed for urgent public programs; they are inherently inflationary; and they are poor providers of jobs as well. But it is just as irresponsible to cut these weapons programs without moving at the same time to develop alternative employment for the displaced workers and to alleviate the inevitable economic depression in communities which have grown most dependent on defense spending." October 19, 1971

## 11. THE ECONOMY

McGovern has vigorously supported all meaningful efforts to re-  
store the economy to health. He has sponsored and co-sponsored major  
stimulus and manpower legislation designed to provide relief for unem-  
ployed low-income Americans.

McGovern PROPOSALS FOR THE ECONOMY IN GENERAL: (Specific programs and  
legislation are listed in detail as they relate to specific issues under  
legislation) other

- 1) Guaranteed job for every man and woman who desires work by contract-  
ing with private industry to meet the nation's needs for housing,  
public transit, environmental protection and other needs.
- 2) Expanded public service employment to assure the full use of the  
skills and labor of both professional and non-professional workers.
- 3) Expansion of low cost credit to home-buyers, small businessmen, and  
others.
- 4) Expanded trade policies, combined with inflation controls, to avoid  
trade wars and increase foreign outlets for American goods.
- 5) Tax reform to close loopholes that have long benefited special in-  
come groups at the expense of lower- and middle-income taxpayers.
- 6) Reform in the international monetary system.
- 7) Government limits on price increases by monopolies.
- 8) Provision that a percentage of profits of industries involved in  
defense and government contracts be set aside in a fund to be used  
to convert industry to peacetime or non-government work. No engi-  
neer, scientist, aerospace technician or other such valuable defense  
personnel should be idle if the nation moves  
to meet its urgent needs in both the urban and rural areas.
- 9) Provision to give the same protection against bankruptcy to small busi-  
nesses and industries that the Nixon Administration has sought to  
provide to a few giant corporations like Lockheed.  
Further reduction of the national debt.
- 10) Provision for the economic development of such regions as the upper  
Midwest, the Great Lakes, the rural South, and the plains area.
- 11) Provision to alleviate the shortage of railway freight cars, the modernization  
of  
12) Provision for rail transport and if necessary the nationalization of rail service.

### LEGISLATION:

McGovern

AGENCY TRANSITION ALLOWANCE ACT OF 1971. (S. 1631)  
THE REGIONAL PEACETIME TRANSITION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1971)  
THE NADER IN ADVERTISING ACT OF 1971, designed to protect the consumer  
from fraudulent advertising claims. This measure has received the full  
endorsement of consumer advocate Ralph Nader. (S. 1461)  
THE MICHIGAN REGIONAL REVIEW DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1969. (S. 1072)  
THE FEDERAL RAILROAD SAFETY ACT OF 1969, which would upgrade safety  
standards in the nation's railroad industry. (S. 1933)

### ON THE ECONOMY:

McGovern

Nixon-Agnew economic policy: "I am not so sure that we can des-  
cribe this as a mediocre economic policy. After all, it takes a cer-  
tain amount of ingenuity to contrive at the same time both inflation and unem-  
ployment. Yet, we must admit that the Republicans have always been good  
at this well again today." March 21, 1971  
pretty

Senator McGovern knows the value and importance of education. His legislative record is unparalleled in its support of educational measures, from research to the teaching of the mentally retarded to GI bills for returning Vietnam veterans.

**MCGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) The United States should undertake a greatly expanded national program for elementary and secondary education with the following major elements:
  - The federal government should supply at least one-third of the total costs of public elementary and secondary education. Based on current expenditures, that would amount to about \$15 billion per year. To achieve reasonable improvements in educational quality, it should reach \$24 billion by 1976.
  - Three-fourths of the funds committed under this program should be allocated to the states on the basis of educational need (including numbers of students in average daily attendance, and special conditions which increase per-pupil costs) and the capability to raise revenue for education within the state.
  - The remaining one-fourth should be allocated among the states under an incentive program designed to achieve fair administration of the state and local tax structure. Funds would be used to encourage such steps as publication of property valuations, uniform statewide property assessments, simplified procedures for citizen action to assure equitable tax enforcement, and the elimination of special tax privileges, in line with earlier recommendations on revenue sharing.
  - The funds allocated to each state would be distributed under a formula designed to equalize educational opportunity by achieving minimum standards of educational quality in all school districts from the combination of federal funds, state aid and uniform local tax effort.
- 2) Work programs for needy secondary school students, and aid for children lacking parental support.
- 3) Continuation of tax deductions for teachers' educational expenses.
- 4) Increased funding for federally impacted areas in which local tax bases are depleted because of the presence of federal installations.
- 5) Increased educational benefits for veterans.
- 6) Scholarships for the children of veterans.
- 7) Funding for research in the education of mentally retarded and exceptional children.
- 8) Taking \$1 billion from the federal budget to offer scholarships for 200,000 students at \$5,000 each.
- 9) Creation of national endowments for the arts, the humanities, and the social sciences.
- 10) Expansion of the system of vocational schools and junior colleges.
- 11) Increased funds for National Defense Student Loans.
- 12) Funds and federal programs aimed at early childhood education.
- 13) Support for S. 659 (without weakening amendments). This bill creates a National Foundation for Postsecondary Education

**MCGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

Senator McGovern was a key figure in the drafting and passage of the original NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958.  
 HEADSTART CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1969. (S. 2060)  
 STUDENT INSURED LOAN PROGRAM OF 1969. (S. 2422)  
 DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1485)  
 THE FOGARTY-MCGOVERN ACT OF 1958 which authorized federal grants to train teachers for the mentally retarded.

**MCGOVERN ON EDUCATION:**

"Everywhere... we are told that education is the key to our national future, the repository of our civilization, the only route to full realization of our individual and collective potential. Everywhere the praises of education are sung. Everywhere, that is, except in the dry pages of the Budget of the United States Government. Those pages tell a very different story. They tell of a nation whose commitment to education -- in terms of percentage of national wealth -- is smaller than that of any other major country in the world. They tell of a nation whose Federal government will ask of each citizen a \$400 contribution for military and a \$12 contribution for elementary and secondary education. They tell of a nation which spends \$21,600 to kill a Vietcong soldier and 44 federal dollars per year to educate each of her primary school children." October 24, 1969

"I believe that school busing and redistricting, as ordered by the federal courts, are among the prices we are paying for a century of segregation in our housing patterns. For more than a generation, black children were bused to avoid integrating schools. One of the more cynical aspects of our present debate is that President Nixon, seeking to make political capital of this difficult situation, is ignoring history and asking the nation to believe this problem began yesterday.

X 16. HEALTH

Senator McGovern is a leading advocate of improved health care for all Americans. He has called for money and manpower in both research and health-care delivery. Senator McGovern's Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs has focused national attention on the problems of environmental health.

McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A federally funded National Health Care Plan, which would provide adequate health care to all Americans.
- 2) Substantial reorganization of the federal effort to achieve adequate emergency health care for all American citizens. A seven part program which could save as many as 100,000 lives per year. Program to include minimal training standards for ambulance attendants; assurance, through federal funding, of accessibility by all Americans to emergency vehicles designed according to federal standards; federal funds to support residencies in emergency medicine in medical centers; expansion of community health facilities; and nationwide implementation of "911" as the uniform emergency phone number.
- 3) The expansion of multi-specialty group practice payment organizations.
- 4) Increased experimentation in the training of ancillary personnel to extend the reach of physicians, dentists, and other basic health-care personnel.
- 5) The development of a corps of personnel to serve as communicators between medical centers and the public.
- 6) Training for qualified members of minority groups who previously have been denied a place in health services (in 1970, only 2.2% of medical students were Black).
- 7) The expansion of efforts to provide medical care for people who are physically or culturally isolated from present medical facilities.
- 8) Improvement of care and treatment of the mentally retarded.
- 9) Medical study of malnutrition.
- 10) Protection of children from aspirin overdoses by control of package size.
- 11) Federal aid to research, personnel, and practice in the field of family planning.
- 12) An intensive program of research and treatment of dread diseases.
- 13) The creation of a National Information and Resources Center for the Handicapped.
- 14) Inclusion of prescription drugs and out-of-hospital medical treatment in the Medicare program.
- 15) Removal of discriminatory barriers against admission of women to medical schools.

McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

HEALTH SECURITY ACT OF 1971. (S. 3)  
NATIONAL CANCER AUTHORITY ACT OF 1971. (S. 34)  
HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE AMENDMENT OF 1971. (S. 934)  
PHYSICIANS MANPOWER SUPPORT AND SERVICE ACT OF 1971. (S. 935)  
MEDICAL FACILITIES DISASTER RELIEF ACT OF 1971. (S. 1237)  
NURSE MANPOWER TRAINING ACT OF 1971. (S. 1331)  
NATIONAL HEALTH CARE ACT OF 1971. (S. 1490)  
CHILDREN'S DENTAL HEALTH ACT OF 1971. (S. 1874)  
FAMILY PLANNING AND RESEARCH ACT OF 1969. (S. 2108)  
REMOTE AREAS MEDICAL FACILITIES ACT OF 1969. (S. 2241)

McGOVERN ON HEALTH:

"It will be a real accomplishment if the consumer of health care in America finds several years from now that he has access to good primary care, which connects him without confusion or delay to comprehensive care in all the specialties, with all the facilities required for his care. It will be a real accomplishment if we can make good care consistently available to those who are physically isolated and those who are culturally isolated, making it available in a human and understanding way." October 20, 1970

## X 21. NUTRITION

Senator McGovern has provided positive leadership in our nation's efforts to end hunger at home and abroad. In 1961 he served as the first director of President Kennedy's "Food for Peace" program which initiated the development of modern American food relief programs for the world's hungry. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, Senator McGovern is working to strengthen existing legislation and to institute new and expanded programs to combat the physical, mental and social ills which follow in its wake. His efforts have been chiefly responsible for a five-fold increase in our food assistance program in the last two years.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Emergency food programs in areas without previous food assistance.
- 2) Preservation of the Emergency Food and Medical Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.
- 3) Initiation and expansion of federal support of family planning which is vital to the task of balancing food production and population growth.
- 4) Consolidation of the School Lunch and School Breakfast programs, providing two meals each day for pre-school and school age children.
- 5) A change in proposed work requirements to permit children to receive food stamps even if their parents refuse to work.
- 6) Liberalization of the use of food stamps by the elderly.
- 7) Simplification of the cumbersome procedures involved in individual

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM OF 1970. (S. 4104)

Extension of the SPECIAL MILK PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN, 1968. (S. 644)

A bill to amend the FOOD STAMP ACT, 1971, which calls for an end to all hunger in America by July 1, 1972. (S. 1773)

THE INTERNATIONAL FOOD AND NUTRITION ACT OF 1965, which converted America's food assistance program from a surplus disposal plan to a positive production plan to meet world food needs.

THE FOOD FOR PEACE ACT OF 1966, which doubled the amount of food America previously sent overseas.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH AND CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1970, which established a national program to ensure that each needy pre-school and school age child receive a free or reduced price lunch. (S. 2548)

Amendment No. 582 to the FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM ACT, which was designed to raise the benefit level for program recipients to \$2,400.

### McGOVERN ON NUTRITION:

"We all have an obligation to live up to our promises to end hunger in America. Nothing less than this nation's human dignity is at stake. The time is long past to make good our promises to America's hungry poor. We need only the will to end hunger -- the resources are obvious. We had the will to go to the moon and we did. We had the will to sponsor great strides forward in all walks of civilization, and we did. How can we be satisfied to go just halfway toward ending hunger? Would we have been satisfied to go halfway to the moon? Will we be satisfied in finding half a cure for cancer?" May 5, 1971

## 23. POLITICAL REFORM

McGovern's dedication to an honest and responsive political system led to his appointment as chairman of the Democratic Party's Commission on Structure and Delegate Selection. Charged with the responsibility of ensuring "full, meaningful, and timely participation" in the 1972 National Convention, the McGovern Commission proposed a series of guidelines which will make the 1972 Convention the most open and representative in the history of any national party.

### PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- Uniform definition of residence requirements which would guarantee voters the right to register and cast their ballots in primary and general elections where they currently reside. This measure would eliminate widespread discrimination against students who wish to vote at their campus address.
- Abolition of unpublicized caucuses, premature delegate selection, and the unit rule in the pre-convention delegate selection process.
- Adherence to and implementation of the principle of proportional representation of minority groups in the Democratic state delegations.
- Elimination of all excessive costs and fees made by state law and Party action which impose a financial burden on delegates and participants.
- Guarantee of full voting Congressional representation in the United States Congress for the District of Columbia.
- Public financing of some campaign expenses.
- Public disclosure of campaign contributions.
- Regulation of unfair campaign practices.
- Limitation of the use of television by candidates.
- Candidates should disclose their personal finances, to avoid any potential conflict of interest. (Senator McGovern was the first and only to do so.)

### LEGISLATION:

- The FEDERAL CAMPAIGN ASSISTANCE AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1971, which proposed public financing of certain costs incurred in political campaigns and Federal office, attempted to ensure full public disclosure of campaign financing, and functioned to regulate unfair campaign practices.
- The VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1970, which granted 18-20-year-olds the right to vote in all elections. (H.R. 4249)
- The TELEVISION BROADCAST REFORM ACT OF 1969, which attempted to define and regulate the use of the television medium in Federal political campaigns.
- Legislation to extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to encompass a ban on discriminatory tests and devices, 1969. (S. 2465)
- Legislation to set quadrennial enrollment for elections of President and Vice-President, 1970. (S. 4238)
- Legislation calling for redistricting on the basis of the decennial census, 1969. (S. 10)

### POLITICAL REFORM:

The test of a party's strength is whether it has the courage and wisdom to look inside itself, change what needs changing, and preserve its traditions and values that are worth preserving.

The heart and soul of a political party is its philosophy, its policies -- its commitment to the great issues of our domestic society and to our responsibilities to the rest of the world. No procedural form can ever substitute for these essential matters of policy, philosophy, and principle. But let us also be clear that we have an important responsibility to our party in opening wide the political process, in improving and modernizing its system and procedures. Responsive, effective political procedure is the handmaiden of responsible party formation."

April 25, 1969

## X 25. THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN MINORITY GROUPS

George McGovern has been in the front lines of the battle for equal rights and equal opportunities for all Americans.

### McGOVERN ACTIONS INCLUDE:

- 1) Full support of the Congressional Black Caucus Program. Senator McGovern was the only Senator to support the program in toto.
- 2) Vigorous criticism of the Administration's delay in implementing desegregation guidelines.
- 3) Early and active opposition to the Haynsworth, Carswell and Rehnquist Supreme Court nominations.
- 4) Participation, as the only member of Congress besides Rep. John Conyers, in the "March Against Fear" in Atlanta in May of 1970.
- 5) Participation in all Washington gatherings sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on behalf of equal rights and the nation's poor. Senator McGovern has also raised thousands of dollars for the SCLC anti-war effort.
- 6) Full support of Cesar Chavez in his efforts to insure a fair income for California farm workers.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Full Congressional investigation of the F.B.I. and the resignation of its director, J. Edgar Hoover. Senator McGovern has found that the F.B.I. devotes more time and effort to cases involving minorities than those involving other Americans, that blacks are discriminated against in F.B.I. hiring practices, and that under Mr. Hoover's leadership the F.B.I. has failed to fulfill its responsibility to protect the civil rights of all Americans.
- 2) Home Rule for the District of Columbia.
- 3) Equal representation for Mexican-Americans on all levels of government. full and equal employment for Mexican-Americans, and an Institute of Mexican-American Studies.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

Senator McGovern has co-sponsored every piece of civil rights legislation enacted during the past decade.

THE OMNIBUS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1969, sponsored and introduced by Senator McGovern, contained new and sweeping proposals to bar discrimination in employment, housing and education. (S. 2029)

THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM OF 1970, of which Senator McGovern was principal sponsor, doubled the number of children receiving free and reduced-price lunches. (S. 2548)

THE FOOD STAMP REFORM ACT OF 1970, sponsored by Senator McGovern, doubled the amount of money for the food stamp program and created a national standard of eligibility for participation in it. (S. 2014)

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION LAW AMENDMENTS OF 1970, introduced by Senator McGovern, which would modify election laws in the District of Columbia to increase voter participation. (S. 4567)

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION ACT OF 1971. (S. 810)

THE QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 683)

Senate Res. 13, THE EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS WITH SPANISH SURNAMES, which stated that, within five years, the federal rate of employment should reflect the percentage of persons with Spanish surnames in the population. June 24, 1971.

--Legislation which would make Rev. Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday, 1971. (S. 743)

--Legislation to set up a Commission of Afro-American History and Culture, 1969. (S. 14)

### McGOVERN ON RIGHTS:

"It seems to me that this country, which is in danger of becoming completely homogenized culturally, should prize the diversity and uniqueness of the different peoples that are Americans." April 3, 1971

"The Administration's Southern Strategy seeks to turn the strong passions of white southerners to the advantage of the Republican Party, at the expense of black civil rights." October 15, 1970

"Billions can no longer be spent to enrich the culture of other countries while zero is spent to assist the indigenous Mexican-American culture."

January, 1970

## X 26. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Senator McGovern, a native of rural America and a longtime member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, is deeply committed to solving the problems of rural America. He is Chairman of the Democratic Policy Council's Committee on Rural Development.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A Rural Housing Development Administration which would be charged with the responsibility of providing decent housing and sanitation in all towns of 25,000 inhabitants or less, within the next five years.
- 2) The release of the current \$56 million appropriation for rural water and sewer development.
- 3) Expanded water resource agencies.
- 4) Improved rural telephone and power services.
- 5) Increased federal procurement of goods and services from rural business and industry.
- 6) Increased tax credits for agriculture and rural industry.
- 7) Increased construction of federal facilities in communities with less than 50,000 inhabitants.
- 8) The full reinstatement of such important programs as the USDA's Rural Community Development Services and Technical Action Panels, and HUD's non-metropolitan, multi-planning services.
- 9) The coordination of federal and state programs dealing with rural America.
- 10) Procedures to make rural America more attractive so as to check the migratory flow from rural to urban areas.
- 11) An Office of Utility Consumers Counsel, to provide consumer safeguards in farm legislation.
- 12) The development of job-expanding programs and industries in rural areas, which would improve the economic condition of the non-urban areas without destroying their special beauty and environment.
- 13) Strong opposition to the confirmation of Secretary of Agriculture Butz, who embodies the worst in agribusiness and spells the demise of a vital rural America.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE RURAL JOB DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 346)  
Sewers in Small Towns and Rural Areas, 1971. (S. 391)  
THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 575)  
THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 742)  
National Rural Development Center, 1971. (S. 1507)  
THE COOPERATIVE RURAL FIRE PROTECTION ACT OF 1969.  
--Legislation to remedy the population imbalance between metropolitan and rural areas, 1971.

### McGOVERN ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

"There can no longer be any doubt that the continuing neglect of rural America is the single most important factor in the impending crack-up of our cities.

"The headlong dash to urbanization has drained the countryside only to create an urban hell of overcrowding, pollution, crime and unending traffic congestion." March 23, 1971

## X 29. TAXATION

Senator McGovern has been a leading proponent of tax reform. He has supported all meaningful efforts to institute an era of tax equity through the elimination of "super tax shelters" which benefit only the rich. Senator McGovern shares with Senator Proxmire a rating by an impartial survey of economists as the Senator most concerned about how the taxpayer's dollar is spent.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A minimum income tax so that the rich could not avoid their share of the tax burden no matter what loopholes they used. If an effective minimum tax were applied to those with incomes in excess of \$50,000 a year, about \$6 billion would be raised in new taxes in the net fiscal year.
- 2) The actual corporate income tax should be returned to its 1960 level by the elimination of the special loopholes that have been opened since then. These loopholes include accelerated depreciation rates and the investment tax credit. Some \$17 billion would be raised in added taxes by this reform.
- 3) Gift and inheritance taxes should shift from a tax on the estate or the giver to a lifetime cumulative tax on the recipient. Even if the ceiling (for all gifts and inheritances per person) were set as high as \$500,000, the amount of new revenues would be considerable. A conservative estimate sets them at \$5 billion.
- 4) To relieve the property tax burden, a proposal to increase direct Federal funding of educational costs and Federal incentives to states to use more progressive income taxes for raising revenues. The suggested value added tax is a retreat from the far sounder revenue sharing approach.
- 5) Under the McGovern plan to provide a Minimum Income Grant to every American, the individual income tax exemption of \$750 would be eliminated, thus generating another \$64 billion in federal revenues to cover the cost of the program.
- 6) Institute an excess profit tax on windfall profits resulting from wage and price controls.
- 7) Impose a capital equalization tax which would discourage American firms from setting up plants abroad to flood the American market.
- 8) Reduced oil and gas depletion allowances.
- 9) Reform of the capital gains structure.
- 10) Limitation on state taxes on transfer of corporate securities held by non-residents.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE EXCESS WAR PROFITS TAX ACT OF 1969, an alternative to the surtax charge on personal income for the duration of the Indochina conflict (S. 2277)

THE MINIMUM INCOME TAX ACT OF 1969, which provides a minimum tax on incomes above a certain level, regardless of deductions. (S. 1827)

-- Legislation to increase the minimum standard deduction, 1969. (S. 1828)

-- Legislation to simplify the income tax for small businesses, (S. 1615)

-- Legislation to grant tax exemptions for servicemen in Korea like that in Vietnam, 1971. (S. 1233)

-- Legislation to grant tax credit for the expenses of higher education, 1969. (S. 2979)

-- Legislation to grant tax credit for educational expenses, 1969. (S. 3077)

-- Legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code on tax-exempt organizations, 1971. (S. 1408)

-- Legislation proposing an alternative to the Nixon Depreciation Allowance Plan, 1971. (S. 1532)

### McGOVERN ON TAXATION:

"It is time for the American industry, which has enjoyed an unprecedented 33% rise in net after-taxes profits since the combat escalation of 1965, to assume more of the tax burden generated by the war.

"And it is time to relieve the middle and low-income taxpayers of the inflation which cuts so cruelly into the income of the poor and the elderly and the high and increasing rates of all categories." May 27 1969

X 32. VETERANS

The problems of veterans are of special concern to Senator McGovern. His record includes a broad range of proposals and legislation designed to aid our nation's veterans.

McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) \$65 million in care for drug and psychiatric problems of returning veterans.
- 2) The setting up of the Standing Senate Committee on Veterans Affairs, to ensure that the unique problems of veterans would receive special, long-term attention (1967).
- 3) Operation of veterans' programs on a local level, contracted by the VA and instituted in the veterans' home community.
- 4) Elimination of the arbitrary distinction between assistance allocations for technical schools and those for colleges.
- 5) Reimbursement of the cost of tuition, lab fees, books and other education expenses up to \$3,000 per academic year.
- 6) "Special Consideration" on the part of private employers and the federal government towards Vietnam veterans in their search for employment.
- 7) Increased benefits for widows and children of veterans.
- 8) Increased direct housing loans to veterans.
- 9) Establishment of a court of veterans' appeals.
- 10) Creation of an "out-reach" program in which young people and recent veterans could serve to provide counselling, recreation and therapy for veterans.
- 11) An increase in the assistance benefits for education allotted to veterans to a minimum of \$214 per month.

McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE COLD WAR GI BILL ON PRIVATE PILOTS AND FARM COOP TRAINING OF 1970.  
(S. 2689)

THE VIETNAM ERA VETERANS' SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 1741)

-- Legislation to assist veterans enrolled in vocational education courses, 1971. (S. 1776)

-- Legislation which calls for \$65 million worth of care for the drug and psychiatric problems of returning veterans. \$20 million of this allocation is to be used for additional drug treatment facilities, personnel and programs, while the other \$45 million will be used to respond to psychiatric problems of veterans. In addition, this bill calls for the creation of an "out-reach" program in which younger people could serve to provide counselling, recreation and therapy services to veterans. (S. 1917)

-- The McGovern G.I. Bill of 1971, which calls for an increase in the assistance benefits for education allocated to veterans to a minimum of \$214 per month with equal treatment for technical schools and colleges and with reimbursement of tuition, lab fees and book costs up to \$3,000 per academic year. (S. 1918)

McGOVERN ON VETERANS:

"Every Senator here is partly responsible for that human wreckage at Walter Reed and Bethesda Naval and all across our land -- young boys without legs, or arms, or genitals, or faces, or hopes... we are responsible for those young men and their lives and their hopes."  
September 1, 1970

X 33. WELFARE REFORM

Throughout his Congressional career, George McGovern has worked to enact legislation which will insure decent treatment of America's poor. Through his efforts, the Senate established the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs to study and recommend ways to solve the problem of hunger and malnutrition. As chairman of the committee, Senator McGovern has become the nation's foremost leader in providing food assistance for needy Americans of all ages.

McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A broad program of tax and welfare reform, coupled with a proposal for a "redistribution of income" which could bring as much as \$92 billion in additional revenue to the Treasury, reduce local property taxes and provide every American with a guaranteed annual income "to replace the present welfare mess." While this Income Redistribution Plan could replace welfare, middle income taxpayers (\$4,000 to \$12,000) would be eligible to receive from the Federal government an income supplement. The proposal is not limited to any single formula. The annual payment might be as much as \$1,000 per person or \$4,000 for a family of four. Those below the poverty line would retain the full amount, while those between that line and the break-even income would keep progressively lesser amounts. Those with income above the break-even point would remit the grant to the Federal government.
- 2) Provision of 3 million new jobs at sub-professional levels to assure full employment.
- 3) Provision of additional new housing units for low and moderate income families.
- 4) Public service employment for those unable to find work.

McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1971. This legislation sponsored by Senator McGovern provides for far-reaching improvements of the current welfare program. (S. 5)

THE FAMILY PLANNING AND RESEARCH ACT OF 1969, to initiate and expand federal support for voluntary family planning services and population research. Senator McGovern believes that unless undisciplined population growth is brought under control it is nearly impossible to provide a decent quality of life for all Americans.

-- The McGovern amendments to the Family Assistance Program, to simplify eligibility requirements and to assure application of the program on a national level.

McGOVERN ON WELFARE REFORM:

"It is time to realize that the true measure of America's greatness is not its wealth but its wisdom and compassion -- how it cares for its deprived, its elderly, its widows and orphans, its physically handicapped, mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed." June 1, 1971

# George McGovern

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## A NEW INTERNATIONALISM

Address of Senator George McGovern  
Los Angeles World Affairs Council Luncheon  
July 1, 1975

For the next year we will celebrate the bicentennial of our country. After a decade of internal and international turmoil, this is our time to give renewed life to the first principles which gave birth to America.

In order to rededicate ourselves at home, we must reshape our role abroad. For if we have learned anything at all in recent years, it is that a foreign policy at odds with our founding ideals can lead only to disgrace and despair.

After the final collapse of General Thieu's dictatorship, the world heard an official American excuse that our policy would have prevailed if only we had prolonged the fighting and provided more firepower. Indeed the excessive display of military strength associated with the good ship Mayaguez was used to prove that if we are willing to be tough enough, interventionism is sure to work well enough. So now the Administration exhorts us to redouble our exertions so we may redeem our setbacks. There is even talk of nuclear combat in Korea.

But there is a truer, saner reading of the Mayaguez episode: We landed the Marines and launched the Air Force before diplomacy had a chance -- indeed, while the Cambodians were already in the process of returning the ship and the crew. We invaded the wrong island. We nearly bombed the men we were supposed to be saving. We used the territory of Thailand without permission and against international law and set off a wave of anti-American reaction in that country.

No one was rescued; the crew was released despite the attack, not because of it. Forty-one young Americans were killed, not for a reason, but for the psychic satisfaction of sending in the Marines.

All that was proved was that our leaders can be tough against the weak, trigger-happy against the disarmed, capable of sacrificing more than they seek to recover -- or as Senator Goldwater put it, we proved that "No little half-assed country is going to run over us." This represents a reckless, foolish militarism which confounds our best traditions and contradicts the hard lessons of Vietnam.

It may be unpopular to say these things. It was not always popular to speak against the war. But the worst of that war would be if we refused to learn from its slaughter and torment, thus needlessly, heedlessly leading ourselves toward the next war.

We are warned that our policy must be a new isolationism or the old interventionism. Instead I believe there must be a new internationalism. For there is no way either to isolate ourselves or to intervene everywhere. Rather we must assume an appropriate place in a global context from which there can be no escape in any case.

A new internationalism must begin in the Middle East, where the United States has a positive and essential role to play.

Initially we must state and accept certain realities:

--This nation has unbreakable ties and an unquestionable commitment to Israel. The first principle of our policy in the Middle East must be the security, the independence, and the permanence of the Israeli State.

--We also have economic and political interests in the Arab countries with their important oil reserves. Reason and self-interest will be served by peaceful relations

with the Arab world.

--Next, peace cannot be made or kept without a just and practical provision for Palestinian self-determination.

--Finally, the Middle East is cursed by mutual fear, consumed by distrust on all sides. Endless war, preparations for war, and terrorism have prevented not only a settlement of the dispute, but even negotiation among the parties.

During my time in the Middle East, I was told often that no proposal of peace can ever succeed. Many Arabs argued that the Israelis are psychologically incapable of compromise. Some Israelis cited historical proofs that Arabs can never be trusted, that they never mean what they say. These perceptions simply assume that disaster is inevitable.

In this setting, Secretary Kissinger's persistent diplomacy has been not only sensible but indispensable. Step-by-step disengagement has lessened the immediate risk of renewed fighting. And it has served to discover and develop the elusive possibilities of peace. Despite the pessimists who seem to believe that war is the natural condition of the Middle East, I believe all parties are now near to accepting essentially these principles for an overall settlement:

--First, the Arabs must extend full recognition to and establish normal relations with Israel.

--Second, Israel must withdraw to the 1967 borders with practical modifications.

--Third, the Palestinians must have self-determination in the West Bank and Gaza, in the form of an independent state, confederation with Jordan, or some other, similar arrangement.

After my discussion with Yasir Arafat, I reported publicly in Jerusalem his private statement that such a settlement was acceptable -- that his concept of a secular state including Israel was a dream, not a demand -- and that it was not a dream to be realized at gunpoint, or by economic warfare. I was told he would repudiate the public report of this private statement, as he always had in the past. This time he did not. He has not.

Step-by-step diplomacy has been successful -- nearly to the maximum extent that it could be expected to succeed. But now it has finished all or most of its course. For step-by-step efforts cannot continue indefinitely without a defined destination. Mediation has brought a possibility of settlement; it now falls to the parties to seize that possibility, with the help of our continuing participation.

Above all else there must be an explicit and complete renunciation of terrorism. It is offensive to the most basic human decency. It destroys innocent life and the very aims which it claims to advance.

Then the parties must say publicly to each other what they have been saying privately to us. They must state openly the terms of a liveable agreement. They must talk directly in order to live together.

For our part, we must be ready, through direct commitment and international cooperation to guarantee the conditions of a settlement.

There may be only a brief window of time for these works. They are in the interest of Israel -- which demands and deserves the permanent security of peace. Peace is in the interest of the Arabs -- who must understand that the United States will never permit the destruction of Israel or the erosion of its security. Peace is in the interest of the United States and the world -- for otherwise Gaza or Golan or Sinai may become the next Sarajevo. Peace in the Middle East is an imperative of this generation.

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If in the Middle East we can do the good works of peace, with Cuba we can reverse our old rules at their worst.

In one sense, our effort to isolate the Castro government is simply an anachronism. We bargain with the Soviet Union and China, yet we embargo this small nation so close to our shores, which poses no conceivable threat, and provides an opportunity for constructive trade.

The Cuban government is as committed to its ideology as we are to our own values. Cuba is not about to surrender its economic structure or its political system in

return for a shipment of consumer products. And we are not about to endorse the concept of a one-party State. But these are not the issues; our Cuban policy will not resolve the historic debate between Marx and John Locke -- any more than our China policy has. The relevant fact is that over time and despite a decade of the bitter hostility, Cuba has come to a genuine commitment to normal relations with neighboring States.

Cuba's peaceful purposes are evident in its national priorities. The leadership and the people are deeply involved in affirmative tasks. They are investing in education, housing, health, and agricultural development -- endeavors to improve life there, not to disrupt it somewhere else.

In Cuba's external relations, the anti-hijacking convention was a major signal to the United States. In my conversations with Prime Minister Castro, he expressed a serious intent to address the special problems -- expropriated property and others -- which divide our two countries. He has since underscored that by responding magnanimously to particular appeals, including the request to return a two million dollar hijacking ransom to Southern Airways.

With respect to other nations in the Western Hemisphere, our own information indicates that Cuba long ago ceased any efforts to "export" its revolution by violence. Recently the Cuban government has repudiated any policy of external subversion. Cuba now rejects infiltration and aggression; it seeks trade and diplomacy.

Surely all of this warrants a favorable American response.

Cuba is dependent upon the Soviet Union. At least in part we made it so. But Cuba's culture belongs to this hemisphere. Much of what I saw and sensed there was familiar -- from music, to art, to baseball, to personality and style, even to many values and priorities. International politics aside, there are strong similarities between us.

But beyond that, an American response can signal to Cuba, and also to the world, that we welcome moderation and mutual respect. It can demonstrate that we have enough confidence in our own system to compete fairly and deal forthrightly with others. That, I think, is a primary element of the new internationalism which should guide our foreign policy.

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Our relations with Cuba present a great question in a particular place: What is it that we stand for in the world?

Since 1945 our policy has been dominated by a single negative purpose -- the containment of what American leadership has seen as a monolithic, militant Communist ideology dedicated to global domination by any means. As a result, we have also seen every revolution as a risk -- and every disturbance of the status quo as a danger to our security.

Such perceptions were the underlying cause of our hostility toward Cuba and our intervention in Vietnam. Even the most paranoid policymaker could not point to these small nations as threats to the United States. But once their insurrections were seen as part of a vast and centrally directed conspiracy, they became the frontlines of free world defense.

We have paid a heavy price for this perception and the resulting policies. We have sacrificed and killed more than a million people and spent countless billions of dollars. We defiled our most precious values as we adopted the dirty tricks and tactics which we attributed to our opponents. Finally, in Watergate, the dirty tricks entered our politics; they turned back upon us, to poison our own land.

Thirty years ago, Wendell Wilkie wrote after a trip around the world that America's greatest strength rested on the confidence of the rest of mankind in the decent motives of this country.

How many people now see America as a worthy influence, as a witness to the world for what is noble and just in human affairs?

That too has been lost in the jungles of Indochina. It has been lost in assassination attempts and the secret interventions of the CIA. It was lost in the tilt against Bangladesh, and toward the Colonels in Greece. It has been wasted to finance multinational corporate pay-offs. It is dissipated in the Philippines, in Korea, in Chile and wherever we send arms and lend comfort to repressive regimes.

A militarist, interventionist foreign policy has placed us at odds both with our own principles and with the aspirations of most of the planet.

Born in revolution, we have become the leading counter-revolutionary force in the world. Conceived in liberty, we most often find ourselves defending one kind of totalitarianism out of fear that it might be replaced by another. Endowed with vast wealth, the Pentagon lavishes it on arms while the President vetoes jobs, housing, and health care.

This is not billions for defense, but for nonsense. We must meet real threats, but we need not exaggerate them in order to recognize them. For a generation we have been shadow boxing at fearful cost with our own misperceptions of Marxism.

When we look to China and the Soviet Union, we should see that the Marxist system is not a simple, transnational unifying force. Places are cultures and countries first, and systems later on.

Nor have other nations proved to be merely ours or theirs, for us or against us. Nations are neither falling dominoes nor puppets dancing on great power strings. They act first of all according to their own interest. Now they demand above all else their own independence, a fair share of the world's prosperity, and the right to be the master of their own destiny, the servant of no other's ideology.

The world is both less dangerous and more dangerous than we have supposed.

We have long since passed the point when mounting arms amounted to more safety. A new internationalism must pass beyond that sterile condition. It lies instead in a clear recognition of global interdependence; in a common resolve to feed the hungry, to revive the economy, to repair the ecology, to reverse the mindless population growth of a small planet where the great issue no longer is who will prevail, but whether humanity will survive.

The lesson of Vietnam, and the message of our time, is not that America has lost its power. It is that military power has lost much of its relevance. The final irony and indictment will be if we one day are left with vast mountains of arms to war over the last few barrels of oil.

If there is to be a test of ideals, it will be a contest which we can enter with pride and confidence.

For we can offer and follow a new internationalism which is rooted in our Constitution and our oldest traditions.

A new internationalism includes our belief -- and our proof -- that there can be a way to freedom and social justice at the same time.

It includes a capacity for challenge, and an unparalleled profusion of invention and ideas.

It encompasses a reverence for self-determination, a firm defense of our true interests, a respect for standards of international decency and law, a willingness to help others where they truly wish it and their cause is worthy and worthwhile.

The pragmatists reply that this is a hard world, and we must harden our hearts to it. But the hardline has been hardest not on enemies, but on innocents; not on others but on ourselves.

The cynics say that ideals have a place -- in speeches and prayers -- and that in diplomacy and politics only power counts. But if the balance of force was all that ever was weighed in the scales of existence, most of the world's countries would still be colonies -- and most of us would still bear allegiance to the British Crown. We have been told that there is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come. It is also true that there is nothing more powerful than an idealism which shapes the temper of its time.

This is the time of our Bicentennial. It is a time to remember our first ideals and resume our founding idealism. A new internationalism is not something radically new, but a restoration of things lost. It is the legacy of the American Revolution, which can make us once again the "last best hope of earth."

# George McGovern

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CUBA AND AMERICA:  
NEIGHBORS IN A WORLD SAFE FOR DIVERSITY

Address of Senator George McGovern  
Commonwealth Club of California Luncheon  
San Francisco, Wednesday, July 2, 1975

If you fly over the few miles which separate the geography of Cuba and America, in a few minutes you will cross over a separation of ideology which for many years has been a nearly impassable space between these nearby lands. The Cuban revolution has confounded our foreign policy, which could not destroy it but still does not accept it.

The Cuban militia in 1961 repelled the Bay of Pigs invasion, which damaged the credibility of the new Kennedy Administration. The Cuban missiles of 1962 were almost the occasion for that third World War which would be war upon the world itself.

As you begin the descent into Havana, you feel that you are about to become a stranger in a remote and uncertain territory. Yet so soon you encounter so much which is familiar, even nostalgic: You ride in the latest and last Chevrolets, Fords and Chryslers which were sold to Cuba -- 1959 models with chrome panels and tailfins. You hear a language which is also spoken in New York, New Mexico, and Los Angeles. You stay in the Riviera Hotel, which looks like a Hilton. Everywhere you see women in miniskirts and teenagers playing baseball in open fields. Not only common humanity but similar habits of daily life seem to contradict the enmity of our nations.

There are differences, as there are among all countries. Cuba is a one-party Communist state, but so are the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and China -- and we bargain with them while we embargo Cuba. Oriente Province is only five minutes by nuclear missile from Washington -- but it would take only ten minutes more to launch an atomic war from the far distance of Siberia. Administrations respond to subtle signals from Peking, and Moscow, but they reject the obvious sense of diplomatic relations and commercial arrangements with Havana.

So on the flight back from Cuba, as you look down upon the Straits of Florida, you wonder why that brief span of water still remains a gulf of hostility. You left America with questions about Cuba; now as the plane returns homeward, your questioning turns toward home: Why does a failing policy somehow become an excuse for its own perpetuation? Why does our national leadership cling to the past while the world changes? Why does the United States so often seem to scorn the words and wisdom of Abraham Lincoln -- that "As our case is new, so we must think and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves."

In 1963, in my first speech to the Senate, I warned of a "dangerous Castro fixation" which was "not worthy of this great country." Today, in Cuba ninety miles away and in Asia half a world away, we have been forced to the consequences of a foreign policy of fixations.

We said that we were protecting democracy in Indochina -- and because we would not concede that our cause was a mistake, we were fixed to a policy of fighting even after its emptiness of purpose was exposed. So along with the dictators of Saigon, the last Americans were literally driven into the air and onto the sea.

We said for years that many, even millions, of South Vietnamese would perish in a Communist blood bath if we ever left -- and therefore we continued the blood bath of senseless bombing and hopeless battle and evacuated thousands of civilians with us in a final, panicked retreat. But now we know that our defeat ended the only blood bath in Vietnam -- which was the war itself -- and it was followed by the victors' peaceful and orderly assumption of power.

We said through an entire decade that we would not permit a Communist regime in the Western Hemisphere -- and today we are still fixed to a policy of nonrecognition of Castro, almost as if our official perception could validate the pretense of his non-existence.

It is not an easy thing for a great nation to admit a mistake, but it is essential to greatness in a nation that it can. It is too late in Southeast Asia; there we pursued our mistake to a bitter end. But at least we can learn and speak the lessons of the defeat: America cannot secure its credibility by an incredible persistence in stupidity. The way to become a pitiful helpless giant is to be a pitiless, irrational giant. For even the most terrible firepower cannot tame every circumstance and convulsion of this restless planet. When President Ford begged the Congress for another billion dollars for the collapsing regimes in Saigon and Pnom Penh, the Congress in effect replied, "It is better to be the first President to lose a war than the fourth President to wage a war which is wrong and cannot be won."

We have been disenthralled by defeat in Vietnam. Now we must disentangle our foreign policy from the self-deceptions which brought that defeat. One positive step would be to replace another senseless fixation of the 1960's with a realistic position on the Cuban question.

The first reality is Cuba itself -- a country which is fiercely proud of its revolution and will preserve it at any cost. Just as the Bay of Pigs was a stunning failure for a new American Administration, so it was a sustaining triumph for a new revolutionary regime. The economic embargo has been a foolish sanction, which has not weakened Castro, but forced a stronger Cuban reliance on the Soviet Union. Even if counter-revolution in Cuba was an appropriate policy for the United States, the effort would continue to be counterproductive.

The embargo does impose some burdens. But Cuba no less than our own country will not sell its principles for thirty pieces of silver. When the United States defends Israel in the face of an oil blockade, why should we expect Cuba to surrender its own system for a shipment of consumer goods? The Cubans want to trade with us -- but their ideology is not part of the bargain.

Nor will they adopt our conceptions of individual liberty. There are political prisoners in Cuba. There is a controlled press. There is a party line. Posters and propaganda are everywhere. No conceivable American policy -- of opposition or dentente -- will quiet the propaganda, rewrite the posters, open the jails or liberate the presses. We cannot draw their party line. But we do not demand of other adversaries that they adopt our principles in order to make peace with us. A Salt Treaty is not an endorsement of Soviet economics. Recognition of Castro would not be a recommendation of the Cuban regime.

Even in this rationale there is a risk of arrogance. Americans may be too ready to assume that a lack of democratic forms is an unequivocal sign of a government's unpopularity. But the Cuban system is likely to be permanent not merely because it is authoritarian, but because it apparently is popular. For the ordinary citizen, the standard of life has improved substantially since 1960. For the first time in the memory of most Cubans there are schools for their children and health care when they are sick. The products of labor and the land, once the monopoly of a privileged class, have been redistributed to the people. Havana, once a haven for organized crime, seems nearly

free of all crime.

And beyond these changed conditions, there is also the charismatic appeal of Fidel Castro. During a spontaneous visit to a rural village, which I suggested, he was engulfed by joyful Cubans and many of them literally embraced him. We might prefer that he submit his personality and performance to an electoral test, but we cannot impose our values on Cuban society. We cannot insist that the only way to co-exist is to have a similar constitutional process.

The second reality is the Cuban desire for detente. The Castro government has made a number of important gestures -- the anti-hijacking agreement, the release of several American prisoners, the invitation to exchange baseball teams, and the recent decision to return a hijacking ransom to Southern Airways. Now in the Cuban view, the indispensable necessity of further progress is a lifting of the economic embargo.

The Administration's position is that we are bound to observe the embargo as a member of the Organization of American States, which adopted it in 1964. But a number of hemispheric nations trade with Cuba anyway. And while I was in Havana, Prime Minister Castro said for the first time that pending an O.A.S. decision, the way to discussions of other matters would open if the United States permitted shipments merely of food and medicine, which are not part of the O.A.S. ban.

The Cubans have taken several first steps; now we should take this specific step without delay. We should also support a total repeal of the O.A.S. embargo and then we should end all of our own economic sanctions against Cuba. These are not matters for negotiation with Havana. They are not measures which call for reciprocation. No reciprocity is possible in this case. Cuba has no embargo against the United States; as Mr. Castro told me, "If your government insists on a trade-off then we will declare an embargo on you and withdraw it when you withdraw your embargo on us."

Cuban officials assured me that once trade is restored, other issues can be resolved -- including the compensation claims of Americans whose property was nationalized after the revolution. Many Cuban exiles might be permitted to visit their families and their homeland -- and some Cubans might travel to the United States. There will be no instant reconciliation of all the difficulties between us. There has been an accumulation of complex disputes over a decade and a half. But there can be a steady resolution of differences and continuing progress toward normal relations.

I believe this is possible because it is in the interests of Cuba. And it would serve the interests of the United States to sense and to seize the possibility. We have an interest in peace. We have an interest in commerce, in the jobs it would create, the products we could buy, and the sales we could make. No other nation will question our credibility if we now act rationally. No ally will be undermined; no American army will be defeated; no honor will be lost. Rather common sense will be restored.

According to some observers, the President does not want detente with Cuba until 1977 because he fears the anger of the Republican right wing during the 1976 campaign. Is this the same President who has urged us to separate partisan politics and foreign affairs? It is important to state and debate honest differences over policy. It is irresponsible to continue a bad policy for the sake of a few votes. Perhaps the most tragic revelation about Vietnam was the report that President Kennedy had decided to withdraw -- but to do it only after his re-election.

There is no excuse to postpone the Cuban detente. A number of officials still offer the rationale that the Castro regime is an

"exporter of revolution." After Vietnam, Chile, and other CIA outrages, our righteousness about exported violence must sound hollow and hypocritical -- especially to a country which was invaded at the Bay of Pigs and whose leader has been the target of American assassination attempts. But the rationale is incorrect as well as inappropriate. Cuban support for guerilla movements diminished in the late 1960's and has been curbed explicitly in recent weeks.

The third reality encompasses far more than our Cuban policy. It is the pervasive reality of our era. It is the inevitable diversity of national conditions. We once announced that this hemisphere intended to remain the master of its own house. We since have learned that there must be many masters when the house is as large as half the world or even an Asian subcontinent.

In 1906 Theodore Roosevelt wrote a friend: "Just at the moment I am so angry with that infernal little Republic of Cuba that I would like to wipe it off the face of the earth...They have started an utterly unjustifiable and pointless revolution...And we (may) have no alternative but to intervene."

America does have an alternative. It is to remember that we, too, were once "an infernal little republic." We, too, were blamed and embattled for an "utterly unjustifiable and pointless revolution." And we, too, insisted, in our Declaration of Independence, that though we were small in firepower and few in numbers, we had a right "to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle" each nation.

By the reckoning of John Adams, this day happens to be the beginning of the Bicentennial Year. For it was on July 2, 1776, that independence was voted by the Continental Congress, whose members signed the Declaration itself two days later. Adams exulted that this day would be "the most memorable epocha in the history of America."

His date was wrong because the printers of Philadelphia were slow. But his meaning was right: Independence Day, on whatever date we may remember it, is the most treasured moment of our history.

For the next year we will celebrate the Bicentennial; the great question is whether we will give renewed life to the beliefs which gave birth to America.

My hope is that we will become exporters of that first revolution -- not a revolution based on murder and assassination, carpet bombings, covert operations, and our darkest impulses -- but a revolution which, like the Declaration of Independence, glows with "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind"; a revolution which, like President Kennedy's later dream can light the way toward a world which is "safe for diversity."

We remember at this Bicentennial time the principles of that revolution. They include a reverence for self-determination and the rule of law, a willingness to help others where they truly wish it and their cause is worthy and worthwhile. Our founding ideal was that all people are created equal. We betray that beginning when our foreign policy makes other human beings, and our own sons, the pawns of stubborn pride or power politics. What we need is not something radically new but a restoration of things lost, of the legacy of Jefferson and Adams -- which made us authentically "the last, best hope of earth."

In Cuba, Fidel Castro said: "We belong to two different worlds. But we are neighbors. One way or another, we must live in peace."

Two centuries ago, the American revolutionaries spoke blunter words: "Don't tread on me."

Now we must make the demand of their revolution the purpose of our foreign policy -- that the nations shall not tread upon one another, but treat with each other in peace; that the world will learn at last the meaning of our common humanity: All men are brothers. All women are sisters. All nations are neighbors. All wars are civil wars. All differences are not a reason for division. For all of us and each of us, there is safety only in diversity.

#### **McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) Further effort toward provision of adequate housing for every American, aided by revamping of federal regulations on FHA loans and on mortgage bank lending and credit policies.
- 2) Review of federal requirements, specifications, aid policies and tax laws affecting small businessmen.
- 3) A system of financial incentives for local jurisdictions which agree to cooperative programs for new recreational facilities, pollution control treatment facilities, day care centers and neighborhood health clinics.
- 4) Federal assistance for local public service employment programs which will provide jobs and needed service for the residents of city and suburb.
- 5) Urban and inter-urban mass transit systems to break the present traffic and auto pollution mess. Proposed first year budget: \$3 billion.
- 6) Creation of a strong anti-pollution agency with a first year budget of \$3 billion.
- 7) Encouragement of resident participation in the planning and implementation of renewal programs.
- 8) Expanded federal programs to improve living conditions in rural America which will help to slow migration to overcrowded urban centers.
- 9) Federal financing of the entire welfare program and more of the costs of education and health as a workable alternative to President Nixon's shallow revenue sharing proposal. Senator McGovern's plan would avoid disastrous confusion of responsibility in revenue collection and disbursement.

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

LEGISLATION which encourages establishment and growth of small business by revising corporate income tax rates to relieve small businesses, and S. 1649 which authorizes emergency deadline compliance loans to small businesses. (S. 1615)

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4, which calls for an extension of the Model Cities Program, 1971.

THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT OF 1971, which would limit ocean dumping of urban waste. (S. 192)

THE TRANSPORTATION IMPROVEMENT AMENDMENT OF 1971, (Amd. No. 33 to S. 1191)

THE NATIONAL AIR QUALITY STANDARDS ACT OF 1970 (S. 3546)

—Legislation to remedy population imbalance between metropolitan and rural areas. This would expand federal programs to improve the quality of life in rural America, which would help to slow migration to the overcrowded urban centers. (S. 10)

—Legislation prohibiting the use of lead-based paint in dwellings, 1970. (S. 3941)

#### **McGOVERN ON URBAN POLICY:**

"The problem with the federal government in recent years is that it has been spending too much of its vast revenues for mistaken priorities ... the first priority has been the growing suburbs—subsidies that make our more recent investments in the cities look like a drop in so many buckets. We have invested billions in highways without which the suburbs would not have boomed. We have encouraged suburban land spreads through tax breaks ... we have given the individual homeowner tax breaks on the order of \$6 billion annually ... and what have we done for the cities? Approved urban renewal plans that have destroyed more low-income homes than they have built. Continued to ignore the plight of rural America, driving millions more poor to the already desperate cities."

—February 11, 1971

## **29. U.S. ROLE IN THE WORLD**

Senator McGovern is dedicated to redirecting the course of American foreign policy. As the foremost leader of Senate efforts to require total withdrawal of American forces from the disastrous war in Southeast Asia, he has taken the initiative in reasserting Congressional control over the war-making powers of government.

#### **McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) Exhaustive scrutiny of all options before United States armed forces are committed to military action abroad.
- 2) Avoidance by the United States of the role of world policeman.
- 3) Acceptance of the fact that the day of unilateral intervention is over.
- 4) A recognition of the need for more effective international peace-keeping machinery. This would include a greater emphasis on the United Nations.
- 5) Placing less emphasis on alliances and arms, and more stress on agreements to control the deployment and use of weapons.

6) Movement away from "anti-Communism" as the sole basis of American foreign policy.

7) American leadership in solving the world hunger, nutrition and population problems.

8) Rejection of the 1970 FOREIGN TRADE BILL. If this protectionist measure were passed, it would bring on the reappearance of American isolationism.

9) Leadership in speaking out for oppressed peoples such as the Jewish community in Soviet Russia.

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

THE VIETNAM DISENGAGEMENT ACT OF 1971, sponsored by Senators McGovern and Hatfield. This is the most effective antiwar legislation yet presented to the Congress. (Amd. No. 143 to H.R. 6531)

THE EAST-WEST TRADE RELATIONS ACT OF 1971 (S. 2283)

THE SOVIET JEWS RELIEF ACT OF 1971, which provides 30,000 special immigration visas for Soviet Jews seeking to enter the United States. (S. 1872)

—S. Res. 242, calling for the recognition of Bangladesh and economic assistance through multilateral agencies in rehabilitation and resettlement of refugees.

#### **McGOVERN ON U.S. ROLE IN THE WORLD:**

"America will exert a far greater impact for peace and freedom in the world, if we rely less on armaments and fear and more on the economic, political, and moral sources of our strength."

—September 24, 1963

"The central theme of American policy in the last quarter of a century—in the years since World War II—has not been a positive ideology but a negative one under the label of anti-Communism."

—October 18, 1970

## **30. VETERANS**

The problems of veterans are of special concern to Senator McGovern. His record includes a broad range of proposals and legislation designed to aid our nation's veterans.

#### **McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

1) \$65 million in care for drug and psychiatric problems of returning veterans.

2) The settling up of the Standing Senate Committee of Veterans Affairs, to ensure that the unique problems of veterans would receive special, long-term attention (1967)

3) Operation of veterans' programs on a local level, contracted by the VA and instituted in the veterans' home community.

4) Elimination of the arbitrary distinction between assistance allocations for technical schools and those for colleges.

5) Reimbursement of the cost of tuition, lab fees, books and other education expenses up to \$3,000 per academic year.

6) "Special Consideration" on the part of private employers and the federal government towards Vietnam veterans in their search for employment.

7) Increased benefits for widows and children of veterans.

8) Increased direct housing loans to veterans.

9) Establishment of a court of veterans' appeals.

10) Creation of an "out-reach" program in which young people and recent veterans could serve to provide counselling, recreation and therapy for veterans.

11) An increase in the assistance benefits for education allotted to veterans to a minimum of \$214 per month.

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

THE COLD WAR GI BILL ON PRIVATE PILOTS AND FARM COOP TRAINING OF 1970. (S. 2689)

THE VIETNAM ERA VETERANS' SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 1741)

—Legislation to assist veterans enrolled in vocational education courses, 1971. (S. 1741)

—Legislation which calls for \$65 million worth of care for the drug and psychiatric problems of returning veterans. \$20 million of this allocation is to be used for additional drug treatment facilities, personnel programs, while the other \$45 million will be used to respond to psychiatric problems of veterans. In addition, this bill calls for the creation of an "out-reach" program in which younger people could serve to provide counselling, recreation and therapy services to veterans. (S. 1917)

—The McGovern G.I. Bill of 1971, which calls for an increase in the assistance benefits for education allocated to veterans to a minimum of \$214 per month with equal treatment for technical schools and colleges

and with reimbursement of tuition, lab fees and book costs up to \$3,000 per academic year. (S. 1918)

#### **McGOVERN ON VETERANS:**

"Every Senator here is partly responsible for that human wreckage at Walter Reed and Bethesda Naval and all across our land—young boys without legs, or genitals, or faces, or hopes . . . we are responsible for those young men and their lives and their hopes."

—September 1, 1970

"All Americans want to express their respect for the fine young men who sacrificed so much in the Vietnam war. Our country has never sent a more capable and more qualified military force into the field. Our recognition of their sacrifice will ring hollow, however, if we do not assist them in securing job opportunities when they return from the battlefield."

—March, 1968

### **31. WELFARE REFORM AND THE PERSONAL TAX CREDIT**

Throughout his Congressional career, George McGovern has worked to insure decent treatment for American's poor. Through his efforts the Senate established the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Need to study and recommend ways to solve the problem of hunger and malnutrition. As chairman of the committee, McGovern has become the nation's foremost leader in providing food assistance to needy Americans of all ages.

Nevertheless, America's welfare system as a whole has proven hopelessly unsatisfactory. It is demeaning to the poor, who are discouraged from seeking work and encouraged to break up their homes, and it is unfair to the working people who must pay the bill. Therefore, Senator McGovern has proposed that we scrap the existing welfare system entirely and replace it with a personal tax credit that would aid both the poor and middle income Americans and save billions of dollars now wasted in the cumbersome administration of welfare.

#### **THE McGOVERN PROPOSAL**

- 1) Replacement of the welfare system and the individual income tax exemption with a tax credit for every man, woman, and child in America regardless of income. The exact amount of the credit would vary according to age but would average about \$1,000 per person. The important point is that everyone would be covered by the same system.
- 2) Those below the poverty line would keep all of the credit and would receive it in cash. But, unlike the present welfare payment, the credit would not be lost when the recipient goes to work. The net amount received would decrease on a gradual scale as total income rises. This would allow low and middle income families to keep part of the credit either as an income supplement or as a tax reduction.
- 3) When a family's income reached a certain level, federal taxes would negate the credit. The family would "break even." Families with incomes above the break-even level would be taxed in excess of the credit.
- 4) To finance the plan, major loopholes in the federal tax laws would be closed, thus broadening the tax base; this would actually allow lower maximum tax rates than at present. The plan would also replace the \$750 individual income tax exemption, which now provides the biggest cash benefits to those with highest incomes.
- 5) The plan would be coupled with a program for full employment, with a federal guarantee of a decent job for every man and woman who wants to work.

#### **ADVANTAGES OF THE McGOVERN PROPOSAL:**

- 1) It would encourage persons now on the welfare rolls to seek jobs. The present welfare mess discourages this.
- 2) It would save billions of dollars in welfare benefits and the bureaucratic costs of the welfare system.
- 3) It would relieve states and localities of their burdensome share of the present welfare system.
- 4) The tragic concept of a two-class society—those who pay and those who receive—would be eradicated.
- 5) It would provide a significant income supplement to the millions of low and middle income workers who would keep part of their grant.

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

**THE FULL OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1971.** This legislation sponsored by Senator McGovern provides for far-reaching improvements of the current welfare program. (S. 5)

**THE FAMILY PLANNING AND RESEARCH ACT OF 1969,** to initiate and expand federal support for voluntary family planning services and

population research. Senator McGovern believes that unless undisciplined population growth is brought under control it is nearly impossible to provide a decent quality of life for all Americans.

—The McGovern amendments to the Family Assistance Program, to simplify eligibility requirements and to assure application of the program on a national level.

#### **McGOVERN ON WELFARE REFORM:**

"It is time to realize that the true measure of America's greatness is not its wealth but its wisdom and compassion—how it cares for its deprived, its elderly, its widows and orphans, its physically handicapped, mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed."

—June 1, 1971

### **32. WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

Senator McGovern recognizes that women, although they are 53% of the population, have been far under-represented in the policymaking levels of government, under-employed for the skills they possess and underpaid for the work they do. He has pledged that in his administration women will participate at every decisionmaking level, and he has made sure his staff and his delegate slates include a high proportion of women. The Senator was a strong supporter of the Comprehensive Child Development Act, which was vetoed by President Nixon. He proposes no federal legislation concerning abortion; he would continue to leave this matter to the states.

#### **MCGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) Appointment of women to the McGovern Cabinet, the National Security Council, the Supreme Court and to the ambassadorship to the United Nations.
- 2) Enforcement powers for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to ensure the effectiveness of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin or sex.
- 3) Enforcement of the rules for selection of delegates to the Democratic Party National Convention, which specify that a state's delegation should reflect in reasonable proportion the population of that state. (McGovern chaired the Democratic Party Commission on the Delegate Selection and Rules Procedure, which set up the rules.)
- 4) Reform of tax laws to allow deduction of child care expenses by working women.

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

**THE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN AMENDMENT OF 1970,** which forbade discrimination on the basis of sex. Unlike some of his colleagues, Senator McGovern was present for the votes on the amendment, and he refused to endorse any of the crippling additions to it. (Amd. No. 1062 to House of Joint Res. 264) **THE WOMAN'S EQUALITY ACT OF 1971.** (S. 2185)

**THE COMPREHENSIVE CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971.** This legislation provides a full range of quality health, education, nutrition, and social services for American children of all economic strata, and is designed to ensure that every child has an opportunity to reach his full potential. It also allows many more mothers to assume full or part-time employment with the knowledge that their children will be cared for.

—Senator McGovern will continue to take every opportunity for legislative action in the field of equal rights for women. An example is his co-sponsorship of an amendment to the Medical Manpower Bill of 1971. This amendment provides that no medical school will receive federal funds if it discriminates against women in admissions or training.

#### **McGOVERN ON EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN:**

"Discrimination against women is a damaging reality that is morally wrong and socially wasteful. There are thousands of American women today who are eminently qualified to occupy positions now reserved for men only."

—June 24, 1971

"Federal funds should not go to any institution that discriminates against women; not in salary, not in admissions, not in hiring, not in promotion.

"Anyone, male or female, who must pay for child care in order to work, should be able to deduct from gross income the full cost of a housekeeper or school for preschool children. If taxis and martinis are legitimate expenses, so is the care of children."

—July 15, 1971

# **MCGOVERN**

**His Life and Views**

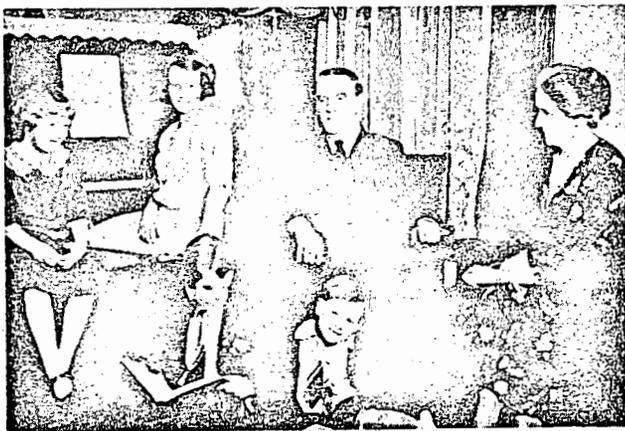


# The Man from South Dakota

by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

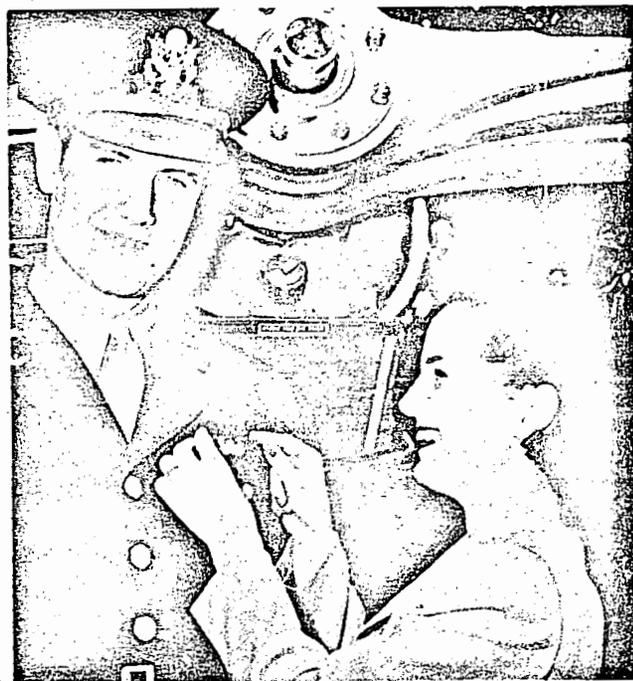
*As life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time at peril of being judged not to have lived.—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES*

George S. McGovern, senator from South Dakota and front-runner at the Democratic National Convention, will be fifty years old the week after Miami Beach. A son of the great plains, child of the depression, war hero, American historian, professor turned political organizer, two-term congressman, director of the worldwide Food for Peace program, two-term senator, leader in opposition to the Vietnam War and in the fight against hunger and inequality at home, McGovern in his fifty years has notably shared the action and passion of his time.



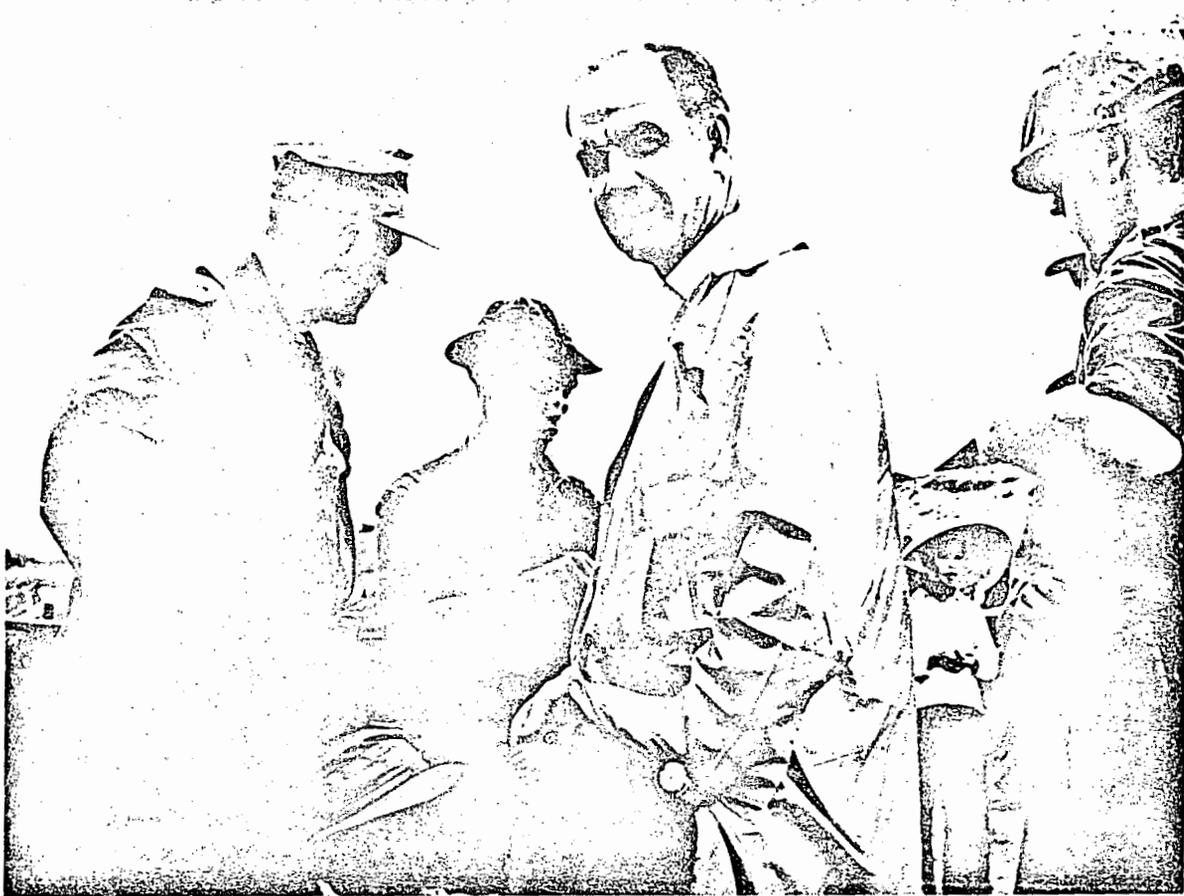
He was born in Avon, South Dakota, on July 19, 1922. The son of a Wesleyan Methodist minister, young McGovern had a strict and frugal upbringing in the small town of Mitchell, South Dakota. As he grew up, he departed from the fundamentalism of his father's creed in both religion and politics, but he always retained the sensitive conscience and high ideals he learned from his father's pulpit. He learned too in the grim 1930s what economic depression could do to the dignity and self-respect of the hard-working farmers of the middle border. And he had early instruction in ecology when he

saw the dust storms whirling the top soil off the great plains and making the noonday sun black as midnight.



His proficiency as a high school debater won him a scholarship to Dakota Wesleyan University; but war soon interrupted his college career. A bomber pilot in the 15th Air Force in Italy at the age of 20, he flew 35 combat missions. His cool courage in bringing in his battered B-24, the *Dakota Queen*, after a raid on the Skoda ammunitions works won him the Distinguished Flying Cross. McGovern saw war at first hand and understood that only great dangers and noble causes could justify so terrible a destruction of human lives.

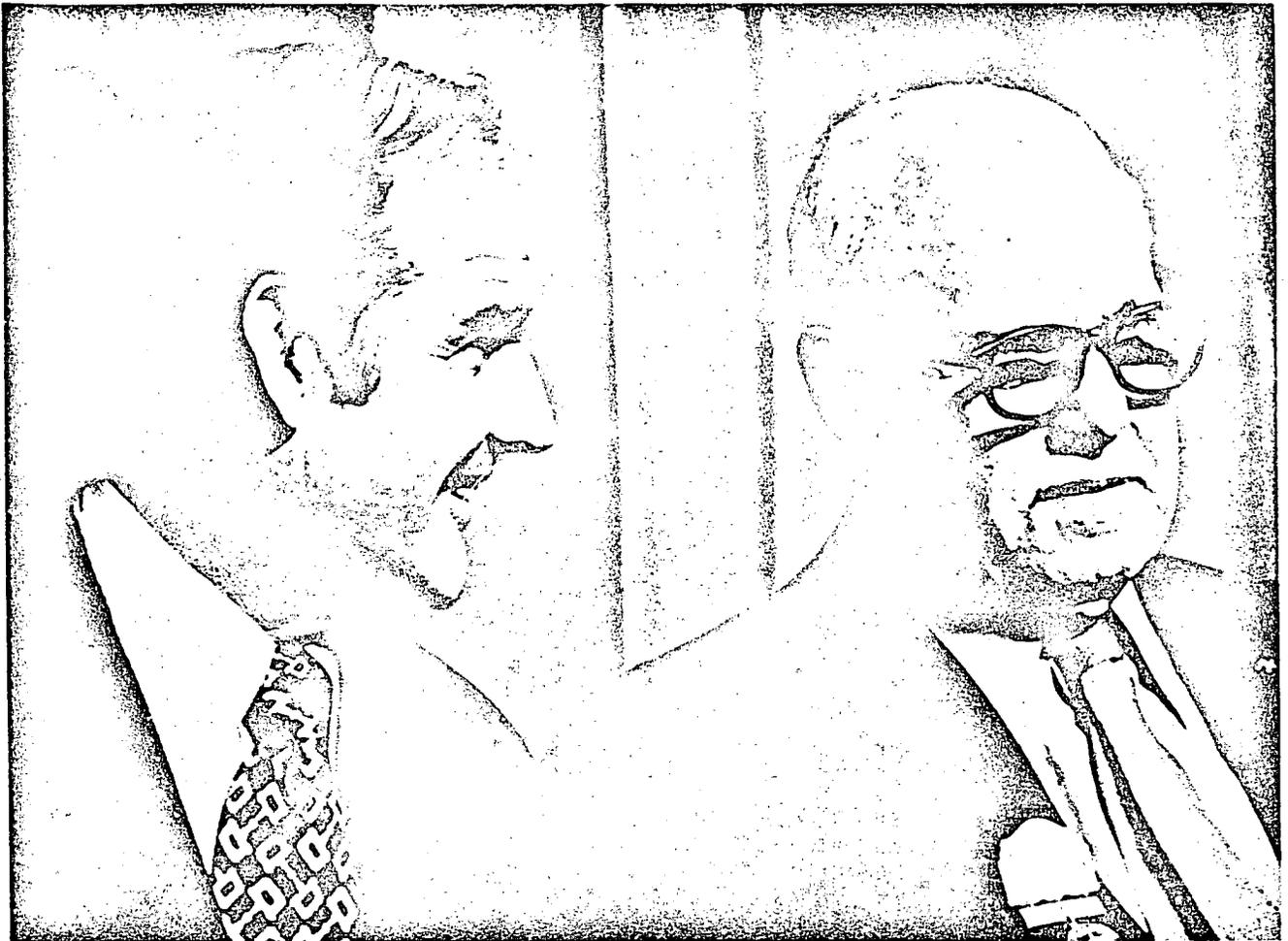
He had married Eleanor Stegeberg of South Dakota shortly before going overseas. Back from the war, he resumed married life, finished college under the GI Bill and went on to Northwestern University for graduate



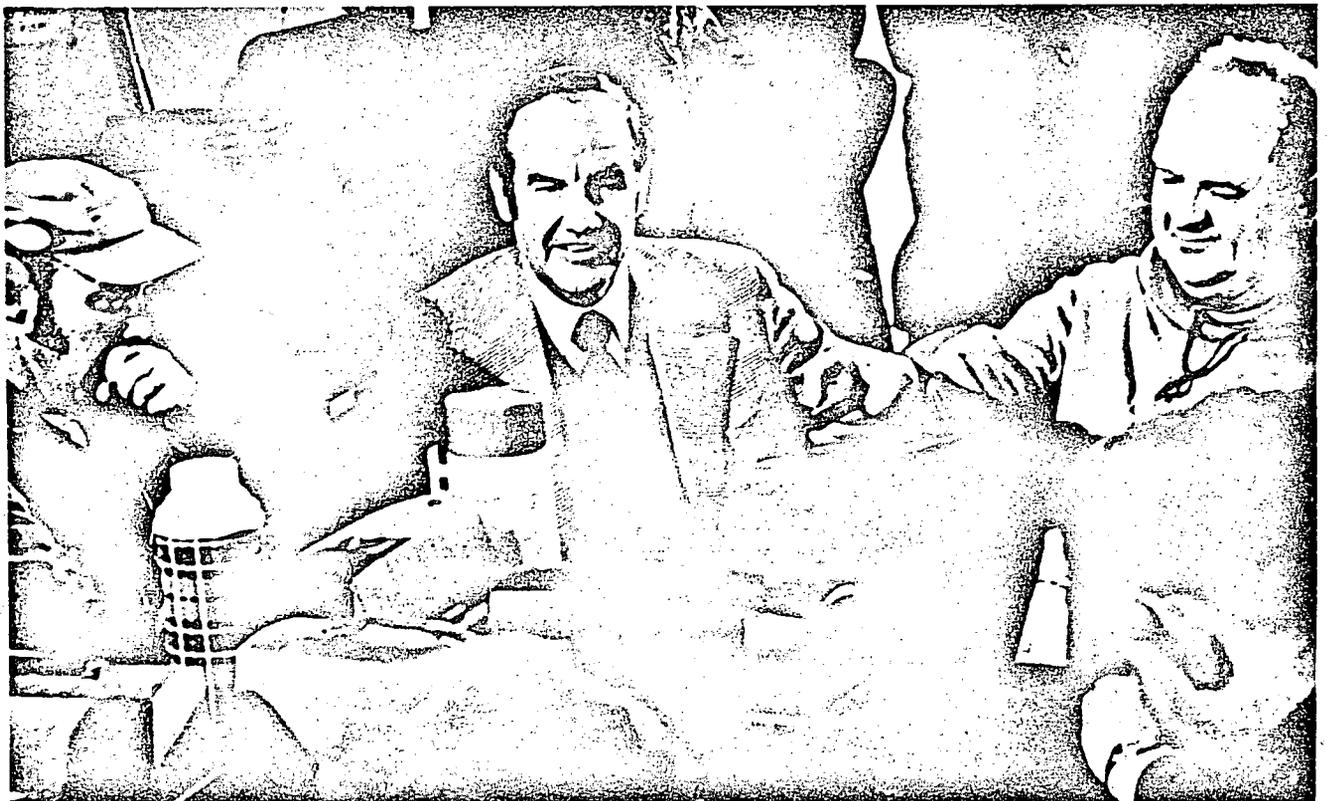
"THE WAR IN INDOCHINA is the greatest military, political, economic, and moral blunder in our national history. Never again should we commit our forces to war without full debate and a declaration of war."



**BLACK LEADERSHIP** gave the McGovern candidacy a big boost on June 26 by announcing that a large bloc of previously uncommitted black delegates were switching to McGovern. Left to right are: Rep. William L. Clay of Missouri, Rep. Louis Stokes of Ohio, McGovern, D.C. Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy, Mrs. Coretta King, and Connecticut Delegate Henry E. Parker.



**WITH AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY** at the labor organization's national convention. "Now there's the gut issue," President Meany declared after McGovern addressed the Convention and blasted Nixon's New Economic Policy.



**"WE CAN NO LONGER TOLERATE** an economics that treats working men and women as statistics. Mr. Nixon thought he could end inflation by creating unemployment. Now we have both. There is no excuse for this in a civilized society."

study in American history, receiving his Ph.D. in 1953. In the meantime, he returned to Dakota Wesleyan as professor of history and began to raise a family. (The McGoverns now have four daughters, one son and three grandsons).

As an historian, he was coming to appreciate the role the Democratic party had played in American life. "My study of history," he later said, "convinced me that the Democrats were on the side of the average American." He wrote this way about the Democratic party in the columns of South Dakota newspapers; and in 1953 the South Dakota chairman invited him to become executive secretary of the party in the state. This was something like being asked to organize the Buddhists in, say, the Netherlands. South Dakota had not sent a Democrat to Washington since 1934; after the 1952 election there were no Democrats in the state senate and only two in the assembly. The party had no money: McGovern would have to raise his own salary. But he resigned from the university and took on the job nevertheless. This decision to exchange a highly promising academic career for a most unpromising political assignment expressed an abiding commitment to the Democratic party as the instrument of change and progress in the United States.



So he devoted the next years to rebuilding the party in South Dakota—with sufficient success to bring about his own election to the House of Representatives in 1956. Defeated in 1960 in his first try for the Senate, he was President Kennedy's original choice for Sec-

retary of Agriculture. When the patriarchs of the House Agricultural Committee objected to the elevation of so junior a congressman, Kennedy made McGovern director of the Food for Peace program and a Special Assistant in the White House. McGovern ran Food for Peace with great success, using surplus American farm products as a means of helping countries in the Third World to modernize their economies. The job took him on missions to the developing world, where he met rising political leaders and saw at first hand the gap between the rich and the poor nations.

In 1962 he won election to the Senate by 597 votes. In the Senate he quickly distinguished himself by giving on September 24, 1963, the first speech in that chamber in opposition to American involvement in Vietnam. In later years, determined to bring American soldiers and prisoners-of-war home as quickly as possible, he offered, with Senator Hatfield of Oregon, a series of end-the-war amendments. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, he was the leader in the campaign to fight hunger and malnutrition in the United States by expanding the food stamp program and a variety of other measures. He was the particular champion of the family farm and of a fair price break to the farmer. He also sponsored a wide range of bills in the areas of tax and welfare reform, veterans' benefits, civil rights, conservation and economic conversion from defense to civilian production.





He was up for reelection in 1968. But two months after Robert Kennedy's death, backed by many of Robert Kennedy's supporters, McGovern became a candidate for the Democratic nomination. A 16-day campaign gained him a surprising 146½ votes in the convention. He promptly endorsed the victor, Hubert Humphrey, and went back to South Dakota for the senatorial contest. Though South Dakota, not a notably radical state, did not share all McGovern's views, his fellow South Dakotans, the people who knew him best, clearly did not see him as some sort of reckless leftist. They saw him rather as an honest, conscientious and moderate-minded political leader and reelected him by nearly 30,000 votes—about fifty times the margin of six years before.

Like most thoughtful Democrats, McGovern was disturbed by the events of 1968. He realized that a new age of citizen participation in politics was on its way, and he feared that the tide might sweep the old parties aside. As a loyal Democrat, concerned to keep the longest-lived political party in the world in active existence, he believed the

party must open up its internal processes to the demand for participation. Accordingly he welcomed his appointment by the Democratic National Committee as Chairman of the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. The purpose of the McGovern Commission, as he saw it, was to strengthen the Democratic party by bringing in the new breed of citizen activists who, if denied a serious role in the party process, might well break out of the two-party system.

On January 18, 1971, McGovern declared his own candidacy for the presidential nomination in 1972. He endorsed the new politics of citizen participation and demanded an end to the policies that had for so long produced intervention abroad and inequality at home. Though discounted by most political columnists, McGovern imperturbably took his cause to the voters, addressing himself to the issues and relying on intensive personal campaigning, volunteer organization and door-to-door canvassing.



His methods were traditional enough; ironically, he showed himself in this sense a most skilled practitioner of the old politics. But he was outspoken in his insistence on new directions in national policy. McGovern called for the creation of a new and more vital center, more responsive to the anguished realities of American life. The "stop-McGovern" forces tried for a while to make him out a Democratic Barry Goldwater. But Goldwater had tried to move his party back into the past, cutting the Republicans off from the mainstream of American life. McGovern's effort was to put the Democratic party



back into that mainstream, restoring it to the progressive traditions of Jefferson and Jackson, of Roosevelt, Stevenson and the Kennedys, planting it on the broadest possible platform—that is, the needs and challenges of the future.

If historical analogies were to be made, the proper one would be not with 1964 but with 1932. In 1932, as in 1972, the nation was in a condition of political and economic frustration. A Republican President had shown himself vacillating and callous in his policies. The Republican economic theme, in so far as any theme was discernible, was to help the rich on the theory that something would eventually trickle down to the middle and working classes. Among ordinary people there was profound mistrust of the establishment, widespread estrangement from the political system.

Forty years ago, confronted by stalemate and alienation, Franklin Roosevelt understood the imperative necessity of bringing about a realignment of political and economic forces. To do this, he had to begin his campaign some fifteen months before the convention and to operate outside the local organizations of the party. Most of the bosses were against him, including Tammany Hall in his own state. Many of the traditional leaders of the party were against him, including Al Smith, the party's candidate four years before, who cried, "I will take off my coat and fight to the end against any candidate who persists in any demagogic appeal to the masses of the working people of this country to destroy themselves by setting class against class and rich against poor." Bernard Baruch

told a friend, "If Frank is nominated, I won't give one cent to the Democratic party."

What FDR had going for him was a strong conviction of the insufficiency of existing policies, a strong instinct for the future, and a strong concern for what he called the "forgotten man"—forgotten again, alas, by the "establishment center" of our own day. FDR represented, in short, the New Politics of 1932. Naturally, like all who call for new directions, he was denounced as divisive; but history has proved that the truly unifying and reconciling leaders are those who move the country forward. For FDR put together a new coalition that revitalized the Democratic party, changed the country, restored the faith of the common man in government and ushered in a new epoch in American politics.



In the same way George McGovern stands today for the rejuvenation of the Democratic party. He is the leader of a new coalition, as broad as FDR's coalition of 1932, the coalition that has already swept him to victory in primary after primary. And, as he thus shows he understands the vital currents of our time, he will bring along the regulars as Roosevelt did forty years ago: Smith campaigned for FDR and Baruch gave a good deal more than a cent to the Democratic party. For, like Roosevelt, McGovern is a Democrat in the original sense of the word—a Democrat who understands, as Jefferson and Jackson understood, that the party will keep its life and leadership, not by repeating the incantations of the past, but by identifying and confronting the issues of the future.

# WHERE McGOVERN STANDS

Presidential candidates usually deal in platitudes, slogans, and generalities.

The big message of the Nixon campaign during the 1968 primaries was simply, "Nixon's the one."

But Senator McGovern believed that the problems of the present are too serious to be dealt with safely and evasively.

From the beginning, he laid his views on the line. He wanted the people to know exactly where he stood. And they wanted to know.

He has made it clear that he will be flexible and reasonable where refinement of details is concerned, but will remain firmly committed to the direction and thrust of his program.

Here, in detail, are his proposals, his record, and his statements on a wide range of issues that deeply concern so many Americans today.

## 1. AGRICULTURE

Senator McGovern has been called the "statesman of the Plains." Throughout his congressional career he has fought relentlessly to assure fair treatment of our nation's rural people. He has given priority to the improvement of life in rural America, and he has worked tirelessly to help the American farmer attain a fair and reasonable income.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A mechanism to insure that farmers have the power to bargain for fair prices.
- 2) The provision of adequate capital at a reasonable price for family and young beginning farmers.
- 3) A strengthening of independent competition by providing for competitive enterprise in the retail sale of meat and other food products.
- 4) Prevention of the elimination of the tax exemption on investment in farm equipment.
- 5) Prevention of the use of national reserves as a price-depressing device.
- 6) 100% parity on wheat.
- 7) Establishment of a federal wheat stabilization program (George McGovern was the first to advocate this in the United States Senate).
- 8) Strict enforcement of import limitations on meat, honey, and dairy products.
- 9) Exemption of certain farm vehicles from Part II of the Interstate Commerce Act.
- 10) Improvement of rural telephone and power services, agricultural credit, water resource planning and rural housing and sanitation.
- 11) Elimination of tax loopholes for non-farmers.
- 12) Opposition to Nixon's plan to abolish the Department of Agriculture.
- 13) A halt to Nixon Administration plans to transfer the price-support program to the Department of Commerce.
- 14) A Class 1 Base Plan for the dairy industry.
- 15) A restoration of the urban-rural population balance in the United States.
- 16) Coverage of agricultural workers by minimum wage laws.
- 17) Releasing funds, impounded by the Nixon administration, from the

Farmers Home Administration which are vital to the growth and stability of rural America.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE COALITION FARM BILL OF 1969, a piece of progressive legislation supported by almost all major farm and commodity organizations in the United States. (S. 3068)

THE FARM PARITY RESOLUTION OF 1966, which prevented a government freeze of low farm prices.

THE WHEAT CERTIFICATE BILL OF 1965, which is credited with preventing a collapse in the price of wheat.

THE RURAL TELEPHONE BILL OF 1969. (S. 1684)

THE MEAT IMPORT LIMITATION LAW OF 1967. (S. 1588)

THE DAIRY IMPORT ACT OF 1967. (S. 617)

THE WHEAT, FEED GRAIN, AND SOYBEAN EMERGENCY RESERVE BILL OF 1967. (S. 2617)

THE FARM CREDIT ACT OF 1971, which modernized and updated the Farm Credit System which lends money to farms and coops. (S. 1483)

THE RURAL JOB DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1969. (S. 15)

THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1970. An alternative proposal to present farm law. (S. 3483)

—A bill to limit the amount of deduction to be used to offset non-farm income, which would prohibit non bona fide farmers from using farm losses as an offset to income from other sources. (S. 500)

### McGOVERN ON AGRICULTURE

"The problem has been variously defined, but it is based on an insufficiency of farm income as compared with the individual capital investment and labor required to keep a farm operational. There is no other economic group in America that receives so little return for what they do."

—February 10, 1971

## 2. CHINA

Senator McGovern has advocated a basic re-examination of America's China policy for more than twenty years. As a graduate student and later as a college professor, he constantly recommended that we stop turning our back on the world's most populous nation. Throughout his congressional career, Senator McGovern has repeatedly urged that the United States take the lead in reducing the bitterness and fear that separate our two nations.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Recognition of the Peking government as the legitimate government of China.
- 2) Relaxation of travel restrictions in order to initiate cultural contact.
- 3) Senator McGovern believes that trade with China should be placed on the same basis as trade with the Soviet Union and other communist nations

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

Senate Resolution No. 82, THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, March 24, 1971. This resolution called on the President to "announce that the United States is prepared, through diplomatic negotiations, to recognize the government of China, leaving the future status of Taiwan to peaceful resolution by the people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits."

### McGOVERN ON CHINA:

"I make no pretense that the course I recommend is without risk. It asks that we offer major political concessions to a society which now sees inevitable conflict between our two systems. But we have no risk-free options in Asia. We have seen the tragic results of the old policy. And we should be able to see that this is not a policy of accepting risks to avoid reality. . . . It is time we moved the dispute to a different level. Let us challenge the Chinese leaders to respond to our initiatives to peace. . . . Let us offer

them a share of the urgent challenge facing all nations, to develop realistic means for prevention of war, for the control of deadly weapons, and for the peaceful settlement of international disputes through principles of equity and justice."

—March 24, 1971

"I believe the General Assembly made the proper choice. It is one I had pressed on the Nixon Administration long before the United States position was announced. I regret that the United States did not take the lead in urging that the People's Republic be recognized in the United Nations as the sole legitimate government of China.

"The United States should move now in concert with other nations to encourage resolution of the issues which separate Mainland China from the island of Taiwan, through peaceful action by the parties directly involved."

—November 2, 1971

"Now Mr. Nixon will be visiting the Chinese capital—and if I do not miss my guess several other highly photogenic sites as well. But if we have a China policy—if, indeed we are prepared to discuss an agenda of Chinese-American differences at those meetings, if we have any greater understanding of China's role in Southeast Asia, there is no indication of it. Indeed, if we had a foreign policy with respect to China, there would be no need for a Presidential visit at all."

—September 23, 1971

### 3. CONSERVATION AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Senator McGovern has repeatedly expressed his commitment to clean air, land and water. The steady ravaging of our environment by industrial growth and governmental neglect, he has said, is "one of the most destructive forms of American violence." He has criticized the Nixon Administration for backing air pollution standards that fall far short of those proposed by the Environmental Protection Agency, and has criticized the planned issuance of permits for the trans-Alaska pipeline. He has accused the automobile industry of dragging its feet in development of pollution-free engines and vehicles and would appoint people who are independent of industry to head national environmental control agencies.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A comprehensive proposal for a national policy on conservation development and natural resources, including a White House Council of National Resource Advisors.
- 2) A new public lands use policy, designed to serve the needs of all the American people.
- 3) A world environmental institute to deal with the threat to our environment on a world-wide scale.
- 4) A new super-agency, patterned after NASA, to deal with pollution. Proposed first-year budget for this agency: \$3 billion.
- 5) The Great Plains Conservation Program.
- 6) The Great Prairie Lakes Waterway.
- 7) A national Wilderness Preservation system, which would protect our nation's wetlands.
- 8) A halt to the Cross-Florida Barge Canal Project.
- 9) The Great Lakes National Recreation Area in the Upper Missouri Basin.
- 10) A federally guaranteed right for all Americans to a pollution-free environment, enforceable through anti-pollution suits in federal and state courts by ordinary citizens against other citizens or government agencies.
- 11) Provision for protected areas in Maryland, California, Indiana, and the Plains States.
- 12) Strong opposition to the development of the SST, both for ecological protection and because it is not a high priority need.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

Senator McGovern has co-sponsored all major environmental protection laws introduced during his terms in the House and the Senate. Among

those of which he has been the principal sponsor:  
THE RIVER BASIN PLANNING ACT OF 1966.  
THE MISSOURI RIVER RECREATION PROPOSALS OF 1969. (S. 234 and S. 235)

THE GREAT PLAINS CONSERVATION PROGRAM ACT OF 1969. (S. 43)  
THE NATIONAL LAND USE POLICY ACTS OF 1969 AND 1970, providing for a national policy on environmental protection. S. 237 and S. 3354)  
THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL BANK ACT OF 1970. (S. 4465)  
THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ENHANCEMENT ACT OF 1970, which provides for controls of strip mining. (S. 1498)

—Amendments to the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to impose excise taxes on polluters. (S. 3057 and S. 3058)

—The Environmental Protection Acts of 1970 and 1971. These proposals supplement existing as well as proposed legislation. Together they:  
1) grant to all citizens a federally guaranteed right to a pollution-free environment, 2) provide for enforcement of that right through suits by ordinary citizens in federal and state courts, and 3) give citizens standing in federal and state courts to challenge administrative decision-making where it is lax in the implementation of environmental policy. (S. 3575 and S. 1032)

#### McGOVERN ON THE ENVIRONMENT:

"We're not going to have another chance at replacing these resources once they're destroyed. I believe that they're God-given resources that this country has been more richly endowed with than any other people in all of the life of mankind. And we have a special obligation as stewards of what we have been entrusted with to take care of it, not to abuse it, not to destroy it, not to foul our own nest to the point where an enjoyable life becomes impossible."

February 10, 1971

### 4. THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Senator McGovern has been a zealous defender of our constitutional system and of the individual liberties in the Bill of Rights. In response to Executive-branch dominance of recent years, Senator McGovern has sought to return to Congress its Constitutional status as a co-equal branch. He has consistently opposed attacks on the court system by those who in preaching law and order attempt to undermine the fundamental rights of the citizenry.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Support for the First Amendment right of the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and other newspapers to publish the Pentagon Papers.
- 2) Repeal of the repressive prevention detention, "no-knock" and wire-tapping provisions of the Administration-approved D.C. Crime Bill.
- 3) Opposition to the proposed House contempt citation against C.B.S. television resulting from the documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon."
- 4) Opposition to tactics of violence of coercive force from whatever source.
- 5) Condemnation of those Administration officials who condone unwarranted and widespread surveillance of citizens through the use of wire-taps and other electronic devices.
- 6) Support for efforts to limit the pervasive power of computer data banks.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE VOLUNTARY MANPOWER PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1965, which would have set in motion the necessary mechanisms for the establishment of a volunteer army. THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1970, which extended the right to vote in all elections to 18-to-20-year-olds. THE EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN AMENDMENT OF 1970, which would finally guarantee an equal status with men in American society.

#### McGOVERN ON THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIL LIBERTIES:

"The Administration had dealt not so much with our problems as with the politics of those problems. Its goal has been to isolate the dissatisfied citizens of the nation, while claiming to represent the nation's major interests. It seeks to discredit those who disagree. It sets group against group. It tries to frighten the news media, turn old against young, and isolate those against the war. While the President walks the high ground, the Vice-President and the Attorney General execute the strategy of fear and division." January, 1970.

**"The revolutionaries who proceed on the notion that the end justifies the means are striking out against the very ends of peace and justice they claim to pursue. This is the cruelest hypocrisy of our times."**

—September 1, 1970

## **5. CRIME AND JUSTICE**

George McGovern believes that the first task of government is that of protecting the lives and property of its citizens. He believes that crime in America is related to the cynicism which prevents our nation from dealing with the root causes of crime—poverty and alienation. This is compounded by corruption and mismanagement in the administration of justice.

To protect society and rehabilitate offenders, Senator McGovern believes that the laws must be administered fairly, by the most competent people, from the Supreme Court to the peace officer in the street, in a way which will help violators learn to lead productive lives within the society.

### **McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) Appointment of U.S. attorneys and judges with regard to merit alone.
- 2) A Policeman's Bill of Rights, patterned on the original GI Bill, to provide policemen with an opportunity for Federal-subsidized higher education, and to offer incentives for young Americans to undertake police careers.
- 3) Major improvements in correctional facilities, with strong emphasis on rehabilitation, as the only effective way to eliminate a great portion of repeater crimes.
- 4) Banning the "Saturday Night Special" handgun, which is used only for the purpose of threatening or killing humans, without affecting the right of sportsmen.
- 5) An end to preventive detention, expanded wire-tapping, excessive bail, no-knock searches, and mandatory sentences, as they are ineffective and probably unconstitutional in the fight against crimes.

### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT REFORM AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT OF 1971, alternative proposals to the Administration's District of Columbia Omnibus Anti-crime Bill.

THE SPEEDY TRIAL ACT OF 1971. (S. 895)

THE POLICEMAN'S BILL OF RIGHTS OF 1971. (S. 2232)

THE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PREVENTION ACT OF 1967, which would improve our nation's attempts to combat juvenile delinquency.

THE GUN CONTROL BILL OF 1968, which orders stiffer penalties for the use of firearms in violent crime. (S. 3681)

THE NATIONAL LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1305)

The repeal of the Emergency Detention Act. 1971 (S. 592)

—Legislation to improve the judicial machinery for the selection of juries, 1969. (S. 2454)

### **McGOVERN ON CRIME AND JUSTICE**

**"... I do believe that a government which can lie blandly to the people; which uses its influence to protect its friends from criminal prosecution; and which openly announces it has no intention of enforcing a decision of the Supreme Court, is not manifesting respect for law in this country."**

## **6. DEFENSE POLICY**

Senator McGovern believes that the legitimate security interests of the United States have been jeopardized by the growth of an excessive, wasteful, overly large military establishment. He has consistently pointed out the dangerous economic and political consequences of a permanent arms industry and the responsibility of civilian leaders for the growth of the military-industrial complex. He believes that excessive military spending weakens our national security.

Thus, Senator McGovern has offered a complete alternative defense budget—a zero-based budget, determined by evaluating the threats which must be faced rather than by comparison with spending in prior years.

### **McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) A phased reduction by fiscal 1975 to baseline defense outlays of \$54.8 billion, as against Administration estimates of \$87.3 billion (1972 program in 1975 dollars).
- 2) Total active duty military manpower of 1,735,000 composed entirely of volunteers, including 10 Army and 2 Marine land divisions; 600,000 reserves, or nine land division equivalents, with improved combat

capabilities; plus 761,000 DOD civilian personnel. Two Army divisions would be stationed in Europe.

3) 26 tactical air wings, including 18 Air Force, 6 Navy and 2 Marine Corps double wings, with modernized close air support and air superiority aircraft.

4) Naval forces constructed around 6 attack aircraft carriers and 1 amphibious Marine Expeditionary Force, with necessary escorts; improved sealift capacity, and construction toward an expanded force of 84 nuclear attack submarines.

5) A mixed nuclear deterrent composed of 41 Polaris/Poseidon submarines, 1,000 ICBM's, and 200 manned bombers, with the capability to strike approximately 3500 targets.

6) An annual research and development program of \$5.5 billion.

7) Suspension of production, testing and deployment of the MIRV system as long as America's deterrent capacity is not imperiled.

8) A moratorium on development of costly and unnecessary systems such as Trident and the B-1 bomber.

9) Creation of a Permanent Commission of Defense Review to provide the Congress with a thorough and ongoing knowledge of defense and national security affairs. Among its responsibilities would be the preparation each year of an alternative budget which takes into account broad national priorities on arms control and foreign relations.

10) Curtailment of military aid to such repressive and undemocratic regimes as those in Pakistan, Greece and South Vietnam.

11) Continued military assistance to Israel, combined with efforts to secure a negotiated Arab-Israeli settlement, in order to insure the maintenance of the balance of power critical to peace in that part of the world.

### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

THE ABM AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would have deleted funds for the ABM. (Amd. No. 180 to H.R. 17123)

AN AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would have cut funds for the B-1. (Amd. No. 820 to H.R. 17123)

THE VOLUNTARY MANPOWER PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1969, which would have terminated all draft inductions, and provided decent pay for servicemen and their families. (S. 503)

THE VIETNAM DISENGAGEMENT ACTS OF 1970 and 1971, which would have cut off funds for any military operations in South Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos after December 31, 1971.

AN AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would limit military spending to \$66 billion. (Amd. No. 861 to H.R. 17123)

—Legislation to create an Office of Defense Review, 1969. (S. 3023)

### **McGOVERN ON DEFENSE POLICY:**

**"America must end its obsessive emphasis on arms production and military force. We can talk about saving our environment, or rebuilding cities, or ending poverty, poor health care, and bad housing; but none of those things will be adequately addressed as long as we are pouring our money, energy, and blood into the cauldron of war and the unchecked production of military armament."**

—December, 1969

**"What I propose is that we spend all that is necessary for a prudent national defense. And I propose that we spend no more than that."**

—January, 1972

## **7. THE DRAFT**

Senator McGovern has long been a leader in efforts to establish an all-volunteer armed force. He has consistently voted against extension of the present draft system.

### **McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

- 1) Elimination of the draft, and the establishment of an all-volunteer army.
- 2) Increases in servicemen's wages until they are comparable with civilian standards. Senator McGovern believes that this would give the nation an experienced defense force consisting of voluntarily motivated men, and greatly reduce the expense of constantly training huge numbers of raw recruits, thus offsetting the cost of higher career service wages and benefits. Increased pay for servicemen would also be offset by the elimination of funding for the Selective Service System which would no longer be needed.

3) A back-up lottery, for use only in case of national emergency, under which men could be called without favoritism or discrimination.

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

**THE VOLUNTARY MANPOWER PROCUREMENT ACT OF 1969**, which terminates all inductions and provides for the establishment of an all-volunteer armed forces. (S. 503)

**An AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970**, calling for an All-Volunteer Army. (Amd. No. 844 to H.R. 17123)

**THE VOLUNTARY MILITARY ACT OF 1971**. (S. 392)

—Legislation to exempt induction of the surviving sons of a family where two have been lost as a result of military service. 1971 (S. 908)

#### **McGOVERN ON THE DRAFT:**

**"A voluntary system would not only be more effective, but more in keeping with the traditions of America. Many of our forefathers came to the United States to escape compulsory military systems in Europe . . . I voted against the draft and I intend to continue my efforts until a majority of the Congress can be persuaded to the common sense of a voluntary program."**

—April 30, 1968

## **8. DRUGS**

Senator McGovern regards drug abuse as one of the most dangerous and complex problems facing America. He proposes to spend "three months worth of Indochina bombing"—\$1.5 billion—in a coordinated attack on dangerous drugs which he views as responsible for the greater portion of the nation's crime. The program would end the waste of countless numbers of lives and millions of dollars in national treasure lost to organized crime through drugs.

#### **MCGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

1) \$550 million for more specialized enforcement manpower for "a fulltime sustained crackdown on pushers and big time dealers, and not just an election year burst."

2) \$200 million to underwrite "thorough, credible and effective drug education programs in every elementary and secondary school and in every community in the country."

3) \$500 million for guaranteed treatment and rehabilitation for "every known addict, whether he is discovered by arrest or by voluntary efforts to get help."

4) \$200 million for accelerated research and experimentation on methods to rid the body of heroin craving.

5) Reclassification of marijuana use from felony to misdemeanor, punishable by fine. Marijuana sale would remain a felony. Senator McGovern opposes legalization of marijuana "because we have insufficient knowledge of its possible harmful effects."

#### **McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

**THE CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE ACT OF 1970**, which provided comprehensive new legislation concerning treatment and rehabilitation of drug abusers, law enforcement authority in the field of drug abuse, and research into the problem of drug abuse. (S. 674)

**THE FEDERAL DRUG ABUSE AND DRUG DEPENDENCE PREVENTION, TREATMENT, AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1971**, which established a National Institute on Drug Abuse and Drug Dependence in the Public Health Service. It further provided emergency funding for state and local drug prevention treatment and rehabilitation programs. (S. 1835)

**THE DRUG DEPENDENT OFFENDERS TREATMENT AND REHABILITATION ACT OF 1971**, which made all drug-dependent persons convicted of a Federal crime eligible for treatment and rehabilitation services. (S. 1836)

#### **McGOVERN ON THE DRUG PROBLEM:**

**"Drugs prey on anyone—rich or poor, young or old, black or white, city, suburb or small town. But they find their biggest market in the urban ghetto, where they work in easy partnership with hopelessness and despair to systematically destroy human life and dignity. I think the American people want to crack down hard on this foul enterprise, and I think they are entirely right in that desire."**

—February 16, 1972

## **9. ECONOMIC CONVERSION**

Senator McGovern was the first member of Congress to propose a national program for economic conversion. Reducing the war in Indochina, Congressional cutbacks in wasteful military programs, a partial slowing of the arms race, and the partial reduction of unnecessary aerospace expenditures have created economic hardships for workers, their communities and businesses dependent on government spending. Senator McGovern's Peacetime Transition proposals represent a sensible way to redirect the course of our national economic life.

#### **MCGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

1) Assistance to industry during the period of conversion from war to peace production.

2) The establishment of a system of income support benefits coupled with educational and training incentives for all workers who feel the impact of changing job requirements.

3) Creation of a conversion trust fund to be built up from a portion of the profits earned on military and other contracts. This fund will support conversion programs and employee benefits.

4) A system of tax rebate incentives to encourage industry to plan for the transfer of its workers and its facilities to peacetime production.

5) The creation of a National Commission of Peacetime Transition to assist industry during the period of conversion.

6) Immediate benefits for workers and communities that are affected by cut-backs in arms and aerospace spending.

7) Regulations to allow military contractors to write the costs of conversion planning into their contracts.

#### **MCGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

**THE NATIONAL PEACETIME TRANSITION ACT OF 1971**, to assist industry and workers in their adjustment to economic conversion. (S. 1191).

**THE EMERGENCY TRANSITION ALLOWANCE ACT OF 1971**, which will provide immediate benefits for workers and communities that are affected by cutbacks in arms and aerospace spending. (S. 1631)

**THE CONVERSION RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1971**. (S.32)

**THE ALTERNATE DEVELOPMENT AND PEACETIME TECHNOLOGY ACT OF 1971**. (S. 967)

**THE ECONOMIC CONVERSION LOAN AUTHORIZATION ACT OF 1971**. (S. 1261)

**THE ECONOMIC CONVERSION ACT OF 1970**. (S. 4430)

**THE FLEXIBLE FISCAL POLICY ACT OF 1970**. (S. 3715)

—Legislation providing for utilization of defense manpower for transportation research, 1971. (S. 1382)

#### **McGOVERN ON ECONOMIC CONVERSION:**

**"Preparation for economic conversion can, in the long run, enhance the productive and marketing genius which we would like to characterize American industry, reducing costs of production and strengthening our position in international trade."**

—March 3, 1969

**"It is irresponsible to undertake the production of superfluous weapons systems solely because of jobs involved. The MIRV, ABM, and other such systems fuel the deadly arms competition; they waste scarce resources which are needed for urgent public programs; they are inherently inflationary; and they are poor providers of jobs as well. But it is just as irresponsible to cut these weapons programs without moving at the same time to develop alternative employment for the displaced workers and to alleviate the inevitable economic depression in communities which have grown most dependent on defense spending."**

—October 19, 1971

## **10. THE ECONOMY**

Senator McGovern has vigorously supported all meaningful efforts to restore the economy to health. He has sponsored and co-sponsored major economic and manpower legislation designed to provide relief for unemployed and low-income Americans.

**McGOVERN PROPOSALS FOR THE ECONOMY IN GENERAL:** (Specific programs and legislation are listed in detail as they relate to specific issues under other headings)

- 1) A guaranteed job for every man and woman who desires work by contracting with private industry to meet the nation's needs for housing, public transit, environmental protection and other needs.
- 2) Expanded public service employment to assure the full use of the talent and labor of both professional and non-professional workers.
- 3) Provision of low cost credit to home-buyers, small businessmen, and farmers.
- 4) Revised trade policies, combined with inflation controls, to avoid ruinous trade wars and increase foreign outlets for American goods.
- 5) Tax reform to close loopholes that have long benefited special interest groups at the expense of lower- and middle-income taxpayers.
- 6) Basic reform in the international monetary system.
- 7) Permanent limits on price increases by monopolies.
- 8) Provision that a percentage of profits of industries involved in defense and government contracts be set aside in a fund to be used to convert industry to peacetime or non-government work. No engineer, scientist, aerospace technician or other such valuable defense and aerospace employees should have to be idle if the nation moves now to meet its urgent needs in both the urban and rural areas.
- 9) A fund to give the same protection against bankruptcy to small businesses and industries that the Nixon Administration has sought to provide to a few giant corporations like Lockheed.
- 10) An orderly reduction of the national debt.
- 11) Provision for the economic development of such regions as the upper Great Lakes, the rural South, and the plains area.
- 12) Alleviation of the shortage of railway freight cars, the modernization of rail transport and if necessary the nationalization of rail service.

**McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

THE EMERGENCY TRANSITION ALLOWANCE ACT OF 1971 (S. 1631)  
THE NATIONAL PEACETIME TRANSITION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1971)  
THE TRUTH IN ADVERTISING ACT OF 1971, designed to protect the consumer from fraudulent advertising claims. This measure has received the full endorsement of consumer advocate Ralph Nader. (S. 1461)  
THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL REVIEW DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1969.  
THE FEDERAL RAILROAD SAFETY ACT OF 1969, which would upgrade safety standards in the nation's railroad industry. (S. 1933)

**McGOVERN ON THE ECONOMY:**

On the Nixon-Agnew economic policy: "I am not so sure that we can describe this as a mediocre economic policy. After all, it takes a certain ingenuity to contrive at the same time both inflation and unemployment. Yet, we must admit that the Republicans have always been good at this—they did it awfully well in 1957-58 and they are doing it pretty well again today."

—March 21, 1971

## 11. EDUCATION

Senator McGovern knows the value and importance of education. His legislative record is unparalleled in its support of educational measures, from research to the teaching of the mentally retarded to GI bills for returning Vietnam veterans.

**McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:**

1) The United States should undertake a greatly expanded national program for elementary and secondary education with the following major elements:

—The federal government should supply at least one-third of the total costs of public elementary and secondary education. Based on current expenditures, that would amount to about \$15 billion per year. To achieve reasonable improvements in educational quality, it should reach \$24 billion by 1976.

—Three-fourths of the funds committed under this program should be allocated to the states on the basis of educational need (including numbers of students in average daily attendance, and special conditions which increase per-pupil costs) and the capability to raise revenue for education within the state.

—The remaining one-fourth should be allocated among the states under an incentive program designed to achieve fair administration of the state and local tax structure. Funds would be used to encourage such steps as publication of property valuations, uniform statewide property assessments, simplified procedures for citizen action to assure equitable tax enforcement, and the elimination of special tax privileges, in line with earlier recommendations on revenue sharing.

—The funds allocated to each state would be distributed under a formula designed to equalize educational opportunity by achieving minimum standards of educational quality in all school districts from the combination of federal funds, state aid and uniform local tax effort.

- 2) Work programs for needy secondary school students, and aid for children lacking parental support.
- 3) Continuation of tax deductions for teachers' educational expenses.
- 4) Increased funding for federally impacted areas in which local tax bases are depleted because of the presence of federal installations.
- 5) Increased educational benefits for veterans.
- 6) Scholarships for the children of veterans.
- 7) Funding for research in the education of mentally retarded and exceptional children.
- 8) Taking \$1 billion from the federal budget to offer scholarships for 200,000 students at \$5,000 each.
- 9) Creation of national endowments for the arts, the humanities, and the social sciences.
- 10) Expansion of the system of vocational schools and junior colleges.
- 11) Increased funds for National Defense Student Loans.
- 12) Funds and federal programs aimed at early childhood education.
- 13) Support for S. 659 (without weakening amendments). This bill creates a National Foundation for Postsecondary Education.

**McGOVERN LEGISLATION:**

Senator McGovern was a key figure in the drafting and passage of the original NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT OF 1958.  
HEADSTART CHILD DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1969. (S. 2060)  
STUDENT INSURED LOAN PROGRAM OF 1969. (S. 2422)  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 1485)  
THE FOGARTY-McGOVERN ACT OF 1958 which authorized federal grants to train teachers for the mentally retarded.

**McGOVERN ON EDUCATION:**

"Everywhere . . . we are told that education is the key to our national future, the repository of our civilization, the only route to full realization of our individual and collective potential. Everywhere the praises of education are sung. Everywhere, that is, except in the dry pages of the Budget of the United States Government. Those pages tell a very different story. They tell of a nation whose commitment to education—in terms of percentage of national wealth—is smaller than that of any other major country in the world. They tell of a nation whose Federal government will ask of each citizen a \$400 contribution for military and a \$12 contribution for elementary and secondary education. They tell of a nation which spends \$21,600 to kill a Vietcong soldier and 44 federal dollars per year to educate each of her primary school children."

—October 24, 1969

"I believe that school busing and redistricting, as ordered by the federal courts, are among the prices we are paying for a century of segregation in our housing patterns. For more than a generation, black children were bused to avoid integrating schools. One of the more cynical aspects of our present debate is that President Nixon, seeking to make political capital of this difficult situation, is ignoring history and asking the nation to believe this problem began yesterday.

"We would be better served if the President announced, as I have, that he intends to enforce the law, and not turn Americans against their neighbors on this issue. Then we could all turn our attention to the real problem, which is how to achieve quality education at the end of the bus line and neighborhood schools in neighborhoods in which every American can live."

—January 25, 1972

"Federal support for education on the scale of my proposal, along with the recommended commitment to equal educational opportunity, can guarantee relief from oppressive property tax burdens in the context of general

improvements in the educational system. Further, it provides a hopeful answer to concerns about the issue of busing to a achieve school integration, by assuring that no one need be deprived of quality education as a result of such procedures."

—January 31, 1972

## 12. FOREIGN AID

Senator McGovern believes that the United States should provide a reasonable level of foreign assistance to the developing countries of the world. His position on foreign aid has always been one of compassion for those who are hungry and diseased. But, he cautions, under no condition should our overseas assistance become a tool to pressure governments into compliance with our version of political philosophy.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Concentration of overseas aid on economic and technical development, rather than military development.
- 2) Gearing foreign aid to self-help on the part of the receiving countries so as to stimulate their efforts to help themselves.
- 3) Distribution of food and other forms of foreign aid based on need rather than narrow ideological and political considerations.
- 4) The channeling of overseas aid through multi-lateral agencies such as the United Nations wherever possible so as to avoid the danger of misinterpretations of our purposes when we handle foreign aid unilaterally.
- 5) The elimination of the sugar import quota for the Republic of South Africa, especially in view of the "vicious and inhumane policy of apartheid" practiced there.
- 6) Large-scale economic and commodity support for distressed nations in time of natural or civil crises. Senator McGovern has called for such aid when disaster hit Peru, Biafra, and twice in East Pakistan.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

Population Control in FOREIGN AID BILLS, 1969. (Amd. No. 175, S. 2357)  
THE EXPORT-IMPORT BANK BILL authorized sale of arms to Israel, 1970. (Amd. no. 932, S. 4268)

THE EAST-WEST TRADE RELATIONS ACT OF 1969. (S. 2283)

—Legislation which called for funds to be specifically allocated to the CIA, rather than through other departments and agencies as is now the case. This would make public the exact size of requests and allocations for the CIA. (S. 2231)

—Legislation proposed after the defeat of the Foreign Aid Bill on October 28, 1971 to revive the positive features of that bill: 1) to restore the full \$300 million credit arrangement for Israel; 2) to restore assistance for the millions of refugees of the cruel conflict in Pakistan. In addition, the bill would prohibit all military aid to the repressive Greek regime. (S. 2796)

### McGOVERN ON FOREIGN AID:

"The United States cannot be secure in its prosperity if it is surrounded by a world of poverty and misery. There can be no lasting peace in a world of the hungry, diseased and the miserable. To whatever extent U.S. efforts can lift standards of living in the great continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, we not only perform an act of mercy, but we also safeguard our own future.

"I do not see any useful role for a sizeable military aid program. More often than not, our shipments of military equipment to underdeveloped countries have aggravated the problems of those nations and increased war tensions."

—March, 1966

"Foreign aid bills have been presented to Congress year after year as a stop-gap against the spread of Communism rather than as an investment in social and economic development. Poverty-stricken countries have been encouraged by shipments of American arms to build military machines as part of "the free world" defense against Communist aggression. But in the summer of 1965, Pakistan threw its American-supplied Patton tanks into war with India's American-supplied Sherman tanks. The final irony came when the Soviet Union, theoretically a

potential target of the tanks, mediated an end to the war. This was scarcely a convincing demonstration of U.S. wisdom in determining other countries' needs."

—January, 1967

## 13. HEALTH

Senator McGovern is a leading advocate of legislation to bring comprehensive medical treatment to all Americans when and where they need it and at prices they can afford. His committee on Nutrition and Human Needs has worked to focus public attention on pressing national health problems. The Senator's programs would save money in the long run through an improved national health picture: preventive medicine and organizational consolidation of treatment facilities would enable early detection and treatment of disease, thus lessening the incidence of costly major illness.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A federally funded National Health Care Plan, which would provide adequate health care to all Americans.
- 2) Substantial reorganization of the federal effort to achieve adequate emergency health care for all American citizens. A seven part program which could save as many as 100,000 lives per year. Program to include minimal training standards for ambulance attendants; assurance, through federal funding, of accessibility by all Americans to emergency vehicles designed according to federal standards; federal funds to support residencies in emergency medicine in medical centers; expansion of community health facilities; and nationwide implementation of "911" as the uniform emergency phone number.
- 3) The expansion of multi-specialty group practice payment organizations.
- 4) Increased experimentation in the training of ancillary personnel to extend the reach of physicians, dentists, and other basic health-care personnel.
- 5) The development of a corps of personnel to serve as communicators between medical centers and the public.
- 6) Training for qualified members of minority groups who previously have been denied a place in health services (in 1970, only 2.2% of medical students were Black).
- 7) The expansion of efforts to provide medical care for people who are physically or culturally isolated from present medical facilities.
- 8) Improvement of care and treatment of the mentally retarded.
- 9) Medical study of malnutrition.
- 10) Protection of children from aspirin overdoses by control of package size.
- 11) Federal aid to research, personnel, and practice in the field of family planning.
- 12) An intensive program of research and treatment of dread diseases.
- 13) The creation of a National Information and Resources Center for the Handicapped.
- 14) Inclusion of prescription drugs and out-of-hospital medical treatment in the Medicare program.
- 15) Removal of discriminatory barriers against admission of women to medical schools.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

HEALTH SECURITY ACT OF 1971. (S. 3)

NATIONAL CANCER AUTHORITY ACT OF 1971. (S. 34)

HEALTH PROFESSIONS EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE AMENDMENT OF 1971. (S. 934)

PHYSICIANS MANPOWER SUPPORT AND SERVICE ACT OF 1971. (S. 935)

MEDICAL FACILITIES DISASTER RELIEF ACT OF 1971. (S. 1237)

NURSE MANPOWER TRAINING ACT OF 1971. (S. 1331)

NATIONAL HEALTH CARE ACT OF 1971. (S. 1490)

CHILDREN'S DENTAL HEALTH ACT OF 1971 (S. 1874)

FAMILY PLANNING AND RESEARCH ACT OF 1969. (S. 2108)

REMOTE AREAS MEDICAL FACILITIES ACT OF 1969. (S. 2241)

### McGOVERN ON HEALTH:

"It will be a real accomplishment if the consumer of health care in America finds several years from now that he has access to good primary care, which connects him without confusion or delay to comprehensive care in all the specialities, with all the facilities required for his care. It will be a real accomplishment if we can make good care consistently available in a human and understanding way."

—October 20, 1970

## 14. INDIAN AND ALASKAN NATIVES

Senator McGovern has served as chairman of the Senate Indian Affairs Subcommittee. He has worked for the establishment of new industry on Indian reservations; and the extension of federal health services to Indians. Senator McGovern has been active on behalf of the Sioux tribes and has strongly supported the return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo. In 1969, Senator McGovern proposed a broad new policy on Indian and Alaskan natives ... a policy which recognizes the cultural integrity and proud heritage of all native Americans.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) An American Indian Development Bank, providing over \$320 million capital loans to Indian groups, Indian tribes, and individual Indian citizens, to aid in Indian economic development.
- 2) Self-determination in the development of programs affecting Indians.
- 3) Self-help rather than solely outside intervention in the implementation of programs.
- 4) An end to the policy of "termination" of the special relationship between the government and the Indian people.
- 5) Adequate funding of programs to relieve the social ills afflicting American Indians.
- 6) The establishment of Indian corporate entities to aid in Indian development.
- 7) The settlement of Alaskan native land claims by confirming title to sixty million acres of land in the native villages and regions, and by payment of \$500 million in federally appropriated funds and a two percent share in future revenues derived from public lands in Alaska.
- 8) The establishment of a five member commission containing three Alaska natives that will, among other things, prepare a final membership role for the natives.
- 9) Fair settlement of Indian land claims based on early treaties.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE NATIONAL INDIAN POLICY RESOLUTION OF 1969. (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 34)

THE ALASKAN NATIVE CLAIMS SETTLEMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 835)

THE INDIAN FINANCING ACT OF 1969. (S. 918)

Amendment of the OMNIBUS CRIME CONTROL AND SAFE STREETS ACT OF 1968 include Indian tribes, 1969. (S. 1230)

Amendment to the JUVENILE DELINQUENT PREVENTION AND CONTROL ACT OF 1968 to include Indian tribes, 1969. (S. 1230)

THE CROW CREEK SIOUX RESERVATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 2008)

—A bill to provide better educational opportunities for Indian children, 1970. (S. 4059)

—Legislation to establish Indian corporate entities for the economic development of Indian tribes, 1969. (S. 919)

—Legislation to solve the Indian fractionated ownership problem 1969. (S. 920)

### McGOVERN ON INDIANS AND NATIVE ALASKANS:

"The chronic problem confronting economic development of American Indians has been the lack of money through either federal or private sources. ... I hope that Congress will not stand idly by and refuse the matter and the means for this 'financial bootstrap' which is so desperately needed by our Indian people." In a Senate speech introducing the American Indian Development Bank Bill, 1970.

"Through our Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and other sources, we have tried over the past months to evolve a realistic and feasible program for Indian Americans. These tentative recommendations for improving federal efforts to accelerate Indian development are predicated on three basic assumptions: 1) The individual Indian should have maximum freedom to determine where he will earn his livelihood. As a general rule, the federal government should neither discourage nor encourage migration from the reservations. 2) Services now provided by the federal government need to be continued far into the foreseeable future, until the economic position of the Indian is considerably more stable. It follows that the forced termination of tribes should not be a part of federal policy. 3) The federal government ought to encourage Indians, in every way possible, to acquire skills and abilities they need to

manage their own economic resources and development."

—February 16, 1972

## 15. THE INDOCHINA WAR

George McGovern was the first United States Senator to speak out against the American military involvement in Vietnam, on September 24, 1963. His early and consistent opposition to American policy in Southeast Asia has made him the foremost leader of legislative efforts to set a specific date for the total withdrawal of all American forces from the Indochina War theater. For nearly a decade, George McGovern has been working to put an end to the killing so that we can begin to rebuild our troubled land.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) That the United States announce that we are withdrawing all American forces from Indochina, that we are ending all aerial bombardment of Indochina, and that we are ending all military assistance to the Thieu regime—all within 90 days.
- 2) At the same time we should state the obvious—that President Thieu has no claim to legitimacy in South Vietnam, and that we do not recognize him as the legitimate leader of that country.
- 3) We should insist upon fulfillment of the requirement of the Geneva Agreement on Prisoners of War that all prisoners be released after the cessation of hostilities. (These steps would rid us of this senseless war. President Thieu would unquestionably resign. The conditions under which the North Vietnamese have assured us that the prisoners would be released would then exist. Not one of these results will be achieved by the Nixon Administration's formula.)
- 4) Strong sanctions against those members of the current Saigon government who have been participating in the heroin traffic, and strong pressure on that government to stop heroin traffic altogether.
- 5) Asylum for those members of the current Saigon regime who feel that they would not be safe under a new government after the final withdrawal of U.S. troops.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE McGOVERN-HATFIELD VIETNAM DISENGAGEMENT ACT. This widely supported proposal calls for total withdrawal of all American forces by December 31, 1971, and would cut off funds for any military operations in Indochina after that date. It received 42 votes in the Senate in June of 1971, but support is growing and Senator McGovern will reintroduce this bill until it succeeds. (Amd. No. 862 of H.R. 17123-1970; Amd. No. 143 of H.R. 6531-1971)

—A bill limiting U.S. assistance to Cambodia, 1970. (Amd. No. 604 to H.R. 15628)

—Legislation to prohibit involvement or participation in an invasion of North Vietnam, 1971 (S. 974)

—An amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization of 1970, denying funds for Southeast Asia without a declaration of war. (Amd. No. 605 to H.R. 17123)

—Legislation to provide a Vietnam Children's Care Agency, which would provide assistance to children of Vietnamese mothers and American fathers. (S. 2497)

### McGOVERN ON INDOCHINA:

"My vote for the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution was a mistake based on reliance on information which turned out to be largely false. I stated, on the day after the vote, that I did not wish my vote to be interpreted as an endorsement of our longstanding and apparently growing military involvement in Vietnam at that time. I voted for its repeal in 1970, the first time repeal came before the Senate."

—January 14, 1972

"President Nixon's Vietnamization formula does not release American prisoners. It does not break up the negotiating stalemate in Paris. It does not end the mortal danger to the remaining American forces as we reduce the total number. It does not end the destruction of the people and the countryside of Indochina. It only expresses the hope that by reducing our ground forces, we can reduce our casualties. The policy of Vietnamization is, in effect, a political hoax. It is certainly not an acceptable posture for a great country such as ours."

—April 20, 1971

## 16. ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Senator George McGovern has consistently been one of the Senate's strongest champions of Israel's right to survival as an independent nation. From his earliest days in the Senate, through 1970 when he was one of only seven Senators to demand that Phantom jets be supplied to Israel, to the present and his insistence on a negotiated settlement between the parties to the Mideast dispute, Senator McGovern has held to the principle that Israel must be supplied whatever is necessary to its defense. He has vigorously condemned Arab terrorist activities and has called upon the Soviet Union to permit Jews to emigrate at will to Israel or any other country. Senator McGovern has tierelssly pointed out the vast difference between Israel's respected and democratically elected government, which merits American support, and the decadent and corrupt military dictatorship in Saigon which does not.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Continued supply of United States arms to Israel.
- 2) United States recognition of Jerusalem as the Israel capital, with transfer of the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. McGovern plans to become the first U.S. President to visit Israel.
- 3) An intensive U.S. aid program of \$85 million to assist Israel in resettling immigrants from the Soviet Union.
- 4) Continued American efforts to persuade the Soviet Union on the merits of a non-imposed Mideast settlement and insistence on the need for a long-range peaceful negotiated settlement worked out between the parties themselves.
- 5) Continued free access of all religious groups to their respective holy places in Jerusalem.
- 6) Solution of the Palestinian refugee problem by world bodies in conjunction with Mideast nations.
- 7) Public expressions of concern and alarm over the anti-Semitic policies of the Soviet Union, and a demand that the Soviet leadership allow emigration at will by Soviet Jews.
- 8) Yiddish language broadcasts over the Voice of America to the three million Jews living in the Soviet Union.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE SOVIET JEWS RELIEF ACT OF 1970, which provides 30,000 special immigration visas for Soviet Jews seeking to enter the United States. (S. 1872)

—Amendment of the Export-Import Bill of 1970, authorizing sale of arms to Israel (Amd. No. 932 to S. 4260)

—Senate Resolution No. 501 (1971), which called upon the President to urge the Soviet government to commute the death sentences imposed in the Leningrad trials and to demand that the Soviet Union "provide fair and equitable justice for its Jewish citizens."

### McGOVERN ON ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST:

"If I were President of the United States, I would take whatever steps were necessary to ensure the survival and independence of Israel.

"Israel is the lone democratic state in the Middle East. Its independence and continued freedom are essential to the American national interest.

"I have consistently advocated U.S. arms support to preserve the military balance in the Middle East. I have also urged a negotiated settlement between the government of Israel and the Arab States. No such settlement can be imposed from the outside. The United States should avoid speculation on boundary settlements while the negotiations are in progress."

—July 20, 1971

"No one has ever suggested that we send one American soldier—not even in an advisory role, much less in a military capacity—to Israel. . . . And the Israelis have asked for nothing more than the right to purchase—not to be given, but to purchase—arms from us in sufficient quantity to assure a proper balance of arms in the Middle East.

"It is the obligation of those of us who have led the peace movement in this country to educate our constituents to

the vital distinction between preventing war in the Mideast by placing the American guarantee behind Israel's right to survive, and perpetuating the war in Indochina by fighting the internal struggles of the people of that area for an indefinite period of time with American troops and pilots."

—May 4, 1971

## 17. LABOR

Senator McGovern is committed to preserving the well-being of the American working man and his family. He has been an active proponent of full employment, including the creation of new government-industry contracting to meet the needs of peacetime in the same manner that we have contracted for war and aerospace needs. He also advocates manpower legislation to provide public service employment for men and women unable to find work in private sector. He has voiced strong support for Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Income support measures for men and women displaced by changing job requirements and reductions in military and aerospace spending.
- 2) Educational and training incentives for those thrown out of work by reduction in military spending.
- 3) Public service employment as a first step to combat high unemployment.
- 4) Federal contracting to develop business and employment in areas of high unemployment.
- 5) Tougher standards to protect miners and industrial workers against accidents and working hazards to health.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE EMERGENCY TRANSITION ALLOWANCE ACT OF 1971. (S. 1613)  
THE EXCESS WAR PROFITS TAX ACT OF 1969. (S. 2277)  
THE FEDERAL RAILROAD SAFETY ACT OF 1969. (S. 1933)  
THE MIDDLE INCOME MORTGAGE CREDIT ACT OF 1970.  
THE EXTENDED UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION AMENDMENTS OF 1971. (S. 973)  
THE ACCELERATED PUBLIC WORKS ACT OF 1971, which would create jobs by the use of federal funds. (S. 732)  
THE SOCIAL SECURITY FOR FEDERAL WORKERS ACT OF 1971.  
THE OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ACT OF 1970.

—A bill to develop business and employment in smaller cities and areas of unemployment and underdevelopment by providing preferences for prospective government contractors.

### McGOVERN VOTING RECORD:

AGAINST compulsory arbitration in the railway labor dispute (1963)  
AGAINST compulsory arbitration of the airlines strike (1966)  
FOR the impounding of railroad profits and favored, if necessary, government seizure of railroads during a strike (1967)  
AGAINST compulsory settlement of the railway strike (1970)  
FOR a higher minimum wage with increased coverage (1966)  
AGAINST a right-to-work provision in the Postal Reorganization Act (1970)

### McGOVERN ON LABOR:

"The development of a healthy labor movement in this country has not only provided a balance to corporate business power, but has also created a national climate for the social and economic development which has contributed to the high standard of living enjoyed by most Americans."

—June 24, 1969

On his vote against cloture to repeal section 14B of The Taft-Hartley Act: "It was the worst advice I ever got. It's the one time I've cast a vote in the Senate that bothered my conscience, and it was a mistake. You always ought to stay with what you believe."

—The David Frost Show, December 3, 1969

## 18. MINORITY RIGHTS

Senator McGovern has cosponsored every major piece of civil rights legislation enacted during the past decade. He is the only Senator and the only Presidential candidate to endorse fully the demands of the Congressional Black Caucus. He is chairman of the Indian Affairs Sub-

committee, where he led the fight to return the sacred Blue Lake to the Taos Indians in New Mexico. Senator McGovern has given full support to Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers in his efforts to ensure fair income for migrant workers, and has promised that as President he will name blacks and Spanish speaking minority group members to the Supreme Court and to his Cabinet. He was among the first Senators to announce opposition to the nominations of Haynsworth, Carswell and Rehnquist.

McGovern was the chief sponsor of the Congressional move to block "termination," a policy that would have ended America's payment of debts to the Indian people. He has also led in the fight to ensure that the Alaskan Native claims receive full recognition by the government.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Home Rule for the District of Columbia;
- 2) Targeting of housing, health care and taxation reform proposals to benefit disadvantaged minority groups;
- 3) Equal representation for Spanish speaking Americans on all levels of government as well as full and equal employment for all.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

Senator McGovern has co-sponsored every piece of civil rights legislation enacted during the past decade.

THE OMNIBUS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL OF 1969, sponsored and introduced by Senator McGovern, contained new and sweeping proposals to bar discrimination in employment, housing and education. (S. 2029)

THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM OF 1970, of which Senator McGovern was principal sponsor, doubled the number of children receiving free and reduced-price lunches. (S. 2548)

THE FOOD STAMP REFORM ACT OF 1970, sponsored by Senator McGovern, doubled the amount of money for the food stamp program and created a national standard of eligibility for participation in it. (S. 2014)

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION ACT OF 1971. (S. 810)

THE QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION ACT OF 1971. (S. 683)

Senate Res. 13, THE EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS WITH SPANISH SURNAMES, which stated that, within five years, the federal rate of employment should reflect the percentage of persons with Spanish surnames in the population. June 24, 1971.

—Legislation which would make Rev. Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday, 1971. (S. 743)

—Legislation to set up a Commission of Afro-American History and Culture, 1969. (S. 14)

#### McGOVERN ON RIGHTS:

"It seems to me that this country, which is in danger of becoming completely homogenized culturally, should prize the diversity and uniqueness of the different peoples that are Americans."

—April 13, 1971

"The Administration's Southern Strategy seeks to turn the strong passions of white southerners to the advantage of the Republican Party, at the expense of black civil rights."

—October 15, 1970

"Billions can no longer be spent to enrich the culture of other countries while zero is spent to assist the indigenous Mexican-American culture."

—January 1970

## 19. NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND ARMS LIMITATION

Senator McGovern has been a consistent advocate of nuclear disarmament and conventional weapons control. He was a leading supporter of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the more recent nuclear non-proliferation pact.

Senator McGovern believes that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks offer our best hope for an even greater reversal of the arms race. He has repeatedly urged the Administration to pursue a policy that will encourage those negotiations.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A high priority for further Strategic Arms Limitation Talks aiming toward a mutual freeze on all new deployments.
- 2) Genuine security need as the only basis for further nuclear deployment.

3) Cuts of \$30 billion in the military budget in the next three years through elimination of overruns, overkill and waste.

4) A shift from military to medical, nutritional and economic aid to developing countries and nations with a large percentage of poor, hungry and sick citizens.

5) Increased cultural exchanges with socialist powers.

6) Reduction of American forces in Europe to two divisions.

7) Concentration of technology and industry on solving the domestic problems of the United States instead of building questionable new weapons systems.

8) An investigation of "cost overruns" in defense contracts.

9) Maintenance of research and development at reduced levels, adequate to prevent "technological surprise" and to assist in arms control policing.

10) Investigation of the ecological impact of underground nuclear testing, as well as radioactive leakage from Atomic Energy testing sites.

11) Greater reliance on the United Nations as a mediator for disarmament negotiation.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE ABM AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would have deleted funds for the anti-ballistic missile system. (Amd. No. 180 to H.R. 17123)

AN AMENDMENT TO THE MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS BILL OF 1970, which would have cut funds for the B-1. (Amd. No. 820 to H.R. 17123)

—Legislation calling for utilization of defense manpower for transportation research, 1971. (S. 1382)

#### McGOVERN ON ARMS LIMITATION:

"I believe that the threats involved in continued escalation of the arms race, both to domestic peace and to the safety of all mankind, are so great that arms control negotiations must be at the top of our national diplomatic agenda. It is my conviction, further, that the Executive Branch and the Congress must give overriding consideration, during their examinations of the military budget, to the effect that a given weapons system, be it MIRV's, ABM's or something else, is likely to have on the prospects for agreement.

"The arms race is a dead-end street. It creates a 'balance of terror' that at best leaves us warped by fear and at worst destroys us all."

—February 27, 1969

"The present policy is not 'negotiation from strength'; it is negotiation from folly."

—January 29, 1971

## 20. NUTRITION

Senator McGovern has provided positive leadership in our nation's efforts to end hunger at home and abroad. In 1961 he served as the first director of President Kennedy's "Food for Peace" program which initiated the development of modern American food relief programs for the world's hungry. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, Senator McGovern is working to strengthen existing legislation and to institute new and expanded programs to combat the physical, mental and social ills which follow in its wake. His efforts have been chiefly responsible for a five-fold increase in our food assistance program in the last two years.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) Emergency food programs in areas without previous food assistance.
- 2) Preservation of the Emergency Food and Medical Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.
- 3) Initiation and expansion of federal support of family planning which is vital to the task of balancing food production and population growth.
- 4) Consolidation of the School Lunch and School Breakfast programs, providing two meals each day for pre-school and school age children.
- 5) A change in proposed work requirements to permit children to receive food stamps even if their parents refuse to work.
- 6) Liberalization of the use of food stamps by the elderly.
- 7) Simplification of the cumbersome procedures involved in individual certification of need for food stamp recipients by a self-affidavit process.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE SCHOOL BREAKFAST PROGRAM OF 1970. (S. 4104)

Extension of the SPECIAL MILK PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN, 1968. (S. 644)

A bill to amend the FOOD STAMP ACT, 1971, which calls for an end to all hunger in America by July 1, 1972. (S. 1773)

THE INTERNATIONAL FOOD AND NUTRITION ACT OF 1965, which converted America's food assistance program from a surplus disposal plan to a positive production plan to meet world food needs.

THE FOOD FOR PEACE ACT OF 1966, which doubled the amount of food America previously sent overseas.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH AND CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1970 which established a national program to ensure that each needy pre-school and school age child receive a free or reduced price lunch. (S. 2548)

Amendment No. 582 to the FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM ACT, which was designed to raise the benefit level for program recipients to \$2,400.

### McGOVERN ON NUTRITION

**"We all have an obligation to live up to our promises to end hunger in America. Nothing less than this nation's human dignity is at stake. The time is long past to make good our promises to America's hungry poor. We need only the will to end hunger—the resources are obvious. We had the will to go to the moon and we did. We had the will to sponsor great strides forward in all walks of civilization, and we did. How can we be satisfied to go just halfway toward ending hunger? Would we have been satisfied to go halfway to the moon? Will we be satisfied in finding half a cure for cancer?"**

—May 5, 1971

## 21. PATRIOTISM AND DISSENT

The war in Indochina has raised many questions about the nature of patriotism. Senator McGovern has addressed himself to this issue on numerous occasions, pointing out the need for diversity and courage of convictions in order to sustain the American experiment in democracy.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) The replacement of the draft with a voluntary system of enlistment in the military.
- 2) The granting of permits for peaceful demonstration, to encourage active dissent. This is in contrast with the Nixon Administration's refusal to allow the Vietnam Veterans Against the War to assemble overnight in Washington in the spring of 1971.
- 3) Elimination of F.B.I. surveillance of peace groups and demonstrations.
- 4) More response from within government to the criticisms voiced by young people, women and minority groups.
- 5) A reaffirmation of the guarantees provided for by the Bill of Rights.
- 6) The constitutional exercise of law to check the excesses of violent fanaticism by the left and right alike.
- 7) Freedom of the print and electronic media in news reports, special features, investigations, and editorials—along with the right of the American people to know the truth.
- 8) After the war ends and our prisoners are home, McGovern would follow the precedent set after other wars and extend a general amnesty to those men who, on grounds of conscience, have resisted the draft by going to jail or into exile. Military deserters, however, could not be covered by a general amnesty, since some men desert to avoid punishment for crimes. Cases of desertion would have to be considered individually.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE VOLUNTEER MILITARY ACT OF 1971. (S. 392)

—Legislation to establish the George Washington Memorial Institute for social problems, 1970. (S. 3983)

### McGOVERN ON PATRIOTISM AND DISSENT:

**"To remain silent in the face of policies that one believes to be hurting the nation is not patriotism, but moral cowardice. Backing our soldiers in Vietnam does not mean cheering them on to their deaths in acquiescence to what one regards as a dangerously ill-conceived course. Criticism of public policy does not weaken the nation; rather, it serves to refine, correct, and strengthen our national course. If the policy is sound, it will become better understood and therefore more effective under the searchlight of honest debate; if not sound, it can best be remedied by constructive examination and frank discussion."**

—July, 1968

## 22. POLITICAL REFORM

Senator McGovern's dedication to an honest and responsive political system led to his appointment as chairman of the Democratic Party's Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection. Charged with the responsibility of ensuring "full, meaningful, and timely participation" in the 1972 Democratic National Convention, the McGovern Commission proposed a series of reform guidelines which will make the 1972 Convention the most open and representative in the history of any national party.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A uniform definition of residence requirements which would guarantee all voters the right to register and cast their ballots in primary and general elections where they currently reside. This measure would eliminate widespread discrimination against students who wish to vote at their campus address.
- 2) Elimination of unpublicized caucuses, premature delegate selection, and the unit rule in the pre-Convention delegate selection process.
- 3) Adherence to and implementation of the principle of proportional representation of minority groups in the Democratic state delegations.
- 4) Removal of all excessive costs and fees made by state Law and Party Regulations which impose a financial burden on delegates and participants.
- 5) Home Rule and full voting Congressional representation in the United States Congress for the District of Columbia.
- 6) Public financing of some campaign expenses.
- 7) Full public disclosure of campaign contributions.
- 8) Strict regulation of unfair campaign practices.
- 9) Regulation of the use of television by candidates.
- 10) All candidates should disclose their personal finances, to avoid any hint of conflict of interest. (Senator McGovern was the first and only one to do so.)

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE FEDERAL CAMPAIGN ASSISTANCE AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1971, which proposed to provide public financing of certain costs incurred in political campaigns for Federal office, attempted to ensure full public disclosure of campaign financing, and functioned to regulate unfair campaign practices.

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1970, which granted 18-20-year-olds the right to vote in all elections. (H.R. 4249)

THE CAMPAIGN BROADCAST REFORM ACT OF 1969, which attempted to define and regulate the use of the television medium in Federal political campaigns. (S. 2876)

—Legislation to extend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to encompass a ban on discriminatory tests and devices, 1969. (S. 2465)

—Legislation to set quadrennial enrollment for elections of President and Vice-President, 1970. (S. 4238)

—Legislation calling for redistricting on the basis of the decennial census, 1969. (S. 10)

### McGOVERN ON POLITICAL REFORM:

**"The true test of a party's strength is whether it has the courage and the vision to look inside itself, change what needs changing, and preserve the traditions and values that are worth preserving.**

**"The heart and soul of a political party is its philosophy, its policies—its approach to the great issues of our domestic society and to our relations with the rest of the world. No procedural form can ever serve as a substitute for these essential matters of policy, philosophy, and substance. But let us also be clear that we have an important responsibility to aid our party in opening wide the political process, in improving and modernizing its system and procedures. Responsive, effective political procedure is the handmaiden of responsible party formation."**

—April 25, 1969

## 23. PRISONERS OF WAR

Senator McGovern has rigorously condemned North Vietnam for the lack of information on American prisoners of war. As a World War II pilot who saw many of his comrades downed in action he understands the feelings of those who anxiously await the release of loved ones and close friends. All his efforts to end the war are dedicated to achieving the prompt release of American POW's.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) That the North Vietnamese neither try or execute captured American pilots as war criminals. (1966)
- 2) That the North Vietnamese adhere to all provisions of the Geneva Agreements in their treatment of American POW's.
- 3) That the North Vietnamese follow the "voluntary provision" of the Geneva Convention which calls for transfer to a neutral country of seriously wounded or seriously ill POW's, as well as those who have undergone a long period of captivity.
- 4) That the United States government abandon the Administration's "Vietnamization" program, which sets too high a priority on strengthening the corrupt Saigon regime, to the possible danger of POW's and remaining U.S. Forces in South Vietnam.
- 5) That the United States government follow the provisions outlined in the McGovern-Hatfield End the War Amendment.
- 6) Set a date for withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina, placing responsibility on the other side to fulfill its pledge that negotiations on the POW issue could begin at once if this were done.
- 7) That both sides adhere to the Geneva Agreement, Article 118, which states: "Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after the cessation of hostilities."

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE AMENDMENT TO END THE WAR, 1970 and 1971, which would create the conditions under which the North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao have repeatedly pledged immediate repatriation of captured Americans. (Amd. No. 862 of H.R. 17123—1970; Amd. No. 143 of H.R. 6531—1971)  
SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 43 of 1969, which adopted the International Red Cross position that the Geneva standards for the treatment of prisoners of war applies to all parties to the Indochina conflict.

#### McGOVERN ON PRISONERS OF WAR:

"I call upon the North Vietnamese to prove to the American people—particularly those of us who have opposed the war—that we have a common bond of revulsion against human suffering. (Through Vietnamization) we are left with the hope that the fighting can be turned over to the South Vietnamese. But that is a formula for continued warfare, even if it succeeds. And what, then, happens to our prisoners, whose return is not required by the 1949 Geneva Convention until after the hostilities have ceased?"

—August, 1969

"The Nixon proposals (of January 25, 1972) have not made any difference at all in the lives of hundreds of prisoners still in North Vietnam. I believe that only the actual setting of a date for withdrawal and the end of bombing—which Mr. Nixon did not mention—will bring our forces and our prisoners home."

—January 27, 1972

## 24. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Senator McGovern, a native of rural America and a longtime member of the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, is deeply committed to solving the problems of rural America. He is Chairman of the Democratic Policy Council's Committee on Rural Development.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A Rural Housing Development Administration which would be charged with the responsibility of providing decent housing and sanitation in all towns of 25,000 inhabitants or less, within the next five years.
- 2) The release of the current \$56 million appropriation for rural water and sewer development.
- 3) Expanded water resource agencies.
- 4) Improved rural telephone and power services.
- 5) Increased federal procurement of goods and services from rural business and industry.
- 6) Increased tax credits for agriculture and rural industry.
- 7) Increased construction of federal facilities in communities with less than 50,000 inhabitants.
- 8) The full reinstatement of such important programs as the USDA's Rural Community Development Services and Technical Action Panels, and HUD's non-metropolitan, multi-planning services.
- 9) The coordination of federal and state programs dealing with rural America.

10) Procedures to make rural America more attractive so as to check the migratory flow from rural to urban areas.

11) An Office of Utility Consumers Counsel, to provide consumer safeguards in farm legislation.

12) The development of job-expanding programs and industries in rural areas, which would improve the economic condition of the non-urban areas without destroying their special beauty and environment.

13) Strong opposition to the confirmation of Secretary of Agriculture Butz, who embodies the worst in agribusiness and spells the demise of vital rural America.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE RURAL JOB DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971. (S.346)

Sewers in Small Towns and Rural Areas, 1971 (S. 391)

THE APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 575)

THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1971. (S. 742)

National Rural Development Center, 1971. (S. 1507)

THE COOPERATIVE RURAL FIRE PROTECTION ACT OF 1969.

—Legislation to remedy the population imbalance between metropolitan and rural areas, 1971.

#### McGOVERN ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

"There can be no longer any doubt that the continuing neglect of rural America is the single most important factor in the impending crack-up of our cities.

"The headlong dash to urbanization has drained the countryside only to create an urban hell of overcrowding, pollution, crime, and unending traffic congestion.

—March 23, 1971

## 25. SCIENCE

Senator McGovern is convinced that America's scientific community need not depend upon a massive armaments industry or an ongoing war to find full employment. Long an opponent of excessive military spending and of frivolous aerospace projects, McGovern advocates a period of consolidation of information gathered from the space program thus far for the purposes of expanded application to massive problems here on earth. He links recent technological advances to the feasibility of international agreements on cessation of nuclear testing and also to the prospects for conversion of excess arms industry capacity to domestic needs. He supports a broadly increased federal research and development budget and would reform the patent laws to benefit independent and unemployed inventors.

#### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

1) A \$10 billion federal investment in job-development programs in areas of great domestic need: urban mass transit; hospital, housing and school construction; combating of air and water pollution; development of cheap and plentiful energy sources; establishment of traffic safety systems and industrial accident prevention mechanisms.

2) Reform of patent laws to allow use of patents by independent or unemployed inventors who now must bow to government or sponsoring business use of the production rights.

3) Application to domestic technological needs of \$32.5 billion saved by trimming excess fat from the military budget.

4) Establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Science and Technology to coordinate overall budget planning and presentation and to set goals and priorities.

5) Greatly expanded allocations for basic research and development, with a minimum share to be guaranteed to smaller enterprises.

#### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE NATIONAL PEACETIME TRANSITION ACT OF 1971, designed to provide financial assistance for displaced scientists and engineers during the period of economic conversion. (S. 1191)

EMERGENCY TRANSITION ALLOWANCE ACT OF 1971, also designed to assist displaced scientists and engineers during economic conversion. (S. 1631)

—Legislation to create a Department of Science and Technology, 1971. (S. 1184)

—Legislation to mobilize integrated biological-cultural research on forest pests, 1971. (S. 1794)

#### McGOVERN ON SCIENCE:

"The virtual monopoly of many of our nation's best scientists and engineers by the military-industrial complex deprives all Americans of the creative talent needed to build a more humane, people-oriented society."

—January, 1971

"Peace is not the biggest threat to aerospace workers. Instead they are all threatened by the Nixon Administration's disastrous mismanagement of the national economy. . . . There is no shortage of work to be done. We're behind in applying new technology to the entire range of human needs.

"I don't buy the view that the aerospace work force, in order to prosper, needs either an arms race or a war."

—May 25, 1972

## 26. SENIOR CITIZENS

Senator McGovern believes that senior citizens have worked, saved, built and invested to keep the nation rich and strong, and thus deserve to be honored and utilized for their experience and wisdom. He would move to provide them with an adequate income, an effective health care program and further opportunity for fulfilling lives. A complete overhaul of the Social Security system would include a 20 per cent increase in benefits, a minimum payment tied to the cost of living index and full benefits available optionally at age 62, while a Health Security program would cover all medical costs of older citizens and would ensure efficient delivery of health care to them.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) The personal tax credit included in Senator McGovern's proposal for tax and welfare reform would apply to those over age sixty-five, in addition to regular retirement income, medical care benefits, and other related aids.
- 2) A minimum federal standard to eliminate inequities that exist in old-age assistance payments at the state level.
- 3) Reform of federal and local tax provisions which unduly burden retired people.
- 4) Inclusion of out-of-hospital drug costs under present Medicare coverage.
- 5) Expansion of the food stamp program to cover the elderly under a special "prepared meal" provision.
- 6) The Federal Government should assist in the establishment of Retirement Career Guidance Centers.
- 7) Preventive, in addition to purely curative, medical programs.
- 8) A \$150 minimum monthly income for social security recipients and the removal of restrictions on outside earnings.
- 9) A higher level of outside earnings to prevent loss of benefits for older citizens who must work to supplement social security payments.
- 10) A cost-of-living escalator in social security benefits.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

A bill providing for low-cost meals for the elderly under the OLDER AMERICAN ACT OF 1965, 1971. (S. 1163)

The CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT ANNUITY ACT OF 1971, which provides a \$3,000 exemption. (S. 1442)

The VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION FOR OLDER BLIND PERSONS ACT OF 1971. (S. 1030)

—A bill setting a reduced fare for senior citizens on airlines, 1971. (S. 1554)

—A bill which initiated the National Institute of Gerontology, 1971. (S. 887)

—A bill which would allow for coverage of drugs under Medicare, 1971. (S. 936)

### McGOVERN ON SENIOR CITIZENS:

"The test of any society is the way in which it treats its older members. We have the resources to pass this test—if we will set our minds to the task."

"If we can afford to spend \$24 billion to land a man on the moon, we have the resources to provide an income for our senior citizens so they can live their retirement years in dignity and comfort—reasonably free from financial concerns."

—September 26, 1969

## 27. TAXATION

Senator McGovern has been a leading proponent of tax reform. He has supported all meaningful efforts to institute an era of tax equity through the elimination of "super tax shelters" which benefit only the rich. Senator McGovern shares with Senator Proxmire a rating by an impartial survey of

economists as the Senator most concerned about how the taxpayer's dollar is spent.

### McGOVERN PROPOSALS INCLUDE:

- 1) A minimum income tax so that the rich could not avoid their share of the tax burden. If an effective minimum tax were applied to those with incomes in excess of \$50,000 a year, at least \$6 billion would be raised in new taxes in the next fiscal year. This would be a transitional measure.
- 2) Support of the Mansfield-Mills Bill to close, and then review, all loopholes in the national tax structure.
- 3) Elimination of the special corporate loopholes that have been opened since 1960. These loopholes include accelerated depreciation rates and the investment tax credit. Some \$13 billion would be raised in added taxes by this reform.
- 4) Gift and inheritance taxes should shift from a tax on the estate of the giver to a lifetime cumulative tax on the recipient. All inherited incomes above \$60,000 would be taxed on a graduated level up to a maximum of 77%. Wholly-owned family businesses would be excluded when they are small or medium-sized.
- 5) Broad tax reform, closing many loopholes and lowering maximum rates of taxation.
- 6) To relieve the property tax burden, a proposal to increase direct Federal funding of educational costs and Federal incentives to states to use more progressive income taxes for raising revenues. The suggested value added tax is a retreat from the far sounder revenue sharing approach.
- 7) Institute an excess profit tax on windfall profits resulting from wage and price controls.
- 8) Impose a capital equalization tax which would discourage American firms from setting up plants abroad to flood the American market.
- 9) Reduced oil and gas depletion allowances.
- 10) Limitation on state taxes on transfer of corporate securities held by non-residents.

### McGOVERN LEGISLATION:

THE EXCESS WAR PROFITS TAX ACT OF 1969, an alternative to the surtax charge on personal income for the duration of the Indochina conflict. (S. 2277)

THE MINIMUM INCOME TAX ACT OF 1969, which provides a minimum tax on incomes above a certain level, regardless of deductions. (S. 1827)

—Legislation to increase the minimum standard deduction, 1969. (S. 1615)

—Legislation to simplify the income tax for small businesses. (S. 1615)

—Legislation to grant tax exemptions for servicemen in Korea like that in Vietnam, 1971. (S. 1233)

—Legislation to grant tax credit for the expenses of higher education, 1969. (S. 2979)

—Legislation to grant tax credit for educational expenses, 1969. (S. 3077)

—Legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code on tax-exempt organizations, 1971. (S. 1408)

—Legislation proposing an alternative to the Nixon Depreciation Allowance Plan, 1971. (S. 1532)

### McGOVERN ON TAXATION:

"It is time for the American industry, which has enjoyed an unprecedented 33% rise in net after-taxes profits since the combat escalation of 1965, to assume more of the tax burden generated by the war."

"And it is time to relieve the middle and low-income taxpayers of the inflation which cuts so cruelly into the income of the poor and the elderly and the high and increasing rates of all categories."

—May 23, 1969

## 28. URBAN POLICY

Senator McGovern recognizes the necessity for the nation's urban residents to have more control over the affairs of their own communities, and advocates governmental efforts to train local administrators rather than insist upon direct Federal administration of urban programs. Charging that the Nixon Administration has "abandoned the the nation's cities," McGovern has criticized existing Federal housing and development programs as engines for destroying decent neighborhoods and perpetuating segregation. Senator McGovern would revamp the Federal Housing Administration loan system to eliminate discriminatory policies; he would further regulate mortgage banking loan and credit review policies; and he would advocate federal assumption of one-third of all elementary and secondary education costs to ensure uniform quality urban schooling.

Stu:

case

In ~~xxxx~~ you didn't get the first one. See pp. 10 et. seq. If you could get someone in Atlanta to do the appropriate stuff on Jimmy's record as Governor of Georgia, I can put a couple of people here to work on a good summary of the views and positions he has taken as a candidate (also his programs), using the platform statement as a base.

The purpose would be to have something to hand out to the 5,000 press people who will be accredited to attend the convention, to give the lie to the lack of specificity thing, at least in their (important) eyes.

But I would not want to start anyone on it until you got (if you think it is a good idea) a commitment that something could be printed up (although not in as elaborate a form as this) by the time of the Convention.

Instead of the bio piece in this sample,  
we ~~z~~ could run some of the most favorable  
columns by national media heavies.

~~174~~  
Dorm

# McGovern Sees the U.S. Nearest I-Man Rule in All Its History

## McGovern: U.S. Nearing I-Man Rule

By Albert B. Crenshaw  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern said yesterday in England that the United States under President Nixon is "closer to one-man rule than at any time in our history."

"Fundamentally, we have experienced an exhaustion of important institutions in America. Today only the presidency is activist and strong, while other traditional centers of power are timid and depleted," the South Dakota senator said.

In his bluntest speech since his overwhelming defeat by Mr. Nixon in the Nov. 7 election, McGovern called Congress impotent, the political parties lacking in principle, the press exhausted and the American people dispirited.

The American people "have followed a bloody trail of disappointment from a sunny street in Dallas to a hotel kitchen in Los Angeles," he said, and in 1972, after a decade of being "oversold on social programs . . . they are wary of buying even sensible and essential social progress from any political leader."

This, he added, was the major factor in his defeat for the presidency.

"To my mind, this mood was central to the outcome of the 1972 election. For example,

See McGOVERN, A5, Col. 2

McGOVERN, From A1  
commentators have suggested that credibility was among my principal difficulties.

"I agree, but not with the proposition that people did not believe me. I think they did believe that I would do what I said, and they were afraid. Many Americans looked back at the debris of the last decade, and they feared that once again, they were about to face a hard effort and harvest nothing from it."

The speech was delivered at Oxford University in England the day after Mr. Nixon's inauguration. Its text was released here.

Citing Congress' failure to halt the Vietnam war, and Mr. Nixon's impoundment of funds, McGovern said, "This is not the way of a government of laws or even of men, but of one man. Today the United States seems to be moving dangerously in that direction. The Congress seems incapable of stopping what it opposes or of securing what it seeks. And it may fairly be asked whether the congress of the United States in the seventh decade of this century is in peril of going the way of the House of Lords in the first decade."

"The difference is that the diminution of the Lords made English government more democratic while the diminution of the Congress makes American government more dictatorial," he said.

The Republican Party has been "reduced to utter vassalage by the White House," while the Democrats are "in peril of becoming a party of incumbency out of power . . . a party with no principle, no programs, living only from day to day, caring only for the prerequisites of office, doing nothing, and worse, not caring that nothing is done," McGovern said.

"But perhaps the most dis-

couraging development of recent years," he added, "is the exhaustion of the institution of the press."

He said that during the campaign he was "subjected to the close, critical reporting that is a tradition in American politics . . . Yet Mr. Nixon escaped a similar scrutiny. The press never laid a glove on him."

And now, after the election the press and television "are trying to get along by going along."

McGovern concluded by calling on Congress to "exercise positive leadership" to lead America in a new direction and perhaps "spark a similar institutional revival outside government."

1-17-4  
Worn

# Foreign Relations Panel Enlarged to Seat McGovern

Senate Democrats, handing out committee assignments yesterday, created an extra slot on the Foreign Relations Committee to avoid a slap in the face to George McGovern (D-S.D.) their defeated presidential candidate.

The committee was initially slated to have nine Democrats and six Republicans. The Democratic Steering Committee tentatively agreed Wednesday night to give the one Democratic opening to Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), although McGovern, who had also sought the post, has more seniority.

However, the Steering Committee boosted the ratio to 10 to 7 yesterday morning after Frank Church (D-Idaho), and others protested that McGovern should get one, too.

The change in size also created one GOP vacancy, which is expected to go to Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts. All three additions will strengthen the committee's antiwar majority.

Other big winners in the assignment jockeying were Frank E. Moss (D-Utah), appointed Space Committee chairman when Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) turned down

the job (Moss wasn't even on the committee previously); Howard Cannon (D-Nev.), new Rules Committee chairman; Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) and Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.), who join the powerful Appropriations Committee; and Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) and Lloyd M. Bentsen (D-Tex.), who won spots on the tax-writing Finance Committee.

Gravel and Bentsen are both from oil states, but Gravel is considered a liberal on most matters and Bentsen a moderate, while Mondale is a certified Northern liberal. The Finance Committee will still have a strong conservative majority on most issues, however.

The Senate's eight freshmen Democrats got these assignments:

- James Abourezk (S.D.)—Space, Interior and Small Business.
- Floyd Haskell (Colo.)—Space, Interior and Small Business.
- Bennett Johnston (La.)—Banking, Interior and Small Business.
- William Hathaway (Maine)—Agriculture, Banking and Small Business.
- Walter Huddleston (Ky.)—Agriculture and Government Operations.
- Dick Clark

(Iowa)—Agriculture and Public Works. Sam Nunn (Ga.)—Armed Services, Government Operations and Small Business. Joseph Biden (Del.)—Banking and Public Works.

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Article #201

~~1-5-75~~  
Dem

## Food Bank Plan Asked By McGovern

Associated Press

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) yesterday proposed creation of a national food bank for disaster victims after the Department of Agriculture phases out its commodity food program July 1.

Under the commodities program, the government distributed food to disaster victims through a network of regional warehouses. But when the program is ended, disaster victims will be given food stamps redeemable at commercial food outlets.

McGovern's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs opened hearings yesterday on the nation's ability to provide food during disasters.

The senator's legislation would allow the Agriculture Department to continue the distribution of commodities in emergency situations, at an estimated cost of between \$3 million and \$5 million yearly.

McGovern general

WASHINGTON POST  
Thursday, June 26, 1975

# McGovern Sues Over Campaign Gifts

By Tom Curtis  
Special to The Washington Post

HOUSTON, June 25—An attorney for Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) sued seven major corporations for \$1.09 million in state court here today, charging them with making illegal contributions to Richard M. Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign.

The suit was filed under a Texas statute forbidding corporate contributions to candidates and permitting opposing candidates damages of double the amount contributed. The alleged contributions totaled \$545,000.

Defendants in the suit and

amounts they allegedly contributed are American Airlines, Inc., \$75,000; Ashland Oil, Inc., \$100,000; Braniff International, \$40,000; Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., \$100,000; Gulf Oil Co., \$100,000; Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co., \$30,000, and Phillips Petroleum Co., \$100,000. None is incorporated under Texas law, but each has an office in Houston or Harris County, the suit said.

The suit said that each of the corporations had been charged by information in federal court with making the illegal contributions to the

Nixon campaign. The contributions were made, the suit alleged, between September, 1971, and March 28, 1972. The suit did not say where the contributions were made.

McGovern's Texas lawyer, Arthur M. Gochman, said all of the corporations had pleaded guilty to making illegal contributions.

Those defendants reached in Houston said they weren't aware of the suit and declined comment.

The Texas law under which McGovern brought the suit was passed in 1925 and amended in 1951 and 1963.

# Recasting McGovern Reforms

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 8—

There have been two great bursts of reform in the postwar Democratic party—the one symbolized by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey that grew out of the 1948 convention at Philadelphia, and the one symbolized by Senator George McGovern that grew out of the 1968 convention at Chicago. In a sense, what happened in Kansas City constituted a climax to both the call for civil rights in '48 and the call for more convention openness in '68.

The national party charter adopted here is not graven in granite; it will no doubt be modified in years to come, and like all political documents, it will be subjected to some tortured interpretations to serve the partisan ends of those seeking power. But a new norm—a norm of relative openness—has been established, and it appears unlikely that that will soon be deviated from.

The McGovern reforms of 1972, in other words, have not been undone, as some elements of the party had hoped; they have been tempered, modified, recast. There will not soon again be a Democratic convention as white, male and middle-aged as the one that exploded in the streets of Chicago six years ago.

Because of the proportional representation system, conventions of the near future are likely to be subject to brokerage whenever there is no one dominant figure. But if the Kansas City experience and common sense are any guide, that does not mean a return to the classic bartering of the recent past.

The brokering of the future will be far more complex. With many state and almost all regional contingents splintered, it seems likely that the brokers will have to take into account not only blocks of votes controlled by local leaders and blocks of votes committed to candidates, but also caucuses of women, blacks, young people, labor delegates of varying ideological persuasions and so on. That was the experience here yesterday as a final, unifying compromise was put together.

## Considered a Success

If things work out that way, the Democrats can only benefit, because it will provide both the access that the reformers have long sought and the broad consensus on candidates that traditionalists have insisted upon as the prerequisite to victory.

The midterm conference was adjudged a success by most participants, and not only be-

## Democrats Approve Norm of Openness in New Charter

cause of the charter it produced.

It brought together Democrats who otherwise might never have met, giving them a chance to talk, drink, eat and occasionally even think together.

Perhaps most important, it showed the Democrats, some of whom had begun to lose faith in themselves, that they could get through a national meeting without gouging one another's eyes out. For that, the departing delegates were thanking Representative Donald M. Fraser of Minnesota, one of the originators of the mini-convention idea; former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, who oversaw the drafting of the charter, and, most of all, Robert S. Strauss, the national chairman.

Mr. Strauss, who reminded one onlooker yesterday of Prof. Harold Hill, "The Music Man," selling trombones to the good folk of River City, can probably remain as national chairman for as long as he likes.

For it was he, more than any other person, who pulled things together yesterday.

The problem was that blacks and women felt that they had been left out of the supposedly final compromise on participation in party affairs. It was not so much that they objected to the substance of the compromise.

As one black leader remarked late last night, "I think it's what you people call a power play."

After hours of pressure and threats, the blacks and women succeeded in moving the centrist pragmatists (Mr. Strauss and the Governors). So they won, they won because they saw that they had the power, and they succeeded in bringing it to bear.

## Slightly Smoky

The traditionalists once had a monopoly on that tactic. But this time, the old-line trade unionists, who had hoped to attack the compromise from the other side because they, too, felt they had been left out, conceded defeat two days ago. When the final deal was struck at dusk last night, they were not even represented in the slightly smoky room where the dealers met.

That, of course, leaves Professor Hill with something of a problem, as the cold furious remarks of Jack Henning of the California Labor Council demonstrated last night. ("We say this to Strauss," he said, "Either he stands with us or the party will go down to

division and ruin in the election of 1976."

But not so much of a problem as it might seem, because the old-line unionists are now much more isolated than they were in 1972. This time, most of the Southerners went along; most of the elected officials went along, and, symbolically most important, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago went along ("I recognize when power moves," he reportedly told the Illinois caucus. "I recommend the compromise.")

Still, the Democrats need all of labor, and Mr. Strauss can be expected to woo George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Asked last night whether he would seek Mr. Meany's support, Mr. Strauss replied:

"I need it. I will ask for it, I will beg for it, and I hope I deserve it."

## No Agenda for the Decade

There is another problem lurking in the future: The feeling among important figures in both the left and right wings of the party that in a time of national crisis so much emphasis has been placed on unity that no real work has been done on developing an agenda for the next decade. That feeling was one explanation for the warm reception given Senator McGovern's aggressive speech yesterday.

Solving that problem will be the responsibility of the Presidential candidates. None of those active here started a groundswell. Indeed, this convention sometimes seemed like a collection of constituencies looking for a candidate.

But some general observations can be made.

One of the big winners in Kansas City was clearly Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, whose candidacy had been taken seriously by few politicians before he arrived here. In appearances before more than a dozen state caucuses, he performed impressively, especially with such liberal states as Colorado, Wisconsin and New York, which would not normally be considered fertile turf for a Southerner.

For example, Michael Bleicher, a McGovern organizer in 1971 and 1972 in Wisconsin, said he was "very much taken with" Governor Carter's performance.

## Neanderthal Image

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington probably ran the most efficient operation, talking personally with more than 500 delegates in his headquarters trailer yesterday. Equally important, he quietly backed the final compromise, thereby not so subtly disassociating

New York Times  
Dec. 9, 1974

himself from the "neanderthal" image he has fretted about. "It was a god-sent opportunity for us," said one of the strategists. "It showed we weren't just a lackey of Meany's." For Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, the miniconvention produced less visible results, but they, too, had the chance to talk to more key people than they could have seen in the months of long flights and hotels.

Now the focus shifts to the pursuit of delegates for 1976, a process that is bound to be much more confused before it begins to get simpler.

*[Handwritten signature]*

1579

# McGovern Favored in Long, Grueling Race With War Hero

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND  
Special to The New York Times

RAPID CITY, S. D., Oct. 15—For nearly two years now, since he lost the Presidency in a landslide to Richard M. Nixon in 1972, Senator George McGovern has been running for reelection in South Dakota.

That makes almost four years of continuous campaigning, considering that Mr. McGovern opened his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination in January, 1971.

Even acknowledging that much of it was confined to weekends and Congressional recesses when he could leave Washington, that is a long time on the stump.

### Constant Traveling

It has also not been a short haul for his Senatorial opponent, Leo K. Thorsness, a retired Air Force lieutenant colonel and Medal of Honor winner who spent six years in North Vietnamese prison camps. Almost immediately after he was repatriated in March, 1973, Mr. Thorsness began looking around the state for support for his candidacy. Finding it, he resigned from the military last October to begin his campaign.

Three weeks from today it will be all over.

But it is small wonder that occasionally both men look a little grim and tired in these waning days on the hustings in a state whose scattered population of 666,000 demands almost constant traveling for the handshakings, face-to-face discussions, coffee hours and other small meetings that are South Dakota's style.

Still, as they sat here Sunday night under hot studio lights fiddling with their clip-on mi-

crophones and waiting for the start of the first of two scheduled television debates, they exchanged smiles and small talk. The debate, while producing some sharp disagreement about campaign expenditures, methods of cutting the national budget and who was better qualified to represent South Dakota, was a long way from being acrimonious.

The youthful-looking, 42-year-old Mr. Thorsness seized the opening shot with what has become his major campaign issue—that Senator McGovern is spending lavishly in an attempt to buy the election.

"Opponents have spent about \$2.5 million," he charged. "We've been outspent about 10 to one."

Denying the figure, but acknowledging having spent about half that amount in the last year and a half, the 52-year-old Senator McGovern sounded like a patient uncle as he replied.

"I've been in South Dakota politics a good many years," he said, "and no one's going to buy an election in South Dakota. I'm not going to buy it and Leo's not going to buy it."

As the half-hour debate went on, Mr. McGovern, who is seeking a third term, argued for the importance of his seniority in the Senate and his position on such committees as Agriculture and Foreign Affairs.

"Seniority is important," Mr. Thorsness conceded, "but it depends on what you do with what you have. Senator Mc-

Govern is the third biggest spender in the United States Senate."

That opened up another area of disagreement throughout the campaign.

"First of all, I'm not the third biggest spender in the United States Senate," Mr. McGovern fired back. "I've been a moderate in that field."

The consensus in conversations with a number of observers after the debate was that Senator McGovern appeared to have had a clear edge, but that Mr. Thorsness probably had not hurt himself, simply because he was not totally overwhelmed by his more experienced opponent.

### McGovern in Lead

There have been no statewide polls that either side considers reliable, but both agree that Senator McGovern, who was defeated in his home state by Mr. Nixon in 1972 by a margin of 54 to 46 per cent, is in the lead.

The McGovern camp seems confident now, even in a state where the Republican party has a registration margin of 189,000 to 162,000 Democrats with 36,000 independents, that the Democratic Senator has a comfortable edge over his Republican challenger.

But the Thorsness people, who admittedly were in disarray much of the summer after their dissatisfied candidate conducted a major shake-up at campaign headquarters, think that they are finally getting up

some momentum and have an outside chance of winning if everything falls into place.

In addition to their own problems, however, many of them feel they have been burdened, as have Republicans elsewhere, with the troubles of the Administration in Washington. For that reason, they are looking with mixed emotions toward the scheduled appearance in Sioux Falls tomorrow of President Ford on behalf of Mr. Thorsness and other members of the party ticket.

The President's pardon of Mr. Nixon, his role in halting grain sales to the Soviet Union, which was not popular among South Dakota wheat and corn growers, and his proposal of a 5

per cent surtax on moderate and upper-level incomes have drawn criticism in the state, but what effect they will have on the Thorsness campaign is hard to tell.

"It's hurt me—well, all Republicans, Mr. Thorsness said of the pardon in an interview. "I can understand why he did it. I think he's a compassionate man. But I never could have done it. Maybe I'm too idealistic, but I think justice is for everybody, even ex-Presidents."

At any rate, no one in the Thorsness campaign is expecting a major gain from Mr. Ford's appearance. Rather, they are pinning their hopes on their mass-media campaign, mailings, telephone banks and con-

tinued criticism of Senator McGovern's campaign spending.

In other South Dakota races, Gov. Richard F. Kneip, a Democrat, is generally expected to have little trouble in his race against John E. Olson, a Republican who is a former state highway director. The states two Representatives, Frank E. Denholm, a Democrat in the First District, and James Abdnor, a Republican in the Second, have been expected to win re-election. However, a recent straw poll in the Watertown Public Opinion showed Larry Pressler, a 33-year-old lawyer, leading Mr. Denholm, a trend that some top Democrats say they have been hearing about in recent weeks.

### Political Profile 1974

Population: 665,507	Congressional Representation:
White 630,333 94.7%	Senate 2 (D)
Black 1,627 0.3%	House 1 (D) 1 (R)
Other 33,547 5.0%	
Unemployment Rate: 2.9% (Sept.)	Statewide Races:
President in 1972	Senate
Residential Election:	George McGovern (D)
Nixon 54.2%	Leo K. Thorsness (R)
McGovern 45.8%	Governor
Other 3%	Richard F. Kneip (D)
	John E. Olson (R)

New York Times  
Oct. 16, 1974

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1-15-73  
Sen

# M'GOVERN BUILDS RE-ELECTION FUND

1974 Race in South Dakota  
May Set Spending Mark

SIoux FALLS, S.D., Aug. 4 (AP)—The race in South Dakota for George McGovern's Senate seat is shaping up as the most expensive in the state's history.

Senator McGovern, the unsuccessful Democratic Presidential candidate in 1972, has already amassed a campaign fund of unprecedented size in South Dakota politics.

And the Senator says he expects the Republican National Committee to pour huge sums into a campaign against him because he is one of the Republicans' "top targets."

"I can't recall any other campaign in which I've spent more than my opponent. I expect that will be true in 1974," Mr. McGovern said in a telephone interview.

Mr. McGovern, who lost his home state in the 1972 Presidential election, is moving quickly to get his Senate campaign into high gear.

### Money in Banks

Records filed by Mr. McGovern with the Secretary of the Senate in compliance with the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1972 show that the Senator has already received \$441,516 in contributions.

He listed expenditures of \$397,481, but they included the purchase of \$205,000 in savings certificates from the National Bank of Washington and deposits of \$64,926 with the National Permanent Savings and Loan in Washington and \$2,005 with the Western State Bank in Sioux Falls.

Cash on hand was listed at \$50,779 at the end of the reporting period, giving Mr. McGovern a total of \$321,710 in cash or savings accounts.

Mr. McGovern said his Presidential campaign committee had about \$190,000 in another account that was being maintained to pay off 1972 debts. He said if any of this money was left after all bills were paid it would be transferred to the Senate campaign account.

### Abourezk Spent Most

All Schock, a Sioux Falls dairy owner who is Mr. McGovern's only announced opponent for the Senate seat thus far, listed receipts of \$2,249 and expenditures of \$487 in his June 10 report. He is a Republican.

The most money a candidate ever reported spending before in South Dakota was \$329,000

by Senator James Abourezk, a Democrat, when he first won election to the Senate in 1972. Robert Hirsch, a lawyer who was Mr. Abourezk's Republican opponent, reported spending \$254,000.

Mr. McGovern said the Committee for the Re-election of the President had \$4-million left over from the 1972 campaign.

"I wouldn't be surprised if some of this money finds its way into the campaign of my Republican opponent, whoever he is," Mr. McGovern said.

NYT 8-5-73

# McGovern Recognized

## 'Depth of Crisis,' Soviets Say

MOSCOW (UPI)—The way the Soviets see it, George McGovern recognized the depth of America's crisis and surged to the forefront of the Democratic party with a clear, simple program.

Edmund Muskie was hopelessly stuck in the center. Hubert Humphrey simply lacked definite proposals. George Wallace missed out because his targets were strictly for the "politically il-

literate."

Richard Nixon, thanks mostly to his successes in improving Soviet-American relations in Moscow last month, is in better shape than ever and still the overall frontrunner in the race for the presidency.

The weekly newspaper Literary Gazette published these comments in its analysis of the American presidential race and pre-convention hoopla in its latest issue Wednesday

Under the headline, "When the Prophets Erred," the newspaper called McGovern a man "of great personal courage" who "understood the depth of crisis in the Democratic party and the sense of despair in America."

"Once considered quixotic, he is now thought of as a sober politician," it said. The South Dakota senator formulated his program "clearly and simply," realizing "acute

problems must have radical solutions."

One of the biggest boosts to McGovern came from Gov. George Wallace, "a 100 per cent demagogue" who "didn't say anything concrete," it said. McGovern's biggest task now, the newspaper said, was to win over Humphrey and Muskie to unite the party. He also must "pacify trade union boss George Meany as well as the influential mayor of Chi-

cago Richard Daley, who is opposed to him, and neutralize Wallace, who has enough votes for political bargains."

The newspaper said there had been talk of a possible Humphrey-Wallace ticket to stop McGovern.

"That would be a very telling picture," it noted, not bothering to expand on the remark.

The article also suggested McGovern had eased up on some of his proposals "which created the deepest concern and anxiety among the Democratic bosses."

Edward Kennedy was still a factor with "rumors spreading that he may agree to be on the ballot with McGovern as vice president." But the newspaper also noted Kennedy had repeatedly declined to be included on a ballot.

Taking no chances on its accuracy on political prognosticating—especially in a capitalist society—the newspaper said it was anybody's guess what would actually happen in Miami Beach.

Too many concessions by McGovern to the party pros in Miami could "bring to zero" his primary successes.

"The disillusioned voters who desperately want changes in American life would then not vote for him in November."

The Republican party situa-

tion is "quite different" and Nixon has no competition, the article said.

The only question was whether former Treasury Secretary John Connally will replace Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

The fact that Connally was a Democrat made no difference, it said. "The switch from one party to another is not a rarity here."

The "decisive phase" starts after the conventions, Literary Gazette pointed out. There, it said, "the elephant has more power than the donkey."

Sen

1-17-4-1-1

June 29, 1972

Journal



ROWLAND EVANS  
and ROBERT NOVAK

# McGovern Platform Passes Test

Washington

THE SURREALISTIC harmony enveloping the Democratic Platform Committee concluding its work at Washington's Mayflower Hotel Tuesday afternoon was typified by a panegyric in praise of Lyndon B. Johnson delivered by the Rev. Joseph Duffey of Connecticut, a militant member of the 1968 dump-LBJ movement.

"President Johnson did more domestically in a short period of time than any other president," erstwhile LBJ-hater Duffey told the committee. What's more, Duffey, as chief platform whip for Sen. George McGovern, was rounding up votes against a move to expunge Johnson's name from the platform. He succeeded. The McGovern-dominated committee overwhelmingly rejected the effort.

That would have been inconceivable when platform committee members arrived here Saturday in a pugnaciously independent mood. For McGovern's lieutenants just four days later to control fervent antiwar activists enough to vote praise for Lyndon Johnson is a measure of the amiability and unobtrusive discipline imposed by McGovern.

THIS WEEK'S platform drafting must be judged in that light. Although it could have been much worse, the platform substantively does give President Nixon ammunition on amnesty for Vietnam draft-dodgers, school busing and other issues. What could be more important, however, is McGovern's control over his delegates to establish a facade of party harmony. Whatever chaos lies ahead in Miami Beach, McGovern passed his test of drafting a platform.

The brief furor over the LBJ amendment showed this. The amendment praising "domestic progress and enlightened internationalism" of Johnson, among other democratic presidents, was drafted by Ben Wattenberg, platform adviser to Sen. Henry M. Jackson and onetime LBJ speechwriter. During Monday night's marathon session, it slipped into the platform.

By Tuesday morning, rank-and-file McGovernites realized they had implicitly endorsed LBJ policies — perhaps even the Vietnam war. Deeply alarmed, they prepared to remove the amendment and probably had the votes but only after a predictably raucous televised debate against party regulars.

The foresight of Ted Van Dyk, McGovern's platform coordinator, paid off. He had made sure McGovern delegates were not seated together but scattered through the room, preventing emotional solidarity among them. By Tuesday afternoon, moreover, the unbossed McGovern amateurs had become accustomed to bossing from staffers.

So, on the motion to expunge Johnson, Van Dyk gave the high sign to Duffey for a "no" vote. Duffey, in turn, grabbed the floor mike to praise Johnson. In the show of hands, less than 10 opposed the McGovern line.

What made this possible was quiet educational work with McGovern delegates by Van Dyk, Duffey and other McGovern operatives. Lacking formal disciplinary powers, they could only lecture fervidly devoted McGovern delegates that a platform containing their own views would only insure President Nixon's re-election. In other words, the McGovern delegates scarcely represent a cross-section of the Democratic party, much less the nation, and, consequently, should sublimate their own far-out opinions.

The effectiveness of these instructions became apparent in the small hours Tuesday morning during an emotional struggle over abortion. McGovern's lieutenants would have preferred no abortion plank at all but were being coerced by women's lib forces to do something or else. So, McGovern backed a compromise plank by actress Shirley MacLaine, a California delegate and McGovern insider.

McGovern delegates soon noticed that the Van Dyk-Duffey apparatus was not all that aggressive pushing the MacLaine plank. They also listened closely to floor arguments that any platform mention of abortion would cripple McGovern. "You would kill it if you had any kind of political sense," argued State Rep. Harout Sanasarian of Wisconsin, a McGovern delegate. They did, and the McGovern camp could not have been happier.

Such pragmatism ended with endorsement of a busing plank and no retreat on amnesty. Moreover, what McGovern accomplished with 15 platform committee members will be much harder with 3,017 delegates. Nor does the facade of amiability mean true unity. "We got along just fine with the McGovern people, but I think we'll all end up voting for Nixon," a delegate for Gov. George C. Wallace confided to us.

Nevertheless, the platform process was far from the self-destructive nightmare party regulars expected. It was not the first surprise by McGovern's skillful operatives in 1972 and probably will not be the last. —(c1972.)

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# McGovern's <sup>9/26</sup> Compromises



ROWLAND EVANS  
and ROBERT NOVAK

6/28/72

Washington MCGOVERN and Wallace forces in secret negotiations last weekend attempted to unite the Democratic party on the corrosive issue of racial school busing but barely failed — a dramatic episode showing how much Sen. George McGovern will compromise to be elected president but also indicating even that may not be enough.

In closed-door sessions of the 15-member platform drafting committee at Washington's Mayflower Hotel, agents of McGovern and Gov. George C. Wallace actually agreed on a busing plank that was later rejected by Wallace himself. Amazingly, McGovern then embraced the compromise unilaterally. But McGovern operatives the next day permitted the full platform committee to substitute a probusing plank, insuring a bitter challenge from Wallaceites on the convention floor in Miami Beach.

THE EPISODE fits the inconsistency of McGovern's platform policy. His dominant forces refused to budge an inch from dovish positions on defense and Vietnam but bent miles on taxation, welfare and social issues. His strategy on the crucial domestic issue of busing has been mixed, reflecting the entire platform. On balance, McGovern's march to the center has been a sometime thing.

When the drafting committee came to school busing last Saturday, its liberal majority proposed a probusing plank: Forced busing is "another tool" to integrate schools. That plank would guarantee bitter opposition from Wallace delegates.

But State Sen. Pierre Pelham of Alabama, Wallace's skillful platform representative, interjected. Why not let him and former Gov. Grant Sawyer of Nevada, an uncommitted delegate and one of the few experienced politicians on the platform committee in New Politics 1972, try to work something out? Ted Van Dyk, a one-time aide to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey now running McGovern's platform operation, agreed.

Surprisingly, Pelham and Sawyer returned with a busing compromise worthy of the Delphic oracle: "Quality education is the issue— busing is not." Moreover, "transportation of students" — a delightfully vague term — is endorsed only when it achieves "quality education." Whether that is antibusing or probusing depends on the eyes of the beholder.

VAN DYK QUICKLY relaved Mc-

inner circle was jubilant, joyously envisioning reconciliation between the McGovern and Wallace wings of the party to insure victory over Richard M. Nixon.

Sunday brought the McGovernites down to earth. Pelham reported that Wallace had vetoed the compromise, insisting on an overt prohibition against racial busing. "Right at that moment," one drafting committee member told us, "George McGovern lost his chance to be president."

Mrs. Abram Chayes, an ardently liberal McGovern delegate from Massachusetts, immediately started writing a more liberal busing plank. But Van Dyk stopped her; McGovern would accept the Pelham-Sawyer compromise anyway. This reflects McGovern's newly pragmatic view that over 70 per cent of Americans opposing forced busing cannot be ignored.

By the time the full platform committee took up the busing plank Monday, McGovern's militant supporters were restive over Van Dyk's tight control. The McGovern-dominated drafting committee Sunday rejected planks on homosexual freedom and free abortion and approved milk-and-water planks on welfare and taxation. On Monday in the full committee, Van Dyk engineered votes defeating radical taxation and welfare plans once espoused by McGovern himself.

BUT MCGOVERN platform committee members, particularly blacks, wanted to return to the probusing "another tool" amendment. Since even the compromise would be opposed by Wallace at Miami Beach, Van Dyk made a spot decision not to impose discipline. So, the committee voted, 70 to 27 to record the Democratic party in favor of the massively unpopular integration device. McGovern's attempt at moderation on busing had failed.

But McGovern did not even attempt moderation on national defense. His lieutenants were frantic when the drafting committee, with Mrs. Chayes momentarily absent, voted 7 to 6 for a noncommittal national security plank. When Mrs. Chayes returned, the McGovernites got the drafters to send to the full committee both that plank and a rival McGovern version calling for defense spending cuts.

That insured both defense and busing would be battled out on the convention floor with McGovern seeming to oppose strong national defense and favor forced busing. Put in those terms, McGovern's effort to keep the

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# McGovern handshakes O

By Jack Waugh

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

## Campaigning in Oregon

It's before 8 in the morning. The sun already is girding for a tag game against the high, scattered clouds that would keep it from shining on Portland.

Dr. George McGovern (Ph.D. in history, Northwestern University) already is in the recording booth of a talk show laying his view professorially on the voters headed for work.

There are smiles all around. His staff already counts 600½ delegate votes toward the 1,509 needed to nominate their candidate for president at the Democratic National Convention in July. They know they will win Oregon this Tuesday. And if they carry California (as hoped) and win New York (as expected) it all computers out at 1,200 to 1,300 delegate votes by first-ballot time.

In the race for the Democratic nomination the McGovern campaign likes to think of itself as the now galloping tortoise in the tortoise-and-hare story.

## Candidate keeps busy

Hour by hour, this is a day in the race. 8:05 a.m. The recording booth has open windows on three sides. A panoply of American political writers, some of the best in the business, is standing, gazing in at the candidate as he talks, listening intently, scribbling notes.

"The only way to do it in Vietnam," the candidate is saying "is to set a deadline to end the war and then get out. I think it can be done within 90 days.

"The tax structure has got to be totally reformed. If we close loopholes, and concessions, and write-offs for the wealthy and for big business, we can save \$28 billion a year."

The reporters have heard it before. Their attention begins to stray. Fortunately, the surroundings are interesting. The booth is in an old hotel lobby. Hmmmmmm, look at those campy chandeliers, and the old picture trays from early in the century, one with Teddy Roosevelt on it.

## Interesting items

And there is a cherubim clock and a myna bird shrieking from a corner cage. And novelist Theodore Dreiser's old curve-backed chair, which looks like it would be possible to sit in only if you had a waffled back. Pretty soon the newsmen are wandering around the room, jotting down notes about the lobby as the talk show drones on.

9:05 a.m. The cafeteria in an electronics assembly plant in Beaverton. The employees pack the hall and line the wall to hear the candidate standing behind the milk counter. Secret Service men are everywhere, scanning the crowd, enigmatic, inscrutable. Smiling isn't part of their job.

The candidate is saying, "I want to put America to peace and back to work. With the money we save by stopping this war and plugging tax loopholes we can do it."

His speech done, he pulls off and moves along, newsmen scrambling alongside, Secret Service men darting in and out. "How many you got on this detail?" we asked the Secret Service man who is smiling least. "Enough and more every day," is the clipped reply.

## Nudge of authority

One of them moves quickly alongside and nudges the flank of the reporter. But you get the feeling it's backed up with a potential half-nelson or quick karate chop, if necessary.

11:15 a.m. A paper mill in Salem. The candidate is out of his car. You can tell this is suddenly a major campaign by the company he keeps. It looks like a presidential campaign in the fall.

At each stop two busloads of newsmen

bound out the bus doors like paratroopers making a jump, cameras on shoulders, tugging at hip pockets for notebooks as they run to catch up, surging after the candidate, all halting abruptly, piling into one another as the candidate suddenly stops to shake a hand. Camera lights go on, ears strain, pencils write as the candidate says, "Hi, I'm George McGovern. We need your help on Tuesday."

Outside after the tour inside, the candidate conducts an impromptu press conference. He is about to be endorsed by Cesar Chavez, head of the United Farm Workers Union. Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Martin Luther King Jr., endorsed him just two days ago. Yes, he warmly welcomes both endorsements.

"You said, Senator, this morning that you thought getting the nomination was the hardest part, but that defeating President Nixon would be relatively easy. What did you mean?"

## Nixon's record stressed

"Only that if Nixon's record is brought forcefully to the attention of the voters he will be defeated."

3:25 p.m. Springfield, in the middle of Oregon's western side. A big plywood mill. "In February," mumbles an aide, it was shoe factories in New Hampshire. In May, it's lumber mills in Oregon."

The candidate moves resolutely through the mill, shaking hands, both he and the blue-collar voters a little timid about the whole thing. Newsmen wander around the mill in all directions, most of them paying little heed to the candidate.

Even the Secret Service is beginning to flag. Security isn't so tight. The candidate went up that row between those two piles of lumber, and not a Secret Service man was with him. But here comes the candidate again, striding toward the open door. The Secret Service and the press close in again.

4:20 p.m. It's a long way from Springfield to Roseburg. The candidate rides in a Cadillac, blanketed by a state trooper car and a station wagon full of Secret Service men, followed by the two press buses and a sedan full of Secret Service.

## Unexpected break

The caravan veers into a roadside rest stop. "What's this? Where's this?" The press is suddenly alert. "What're we stopping here for?"

The candidate, his coat off, ambles out under the Oregon trees, cutting at the grass, smiling at the smogless skies breathing deep, Secret Service at his side. The press lolls in the grass.

5:15 p.m. On through the Oregon mountains toward the coast, past Remote, a wide spot in the road, toward Coos Bay.

9:15 p.m. The speech to the longshore men's union in North Bend is nearly over. It is 12 hours and the length of a state later from the campy hotel lobby in Portland. The candidate is saying his goal for 1973 is to do everything he can to make Richard Nixon by this time next year fully qualified for unemployment compensation. He outlines his plan to get the country out of the Vietnam war and put it back to work again.

The crowd cheers. Secret Service men on either side of the podium and in among the crowd look slit-eyed. Newsmen stand first on one foot then on the other, jotting notes occasionally.

The candidate stops talking, steps down to shake hands and sign autographs. Then he pushes through the crowd, the Secret Service moving ahead, beside, and behind, their arms stretched out, toward the waiting Cadillac. Newsmen race for the buses, whose engines are already idling.

Well, another day, Senator. It's a Medford motel overnight. And California tomorrow.

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# A 'Fun City' for McGovern



ROWLAND EVANS  
and ROBERT NOVAK

New York  
ON HIS WAY to a virtually unopposed romp in Tuesday's New York Democratic primary, Sen. George McGovern stumbled badly in the Herculean task of harnessing wary party regulars to his own militant forces in the coming battle against President Nixon.

Not even battle-seasoned New Yorkers, much less an outlander from South Dakota, can play the cannibal politics of this city without suffering wounds. But McGovern got the worst of two worlds: doubt by the regulars whether he can control his own forces sufficiently to win New York; disappointment bordering on disillusion by McGovernites over the senator's consorting with the hated regulars.

Once again, as in his unsuccessful interview with Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, McGovern has shown less than a deft hand in trying to broaden his base. But in New York he also had trouble controlling his own political apparatus.

THIS BECAME clear June 12 when McGovern's New York operation, headed by 20-year-old Ed Rogoff, scheduled a rally in front of Brooklyn Borough Hall without informing the Brooklyn regulars — including Meade Esposito, the county leader. What's more, to introduce McGovern the local

McGovern operation invited Allard K. Lowenstein, national president of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), who is battling the organization to unseat Rep. John J. Rooney in the Democratic primary.

Esposito was outraged that McGovern did not invite him to a rally down the street from Brooklyn Democratic headquarters. Less than three weeks earlier, Esposito and Bronx regular Democratic leader Rat Cunningham flew to San Francisco — at their own expense and McGovern's request — to formally endorse McGovern. Here in New York, Cunningham found himself in the same boat as Esposito. He received a last-minute invitation to attend a Bronx rally that night arranged by Cunningham's reform enemies.

These were no accidents. Youthful McGovern leaders deeply resented the senator's overtures to the regulars to broaden his national base beyond college campus and affluent suburbs. Although the Brooklyn and Bronx organizations are patronage-starved shadows of their former glory and their ability to influence general elections is debatable, Esposito and Cunningham were intended to reassure party regulars everywhere that the McGovern candidacy transcends insurgency.

Consequently, shortly after the

rally, McGovern hastily telephoned Esposito. Unable to contact him at his local Democratic club, he reached him at home that night and profusely apologized. He then invited Esposito and Cunningham for lunch two days later.

At that lunch June 14, in McGovern's Biltmore suite, the regulars complained McGovern is being exploited by the reformers in aligning him with insurgent candidates for Congress and legislature. At their urging, McGovern issued a carefully worded statement indicating neutrality in such races.

But the basic problem is infinitely more complex. Esposito is still angered by campaign literature for insurgent candidates stressing the link with McGovern. Such literature reflects the intertwining of McGovern's and insurgent campaigns. To separate the Lowenstein and McGovern campaigns in Brooklyn's 17th Congressional District would be like unscrambling eggs.

The Biltmore luncheon dealt with substance as well as form. Today, the regulars told McGovern, he stands to lose this state to Mr. Nixon. To avoid this, they recommended the Democratic national platform moderate his stands on amnesty for Vietnam draft dodgers and his \$1,000-for-everybody

welfare plan and make hard law-and-order recommendations against crime.

MCGOVERN MADE no commitments, but the mere discussion of such nonradical politics would have brought goose pimples to his devoted New York activists. Indeed, many were deeply disappointed that the meeting took place and shocked that McGovern did not endorse Lowenstein, his ally in many ventures in the past four years.

Hence the limitations of McGovern's campaign apparatus. Its skilled organizing talents, compared with feckless New York efforts for Sens. Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie, have wrapped up around 220 of 278 New York delegates. McGovern's slates are unopposed in five congressional districts Tuesday and face token opposition in many more.

But that same organization now blocks McGovern's efforts toward reconciliation. Esposito sees November victory — even in Brooklyn — depending on the white middle class worried about school busing and street crime and wants Wilbur Mills as McGovern's running mate. How can McGovern's militant New York legions abide such views if they cannot even abide Esposito's presence on the platform with their candidate? —(c1972.)

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ND EVANS  
BERT NOVAK

# McGovern's Busing Stand Has a Major Political Flaw

Detroit — President Nixon's move on Vietnam, McGovern's operatives told him that the war easing in the minds of voters — a conclusion of duress — and potentially a major campaign.

door-to-door canvassing volunteers in the Detroit area, McGovern's managers concluded that McGovern's chances are quite low in important areas. Vietnam is first. Consequently, McGovern's campaign being a playground for George Wallace, Michigan is a major liability for McGovern in the presidential primary.

One problem is that the canvassers are subject to serious criticism here, including McGovern supporters, the specter of white suburban being bused into the ghetto transcends any Democratic blue-collar support. These politicians, canbolls are incapable of re-intensity of feeling about

It could backfire on McGovern's week-end Michigan campaign. Appealing to a protest vote, McGovern is running a close third behind Humphrey and Wallace in the primary. But exposure of McGovern's pro-busing views to anti-busing Democrats could cost

It happens in Michigan, McGovern's tendency to downplay the importance of busing will prove his undoing as a nominee against the opening Republican President. There is a gap between what the white working man thinks and what the McGovern liberals think

What bothers the working man in Detroit's suburbs is the specter of cross-district busing posed by U.S. District Judge Stephen Roth. The suburbanite, often a worker in an auto factory, is terrified by the idea of his children being bused into the overwhelmingly black schools of inner Detroit. Fear of violence, of drugs and of the unknown leads these parents to say they will never acquiesce in busing. Their only recourse now is to hope that the grim day will never come.

Unlike McGovern's bright young canvassers, experienced Democratic politicians in Michigan have no illusions about the political dynamite of busing.

AN EXAMPLE is Doug Fraser, a United Auto Workers (UAW) vice-president and a brilliant political tactician who ran the successful anti-Wallace campaign here in 1968. So intense is antibusing sentiment in Michigan today, Fraser feels, that it may be impossible to stop Wallace from finishing first Tuesday. A McGovern supporter, Fraser cautioned against the senator setting foot in the Michigan quicksand.

Democratic Sen. Philip Hart, a landslide re-election victor in 1970, quite likely would lose today because of his pro-busing stance. Republican Sen. Robert Griffin, once given up for dead, is now clearly favored to be re-elected this year. In our interviews last week in an overwhelmingly Democratic precinct on Detroit's west side, we found Republican Griffin's job rating about equal to Democrat Hart's (around 50 per cent).

Taking all this into consideration, Humphrey's Michigan managers are pleading with his national headquarters to send radio-television commercials showing that Humphrey, contrasted with McGovern, opposes suburban-into-ghetto busing. Fearful of a backlash from Humphrey's vital black constituency in the city, national headquarters has refused so far.

THE UAW, MIGHTIEST single political force in Michigan, can only ignore busing and work against Wallace. Having endorsed both Humphrey and McGovern, the UAW distributes propaganda to workers describing Wallace as an antilabor reactionary secretly in league with big business and President Nixon — tactics mirroring the 1960 campaign. But in 1972, busing undermines the union's efforts.

So, late one afternoon recently, a young Chrysler worker put through a call to the UAW's Solidarity House to protest his union's anti-Wallace campaign. Why does he favor Wallace? Busing. He was looking out of his living room window in suburban Warren, the worker said, at the neighborhood school attended by his children. Never, he promised, would he permit them to be bused into Detroit.

If cross-district busing actually begins in September, President Nixon will carry Michigan against any Democrat in the opinion of knowledgeable Democratic politicians. Even if busing remains only a threat, Mr. Nixon's chances will be good in a state he lost badly in 1968. That is a reality not yet discerned by George McGovern and his canvassers. —(c1972.)

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# McGovern, Humphrey Bid For Mexican-American Vote

LOS ANGELES (UPI) — Rival Democratic candidates George S. McGovern and Hubert H. Humphrey made open bids Sunday for the Mexican-American vote which may prove decisive in California's hard-fought presidential primary on June 6.

Sen. McGovern announced he has been endorsed by Cesar Chavez, leader of the migrant farm workers in their organizing efforts and a hero to thousands of Mexican-Americans. Sen. Humphrey made a personal campaign appearance in East Los Angeles to open a headquarters in

the predominantly Mexican-American sector.

McGovern, who visited the bedside of the fasting Chavez in Phoenix, Ariz., Saturday, made a one-day campaign swing into Oregon Sunday in a drive to muster votes in the Tuesday primary there. The South Dakota senator is favored to win the Oregon tests despite the appearance of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., on the ballot as a "non-candidate."

McGovern also was given a boost in the California fight by former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota who urged his supporters in the state vote for McGovern.

Humphrey was later greeted at the Concord Airport by about 500 persons including San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, his Northern California chairman.

He stepped up his attack on the war in Vietnam, declaring, "We know there is no longer any excuse whatsoever, if there ever was, for us to be there.

"Myself, like thousands of

others, must admit error, must admit misjudgment, and we must proceed to build a better day, to be willing to stand up and ask for a chance to do better. And I hope and pray this country will have the courage to disengage from the swamp of destruction, from the swamp of brutality that is today Vietnam."

Earlier, in the Mexican-American neighborhood of east Los Angeles, Humphrey promised to put Mexican-American "from the Cabinet on down."

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# Would McGovern Pick Ted?

6/30

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON (NYT) — Sen. George McGovern's first choice as a running mate on the 1972 Democratic ticket was authoritatively reported Thursday to be Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

But associates of McGovern said that he is convinced that Kennedy wants to hold off a final decision about his availability until the last possible moment and the McGovern had been avoiding a campaign discussion with Kennedy.

"They've been circling each

other like two bulldogs," said one of McGovern's aides in describing the reluctance of both senators to pin down the accuracy of the conflicting statements Kennedy has made about the vice presidential nomination.

McGovern's attitude toward selection of a running mate grew in importance when the credentials committee of the Democratic National Convention voted to strip him of 151 of the 271 delegates he had been awarded in the June 6 winner-take-all primary in California.

The credentials committee ruling, if sustained on the convention floor, would broaden the prospect that McGovern would have to deal with his Democratic opponents for the last 200 or so delegates needed to assure his own nomination for President. The choice of a running mate would be a logical subject for such negotiations.

McGovern's outlook, based on conversations with those at the highest level of his campaign, was said to be as follows:

1. He is prepared to select

someone who would appeal to Democratic regulars and heal the wounds likely to be inflicted by disputes at the convention. Kennedy would be the strongest possibility but if he should reject the nomination, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine would be an attractive second choice.

2. Given the freedom to choose the most compatible running mate, McGovern would be likely to turn to one of three fellow senators — Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, Frank Church of Idaho or Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. Even though leaders of organized labor are pushing Sen. Birch Bayh, of Indiana, McGovern would be more inclined to do something else to appease union officials.

3. If McGovern deems it necessary to appeal to Southern and border states voters, Govs. Reuben Askew of Florida and Jimmy Carter of Georgia would rank highest — Askew because of a favorable national image and Carter because the senator regards him as the most powerful Southern governor. McGovern would also give serious consideration to Govs. Dale L. Bumpers of Arkansas, Robert W. Scott of North Carolina and John C. West of South Carolina.

McGovern's staff has been talking up Kennedy for several weeks. The discussion has not stopped in the wake of Kennedy's declaration on June 22 that "there are absolutely no circumstances under which I would accept a nomination for any national office this year."

McGovern was said to prefer to consider Kennedy's statement a week earlier that he would "consider" the vice presidential slot if his presence on the ticket were essential to victory in November.

There were some observers who felt that the continued discussions about Kennedy could be no more than a tactical ploy by the McGovern camp, a way of indicating to party regulars that McGovern would have welcomed Kennedy's presence on the ticket but could not achieve it.

Those who have heard McGovern discuss the vice presidency in the past two days said, however, that the senator believed Kennedy was still

June 30, 1972

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# McGovern's delegate total surges

Details of how George McGovern won new delegates in California, New Jersey, New Mexico, and South Dakota—and how Hubert Humphrey trailed—emerge in these reports from Monitor correspondents:

## CALIFORNIA:

(McGovern, 45 percent; Humphrey, 39; Wallace, 6. McGovern, 271 delegates.)

By Curtis J. Sitomer

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Mrs. Lulu Allen, young mother of two, was subjected to one of the most highly organized grass-roots canvassing campaigns in California history — flooded with George McGovern literature in the mail, and telephoned three times within 48 hours of the California primary with offers of free transportation to the polls, baby sitting, even lunch.

After 14 years a Republican, she switched and voted McGovern.

Senator McGovern's chief California organizer, Eli Segal, calls the precinct pitch to Mrs. Allen and hundreds of thousands of other Democratic voters here in the final days of the campaign a "peanut butter and jelly" operation.

With the Pasadena housewife, it worked. With others, it obviously failed.

The Senator's Golden State win was impressive — but not overwhelming. The 271

convention delegates awarded him in this winner-take-all primary could well be the key to a first ballot nomination. But victory, many here believe, seemed tempered with warning.

## Margin sliced

Pre-primary polls gave the liberal Midwesterner as much as a 20 percent advantage over Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. Incomplete returns sliced this margin by two-thirds.

Pundits say a bigger victory was averted mainly by a last-minute switch of blue-collar voters in southern California to Mr. Humphrey. In final days before the primary, the former vice-president scored his Senate colleague for his "intemperate" welfare proposals and "radical" tax programs.

Although Mr. McGovern held his own with upper-income Californians, he appeared to lag behind with lower- and middle-income Democrats, particularly blacks and Jewish voters. Some sources said younger members of both groups tended to vote McGovern, with older voters going for Humphrey.

Political sources insist that should he become the Democratic nominee, the dovish South Dakotan would vitally need this support to win in California — and beat President Nixon nationally.

## NEW JERSEY

(McGovern, 70 delegates; Humphrey, 18; 28 uncertain.)

A Nixon victory party at the Ambassador Hotel marked an easy triumph over conser-

vative Rep. John M. Ashbrook of Ohio in the Republican primary. The President corralled 90 percent of the vote.

Special correspondent Peter Bridge writes from Newark:

South Dakota Sen. George McGovern victory here is considered significant in its impact on the state's Democratic Party leadership.

He swept New Jersey's presidential primary to pick up an unofficial 71 of the state's 109 convention delegates.

His victory over Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, who had strong state organizational backing, is regarded as a major step in the current image-reconstruction effort in New Jersey politics, long dominated by powerful county bosses. Mr. Humphrey's major strength came from the urban organization but was not sufficient to overcome Mr. McGovern's appeal in the affluent suburban areas.

Senator McGovern picked up about 7 percent of the vote in high-income areas such as Bergen County in the northeastern corner of the state. Mr. Humphrey carried most of the low-income ethnic and black areas, such as Newark-dominated Essex and Hudson Counties.

The McGovern win did not carry over in the election attempt of Daniel Gaby, a strong McGovern supporter and leader of the New Jersey New Democratic Coalition.

## Close race lost

Mr. Gaby lost a close race for the Democratic nomination for U.S. senator to former congressman Paul Kreds, who was backed by organization leaders.

The first truly black effort to elect a congressman to New Jersey's 15-man delegation lost — stunningly. East Orange Mayor Williams S. Hart Jr. went down 2 to 1 under the considerable influence of 12-term incumbent Rep. Peter W. Rodino.

## NEW MEXICO:

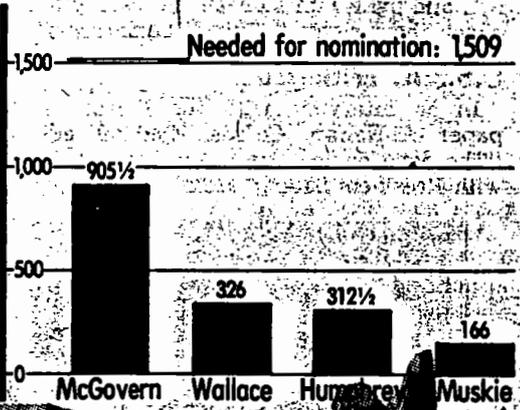
"McGovern, 10 delegates; Wallace, 8."

Monitor correspondent Jack Waugh writes that the big news was not that George McGovern won it, but that George Wallace nearly did.

When Senator McGovern did finally pull away it was only slightly. He won 33 percent of the vote, and Governor Wallace 29 percent. Under New Mexico's election law the top two winners in the presidential primaries split the delegate vote proportionally. So 10 of New Mexico's 18 delegate votes will go to the Democratic National Convention in Miami in July pledged to Senator McGovern. But eight will be Wallace votes.

Governor Wallace's strength centered in the eastern and southeastern sides of the state, along the strip called "Little Texas." Senator McGovern did his best in urban Albuquerque and in the liberal, predominantly Spanish South.

Delegate strength



Henry Benson, staff artist; AP photo

28 New Jersey delegates announced

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(over)

## **SOUTH DAKOTA:**

Special correspondent Bruce Stoner reports from South Dakota:

Senator McGovern, unopposed, picked up the state's 17 delegates, while Democratic Rep. James Abourezk won nomination for the Senate by a 4-to-1 margin over former state party chairman George Blue. Mr. Abourezk's Republican opponent will be decided at a state convention June 28. None of the candidates scored the 35 percent of the vote required by law.

Constitution June 6, 1972

**REMINDING 5 MILLION**

**McGovern Force Prods Voters**

LOS ANGELES (AP) — An army of canvassers for Sen. George McGovern turned into an attack force of get-out-the vote troops on the eve of California's presidential primary election.

Armed with polite speeches and doorknob signs reading, "Your dinner can wait. America can't. Vote McGovern," they hit the streets and the telephone lines as the sun started to sink Monday afternoon. Their goal: to try to remind the state's five million registered Democrats who have expressed support for the South Dakotan to go to the polls.

"It's a closing off of our canvass operations. We've been working for weeks to set this up," explained Max Factor III, 26, a Los Angeles attorney on leave to coordinate the statewide Get Out The Vote drive.

Factor, a grandson of the founder of the cosmetics concern bearing his name, has volunteered his services at the carton-strewn McGovern campaign headquarters for the past month.

The campaign staff claims that volunteers already have knocked on 70 per cent of the registered Democrats' doors. That means about 3½ million

voters, allowing 1.5 voters per household.

Each voter was scored on a rating system from one to four: one meant the voter was a strong supporter, two meant favorable, three meant uncommitted, four meant negative.

"Every single one and two will be contacted," explained California campaign manager Eli Segal. "That will total some 700,000 people."

"It's a way to build up that extra five percentage-point advantage," he said. "In terms of people walking, California has never seen anything like it."

Sen

1-17-4-1-1

# Massive Majority Is Captured in N.Y.

NEW YORK (AP)—Sen. George McGovern captured a massive majority of New York's 278 delegates, winning the last primary by a margin that brought him within 200 votes of a first-ballot victory at next month's Democratic National Convention.

Long before most votes were tallied, McGovern told cheering supporters in a New York hotel ballroom Tuesday night that the victory seemed likely to be "beyond our wild expectations" and added, "I'm convinced now that we will win the nomination in Miami Beach."

The results hours later bore his optimism. Nearly complete totals early today showed McGovern had won 167 delegates and led for six more. Two were in doubt. His overall New York total seemed likely to surpass 250 of the state's 278 delegates, well above his predicted target of 200.

The smashing McGovern victory overshadowed a series of hotly fought Democratic congressional races, highlighted by the Brooklyn contest in which 30-year-old Elizabeth Holtzman unseated 84-year-old Rep. Emanuel Celler, dean of the House and long-time chairman of its Judiciary Committee.

Another woman, the flamboyant Rep. Bella Abzug, lost her House seat to Rep. William F. Ryan in a district reshaped by reapportionment. Rep. Jonathan Bingham defeated Rep. James Scheuer in a similarly merged district.

Most of the 78 Republican delegates picked Tuesday support President Nixon.

The Democratic presidential primary results, a contest in which voters chose delegates without any ballot listing of

presidential candidates, were a setback to Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie, who are trying to block McGovern's nomination.

Humphrey had hoped for election of many uncommitted delegates, Muskie for some of his own supporters.

But McGovern ended up winning practically all of the 237 spots for which his delegates ran. He lost an eight-delegate Albany district to an organization slate headed by longtime political boss Daniel O'Connell, and his candidates lost to two well-known Bronx politicians, Rep. Mario Biaggi and Councilwoman Aileen Ryan.

McGovern's total assured him of at least 25 of the 30 New York delegates to be named Saturday by the state Democratic committee in proportion to the primary results.

Besides the spots won by McGovern, Rep. Shirley Chisholm captured four of the six delegates in her own congressional district. The other two were uncommitted, as were five delegates elected in the Bronx district of Rep. Herman Badillo.

McGovern went into the New York primary with 1,077.3 assured first-ballot votes, 431.7 short of the 1,509 needed to win the nomination. Besides the 30 New York delegates to be named Saturday, 42 other delegates will be chosen this weekend—27 in Arkansas, 13 in Delaware and two in Nebraska.

As McGovern celebrated his 10th primary victory in 23 contests over the past 3½ months, he alluded to recent criticism from Humphrey and Muskie in noting that "because we do represent a new coalition of political forces in this country, there are some who have expressed fears about us."

"They have nothing to be

alarmed about," he added. "We want harmony, justice, not bitterness and special privilege."

Humphrey said in New Orleans Tuesday that McGovern is the candidate of the establishment with principal support from "the affluent suburbs, and the upper income blacks and the university group," adding that McGovern's views on welfare, defense and tax reform are so unpopular they would mean a Democratic defeat in November.

Muskie, meanwhile, said he has found while seeking support to revive his candidacy that party leaders are "deeply concerned" about McGovern's views on the issues.

All three of the Democratic hopefuls were in New Orleans Tuesday to address the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Humphrey, who began his career as mayor of Minneapolis, was received enthusiastically. Muskie and McGovern got much milder welcomes.

McGovern conferred privately with Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, who heads a block of 92 uncommitted Illinois delegates. He said afterwards the mayor plans to remain uncommitted until he gets to Miami Beach.

Humphrey and McGovern also sought to win support from 31 uncommitted Louisiana delegates. Humphrey said he expects to win a majority of the state's 44 delegates.

The Minnesota senator then flew to Indianapolis, where he arrived after the Indiana Democratic State Convention gave McGovern five at-large delegates even though he hadn't entered the Indiana primary.

Humphrey told a news conference he thought that was unfair. "He wasn't in this primary," he said.

Besides the five for McGovern, the other Indiana at-large delegates were divided six for Humphrey, five for Gov. George C. Wallace, one for Muskie and two uncommitted.

In other congressional contests in New York, Reps. James Delaney of Queens and John J. Rooney of Brooklyn survived stiff challenges from younger, more liberal opponents. Delaney defeated Thomas Manton, while Rooney turned back former Rep. Allard Lowenstein.

Brooklyn Reps. Bertram Podell and Frank Brasco survived in primary fights. So did Rep. Charles Rangel, who represents the mainly black Harlem district, and Rep. Herman Badillo, the only Puerto Rican congressman.

In the only statewide Democratic race, a Manhattan judge, Nanette Dempitz, became the first woman nominated for the state's highest court, the Court of Appeals. She defeated an organization candidate to win the nomination for one of three court spots to be contested in the fall.

Sen

1-47-4-1-1

# McGovern's Club for Big Givers

By ROBERT WALTERS

(c) 1972 Washington Star

LOS ANGELES — Lyndon B. Johnson set up his "President's Club" in 1964. Richard M. Nixon called his group "RN Associates" in 1968. Now George S. McGovern has his "Woonsocket Club."

All three were established for the same purpose: to provide an exclusive organization for donors of very substantial amounts of money to the candidates' presidential campaigns and to provide a means of giving special recognition to those contributors.

The Johnson and Nixon clubs for "fat cats" have been publicized before, but before last week not even the existence of McGovern's "Woonsocket Club" was known to the public.

On the morning of the California presidential primary, however, the Los Angeles Times disclosed some details of the club's formation and membership, and later that day McGovern attended a private party for members of the organization.

McGovern's presence at the cocktail and dinner party was something of a notable event in itself because there was a standing rule in his campaign that the senator was not to appear at fund-raising parties.

But McGovern made the exception because Woonsocket Club members are hardly typical campaign contributors—to gain entry, a donor must give at least \$25,000.

In return, the contributor receives a gold lapel pin signifying membership, considerable gratitude from McGovern's fund raisers, and various VIP privileges within the campaign including opportunities to attend small parties with the senator such as the first one held here last week.

The club derives its obscure name from Woonsocket, S.D., the home town of Eleanor McGovern, the senator's wife. It was there that the McGovern met as opponents in a high school debating contest. (she won.)

At the party last week in the Hancock Park section of Los Angeles, an area of stately old homes, McGovern told the club's charter members "if you could see Woonsocket, S. D., you would realize that... you've just tripled their gross national product. At the inflated value of all the real estate in that town, combined with the savings of all the townspeople who live there, it'd probably be equal to about one third of what's been contributed in this room."

The club was organized by Henry Kimelman, a Washington and Virgin Islands businessman who is chairman of McGovern's national finance committee. Kimelman also qualifies as a club member because he has personally donated well over \$25,000 to the McGovern campaign.

Serving as cochairmen are Mrs. Charles Genton of Chicago and Harold Willens, a Los Angeles businessman who has long been a contributor to a variety of liberal causes.

Among those present at last week's meeting were Mrs. Carol S. Moss of Los Angeles, in whose home the party was held; Max Palevsky of Los Angeles, board chairman of the Xerox Corp.; Miles Rubin, a Los Angeles businessman and lawyer who was both finance chairman of McGovern's California campaign and a political organizer of that successful effort, and New York philanthropist Stewart R. Mott III.

Other Woonsocket Club members include Morris Dees, a Montgomery, Ala., direct mail expert who was responsible for establishing the program of soliciting small contributions for the McGovern campaign, and Warren Beatty.

Also in the exclusive group are Baltimore real estate man Robert Meyerhoff; Chicago lawyer Joseph Antonow; retired New York businessman Abner Levine; Mrs. Anne Oppen Degnan of San Francisco and Dr. Alejandro Zaffaroni of Atherton, Calif.

Sen

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## And in this corner, Mr. McGovern

With 925 delegate votes in his pocket and 1,200 or more expected by the time he gets to Miami next month, the logic of arithmetic says that Sen. George McGovern will be the Democratic Party nominee against President Nixon for the November election.

While his California primary victory over Hubert Humphrey came to only half the 20 percent that some had forecast, it nevertheless decisively registered the appeal of the McGovern image and the McGovern platform. And his strong showing with 70 percent of the delegates in blue-collar New Jersey, where the bulk of the vote from organized labor could expectably have gone to long-time favorite Senator Humphrey, only confirmed the McGovern ascendancy as the bright new star on the Democratic horizon.

On the fair assumption that Senator McGovern will be President Nixon's challenger for the White House prize, then, what are the expectables, and what are the unknowns, in the big race?

First off, it has to be acknowledged that all the weight of political history and current developments on the national and international stage is on Richard Nixon's side. He is the President. He controls all the vast resources at the command of the White House for financial support, for making news at will, for calling the shots on domestic and international issues. He has been preparing for his re-election for four years in a spectacular display of political artistry as it spins off the handling of these issues: An anti-inflation program of wage-price controls (which utterly overturned his basic economic conservative stance of earlier years); withdrawal of troops from Vietnam (while managing to increase air and naval forces, reactivating bombing of the north, and mining their harbors); staving off, if not resolving, the international monetary crisis; the Peking and Moscow spectacles.

It's a hard act to follow. Senator McGovern not only has to knock off the President from his incalculably superior

vantage point in the White House, but must come forth with a package of promises that will look, to many, like a juggling act of major proportions.

To date, Mr. McGovern's appeal has been built on a liberal image (which some observers insist, rather unreasonably, on calling radical) that appeals to an uneasy coalition of the young, the Vietnam opposition, and some suburbanites, intellectuals, blacks, and low- to moderate-income taxpayers.

One of the key voter segments Mr. McGovern must try to capture is the Wallace vote, and that will not be easy. Because President Nixon's law-and-order image, his antibusing stance, his strong stand against forced integration in the suburbs, and his treat-'em-tough dealings with Hanoi, all appeal to the Wallaceite voters as a group. Against this, Senator McGovern can pose some appealing programs: a federal jobs initiative; new housing, transportation and pollution-control projects; tax reform to take the weight off low- and moderate-income groups; cost-of-living increases for those on fixed pensions; scrapping of the welfare system in favor of a minimum-income program.

Too, Senator McGovern will have to make some modifications in his platform if he is to broaden it enough to appeal to that portion of the Wallace vote that might swing his way, given some more sweeteners. He must seek the maximum Democratic Party internal support, including that of such forces as the Daley machine in Chicago. But—a big plus—he has the backing of Senator Kennedy. If he can make the needed political shifts without alienating the idealistic youth and intellectual voter backing that has brought him this far he has much going for him.

It is a formidable challenge. But, then, no one would have thought, four months ago, that George McGovern would go to Miami as the top-running candidate for the Democratic nomination. It would be unwise to discount the astute and self-confident Senator McGovern at this point in the game of presidential politics.

Sen  
1-17-4-1-1

Journal 4/19/72

# McGovern's Fears



ROWLAND EVANS  
and ROBERT NOVAK

Minneapolis  
**THE CHAOTIC** performance of the McGovern-led coalition of liberals at the state convention of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor party last weekend left party leaders shaken about what may happen at the national convention in Miami Beach next month.

The coalition forced a plank into the party's platform that would "legalize" marriage between homosexuals. It also:

(1) **Elected Earl Craig**, an instructor at the University of Minnesota, Democratic national committeeman over Democratic Gov. Wendell Anderson's personal choice. Craig immediately called for the ouster of Democratic national chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien on grounds that O'Brien ran a "rubber stamp" national committee and was oblivious to "social issues."

(2) **Elected a delegate from the Fifth Congressional District** here named **Kenneth Enkel** who was thrown out of the party in 1948 when the then mayor of Minneapolis, Hubert H. Humphrey, took over the party and purged it of extreme left-wing elements. Enkel's first published comment as the party's wild and woolly convention ended at Rochester Sunday was that he would "die happy" if he could have a speech at the Miami Beach convention attacking Humphrey.

(3) **Threw powerful labor leaders into something approaching panic.** One top union official told us that the dominant mood of scores of young delegates was to "roll over the party."

"**THEY PREACH non-violence,**" he told us, "but the first chance they get they poke you in the snoot."

None of the antiestablishment ac-

tions taken at the Rochester convention by the pro-McGovern Coalition was cleared with McGovern himself or his political high command in Washington. To the contrary, the attacks on O'Brien and Humphrey and some of the far-out platform planks go directly against McGovern's policy of minimizing harsh contradictions between McGovernites and the party establishment.

Hence the real and looming danger that lies in wait for McGovern. If states such as Minnesota are unable to restrain their antiestablishment splurge, can McGovern himself restrain them when they arrive at Miami Beach?

In terms of pragmatic politics here, some party leaders say the excesses of the Rochester convention will be forgotten by Nov. 7. Others, far more skeptical, believe the party's excellent chance to capture the state legislature has now been undermined.

Thus, many candidates for state and local offices are now preparing to disavow the platform adopted in the raucous Rochester rally and write their own.

**HENRY KISSINGER** lost a hot debate in the White House inner sanctum over whether he should be permitted to testify before Congress on the arms control treaty.

Kissinger, whose National Security Council staff controlled every aspect of Ambassador Gerard Smith's negotiations with the Russians, is immune from a congressional summons under the separation-of-powers doctrine of "executive privilege."

But Kissinger has been so intimately involved in negotiations the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty on defensive weapons—and the compen-

ion executive agreement on offensive systems—that both critics and proponents of the two agreements insisted that Mr. Nixon waive the precedent and allow him to testify. Kissinger himself agreed.

The President ruled otherwise, under heavy pressure from White House legal aides and Clark MacGregor, the chief White House lobbyist on Capitol Hill. Instead, he followed the course set by Woodrow Wilson in 1919 under similar circumstances involving Senate demands that Col. Edward House testify on the Versailles Treaty.

President Wilson invited the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to the White House, where he himself did all the talking.

Mr. Nixon went further, asking 122 members of Congress to the White House Thursday where Kissinger fielded questions for several hours.

**STATE DEPARTMENT** aides were amazed to read on the news ticker last week that President Nixon's roving ambassador, former Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally, would arrive in Rome on July 8 for "high level" consultations.

Also surprised was the Italian government, which had already scheduled a possible visit by French President Georges Pompidou the same time.

But Connally's drop-in at Rome, the only European capital now on his world tour, is more directed at finding a house to buy in Tuscany than at conducting sensitive diplomacy. U. S. Ambassador Graham Martin has told the Italian government Connally does not mind how long he stays in Italy to see top officials. He'll be house-hunting.—(c1972.)

Sen  
4-17-4-1-1

As Watts goes . . .

## McGovern and Humphrey in quest of black voters

The second of two articles focusing on ethnic voters in California on the eve of the state's June 6 presidential primary.

By Trudy Eubin

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Mrs. Maunetta Moss wraps her arms around her plaid dress and thinks back over her many years as she stands in the front yard of her small stucco house in the heart of the ghetto of Watts. She repeats over and over, "Humphrey, Humphrey, he's my man. He's a nice fella. He was with LBJ all those years. He knows a lot about all this stuff."

One block over, on another street of small square wood or stucco homes with struggling grass, an occasional palm tree, and a variety of floral gardens, a young phone-company employee, Robert Nelson, in floppy hat and jeans says, "There are a lot of things I like about McGovern."

Sitting on his veranda, a McGovern sign tacked to his front fence, he says, "I'm not saying who I'm voting for, but I have no objection to that sign. All my friends at work are voting for him." Mr. Nelson's friend, a technical college student in a red jersey, leans back on the veranda and objects, "I'm for [Rep. Shirley] Chisholm. It's about time a good black candidate ran. It doesn't matter if she can win; voting for the other ones wouldn't change anything. I converted six of my friends in speech class to Chisholm."

### The older voters

It is the Mrs. Mosses that Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey needs to roll up the massive victory he seeks in the black voting community—the older blacks who remember his long years of experience and commitment to civil rights.

For Sen. George McGovern, the Robert Nelsons are crucial and hopefully they will win over some of their Chisholm oriented friends.

If there is any segment of his traditional supporters in which Mr. Humphrey should win big it is the blacks. The Minnesota Senator is a familiar face and as Paul Cobb, one of Mr. McGovern's top black advisers admits, "McGovern's Achilles heel is that he isn't known in the ghetto."

### McGovern inroads

But Senator Humphrey wants and needs to win big in black precincts and some key advisers have begun to worry that Mr. McGovern will do sufficiently well to deprive Mr. Humphrey of a vital vote cushion. Mr. McGovern has mounted his biggest

drive yet for black (and Chicano) votes. Paul Cobb says they would be "ecstatic" to break even in the north of the state and to get 35 percent in the south.

Senator McGovern has based his appeal to the black community on issues other than civil rights. His focus is on stressing jobs, his income-supplement program, and his introduction of food-stamp and school-lunch legislation in 1970.

Many of his black supporters, however, have been upset by the paucity of his ghetto visits. Several were canceled due to schedule changes caused by the three national televised debates. As a result, Mr. McGovern is hastily scheduling several ghetto visits in the last days of the campaign.

Mr. Humphrey has managed to squeeze several ghetto visits into his frenetic schedule already. And he has scheduled a final weekend Los Angeles ghetto blitz. "If Humphrey does well in the black vote—and he will do well—it will be due to his long record and personal appearances," says California State Sen. Mervyn Dymally, one of the Senator's most influential black supporters.

"But McGovern recognizes," he continues, "that young black voters don't remember Humphrey's record." He adds, "Humphrey will take the east side (the central ghetto areas). McGovern will make gains on the west side (more integrated). The black middle class is swayed by style and McGovern is as catchy as a new midi dress."

### Lack of money

This is the more true since Mr. Humphrey's campaign for black votes has been hindered by lack of money for literature and offices.

Beyond the image question, three factors will figure heavily in the black vote:

- Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, the first black woman to run for president, remains an important question mark. Humphrey backers say she will draw McGovern votes since her support lies with the more radical, activist black voter. But some black organizers in both camps are beginning to doubt that Mrs. Chisholm will draw. Says Senator Dymally, "black people recognize they can't waste a vote in a heated contest on someone who can't win."

- The size of the black turnout—always a question mark—will depend solely on the candidates' own efforts, as California has no city party machines with patronage or promises to pull out the voter. Senator McGovern's canvass effort, however, has been weak in Los Angeles ghettos though black McGovernites say most black precincts will still be personally visited by this weekend.

Sen

1-17-4-1-1

7/5/72

# Ruling Seen Today <sup>7/5</sup> On McGovern, Daley

Some AFL-CIO officials think the labor  
union might just sit out a Nixon-Mc-  
Govern presidential race. Page 1-C.

WASHINGTON (NYT) — The U.S. Court  
appeals reserved decision Tuesday night  
in two controversial cases involving the po-  
sitioning of the Democratic National  
Convention that opens Monday in Miami.  
A ruling is expected Wednesday.

The cases involve attempts to overturn  
the decision of the convention's credentials  
committee which last week took 151 Califor-  
nia delegates away from Sen. George S.  
McGovern and denied Mayor Richard J.

Daley and 58 other Chicago delegates seats  
at the party gathering.

Chief Judge David E. Bazelon and Circuit  
Judges Charles Fahy and George E. Mac-  
Kinnon heard more than four hours of argu-  
ments in an unusual July 4 session. Not until  
early evening did they say that there would  
be no ruling until Wednesday.

Both decisions of the credentials commit-  
tee were upheld in federal district court Mon-  
day by Judge George H. Hart Jr.

However the court rules, the convention  
itself will have the final decision as to  
whether to seat the Daley delegation and

whether to divide the California delegation or  
award it all to McGovern.

But the court decisions in both cases will  
undoubtedly carry considerable weight with  
many of the Democratic delegates when  
they are voting their choice in the convention  
next week.

The California case, if the committee's  
decision is sustained by the court and the  
convention, could cost McGovern enough to  
deny him nomination on the first ballot and  
stall his drive beyond that point. In the Chi-  
cago decision, however, he picked up 40 or 50  
delegates.

Arguing to return the disputed California  
delegates to McGovern, Joseph L. Rauh Jr.  
said that all the presidential candidates had  
acted in reliance on the winner-take-all sys-  
tem, which had been approved by a state re-  
form commission, the Democratic state com-  
mittee, the state legislature and the Demo-  
cratic national chairman.

"It would really be a dastardly act after  
all of that reliance to say that they can now  
change the rules retroactively," Rauh told  
the court. Depriving McGovern of 151 dele-  
gates, he added, constituted "power politics  
without any deference of any kind to the rule  
of law."

Joseph A. Califano Jr., supporting the cre-  
dentials committee decision as counsel to the  
Democratic National Committee, maintained  
that the convention, and thus its committee,  
was "the supreme ruling body of the Demo-  
cratic party" and can deal with seating chal-  
lenges as it wishes.

"It is for the Democratic party to inter-  
pret its own rules," he argued. "The creden-  
tials committee has done its best to interpret  
those rules. For the courts to step in and in-  
terpret the rules would make it a whole new  
ball game."

In the Daley Case, Jerome H. Torshen, at-  
torney for alderman Thomas Keane who  
brought the action, maintained that the Dem-  
ocratic committee members "cannot super-  
impose their will on our electorate" by deny-  
ing seats to the winners of the Illinois pri-  
mary in the nine districts involved.

Responding to the charge that the Daley  
slates had been put together at closed meet-  
ings in which non organization Democrats  
could not participate, Torshen said of the  
Chicago leaders who held the meetings:  
"They're entitled to band together."

In their questions from the bench, the  
judges expressed concern that any decision  
they handed down in the Chicago case might  
be vitiated, at least in part, by a pending Illi-  
nois state court action in which the Daley  
forces are seeking an injunction against the  
challengers who unseated them as a result of  
the committee's vote.

Sen

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5/30/74

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

# The Return of the McGovernites

Obscured by incessant Democratic National Committee propaganda claims of the regulars reassuming party command is this hard and ominous fact: the McGovernites firmly control essentially the same areas today that they did in 1972.

In early delegate selection for the first Democratic midterm convention at Kansas City in December, New Politics activists have displayed skills used two years ago to nominate Sen. George McGovern. Virtually unnoticed, they have won control of the Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota delegations and picked up impressive minorities elsewhere. The projection is for Kansas City to be only slightly right of the 1972 Miami Beach madhouse and well to the left of pre-1972 Democratic conventions.

That prospect casts a long dark shadow toward 1976, suggesting that the McGovernite takeover at Miami Beach was no aberration. Rather, just as the Republican Party shifted right after Sen. Barry Goldwater's nomination in 1964, the leftward Democratic slide may well be permanent. If so, the 1976 presidential nomination cannot possibly go to a genuine centrist.

That means Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss is falling short in his grand design: to nudge the party back toward the center without alienating the left. In fact, his centrist critics (especially in the AFL-CIO hierarchy) believe Strauss has inadvertently aided New Politics forces by

*"The projections for the midterm convention at Kansas City suggest that the McGovernite takeover at Miami Beach was no aberration."*

lulling party regulars into complacency.

Strauss and his top lieutenants long have claimed the regulars would solidly control at Kansas City and that the real threat would come from Gov. George Wallace. So far, however, Wallace's delegate search has proved a fiasco, while impressive successes have been scored by McGovernites, as follows:

Wisconsin: practically a clean sweep for the New Politics. Even Democratic national committeeman Don Peterson, a national founder of the old dump-LBJ movement, was denied a delegate's seat because he had voted for Strauss as national chairman. As in 1972, Gov. Patrick J. Lucey did not become involved.

Iowa: helped by New Politics' paid professional Alan Baron (a native Iowan), McGovernites won 17 out of 20 seats. The left-of-center Communications Workers of America and United Auto Workers helped dominate pre-

dict caucus while AFL-CIO forces took a licking.

Minnesota: New Politics delegates associated with Rep. Donald Fraser won up to 18 seats against 10 for party leaders linked with Gov. Wendell Anderson. Not wishing to file the left while seeking re-election, Anderson kept a low profile in delegate selection.

In conservative Wyoming, McGovernites won 6 of 12 seats. In even more conservative Kansas, they won 6 of 16 seats. Ultra-conservative Mississippi remained under domination of a white liberal-black coalition after the national Wallace organization shied away from a confrontation.

The most striking example of New Politics staying power can be found in Maine. All eight delegates are controlled by national committeeman George Mitchell, unsuccessful McGovernite candidate for national chairman after the 1972 election. Far more revealing was the runaway Maine

Democratic convention session May 17: proposing unconditional amnesty for Vietnam draft-dodgers, advocacy of civil rights for homosexuals, censuring Chairman Strauss.

Even some victories claimed by the regulars are doubtful. In Ohio, McGovernites won only 15 to 18 delegates compared to 25 regulars; but another 20 to 23 liberal delegates are aligned with Gov. John J. Gilligan, viewed by the regulars as an uncertain trumpet. The McGovernites were wiped out in Massachusetts by a coalition of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's and Boston Mayor Kevin White's forces, but the Kennedyites are viewed with deepest suspicion by party centrists.

Last week's primary in Pennsylvania gave the regulars clear-cut domination of the delegation—an important victory. Other indisputable gains by the regulars have come in Tennessee and Texas. The regulars have kept South Carolina, and Wallace retains Alabama.

But this does not add up to the centrist movement: both Strauss and his AFL-CIO critics believe is essential. Nearly inevitable New Politics victories in the nation's two most populous states, New York (in September) and California (in December) will insure a left-loaded midterm convention. Even if Strauss uses his considerable skill to keep the lid on at Kansas City, the resiliency of grass roots, McGovernism will be manifest.

1-19-74  
Strauss

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# Democratic Party Acquires McGovern's List of Donors

THE WASHINGTON POST

Tuesday, Jan. 9, 1973

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By David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic Party this week will try to find out if the mailing list that worked financial magic for George McGovern can help pay off its campaign debt.

Robert S. Strauss, the newly elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee, held a press conference yesterday that 1972 presidential nominee McGovern had agreed to turn over his list of 700,000 contributors. Strauss said the first test mailing to 10,000 names from the list would go out on Wednesday.

The announcement ended weeks of speculation about the status of the "McGovern list," which generated an estimated \$17 million in small contributions for the South Dakota senator's campaign and helped him end up in the black.

Despite speculation that McGovern would withhold the list from the Democratic National Committee, Strauss told a news conference yesterday he never had any reason to anticipate problems.

The Texas lawyer, who replaced McGovern's hand-picked chairman, Jean Westwood, last month, said McGovern offered the list without restriction or cost.

A McGovern aide J. Joseph Grandmaison confirmed this, denying press speculation that McGovern was withholding the names because he planned to form some kind of political organization of his own. He said Strauss had asked for the names for the first time yesterday and was immediately given access to them.

Strauss announced the test mailing at the same time he introduced the national party's two new moneyraisers.

As reported in last Sunday's Washington Post, Cleveland industrialist Joseph E. Cole is the new chairman of the party's finance council and the full-time operating money manager at the national headquarters, and C. Peter Mc-

Colough, chairman of the board of the Xerox Corp. is the party treasurer, a part-time job.

Cole was the chief fundraiser for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's 1972 presidential campaign. He declined to say yesterday whether he had contributed to the McGovern effort in the general election, but the Associated Press said no record of contributions can be found from him through Oct. 15.

McColough worked with Strauss in raising funds for

Democratic senatorial and congressional candidates last fall.

Strauss said the party debt, which stood at \$9.3 million after the 1968 campaign, has been reduced to less than \$4.3 million, but declined to estimate when it would be paid off.

Strauss said he was committed to financing adequate staff for the party reform and charter commissions, but said that as of now, national committee had no budget for 1973, no cash in hand and no income.



C. PETER MCCOLOUGH  
new party treasurer

Article #210

NY Times 12/5/72

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# McGOVERN ATTENDS FUND DINNER HERE

## He Slips Unannounced and Almost Unnoticed Into City

By FRANK LYNN

Senator George McGovern, minus the scores of newsmen, aides and Secret Service agents who escorted him for nearly a year, slipped into New York last night almost unannounced and unnoticed.

The South Dakotan, who suffered the worst defeat of any Presidential candidate since Alfred E. Landon in 1936, attended a small fund-raising dinner at the Tavern-on-the-Green, in Central Park. The event was closed to the press and the public.

Most of the 250 people paid \$100 each to hear some informal remarks by the Senator and some of the leaders of his New York campaign. The dinner had been organized by Stewart Mott, the heir to a fortune in General Motors stock, who contributed \$400,000 to the McGovern Presidential campaign.

Mr. Mott said that the net proceeds of the dinner, about \$15,000, would be used to finance additional personal for Senator McGovern at his Washington office. He said that the Senator had an extremely small staff, and as a national figure needed a larger one.

Mr. Mott added that the money was not needed to pay campaign bills because "as far as I know, expenses and contributions came out fairly even"—a rare achievement for an unsuccessful campaign.

### Campaign Leaders Attend

Among those attending the dinner gratis were four leaders of the McGovern campaign here—former Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Borough President Robert Abrams of the Bronx, City Councilman Matthew J. Troy Jr., who is also Queens Democratic leader, and Richard Wade, a City University professor, who is a longtime McGovern friend.

Conspicuous by their absence were the four other Democratic county leaders and many other Democratic organization leaders who had been less than enthusiastic supporters of Senator McGovern during the campaign.

The dinner was not considered politically significant because Mr. McGovern is not generally considered a candidate for any office other than reelection to the Senate in 1974.

In addition, the McGovern organization in the state is not expected to remain intact. Many campaign workers, for example, are already lining up behind various mayoral contenders.

Meanwhile, on another political front, Prof. Daniel G. Collins of New York University Law School disclosed that he would not seek reelection as state chairman of the New Democratic Coalition, the group that grew out of the Eugene McCarthy Presidential campaign in 1968.

His successor is expected to be Arnold Weiss, a 39-year-old lawyer and veteran of the Greenwich Village reform-regular political wars.

Mr. Weiss, now a vice chairman of the coalition, announced his candidacy for the chairmanship in a letter to coalition members yesterday. He is expected to have little or no opposition when the organization's delegate assembly elects a new chairman on Dec. 16.

Article # 30

1-17-74  
 [Signature]

By Al Capp

## The New Cool

In his speech to the Oxford Union, George McGovern said that he'd appealed to our idealism, and that he couldn't understand why so many of us voted for Richard Nixon, a man we don't like. Mr. McGovern can't understand what happened because he judges idealism and likableness by the obsolete standards of the Old Charisma. The Old Hollywood-Camelot-style Charisma.

Old Hollywood-Camelot-style charisma worked when millions cheered those lines in John Kennedy's Inaugural Address that promised that we would do all in our power to defend small nations from aggression. We were so captivated by the idealism and likableness of the young man who spoke those lines that it wasn't until twelve hellish years and 50,000 American deaths later, spent keeping his promise, that we understood what those lines meant.

That was charisma. Old Hollywood-Camelot style. Those were the days when beautiful people, like Tab Hunter, became instant stars, no matter how silly the lines they spoke. And when George C. Scott was plodding through character bits.

We don't make stars of our Tab

Hunters today. It is the George C. Scotts, without a shred of the Old Hollywood charisma, long past youth, with only plodding records of thankless jobs well done, who make it now.

Fashions in charisma, in both films and politics, have changed. There is a new Charisma, and the fatal mistake of the New Politics was its inability to recognize and adjust to that change.

Those who tell us, from their newspaper columns, magazines, TV shows who has charisma and who hasn't, for years have told us that Richard Nixon hasn't any, but that Dick Cavett has. Yet it is Richard Nixon who by public choice is working full time, and Dick Cavett who has been all but laid off. For years, they've told us that Pat Nixon is a dry stick and Joan Baez a glowing flame. Yet, it is Mrs. Nixon who is Number One on the Most Admired Women list, and you have to go mighty far down the record lists to find Miss Baez.

Idealism, Old Hollywood-Camelot-style, doesn't have the charisma it once had. George McGovern made what he clearly felt was the most idealistic (and most charismatic) of appeals when he emphasized his spe-

cial concern for the problems of Chicanos, minority groups and anti-establishment youth. The President, on the other hand, didn't express any special concern for any special group. And that proved to be an irresistibly charismatic appeal to all who weren't Chicanos, members of minority groups, and anti-establishment pubescents. For it told them that he was equally concerned with their problems. And that, it seems, is what we want our President to be.

And so in Mr. Nixon we may not have the backward-looking square he is dismissed as by the beautiful people, but the only politician forward-looking enough to recognize and understand the New Charisma, and act with the New Cool. The New Charisma isn't simply making bravura promises that bring ovations when they're made, and devastation when they're kept. It is acquired, as the President spent sixty grinding years learning, by a lifetime of frequently unpopular, frequently damned, but ultimately sensible deeds. The Old Warmth consists of telling your running mate you're behind him 1,000 per cent, then dumping him. The New Cool is telling those who urge

you to dump Mr. Agnew that you're sticking with him, and sticking with him.

A Nixon voter is no different, in most respects, from a Nixon hater. True, he isn't likely to hold an editorial job on The New York Times or The Washington Post, or with any of the networks, especially the public one (except in their mechanical or maintenance departments, where there are quite a few) but, like those who do, he, too, can be a WASP, a black, he can bear a Polish name, an Italian name, he can be an executive, or a hardhat. He is one young person out of every two.

What makes him a Nixon voter is that, while he is still willing to work a little harder, and keep a little less to help the unfortunate, he isn't willing, any longer, to knock himself out, and deprive his own family, to support the unwilling. The New Politics can't understand why he isn't. Mr. Nixon does. That's why, for him, Mr. Nixon has charisma.

No, charisma just isn't what it used to be in the Old Hollywood-Camelot days. And only our conservatives were alert enough to change and to profit by it.

Al Capp is the creator of "Li'l Abner."

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# McGovern Regrets High Moral Tone

By Marjorie Hyer  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) says that if he had the presidential campaign to run over again, he wouldn't take such a high moral tone.

"I think I would not have put things on quite such a lofty level," said the defeated Democratic candidate. "I would have tried to combine morally sound positions with a greater emphasis on appeals to self-interest."

The South Dakota senator made the comment in an interview scheduled for publication Wednesday in the ecumenical weekly *Christian Century*.

His advice to any future presidential candidate—and he emphatically excluded himself from such a category—is that "regardless of how clear the moral imperatives might be to him, it is highly risky to assume that drawing an issue sharply in moral terms will win majority support."

"It might even repel large numbers of people who don't want to be disturbed in their lethargy and apathy and who prefer not to feel conscience-stricken about what the nation is doing."

McGovern, who was criticized for the preacher-like tone of his campaign, said that every effort to "redefine" his positions "in terms I thought might reach a larger group

promptly drew charges questioning my credibility. My own interpretation is that the credibility charge was really raised by people who knew very well that I was a credible candidate and that's what they feared."

Sen. McGovern denied "reports I have seen in the press" that he plans to draw off his supporters into a third party or even an organized McGovernite bloc within the Democratic Party.

He explained that what he has in mind "to keep the faith with literally tens of thousands of people who worked actively in the campaign" is setting up some kind of machinery that would "marshal the support of these individuals in their own neighborhoods."

That support would be directed, he said, to putting pressure on congressmen to support "legislative initiatives that I'm involved in in cooperation with other senators."

McGovern emphasized that such a program "would be in support of my legislative efforts. It is not designed to promote the McGovern name or a future McGovern candidacy."

He said he planned to run for re-election to the Senate next year, but that he would "truthfully deny that I am running for the presidency in



SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN ... would do it differently

1976. . . I don't ever again in my life intend to work as desperately hard as I did through 1971 and 1972."

## N.Y. Bar Asks Easing of Law On Prostitution

NEW YORK, Jan. 28 (AP)—The New York State Bar Association has called for easing of laws on prostitution and marijuana smoking to allow both in private.

It voted at its 98th annual convention here Saturday night to legalize prostitution but make it illegal to solicit customers on the streets.

The association approved a resolution of its criminal justice section, which called for adoption of measures similar to the British Streetwalkers Act, which was aimed at driving London's ladies of the evening off the streets.

# Foes of McGovern Say They Prevail On Charter Issues

"The public, faced with mounting domestic and international crises, will have little patience with squabbling over apparently arcane party matters."

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23—The Coalition for a Democratic Majority, formed two years ago by opponents of the McGovern movement in their party, said today that "our view has prevailed" on most of the charter that the Democrats will adopt in Kansas City next month.

In a written resolution, the coalition said it had helped block what it called "Europeanization of the Democratic party." The original charter proposal, the resolution contends, was to replace "the diverse federation of state and local Democratic party organizations and interest groups" with "a disciplined homogeneous organization."

But succeeding drafts of the charter have weakened it, the coalition noted with approval. Specifically, it said the idea of individual memberships in the national party had been dropped, policy conferences were not required, and a "judicial council" to mediate party disputes had been made optional.

The original charter proposal was associated with Senator George McGovern, the Democratic Presidential nominee in 1972, because it was the work of a party reform commission that the South Dakota Senator once headed. However, Mr. McGovern did not urge the charter idea on the 1972 convention that nominated him for the Presidency.

### Quotas Opposed

The coalition said it was still unhappy that the charter identified blacks, women, Indians and young people as the targets of "affirmative action." That is the phrase the party rules use about the effort to involve previously excluded groups in party politics, "as indicated by their presence in the Democratic electorate." The rules also ban "mandatory quotas."

The coalition leaders indicated, however, that they did not expect to win their position against "affirmative action," and the formal resolution suggested that the coalition was prepared to settle before the charter conference opens on Dec. 6.

"It would be a bitter irony indeed if widely publicized fractiousness at the convention does the party greater harm than the charter can do it good," the resolution said.

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...only echoes Mundt era

# McGovern campaigning back home plays down politics

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## System questioned

"I'm not even sure it's the best system," says the Senator of the age-old system under which congressional chairmanships go to the person with the longest service. "But as long as we're operating under that system, South Dakota ought to get its full share."

The subjects about which Mr. McGovern talks in 1974 are a far cry from the vows he made in 1972 to avert a new Vietnam, and his denunciations of "the most corrupt administration in the nation's history."

Watergate seldom comes up, or Vietnam, or the Middle East. The questions put to Mr. McGovern deal with subjects of local interest: farm problems, a threatened railroad cut-back, the inadequacy of the postal zip code.

A Democrat in a still Republican state, Senator McGovern plays down the importance of his party. "Ninety percent of the things we vote on have nothing to do with partisan politics," he says.

Here are the trappings of a national campaign: the layers of staff, the dozens of reporters and photographers, the jets and the buses.

## A lonely arrival

A lone aide meets him when he flies from Washington to Pierre, the state capital, to begin a four-day swing. Two reporters and a photographer drive a cross-80 miles of brown, barren hills to join him in this bleak, dusty town of 3,789 persons.

"It's kind of a pleasant switch," the Senator says. "I got awfully tired of the three or four cities a day, spending half my time in the air. I've always preferred the person-to-person campaigning. That's more my style."

Three Republicans who think they can beat Senator McGovern will meet on a June 4 primary. They are:

• Al Sangoie, a daily newspaper businessman, the first GOP candidate to declare he has the highest campaign organization in the state, and is outspending his rivals.

• Leo Dorn, a former Air Force Medal of Honor winner who was a prisoner of the North Vietnamese for six years.

• Mrs. Barbara Gunderson, a member of the Civil Service Commission under President Dwight D. Eisenhower. She is also a former Republican national committee woman.

Republicans are optimistic about November, mainly because Senator McGovern lost his home state against President Nixon by 25,000 votes. He received 48 percent of the total votes; Mr. Nixon 54 percent.

## Campaign spending

"Two years ago I thought I could be beaten in this state," says Mr. McGovern in an interview. He and the two other GOP candidates concen-

trate on one issue: the size of Mr. McGovern's campaign fund.

Mr. McGovern himself says that in 1973 he raised \$788,881.77 and spent \$552,711.02 in South Dakota, mostly for additional staff and constituent services.

It is a large amount of money for a small state. Senator McGovern says he is spending it because he got into political hot water by being away from the state most of 1972.

"Obviously, you have to work harder when you get off the presidential trail," he says. "I'm trying to compensate by spending more time in the state and doing more constituent services, which is a better way to spend campaign contributions."

Now, as the ground begins to sprout from the black, newly plowed fields, Senator McGovern plans to step up his efforts to win over voters.

So does his wife, Ellen, who says she'll devote much of the year to campaigning. She is completing an autobiography, "Uphill," to be published in November.

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# McGovern Soliciting '74 Funds

By Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) will ask the 633,000 contributors to his 1972 presidential campaign to make an early down payment on keeping him in the Senate after 1974, when he is up for re-election.

McGovern is using his much-sought-after private list of campaign givers to mail out the appeal, noting that he lost his home state of South Dakota to President Nixon last November.

In the fund-raising letter, which is to go out Monday, McGovern keeps up the post-election attack on the President that he began on Jan. 21 in a speech at Oxford University in England.

"Since the election," McGovern writes, "the conduct of the Nixon administration has prompted many Americans to express their regrets that they were once again misled by the winning candidate.

"The mass Christmas bombing of North Vietnamese cities and the constitutional crisis raised by the President's defiance of the Congress and the painfully distorted budget priorities have all deepened our sense of loss."

McGovern says in the letter that he intends "to speak out in the Senate and across the nation" in the coming year on the issues he raised in his campaign. To win a third term in the Senate, he writes, it is necessary now to begin an "energetic" campaign.

Sometime next week, according to Capitol Hill sources, McGovern also is planning to issue an alternative budget to the Nixon

spending plans, emphasizing defense cuts and continuation of Democratic-authored social welfare programs.

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Tom Braden

# McGovern: Ready to Try Again

George McGovern has thought about it for a long while. He has gone through the stages of humiliation and remorse. He has also gone through the stage of analysis; that is to say, the stage of thinking about his mistakes and of what might have been. Finally, and most importantly, he has gone through the stage of vindication.

Privately, thereafter, and without telling any except a very few of his associates from the last campaign, he has made up his mind. George McGovern has decided to try again.

So closely held is McGovern's decision that neither Gary Hart, his 1972 campaign manager, nor Frank Makiewicz, his former political aide, has been informed. But some of those who raised the money the last time around are privy to the secret and have been pondering it with awe.

As well they might. There is no precedent. Alf Landon didn't do it; Barry Goldwater didn't do it; Herbert Hoo-

ver didn't do it. Alton B. Parker didn't. In recent history, only Alfred E. Smith suffered as McGovern suffered and retained the pride or ambition—perhaps in this instance it was jealously—to try again, and Smith was a hopeless candidate at the Democratic convention of 1932.

But all these men were politicians. McGovern, as his former aide, Richard Dougherty, has pointed out in the most readable of the 1972 campaign books, is not. "Goodbye Mr. Christian" is the title of Dougherty's book and it pictures a man more moral than practical, more religious than political, a missionary but not an organizer; a John the Baptist but not a Moses.

A man who saw himself, however modestly, as a voice crying in the wilderness during 1972 must find total vindication in the events of 1973. How else except as vindication can Mc-

Govern see the public's recognition that Richard Nixon does indeed represent—as McGovern had maintained—"a total erosion of political and moral and public values?"

Wherever George McGovern goes these days, vindication meets the ear and, in whatever George McGovern reads, vindication meets the eye. Citizens stop him on the street to tell him he was right. Professional pollsters inform him that if the public had known last November what it knows now, he would have won. Each day's headlines remind him that what he knew through intuition has now been demonstrated in fact.

So perhaps it is unfair to compare McGovern with other defeated candidates. None of them was ever proved so immediately, so demonstrably and so sensationally to have been right in his criticisms of the man who beat him.

By the same logic, it may be unfair also to tab McGovern's decision as colossal error. "I know a climber when I see one," Dougherty wrote of his former boss, "and I know how smart a smart Rube can be, how tough, how cunning, how indomitable."

McGovern did not look very smart or very cunning in the last campaign but he did look tough and indomitable. Moreover, as the title of his former press aide's book suggests, the senator from South Dakota is a true believer in that law which prizes those who hunger and thirst after righteousness. Mr. Christians don't quit.

But the punishment McGovern faces is awful to contemplate. There will be betrayals by former aides whom McGovern now considers to be disciples. Friends in the Senate who have uttered kind words of consolation will now turn upon him like so many wolves upon a wounded pack leader; the pros will bestir themselves to remind each other that the party has only one sure loser. Those who have been saying "Too bad, Senator" will be frightened into honesty: "You don't mean it. Not again."

They will be wrong.

*"From the outset, this has been a tale of unfairness to Spiro Agnew."*

From the very outset, this has been a tale of gross and unexampled unfairness to Spiro Agnew. Time and again leaks clearly prejudicial to him have been anonymously fed out from somewhere in the vicinity of the grand jury. It was always obvious—and Attorney General Elliot Richardson himself at length admitted it—that some of this poison was coming from within the very Department of Justice itself. Given the way this business was

started and given the public climate thus created—that surely Agnew must be guilty of something—where in all the United States could he possibly expect a fair trial even should he be indicted?

This is where we come down to the one sure thing in this whole wretched affair. If in fact he is indicted—an eventuality that would indeed honorably and properly raise a question of his resignation—millions of Americans will forever believe that he was framed for being a forthright champion of certain conservative values. The bitterness that would then divide the country—and especially the Republican Party—would be beyond anything in our experience. Whose tragedy, then, would it be? Agnew's? Or, simply, the nation's?

# McGovern Raises \$440,000 for '74

SIoux FALLS, S.D., Aug. 2 (AP)—Sen. George McGovern, already running hard for reelection in 1974, has amassed a campaign war chest of a size—\$441,000—unprecedented in South Dakota politics.

But McGovern says he expects to be outspent by his Republican opponent.

"I can't recall any other campaign in which I've spent more than my opponent. I expect that will be true in 1974. I'm one of the top Republican targets," the South Dakota Democrat said in a telephone interview.

Records filed by McGovern's campaign treasurer with the Secretary of the Senate in compliance with the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1972 show McGovern has already received nearly half a million dollars in contributions.

In his latest quarterly report, filed June 10, McGovern listed total receipts of \$441,516.79. The next report is due Sept. 10.

McGovern also listed expenditures of \$397,481.70, but

that includes savings certificates and deposits totaling \$271,931.28. Cash on hand was listed at \$50,779.39 at the end of the reporting period, giving McGovern a total of \$321,710.60 in cash or savings accounts.

And McGovern said his presidential campaign committee has about \$190,000 in still another account which is being maintained to pay off 1972 debts. He said if any of this money is left after all bills are in it will be transferred to the Senate campaign account.

Republican Al Schock, the Sioux Falls dairy owner who is McGovern's only announced opponent for the Senate seat

thus far, listed receipts of \$2,249.74 and expenditures of \$487.22.

The most money a candidate ever reported spending before in South Dakota was \$329,000 listed by Sen. James Abourezk (D) when he first won election to the Senate in 1972.

# McGovern Due Here Tuesday

By DAVID NORDAN

Journal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sen. George McGovern will be in Atlanta next Tuesday as part of a six-state Southern and border state tour which he hopes will glean him at least a few of the 185 additional delegate votes he needs for a first-ballot presidential nomination at the Democratic convention next month.

A tally by The Atlanta Journal turned up 176 uncommit-

ted convention delegates in the six states the front-running Democrat will visit Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Many of the 176 are die-hard anti-McGovern delegates or controlled by anti-McGovern state governors, such as Gov. Jimmy Carter. But others, according to sources, are unidentifiable.

How many, if any, of these the senator can pickup during his trip, planned several weeks ago as an answer to charges that he has written off the South, is impossible to determine.

Atlanta is one of two southern cities where the South Dakotan will stay overnight during his Dixie swing. The other is San Antonio, Tex., where he will stay Monday night after a morning visit to Oklahoma City.

EXACTLY what he will do in Atlanta is still up in the air, according to McGovern spokesman. However, a Georgia source said he has overtures about setting up some kind of meeting with the state's 53 national convention delegates — 43 of whom are still technically uncommitted.

The Georgia source wondered whether this will be possible since the state's delegates this week journeyed to Atlanta to meet with Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. "I don't know if we can get them back to town again," he said.

The question of whether McGovern will meet again with Gov. Carter was also left up in the air, although the source suggested that such a meeting is likely.

Otherwise, McGovern's office said here Thursday that the senator will at least do some stumping and "flesh

pressing," (handshaking) in the Georgia city. Some events such as a rally or reception may also be scheduled.

The front-running Democrat also hopes to get together with some state Democratic leaders while in Atlanta, which state leaders, his staff said, is also up for question.

THE SAME situation exists in all of the six Southern states McGovern will visit next week. His staff has been hard pressed to say exactly what he will do, and until Thursday, was unable to even say which states he will head for.

The most up-to-date schedule available two days before the trip was set to begin revealed only that he will go directly to Oklahoma City Monday, stay overnight in San Antonio, visit Little Rock, Ark., Tuesday morning, Atlanta Tuesday afternoon and Tuesday night, Columbia, S.C., Wednesday morning, Richmond, Va., Wednesday afternoon, and back to Washington Wednesday night.

The confusion characterizing the organization of the much-talked-about McGovern southern swing offers a clue to the relationship the senator has, or more appropriately has not, had with establishment Southern Democratic leaders.

It is the establishment leaders whom he will be courting during the three-day trip South next week, for they now have access to the remaining uncommitted convention delegates.

A good example is Gov. Carter who holds sway over 35 of the state's 43 free delegates (Georgia has a total of 53.)

IN LIGHT of Carter's past positions, it seems unlikely the senator has much hope of wooing and winning any of the governor's troops. This leaves eight net delegate votes McGovern might be eyeing.

A breakdown of the other Southern states he will visit shows 27 uncommitted in Arkansas — most in the pocket of Rep. Wilbur Mills; 33 uncommitted in Texas — most for Humphrey or George Wallace; 25 in Oklahoma, most controlled by Gov. David Hall; 32 in South Carolina, mostly Humphrey people; and 16 in Virginia, the majority anti-McGovern.

So the most McGovern could realistically hope to gain during the Southern trip is a handful of the uncommitted. But, according to the latest tallies, he now has 1,324 sure first-ballot votes for the July 10 convention. A few handfuls are really about all he needs to reach the 1,509 votes to win the nomination.

June 23, 1972

Sen

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Journal June 29, 1974

# Now for November

6/29



JACK SPALDING

SEN. McGOVERN and his crowd were late for the Tuesday evening rally on the Washington Street side of the Capitol. That's all right. Jack Kennedy was late. Carl Sanders was late. It's Democratic. Furthermore the McGovern group had heard earlier in Little Rock that rain had washed out the Atlanta speech. So they didn't hurry.

The good weather held, and what is remarkable, so did the crowd. It was a young crowd and loyal. It had formed by 7:30 and an hour later still was there. It was good-natured and loose. It was mostly white. Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr., Rep. Julian Bond and Vice Mayor Maynard Jackson were on the platform, waiting for the senator. There were few blacks on the street.

There was a lot of security. Press cards didn't get you anywhere unless you were traveling with the McGovern party. The traveling press arrived by bus and ambled across the Capitol grounds from the Mitchell Street side, congregating before the speaker's stand which in turn was before the statue of Tom Watson.

There were city and state police before the platform and the Secret Service. There was a policeman on the balcony above the Capitol entrance scanning the scene with spyglasses. He was still at it when it became too dark to see.

There were endorsements from the platform, most notable being that of Maynard Jackson, a Democratic delegate. It was interesting also in view of Mayor Sam Massell's earlier endorsement of Hubert Humphrey.

THERE WERE some placards. "Jesus, Yes, McGovern, No." "Neville Chamberlain got us into World War II, Sen. McGovern into World War III." The Socialist Workers party had a banner. It wasn't a unanimous crowd.

THE CANDIDATE looks good. Trim and vigorous enough. His wife is a little beauty. Tiny. They were not punchy as candidates and their parties frequently are on the road. At a reception after the talk they were fresh looking and obviously aware of their surroundings and the new people they were meeting.

Sen. McGovern is a letdown if you're expecting a woolly radical, and woolly radical is the reputation which preceded him. He's working to modify

this reputation. The day before his Atlanta talk he'd scuttled his old welfare plan. He has been under pressure from Southern conservatives to be more conciliatory about busing. He doesn't look wild. He didn't sound wild. Against the statue of Tom Watson and against the memory of other old Populists, he's an understated sort. He is no rabble-rouser. But that was no rabble in the street either.

He got his biggest hand on Vietnam. He is against.

He got another big one on tax reform. He is for.

All in all he left a pleasant impression rather than a burning memory.

SEN. McGOVERN is this year's phenomenon. He came out of the pit to the peak of the Democratic pinnacle via the primaries. For one thing his opponents were weary veterans. The

voters are weary of weary politicians. His is a fresh face. So far. A new voice. At the beginning he spoke the aspirations of the young. He spoke for the idealists and the reformers. The crowds began to follow him.

He goes to Miami the almost certain nominee.

After the convention?

He faces a Republican party which is riding high.

But will the Republicans be riding so high in November?

Certainly, if President Nixon satisfies the country on Vietnam and if the country believes that the President knows what he is about on the inflation and domestic fronts.

But one wrong move in Vietnam, another percentage increase in unemployment and the cost of living and the McGovern fever may spread to the discontented of all ages.

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WAITS LONG, WON'T GO 4/28

# McGovern Crowd Young, Integrated, Strong-Lunged

By MAURICE FLIESS

It was what is becoming known as a "typical McGovern crowd." Young. Enthusiastic. Integrated. New to the political arena. Idealistic. Vowing to do whatever it takes to make George McGovern the president of the United States, effective Jan. 20, 1973.

The crowd — estimates ranged from 3,500 to 6,000 — lined Washington Street in front of the Georgia Capitol early Tuesday evening, the first few arriving well before 7 p.m.

The vanguard waited patiently, joined by scores more every minute, until McGovern appeared — about an hour after the announced speaking time of 7:30 p.m. They whooped it up, interrupting his

30-minute speech more than 20 times with football-like cheers.

AND WHEN it was over, instead of making a beeline for home, they rushed over to get as close as possible to their favorite ("I touched him," one girl screamed. "I touched him, too," a male companion exulted). Then they went to church.

No, they didn't go to pray for George McGovern's success at the Democratic National Convention. (Nor did they feel the need to, since he — a 50-to-1 longshot a mere six months ago — now is a heavy favorite to capture the presidential nomination.) They didn't go to ask divine blessings for McGovern in his almost-certain race with Rich-

ard Nixon for the White House this fall (although most observers are saying it would take a miracle, political or otherwise, for McGovern to pull off a victory in November).

They went across the street to Central Presbyterian Church to register. And to mobilize.

Jim Tramel, an under-30 sort who is heading McGovern's Atlanta campaign headquarters, reported that 250 persons signed up Tuesday night to work for McGovern in Georgia. Forty-five people, he said, registered to vote.

"They waited in line for a long time," even with lightning and thunder overhead,

another McGovern campaign worker noted.

"These are the kinds of people who are committed to carrying Georgia for McGovern in November," she added.

Trammell said he hopes to put together a "hard core" army of about 5,000 volunteers, most of them young and abounding in energy, who will work at getting Georgians to back McGovern, and to get these people to the polls Nov. 7.

He likened the organization he has in mind to the kind which put McGovern over the top in party primaries in Wisconsin, California and elsewhere.

THE YOUTHFUL McGovern team here has found, with McGovern's sudden blossoming as the Democratic front-runner, that their quarters at 88 Walton St. NW, are severely inadequate. Eighty-eight Walton St. is where the Atlanta branch of the American Civil Liberties Union has its office, and the McGovern for President staffers are occupying the downstairs foyer, spilling over onto the stairs leading to the second floor.

They plan to move to a new location — "we don't know where yet, just anywhere," Tramel exclaimed — from which they hope to map a coalition of young people, working people, poor people, black and white people that will put Georgia and its 12 electoral votes in the McGovern column come November.

Sen

7-17-4-1-1

July 6, 1974

# McGovern Regains Delegates

Ted Kennedy emissary has made it to George McGovern he will not be presidential candidate. Page 13-A.

WASHINGTON (AP) — A federal appeals court Wednesday ordered 151 California delegates restored to Sen. George S. McGovern, putting his forces to claim first-ballot-vic strength at the Democratic Convention in Miami Beach.

However, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, late Wednesday voided the effect of that ruling and announced involving Illinois delegates until 2 p.m. today to give the parties a chance to appeal to the Supreme Court.

In addition to the California delegate action, the court upheld a party Credentials

McGovern's strength at 1,436.65, less than short of the 1,509 delegate votes needed for nomination. Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota has 392.55 by the count, Alabama's George Wallace has 381 and Maine's Edmund S. Muskie has 225.55.

Some delegates officially classified as uncommitted, however, have said they are going to McGovern.

The Credentials Committee stripped McGovern of the California delegates by deciding to apportion them among all candidates on the amount of votes each received in a primary.

The circuit court held that while the apportionment might be more fair than the

committee ruling, which ousted Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley and 58 other Illinois convention delegates and blocked any state action that would interfere with the final decision.

This was another plus for the South Dakota senator since the Daley slate was uncommitted but a majority of the replacements favor McGovern.

An appeal to the Supreme Court still is possible for the anti-McGovern and pro-Daley forces.

Wick Stearns, McGovern's chief delegate spokesman, said McGovern now has 1,541.5 delegate votes, enough to assure a first-ballot nomination.

If the circuit court ruling stands, The Associated Press delegate count would place

## From Page 1-A

winner-take-all manner in which the primary was set up, changing the rules after the game was over "was inconsistent with fundamental principles of due process."

The majority opinion in the 2-1 California decision declared that the "Democratic party did not merely interpret one of its rules—in essence, it acted in defiance of its own rules as interpreted in the call for the 1972 convention by establishing retroactively an entirely new and unannounced standard of conduct."

The losers in both cases followed usual legal practice and asked the circuit court to stay the effect of its ruling. They are expected also to ask Chief Justice Warren E. Burger to call the Supreme Court, which adjourned last week, into session to hear appeals.

Before the court could hear the cases, Burger would have to summon vacationing justices for a special session of which there have been only three in history.

The circuit court directed the U.S. District Court which originally heard the cases to write an order declaring the Credentials Committee action on California null and void and enjoining any further action against the McGovern delegates based on the winner-take-all issue.

In the Illinois portion of the decision, a unanimous court held that the party does

have the right to impose requirements on delegate selection.

The Credentials Committee had ousted the 59 Illinois delegates for violation of those requirements.

In order to protect the judgment, the court wrote, "It is necessary to enjoin (Daley forces) from taking any action in any other court that would impair the integrity of the judgments of this court."

If state-court actions were successful, the opinion continued, "One likely result would be that no delegates from the challenged Illinois districts could be seated at the convention."

McGovern said the will of California voters and the rules of the Democratic party had been affirmed by the decision.

In a dissenting opinion in the California portion of the case, Judge Charles Fahy said the Credentials Committee should have been upheld because it distributed the vote according to popular will.

Moreover, Fahy wrote, the decision was not in itself a denial of due process nor inconsistent with "the ongoing reform movement within the party."

Frank Mankiewicz, McGovern's campaign director, said the decision of the circuit court, if it stands, will prevent the convention from taking any further action in the California seating case.

"It would be in defiance of the court if the convention went ahead and seated any other delegates," he said.

Sen

17-4-1-1

July 5, 1974

**Carl Rowan 2/5**  
**McGovern & Black Unity**

WASHINGTON — Rep. Shirley Chisholm is so enraged she says she plans to call a n the people how delegate Walter Fauntroy lied to her and double-crossed her even after wrapping a pledge to her in his status as a minister.



The spunky Congressswoman says, "A few members of the Black Caucus are trying to become kingmakers" by making deals with Sen. George McGovern that represent "the same old politics under the name of reform."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey and his black supporter are crying betrayal, asserting that they have been stabbed in the back by men Humphrey helped bring to power.

Blacks from Washington state to Mississippi are complaining that a handful of blacks in Washington are trying to render the July convention meaningless by delivering the votes of black delegates to McGovern in June.

This searing furor rages in black communities across the nation because Reps. Louis Stokes of Cleveland, William Clay of St. Louis and Walter Fauntroy, Congressional delegate from the District of Columbia, held a widely-publicized press conference with McGovern in which they pledged what they thought were enough black delegates to assure McGovern the nomination on the first ballot.

The Chisholm and Humphrey camps accuse the three black Congressmen of playing "a numbers game" of pledging delegates they don't have.

Fannie Lou Hamer, the noted Mississippi fighter for the poor, says the Fauntroy group overstated her position and that she will "cling to my little vote and stay uncommitted."

Charles Evers, the black mayor of Fayette, Miss., says he has 16 black votes and that "the Black Caucus had no right to say that we are supporting McGovern. Humphrey has been with black people down through the years, and I don't think it's right to turn on him. I don't know anything McGovern's done for black people that would cause me to shift to him."

Mrs. Chisholm says she declined to run in the D.C. primary, leaving the field virtually clear for Fauntroy, when he promised that after a "favorite son" gesture he would release the D.C. delegates to her.

"When I told him I was skeptical," Mrs. Chisholm recalls, "he asked me to remember that he was a minister. I said, 'Well, on that basis I take your word.'"

"He's a liar, and he can't do that to me and get away with it. Fauntroy hasn't heard anything from me yet," she added.

Fauntroy contends his pledge was that the delegates would "stay uncommitted until the propitious time to move. One thing blacks have to learn is when the convention is held. The convention was held yesterday (Monday), when we pledged those delegates to McGovern, insofar as picking the Presidential candidate is concerned."

Fauntroy says he, Stokes, and Clay knew that three governors were telling McGovern that they could deliver the votes he needed. "We wanted to get there first and use our leverage to get specific commitments for blacks."

Among commitments Fauntroy says McGovern made is a promise to spend 40 to 50 per cent of all voter registration money in black communities, and to increase substantially the black role in the conduct of the Presidential campaign.

I asked Fauntroy if he felt they had betrayed an old friend, Humphrey, who also had helped Fauntroy win election.

"I'm saddened about Humphrey, and I know Lou Stokes is," he replied, "but Bill Clay put it best when he said: 'We have no permanent friends and no permanent enemies, just permanent interests.'"

Sen

1-17-4-1-4

Continued from First Page

"I can see a sizable proportion of those delegates being the same people who supported me in 1972," he said. "They were out again at the Kansas City miniconvention last December."

But whether the "McGovernites" still have a powerful voice in the party, whether they would go with him or follow his lead next year is a hard thing to determine, he said.

"I think the country has made a big investment in me. I was a presidential candidate and I think my voice probably is still heard by some Americans.

"The question is how to use that ability most effectively."

It is no secret that McGovern is not enchanted with the current crop of Democratic presidential contenders. He clearly is afraid a political centrist, instead of a liberal, will wind up with the Democratic nomination for President.

And if that happens, he said, Democrats will lose.

If the 1976 campaign looks like two people competing as to who's standing more squarely in the center of the road, then I think all the advantage is with the incumbent.

"The only time the American people will throw out an incumbent is when they like the alternative and if it's spelled out in a way that they feel they have a clear choice."

What if he sits this one out, goes to the convention and a deadlock develops; would the delegates turn to him?

"I think I would not be their first choice. I think it's more likely in a kind of compromise situation that they might turn to somebody like Sen. (Hubert H.) Humphrey. He's been around for a long time. Every Democrat in the nation knows him. Or someone like Sen. (Edmund S.) Muskie."

McGovern beat Humphrey by 173,588 votes in the California primary in 1972, but then lost the state to Mr. Nixon by 1,126,149 votes in the runoff. The senator still believes he is among friends in Democratic circles here.

He recently completed well-publicized tours of Cuba and the Middle East, and came here to report on his findings to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council at the Beverly Hilton.

McGovern also touched base with the equally prestigious Commonwealth Club in San Francisco—and if that makes it appear he is, in fact, a candidate, he relates it more to his current expertise in the field of foreign relations.

His message on the Middle East situation: Arabs should recognize Israel; Israel must withdraw to the 1967 borders "with practical modifications," and Palestinians must have some self-determination "in the form of an independent state, confederation with Jordan or some other similar arrangement."

As for Cuba, McGovern repeated his call for a lifting of the embargo placed on Cuba by the Organization of American States and said Prime Minister Fidel Castro appears to be signaling an interest in normalizing relations with the United States.

McGovern

Los Angeles Times  
1-2-75

**PRESIDENTIAL DRIVE DISCOUNTED**

# Another Bid Unlikely, McGovern Says

**BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ**  
Times Political Writer

If his friends had their way, Sen. George McGovern says, "they'd like to see me President—but they don't want me to run for it."

Partly dead serious, partly self-mocking, the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee Tuesday discussed his current political stance regarding the 1976 presidential race.

He has sent personal letters to 30 of his closest supporters, contributors and advisers in the 1972 contest, asking them what role he ought to play in the forthcoming presidential battle. The returns have just started coming in.

"They don't want me to go through another campaign like 1972 which they feel would have only an outside chance of winning," McGovern said.

"I think most of my friends and supporters think I had a good run at it in 1972. We didn't make it. I was defeated by a large margin.

"I think they feel that there was a certain amount of distortion in the public mind about me, that we took kind of a beating in 1972 that was brought about partly by the hatchet job that was done on me by the opposition.

"I think they're reluctant to see me get into it again. What they're saying, in effect, is that if they had the power to appoint somebody, they would name me to the Presidency."

But run again? It is not in the cards, he said.

As for those who want to see him become President, but not by running for it, they are "sympathizers" who still feel the pain of the 1972

race that saw him lose to then-President Richard M. Nixon everywhere except in Massachusetts and the District of Columbia.

McGovern laughed when he said it.

And yet, in the back of his mind, the presidential prospect lingers on.

Later in the conversation, he said matter-of-factly that "if I thought I could win the Democratic nomination and go on to win the Presidency, I would announce tomorrow and go after it."

But he cannot see that happening, McGovern said.

The mere act of writing letters to the 30 close advisers might be construed as a preliminary step to getting into the current presidential picture, but he said it was not intended that way.

"I simply wanted them to comment

on several possibilities, several roles that I might play looking toward 1976," he said.

"The first three options (listed in the letter) had nothing to do with me being a candidate.

"I asked whether they thought it would be useful for me to endorse a candidate at some point. Or whether it would be useful for me to utilize whatever limited veto power I might have on some of the candidates. Or whether I could better use the Senate floor to speak out more effectively than I have been."

In a large measure, McGovern conceded, he is attempting to measure how much political clout he still has in the Democratic Party and with the delegates yet to be chosen for the 1976 convention.

Please Turn to Page 3, Col. 1

DEC 8 1974

*B. H. Hall*



SEN. JACKSON VISITS GEORGIA DELEGATION  
Gov. Carter (R), Jackson Are Both Hopefuls

PAGE ONE

# McGovern Rejects '76 Presidential Bid

KANSAS CITY, Mo. (UPI) — Sen. George S. McGovern said Saturday he will not seek or accept the 1976 presidential nomination — the fourth prominent Democrat to spurn a campaign for the White House.

Despite a chanting, cheering welcome at the mid-term convention, McGovern said he would not be a candidate "under any circumstances," ending speculation he might seek a repeat of his 1972 nomination.

McGovern, who led Democrats to their most disastrous defeat two years ago, told UPI he would not run "because I can do more for the party free of the burdens of campaigning."

McGovern joined Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Florida Gov. Reubin Askew on the political sidelines. All four — especially Kennedy — had been considered possibilities for the nomination.

Florida Gov. Reubin Askew on the political sidelines. All four — especially Kennedy — had been considered possibilities for the nomination.

Kennedy was mobbed when he arrived at the convention hall, getting more attention than any of the candidates, and ran into McGovern who jokingly said "I'm leaving you in charge here now. Good luck."

While the list of pullouts grew, announced and unannounced candidates for the nomination continued hectic campaigning among delegates.

Among the most active were Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Sen. Lloyd Bensten of Texas, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia and Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

# McGovernites dig Nebraska grass roots

By Trudy Rubin

Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Nebraska City, Neb.

The McGovern for President headquarters in Nebraska City sits in a storefront in a two-story red-brick building across from Pete's Feed and Seed Store and down the street from Farmers Bank.

The storefront is owned by an elderly lady member of the American Independent Party, who agreed to rent to the McGovern people after the nice long chat she had with the young man who runs the operation.

If Senator McGovern wins the Nebraska primary, the story of his victory may be written here in Nebraska City, population 7,500. Since less than 40 percent of registered Democrats live in the two major cities of Omaha and Lincoln, the farm vote is especially important here.

In a 3½-week blitz of activity since he opened the office, Wis-

consin native Harvey Werner and his hastily assembled team of locals, plus five new student recruits from Kansas, have personally visited almost every registered Democrat in the small farming towns in five surrounding counties as well as those in the relatively populous Nebraska City, the state's oldest town about 70 miles south of Omaha.

In those hamlets of 150 to 200 people, too small to have listings by street number, the volunteers visited every house lest they overlook one of the precious few registered Democrats.

There is no Humphrey office in Nebraska City, a town principally distinguished for its self-advertised role as the founder of the Arbor Day tree festival. So far, say locals, the only sign of the former Vice-President, whose campaign came relatively late to the state, was random distribution of leaflets in the town last week.

Humphrey spokesmen say they hope to phone canvass all registered Democrats, playing a 30-second recorded message of the Senator's voice over the phone on an electronic machine operated by Omaha volunteers and by callers paid \$2.00 per hour.

As in all his primary campaigns, Senator McGovern's forces are stressing personal contact as the key to victory, parceling out the small towns throughout the state of 25 storefront field offices and channeling car loads of out of state students directly to out-of-the-way locals for last-minute canvassing.

## Uncertain results

What kind of returns the canvassing investment will bring is still unsure. People have shown interest, the old more than the young, but they stay uncommittal about their vote.

Voters here in Nebraska City seem less concerned with the issues of amnesty, abortion and marijuana laws — which have become controversial in Omaha.

"If we win, it will be because of personal contact — because we go into all these hamlets, said Mr. Werner, who drove 1,000 miles in his first week in Nebraska City, 500 over gravel roads.

"No way any other candidate can get to Dunbar or Douglas or Cook now," he gloats.

While the Humphrey campaign has shunned foot canvassing as too time-consuming, McGovernites have operated on the principle of unlimited man-energy per vote sought. This, of course, depends on an endless supply of manpower provided in part, though never to the degree needed, by young followers like Mr. Werner.

## Campaigner at work

Tall chunky Mr. Werner, an art-school graduate from the farm town of Random Lake, Wis., who worked for Sen. Eugene McCarthy in 1968, came to Nebraska City after working the Wisconsin primary.

He came at the behest of young organizational wizard Gene Pokorny, the 25-year-old Nebraska native who managed Mr. McGovern's Wisconsin win, and is helping run the Nebraska campaign.

"I came to this town with a car, some

money for rent, and a few names," he explained. "After several phone calls I found the store and a place to stay with the local minister."

He then proceeded to line up a couple of housewives, some high-school teachers, a railroad worker, and two preachers for canvassing, and set up many offices in volunteers' homes in nearby towns.

"It's hard to get local students," he explained. "They all have jobs or else they have to go home and plant corn during the season."

## Ministers canvass

The preachers, however, including Mr. Werner's host, have gone out canvassing every day for 10 days, hitting three towns a day. One of his best canvassers is a 14-year-old high-school girl, the granddaughter of a local mill owner who switched his Republican Party membership two months ago to become a McGovern delegate on the ballot. Mr. Werner has to deliver her canvassing materials via her grandfather, however, because her staunchly Republican father highly disapproves.

Mr. Werner and his friends have distributed at local farm auctions and teen dances, cranking out fliers on a hand-run mimeograph machine. They got permission from the high-school principal for Mrs. Eleanor McGovern to speak to the students.

## A pay raise

For a grand finale they smoothed the way for a visit by the Senator himself on Sunday. For his 18-hours-a-day labor, Mr. Werner's salary has recently been raised from \$30 to \$50 a week.

He reports little hostility to the campaign or to him as an outsider.

"After all I am a Midwesterner, too," he stresses.

"We've had several Republicans say they would vote for McGovern if he got the nomination, but they won't change their registration," he went on.

(Republicans and Independents will not be able to cross party lines in this primary, as they have in some previous ones.)

But he added, brightening, "We can always canvass them again during the presidential campaign."

Sen  
1-17-4-4-1

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McGovern

## McGovern Plans Meetings With '72 Supporters in N.H.

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) is meeting this weekend in New Hampshire with a score of his former supporters there, in what happens to be another step in his exploration of a 1976 presidential campaign.

The 1972 Democratic presidential nominee and his wife, Eleanor, are guests of Walter Dunfey, a member of the politically influential family of hotel operators, at Dunfey's home in Rye, N.H.

Dunfey said yesterday he had invited "12 or 15 couples who were very helpful to him [McGovern] last time" to meet with the senator during the weekend.

Two weeks ago, McGovern sent personal letters to some of his major supporters around the country, asking for their private advice on whether he should endorse one of the active candidates, indicate publicly which candidates he could not support, or run for the nomination himself.

The letter reiterated McGovern's public position that he was not planning to run, and his press secretary, Alan Baron, said most of the replies received indicated agreement with the senator's decision.

"Most of them say we don't think you should do anything right now. Wait a couple of months. No one [in the field] has taken off yet, but you ought to give them until September or October to see if they do."

"No one is pushing him into the race," Baron said, "but many of them think he could win the nomination again, and they would be willing to help. But he thinks himself it would be an uphill fight against President Ford."

The return visit to New Hampshire has symbolic and practical importance for McGovern. It was there in 1972 that his campaign gained credibility, with a surprisingly strong second-place finish to Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine). And it is there that such 1976 contenders as Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), ex-Sen. Fred R. Harris (D-Okla.), ex-Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, and ex-Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina plan their first test of strength next year.

Dunfey, who was a Muskie backer in the 1972 primary, said he is uncommitted for 1976. But he noted that many of the former McGovern backers invited to meet with the senator have signed up with Udall or Carter for next year.

Dunfey, who was host to another potential aspirant, Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), two weeks ago, said he thought McGovern wanted to "have an impact on the selection process, and it may be you have to be a candidate to do that."

In a related development, Carter met last Tuesday evening with a group of former McGovern campaign aides and asked them for support for his race. One of those present said he won no immediate converts but impressed them as a "decent, tough, disciplined guy . . . a guy we could certainly support on the ticket."

Another guest at the session noted that the Georgian had been a leader in stopping McGovern efforts before the 1972 convention and said, "he [Carter] made a good impression as somebody who might help to stop [Alabama Democratic Gov. C.] Wallace this time, even if you wouldn't want him to be President of the United States."

*Candidate file; McGovern*

THE WASHINGTON POST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 28

George F. Will ✓

## Recycling McGovern-ism

Gray suits, graying hair: Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen looks like a pewter statue of Bourgeois Virtue. Announcing his presidential candidacy he said: "I am convinced that Democrats of all persuasions can unite again around worthwhile ideas . . ."

Oh? Bourgeois Virtue, meet George McGovern.

Bentsen probably does not subscribe to Rolling Stone magazine, which is an "Our Weekly Reader" for those members of the Now Generation who still read. It is spirited, a bit mad, and informative, in its way, on rock groups and stereo components.

But the March 13 issue unbends from such serious pre-occupations and includes a McGovern essay, rather grandly titled "The State of the Union." Bentsen should read it before he plights his troth to Democrats of all persuasions.

McGovern's article is instructive not only because the rhetoric is at once extreme and exhausted, but also because of the caliber of mind revealed by strangely skewed sentences like this: "CIA (domestic) spying symbolizes our strategy for the rest of the world turned inward—a bad barrel spilling the apples."

That remarkable sentence parses—it has subject, object, predicate—but what does it mean? Perhaps it is rude to ask.

Such rhetoric is designed to have impact, which, Lord knows, is not the same thing as meaning. Evidently McGovern wants to say that U.S.

*"McGovern urges us to 'ride and reinforce the wave of change.' That wave, like the 'freight train of history,' is mass transit for extremists."*

"strategy" is to "spoil" the rest of the world.

Having solved the riddle of our foreign policy, he turns his attention to questions of political economy, and says: Concentrations of economic power make it "foolish to expect that any fiscal or monetary policy will work, whether the adversary is inflation or recession or both."

Note the little word "any": It expresses the extravagance that pulses through every McGovern utterance. Such language does to thoughts what dynamite does to raindrops: it blows them into mist.

He says it is time we had a "decent public agenda." Evidently he thinks that today's agenda is not just wrong or misguided or foolish, but indecent. Honorable people, people of good will, cannot disagree with him: U.S. political life is a Manichaean struggle between the forces of decency and indecency.

As evidence that advertising can "brainwash the consumer" (McGov-

ern's words), he notes: "No one was ever born, for example, with a taste for huge gas-guzzling automobiles. That is one of so many created demands." That sentence is, of course, true, but is evidence not of advertising's effect on the American people, but rather of McGovern's opinion of the American people.

One can admire McGovern's refusal to hide his opinion of Americans, whom he describes (and, presumably, would govern) as easily manipulated, brainwashed masses.

One cannot admire the analytic rigor of his distinction between "tastes" we are born with and "created demands" which, because they are created—presumably by the "lavish advertising budgets" that terrify McGovern—are not respectable.

McGovern says we are victims of "economic royalists," to coin a phrase. And with his death-where-is-thy-sting fearlessness, he tells Rolling Stone readers that he does not like Cadillacs, oil companies, or the "ethic of militar-

ism" which, he says, has no (you guessed it) "decent relevance" to the world's problems.

McGovern sees "a great wave cresting across America," one swelled by "revulsion" against our corrupted, values and exploited economy. But, he warns, the cresting wave has enemies:

"The economic royalists will fight to turn it aside. For it threatens to sweep over the status quo and sweep down the walls which guard the citadels of economic privilege."

Gadzooks!  
The caliber of radical rhetoric has been declining since Milton's advocacy during the English Civil War, but this is ridiculous. Judged aesthetically, which is the only way to judge such stuff, McGovern's rhetoric compels this thought: It is unrealistic to expect American radicals to have a new idea every 40 years, yet surely they could at least recycle their metaphors.

McGovern urges us to "ride and reinforce the wave of change." That wave, like the "freight train of history," is mass transit for extremists, and is another tuckered out metaphor.

But enough.  
A tree, which only God can make, was felled, reduced to pulp, and made into paper so that Rolling Stone could print McGovern's essay. But the tree did not die fruitlessly. It helped provide Bentsen with evidence of this fact: He and other moderate Democrats are going to have a strenuous time trying to unite with those Democrats—and their name is legion—who still are of the McGovern persuasion.

DEC 8 1974 *E. Smith*

# McGovern Spurns Nomination

By STEVE GERSTEL  
KANSAS CITY, Mo. (UPI) — Sen. George S. McGovern said Saturday he will not seek or accept the 1976 presidential nomination — the fourth prominent Democrat to spurn a campaign for the White House.

Despite a chanting, cheering welcome at the mid-term convention, McGovern said he would not be a candidate "under any circumstances," ending speculation he might seek a repeat of his 1972 nomination.

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McGovern joined Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, and Florida Gov. Reubin Askew on the political sidelines. All four — especially Kennedy — had been considered possibilities for the nomination.

Kennedy was mobbed when he arrived at the convention hall, getting more attention than any of the candidates, and

ran into McGovern who jokingly said "I'm leaving you in charge here now. Good luck."

While the list of probouts grew, announced and unannounced candidates for the nomination continued hectic campaigning among delegates to the convention, many of whom will be back in two years to nominate the next presidential candidate.

Among the most active were Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Sen. Lloyd Bensten of Texas, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, and Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Jackson will decide within a week when and where he will declare himself an official candidate, according to sources here. The announcement will be linked with an event in his home state and will come before the 94th Congress convenes Jan. 14.

Jackson, according to the same sources, welcomes the prospect of being tabbed the front-runner for the nomination and a top aide said the "label builds up steam."

Udall, Jackson, and Byrd

traveled the caucus meeting delegates and partially paralyzed well-wishers in his

Byrd, who gave an address to the Friday night, said he received "a good encouragement" delegates, but added actively seeking any

"Bob Byrd for posters showed up tion hotels but Byrd a "spontaneous movement" part of the West delegates.

Udall said "I am encouraged...the people who have work for me has hopes."

Udall, the only announced candidate, said his campaign has been "accelerated" Kennedy-Mondale "faster than I anticipated."

"Most people aren't ready to choose up sides at this stage," Udall said. "But I am hoping to develop a basis of support."

Carter said he has talked to at least 20 state well as individual said he plans announcement on in Atlanta Thursday.

# Media Funded Bulk Of McGovern Trip

By Stephen Isaacs

Washington Post Staff Writer

The recent trip of Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) to Cuba—which was publicized heavily by the media—was largely paid for by the media as well.

Although McGovern's fare and that of one aide were paid for by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, those of his wife, Eleanor, and two aides from his staff were subsidized by the 31 reporters who accompanied them.

McGovern solicited members of the press to accompany him to Cuba, which he visited from May 5 to 8.

Reporters frequently pay the total cost of a chartered airplane during political campaigns, meaning that candidates and their campaign staffs often end up receiving free travel.

The Cuban trip was not a campaign trip, but Alan Baron, McGovern's press secretary, said that "this was a unique kind of thing. I'm not sure how many trips there are like this one."

Each of the 31 reporters who flew from Homestead Air Force Base (near Miami) to Cuba with the McGoverns paid \$250, said Baron, and when all of the bills are com-

plied, each will receive a refund of between \$40 and \$50.

The costs included \$4,880 for the Convair airplane rented from a private firm, a bus to transport the party to and from Homestead, and Baron's expenses in arranging the charter and security at Homestead beforehand.

Baron said it would not have been necessary for him and aide John Holum to go along had it not been for the large number of reporters who decided to go, and that he spent two weeks lining up visas for the newsmen.

The custom of pro-rating air charter fares among reporters, and omitting candidates and their staffs, started a number of years ago.

In 1972, most of the Democratic candidates used that method of financing their travel, including Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), McGovern, then New York Mayor John V. Lindsay and others.

In 1972, said Baron (who was then with the Muskie campaign), reporters traveling with McGovern were charged 150 per cent of the first-class air fare, which, he said "at least covered the cost of the plane."

Wash Post  
June 30  
1976

# McGovern Letter Tests '76 Support

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern (D-Iowa) has written some of his 1972 backers and asked them "personal, confidential" advice on whether he should run for President again in 1976.

In a letter sent last week to some supporters, McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee, said, "As things stand now, I do not intend to become a candidate." However, he outlined a race of his own as one of three options.

He also asked supporters to react to the possibility of his endorsing a liberal candidate now in the field or to making a statement identifying "who is unacceptable" to him.

After outlining those options, McGovern said he was being urged "to consider entering the race myself and to enter primaries in states such as Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York" and he asked for reactions.

In 1972, McGovern finished surprisingly strong second to Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) in New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation primary and four primaries in the three other states he mentioned.

The letter sent last week was the first time since his crushing defeat by President Nixon in 1972 that McGovern formally raised the possibility of another presidential campaign. He waged a difficult battle for re-election to the Senate last year, and, before and after that struggle, said, "I am not going to be a candidate in 1976."

McGovern was en route to California yesterday and was unavailable for comment. His wife, Eleanor, said she was unaware of the letter and declined to discuss any possible change of political plans.

McGovern met in mid-May with a group of former campaign aides to discuss his role in 1976 and said afterward there was general agreement he should retain his noncandi-

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date status for now. But he also said concern was expressed whether another liberal would emerge who can challenge the three candidates McGovern regards as clearly more conservative than himself—Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas, and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Those at the session expressed concern that unless a liberal won a strong victory in one of the early primaries, Jackson "might score a coup" in New York, which has advanced its primary date from mid-June to early May.

In the letter sent last week, McGovern expressed strong concern about the current prospects of the country and the Democratic Party. He asserted that the Democrats are "failing to exert strong, effective leadership" in Congress and warned that President Ford "seems to have bottomed out" in his personal ratings.

As he did at last December's Democratic miniconvention, McGovern warned in the letter against the Democrats' adopting a "no-issues, centrist response." he said only the election of a liberal Democratic President could end the stalemate and veto battles that hobble government today.

"Of course, I want to do everything in my power to see that this happens," McGovern wrote, "so I am seeking your candid advice on a personal, confidential basis as to the best role I can play. Some have suggested that I endorse one of the presidential candidates in order to help a strong liberal emerge. Is this a good idea? What do you think of the present candidates?"

"Others have urged I make clear now who is unacceptable as the Democratic presidential nominee—in short, that I identify certain candidates with whom we fundamentally disagree on either domestic or foreign questions.

Finally, others are calling on me to consider entering the race myself and to enter primaries in states such as Wis-

consin, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York.

Although McGovern carried only Massachusetts and the District of Columbia in the election contest with President Nixon in 1972, many Democrats believe that his ability to raise small contributions from supporters and to attract volunteer workers would match or exceed that of any of the declared Democratic candidates.

In addition to Bentsen, Jackson and Wallace, the declared candidates bidding for elements of McGovern's liberal support include Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, ex-Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, ex-Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, ex-Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania and state Sen. Julian Bond of Georgia.

There also have been indications that three other liberals are considering entering the race—Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Sargent Shriver, McGovern's 1972 vice presidential running mate.

### GEORGE MCGOVERN, A Biographical Sketch

George McGovern was born on July 19, 1922, the son of a Wesleyan Methodist Minister in Avon, South Dakota. Six years later, the family, which now included two boys and two girls, moved to Mitchell, a relative metropolis of 6,000 which Senator McGovern still thinks of as his home.

Educated at local public schools, McGovern was attending Dakota Wesleyan University when World War II erupted. He enlisted in the Army Air Corps, won his wings as a bomber pilot, and flew 35 missions over Europe from bases in Italy and North Africa. On his 30th mission, when flak struck his plane and mortally wounded his navigator, McGovern nursed the disabled plane to a crash landing on the Adriatic island of Vis and was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for valor.

After the war, McGovern returned for his bachelor's degree at Dakota Wesleyan, and went on for a doctorate in history at Northwestern. In 1953, while he was teaching political science and history at Dakota Wesleyan, he decided to enter politics full-time.

Just 30, McGovern became the first salaried organizer for the almost non-existent Democratic Party in South Dakota. After three years of intensive and successful efforts to rebuild the party, he ran for Congress on a shoestring budget and won. He served two terms in the House, and in 1960 President John F. Kennedy appointed him Director of the Food for Peace program. From this post, McGovern initiated the modern American program of food assistance, eliminating surpluses at home while feeding the poor around the world.

In 1962, McGovern ran for the Senate and unseated the incumbent Republican by 597 votes. In the Senate, McGovern soon established himself as a leading liberal and spokesman for farmers in the Plains States. He was the first United States Senator to speak out against American involvement in the Indochina war. Since September of 1963 he has led the evergrowing anti-war movement in the Congress and in the nation. In 1968, the Vietnam issue drew him to the candidacy of Robert Kennedy. After Kennedy was assassinated, McGovern was urged to hold Kennedy's anti-war supporters together by running himself at the Chicago convention. He received 146½ delegate votes after a 23 day campaign, and became one of the leaders and strongest voices in the Democratic Party.

Since 1968, Senator McGovern has intensified his opposition to the war. With Senator Mark Hatfield, he co-sponsored a resolution requiring the withdrawal of all American forces by the end of 1971. As chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Need, he helped focus attention on widespread malnutrition in this country. As chairman of the Democratic National Committee's McGovern Commission, he pressed successfully for party reforms which will insure an open, broadly representative convention in 1972.

On January 18, 1971, Senator McGovern formally announced his candidacy for the office of President of the United States. It was an unprecedented early announcement, but necessary in order to conduct the campaign with candor, and at the same time to make up lost ground on his opponents. Since then, he has traveled the country seeking support, developing the themes of his campaign, and looking and learning about America. According to the latest polls, he is steadily gaining ground in this greatest endeavor any American can undertake.

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