

Edmund Muskie

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MUSKIE News

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MUSKIE INTRODUCES SPENDING REFORM BILL

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, introduced today (Tuesday) legislation to improve the degree of control Congress exercises over the federal bureaucracy by requiring virtually every federal program to receive a formal review and reauthorization at least once every four years.

The "Government Economy and Spending Reform Act of 1976" would also require so-called zero-based review of the programs. Original cosponsors of the bill are Sens. William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., and John Glenn, D-Ohio.

"...Government inefficiency is becoming today's number one villain," Muskie said in a speech prepared for the Senate. "Horror stories about bureaucratic bungling make good copy, and I'm sure that all of us at one time or another have been guilty of taking a ride on some well-intentioned government worker's mistake.

"But I think the time has passed when the American people will be satisfied with such press release exclamations of outrage. They are ready for hard evidence and real results that prove we are serious about making government more productive," he said.

Muskie said he submitted the legislation "not as a suggestion that we abandon our commitment to solving the nation's problems. I offer this legislation in recognition of the fact that until we bring what programs we now have under control, we simply may not have the reserves we need, either in the budget or the public's trust, to pursue new legislative solutions to pressing national problems," he said.

Muskie said the bill's major purposes are:

- to put on a four-year reauthorization schedule all government programs, with the exception of programs into which individuals make payments to the federal government in expectation of later compensation, such as Social Security;
- to establish a schedule of reauthorization on the basis of groupings by budget function;
- to establish a zero-base review of programs "to reverse the assumption that old programs and agencies deserve to be continued just because they existed the year before;"
- and to establish a one-time procedure to identify duplicative and inactive federal programs.

A copy of Muskie's remarks and a fact sheet on the bill are attached.

REMARKS BY

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

UPON INTRODUCTION OF THE GOVERNMENT
ECONOMY AND SPENDING REFORM ACT OF

1976

MR. MUSKIE.

Mr. President, Today I am introducing legislation which I hope will accomplish for all Federal programs individually what budget reform has begun to do for the Federal budget as a whole -- that is, lend a new element of discipline and cohesiveness to the way the Federal government handles the American taxpayers' money.

A variety of factors have brought me to this point today.

First and foremost, I suppose, are the regular public opinion polls telling us that the American people have lost faith in their government. People don't think they're getting their money's worth out of government; people believe that government doesn't care what they think any more; the only government worker getting high marks from the public is the local trash collector, because at least people know whether he is doing his job.

A second factor has been my experience this year on the Budget Committee. If there is one point that has been brought home to me during my brief tenure as Chairman of that Committee, it is that during any given year, we have only a limited amount of resources to commit to solving serious national problems. There may have been a time when we could afford nearly a thousand different legislative solutions to a few dozen national problems -- when we didn't have to worry which programs were working and which ones were not, because we knew there was enough in the till for everyone.

Today, we no longer have those options.

Let me illustrate with an example from a GAO study of neighborhood health care clinics in the District of Columbia. In that study, GAO investigators found 8 clinics in one neighborhood in the District, funded under several different Federal programs whose administrators were obviously unaware of what each other was doing. In several of these clinics, doctors were seeing only a handful of patients a day, while in many parts of the country the shortage of health care is critical.

I do not know whether this story is typical or not. What I do know is that as one who has strongly supported an increased Federal role in improving the quality of health care available to Americans, I am outraged by the waste this example demonstrates. I also know that the budget realities of today and tomorrow do not leave room for wasting scarce resources in this way. We cannot -- and we should not -- continue to keep paying for a system where one hand doesn't know what the other is doing.

The third factor which has led me to introduce this legislation is also related to my experiences with the Budget Committee -- more specifically, to the tremendous successes we have had in our first year of operation.

Through the new budget process, Congress is finally beginning to regain control over the Federal budget -- the most important statement of national priorities that we have. Yet it becomes clearer to me every day that even if the process works better than any of us had dreamed, that statement of priorities will not be complete unless we have control over the services which the budget is intended to buy.

Budget reform by itself is an essential element in regaining this control. Nevertheless, I have come to see the budget process not as an end in itself, but as a first step in a broader effort we need. Budget Reform gave us a badly-needed method for looking at the picture as a whole. The legislation I am introducing today will make us take a closer look at all the component parts of that picture, to ensure that we are getting the most for the money we spend. It is a logical second step.

Why is such a second step necessary?

One way to answer that question would be to have a dramatic reading from the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. I think most of us would be astonished at what we heard: that we have 228 health programs, 156 income security and social service programs, 83 housing programs, etc., etc. -- that all in all, we have nearly 1,000 Federal programs, touching on virtually every aspect of life in these United States.

Or we could turn to the Federal government manual, where we would discover that in addition to the 11 cabinet departments, we require 44 independent agencies and 1,240 advisory boards, committees, commissions and councils to run the Federal government. In 1974 alone, 85 separate governmental bodies were created, of which only three were subsequently abolished.

Or we could look outside Washington, where we would find over 4,000 geographic program areas recognized under 24 different Federal programs -- quasi-governmental units such as Law Enforcement Planning regions (481), Comprehensive Areawide Health Planning agencies (195), Air Quality Regions (247) and many more.

Or we could turn to the dozens of GAO reports and audits done every year, detailing the administrative chaos in Federal aid to vocational education or to the handicapped for example -- or explaining how this Federal agency had no information on what it was spending on administrative costs as opposed to actual services.

We could do what I did in November, which was to hold a hearing in my home state on problems the people there have in dealing with the Federal government. With only a few days advance notice, a hundred people turned out to talk about what was bothering them -- how they had to wait a year and a half to get a ruling on their claim for disability compensation, or how it has taken their town three years to obtain Federal approval for a new sewer system they were required to build by Federal law.

What any of these exercises would tell us is that government has become out of touch and out of control. And clearly this is a finding with which an increasing number of Americans would agree.

Almost ten years ago, my Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations opened a series of hearings on our Federal system. In my opening remarks, I posed a number of questions about the future of a "burgeoning governmental system," which had grown to over 170 Federal aid programs, at a total cost of

almost \$15 billion. Among the questions I raised were:

-- "What happens to a Federal program after it leaves the Congress?"

-- "Where is Congress going with the grant-in-aid programs? Will there be more proliferation of separate programs?"

-- "How well are Federal departments coordinating their programs and services both within their agencies and with other departments?"

Today, hundreds of well-intentioned new programs and billions of dollars later, we still don't have satisfactory answers to those questions.

Even worse, we still haven't solved the basic problems which prompted us to enact all these programs in the first place.

We have spent billions on health care, and enacted hundreds of health-oriented programs, yet we still haven't cracked the fundamental problem -- providing high quality care at a price people can afford.

We have spent billions on education, only to find that our high school graduates aren't learning even the basic reading and writing skills.

And we have spent billions on the problems of our cities, yet the root cause of those problems, defined so eloquently by the Kerner Commission several years ago, still remains.

Solutions to these problems elude us not because we haven't tried. But in too many cases we in Congress have satisfied ourselves with the rhetoric of legislation, leaving the hard work of implementation -- from rule-making to evaluation -- to the Executive Branch. To put it another way, we in Congress haven't paid enough attention to how well the programs we adopted were working -- at least not beyond a cursory review every few years.

And now these years of inattention to performance are taking their toll, as we reap a bumper crop of public disenchantment with government so unresponsive that it can't even perform the simple day-to-day tasks that need to be done.

To be sure, government inefficiency is becoming today's number one villain. Horror stories about bureaucratic bungling make good copy, and I'm sure that all of us at one time or another have been guilty of taking a ride on some well-intentioned government worker's mistake.

But I think the time has passed when the American people will be satisfied with such press release exclamations of outrage. They are ready for hard evidence and real results that we are serious about making government more productive.

The legislation I am introducing today is intended to produce these kinds of results. It will not do so overnight, nor in a very exciting way. Like budget reform, it focuses on the nuts-and-bolts operations that we in Congress are concerned with every day.

I offer this not as a suggestion that we abandon our commitment to solving the nation's problems.

On the contrary, I offer this legislation in recognition of the fact that until we bring what programs we now have under control, we simply may not have the reserves we need -- either

in the budget or the public's trust -- to pursue new legislative solutions to pressing national problems.

And out of my considerable concern that government in Washington has become so big and unresponsive that it is dragging down many of the good programs I and others have worked for over the years.

The legislation I am proposing would do the following things:

First, it would put all government programs and activities on a four-year reauthorization schedule. All would have to be reauthorized every four years, or be terminated.

The sole exceptions to this mandatory termination provision would be payment of interest on the national debt, and programs under which individuals make payments to the Federal government in expectation of later compensation -- i.e., Railroad Retirement, Social Security, Civil Service retirement, and Medicare.

Second, the bill would establish a schedule for reauthorization of government programs and activities on the basis of groupings by budget function. Programs within the same function would terminate simultaneously, so that Congress would have an opportunity to examine and compare Federal programs in that functional area in its entirety, rather than in bits and pieces. The schedule would be set up so that all of the functional areas would be dealt with within one four-year cycle.

Third, the bill would reverse the assumption that old programs and agencies deserve to be continued just because they existed the year before, by incorporating a zero-base review into the reauthorization process.

Fourth, the bill would make maximum use of the timetable for authorization bills already required by the Congressional Budget Act, and it would encourage Congress to make better use of the program review already undertaken by the General Accounting Office.

Finally, the bill would set up a one-time procedure under which the GAO would identify duplicative and inactive programs so that Congressional committees would be encouraged to eliminate or consolidate them.

These provisions are explained in greater detail in a summary of the legislation following my introductory remarks.

Mr. President, in offering this proposal, I am very much aware that as now written, it would dramatically alter the way we do business here in the Senate -- and that therefore it will be the subject of considerable debate. So I would like to say at the outset that I am not wedded to all the particulars in this bill. I consider it a first draft -- a starting point for consideration of what I think is one of the most important items of the Congressional agenda this year.

We in the Congress have unfortunately not escaped the public's discontent with its government. The bill I am introducing today offers a way for Congress to respond rationally and constructively to the criticism that we are not in control of our own house.

It cannot and should not offer the promise of instant efficiency. But it does offer a stronger Congressional voice

in setting national priorities -- out from under a suffocating bureaucracy which now has the upper hand in the fate of programs we enact.

And it offers us one of the few chances we have to clear out some dead wood and make room for a legislative agenda that is changing with the nation.

Summary and Explanation of
Senator Muskie's Spending Reform Bill

Senator Muskie's spending reform proposal is designed to improve the degree of control which Congress exercises over the actual delivery of services to the American people, by requiring regular review and reauthorization of Federal programs and activities. It is designed to expand the budgetary options available to the Congress by redefining or eliminating ineffective and duplicative programs and permitting more creative and flexible planning of Federal efforts.

It would put government programs and activities on a four-year reauthorization schedule. All government programs and activities -- permanent and otherwise -- would have to be reauthorized every four years. Programs not so reauthorized would be terminated.

The only exceptions to mandatory reauthorization or termination are provided for programs under which individuals make payments to the Federal government in expectation of later compensation (Social Security, Railroad Retirement, Civil Service retirement, Medicare, etc.), and interest payments on the national debt.

Those programs and activities exempted from the reauthorization or termination provisions of the bill would still have to be reviewed every fourth year, with the exception of debt interest payments.

The schedule established by the bill for reauthorization of Federal programs and activities would follow groupings according to budget function. Programs within the same function would be reconsidered simultaneously, so that the Congress would have an opportunity to examine and compare Federal programs for a particular functional area in their entirety, rather than in bits and pieces. The schedule would be set up so that all of the functional areas would be dealt with within one four-year cycle.

This measure reverses the assumption that old programs and agencies deserve to be continued just because they existed the year before, by incorporating the concept of zero-base review into the reauthorization process.

It would make maximum use of the timetable for authorization bills already required by the Congressional Budget Act, and it would encourage Congress to make better use of the program review already undertaken by the General Accounting Office.

And the bill would set up a one-time procedure under which the General Accounting Office would identify duplicative and inactive programs so that congressional committees would be encouraged to eliminate or consolidate them.

Scheduled Termination of Federal Programs

The requirement that all government programs terminate at least once every four years, with the exceptions listed above, is designed to give Congress a procedure for conducting a working oversight of all Federal programs and activities.

Even programs costing comparatively little would be subject to this process. It is especially important that programs such as entitlements be covered because those programs often escape thorough review of their effectiveness.

The four-year limitation on authorizations should allow a sufficient accumulation of experience for testing the results and effectiveness of government programs. However, it is short enough to allow Congress to examine programs before they get out of control.

While the thrust of this legislation is to encourage congressional committees to review and reauthorize all of their programs on a four-year cycle, committees would have the option of authorizing programs for less than four years.

Scheduling of Program Termination

The legislation would change the date of authorization of all but a very few Federal programs, by limiting reauthorization to a maximum of four years. It would schedule termination, review and reauthorization of programs by budget function or subfunction. Beginning September 30, 1979, and over the subsequent four-year period, all programs and activities would be scheduled for reauthorization or termination, with those budget functions entailing the lightest work load scheduled first, and the more difficult ones scheduled toward the end of the four-year period. (See the schedule attached to this summary.)

The purpose of establishing the schedule by budget function would be to allow the Congress to take a close look at what the Federal government is doing in an entire policy area, rather than in bits and pieces as is the norm now. Programs and functions which overlap not only Executive agencies but also congressional committees would therefore be reviewed as a whole, instead of individually as Congress now reauthorizes most programs and activities.

To account for the possibility that certain legislative committees may be unable to meet the reauthorization deadlines because of the workload involved in particular functional areas, the legislation would authorize the Budget Committee of either house to report legislation providing for adjustments of the scheduled deadlines.

Provisions for Permanent Authorizations

Under the bill all existing government programs and activities with permanent authorizations -- excluding the exceptions mentioned above -- would terminate according to the schedule of budget functions and subfunctions between September 30, 1979 and September 30, 1983 unless reauthorized, and would then be subject to the four-year limitation on authorizations.

The legislation does recognize that in some cases it may be difficult to identify permanent authorizations, and in others the four-year limitation on authorizations may be impractical. As a result, the legislation would require that by April 1, 1977, the General Accounting Office submit to the House of Representatives and the Senate a list of all provisions of law which establish permanent authorization for government expenditures.

That list should break permanent authorizations down by committee of jurisdiction, and for those funded in the appropriations process, by appropriations bills in which they are included. To the extent practicable, the GAO should also determine the amount appropriated for each permanently authorized program or activity over the preceding four fiscal years.

Zero Base Review of All Programs Before Reauthorization

This legislation requires that the standing committees of the Senate and the House conduct a zero base review and evaluation of all programs and activities within their jurisdiction every fourth year. The zero base review and evaluation must be conducted during the 12-month period ending on March 15 of the year in which that program is scheduled for reauthorization.

Unlike the practice which often governs present budget planning, the zero base review and evaluation would not assume that programs are to be funded in the next budget merely because they were included this year. As part of the zero base review, congressional committees would first make an assessment of the impact of having no new expenditures for a particular program, and then make an assessment of what level of program quality and quantity could be purchased at particular incremental levels of expenditures. For example, the evaluation may include an assessment of what level of program activity could be purchased at 75 percent of this year's expenditures as well as what level of program activity could be purchased at each additional 10 percent increment of expenditure.

In addition, in a zero base evaluation, congressional committees would be required to include:

- 1) An identification of other government programs and activities having the same or similar objectives, along with the comparison of the cost and effectiveness of such programs or activities and any duplication of the program or activity under review.

2) An examination of the extent to which the objectives of the program or activity have been achieved in comparison with the objectives initially set forth by the legislation establishing the program or activity and an analysis of any significant variance between the projected and actual performance.

3) A specification to the extent feasible in quantitative terms of the objectives of such program or activity during the next four fiscal years.

4) An examination of the impact of the program or activity on the national economy.

Each standing committee must submit a report to its House detailing the results of its zero base review and evaluation of a program on or before March 15 of the year in which the review occurs. Whenever a committee recommends authorization of a program similar to others it has identified, its report must include a detailed justification for the program it is authorizing and explain how it avoids duplication with other existing programs.

To assist the authorizing committees in conducting their zero base review and evaluations, the General Accounting Office would be required by December 31 of the year preceding to send those committees the results of audits and reviews and evaluations the GAO has conducted on the program to be reviewed. In addition, the committees could call upon the GAO or the CBO for whatever assistance they may render in the conduct of the zero base evaluation.

Enforcement of Zero Base Review Requirement

This legislation would require that congressional committees conduct a zero base evaluation of all government programs and activities scheduled for termination in a given year prior to reporting out legislation to reauthorize them.

To enforce that requirement, any bill which authorizes expenditures for any government program or activity would not be in order in either House unless the committee reporting it had submitted its zero base review and evaluation report on that program or activity.

The only exception to this rule would be in those cases in which a committee chooses to authorize a program or activity for less than four years. In those cases, every authorization bill would not have to be accompanied by a zero base evaluation. But the committee would still be required to undertake a zero base evaluation every four years, at the time of the program's scheduled termination and review, and must report a reauthorization bill in the year it completes that review.

Executive Zero Base Budgeting

The legislation requires that prior to submission of the President's budget message, the Executive Branch must conduct a zero base review and evaluation of all Federal programs and activities scheduled for termination in the upcoming year. The

President would be required to submit the results of this review and evaluation along with his regular budget message.

Timetable for Zero Base Review and Evaluation

The timetable for the zero base review and evaluation of a government program or activity would be as follows:

December 31 of preceding year	GAO reports results of its previous audits and evaluations as well as requested information and analyses to standing committees.
December 31 of preceding year	CBO reports requested information and analyses to standing committees.
15th day after Congress meets in the year	President submits budget message, accompanied by results of zero base review and evaluation by Executive departments of programs scheduled for termination during upcoming fiscal year.
March 15 of the year	Standing committees complete zero base review and evaluation of program or activity and report to House or Senate.
May 15 of the year	Standing committee, under Congressional Budget Act, must report authorization legislation to its House.

Continuing Review and Evaluation

The legislation would require the Comptroller General to make follow-up evaluations at least once every six months of any program that the General Accounting Office has reviewed and had found to have fallen short of its objective. Those follow-up reports must be submitted to the Appropriations Committees of both Houses and to the standing committee of each House which has jurisdiction over the program.

In addition, the legislation would require that the Comptroller General furnish both Appropriations Committees and the appropriate standing committees of each House summaries of any audits or evaluations the General Accounting Office has conducted involving programs or activities under their jurisdiction.

Finally, the legislation will require the President to include in his annual budget specific objectives for each program or activity and an analysis of how that program or activity achieved the objectives set out for it in previous budgets.

Early Elimination of Inactive or Duplicative Programs

The legislation directs the Comptroller General to submit a report to Congress before July 1, 1977, identifying those government programs and activities for which no outlays have been made for the last two completed fiscal years and those programs and activities which have duplicative objectives.

The legislation further requires each standing committee of the House or Senate to follow-up on that report on or before May 15, 1978 with a view toward eliminating inactive programs and activities and eliminating programs and activities which duplicate other programs and activities or to consolidating duplicate programs and activities.

Edmund S. Muskie (D) Senator from Maine

Biographical Data: b. March 28, 1914; home, Waterville, Maine; Bates College, B.A. 1936, Cornell L.L.B. 1939; Catholic.

Career: Practicing Atty.; Navy WWII; Maine House of Reps. 1947-51; Minority Leader 1949-51; Dir. Maine Office of Price Stabilization, 1951-52; Governor of Maine 1955-59; Dem. nominee for V.P. 1968

Committees

Budget (Chairman)

Government Operations (4th) Subcommittees: Intergovernmental Relations (Chairman); Reports, Accounting and Management; Oversight Procedures.

Public Works (2d) Subcommittees: Environmental Pollution (Chairman); Economic Development; Transportation.

<u>Ratings:</u>	ADA	COPE	ACA
1974	100	73	0

Muskie has been characterized as a thorough, thoughtful Senator. He is known to be very uncomfortable with the press; to have an explosive temper; to work his staff very hard. He insists on thorough research on every proposal he backs.

Muskie is the son of a Polish immigrant, a tailor. He was a good student, and entered politics early. As Governor of Maine Muskie tried valiantly to cure his state's chronically high unemployment rate -- but with little success. Its geographic location, its weather, and the environmental consciousness of its citizens make Maine one of the poorest states outside the South.

Muskie became a focus of the environmental movement when he became chairman of the Environmental Pollution Subcommittee of the

Public Works Committee. Some have given him high marks -- the Water Quality Bill and the Air Quality Act of 1967. His subcommittee is very liberal; to get legislation through the more conservative larger bodies of Congress Muskie sought general consent on basic issues and stuck with them.

A Nader task force called Muskie's Air Quality Act "disastrous". The major criticism was that the difficult and divisive issues relating to pollution were avoided in the debate. Muskie reacted to the attack by stating his preference for developing clear ideas and for being effective.

Muskie's relations with the press have been poor -- he feels that they cannot appreciate the complexity of the issues a Senator has to deal with. Beyond that, some of the events of the 1972 campaign seemed to reinforce this feeling, especially the attacks for lack of "fire in the belly" in failing to take the offensive on certain issues. The celebrated "crying incident", his attack on Wallace in Florida, all contributed to his downfall. A definite problem of Muskie's own making was the leisurely schedule he kept in 1972, often starting at 9 A.M. and ending at 6 P.M. Perhaps he, like Mondale, did not "want it" enough.

Muskie has a big job in the Senate now. As a result of Congressional displeasure at impoundments and lack of competitiveness with OMB, Congress has created the Congressional Budget Committees. Muskie is the Chairman of the Senate Budget Committee. He is well qualified to make it a powerful policy-making force. His cautious, competent and thorough style, coupled with Congress' apparent commitment to assert a budgetary role, make this committee a new focus of leadership on Capitol Hill.

Muskie has generally supported Israel and has initiated certain assistance programs. However, he recently criticized the Jackson-Vanik Freedom of Immigration Amendment and made the statement "there is no blank check for Israel in Congress"; this statement may have referred more to budgetary, rather than international, matters. His Polish heritage is a minus with Jews.

Muskie: Presidency Still Appealing

Sketch by
BIOGRAPHY NEWS



By Jack W. Germond
Star-News Staff Writer

Just two years ago Ed Muskie's presidential campaign went up in the smoke of the Wisconsin primary. Today he sits in the Senate and muses about the possibility of another try.

He is not, he makes an emphatic point of saying, "doing anything about it" at this point. "I don't plan," he stresses, "to pursue it like I did the last time."

But the desire is still there, roosting on the shoulder of his Maine-manufactured Hathaway shirt.

"I don't think it's likely I'll run in 1976," he says, leaning back in a green leather chair, "but I don't foreclose it."

A MOMENT later, puffing on a long, even-burning cigar, he adds: "It's a chal-

lenge that still appeals to me."

Considering his reputation as the terrible-tempered Mr. Bangs of politics, the senior senator from Maine is remarkably philosophical about what happened last time around. He blames "my own mistakes" — rather than William Loeb or the Committee to Re-elect the President — for his failure.

He also has persuaded himself — and he concedes it may be only a rationalization of his own disappointment — that "there was no way" he could win in 1972 because the time was not right for what he had to offer the electorate.

His slogan then, he recalls ruefully, was "trust and confidence" and he presented himself as a "trustworthy father figure" trying to serve as a healing force when the voters were in the mood for protest.

Primary voters, Muskie says, "know they're not electing a President," and in 1972 they wanted someone who would "spit in the eye of the establishment" — meaning, as it turned out, George McGovern and George Wallace. "I think we read it wrong," he says.

MUSKIE believes, and many astute analysts of 1972 agree, that his root problem was that he lacked a clearly defined constituency at which to direct his appeal in the way that McGovern appealed to the Democratic left and Wallace to the blue-collar workers.

And to the extent that Muskie had a constituency in the center, he had to share it with Hubert Humphrey. With several of those blocs — blacks, Jews, union leaders — Muskie's share was the small one.

But Muskie also concedes that he allowed himself "to be twisted out of shape" by the pressures of being the

front-runner. It led him to believe that he had to fight in every primary, agonize publicly over every question, take up every challenge.

If he feels he was badly treated, it is solely on his conviction that he was the candidate best versed on the issues "but the way it emerged I didn't stand for anything."

When he travels now, lacking entourage and public focus on every word, he says, "I'm comfortable. I say what's on my mind. I don't worry about whether it's consistent with what I said two weeks ago."

"IT'S MORE natural," he says, puffing on the cigar, "than the cagy kind of attitude I developed" in the 1972 campaign.

Muskie has no illusions about the party coming to him. He says that sometime next year he will decide what to do, based principally on his estimate of "the mood of the country" and the kind of presidential nominee it would seem to require from the Democratic party in the aftermath of Watergate.

His perception of that mood now, based in part on a thorough public opinion poll done for a subcommittee on which he serves, is that the voters want candidates who "talk straight, talk direct," who stop "over-promising," who are not know-it-alls on every issue, who have character and integrity.

"Charisma definitely ain't one of those qualifications," he says. "People are looking for character, that's for damned sure," he adds a moment later.

If that description sounds like the image of Muskie before his 1972 campaign, meaning when he was at the peak of his strength, the man from Maine demurs at making the connection.

BUT THE problem for Muskie in looking at 1976 is that he is not a man starting from scratch. He is instead one badly tarnished by the spectacular quality of his failure two years ago.

After his election eve television broadcast of 1970, he was shot to the top of the Democratic field. By late 1971 he dominated the opinion polls and the reckonings of party

professionals alike. Other Democrats were scrambling to get on board before they weren't needed.

Then it all went sour. He won less impressively than expected in New Hampshire, ran a dismal fourth in Florida, won against limited opposition in Illinois, then finished fourth in Wisconsin in April. He stayed in to compete once more, and to finish fourth again, in Pennsylvania, but it was all over.

What had been prized as his rationality in 1971 was perceived as wishy-washiness in the heat of a campaign. The celebrated "crying incident" when he attacked publisher William Loeb outside the Manchester Union Leader seemed proof of a lack of control. He was damned for intemperance in his attack on Wallace in Florida and for lacking "fire in his belly" for failing to seize the initiative on issues.

And his failures seem to have been all the more damaging because he fell so far. When you mention Muskie to many Democrats today, they hoot in derision at his potential for 1976, although they take quite seriously a more abject failure in 1972, Henry Jackson. It is as if there is nothing so offensive to politicians — and perhaps the press — than a front-runner who fails to meet their expectations.

MUSKIE IS aware of all this. But he believes that some of the turning points of 1972 — the crying incident, for example — might not have had such a lasting impact if he had been following a different strategy. What would have happened if, for instance, he had bypassed Florida to concentrate on New Hampshire and had won 55 percent of the vote? Who knows.

And Muskie is aware of other comebacks, of Richard Nixon in the White House six years after being written off as politically dead in California.

So he turns over in his mind different "sets of assumptions," as he puts it, on which he might run another campaign. It isn't likely, he insists, but smoking a late-afternoon cigar, it's still a challenge with some appeal.



MUSKIE CAMPAIGN: CAUTIOUS PACE BY THE MAN IN FRONT

For Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine), 1971 is a year of political groundwork, legislative chores and a sharply reduced profile.

This middle phase in the campaign of the Democrats' acknowledged front-runner for the presidential nomination follows a year in which frequent travel and speeches on national topics brought him heavy television and newspaper coverage throughout the country. And it precedes the final phase, a formal bid for the nomination in 1972. The decision to shift into the middle phase came after Muskie's well-received election-eve television broadcast to the nation Nov. 2, 1970.

"In 1969," said staff director Berl Bernhard, "it was a matter of getting the country to see who Ed Muskie was." He said the need for this kind of exposure

declined in 1970 and ended after the election-eve broadcast. "We were flooded with requests for things after that," said Bernhard.

Organization. The first major step in the new phase of operations was the arrival of Bernhard in February as director of the campaign, replacing longtime Muskie aide Donald Nicoll, who became the Senator's director of policy development and research. (Box p. 857)

Bernhard, 41, is a Washington attorney who served as staff director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission in the Kennedy Administration. He was counsel to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee in 1967 and 1968, when Muskie was the committee's chairman. During Muskie's campaign for the Vice Presidency in 1968, Bernhard served as an adviser and speechwriter. And when the Muskie Elections Committee opened an office in downtown Washington early in 1970, the space was convenient to Bernhard's law firm, one floor above.

Six full-time staffers manned the office when it opened; under the direction of Nicoll and Robert Nelson a lawyer who worked under Bernhard at the Civil Rights Commission and later was executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

By late August, the downtown staff had grown to 12 full-time employees and 10 summer interns. And by late March 1971, there were 40 full-time staffers and about 50 volunteers. The committee had expanded to suites on three floors, including rooms in the law office from which Bernhard is on leave. Next door to one of the suites is the private office of the Communication Company, headed by Robert Squier, Muskie's media consultant.

Published reports at the time Bernhard became staff director indicated that Muskie was seeking to tighten up scheduling and political and press operations. Muskie said the appointment would "assure effective coordination of the activities of the men and women who work for me."

Finances. In 1970, the Muskie Elections Committee filed financial reports with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, even though this was not legally required. On Oct. 30, 1970, the committee reported receiving \$182,893.14 and spending \$205,870.63.

Expenses for 1970 activities have been estimated at \$1-million to \$1.5-million, and Bernhard said as much as \$8-million may be required for the primaries and other efforts leading up to the national convention in the summer of 1972.

Of the money received by the committee in its first six months of operation, a large proportion was contributed by executives in the motion picture and entertainment industries. The largest single contributor, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Picker of New York City, gave \$10,000. Picker is chairman of the executive committee of United Artists Corporation. Several relatives of Picker, officials of United Artists and executives

Muskie's Background

Profession: Attorney.

Born: March 28, 1914, Rumford, Maine.

Home: Waterville, Maine.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Education: Bates College, A.B., 1936; Cornell University, LL.B., 1939.

Offices: Maine House of Representatives, 1947-53; Governor, 1955-59; Senate since 1959.

Military: Navy, 1942-45; discharged as lieutenant.

Memberships: Waterville Club, Lions, AMVETS, American Legion, VFW, Grange, Kennebec County and Maine Bar Associations.

Family: Wife, Jane; five children.

Committees: Public Works; chairman. Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution; Government Operations; chairman. Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations; Foreign Relations.

Career Highlights. Throughout his political career in Maine, Muskie has been a Democrat among Republicans, a Catholic among Protestants and a Polish-American among Yankees.

After winning election to the state house of representatives in 1946, he ran for mayor of Waterville the next year and lost—his only defeat until he ran for the Vice Presidency in 1968. He remained in the legislature and was house minority leader in 1949 and 1950.

In 1951, he resigned from the legislature to become Maine director of the Office of Price Stabilization. He declined an invitation to be the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in 1952, but accepted in 1954 and defeated incumbent Republican Burton M. Cross (1952-55) to become the state's first Democratic Governor in 20 years and its first Catholic Governor ever.

After serving two two-year terms, Muskie became Maine's first popularly elected Democratic Senator, unseating incumbent Frederick G. Payne (R 1953-59) with 60.8 percent of the vote. He was re-elected in 1964, defeating Rep. Clifford McIntyre (R 1952-65) with 66.6 percent of the vote, and in 1970, defeating Republican Neil S. Bishop with 61.7 percent.

her entertainment firms also gave contributions of \$500 more. In early April 1971, Muskie named Edward J. Schuman, 54, of Detroit, a vice president of Walter Reade Theaters Inc., as national coordinator of fund-raising. Some sources indicated that Picker suggested Schuman for the job and that Schuman would serve as Picker's representative in the campaign.

Schuman said there had been no coordinated effort in the motion picture industry to underwrite the Muskie campaign. "I know Picker," he said, "but we're not close friends." Schuman said Muskie "has really no great business support in the country." Schuman supported Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D Minn. 1959-71) for President in 1968 and New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, a Republican, for re-election in 1969.

Bernhard said much of the Muskie fund-raising in 1971 would center on banquets, direct mail appeals and the setting of financial quotas for groups that have offered to assist the Muskie campaign in key states.

Muskie staffers expect organized labor to be a major financial and organizational element of the campaign, even though Muskie, as a Senator from a largely rural state, is not as closely associated with labor interests as are several other potential Democratic candidates. Bernhard said of the unions, "They've made it clear that Muskie is totally acceptable." But he listed no specific unions or labor leaders as Muskie backers. Of the early contributions to the Muskie Elections Committee, a \$2,000 donation was made by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Youth Support. Another factor in the Muskie drive will be students, although Muskie youth organizer

Lannie Davis conceded in March that Sen. George McGovern (D S.D.) "has picked up many of the best people." Davis, 26, is a Yale Law School graduate who worked in the 1968 McCarthy campaign and in Emilio Q. Daddario's unsuccessful race for Governor of Connecticut in 1970. (*McGovern campaign story, Weekly Report p. 759*)

Bernhard promised that "we're really going to work on the younger people," adding that students would be used as an important source of new ideas and policies, not just as volunteer campaigners.

Policy Experts. Muskie drew national attention in August 1969, when he announced that he was assembling a "brain trust" of policy experts to brief him on national issues. According to policy chief Nicoll, the size of this informal group has grown to more than 100, about 60 percent from academic ranks and 40 percent from law, business and public service. Nicoll said their advice comes in the form of private conversations, lengthy memos and drafts of speeches for Muskie.

Nicoll did not discuss individuals in the brain trust, but those linked with it have included former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, former Assistant Defense Secretary Paul Warnke, former presidential economic advisers Arthur Okun and Walter Heller and Harry McPherson, Bernhard's law partner and a former speechwriter for President Johnson.

Issues. Even though his is the largest staff any contender has assembled more than a year before the 1972 presidential election, Muskie in April 1971 was many months away from becoming an announced candidate. "There's no real necessity to do it," said Bernhard. "When you do it, you should be ready to do a bit more than just announce. You do it to maximize your position; you don't do it just for the ritual. The announcement is the clarion call to people who want to work for you to get ready. The most important thing Ed Muskie can do right now, rather than announce, is talk about the substantive issues."

The forum for Muskie's discussion of the issues in 1971 is the Senate. Legislative initiative is the second major feature of the middle phase of the campaign.

"You're going to see him back here in Washington, because he's facing an awful lot of legislation," said media consultant Robert Squier. "And because most of the contenders come from the Senate, that's an appropriate stage for the thing to be played out on."

This attention to chores would mean fewer trips of the type Muskie made in 1970, when public exposure was still a key element of strategy. Deputy staff director Robert Nelson explained that Muskie would continue to make public appearances in 1971, but that scheduling would be aggressive rather than reactive—the Senator would choose the appearances he wanted to make instead of depending on offers from outsiders. Nelson said this was one of the advantages of the front-runner.

One area of speculation concerned the ways Muskie's Vietnam policy differed from that of McGovern, the only announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination and a long-standing Senate opponent of U.S. war policies. Muskie did not support expansion of the war in its early years, and in 1971 he said he had private doubts about it as early as 1965. But he backed Johnson Administration policy into 1968.

Muskie Staff, Advisers

These are some of the chief members of the Muskie campaign organization:

Staff director: Berl L. Bernhard, 41, a Washington attorney and former staff director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Deputy staff director: Robert L. Nelson, 39, an attorney who was Bernhard's deputy at the Civil Rights Commission and later was executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

Director of Policy Development: Donald E. Nicoll, 43, administrative assistant to Sen. Muskie from 1962 to 1970 and manager of Muskie's vice presidential campaign in 1968.

Press secretary: Richard H. Stewart, 39, former congressional correspondent for the *Boston Globe*.

Media consultant: Robert Squier, 36, president of the Communications Company, Washington, D.C., and an adviser to Hubert H. Humphrey's presidential campaign in 1968.

Speechwriter: Jack S. Sando, 30, a Washington attorney.

Domestic policy adviser: James Campbell, 32, Washington attorney and former consultant to the Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

Foreign policy adviser: Tony Lake, 32, a former assistant to Nixon adviser Henry Kissinger.

Ratings in Congressional Quarterly Vote Studies †

	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959
Presidential support	40	51	60	76	68	71	78	88	83	75	44	41
Presidential opposition	44	42	12	9	13	7	6	6	9	15	35	44
Voting Participation	74	89	65	82	76	77	90	88	88	90	87	87
Party unity	71	79	52	81	71	77	86	75	90	85	62	71
Party opposition	5	11	11	4	3	5	4	5	1	6	20	15
Conservative Coalition support	4	9	16	9	1	15	2	16	18	8	15	10
Conservative Coalition opposition	78	81	49	75	74	72	90	74	68	80	61	75
Bipartisan support	61	69	54	72	62	69	72	88	71	84	79	80
Bipartisan opposition	13	20	12	9	15	5	9	5	14	5	11	9

†Explanation of studies, 1969 Almanac p. 1034

"We believe that freedom is at stake," he said in March 1966. "We believe that the right of small nations to work out their own destiny in their own way is at stake. We believe that containment of expansionist Communism regrettably involves direct confrontation from time to time and that to retreat from it is to undermine the prospects for stability and peace."

Muskie expressed reservations to President Johnson about the bombing of North Vietnam in January 1968, but he did not make his views public at that time. At the 1968 Democratic national convention, he spoke against an unconditional halt to the bombing but phrased his opposition in a moderate, relatively conciliatory tone. He said he would be prepared to accept a bombing halt if the President "has reason to believe—and I think he ought to be prepared to take some risks—that this could advance us one step further toward the negotiating table on substantive issues." (*Muskie vice presidential nomination, 1968 Almanac p. 1016*)

Early in 1969, Muskie called for a standstill ceasefire by both sides in Vietnam, breaking with Nixon Administration policy. And he called the moratorium demonstration Oct. 15, 1969, "just what the country needs." He expressed doubts, however, about the plan offered by Sen. Charles E. Goodell (R N.Y. 1968-71) to set a date for U.S. withdrawal.

Muskie's estrangement from the war deepened in 1970, as he sharply criticized the allied incursion into Cambodia and backed the unsuccessful Hatfield-McGovern resolution authorizing withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam by Dec. 31, 1971. (*1970 Weekly Report p. 2173*)

"It should be clear to all of us by now," he said in February 1971, "that this war is essentially a war fought among the Vietnamese people for political ends. And therein lies a lesson of this tragedy. We cannot

substitute our will and our political system for theirs. We cannot write the social contract for another people."

In domestic legislation, Muskie's chief interests have flowed from the committee assignments he has held since he entered the Senate in January 1959. Muskie has dealt with environmental problems as chairman of the Air and Water Pollution Subcommittee of the Public Works Committee. And his chairmanship of the Government Operations Committee's Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee has led to a concern with improving communications between the states and the federal government.

Muskie is the author of the Clean Air Act of 1963 and the Water Quality Act of 1965, both of which expanded federal standards and participation in pollution control. Muskie's Clean Air Act amendments of 1970, passed over the strenuous opposition of the auto industry, set a 1975 deadline for the production of a virtually pollution-free car.

Another domestic quarrel likely to be played out in the Senate in 1971 involves revenue sharing and President Nixon's attempt to relieve the states' financial burdens with grants to be used for virtually any purposes the states choose. (*Weekly Report p. 213*)

Muskie strongly opposes this plan. He provoked an angry reaction from several big-city mayors when he said so in an address to the National League of Cities March 22. Muskie said the President's plan would destroy effective specific aid programs that already exist, give too much money to localities that do not need it and fail to provide adequate safeguards against discriminatory allocation of money. "Under the Administration's general revenue-sharing bill," argued Muskie, "Beverly Hills would be entitled to twice as much per capita as New York and four times as much as Cleveland."

This position has deep roots in Muskie's Senate career. He has consistently opposed federal legislation that does not take into account the differing needs of each state or that fails to impose responsibilities on states that wish to qualify for federal aid.

Muskie's 1967 Clean Air Act, for example, established air quality control regions to set standards for pollution levels in different areas of the country. The Johnson Administration preferred national standards for major polluters. (1967 *Almanac* p. 875)

In 1970, Muskie's approach drew an angry reaction from a task force sponsored by consumer crusader Ralph Nader. According to the task force, "Senator Muskie has never seemed inclined toward taking a tough stand toward private industry." But Muskie backers claimed national standards would amount to dangerous oversimplification.

As early as 1966, in criticizing tax inequities in a majority of American states, Muskie said, "Until these imbalances are corrected, it is meaningless to talk about federal revenue sharing...or other unrestricted block grant schemes which could provide windfalls to some states and inequities to others."

Instead of general revenue sharing, Muskie supports federalization of the welfare system, which he has called "another form of revenue sharing, and a good one." He planned to introduce his own revenue-sharing bill, which he said would be similar to one he introduced in the 91st Congress. He said it would allocate money to states and cities on the basis of relative need.

Personality. Muskie's personality and style will be the subject of increasingly frequent assessments as he heads into the 1972 primary season as the front-runner. Some evaluations have dealt with Muskie's deliberate, cautious approach to making judgments about national problems.

Media consultant Squier sees Muskie's New England roots as an outstanding asset. "The sense of place doesn't have to be spoken," said Squier, "because it's there, it's already inferred. It's look and accent and style and the way he is."

Squier helped to produce the election-eve broadcast, in which Muskie's deliberate tone and affection for his home state were major themes. Muskie accused the Nixon Administration of lying to the American people. Squier argued that only a politician such as Muskie, with his reputation for caution and fairness, could have used those words without seeming to make a personal attack.

But others have pointed to these same qualities as weak spots. One 1970 article quoted a leader in the peace movement as saying of Muskie, "I just don't know where he's really at. He doesn't move me. He doesn't give me any feeling of hope." And a fellow Senator was quoted as complaining that Muskie "never gets into the thick of things, always seems to pull his punches."

"It's interesting to watch the press painting this portrait of me," Muskie said on television March 31. "You never really know how it's going to come out. Some of them say I'm a volcano; others say I'm an iceberg. And the truth probably is that I'm a human being, with quite a range of emotions."

Key Legislation Sponsored

Sen. Muskie's staff included the following bills in a list of major legislation sponsored by Muskie during his 12 years in the Senate:

Environment. 1963: Clean Air Act, authorizing federal research and technical aid to states to create or improve regulatory programs for curbing air pollution. Passed (PL 88-206). (1963 *Almanac* p. 236)

1965: Water Quality Act, establishing the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and a water quality standards program and reorganizing the federal water pollution control program. Passed (PL 89-234). (1969 *Almanac* p. 743)

1970: Clean Air Act amendments, establishing national air quality standards and setting a 1975 deadline for production of virtually emission-free automobiles. Passed (PL 91-604). (*Weekly Report* p. 42)

1970: Water Quality Improvement Act, strengthening the federal government's authority to clean up oil spills and to recover the cost of cleanup from polluters, as well as to control sewage discharge from vessels and water pollution from federal activities. Passed (PL 91-224). (*Weekly Report* p. 42)

1971: National Water Quality Standards Act (S 523) to revise the water pollution control program, extend the water quality standards program to all navigable U.S. waters, authorize \$12.5-billion in federal construction grants for waste treatment facilities over the next five years and require all new plants discharging wastes into navigable waters to use the best available pollution control technology. Pending. (*Weekly Report* p. 749)

Economy. 1969: Export Administration Act, expanding opportunities for American business to engage in East-West trade. Passed (PL 91-184). (1969 *Almanac* p. 499)

1970: Securities Investor Protection Corporation Act, establishing a private corporation to administer an insurance fund to protect investors from broker-dealer failures. Passed (PL 91-598). (*Weekly Report* p. 48)

1971: Transportation Research and Development Act (S 1382) to channel federal money proposed for the supersonic transport plane into research and development in aviation safety, into aviation systems serving areas of concentrated population and into urban mass transit systems. Pending. (*Weekly Report* p. 794)

Federal-State Relations. 1969: Intergovernmental Revenue Act (S 2483) to provide a federal revenue-sharing plan for states and localities based on need and tax effort and to establish federal tax credits for state and local income and estate taxes. Did not pass. (1969 *Almanac* p. 961)

Urban Problems. 1966: Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, establishing the Model Cities program to renew urban neighborhoods through a broad range of programs, including new housing, experimental schools, health care centers and recreational facilities. Passed (PL 89-754). (1966 *Almanac* p. 210)

Muskie on the Issues: Responses to CQ Questions

Muskie was interviewed March 31 by two members of the Congressional Quarterly editorial staff. Verbatim excerpts of his comments on a number of major issues follow.

Foreign Policy

If the United States pulled out of Vietnam this year, do you think the (American) people would be prepared to see the Viet Cong take over South Vietnam?

I don't know of any way that the American intervention in Southeast Asia can guarantee a pre-ordained and blueprinted result for any government in South Vietnam, and I take it that this was not our objective from the beginning. As I understand our objective...it was to buy the South Vietnamese time to shape their own future in accordance with their own wishes. I suppose at the outset we had no clear concept as to how much of an effort on our part this would involve or what it would cost us. But in any case, it's cost us a great deal by any standard of measurement that one wants to use, and I think it's cost us all we can afford to pay by any standard—moral, material—that one might wish to use. So my view is that we have bought and paid for as much time as we can for the South Vietnamese. They have had the opportunity to build what I gather, outside of our forces, is the largest army in Southeast Asia, equipped by us and trained by us. And they will have had, with the elections next fall, the opportunity to hold two successive elections. We have bought for them all we can afford to pay. That the election results will be guaranteed, no....

What sort of policy would you like to see this country adopt, based on the lessons we have learned in Indochina, toward future commitments overseas?

I suspect that a lot of the lessons we have learned may not need conscious implementation. I'm sure we've learned that Communism is no longer an international monolith and that's, I hope, a useful lesson to learn. Secondly, I hope we've learned that the policy of confrontation with Communism in any of its forms isn't the best way necessarily to deal with it. I hope we've learned that allowing ourselves to get involved in a guerrilla war with a small country on the other side of the world is a misuse of our military power—if it is not any moral failure on our part. Inescapably, it involves the killing of a lot of innocent people and civilians, women, children, whether it's down on the ground or from the air, and I hope we've learned that.

If we've learned that much, it still is going to take some time and rather painful...reappraisal of our national interests to define with precision what our role should be in the world. I don't think the majority of Americans want an isolationist America or would consider that an isolationist America would be serving our best interests. We can't escape having an influence in the world. The question is, "What kind?" It's still a hostile world in many senses.

I think that our responsibility for trying to make it into a rational world is very heavy, and I think we'll sense that increasingly as we react to our experience in Indochina. I think we ought to see more clearly the need to communicate with the Soviet Union and with Red China, with hostile countries as well as friendly countries and

neutral countries, in order to create a climate in the world which will make it possible for us to serve the needs of the deprived and backward peoples of the world and at the same time recognize the legitimate aspirations of other developed and industrialized nations which will differ from our own—recognize that people are going to choose different forms of government and different kinds of societies—and the fact that they are different than our own should not precipitate alarm on our part or a disposition to try to get involved and intervene....

The Environment

As the cost of cleaning up the environment becomes more clear, is it possible that this will become less of a motherhood issue and that there might be a backlash? What can we do to clean up the environment and yet prevent a decline in the economy?

The problem of dealing with the environment is clearly something more than a motherhood issue, because it involves tough decisions that have economic consequences as well as environmental consequences. For the last year or so, we have concentrated so upon the desirability of a clean environment that I suspect many people haven't taken into their calculation the economic costs....What we are talking about is regulating economic activities, and that regulation involves technology. It involves effort, and this involves money, and so it involves the economic viability of the polluters involved. It involves the economic health of communities and regions, and it involves the problem of utilization of resources.

And it is out of these tough kinds of decisions which will necessitate a balance of environmental values against other costs, economic costs to the community, that political issues will arise—locally, in many, many instances, because most of these decisions are local decisions; but nationally, occasionally, as in the case of the SST, because a national decision is involved. Nationally also with respect to such things as the automobile, because only national policy can deal with it. So, yes, it's going to be a painful process, it's going to be a costly one and it's going to develop a lot of political issues and backlashes.

Civil Rights

Do you see any need at this time for additional legislation on civil rights, or do you think the problem could be handled in the executive branch?

Well, if one thinks of civil rights in the narrow sense of legislation mandating an end to discrimination or a denial of civil liberties or citizens' prerogatives or freedom of choice or so on, I suppose that we have done a great deal here, much of which isn't being effectively implemented or enforced; and one thinks, of course, of the problem of school integration and of voting rights and so on, where a great deal of work still needs to be done. But if one thinks of civil rights in the sense that there are other forces which limit the opportunities and the mobility of blacks and other minorities—economic forces, housing patterns, residential patterns, community development patterns—then a great deal needs to be done.

The school integration problem, for example, with respect to large metropolitan areas, north and south, has

not effectively dealt with; and I don't know that it can be effectively dealt with, with any of the tools that are presented by court decisions up to this point. We don't have adequate guidelines or instruments for implementing them. The Mondale Committee (the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity) has been studying this area, and again we are dealing with housing patterns, residential patterns, transportation patterns, local and political jurisdictional lines. These are frustrating, not only with respect to racial questions but a lot of others. And so this is the toughest part of it, because, in effect, in order to bring...real freedom of choice within the reach of all Americans, including blacks and other deprived minorities, there's going to have to be a restructuring of the country and the cities in these terms, and that is major surgery. And it is going to involve legislation. It will require changes in attitudes. It will require effective action on all three levels of government.

The Economy

If wage and price controls seemed to work as means of temporarily controlling inflation, would you have some fears or reluctance to see a long-term period of controls? Would these interfere with a free economy to the extent that they would be something you wouldn't want to get into?

There are those, Professor Galbraith notably, who think that we must have these kinds of controls permanent. I must say I don't accept that—not at this point at all. But I think we may need wage-price controls for their psychological value in order to end this game of catch-up, which is really what the principal inflationary force is at the present time—the game of catch-up which just stimulates this spiraling price and wage increase. I would like to see an incomes policy in the sense of a wage and price advisory board, which I have been advocating for a long time. The idea did not originate with me, obviously. But it increasingly has been recommended and urged by people on both sides of the political aisle and by the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the present and past (chairman), and I think that this could be structured in a way that's worth trying as an alternative to wage-price controls....

Welfare

How far do you think federal control should extend in social programs such as minimum income, federalized welfare and health insurance, and how much responsibility should be at the state and local levels?

I think all three of these areas are areas in which the federal involvement must be greater, because they deal with problems that aren't going to be dealt with effectively unless the federal resources are applied to them. The problem of health insurance and health delivery systems (and) facilities are two escalating problems that affect the ability of almost all Americans—poor, lower middle income, middle income—to meet the costs of serious illness. And the costs are escalating....In part this is traceable to the fact that when we enacted Medicare, increasing demand for health facilities, we didn't do anything about increasing the facilities. And so the pressure upon existing doctors, nurses, hospitals, nursing homes, increased

to the point where costs escalated, wiping out some of the benefits of the Medicare program and also putting the cost of adequate care beyond the reach of more and more Americans who weren't quite the beneficiaries of Medicare. This time,...as we deal with the problem, for which health insurance proposals have been advanced (and I cosponsored those), I hope we focus on the need for meaningful programs. And these will not be created without the federal government's presence to deal with the hospital shortage, the medical school shortage, the nursing shortage.

Welfare reform, of course, is a question that I think is answered by people all across the ideological spectrum in about the same way. Whether we talk of beneficiaries or of administrators or the taxpayer, everyone is agreed that this system doesn't work, and what we are talking about in part, at least, is not new governmental costs, but a more equitable carrying of present costs that are paid for by government at one or another level. In addition to that, of course, we must provide decent income levels for those who are on welfare....

Crime and Justice

Do you think the crisis in crime in this country has reached the point where it might be necessary to accept some kind of restriction on civil liberties in order to reduce the crime rate?

No. Preventive detention and the so-called no-knock provision are the two...most visible evidences of this approach to dealing with the crime problem. They do not get at the cause, and so we're paying too high a price, and we shouldn't pay any in terms of civil liberty for a solution that isn't a solution. There are a number of points at which we have failed to act adequately—the drug problem, for example, which pervades not only the question of crime, but almost every other social problem that afflicts our cities—housing, schools, race relations. You go through the whole catalog of social ills and crimes and problems which afflict America today, and they cannot be dealt with effectively unless we deal effectively with the drug problem. And we haven't done that. We've done less than we should have to deal with the international traffic in drugs, which is a real point of control....And then, of course, we have to deal here at home with the addict and with the pusher of drugs—and we haven't done that effectively—as well as education of the young and eliminating some of the frustrations of life which prompt people to turn to drugs. I speak not only of the young, but also the deprived, the poor and the blacks.

If we turn our attention to the question of law enforcement itself, and what you do with the violator, first, you have to apprehend him and punish him; but even more importantly, to free the innocent and to rehabilitate those who are found guilty. We've done almost nothing nationally to deal with these problems: the problems of the courts; the problems of the penal institutions—for example, probation and parole systems, social services of all kinds; the court problem alone, the overcrowding of the courts; the overcrowding of calendars, the inadequacy of the probation and parole services available to judges; the speedy administration of justice. If we could deal with this alone, we'd go a long way to dealing certainly with the habitual offender and dealing with first offenders as well....

The Public Record

of

Edmund S. Muskie



The selection of Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) as the Democratic nominee for the Vice Presidency elevated to national prominence a self-effacing legislator who had suffered political defeat only once in his 22-year career and who quietly had become a party stalwart in the Senate.

His selection by the party's Presidential candidate, Hubert H. Humphrey, on Aug. 29 was greeted with little surprise and with muted reaction. Muskie generally was held in high respect by his colleagues in the Senate but was almost unheard of outside of Washington, D.C., and his home state.

His nomination received only token opposition from dissident factions of the party at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago. Antiwar and other liberal Democrats nominated Negro Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond as a Vice Presidential candidate. However, Bond quickly withdrew his name because he was under the legal age of 35 required for the Vice President; Bond received 48½ votes, nevertheless. Muskie received 1,944½ votes; even before the end of the balloting, the party accepted by voice vote a motion to make Muskie's nomination by acclamation.

In choosing Muskie, Humphrey selected a person who previously had been called a master at compromises "in the best meaning of the word." Muskie in the past had acquired a reputation as a liberal who strongly supported party stands but had avoided definite identification with either faction of the party over the divisive Vietnam war. He had been termed a moderate on the war who generally supported U.S. participation in the conflict, but he seemed opposed to an expansion of the fighting and had said a bombing halt should be considered if it might yield results in negotiations between the United States and North Vietnam.

Political Background. Muskie was elected in 1946 to the Maine legislature and in 1954 as governor -- the

first Democrat in the state house in 20 years and the first Catholic ever elected to the office in that predominantly Protestant state. After a two-term state administration generally regarded as sound and progressive by members of both parties, Muskie was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1958 and was re-elected in 1964.

In the decade since his arrival in the Senate, he earned a reputation as a conscientious legislative specialist in pollution, urban affairs and federal-state relations who also was a strong liberal and a party supporter. His quiet, painstaking approach to his job, his party loyalty and the consideration he displayed for his colleagues gained Muskie steadily increasing respect in the Senate.

In 1965 and 1967, Muskie stepped aside to allow other Senators to contend for Senate party posts he was seeking. Nevertheless, Muskie had been mentioned with increasing frequency in the past as the next Senate Democratic leader and as a possible Vice Presidential candidate in both 1964 and 1968.

1968 Convention. As the 1968 Democratic Convention neared, Muskie had appeared to be one of the leading potential Vice Presidential selections on a Humphrey ticket. Also in the running had been Sen. Fred R. Harris (D Okla.), Ambassador to France and former Peace Corps and poverty war director R. Sargent Shriver, New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes, San Francisco Mayor Joseph L. Alioto, former Postmaster General and Presidential advisor Lawrence F. O'Brien and former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford. Humphrey said he had narrowed the field down to Muskie and two others a few hours before he announced his choice. He said he had spent hours on the telephone Aug. 29 conferring with political, business, church, civil rights and other figures throughout the country and had received favorable responses about Muskie.

Muskie, Vice President Humphrey said, would "bridge many a gap and many a gulf here in the party." Humphrey said the qualifications held by Muskie which he

thought a Vice President should have were knowledge of government, character, a sense of responsibility, education and experience. Humphrey said he also was attracted by Muskie's low-key, thoughtful manner. He called Muskie "a stable, reliable, judicious, thoughtful man." And Humphrey added, "America needs stability with a sense of social progress."

In his role as the Vice Presidential candidate, Muskie would handle a heavy share of the day-to-day campaigning before the November election, Humphrey said. As Vice President, Humphrey said, Muskie would "coordinate many domestic functions." He mentioned specifically urban programs.

Muskie was nominated before the convention by Sen. Harris; the nomination was seconded by Gov. Hughes. Also making seconding speeches were Maine Gov. Kenneth Curtis and Sen. Philip A. Hart (D Mich.).

In his acceptance speech, Muskie expressed his "acute awareness of the work we have to do. To build a peace, to heal our country. To make a society such as ours work is not easy.... It means learning to trust each other, to work with each other, to think of each other as neighbors. It means diminishing our prerogatives by as much as is necessary to give others the same prerogatives. It means respect for the rule of law as a dispenser of justice as well as a maintainer of order."

News Conference Views. In news conferences following his nomination, Muskie elaborated on his views toward major problems and toward the Vice Presidency.

On a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, he said it was "very possible" he might differ from Humphrey in evaluating the risks of a unilateral cessation of the bombing.

On racial issues, Muskie said the problem was one of "engaging the confidence" of Negroes and the poor and of encouraging their "maximum participation" in society and of encouraging them to "acquire the skills of the political processes." He added that this probably would not gain instant success and he urged patience.

On youthful dissent, particularly the Chicago violence during the Convention between the city police and anti-

war demonstrators, Muskie said "dissent is a perfectly valid role in our society" and a decision to be made by every individual. But, he added, the Chicago clashes were the result of "excesses on both sides."

He also indicated that he might not always support the policies of the President if he were Vice President and that he felt he would have an opportunity to speak his mind.

Biography

Born: March 28, 1914, Rumford, Maine.

Education: Rumford High School, Rumford, Maine, 1932; Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, A.B. cum laude, 1936; Cornell Law School, Ithaca, New York, LL.B., 1939.

Military: U.S. Navy, 1942-1945, discharged as lieutenant (junior grade).

Family: Married Jane F. Gray; five children: Stephen (1949), Ellen (1951), Melinda (1956), Martha (1958) and Edmund Jr. (1961).

Religion: Catholic

Affiliations: Lions International, Elks, AMVETS, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, State Grange.

Profession: Attorney.

Offices: Maine House of Representatives, 1947-1951; Maine Director of Office of Price Stabilization, 1951; Democratic National Committeeman, 1952; Governor of Maine, 1955-1959; U.S. Senate, 1959 to date.

POLITICAL CAREER

On his first attempt at election to public office, Edmund Sixtus Muskie in 1946 was elected to the Maine House of Representatives by several hundred votes as one of two Democratic Representatives from Waterville.

Muskie's lone political setback occurred in 1947 when he lost a race for mayor of Waterville. He was re-elected to the legislature in 1948 and 1950, in 1948 becoming the floor leader of the small group of Democrats. He served on the judiciary, federal relations, military affairs, elections, election expenditures and special taxation committees. While he was a state Representative, Republican attempted unsuccessfully to lure him into the GOP.

In 1951 he resigned from the Maine legislature to accept appointment as state director of the Office of Price Stabilization. He left that position in 1952 to become Maine Democratic National Committeeman. In 1952 also he was approached by prominent Democrats to run for governor, but he declined because he felt the state party was too weak at that time to defeat the Republican incumbent. At the 1952 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, he strongly backed Adlai E. Stevenson for the Presidency. In 1953, a serious home repair injury hospitalized him and disabled him for months.

Campaign for Governor. In 1954, he became convinced that the Democratic Party could challenge seriously the long tenure of the GOP officeholders in the state. He agreed to run for the U.S. House of Representatives but then changed his mind to campaign for governor, "because," he commented, "they couldn't find anyone else."

His campaign slogan was "Maine Needs A Change." He logged 20,000 miles traveling all over the state, focusing on issues such as highway programs, unemployment, the closing of two state tuberculosis hospitals and the general industrial situation in the state. He claimed the

Muskie Staff

The following are the key members of Sen. Muskie's staff:

Donald E. Nicoll, 41. Administrative assistant since 1962. Former executive secretary of the Maine Democratic Party (1954-56, during part of Muskie's term as governor). Former legislative assistant and press secretary for Muskie, also serves as secretary-treasurer of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

John Whitelaw, 41. Executive assistant. Former personnel man, in charge of staff administration and coordination.

Robert C. Shepherd, 32. Press secretary, former reporter for Gannett newspapers.

Leon G. Billings, 30. Muskie's aide on the Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution.

Charles M. Smith. Muskie's aide on the Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations.

Miss Sandra J. Poulin, long-time secretary.

state GOP administration had lost touch with the people and asserted that Republican voters felt they had lost control of the party, which Muskie claimed had become the personal machine of the governor. Although a decisive underdog, Muskie defeated Gov. Burton M. Cross on a vote of 135,673 to 113,298, gaining 54.5 percent of the vote.

Maine Governor. In winning the election, Muskie became the first Democrat to be elected governor of Maine in 20 years, the fourth Democrat to hold the office since the Civil War and the first Catholic ever elected to the post. (A Catholic was appointed governor in 1843.)

He was re-elected governor in 1956 by a vote of 180,254 to 124,395 (59.2 percent), the largest vote ever given a Maine governor.

As governor, he embarked on a program of industrial expansion for the state, which had lost its vital textile industry to the South. He gained a reputation as one of the state's most progressive chief executives and received bipartisan support in his efforts. He established a Department of Economic Development to reverse the exodus of the textile mills and to attract new industry. He also increased state support of public schools, strengthened school facilities, broadened the state's water pollution control program, implemented a program aimed to aid the aged and disabled, and reorganized the state building program.

Senate Campaign. In 1958, Muskie decided to challenge Republican incumbent Frederick Payne for the U.S. Senate, rather than seek a third term as governor. Although a top vote-getter in the state, Muskie was rated a long shot in the contest. He ran on a platform in which he criticized the Eisenhower Administration for "asking too much" of neutral nations, and argued for a shift from military aid to an increased emphasis on grants and loans for economic development.

But the foreign policy issue was overshadowed by the disclosure that Sen. Payne had accepted a loan from Bernard Goldfine, a Boston industrialist who at that time was the subject of a major White House scandal. Although Muskie never mentioned the loan, observers credited the magnitude of his victory to the unspoken issue of the scandal. He scored a 171,942 to 112,178 victory over Payne (60.5 percent of the vote).

Senate Career. Upon entering the Senate in 1959, Muskie said Maine voters expected him to be independent. This independent streak surfaced early—upon Muskie's first encounter with then Democratic Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson. Muskie was asked by Johnson how he planned to vote on a change in the Senate rules to limit filibusters. The freshman Senator reportedly replied, "You'll know when I cast my vote," and then sided with Senate liberals against Johnson to limit debate. Muskie found that when committee assignments were handed out, he had been refused his first three choices of committee and instead given his fourth, fifth and sixth choices: the Banking and Currency, Public Works and Government Operations Committees. Although he had sought eagerly a seat on the Foreign Relations and other more prestigious committees, he remained on his original three assignments despite later opportunities to accept more prestigious posts.

Since then, he achieved a sound reputation in matters coming before these committees. He was assigned the chairmanship of the Air and Water Pollution Subcommit-

tee of the Public Works Committee and the Government Operations Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, two areas which have become his primary fields of interest. He became chairman of the Banking and Currency Subcommittee on International Finance and is on the Special Committee on Aging.

When he first became involved in pollution control and intergovernmental relations, areas he had dealt with in the Maine legislature and state house, they seemed of little importance. But since then, they have become subjects of growing public concern, and Muskie has been in the forefront of legislative discussion of them.

Air Water Pollution Control—He became the foremost Senate advocate of increased federal action in air and water pollution control. He led Congressional battles that resulted in the Clean Air Act of 1963 and the Water Quality Act of 1965, giving the Federal Government funds and authority to begin combatting pollution. In 1967, he was the principal author of another air pollution control bill which, as passed, authorized \$428.3 million for U.S. pollution control efforts and expanded federal authority to deal with the problem when states failed to act. The bill, although it did not authorize federal uniform national emission standards on specific pollutants (as the Administration had sought), was considered nevertheless one of the major Congressional achievements of 1967. That year Muskie also supported research to reduce pollution by automobiles and chaired subcommittee hearings on the progress of federal water pollution control programs, many of which were enacted through his efforts.

Federal-State Relations—He displayed a continuing interest in improving federal-state relations and federal grant procedures. In his first months in the Senate, he helped manage a bill that established the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a group composed of Cabinet members, Members of Congress, governors and mayors. His Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, which he helped establish in 1963, held lengthy hearings on "creative federalism" in 1966, 1967 and 1968. A measure he introduced, the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act, was passed by the Senate in 1968.

Role in Model Cities Bill—Another legislative milestone for Muskie came in August 1966 when the Senate passed the Administration's model cities program. Muskie originally had held reservations about the measure and had introduced amendments which clarified and added some provisions. He later, however, agreed to serve as floor manager of the bill.

Senate Republicans sought to whittle funds in the bill aimed at combating urban blight, arguing that the program was too costly in the face of Budget deficits and high Vietnam expenditures. Muskie countered that Republicans had invalidated their cost arguments by backing other inflationary, yet noncontroversial, bills such as aid for college housing. He urged their support to deal with "the most explosive domestic issue on the American scene today," swinging several Republicans behind the bill on crucial votes.

Interest in Maine Affairs—Muskie has struggled for years to gain Congressional acceptance of the Dickey-Lincoln School power project in Northern Maine. He repeatedly has been thwarted, however, in the House, after gaining Senate passage. The project would be the first federal power project authorized in Maine, but it has been violently attacked by private utilities.

Muskie has championed other regional interests. In 1963 he successfully added an amendment to the Trade Expansion Act which protected the shoe, textile and wood-working industries in Maine. In 1963 also, he wrote a letter to President Kennedy asking that restrictions on importing residual oil be lifted because it worked a hardship on the people of New England where oil was used as a domestic fuel. The matter was not acted upon by the President.

Muskie supported the Maine beet growers in their successful attempt to secure a federal loan for a study that showed that Maine was suitable for the growing of sugar beets.

Recently Muskie has sought to extend the three-mile territorial limit to 12 miles in an effort to help the U.S. fishing industry in its competition with the Russian and Japanese fishing fleets.

Other Interests—In 1962, as a member of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee investigating the Department of Agriculture's activities in the operations of Texas financier Billie Sol Estes, Muskie defended the role of the Department. His defense of the Department led to some criticism.

He also was the subject of criticism in early 1968 when Rep. H.R. Gross (R Iowa) and Sen. John J. Williams (R Del.) asserted that some associates of Muskie in 1965 and 1966 were officers of firms seeking Government loans and guarantees and that others were officers of the Government agencies involved. Gross said the activities showed "a total lack of sensitivity on ethical questions." Muskie said that he was not personally involved in the activities and that only one of the persons named by Gross and Williams could be described as an "associate." The other persons involved stated that their participation in the transactions had long been a matter of public knowledge.

Senate Leadership—Like his quiet role in the legislative machinery of the Senate, Muskie's rise in its Democratic leadership also has won few headlines.

In 1964, he was mentioned frequently as a Vice Presidential possibility, but Sen. Humphrey had such a decisive edge that the Muskie candidacy never reached significant proportions. Also in 1964 he defeated Clifford G. McIntire (R) for a second term in the Senate by a vote of 253,511 to 127,040 (66.6 percent). In that election Muskie's Republican opponent was a staunch conservative who failed to overcome Muskie's popularity in a campaign that focused mainly on state issues.

In 1966, Muskie became an assistant whip of the party, one of the regional aides to the Majority Leader whose function was to assure attendance and votes on legislation. In addition, in 1967 he became chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

However, he passed up two other chances since 1965 to advance in the party leadership, because of his deference to the wishes of other Senators. In January 1965 when Senate Democrats chose a successor to Assistant Majority Leader Humphrey, Muskie was reportedly the choice of many Senators. Muskie, however, deferred to John O. Pastore (D R.I.), who had more seniority and had expressed an interest in the post. And Pastore was defeated by Russell B. Long (D La.), despite Long's failure to support the Administration on some key bills.

In 1967, George A. Smathers (D Fla.) announced he would relinquish the third position in the Senate party leadership: Secretary of the Democratic Conference. Mus-

kie, along with Philip A. Hart (D Mich.) seemed to be the leading liberal contenders. However, Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.), maverick liberal who had been a severe critic of the Senate establishment, sought the post, and again Muskie stepped aside. Clark lost to Southern conservative Robert C. Byrd (D W.Va.).

Nevertheless, Muskie was held in such high esteem that he frequently was felt to be the most likely successor as the Senate Democratic Leader.

Vietnam—In 1965, Muskie accompanied Mansfield on a trip to 15 European, Middle Eastern and Far Eastern nations primarily to gauge opinion about the Vietnam war. Muskie, generally considered a moderate backer of the Administration's Vietnam policy, reported to his constituents, "We found uneasiness about the uncertainties of the Vietnam conflict and its possible escalation in all the countries we visited." He said that the United States should strive to improve the prospects for a just settlement by negotiations and to avoid a continuance of the conflict in the direction of a general war on the Asia mainland.

Muskie served as an observer named by President Johnson to examine the conduct of the 1967 South Vietnamese elections. He reported, "We found no evidence suggesting widespread fraud or irregularity, and to my knowledge none has been reported by the other foreign observers or the 600 newsmen who watched the elections.... I found the election to be a stimulating and indeed, an inspiring experience."

National Policy Stands

Muskie has been a strong Administration backer on legislative issues, a position which has earned for him a general reputation as a liberal Senator. Following is a summary of his views on domestic and foreign issues.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

Civil Rights. In a statement during Investigation Subcommittee hearings into riots in 1967: "It is my impression that a substantial majority of the white people in this country recognize the injustice that the Negro has suffered and still is suffering; that a substantial majority of them want to correct these injustices; (and) that a substantial majority of them will support public policies and programs which are directed toward that objective...."

Law and Order. When questioned Aug. 25, 1968, on "Meet the Press" (NBC-TV): "I think that the use of force obviously, in the police work, at times is essential, but I think it ought to be held in reserve and that more humane policies ought to be applied. Now you can speak in generalities much more easily than you can apply them; but I think there ought to be a policy of restraint. Not that we ought not to use force when it is necessary, and the point of necessity is the difficult one to spell."

Kerner Commission-Racism. When asked on the Aug. 25 Meet the Press program whether he agreed with the Commission's views that white racism was at the root of civil disturbances: "Well, I might not necessarily phrase my analysis of the situation in the same way, but I think that basically it is correct in saying that we have out of our policies over the period of our occupation of this continent, developed policies toward the Negro people that have built a divided society."

Education. In a 1960 Senate address: "Personally, we have our education gap is, in the long run, more serious than the so-called missile gap. It is our brain gap which is the single most important key to the strategic victory of freedom, democracy and peace."
Urban Problems. In a 1966 Senate debate on the cities program: "We have learned from the shortcomings of the past, (that) fragmented, uncoordinated operations of individual programs—however desirable and of themselves—will not correct the spiralling crisis in cities."

The housing, education, job opportunity, physical and social needs of men and women are part of the total environment of the cities. They should be treated as such."

Open Housing. In a Senate speech on Feb. 16, 1966: "The time is now for Congress to pass a law insuring all Americans an equal choice in the selection of housing.... We have at hand the means to make an immediate demonstration of faith to the Negro. It is we in Congress who should take the lead in securing the fundamental right of fair housing for the Negro in 1968."

Supreme Court. During his 1967 Law Day speech: "The decisions of the United States Supreme Court during the past decade on equal opportunity, on the protection of the accused, on the right to speak out, and more importantly on reapportionment, stand out as a monument to the preservation of freedom."

Pollution. In a 1963 Senate debate on an air pollution control bill: "Our population is increasing and the standard of living is going up. Our industries, homes, office buildings and motor vehicles take the air, pollute it with fuels and return the air-polluting compounds to the air. The more we prosper, the more we pollute the air we breathe."

Federal-State Relations. In a 1966 speech before the American Assembly on State Legislatures: "In this era of creative federalism, the Federal Government is completely sympathetic to strengthening the states generally and the state legislatures in particular. But no matter how much the federal partner provides, no federal action, no executive order, no administrative establishment can get to the heart of most of the basic problems confronting the state governments today."

Youth. In his acceptance speech Aug. 29: "Such force as this generated by these young people should be directed to those who believe in freedom as the most creative expression of the human spirit. But there are some disturbing aspects to this force because it can be exercised, and often is, in unrestrained, irrational and explosive ways.... These may be the products of impatience with results, of lack of confidence in our institutions, of lack of experience with the democratic process. They may also be the product of exploitation by interests whose motives are suspect.... We must learn to deal with these people, to insure their continued and meaningful participation in the democratic process."

FOREIGN POLICY STANDS

Vietnam. Muskie in the past has not been readily identified with either the "doves" or the "hawks" in the debate concerning the conduct of the war.

In a Jan. 16, 1968, interview: "Two clear-cut issues are involved in Vietnam—(1) the right of the South Viet-

namese people to determine their own destiny; (2) the use of the so-called national war of liberation as a technique of Communist expansion. To support the first and to resist the second, we are involved in a war of limited application of our military power.

"I think we recognize that, in a negotiated settlement, each side must take some risk that the other side may ultimately achieve its objective by nonviolent means, although each will seek to protect itself...."

In hearings on Vietnam before the Democratic Platform Committee Aug. 19: "...I think it is appropriate for us to call for (National Liberation Front) participation in the second stage of negotiations and in elections following the end of the conflict. I do not think it would be consistent with our objectives of free choice in Vietnam to insist that the present Vietnamese government be changed to include NLF participation prior to elections."

On the Aug. 25 Meet the Press program: The President "ought to be prepared to take some risks" in making the decision to halt bombing if diplomatic and intelligence sources indicated that such a move "could advance us one step further toward the negotiating table on substantive issues."

In supporting the majority plank on Vietnam before the Democratic National Convention Aug. 28: "The choice is this: a negotiated settlement with or a negotiated settlement without safeguards to protect free elections. A negotiated settlement which forces a coalition government on the South Vietnamese or one that supports their right to decide that question. A bombing halt with or a bombing halt without consideration of the air protection for our troops against military risks arising north of the demilitarized zone."

Foreign Policy. Before the Platform hearings Aug. 19: U.S. aims should be "to chart a new direction for our foreign policy to insure that our support of freedom and peace will be consistent with our objectives, commensurate with our capacities and appropriate to given circumstances."

Foreign Trade. In a March 1961 Senate speech: "I submit that neither extreme (of protectionism or free trade) will meet the interests of this nation or of the free world. The economies of nations are interrelated.... Trade between nations can no longer be left to chance.... Expanded opportunities for all countries in the free world depend on sensible and sensitive attention to the needs of all economies, and...planning in this area may well result in greater free trade." He advocated a sliding-scale import quota system through negotiated agreement to meet troublesome problems of import competition.

East-West Trade.—During a 1963 discussion in the Senate: "On the balance therefore, it seems to me that it is in the national interest to have private traders sell wheat and wheat flour to the Soviet bloc—including either cash or short-terms or medium-term commercial credit terms. Yankee traders have always recognized that trade is a two-way proposition. We do not make one unless there is an advantage for us."

Test-Ban Treaty. "When I have voted for this treaty, I can say to my children 'I have tried to give a world in which you will not be poisoned by the silent, insidious hazards of nuclear fallout'; I can say to my constituents, 'I have voted for this treaty because it is a sensible step toward a rational world'; I can say to the critics of

(Continued on p. 2373)

EDMUND MUSKIE'S KEY SENATE VOTES, 1959-1968

Edmund S. Muskie has served in the U.S. Senate since 1959. The following roll-call votes were picked by Congressional Quarterly as Key Votes of each year.

- 1968** **Tax Surcharge** (HR 15414.) Amendment to impose a 10 percent surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes and require a \$6 billion reduction in Government spending. Accepted 53-35 (R 31-3; D 22-32), April 2, 1968. Muskie FOR.
- Gun Control** (S 917). Kennedy (Mass.) amendment to prohibit the interstate mail-order sale of rifles and shotguns (the Administration's proposal). Rejected 29-53 (R 9-22; D 20-31), May 16, 1968. Muskie AGAINST.
- Supreme Court Rulings** (S 917). Amendment to strike out Title II of the omnibus crime bill, which purported to override Supreme Court decisions on the rights of criminal suspects and restricted the Court's review powers. Amendment rejected 31-51 (R 7-24; D 24-27), May 21, 1968. Muskie FOR.
- Riots** (HR 2516). Amendment to add to the civil rights bill provisions making it a federal offense to travel in or use the facilities of interstate commerce to incite a riot. Accepted 82-13 (R 30-5; D 52-8), March 5, 1968. Muskie FOR.
- Open Housing** (HR 2516). Motion to table (kill) an amendment to add a strong open-housing provision to the civil rights bill. Motion rejected 34-58 (R 16-19; D 18-39), Feb. 21, 1968. Muskie AGAINST.
- Head Start Funds** (HR 15399). Amendment to provide a supplemental \$25 million for the Head Start program for needy children, bringing the total up to the full amount budgeted for fiscal 1968. Accepted 43-42 when Vice President Humphrey broke a tie by voting yea (R 12-21; D 30-21), March 11, 1968. Muskie FOR.
- Antiballistic Missile** (S 3293). Amendment to delay deployment of an ABM system until the Secretary of Defense certified it was "practicable" and that its costs were known with "reasonable accuracy." Rejected 28-31 (R 11-11; D 17-20), April 18, 1968. Muskie AGAINST.
- Textile Imports** (HR 15414). Amendment to impose a quota on all types of textile imports. Accepted 55-31 (R 20-14; D 35-17), March 27, 1968. Muskie FOR.
- 1967** **U.S.-Soviet Consular Convention** (Exec D). Adoption of the resolution consenting to the President's ratification of the Consular Convention, which provided ground rules for an exchange of consulates, complete immunity for consular officers and employees, and access and notification rights to a country in regard to citizens detained in the other country. Passed 66-28 (D 44-15; R 22-13), March 16, 1967. Muskie FOR.
- Dodd Censure** (S Res 112). Adoption of amended resolution censuring Sen. Dodd (D Conn.) for having used his office as U.S. Senator to obtain political funds for personal benefit. Adopted 92-5 (D 58-3; R 34-2), June 23, 1967. Muskie FOR.
- Railroad Strike** (S J Res 81). Amendment to add to the House version of the bill, which prohibited a railroad strike for 90 days, the original Senate language providing for an imposed settlement if no agreement was reached by the shopcraft unions and railroad management. Accepted 68-21 (D 36-20; R 32-1), July 17, 1967. Muskie FOR.
- Arms Sales** (S 1155). Amendment to the Export-Import Bank bill, prohibiting the Bank from financing arms purchases by less developed countries. Rejected 40-49 (D 27-27; R 13-22), Aug. 9, 1967. Muskie AGAINST.
- Income Disclosure** (S 1880). Amendment to the Election Reform Act, requiring Members of Congress and candidates for Congress to disclose their assets, liabilities, securities, gifts and other outside income. Rejected 42-46 (D 29-24; R 13-22), Sept. 12, 1967. Muskie UNANNOUNCED.
- 1966** **Viet Nam War, Defense Authorizations** (S 2791). Motion to table (kill) an amendment to repeal the 1964 "Gulf of Tonkin" resolution, which authorized the President to help prevent aggression against South Viet Nam. Tabling motion adopted 92-5 (D 60-5; R 32-0), March 1, 1966. Muskie FOR.
- Airline Strike** (S J Res 186). Passage of the bill requiring striking airline machinists to return to work for up to 180 days while a Presidential special board mediated the dispute. Passed 54-33 (D 30-27; R 24-6), Aug. 4, 1966. Muskie AGAINST.
- 1966** **Model Cities** (S 3708). Amendment to delete from Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act 1966 the two-year authorization of \$940 million in grants "model cities," leaving for the program only \$24 million planning funds. Rejected 27-53 (D 10-43; R 17-10), Aug. 19, 1966. Muskie AGAINST.
- School Prayers** (S J Res 144). Passage of the bill providing a constitutional amendment to permit voluntary prayer in public schools. Rejected (two-thirds majority required) 49 (D 22-34; R 27-3), Sept. 21, 1966. Muskie AGAINST.
- 1965** **Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965** (S 2362). Passage of the bill providing grants to states for allocation to school districts with large numbers of children from low income families in public and private schools. Passed 77 (D 55-4; R 18-14), April 9, 1965. Muskie FOR.
- Foreign Assistance Act of 1965** (S 1837). Amendment to reduce the fiscal 1966 and 1967 authorizations for military assistance by \$115 million each year. Rejected 3 (D 28-25; R 10-18), June 11, 1965. Muskie UNANNOUNCED.
- Medicare** (HR 6675). Passage of the bill authorizing medicare hospital insurance program for the aged. Passed 68 (D 55-7; R 13-14), July 9, 1965. Muskie FOR.
- Rent Supplements** (S 2213). Amendment to delete from the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 a provision authorizing a program of rent supplements for low-income families. Rejected 40-47 (D 16-42; R 24-5), July 15, 1965. Muskie AGAINST.
- State Legislative Apportionment** (S J Res 66). Passage of the bill proposing a constitutional amendment to permit apportionment of a state legislature to be apportioned on the basis of geography and political subdivisions as well as on the basis of population. Rejected (two-thirds majority required) 57-39 (D 28-36; R 29-3), Aug. 4, 1965. Muskie AGAINST.
- Right-to-Work Repeal** (HR 77). Motion to invoke cloture on debate to make the pending business of the Senate the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act (which allows states to enact laws banning union-shop agreements between labor and management). Rejected (two-thirds majority required) 45-47 (D 40-21; R 5-26), Oct. 11, 1965. Muskie FOR.
- 1964** **Oil Depletion** (HR 8363). Amendment to the Revenue Act of 1964 to reduce the 27 1/2 percent oil depletion allowance to 15 percent for companies with gross incomes above \$5 million and to 21 percent for companies with gross incomes between \$5 million and \$5 million. Rejected 35-57 (D 26-38; R 9-19), Feb. 6, 1964. Muskie FOR.
- Farm Bill** (HR 6196). Passage of the Administration farm bill, authorizing a voluntary wheat "certificate" program, a new cotton price support program and a Government support program for domestic cotton mills on each pound of domestically produced cotton they purchased. Passed 53-35 (D 48-14; R 5-21), March 1964. Muskie FOR.
- Civil Rights** (HR 7152). Passage of the bill covering voting rights, equal access to public accommodations, desegregation of public facilities, public school desegregation, discrimination in federally aided programs and equal employment opportunity. Passed 73-27 (D 46-21; R 27-6), June 19, 1964. Muskie FOR.
- Economic Opportunity Act** (S 2642). Passage of the anti-poverty program. Passed 61-34 (D 51-12; R 10-22), July 1964. Muskie FOR.
- 1963** **Mass Transportation Act of 1963** (S 6). Passage of the bill providing matching grants and other aid to local and State governments for the development of urban mass transit systems. Passed 52-41 (D 46-17; R 6-24), April 4, 1963. Muskie AGAINST.
- Youth Employment Act** (S 1). Passage of the bill authorizing a Youth Conservation Corps and a "Home Town Corps" to provide useful work experience for and increase employability of unemployed youths. Passed 50-34 (D 43-7-20), April 10, 1963. Muskie FOR.
- Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** (Exec M). Approval of the resolution of ratification of the treaty, initiated in London on July 25, 1963, by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. Adopted 80-19 (D 55-11; R 25-8), Sept. 23, 1963. Muskie FOR.

62 **Civil Rights (S 2750).** Motion to invoke cloture on bill requiring that anyone with a sixth-grade education must be passed in a literacy test to vote in a federal election. Rejected 42-52 (D 31-30; R 11-22), May 14, 1962. Muskie FOR.

Aid to Communist Countries (S 2996). Amendment to prohibit the furnishing of aid under the act or the sale or gift of cultural commodities under PL 430 to any country dominated by Communism or Marxism. Accepted 57-24 (D 34-18; R 23-6), June 6, 1962. Muskie AGAINST.

Aid to Communist Countries (S 2996). Amendment to permit the President under certain circumstances to sell or give surplus food under PL 460 to Communist countries. Accepted 56-34 (D 37-19; R 19-15), June 7, 1962. Muskie FOR.

Medicare (HR 10606). Motion to table (kill) provision to give medical care to the aged under Social Security. Adopted 52-48 (D 21-43; R 31-5), July 17, 1962. Muskie AGAINST.

Communications Satellite Act of 1962 (HR 11040). Motion to invoke cloture and limit debate. Adopted 63-27 (D 29-25; R 34-2), Aug. 14, 1962. Muskie FOR.

'Peril Point' (HR 11970). Amendment restoring "peril point" procedure, under which Tariff Commission advised President on a specific tariff level below which an industry would be hurt, and if he cut tariffs below that point, he would be required to explain his reasons to Congress. Rejected 38-40 (D 13-40; R 25-0), Sept. 18, 1962. Muskie AGAINST.

Foreign Aid (HR 13175). Amendment providing a \$785-million increase in foreign aid under the act. Accepted 47-28 (D 33-16; R 14-12), Oct. 1, 1962. Muskie FOR.

961 **Revise Cloture Rule (S Res 4).** Motion to kill a proposal to revise Rule 22 to allow three-fifths of the Senators voting, instead of two-thirds, to invoke cloture. Adopted 50-46 (D 32-31; R 18-15), Jan. 11, 1961. Muskie AGAINST.

School Aid (S 1021). Passage of the bill authorizing \$2,550,000,000 in grants to states to be used for operation, maintenance, and construction of public schools and for teachers' salaries. Passed 49-34 (D 41-12; R 8-22), May 25, 1961. Muskie FOR.

Housing Act of 1961 (S 1922). Adoption of the conference report, authorizing \$4.88 billion in housing programs over four years. Adopted 53-36 (D 45-11; R 5-27), June 28, 1961. Muskie FOR.

Mexican Workers Pay (HR 2010). Amendment to require employers of Mexican farm laborers to pay them at least 90 percent of state or national average farm wage. Accepted 42-40 (D 34-20; R 8-20), Sept. 11, 1961. Muskie FOR.

Impacted Areas Aid (S 2393). Amendment to extend programs for one year instead of two. Rejected 40-45 (D 35-21; R 5-24), Sept. 12, 1961. Muskie FOR.

1960 **School Aid (S 8).** Table motion to reconsider vote rejecting amendment to authorize aid for school construction and teachers' salaries. Tabled 44-44 (Nixon voted to break tie) (D 16-40; R 28-4), Feb. 3, 1960. Muskie AGAINST.

Civil Rights. Motion to table amendment to pending Administration bill empowering the Attorney General to seek injunctions to protect any civil right. Adopted 55-38 (D 34-28; R 21-10), March 10, 1960. Muskie AGAINST.

Area Redevelopment Act of 1960 (S 722). Passage over President's veto. Rejected 45-39 (D 40-14; R 5-25), May 24, 1960. Muskie FOR.

Minimum Wage Law (S 3755). Amendment to reduce the number of new workers to be covered from 5 million to 280,000. Rejected 39-56 (D 19-44; R 20-12), Aug. 17, 1960. Muskie AGAINST.

Medical Care for Aged (HR 12580). Amendment to provide medical benefits for all Social Security retirees 68 and over, to be financed by an increase in the Social Security payroll tax. Rejected 44-51 (D 43-19; R 1-32), Aug. 23, 1960. Muskie FOR.

1959 **Labor 'Bill of Rights' (S 1555).** Amendment to add a "section providing a 'Bill of Rights' to protect union members against unfair actions by their unions. Accepted 47-46 (D 15-44; R 32-2), April 22, 1959. Muskie AGAINST.

Labor Disputes (S 1555). Amendment to permit state courts to handle labor disputes the NLRB declines to handle. Rejected 39-52 (D 16-43; R 23-9), April 23, 1959. Muskie AGAINST.

Housing Act of 1959 (revised bill) (S 2539). Passage of bill over the President's veto. Rejected 58-36 (D 52-9; R 6-27), Sept. 4, 1959. Muskie FOR.

Voting Scores, 1959-67

The following Congressional Quarterly statistics, all in terms of percentages, measure Edmund Muskie's voting performance during his nine years in the Senate: how often he voted, how often he supported or opposed the Presidential position on roll-call votes, how often he joined or opposed the stand of Republicans and Southern Democrats when they formed a coalition against Northern Democrats on roll-call votes, how often he voted with and against the majority of his party against the majority of the other party, how often he voted with the majority when a majority of both parties took the same position.

The 86th Congress covered 1959-60; the 87th, 1961-62; the 88th, 1963-64; the 89th, 1965-66; the 90th, 1967-68 (however figures for the 90th Congress are for the 1967 session only).

For purposes of comparison, the average scores for all Senate Democrats are listed in parenthesis for each study.

Congress	Voting Participation	On The Record	Presidential		Conservative Coalition	
			Support	Opposition	Support	Opposition
86th	87 (87)	97 (96)	43 (57)	40 (43)	13* (13)*	67* (72)*
87th	89 (82)	98 (96)	87 (83)	4 (17)	11 (17)	76 (69)
88th	89 (85)	95 (93)	83 (87)	6 (13)	9 (17)	83 (70)
89th	76 (83)	83 (95)	70 (87)	6 (13)	8 (15)	73 (68)
90th-	(1967) 82 (85)	88 (96)	76 (79)	6 (21)	9 (19)	75 (61)

Congress	Partisan Votes		Bipartisan Votes	
	Party Unity	Party Opposition	Bipartisan Support	Bipartisan Opposition
86th	67 (70)	17 (19)	80 (72)	10 (16)
87th	87 (70)	4 (17)	75 (74)†	11 (10)†
88th	81 (69)	4 (16)	80 (71)	7 (12)
89th	74 (67)	4 (17)	66 (66)	9 (15)
90th-	(1967) 81 (66)	4 (20)	72 (69)	9 (13)

*Average Coalition scores are for Northern Democrats only.

†During the 87th Congress, CQ scores in this category were based on a "nonpartisan" rather than a "bipartisan" study. The nonpartisan study was based on the number of roll-call votes on which a majority of Northern and Southern Democrats agreed with a majority of Republicans. The bipartisan study is based on a simple majority of Democrats agreeing with a majority of Republicans.

Muskie received a 100% rating from the Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, in the 86th Congress. COPE gave him a rating of 91% in the 87th Congress, 100% in the 88th, 92% in the 89th, and 91% in 1967. The Americans for Democratic Action gave him a rating of 91% in the 86th Congress, 100% in the 87th Congress, 89% in the 88th Congress, 84% in the 89th Congress, and 62% in 1967. The Americans for Constitutional Action gave Muskie 12% in the 86th Congress, 0% in the 87th Congress, 7% in the 88th Congress, 6% in the 89th Congress, and 4% in 1967. The percentages are based on each group's selected roll-call votes.

(Continued from p. 2371)

this treaty, 'I have faith in the strength of America, in its institutions; in its leadership and in the wisdom of acting with your eyes open and your feet on the ground.'

United Nations. In a letter to constituents in 1962: "The fact that the United Nations has not proved to be a perfect instrument—and indeed it has been a very imperfect instrument—is not a reason to abandon it. Rather, we should continue to work at it...to define the means for meeting its objectives."

What Happened to Muskie

Philadelphia—"briefly," he assured his black audience. Finally, the crowd grew so restless that the chairman had to ask Muskie to stop so the dance could go on.

The primaries, acknowledged Muskie, were "a way of testing a man for the Presidency, however awkward or crude," but he also found them "a silly kind of performance." Muskie did not enter them with the verve of a Humphrey or McGovern. Though his schedule was taxing only in its terminal weeks, Muskie often appeared tired, usually from wrestling with the campaign details when he should have been focusing upon what he would say. His distaste for the primary hoopla grew more apparent. "How does a candidate for President present himself to the country in a way that gives him a fair chance to present who he is, what he represents and what he can do?" he asked me once. "How does a candidate with all the circumlocutions of a campaign—the baby kissing, the plant gates—get through?"

Dandruff

His national staff was generally a good one, but Muskie's reluctance to delegate authority hamstrung aides who should have handled the nuts and bolts. It was not just a whistle-stop joke that Jack English was in charge of wiping the dandruff off the candidate's shoulders. I saw him do it twice in Wisconsin. One dejected staffer told me, "[Muskie] was an insuperable obstacle to so many things." Orders would be countermanded. Decisions would be held up until Muskie could pass judgment. The chain of command became so fouled that, through Wisconsin, it was sometimes impossible to tell who was responsible for what. Two weeks before

Pennsylvania, Muskie tried to unsnarl it. But he was too late.

At 2 a.m. one night in January a top aide confided some of the same doubts I'd begun to have about Muskie's chances. "Sometimes I think he's out of sync," said the aide. "His favorite movies are 'The Sound of Music,' 'Dr. Zhivago,' and 'Gone With the Wind.' He should be exposing himself to Kubrick, films like that. Yet with his capacity for growth, maybe he can catch up. But then I feel that he lacks that essential spark of greatness he needs to do it."

Yet if you traveled with Muskie, you came to like him. "I'm going to give up this goddam game," he shouted once after flubbing yet another golf shot at the Webhannet Country Club in Kennebunk Beach, Maine. Then he paused, looked at some flowers sprouting through the rough, and said softly, "Smell all the smells." He invited me to his modest summer cottage nearby and talked of build-

From the very start of Edmund Muskie's Presidential odyssey more than 24 months ago, NEWSWEEK's Richard Stout was a fixture in the Muskie caravan. Stout covered Muskie's trips to Moscow and Israel, his cross-country fund-raising tours and the final, painful journey through the primaries. What went wrong? In the following story, Stout offers an insider's glimpse of the unmaking of the front runner 1972:

One night back in January 1971, Edmund Muskie was arguing with several reporters, myself among them, in his suite at the Tel Aviv Hilton overlooking the Mediterranean. His sudden cancellation of an earlier press conference had prompted the discussion. But before long it escalated to whether Muskie was really prepared to submit to the tedious and often ridiculous demands of a Presidential campaign. Muskie stalked around the coffee table. Suddenly, he waved his arms and slapped his thighs hard. "Maybe I don't have what it takes," he shouted.

That was my first exposure to the Muskie temper. It was also my first realization that Muskie harbored deep doubts about himself and his quest for the Presidency. Several explanations have been offered why the ripe promise of his candidacy withered—too many primary rivals, a campaign strategy that spread him too thin, not enough money, even his now-historic outburst outside The Manchester Union Leader office in New Hampshire. But the root cause more probably lies within Edmund Muskie himself.

During the 1968 campaign in Detroit, Muskie told me that a good President should be a combination of Roosevelt and Kennedy. "I liked Jack's New England style," he said, "his grace and his way of saying things and his restraint. I liked FDR's warmth and his ability to communicate to people. And his almost incredible sense of political timing." Yet Muskie rarely seemed to conceive of himself as their rightful heir. "Maybe I'm not the best man to be President," he used to say in some early speeches. Aides finally persuaded him to drop that line, but his humility was genuinely rooted. "He never really had confidence in himself," mused a close Muskie adviser last week as an epitaph for the campaign.

Fragile Foundation

Muskie often spoke of how he had come upon his candidacy "by accident," and, to his credit, he saw more clearly than his supporters how fragile the foundations were. The Vice Presidential campaign in 1968, Chappaquiddick in 1969, his choice as Democratic election eve spokesman in 1970 all propelled him toward an opportunity he had not entirely sought. "I don't think he ever really hungered for the job," an aide told me, "not the gnawing hunger that's so necessary."

The months after his 1970 election eve triumph trickled by before Muskie bothered to organize a political campaign. Once he did begin, it was from the top down, following the blueprint of strategist John English. The tougher grassroots planning that characterized Sen. George McGovern's campaign was given short shrift. As the endorsements piled up and Muskie continued to thrive in the polls, overconfidence infused the staff and the candidate himself. Sometimes Muskie seemed more preoccupied with the White House than the road to it. Even on his flight back from his disaster in Wisconsin, Muskie turned his thoughts from his crumbling prospects for the nomination



Mike Lien—New York Times

Tears in New Hampshire: Inner doubts

to the bigger—and less realistic—picture. "Preparing for the Presidency is a damn tough job," he told me.

Muskie's aides advised him not to become too specific on the issues right away. Muskie agreed, and laced his attacks on Richard Nixon with a sermonette about restoring America's unity and sense of opportunity. Dissident staffers called it the "my Polish father" speech. But Muskie's eloquence mired him in a fuzzy centrism while Wallace was talking about busing and McGovern about the war. Muskie groped through the "politics of truth" and later the "politics of trust" before, in the last days of the Florida primary, targeting real issues like the economy. By then, there were too many other candidates—and too little time between primaries—for the media to sort out his detailed new proposals. He tightened up his speeches but lapsed occasionally into the old homilies. Last week, he addressed a benefit dance in

ing a better house some day—"one tall enough so that you can see the ocean." Muskie lost because he never quite transcended himself. On his last primary swing through Pennsylvania, he seemed unusually relaxed. Asked why, Muskie smiled and said, "The rape is all over." He accepted his decline as fatalistically as he had his sudden rise to prominence. After all, Muskie liked to tell his campaign audiences, "I'm only human."

THE ITT CASE: 'Got to Go'

Despite a record 23 days of hearings, there was still enough confusion about the International Telephone and Telegraph Corp. affair last week to prompt the Senate Judiciary Committee to recall Acting Attorney General Richard C. Kleindienst himself. But Kleindienst, it developed, had difficulty recalling much of anything when it came to several seeming contradictions in his original testimony. For example, White House aide Peter Flanigan had admitted talking with Kleindienst at least twice about matters related to the Justice Department decision to settle three antitrust cases against ITT out of court. Kleindienst allowed that he really didn't remember. "It was so insignificant . . . that it just didn't fix in my mind," he said.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy was launching into just such another insignificant matter when chairman James Eastland of Mississippi looked up at the clock and slammed down his gavel. "Got to go," he said. "Five o'clock." The prearranged deadline having been reached, committee members finally voted. The decision was 11 to 4 in favor of Kleindienst's nomination to become Attorney General, a reaffirmation of the committee's initial unanimous decision last February. Opposed were Democrats Kennedy, John Tunney of California, Birch Bayh of Indiana and Quentin Burdick of North Dakota, but both Philip Hart of Michigan and Robert Byrd of West Virginia declared that their votes in Kleindienst's favor did not bind them for the final Senate vote later this month.

Indeed, a spirited floor fight is expected, although the odds now seem to be in Kleindienst's favor. Even confirmation may not end the ITT case, however. Maryland Republican Charles Mathias suggested last week that the Judiciary Committee or one of its subcommittees might still pursue the question of "improper influences" on the settlement.

NEW YORK:

Bella and Bill

Bella Abzug hit Capitol Hill like a thousand-pound blockbuster in a floppy hat. She promptly began blasting all the right targets for an antiwar feminist from Manhattan's West Side—the President, the Pentagon, House seniority rules



West Side story: Will liberals back Battling Bella or veteran Ryan?

and what she considers the nation's pervasive male chauvinism. But now, Congresswoman Abzug is in the midst of a very different kind of fight. She is running flat out for re-election against a close colleague and fellow West Side liberal, veteran Rep. William Fitts Ryan—and the race is generating as much dissension and psychic distress as anything New York's reform-minded Democrats have experienced in years.

How could she do such a thing? As Bella sees it, she had little choice. Her polyglot liberal district was abolished by the Republican-controlled state legislature after the last census indicated a population decline in Manhattan. At first, she considered taking on conservatives in neighboring districts, but her radical views and abrasive style did not make the prospects promising. Her real power base had been added to Ryan's expanded twentieth district and, in the final decision, it hardly made any difference that Bill Ryan had been the Bella of his day.

Reformer: Ryan, 49, was the first New York reformer to go to Congress—in 1961, they dubbed him "Wild Bill," a "spurt-ing-heart liberal"—the first congressman to speak out against the war (in 1963), the first to introduce a plan for a guaranteed annual income (in 1967). Besides catering to the specific needs of his district, he helped to toughen the 1964 Civil Rights Act and, more recently, led the campaign for a bill to combat lead-paint poisoning among infants in the nation's slums.

His record has won Ryan the support of most well-known members of New York's liberal establishment, including Paul O'Dwyer, the lawyer for the Harrisburg Seven, critic Nat Hentoff, black leader Basil Paterson and a slew of former Bella boosters of both sexes. Says Ryan himself: "I'm disappointed in her. When the real enemy is elsewhere, it makes very little sense to run against a friend."

Bella won't buy that. "We are not going to get more women into the power

structure if a good gal can't run where a good guy is," she says. She feels that there is more at stake than a single district of 467,000 people—the 51-year-old Abzug sees herself as an activist symbol for women, the poor and the powerless all over the nation.

Those rallying to Bella's banner currently include such celebrities as Barbra Streisand, Robert Redford and Harry Belafonte, former mayor Robert F. Wagner and a cadre of young campaigners fresh from John Lindsay's Presidential debacle. Abzug headquarters also claims the support of Mrs. Martin Luther King, but Mrs. King had not been informed that old friend Ryan was Bella's opponent. "I have not made an endorsement," she said last week.

Another ploy that may have backfired on Bella was the early whispering campaign by her supporters about Ryan's health. An operation, presumably for throat cancer, two years ago has left his neck swollen and his voice distorted, but the rumors apparently generated sympathy for Ryan, who claims that "except for my voice, I am in fact fully recovered." He seems to thrive on sixteen-hour workdays, and he has one of the best attendance records in the New York delegation.

When it comes to sheer energy and chutzpah, however, Battling Bella is hard to beat—and it is this vitality that could enable her to overcome Ryan's current lead by primary day, June 20. While he campaigns on his record with typical modesty, she will be collaring strangers in the street, as she did one day last week, growling: "It's me, Bella Abzug. Have a button. Vote!"

TRIALS:

From Angela With Love

"You've got it all, African woman," Soledad Brother George Jackson wrote to Angela Davis in 1970. "Should we make a lovers' vow?" If they did, they had not long to keep it. Jackson was

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

to George." Humphrey took an early lead in the winner-take-all run for the state's 271 delegates, but McGovern has the organization, the media excitement and now, clearly, the momentum. The latest California Poll gave Humphrey a bare 35-31 percentage lead over McGovern; the spread was 23-7 last February. Humphrey's labor support was sluggish ("Somehow," fretted one HHH hand, "we've got to get them up off their ass") and his own organization only just setting up shop in offices lately abandoned by Muskie. Humphrey spoke bravely of challenging McGovern for the student vote "on every campus in California," and his people planned to field a blue-collar Worried Workers Brigade to talk him up at factory gates. But in the end it will come down to Humphrey himself against McGovern and his army of volunteers. He plans to be there for most of the time left from this week till the election. "We're counting on him," said one organizer, "to generate the necessary enthusiasm."

Generating enthusiasm remains Hubert Humphrey's thing. The mere fact that he lasted as far as California was no less a marvel of this political season than George McGovern's own long march there. There are moments when Humphrey is like some shade of William Jennings Bryan, the bearer of the Democratic faith in earlier hard times, thrice the nominee and never the President. But there are days when the speeches are crisp and the handshakes firm, and it is possible to imagine him in the White House after all.

—PETER GOLDMAN

THE FBI:

On Like Gangbusters

"Gray is Gray, and Hoover was Hoover," said the FBI's new acting director, L. Patrick Gray, last week. And nobody would mistake the Gray way for J. Edgar Hoover's style of running the bureau. On the job barely a week, Gray assembled Hoover's dour-faced hierarchy for a brainstorming session and a group picture and filled them in on some of his new ideas. Out, said Gray, are compulsory short haircuts and drab white shirts; in are tinted shirts, modest sideburns, even neat mustaches and beards, as well as agents drawn from the ranks of ethnic minorities and women.

To start, Gray named 27-year-old Barbara Lynn Herwig, his special assistant while he was an Assistant Attorney General, to a comparable post at the FBI—making her the first high-ranking woman in the bureau's history. Gray also named two other Justice Department lawyers—both in their 30s—as special assistants. And among other things, he promised to set up a "director's advisory committee" of outside consultants and to make the bureau's operations more open to public scrutiny. Said one veteran FBI hand after Gray warmly greeted bureau

employees: "If you took a poll, he'd get 98 per cent approval." Added another: "I wouldn't even be surprised if the FBI started admitting a mistake once in a while."

NEW YORK:

Backlash on Abortion

After a close and impassioned legislative battle, the New York State Legislature two years ago passed the most progressive abortion law in the nation—providing abortion on request up to 24 weeks of pregnancy. As a result, the number of legal abortions skyrocketed—to some 200,000 a year—while the mortality rate for mothers and infants at childbirth plummeted, by 50 per cent



Kelleher with fetus: Nixon agreed

and 20 per cent, respectively. The number of illegitimate births also dropped. Judging by those statistics, supporters of the abortion reform felt confident that they had made their point once and for all. But last week, both chambers of the state legislature voted to return to the stringent state abortion code that first went into effect in the nineteenth century. And only the promised veto of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller stood to prevent New York from actually taking the step.

As in 1970, the debate in Albany last week was marked by long moral and philosophical arguments and some graphic clinical descriptions. GOP Assemblyman Neil W. Kelleher of Troy, who urged repeal of the liberal law, displayed an aborted fetus in a jar. But the most dramatic element in the controversy was the unprecedented intervention of President Richard Nixon, whose stringent anti-abortion views are well known.

In a last-minute letter to New Terence Cardinal Cooke, the leader of the fight for repeal, the President ceded that the law was "a matter of state decision outside Federal jurisdiction" but he added: "I would prefer to associate myself with the emotions you deeply feel and eloquently express." The Nixon letter made the battle more partisan than ever and spurred Rockefeller, state chairman of President's campaign for re-election who had already pledged to veto repeal. The White House explained what lamely that the letter was meant for publication. But that did lessen its pro-Nixon impact on Roman Catholics and conservative Democrats.

'Right to Life': The political position of the abortion issue had become in recent months—especially in the months when it was besieged in the corridors of the capitol and lobbied at homes and offices by opponents of the liberal statute. The campaign, directed primarily by the Roman Catholic Church, orthodox Jewish leaders and dozens of semi-autonomous "right-to-life" groups, mobilized thousands of concerned citizens. Beyond that, there were rumors that lawmakers, especially Republicans, who did not come might face stiff primary challenges from "right-to-life" candidates. Supporters of the current law, including the New York State Council of Churches, Reform Jewish leaders and women's liberation groups, were caught short by the growing groundswell of opposition.

As promised, Rockefeller vetoed the repeal bill at the weekend, after the legislature had adjourned. "I can see no justification," he said, "for condemning hundreds of thousands of women to a dark age once again." The governor favors a compromise bill, to be considered during the lawmakers' next session, which would limit elective abortions to the first eighteen weeks of pregnancy. Whether the abortion backlash can be contained in New York—or in other liberal-abortion states around the U.S.—remains to be seen.

TEXAS:

Winds of Change

A political twister hit Texas last week—and when the dust had settled, the state's old Democratic machine lay in wreckage. When the results of the Democratic primary were in, two-time Gov. Preston Smith was out—with no single one of the state's 254 counties in his column. Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes, 34, supposedly unbeatable protégé of Landon Johnson and Treasury Secretary John Connally, lost his own bid for the Statehouse nomination with a third place finish in the seven-man field. Fewer than seventeen legislators, the state's attorney general and even Houston Sheriff Buster Kern—a 23-year fixer who seemed as durable as the Alamo

were swept out of office too. The message written on the wind was not entirely "throw the rascals out"—but Texas voters plainly felt it was time for a change.

It was a stock-fraud scandal involving Houston financier Frank W. Sharp and the Sharpstown bank that most riled the voters. The attorney general and many of the legislators lost out because of their ties to the affair—though, surprisingly, former House Speaker Gus Mutscher, who was convicted of conspiracy to accept a bribe in the case, weathered the winds of change. Govern-

nor Smith was never formally charged and had vetoed key bills involved in the case—but only after netting \$62,500 himself. Barnes was never directly implicated. But he was tainted by his admission that over an eleven-year political career in which his salary from the state never topped \$4,800 he had amassed assets of nearly \$270,000.

The most surprising upset of the primary involved the governor's race. Millionaire rancher Dolph Briscoe, 49, who had invested more than \$1 million in an otherwise bland campaign, was forced

into a June 3 runoff with Stat Frances (Sissy) Farenthold, 45, below—a sharp-tongued mother who had come out bluntly against corruption. In the same runoff, former Ralph Yarborough, 68, faces LBJ time aide Barefoot Sanders—winner challenging GOP Sen. John in November. But it was a woman who scored one of the primary most interesting victories. State Barbara Jordan, a 36-year-old won the nomination for the heavily ocratic, non-white Eighteenth Co.

A SIGHT FOR THE EYES OF TEXAS

Among the big successes in last week's Democratic primary were two extraordinary women politicians—the patrician Frances Farenthold and black moderate Barbara Jordan—who have brought a new look to Texas politics. Their stories:

Frances Farenthold, 45, is a product of Vassar, University of Texas Law School and a proud old Texas family that boasts a record of public service stretching back almost a century. But in her first political campaign—for a seat in the state legislature in 1968—"Sissy" Farenthold was so shy that her husband, George, finally dropped her off at a shopping center with 1,500 campaign cards and a dime. "When you've handed out all the cards," he told her, "call me and I'll come pick you up."

Oddly enough, she was elected—the only woman in the Texas House. She didn't stay shy long. A staunch opponent of the Vietnam war, Mrs. Farenthold was the only one of the state's 150 legislators to vote against a 1969 proposal commending President Lyndon Johnson. A former legal-aid lawyer for the Corpus Christi poor ("A soul-searing experience"), she has fought hard for liberalization of welfare benefits. When the Sharpstown scandal broke last year, Mrs. Farenthold—then a seasoned second term—became leader of a liberal reform group called "The Dirty Thirty"—and began building up the theme of her gubernatorial campaign.

Spider: When the campaign began, only 3 per cent of the voters had even heard of Sissy Farenthold. But they soon began hearing from her. While her opponents equivocated, Mrs. Farenthold came out foursquare for a corporate income tax, softer penalties for possession of marijuana, and removal of the all-white Texas Rangers from heavily chican sections of south Texas. A Catholic, Mrs. Farenthold made clear that, while personally opposed to abortion, she believes that women should be free to decide the issue for themselves—a stand that drew a rebuke from San Antonio Archbishop Francis Furey. "I'm hanging by a spider's thread," she sighed.

So are her prospects now of beating

millionaire rancher Dolph Briscoe in the June 3 runoff. But she does have a fighting chance. Mrs. Farenthold has the allegiance of Texas's young people and liberals. Of late, her candor seems to be drawing organized labor and middle-class backing as well—and money, says campaign manager Creekmore Fath, is starting to come in. If by chance she should make it to the Statehouse, it would be more than a political victory. Sissy Farenthold would become the first woman governor of the Lone Star State since Miriam (Ma) Ferguson succeeded her impeached husband in 1924.



Farenthold: Shy no more

Barbara Jordan, 36, the daughter of a part-time Baptist minister from black south Houston, graduated from all-black Texas Southern University and took a law degree from Boston University. She got back to Houston with just enough money to have a stack of business cards printed BARBARA JORDAN, ATTORNEY AT LAW, moved in with her parents and set up her practice over the dining-room table. It took three years for her to scrape together enough money to open an office of her own. "All blacks are militants in their guts," Miss Jordan once said. "But militancy is expressed in different ways."

Miss Jordan's way is to work within



Jordan: Black no less

the system—and she has been remarkably successful at it. Six years ago, articulate and assertive reformer became the first Negro to sit in the Texas Senate since 1882—and the first black woman ever. She has since served on almost every major Senate committee, chaired several of them and run up an extraordinary string of legislative achievements in the process—including a law establishing the Texas Fair Employment Practices Commission, a vastly improved women's compensation act and the state's first minimum-wage law. Just last month she was named Senate President pro Tempore—another first for a black woman.

When Miss Jordan declared for primary, even the conservative Houston Chronicle praised her as "an eloquent spokesman—perhaps the most effective in our state's history—against human injustice." In the campaign, she met State Rep. Curtis Graves's personal attack ("the best black congressman money can buy") with quiet dignity, stuck resolutely to the issues at hand—and drew more than four times as many votes as Graves and her two other black opponents combined.

But Miss Jordan's victory only strengthened her determination to campaign hard. "It's a Presidential year, and more Republicans may show up," she said over the roar of a soul-rock band at her victory celebration. "I can't take any chances—not after this."

**Ralph Nader Congress Project
Citizens Look at Congress**

**Edmund S.
Muskie**

Democratic Senator
from Maine

written by Cherrill Anson



Muskie tells doubts on Humphrey for '76

By Tom Littlewood

Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.) said Tuesday that he was not sure if Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) is capable any longer of providing the national leadership that Americans want and need.

Humphrey and Muskie, running mates in 1968, are generally considered two familiar figures that this summer's Democratic convention would be appraising closely if the primary trials fail to produce a conclusive winner.

Discussing presidential politics with reporters, Muskie praised Humphrey's service to the party and said he never doubted the former vice president's qualifications for President in the past.

But the times require a leader who can "rally the American people," Muskie noted, and a more pertinent question is whether Humphrey satisfies that description for 1976.

"We need (candidates) who don't just hang on from the past but are relevant for today," Muskie said. He emphasized that he was withholding judgment on whether Humphrey or any of the announced candidates can demonstrate their ability to excite the electorate.

There is no real tide yet running for any of the campaigning candidates, Muskie said.

Calling him "a very active noncandidate," Humphrey has the best chance of being nominated, Muskie said.

"My guess today is that he (Humphrey) would make a calculated decision to enter some of the late primaries," Muskie added.

Humphrey has disavowed any plans for entering primaries. The convention will have to turn to him if he is to be chosen, Humphrey has explained.

Muskie said he "wouldn't put a dime" on his own chances of emerging as the nominee. "You have to do something to be nominated, and I'm not doing anything," he said.

Humphrey was reported to have been angered by the choice of Muskie to deliver the televised Democratic response to President Ford's State of the Union speech two weeks ago.

How Democrats stand on Humphrey is becoming one of the central party issues this year.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter said recently that Humphrey was a loser out of the past and that the party should be looking for fresh faces.

Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) suggested that Humphrey's rhetorical style was "out of tune with the temper of the times," a statement similar to Muskie's implied message of Tuesday.

Stevenson said late last month he thought the interests of Democrats in Illinois would be nicely served by a ticket of Muskie for President and Stevenson for vice president.

Muskie, Replying to Ford, Assails Joblessness Cost

Wash Post 1-22

DEMOCRATS, From AI
Muskie's solution was the familiar Democratic congressional plan for public service jobs, one which Mr. Ford has stoutly resisted.

"Direct employment programs—using federal dollars to pay for public service jobs like classroom teaching aides and hospital attendants—would produce the most jobs at the lowest total cost," he said.

He also called for federal aid with which communities would launch short-term public works projects to avoid layoffs in local governments, such as police protection and trash collection.

In his State of the Union address Monday night, the President acknowledged that the nation's unemployment rate is still too high. But he said the government cannot create jobs for every American who wants to work. He called, instead, for tax incentives to private industry to expand the job market.

Last night, Muskie appeared to agree on the need for tax cuts for private industry. He said jobs created through Democratic-proposed public service programs "should be in addition to the jobs Congress could create in private industry by additional tax cuts."

Muskie also appeared to be opposing Mr. Ford's proposal to increase the payroll taxes that finance the Social Security system.

He said that Congress could avoid discouraging private-sector employment by rejecting the President's proposals to increase payroll taxes.

Mr. Ford said Monday night that an increase of three-tenths of 1 per cent in the tax rate paid by both employe

and employee would be needed to keep the Social Security system out of danger in the years ahead.

Muskie directly attacked the theme of Mr. Ford's economic messages.

"The administration has tried hard to make the case that budget deficits are a direct cause of inflation," he said. "I wish the American economy were that simple. Curing inflation then would be a simple matter of cutting the budget. Unfortunately, the facts do not bear out the administration claim."

In response to Mr. Ford's frequent accusation that Congress, over his vetoes, is spending the country to the danger point, Muskie said that the new congressional budget system would responsibly hold expenditures in check.

"We have imposed a tough spending ceiling on the federal government this year," Muskie said. "We will impose a similar spending ceiling next year and every year. We have held the federal deficit to the lowest possible level consistent with reducing unemployment."

He accused the Ford administration of wasting tax dollars through mismanagement. "I was disappointed that the President made no proposals to improve government efficiency—to bring new businesslike methods into the bureaucracy."

Like the President, Muskie had little to say on foreign policy and his only disagreement with the administration came over U. S. intervention in Angola.

He said that the war in Vietnam had demonstrated that U. S. interests are not served by military in

tervention everywhere in the world where we see instability.

"Yet, just last month we discovered that the President has involved our nation in a major way in yet another far-off land: in Angola, where our nation's interests and those of the free world are far from clear." He noted that the Senate voted against any further expenditures for Angola.

Muskie was selected by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) to make the Democratic response to the President's State of the Union address and he delivered it seated in Mansfield's office in the Capitol.

For the first time since the tradition began, the address was carried live on all three commercial television networks and on the Public Broadcasting System.

There was speculation among Muskie's friends in the Senate that a successful, well-received speech before the huge national audience could kindle a movement to make him the Democratic presidential nominee. Aides insisted, however, that he had no plans to campaign actively in any of the primaries or convention caucuses for the nomination.

Muskie was selected because he is considered by his Senate peers to be a thoughtful colleague squarely in the mainstream of his party.

Muskie invested considerable time and planning in the speech. It was laid out in general terms at a meeting Sunday in Muskie's home, where he met with aides from the Senate Budget Committee, which he heads, and with several veterans of previous Democratic administrations.

Muskie: Ford Policies Will Boost Joblessness

Was not in

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) charged last night that President Ford's economic plans are "pennywise and pound foolish" and said that Americans will pay a "staggering price" for a policy of continued high unemployment.

Muskie, delivering the Democrats' response to President Ford's State of the Union address, presented a congressional agenda that called for reducing unemployment through public service jobs and other means.

"The President says we cannot afford to help Americans find work," Muskie said in a nationally televised speech from the Capitol. "I say we cannot, as taxpayers, afford not to."

Muskie did not directly challenge Mr. Ford on a number of the key proposals made in the President's State of the Union address and his budget message to Congress.

He avoided mentioning the \$10 billion additional tax cut, one of the main points in Mr. Ford's messages.

And although he said that Americans should be "skeptical" of Mr. Ford's plan to shift programs from the federal level to state and local governments, he promised that Congress would evaluate them "with an open mind."

The attack on administration policies was in line with the congressional Democrats' conviction that Republicans this year will be most vulnerable on the unemployment issue.

Muskie said that the President's budget for fiscal 1977 "offers no new jobs. In fact, it proposes cutbacks in the existing, limited emergency jobs program Congress has enacted."

"The President's plans for our economy are pennywise and pound foolish. Under them, America's factories are producing only three-fourths as many goods as they actually could."

The budget, he added, would keep the unemployment rate over 7 per cent for another year and he said that most economists believe current administration policies would mean that rate would not fall below 7 per cent in this decade.

"We American taxpayers pay a staggering price for these jobless policies," he said. "But the Americans who want work and can't find it pay so much more."

Sanford Reported Ready to Withdraw

Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford is expected to announce Friday that he is no longer a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Details on Page A7

See DEMOCRATS, A7, Col 1

Muskie Making No Commitment

2-10-75

Albany Herald

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Edmund S. Muskie says he is in "a state of suspended animation" about a 1976 race for the presidency and is laying plans to run for re-election to the Senate next year while leaving open "the possibility that might change."

In an hour-long, often philosophical interview in his office, the lanky Maine Democrat said he plans to spend 1975 as "a full-time senator," looking ahead to the 1976 Senate race in Maine.

But he conceded the lure of the presidency remains after his 1972 bid, noting that "having been reasonably close to it once, there's some chemistry about the whole thing that keeps you drawn to it."

"I can think of all sorts of personal and political and other reasons why my life would be complete without it," the 60-year-old Senator said. "Life isn't going to begin and end by whether I become a candidate for president or get the nomination or become president. It simply isn't."

The rambling conversation made it clear that Muskie realizes that many Democrats look to him as a possible compromise candidate for 1976 and that, according to public opinion polls, he runs stronger against President Ford than any other Democratic possibility.

Those same polls, however, made Muskie the front-runner in the months before the 1972 presidential primaries, but his showing soon faded.

Muskie indicated he would be more inclined to an active 1976 candidacy than to play a waiting game in hopes of a convention deadlock.

"I find it hard to believe that at that point, anybody who has made no effort at



EDMUND MUSKIE
Eyes Re-Election Now

all could come in and get it," he said, though he conceded that perhaps Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., could.

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sen

18-A THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Fri., Nov. 17, 1972

Muskie Wants Westwood Out

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine joined other party spokesmen Thursday in urging the resignation of Democratic National Chairwoman Jean Westwood, who still vows she will fight to keep her job.

"We need to get a chairman who is not identified with the divisions that have plagued us," said Muskie.

Muskie said he was "not anti-Westwood or pro-Westwood but that the question of considering party leadership after an election defeat is a valid principle."

The Maine senator, who declined a McGovern invitation to be his vice

presidential running mate, was interviewed on the NBC-TV Today show the day after Mrs. Westwood returned from a Florida vacation and reiterated her determination to resist efforts to oust her.

The showdown will come Dec. 9 at a Washington meeting of the full, 303-member Democratic National Committee, its first since McGovern suffered disastrous defeat in the Nixon landslide last week.

Six days earlier, at St. Louis, the 31 democratic governors will meet to act on a recommendation by its five-member executive committee that Mrs.

Westwood, former Utah national committeewoman selected as chairwoman by McGovern the day after the Miami Beach convention, step down in the interests of party unity.

Muskie said the Democratic chairman should be acceptable to all factions and groups within the party. Among possible successors, he mentioned Reps. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, John Brademas of Indiana and David Pryor of Arkansas.

He blamed a large part of McGovern's defeat on a "loss of credibility."

The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1972

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Sen. Robert Dole, R-Kan., Republican national chairman, shrugged off reports at a news conference here that he might be replaced in his party post. "I expect to be around as long as I want to be," Dole said while in Springfield to address the Central Illinois Builders. However, he predicted a swift ouster of the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Jean Westwood. "Mrs. Westwood will soon be driftwood, I guess," Dole said.

Wife Vetoed Try For No. 2 Post, Muskie Declares

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sen. Edmund S. Muskie was all set to accept the vice presidential slot on the Democratic ticket last summer, but his wife vetoed the idea.

Muskie said that his wife Jane told him initially that whatever he decided about being Sen. George McGovern's running-mate was fine with her.

But when McGovern began offering the vice presidential spot to others after the withdrawal of Sen. Thomas Eagleton, Mrs. Muskie put her foot down and told her husband not to accept under any circumstances.

In a retrospective interview with UPI last week, Muskie said, "I had committed myself for four years to selecting a new president, and felt the obligation to continue in whatever role I could," indicating he was ready to accept McGovern's offer.

When that offer came, Muskie met with his closest advisers, then flew home to Maine to convince Jane.

"We spent the evening discussing it and in considerable disagreement with each other," Muskie recalled. "She was just too tired and emotionally drained to take any more national politics."

Muskie, for many months regarded as the front-runner in the 1972 Democratic presidential contest, indicated in the interview that his White House ambitions still were alive.

"I suppose it's true the bug may always be there," he conceded. "I'd be frank to say that if someone offered me the nomination in 1976 . . . I'd be more than willing to take it."

Muskie, 58, who considers Sen. Edward M. Kennedy the current Democratic front-runner for 1976, said he didn't expect to be handed the nomination. But if the opportunity arises, "then we'll take another look at it."

The Democrats' 1968 vice presidential candidate, Muskie spent millions of dollars and four years pursuing the 1972 presidential nomination. He blamed much of his failure on his treatment by the press and his own inclination to let himself become "twisted out of shape."

As to his decision to turn down McGovern's offer, Muskie said his wife "had just about everything to do with it."

"When we were both aware that I was being considered for it," he recalled, "she said 'whatever you decide.' Then McGovern offered it to one man, then another, and by the end of the week she had some real second thoughts about it."

"The evening McGovern offered it to me she called and said that if I were offered the spot she didn't want me to take it," he said.

Despite Muskie's trip home, her convictions were not shaken, and Muskie announced that weekend he could not accept.

"I felt it was unfair to force her and the rest of the family beyond the point of tolerance," he said. "And I still think that was the right decision."

At the time Muskie felt "George had a problem and I thought I should give it a try. I really wasn't interested in being a vice presidential candidate. And I recognized that even though I was willing to do it, I may not be able to give it what I had given before."

Easing his 6-foot-4 frame into a comfortable leather chair in his spacious Senate office, Muskie said that he neglected Harry Truman's advice to "be yourself" and let himself get twisted out of shape at some crucial moments

"The pressures to consider this group and that group," he said, forced him "to reach out in ways that don't come natural. And if you strain the public conception of what you are, you lose credibility."

The crying incident during the New Hampshire primary in Manchester was "misconceived" by the press, he said.

"I did not cry. I was choked with rage" over a story printed by the Manchester Union Leader about Mrs. Muskie "but that was something different."

Nonetheless, he added quickly, "it was an unwise thing to do. And it's apparent that a lot of people's attitude toward me was substantially changed as a result."

Even though he won that first primary, he recalls with a trace of bitterness, "the press portrayed it as a defeat. The press didn't treat any one of my primary races as a victory. Hell, George Wallace the next week got 42 per cent in Florida and that was hailed as a victory."

"If Teddy Kennedy is the candidate and the press makes up its mind that he has to get 72 per cent of the primary vote in New Hampshire, then there isn't a thing he can do about it."

"I was utterly decimated by the press," Muskie said. "I guess these things wouldn't hurt if you weren't the front runner at the time. The importance of it is, God damn it, you can't raise the money when you're portrayed as a loser."

"But I learned there's no point arguing with the press about it," he said. "If you do, they'll just build up the story."

His decision to enter so many primaries was his other major mistake, Muskie said.

"When you try to run in 23 primaries you can't run full speed in every primary," he said. "It's like asking a marathon runner who's a 100-yard dash man to run all 23 miles. You just can't do it."

McGovern lost, Muskie believes, because "he started from a very narrow base which he was never able to broaden."

"He got himself so closely identified with the issues concerned with that base that he found it very difficult to embrace the confidence of the broader base of Americans who had a different perspective," Muskie said.

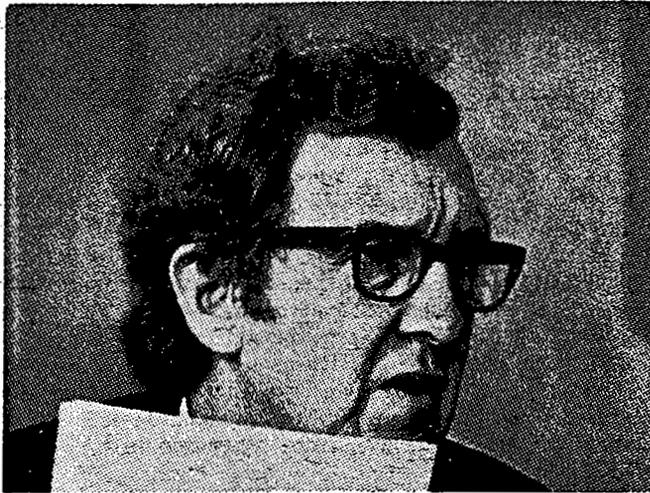
Muskie said he feared becoming bitter following an unsuccessful campaign but found instead that it "was an experience to live with. I found myself a better man because of it. The short term disappointment is gone."

He has plunged anew into his Senate duties, and the characteristic Muskie anger once again is being aimed at Nixon administration officials who come before his subcommittee. But he still is sensitive to stories about his temper.

"There's one thing you people in the press don't seem to understand," he said. "I am intense — but that's different from anger. Remember I used to be a lawyer. The cross-examination is one of development. When you get intensity on the run, you bore in on him."

Of the future of the Democratic party, Muskie is convinced that left and right factions within the party must begin communicating with each other to stake out some common ground.

"Our failure to do so last year amounted to a schism," he said. "If we fail to build respect for each other, we're never going to build a majority. For four years now we've just focused on ways to disagree with other Democrats."



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Muskie — to deliver party's attack

Re-enter Muskie

Senator, answering Ford on TV, could revive candidacy

By Richard L. Strout

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Next Wednesday evening (Jan. 21) at 9, Sen. Edmund Muskie (D) of Maine will speak in prime time, on three networks, in an official Democratic congressional "reply" to President Ford's State of the Union address (Jan. 19). There have been replies before but never with such a pretentious format and simultaneous nationwide broadcast. It could have these results:

- Set a precedent for future annual replies by the "loyal opposition" in Congress to the presidential address, which has authorization under the U.S. Constitution.
- Sharpen the issues of 1976 as Mr. Muskie, the man considered to know as much about the budget as any member of Congress, discusses Mr. Ford's address, which is expected to feature budget and related issues.
- Possibly position the Maine Senator, who was vice-presidential candidate in 1968 and Democratic front-runner for a year in 1971-72, to be considered — like Hubert Humphrey — as a non-competing 1976 presidential possibility.

Senator Muskie was selected for the prestigious job of answering President Ford by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and House Speaker Carl Albert, who recognized the delicacy of the choice in view of the dozen or so congressmen who are presidential candidates. Senator Muskie is busy running for his own re-election in Maine and is presumably not a candidate, though Senator Mansfield acknowledged here on Jan. 15 that the national exposure given by the reply might put Senator Muskie on a list of convention possibilities in case of a deadlock in the primaries.

Mr. Muskie heads the new Senate Budget Committee which, with its counterpart in the House, is trying for the first time in history to adjust legislative expenditures with revenue and bring them into harmony.

Some regard its quiet work in the past year as the most important development of the 94th Congress.

While little noticed by the public, it has meant that Mr. Muskie has often taken the floor several times a day pleading with senators to follow the budget goal set earlier in the session; sometimes by cutting back Pentagon proposals, sometimes on new liberal social programs.

The success of the committee, so far as it has gone, is attributed to Mr. Muskie's energy and prestige. "An excellent job," Senator Mansfield said of Mr. Muskie's work to a breakfast group of reporters. Mr. Muskie, meanwhile, has largely passed out of sight of the public in his unspectacular hearings.

This is the third time Mr. Muskie will have replied to a presidential speech as the semi-official representative of the Democratic Party.

President Nixon's 1970 State of the Union address was devoted largely to the environment, and Mr. Muskie made the follow-up speech because he was chairman of a Senate subcommittee at that time pushing the subject. He praised Mr. Nixon, so far as he went.

His second reply to President Nixon was in a different vein on election eve, Nov. 2, 1970. Here, again, party leaders picked him for the answer — this time to a partisan speech by the President implying that Democrats countenanced hecklers' disturbance directed at him.

The Muskie reply, back-to-back with the Nixon speech, to 40 million people, was calm and gave the impression of reserved power. It launched Mr. Muskie's 1971-72 presidential bid.

Muskie - Down

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Washington Star
2/15/72

More bang for the buck

Senator Edmund Muskie has come up with a legislative proposal that has the look of a winner.

Instead of following the usual practice of plowing more money into federal programs year after year whether they work or not, Mr. Muskie says, why not take a fresh look at them periodically?

Indeed, why not? Congressional failure to re-examine what it creates is a major reason why the budget keeps getting bigger, the bureaucracy keeps growing, and the taxpayers keep wondering why they don't get more bang for their bucks.

The way Mr. Muskie and the bill's co-sponsors — Republican William Roth of Delaware and Democrat John Glenn of Ohio — see it, the government will never have enough money for new initiatives if it continues to throw good money after bad programs.

Under the Muskie bill, beginning in 1979 almost all federal programs would be put on a four-year authorization cycle. This means that each program, with the exception of such things as servicing the federal debt and Social Security pensions, would be examined every four years to see if it is doing what it was established to do. Any program that was not reauthorized would automatically be abolished.

There's more. Programs deemed worthy of keeping would not necessarily be retained at existing or greater size. Congress would start at "zero base" in its re-examination and every dollar of authorization would have to be justified as

to the job it is supposed to do and the impact on overall government spending.

To help the process, the executive branch would be required to make a "zero-base review and evaluation" of programs scheduled for extension or termination.

Enacting the Muskie proposal will not be easy. Congress is a world of 535 fiefdoms and each potentate has pet programs that he's determined to hang onto. Then there are the special interests — the lobbyists, if you will — that cajole, badger and even now and then bribe congressmen to keep programs going that benefit the special interests. The government bureaucracy itself is an important influence in keeping programs going long after they have served their purpose or proved to be inadequate; abolished programs mean abolished jobs, and paper shufflers can always find arguments to keep them in business.

Inertia is a factor in keeping programs going. Unless there is an external force to change its direction, a program continues on its course. Congress is not a body that works very hard at overcoming inertia.

As Senator Muskie said, there is no valid basis for the assumption that old programs and old agencies deserve to be continued simply because they existed the year before. "Government," he said, "has become out of touch and out of control." The time may be ripe for doing something about it, given the growing public sentiment for cutting back the government — and the Muskie plan seems a good place to start.

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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Now, a Word From the Democrats

Senator Muskie managed to use up the hour the Democrats wrested from the networks for their shadow State of the Union message only by sounding at times like Joe Garagiola trying to talk his way through an extended World Series rain-storm.

There was substance of a sort here and there. Mr. Muskie implied that Democrats will continue to press for federally financed public works employment, that the President is being "penny wise and pound foolish" in his efforts to restrain federal spending, and that whatever goes wrong between now and election day will be blamed on business corporations. Beyond that, the Senator argued forcibly that Americans could recover their lost faith in government if they would only try.

Now it should be conceded that Senator Muskie was operating under a serious handicap. In theory, a shadow government is organized and has policy alternatives to those of the party in power. That's the way the British Parliament is supposed to work. But the Democratic majority in Congress is never quite sure whether it is the shadow government or the government in power. It is not particularly well organized or led. As a consequence, Mr. Muskie could only hint at alternatives to the President's State of the Union and budget initiatives, and hope that he was coming fairly close to something that a majority of Democrats in Congress would subscribe to. It's not a good way to win a Tony Award or project the image of a forthright contender for the presidency.

Nonetheless, a word or two should be said about the Democrats' alternatives, as gleaned from Mr. Muskie's message and the reactions of Democratic stalwarts to the President's budget.

Essentially, the word from the Democrats is that they are not going to let the President break anyone's rice bowl. They will not let him require a larger contribution to medical costs by Medicare patients. They will not let him consolidate a passel of social programs into four large block grants to the states. They may well cut income taxes more and raise the Social Security tax less than the President proposes. Their "non-binding commit-

ment" to the President's budget ceiling last month was non-binding, and most likely won't even be inhibiting. There will be a concerted drive in Congress to put more people on the federal payroll.

Senator Muskie set a high moral tone for this message by asserting that it is the mission of Democrats to protect the little people of the country against the big corporations and the greedy rich, who are, of course, Republicans. His speech was reminiscent of that old Democrat war cry of 1948 and 1952, "Don't let them take it away!"

No one would doubt that buying elections with public tax money is a time-honored political tradition. But a less sympathetic view of the Democrats' response would be that they are contemplating the practice of this ancient art at a time when it could pose a very substantial risk to the national economy. It is hard to imagine how another huge federal budget deficit would not touch off another bout of inflation, more severe than the last one, and abort the economic recovery.

There is one hopeful thought to be considered, however. Both the President and the congressional Democrats are talking about a fiscal year that does not begin until October 1. While of course many decisions must be made in advance, there is at least some time for education. It is even likely that, admit it or not, the Democrats have already gained almost as good a grasp of the nation's economic predicament as the President has, and that this will influence their actions if not their words. It is certainly true, of course, that the grasp in either case is not yet good enough.

But we can't help wondering about Mr. Muskie's hopes that Americans will recover their lost faith in government. They will not have gained much in trying to find a responsible program in his remarks, assuming that anyone stayed tuned that long. Maybe things will get better as the election approaches. There is indeed a hard issue, the control of government spending, to be discussed. Any Democrat who really wants to discuss it seriously and offer more than the cliches of yesteryear should have no trouble keeping his audience because that is the real ballgame this year.

Muskie
D

S.2925

Mr. Muskie, et al.

SHORT TITLE OF BILL:

Government Economy and Spending Reform Act.

(CG94) 2/3/76

Government Operations

S.2925

Mr. Muskie, et al.

COSPONSOR:

Roth

Glenn

Bellmon

Huddleston

Nunn

Goldwater

Mansfield

Symington

Curtis

Garn

Hatfield

Culver

Scott (Pa.)

Bentsen

Laxalt

Hansen

Percy

(CG94) 2/3/76

Government Operations

S.2925

(CG94) 2/3/76

Mr. Muskie, et al.

Government Operations

DIGEST:

Government Economy and Spending Reform Act - Title I: Authorizations of New Budget Authority - Terminates on specified dates budget authority for all Government programs except health care services, general retirement and disability insurance, and Federal employee retirement and disability programs which are funded by trust funds.

Declares out of order in either the Senate or the House of Representatives any legislation which authorizes new budget authority not in compliance with this Act.

Requires the Committees on Appropriations and the Committees on the Budget of both Houses of Congress to identify each program's functional and subfunctional category (as so characterized in the Budget of the United States, Fiscal Year 1977, transmitted to Congress by the President on January 21, 1976), the committees having legislative jurisdiction over such program, and whether such program operates under permanent authorizations and budget authority.

Makes the budget termination provisions of this Act effective on the first day of the Ninety-fifth Congress.

Title II: Early Elimination of Inactive and Duplicate Programs - Requires the Comptroller General of the United States to identify for Congress any programs which have duplicate objectives or for which no outlays have been made for the last two fiscal years. Directs the standing committees of both Houses to consider such programs and report recommendations on such programs before March 15, 1978, if possible.

Title III: Quadrennial Program Review and Evaluation - Sets forth a timetable for reviewing the budget of a Government program.

Requires review by standing committees of the Congress every four years of each program's cost, effectiveness, and the extent to which such program duplicates or is similar to any other program. States that such review shall include a comprehensive evaluation of the merits of such program to determine if it warrants continuation. Requires justification of any recommendation to fund any program which has objectives similar to or the same as another program's objectives.

Directs the Comptroller General and the Congressional Budget Office to provide Congress with information and analysis of programs being reviewed under this Act.

Requires the President to similarly review the merits of continuing programs contained in annual Budget and to report the finding of such review prior to transmitting the Budget to Congress.

Title IV: Continuing Review and Evaluation - Directs the Comptroller General to report to Congress the result of any audit which shows a substantial deficiency in achievement of the objectives of any Government program. Requires subsequent audits, a report of which must be submitted to Congress, to determine if such deficiency has been eliminated.

Title V: Miscellaneous - States that those provisions of this Act which direct the operation of either House are enacted as an exercise of the rulemaking power of such House and recognizes the right of either House to change such rules.