

**Robert Strauss**

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# Strauss Victory Capped

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## Month of Effort

By George Lardner Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

About 19 days ago George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and a Maryland taxpayer, called his governor for a direct and, by some accounts, rather blunt little chat.

Marvin Mandel listened and acted accordingly. Last weekend, to the surprise of some of his closest aides, the Maryland governor turned his back on former party chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien and cast his vote at the Democratic governors' caucus in St. Louis in favor of making Robert Strauss chairman of the Democratic party.

The Meany call was just one illustration of the clout and the care that fashioned the Texas lawyer's election here this weekend by the Democratic National Committee.

Several times each week since the Nov. 7 elections, the strategists behind the takeover would meet in Suite 137 of the old Senate Office Building—the offices of Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.)—to run through the roll call of Democratic National Committee members and other Democrats who might be enlisted in the drive.

"Scoop" Jackson himself had left for Europe Nov. 9, but he lent much of his staff, not to mention his desk, to the effort. Top aides from Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's last presidential campaign were also regulars.

"Bill Brawley (a Jackson staffer) would sit at Scoop's desk and call out the DNC roll for progress reports, beginning with Alabama," says one participant. "Among us, I think we must know by now what every committee



Robert Strauss, new chairman of the Democratic National Committee, appears on a television interview.

man in the country eats for breakfast."

The Strauss team included Jackson's administrative assistant, S. Sterling Munro, who was assigned to keep track of the overall operation; Brawley, once a deputy postmaster general in the Kennedy administration, and Jackson's press secretary, Brian Corcoran. Rep. Thomas Foley (D-Wash.), once a Jackson staffer, also sat in

From the Humphrey camp there were Washington attorney Stanley Bregman, who directed Humphrey's California challenge against George McGovern; lawyer Fred Israel and Leslie Israel, his wife, and J. B. (Mike) Maloney Jr., Humphrey's campaign political director. From labor there were Bob Keene, political consultant for the AFL-CIO, and former chief aide to Sen.

By Larry Morris—The Washington Post

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## STRAUSS VICTORY CAPPED MONTH OF EFFORT

Birch Bayh (D-Ind.); sometimes John Perkins of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, and occasionally AFL-CIO political chieftain Al Barkan.

Others included George Bristol, a Dallas lawyer who worked with Strauss when he was DNC treasurer; former Democratic Party vice chairman Mary Lou Burg, who will now rejoin the DNC as Strass's deputy; Ed Hefferman, a Washington lawyer with important ties to Midwestern Democrats, especially in Chicago, and Jim Lowe, a young black who had been working for the Florida State Democratic Committee.

Among them, they knew whom to call and whom to get to make the calls. Humphrey made some before leaving for an overseas trip. Jackson, on his return last week, helped enlist former Democratic national chairman John Bailey of Connecticut.

Strauss's candidacy had its origins in the days leading up to the Democratic convention when congressional Democrats such as Jackson — foreseeing McGovern's nomination — first contacted Strauss about raising money for Senate and House campaigns. They and other old-line Democrats, anticipating McGovern's defeat, seem to have picked him as their man before the Nov. 7 elections, but by Strauss's account, and that of several others, his candidacy was not nailed down until shortly afterwards.

"We saw how well the Senate and House races came out. So when I started getting a few calls, I guess my vanity kept me from saying I wasn't going to make a fight for it," Strauss says. "Then I started getting sup-

port from people I didn't have any reason to think would be for me, and my vanity was even more pleased . . . when I was Democratic treasurer, Al Barkan wouldn't even see me. In fact, I've never met him to this day."

Picking up the support of DNC members one by one, the Strauss camp went into the showdown meeting here Saturday, claiming certain victory as they had for weeks. But in fact, Jackson's press secretary Corcoran concedes, "We had our legs and fingers and everything else crossed."

What appears to have clinched the victory for Strauss was embattled DNC chairman Jean Westwood's commitment to quit immediately in return for delegate support against the Strauss forces' motion to declare the chairmanship vacant, a step that many DNC members regarded as too heavy-handed.

Apparently because of those assurances, Mrs. Westwood, McGovern's choice as national chairman, was able to head off a formal ouster Saturday morning. Then, during the luncheon recess, she began having second thoughts about quitting right away. Strauss' strength was still at its peak, but it threatened to slide away if the issue could be postponed to another day.

"Until the luncheon recess, we knew the commitments (to quit) had been made, but we didn't know what good it would do for us," says one Strauss adviser. "If she'd changed her mind and we protested, it would have just looked like a parliamentary ploy on our part. But then we got word during lunch that some-

black delegates, including Aaron Henry of Mississippi, who wasn't with us, would demand reconsideration of the ouster motion unless she stepped down without any conditions. That took the onerous chore off our backs."

Says Corcoran: "We were in good shape when we found out that people who had voted for her still wanted her to resign. It was a clear signal she didn't have the votes any more. When we won the afternoon battle to put acceptance of her resignation at the top of the agenda, I went out and reserved a room for Strauss's press conference. I knew we had it."

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# Strauss Visits Chisholm On His Unity Campaign

By Richard L. Lyons

Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss met for half an hour with Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) yesterday in one of a series of party harmony meetings.

Elected last weekend after the resignation of George McGovern's choice as chairman, Jean Westwood, Strauss has embarked on an intensive round of meetings with representatives of every element in the party in an effort to heal wounds caused by the Mc-

Govern presidential candidacy.

"We're beginning to try to bring this thing back together to bring all elements back into the party," Strauss told newsmen after meeting with Mrs. Chisholm in her congressional office.

The Texan said he asked for a meeting with Mrs. Chisholm, the first black woman elected to Congress, because she "is a distinguished member of Congress, was a candidate for President and represents a constituency that needs to be heard."

Mrs. Chisholm declined comment on the meeting, but Strauss said she responded "gracefully" to his request for help and advice.

Next week, Strauss said, he will go to Alabama to meet with Gov. George C. Wallace, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination until he was shot in an attempted assassination last May 15.

Strauss said he also talked yesterday with Al Barkan, a top political agent of the AFL-CIO, whose leadership with held its traditional support of the Democratic presidential ticket this year because of AFL-CIO President George Meany's opposition to McGovern. Strauss said Meany wasn't in when he visited labor headquarters yesterday.

Strauss said he will meet today with Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and plans meetings soon with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, John Connally of Texas, who headed Democrats for Nixon, and Arkansas Gov. Hale Bumpers, chairman of the Democratic Governors Conference.

Strauss said he also will meet next week with Basil Patterson of New York, black vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who was elected last July with Mrs. Westwood and remains in office.

Last Sunday, at his first meeting with a party group after his election, Strauss pledged his commitment to continuing reform in delegate selection and party procedures at a session with the steering committee of the new Democratic Coalition.

The group included such practitioners of the "New Politics" as Allard K. Lowenstein, national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, Don Peterson of Wisconsin and Martin Perez of Massachusetts.

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# Democrats Renew Party Rules Fight

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democrats plunged into a new battle over their party rules yesterday, with National Chairman Robert S. Strauss declaring he will not tolerate a quota system for delegate selection in any form.

Strauss also directed rule-drafters meeting here this weekend to find ways to guarantee that more elected officials get seats in the next convention and to throw out a ban on slate-making that kept such party powers as Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley on the sidelines in 1972.

While siding with the party regulars on those issues, Strauss threw his weight against an effort by AFL-CIO leaders to double the size of the Commission on Delegate Selection, which opens a two-day session at the Mayflower Hotel today.

Six labor delegates on the commission issued a statement last night charging that the commission and its staff are not representative of the Democratic Party.

But Strauss, who added 22 members to the original 50 on the panel, said the AFL-CIO move "comes too late in the day" and would be a mistake.

The commission, headed by Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski, is scheduled to spend the weekend debating the desirability of changes in the reform rules written for the 1972 convention by a predecessor group originally headed by Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.).

Ms. Mikulski plans no formal, substantive votes, but preliminary tests on the size and authority of the commission may provide an indication of its direction.

Meanwhile, another Democratic planning unit yesterday recommended Dec. 6-8, 1974, as the dates for the party's first mid-term conference, mandated by the 1972 convention.



ROBERT S. STRAUSS

The committee, headed by Wayne Black of Utah, agreed to recommend a 2,030-member mini-convention, with one-sixth of the seats set aside for Democratic governors, senators and representatives, and another one-sixth reserved for state and local party officials.

The remaining two-thirds of the delegates would be chosen next year in regular party primaries, caucuses and conventions. Virginia and Maryland each would have 30 delegates and the District of Columbia 10.

These recommendations are expected to be approved at a meeting of the Democratic National Committee next month, but there may be a fight there over the committee's suggestion that the agenda for the mid-term conference be restricted to ratification of a new party charter. The charter is being drafted by a commission headed by former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina.

A sizable minority of the Sanford commission members wants to open the mini-convention to debate on selected policy issues.

The site of the mid-term conference will be chosen later, but officials said yesterday that bids have been received from Boston, Kansas City, Louisville, New Orleans, Niagara Falls, St. Louis and Salt Lake City.

Strauss, in a speech to the Women's National Democratic Club, told his fellow partisans that a public disillusioned with the performance of President Nixon will "have no patience with the squabbling of our commissions."

"They are sick and tired of those on either side of the political spectrum who use reform as a tool to destroy individuals and institutions and advance private goals and ambitions," Strauss said.

"As chairman," he said, "I deem it my responsibility to do all within my power to keep those disputes... within a proper low-gear perspective," adding to newsmen, "I'm not above twisting arms."

In his talk, Strauss took specific positions on four of the controversial issues before the commission:

- He said Democratic leaders and voters "will no longer tolerate a continued application of a quota system in the affairs of our party—either de jure or de facto. The 1972 guidelines rejected the mandatory imposition of quotas but required "affirmative steps" to assure that minorities, youths and women were represented "in reasonable relationship to the group's presence in the population." In practice, many states treated that requirement as mandating quotas.

- Strauss' call for removal of that language puts him at odds with the National Women's Political Caucus and with the position of black delegates, who were reported in a survey released yesterday by the Joint Center for Political Studies to be 84 per cent in favor of retaining the old requirement.

- Strauss said he favored "affirmative action" to involve all Democrats in the affairs of the party," but specified that enforcement of the affirmative action requirement should be left to the states and the national committee. Reform elements generally favor strict standards for "affirmative action," written and enforced by the Mikulski commission.

- Strauss said the new rules must guarantee delegate seats for more elected officials, either by removing the ban on ex officio delegates in the 1972 rules or by expanding the percentage of delegates chosen by state committees beyond the 10 per cent limit provided in the old rules.

- On the slate-making issue, used to bar Daley and other old-line organization leaders from Miami beach, Strauss said "rank-and-file Democrats across the nation cannot understand nor are they willing to condone complex and highly technical rules that limit freedom of association and blur freedom of choice."

- He said the proportional representation rule, in which the delegation is split to reflect the percentages won by candidates in the primary, should not be "carried through to the most minute levels of party organization," because it "can only result in fractured party structures and hopelessly divided national conventions."

- The rule was applied unevenly before 1972, but was mandated uniformly for the 1976 convention.

- The labor delegates, who propose expanding the commission from 72 to 150 members, said in their statement that they "have no wish to pack the commission," but want only to "achieve equity for all states."

# Strauss: The Issue Is Nixon

By Jules Witcover  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss, with a poll of voters in last Tuesday's special House election in Ohio in hand, yesterday advised other Democratic candidates for Congress this year to run hard against President Nixon.

The survey, of 353 voters as they left the polls in Cincinnati and suburbs in Democrat Thomas A. Luken's victory over Republican Willie D. Gradison Jr., indicated that nearly half of all Luken voters meant their vote as a protest against Mr. Nixon.

Luken had urged voters to "send a signal to Washington" through his candidacy, and 45 per cent of those polled who voted for him said it was their intention to do just that.

By contrast, only 20 per cent of those who said they voted for Gradison said they meant their vote as an expression of support for the President. Gradison had stoutly sought to keep the race from becoming a referendum on Mr. Nixon, observing he was not on the ballot.

Strauss said his advice to campaigning Democrats is to run on the issues, and the issue is very clear—the Nixon leadership. I'd run on the failure of Richard Nixon in the leadership of the country.

In the first four special House races of 1974, in which Democrats took away three Republican seats, there has been some differences of opinion concerning the political sagacity of making Mr. Nixon the issue.

In the first election, in Pennsylvania's 12th Congressional District on Feb. 5, the Democrat, John P. Murtha chose to soft pedal the President and the Watergate scandal as an issue. He barely beat the Republican, Harry Fox in a district a Republican had held for 25

Then in the second, in Michigan's 5th Congressional District on Feb. 18, Vice President Gerald R. Ford's old seat for 25 years, the Democrat, Richard VanderVeen went all-out against Mr. Nixon from the start in upsetting Republican Robert Vander Laan.

That result seemed to convey a clear lesson for future Democratic candidates.

But last week, in Ohio's 1st Congressional District, Luken won after having walked a line between "the Murtha strategy" and the "VanderVeen strategy" on the President — except for the final days, when Luken poured it on.

The late Luken emphasis on Mr. Nixon as an issue came after seven federal indictments were handed down against 1972 Nixon White House and campaign aides in the Watergate cover-up. Luken cited a 1789 statement by James Madison holding that a President should be impeached if his appointees were found guilty of high crimes or misdemeanors. Until then, Luken had stopped even shorter than that on the question of impeachment.

Even in the one Republican victory this year, in California's 13th Congressional District on Tuesday, post-election analysis indicated that Watergate and the President's other troubles sharply cut the traditional Republican vote that went to Robert J. Lagomarsino in his race against seven Democrats who hit the issue hard.

The Democratic National Committee survey in Ohio, conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc., of Washington, is the first statistical evidence—admittedly self-serving for the sponsoring Democrats—that attacking Mr. Nixon head-on is good campaign strategy this year.

On a question gauging personal confidence in this usually heavy Republican district that has elected a Democrat to the House only four times in this century, only one in three voters considered Mr. Nixon trustworthy. This compared, Hart said, to 87 per cent for Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, 78 per cent for Luken and 75 per cent for Gradison.

Of those surveyed, Hart said, 40 per cent described themselves as Democrats, 36 per cent as Republicans and 22 per cent as independents. Only 60 per cent of the Republicans said they trusted Mr. Nixon, Hart reported.

The survey indicated, Hart said, that Luken kept about 80 per cent of the Democratic vote and Gradison about 20 per cent of the Republican, but that the independents, who usually vote heavily Republican in the district, gave three of five votes to Luken.

Strauss said the survey showed "the traditional Democratic voter we lost in 1972 we see coming back with a vengeance."

Ohio voters also were asked if they wanted the man they elected to the House Tuesday to vote to have the Senate "hold a trial to determine President Nixon's innocence or guilt on the charges related to Watergate." Fifty-eight per cent said yes, Hart reported, to 30 per cent no and 12 per cent not sure.

In national polls on the question of presidential impeachment, those surveyed have indicated they do not favor that step. The question, notably avoided use of the word "impeachment." Hart said his survey did so intentionally because the public confuses an impeachment inquiry and subsequent trial with actual removal from office.

In another post-election survey of voters in the Cincinnati area Tuesday taken for the Cincinnati Enquirer under the direction of Philip E. Meyer of Knight Newspapers, 60 per cent disagreed when asked if Mr. Nixon "should be impeached and removed from office."

The Meyer poll, based on a sampling of 119 voters on election day, also found 64 per cent who said they preferred keeping Mr. Nixon in the White House to having the President Gerald R. Ford as President. But 59

per cent said they thought Mr. Nixon probably was personally involved in the Watergate matter or cover-up.

In job rating as President, only 16 per cent said they thought he was excellent; 25 per cent rated him good, 20 per cent said they voted for him in 1972. Thirty-five per cent said they were Republicans, 35 per cent Democrats and the rest did not reply.

In a third survey of the Ohio race, by the Joint Center for Political Studies here, 26 precincts in which blacks constituted about 95 per cent of the vote were analyzed. The survey indicated, the center said, that about 31 per cent of Luken's vote was provided by blacks, who went 92 per cent for him and thus gave him his "margin of victory." Luken won by about 4,000 votes.

The Republican National Committee reported that it is undertaking post-election review of both the Ohio and California House races, but that no results are expected until later this week. The GOP check, a committee spokesman said, is a statistical review and not a poll of voters.

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# Its First Test in Party

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss yesterday survived the first major test of his "new harmony" policy, winning unanimous approval from his executive committee for a slate of 25 new members of the Democratic National Committee.

The new members, three-fourths of them either union officials or blacks, include both supporters and critics of 1972 nominee George McGovern—who gave Strauss a new pat on the back for his efforts to reunite the party.

Jubilant at the windup of two days of intensive closed-door bargaining, Strauss predicted the slate will win approval of the full national committee today.

"The bitterness and rancor that began to build in 1968 and climaxed in 1972 is a thing of the past in the Democratic Party," Strauss told a press conference last night. "You'll see tomorrow (today) that the Democratic Party is back in one piece."

There may still be challenges to some of the anti-McGovern union officials on Strauss's slate at today's meeting, but the chairman said he had "every reason to think" the executive committee-endorsed slate would win.

The Dallas lawyer, who was elected to succeed McGovern's handpicked chairman, Jean Westwood, by a closely divided national committee last December, acknowledged he had to use every bit of his in-

fluence to avoid an open rift and possible defeat in what was widely regarded as the biggest challenge of his three months in office.

To accommodate demands from rival groups of labor chiefs and black officials, Strauss said he had to yield on four of his personal choices for the slate.

Last summer's convention authorized the chairman to appoint 25 at-large members to complete the 303-member national committee. Mrs. Westwood left the ticklish assignment to Strauss, who was besieged by rival claimants for the posts.

He decided early to allocate eight seats to organized labor and an equal number to blacks—both important Democratic constituencies which he said were "under-represented" on the committee.

Problems arose when the AFL-CIO and the Congressional Black Caucus sought to monopolize all the appointments in those categories for themselves.

The labor fight was the more serious. Alexander Barkan, director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, gave Strauss names of eight union officials who had followed federation president George Meany's policy of neutrality in last year's presidential election.

Pro-McGovern forces on the committee threatened to file a rival slate of unionists who had backed the national ticket, and Joseph Beirne, president of the Communica-

tions Workers of America, Meany's most outspoken critic, said he would carry the fight to the full national committee unless he were slated.

Strauss solved the problem by finding extra slots for both Beirne and Floyd E. (Red) Smith, president of the machinists and another McGovern backer.

To do so, however, he had to renege on his personal pledges of support to former California Democratic Chairman Charles Manatt and Joseph Robbie, owner of the Miami Dolphins. Strauss said he reached Robbie at the Miami airport yesterday morning, as he was about to fly to Washington for the meeting, and that both men "agreed to withdraw when I told them I was really on the spot."

He placated the black caucus by agreeing to drop two of his own choices, Georgia state Sen. Ben Brown of Atlanta and Ada Anderson of Austin, Tex., in favor of the Congressional Black Caucus choices, Matthew Perry of Columbia, S.C., and Mattilyn F. Rochester of Willingboro, N.J.

Strauss told the press conference he had McGovern's backing for his overtures to anti-McGovern labor officials, citing a letter from the South Dakota senator promising "full personal and public support for your efforts to unite the party."

Strauss also confirmed published reports that McGovern, after balking for three months had agreed last week to turn over custody of his list of campaign donors to the national committee.

As completed, the list of 25 new members includes the top AFL-CIO officials from Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Louisiana and Wisconsin and officers of the painters and service employees unions.

Others on the list include: Michael G. Griffin, a 24-year-old assistant to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace; Elizabeth Carpenter, former aide to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and a leader of the National Women's Political Caucus; Patricia Roberts Harris, Washington attorney and 1972 credentials committee chairman; Brooklyn Democratic Chairman Meade Esposito; Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton; Rosalind Wyman, widow of California fundraiser Eugene Wyman; Philadelphia Democratic Chairman Peter Camiel; and Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary.

Strauss and the executive committee also nominated ad-

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MONDAY  
DEC. 14, 1972  
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# Combative but Charming Democrat

## Robert Schwarz Strauss

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10—

Robert Schwarz Strauss, the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee, comes out of the classic tradition of bright, likable small-town boys who made it big because they could not bear to look back. "Growing up through tough times in a

small town is a wonderful experience," his devoted younger brother, Ted remarked today.

spawns driving men be they have good memories and want something better."

The son of a dry-goods merchant in Stamford, Tex., now a city of 40,000, Robert Strauss discovered his social and political skills at the University of Texas in the late nineteen-thirties, and met a kindred soul in John B. Connally, the student president.

"There was democracy there," his brother recalled. "People took you at face value. It was the best thing that ever happened to my brother—or me—that he was able to rise to the top early at a state school. The bonds from those days last a lifetime."

Winning his law degree in 1941, Mr. Strauss joined the Federal Bureau of Investigation and spent the war years as roaming special agent—a part of his life that he now considers "unimportant."

The law firm he formed in 1945—known today as Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld—quickly won recognition as one of the best in Dallas.

M Strauss amassed some of the neighborhood of

\$1-million in real estate and broadcasting as well as the law.

His first major involvement in politics was as one of the principal fund raisers for John B. Connally's first governorship campaign in 1962.

"He's just good at raising money," says George Christian, Mr. Connally's onetime press secretary. "He knows how to work a list and how to put on a function. He'll try anything new, and he's not ashamed to approach anybody."

It was Mr. Connally who first appointed Mr. Strauss to the Democratic National Committee in 1968, fortifying an association that cost Mr. Strauss dearly when Mr. Connally joined the Nixon Administration and organized Democrats for Nixon this year.

"I wouldn't say that Connally and Strauss are close," says one of their Texas enemies, "but when Connally eats watermelon, Strauss spits seeds."

Former Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, leader of the anti-Connally liberal Democrats in Texas, says that anyone who thinks Mr. Strauss can act independently of Mr. Connally "ought to be bored for the hollow horn, "using a ranch hand's expression to imply insanity.

Friends insist, however, that he is more liberal than Mr. Connally, and his own man in any case.

"Because they are trying to pin a reactionary label on him, he will bend the other way," Katie Louchheim, former Democratic national vice chairman, said today.

Part of the reason for the Connally association in the public mind, his defenders

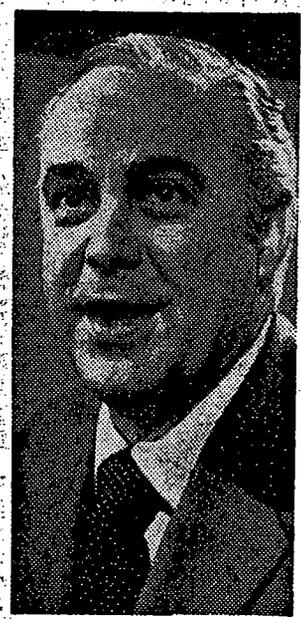
contend, is that he shares Mr. Connally's undeniable strengths—including Texas-scale energy, combativeness, persuasive skill and personal charm.

Yesterday, after Mr. Strauss responded at a news conference to a question from Sarah McClendon, the Texas newspaper woman, an angry feminist in the audience protested that he had addressed Miss McClendon as "Sir." In a typically disarming stroke, Mr. Strauss said, "I didn't say 'Sir,' I said, 'Sarah,'" — his drawl making them almost indistinguishable. "I call her Sarah-doll," he said, swooping down and kissing the surprised reporter on the cheek.

Mr. Strauss's bitterest opponents in the month-long battle over the national committee chairmanship have acknowledged that they object less to Mr. Strauss himself than to his sponsors — including George Meany and staff workers from the losing Presidential campaigns of Senators Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

In his first effort to reassure his opposition, Mr. Strauss moved quickly to picture himself as a friend of blacks and of at least the broad goals of last year's party reforms.

The only change he made in the list of reform commission members that Jean Westwood, the outgoing chairman, had assembled was to add Mrs. Westwood herself. And while Mr. Meany had reportedly wanted Leonard Woodcock, the United Auto Workers' president, removed as chairman of the reform commission, Mr. Strauss insisted on referring to the "Woodcock Commis-



Associated Press  
Supports the broad goals of party reform.

slon" and said he would beg Mr. Woodcock to stay.

He likes to boast that, as treasurer of the national committee from 1970 until the Democratic Convention last summer, he raised the money to pay for Senator George McGovern's original reform commission. And although he has reservations about representative "quotas" in party councils, he has promised to broaden the black membership on the national committee when 25 at-large members are appointed soon.

Mr. Strauss, who turned 54 years old last Oct. 19, is married to the former Helen Jacobs of Dallas, and has four grandchildren by his two sons and daughter. His elder son, Robert A., manages the family owned radio station, KCEE, in Tucson. His son, Richard, is in the real estate and construction business in Dallas, and his daughter, Susan S. Robertson, is

married to a fellow student at the University of Texas Austin.

"None of the kids I know have had the relationship with their parents that my brothers and I have had," the 22-year-old daughter said this afternoon. "We've shared everything. He's always to me what he thinks, but he always listened to what I had to say, too, and he'll do the same thing with all the factions of the Democratic party."

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDS

# 69  
Article

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THE WASHINGTON POST

Monday, Jan. 1, 1973

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...surprisingly, the culture

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

# Chairman Strauss and the 'Rigged Machinery' to Keep Reform

NO SOONER had Robert Strauss won his fight for the Democratic national chairmanship three weeks ago than he confronted unpleasant reality: the reformers had stacked the deck against him.

To his astonishment, Strauss inherited machinery rigged to perpetuate the party reforms — including some variation of the noxious quota system — which contributed heavily to the McGovern debacle in November. The reformers are bluntly warning Strauss that he risks fratricide if he tampers with that machinery. Indeed, tampering will be no easy task, even if Strauss risks the consequences.

So the election of pragmatist Strauss as national chairman by no means ended the war over whether the Democratic Party reverts to its past pragmatic function of winning elections or continues as an exotic platform for leftist ideologues. Having failed to stop Strauss himself, the reformers are now trying to prevent him from moderating the reforms.

THE DECK STACKING operation began in September when the McGovernite staff of National Chairman Jeah Westwood drew up a list of

names, tilted well left of center and headed by United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, to succeed the old McGovern reform commission.

Apart from leaving the Woodcock commission with an overwhelming leftist majority, Mrs. Westwood's staff caused a quantitative mismatch: The commission includes Kenneth Bode, chief architect of the McGovern reforms, and Phyllis Segal, wife of new politics theoretician Eli Segal and herself an ardent reformer. State-level reform activists named include Sara Koyner of New York, Marvin Shapiro of California and William Hart of New Jersey.

These are left activists, imbued with detailed knowledge of the reforms and prepared to sit through interminable sessions of the Woodcock commission. In contrast, the commission's minority of old-line politicians includes such figures as regular Democratic Leader Meade Esposito of Brooklyn and Executive Vice President Michael Johnson of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO — unacquainted with the intricacies of reform and busy with other duties.

Mrs. Westwood's staff considered a place on the Woodcock commission for

Ben F. Wattenberg, co-author of "The Real Majority," and political adviser to Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, but he was rejected on grounds he had not endorsed the McGovern-Shriver ticket. In fact, Wattenberg was blackballed because he had the time and talent to battle the Bodes and the Segals.

Moreover, a provision that slipped through the national convention last July makes the Woodcock commission not only a stacked but a frozen deck. It is subject neither to approval by the full Democratic national committee nor to addition or subtraction by Chairman Strauss.

ALTHOUGH LESS blatantly left-loaded, the party's new charter commission — to plan the potentially lethal 1974 midterm convention — is nevertheless dominated by reformers. The anti-New Politics Coalition for a Democratic Majority submitted four prominent names (including Patricia Roberts Harris, chairman of the 1972 Democratic Credentials Committee). All were rejected, without explanation.

In sum, the reformers are warning Strauss: Stick to money-raising and similar non-ideological pursuits and let

the Woodcock and charter commissions handle reforms. If you don't, we'll make you sorry.

This threatening note appeared in the statement by the leftist New Democratic Coalition (NDC) following its meeting with Strauss the day after his election. Strauss, attempting to be conciliatory, delivered some vaguely reform pronouncements. The NDC responded by declaring it "planned to watch Mr. Strauss's initial moves carefully, as indications whether his strong stand of non-ideological alignment will be supported by his actions."

But reformers who think the stacked deck, backed by threats, will stop Strauss don't know their man. He plans to enlarge the charter commission against the reformers' wishes. The charter commission chairman, President Terry Sanford of Duke University, plans to consult Strauss on the important commission staff. Although he cannot touch the Woodcock commission, Strauss will appoint 25 additional members to the national committee, which has ultimate authority over the commission's recommendations. The battle is just beginning.

N.Y. Times  
Sunday  
Dec 17 1972  
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Associated Press

Texas Robert Strauss: In for Democratic chairman Jean Westwood.

## Democrats

# Mr. Strauss Gets the Votes

WASHINGTON—For Robert Strauss, an affable, little-known Dallas lawyer, his election last weekend as national chairman of a divided and headless Democratic party represents an unusual personal opportunity. But the party election that deposed Mrs. Jean Westwood after four brief, uneasy months as chairman was, above all, a symbolic act. It was a public announcement by the men who control the Democratic party—sometimes a narrow majority—that they were washing their hands of Senator George McGovern.

Outmaneuvered for the first seven months of 1972 by Senator McGovern and the party's liberal wing, the more traditional, less experimental leaders signified by shifting chairmen that they had resumed command after the November debacle.

Behind the Strauss victory were major elements of organized labor, supporters of two of 1972's more moderate Presidential hopefuls, Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and Henry M. Jackson, and a coalition of Western and Southern Democratic governors surprisingly galvanized into political action.

To the losers, the bloodied survivors of the McGovern operation plus a hard corps of undaunted liberals and party reformers, Mr. Strauss was a symbol of something more than their own inability to retain control of the appara-

tus. For them, he was a sinister figure, a crony of former Gov. John B. Connally who had sold out to President Nixon and boasted of his betrayal. Mr. Strauss was also seen as a suspect Southerner, a tool of the old guard, the pawn of powerful and reactionary labor bosses, all the things from which they had desperately tried to save the party.

The winners made it plain that the McGovern followers were as much of a target of the Strauss campaign as "Gravel Gertie," as Alexander E. Barkan, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. political director, called Mrs. Westwood. "The crazies have got to go," he said.

For the McGovern workers, who cleaned out their desks in the Washington party headquarters last week, the Strauss victory seemed to mark the end of their era. "You won't hear the McCarthy kids' rhetoric about a new party this time," Eli Segal, a young lawyer, said. "You probably won't hear much from us at all for a while. We're just too tired."

The hostile views of Strauss were, in part, the product of the refusal of the Strauss backers to compromise on one of the chairmanship candidates from closer to the middle of the party. The old-line veterans had the votes, and they were not about to accept anything less than their own man, even if future party harmony might be threatened by their insistence.

All but ignored in the symbolic conflict were Mr. Strauss's solid record as party treasurer, his effective cooperation with that eminent Democratic centrist, Lawrence F. O'Brien, his fundraising in the broad interest of the Democratic cause rather than either faction.

Whether for good or evil, or something in-between, Mr. Strauss is likely to have greater influence than most national chairmen. For all practical purposes, he now supplants Senator McGovern as the de facto head of the party, and at a time when significant political decisions are on the horizon.

During the next year, the Democrats must decide whether and how to implement a grand design for an off-year convention and a broad-based policy-making organization that would involve members everywhere. Also at issue is possible modification of the party reforms that opened up, or closed down, the 1972 convention, depending on your viewpoint.

In politics up to now, Mr. Strauss has mostly been in the back office, on the phone, hustling at the private fund-raising receptions. Now, with the Democrats lacking both a President and politically active Congressional leadership, he assumes a new visible role, with a divided, distraught party waiting anxiously to see what identity its latest symbol will assume.

WARREN WEAVER JR.

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C. Peter McColough, left, and Joseph E. Cole flanking Robert S. Strauss in Washington

Associated Press

## Democrats Choose Two Top Financial Officers

By LINDA CHARLTON  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 8—Two successful businessmen—one of whom apparently did not contribute the Presidential campaign of presidential Senator George McGovern—today were appointed top financial officers debt-burdened Democratic party.

Robert S. Strauss, who only recently became the party's National Chairman, announced the appointments of Joseph E. Cole as chairman of the Finance Council—the party's chief fund-raiser—and C. Peter McColough as

party treasurer. Mr. Cole also became a vice chairman of the National Committee.

At a brief news conference, Mr. Strauss said he was determined to "restructure, in a very positive way, the whole area of finance" in the party.

Mr. Cole was Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's chief fund-raiser during Mr. Humphrey's unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination and personally made more than \$300,000 worth of loans and contributions.

He turned aside questions today about whether or not he had contributed to the Presidential campaign of Mr.

McGovern, the party's nominee. But a check of the records through mid-October showed no contribution from Mr. Cole, who is the head of Cole National Corporation, in Cleveland.

Mr. Mc Colough, who succeeds Mr. Strauss in the part-time job of party treasurer, is the president and chairman of the board of the Xerox Corporation.

Mr. Strauss said that the party's debt has been whittled down to \$4.3-million. Most of the indebtedness was inherited from Mr. Humphrey's 1968 campaign; none was incurred by Senator McGovern.

Article # 25

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

## Strauss' Waltz With Labor

While chairman Robert S. Strauss was masterfully balancing opposing interests at last week's meeting of the Democratic National Committee, organized labor's ideological schism over political action visibly deepened.

Never before had the national committee been the target of such open lobbying from bitterly opposed factions of labor. For three days, the AFL-CIO's committee on political education (COPE) struggled with liberalized unions increasingly hostile to COPE's policies. Strauss' compromises prevented bloody confrontations but failed to mollify either side or prevent new resentments.

Thoughtful union officials from both camps are apprehensive about this divided state of labor's political action at a time when President Nixon is deadly serious about his courtship of working people, a majority of whom supported him against Sen. George McGovern. It is not altogether fanciful to think that Mr. Nixon, aided by the big, rich Teamsters Union, could take advantage of the schism and consolidate Republican support in labor's ranks.

That split has long been building. Under the hard-boiled leadership of Al Barkan, COPE has viewed the Democratic Party's leftward drift as ruinous to the traditional Democratic loyalties of workers and a road to political oblivion. But younger, more liberal labor politicians, refusing to follow COPE's direction, have been allying themselves with the party's reformist left wing.

The break was sealed with McGovern's candidacy. COPE withdrew into non-benevolent neutrality, but 33 AFL-CIO unions joined the independ-

ent United Auto Workers (UAW) in endorsing the Democratic ticket. It widened after the election when COPE successfully promoted, without support from several individual AFL-CIO unions, Strauss for national chairman.

Political action directors for pro-McGovern unions—chiefly the UAW, the communications workers, the machinists and the retail clerks—began meeting in groups of two, three or more. A February luncheon at the Touchdown Club in Washington, attended by a dozen or more labor operatives, featured detailed criticism of Barkan and COPE.

The issue for combat became Strauss' pledge to name eight labor leaders among 25 new at-large members of the national committee. Barkan insisted on eight AFL-CIO stalwarts, seven of whom had not endorsed McGovern. The liberal unions retaliated with a slate of four pro-McGovern union presidents.

Strauss was in a seemingly impossible dilemma. He owed his election to COPE and, as he informed the party's executive committee last week, COPE had promised 200 members of the sponsors club at \$1,200 a head—a quarter-million-dollar nestegg for the impoverished party. But a confrontation would threaten Strauss with defeat or, at best, a bloody victory.

Strauss began casting around for places on the committee for two leading non-COPE labor candidates, Floyd (Red) Smith of the machinists and Joseph Beirne of the communications workers. Both live in Maryland, but both refused Strauss' offers (cleared with Gov. Marvin Mandel) to become a national committeeman from that

state. They demanded the prestige of being at-large members.

So Strauss replaced a non-labor member of his slate of 25 (Southern California party chairman Charles Manatt) with Smith. That was still not enough. Communications workers, cranking up their political action machinery newly seceded from COPE, applied intense pressure on the committee to select Beirne. Consequently, Strauss scratched another non-labor candidate (Miami Dolphins owner Joe Robbie) and replaced him with Beirne.

But that was not the end of it. Against Strauss' wishes, COPE launched an underground campaign Friday to purge six regionally-selected members of the executive committee. Strauss himself had contemplated removing one of them, militant reformer Arnold Alperstein of Colorado, but decided the bloodshed would not be worth it. With Strauss genuinely neutral, COPE lost all six contests. The last bit of intra-labor bloodshed saw Smith win and a COPE candidate, Frank Raftery of the painters' union, lose bids for new seats on the executive committee.

Only Strauss seems to bridge the gap between the two factions. Even though he is clearly COPE's ally, Barkan is sometimes unhappy with him for being too "soft." For their part, anti-Barkan labor liberals were happy with Strauss' skill and wisdom in last week's compromises. Despite these unique advantages, his forthcoming effort to prevent all-out war between labor's political wings is far from the least of his monumental tasks in rebuilding the Democratic Party.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

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William S. White

## Strauss' Success

An extraordinary and unprecedented political phenomenon is quietly occurring while the headlines continue to shout only of such names as Nixon and Agnew. The man who took over the disaster area that was the Democratic Party after the 1972 presidential campaign is evolving into a man who well may become the first party chairman in history to contribute decisively to the actual election of a President.

When Robert S. Strauss agreed to become head of the Democratic National Committee in the wake of the worst defeat ever suffered by a presidential candidate—George McGovern—the kindest of his friends thought, as they said, that he had lost his mind. They told him he would be lucky if only he could manage to be "forced out of office" within the shortest possible time and with his torso and throat intact. They figured that his arms and legs were as good as amputated already.

He was becoming the leader of what could only be called a non-party. Rank-and-file McGovernites and anti-McGovernites glowered at each other in exhausted and futile rage over the debris of the Miami Beach convention. The position of the truly vital Democrats—senators, governors, big labor leaders and urban bosses such as Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago—offered in a way an even bleaker prospect.

For the most part these fellows had been morally or literally expelled from the Miami Beach commune, for various ideological heresies not easily explainable. Thus, they were not even interested enough to be angry anymore about a happening in which they had, after all, not even been involved. They thought that the party nationally was kaput for eight more years anyhow. So they simply turned

their attention to keeping their provincial citadels alive.

As for Robert Strauss, they considered him to be some odd romantic with some odder sort of death wish. Toward him the view was one of no malice, no interest—and no thanks, Bob.

Robert (The Unsinkable) Strauss let nothing him dismay. By a process of cussing some Democratic partisans where he thought it necessary, of cajoling others where he thought it possible, he first pulled the hulk of the sunken ship up from the swamp water. Then slowly he began to change the salvage crew, some of whose members had been aboard when the ship was wrecked in the first place.

Never talking much about it but thinking always of it, he then mentally listed his minimum requirement: No more quota systems, by which Democrats become not simply Democrats but hypenated Demopersons—black-white-Democrats, old-Democrats, young-Democrats, female-Democrats, and male-Democrats. This objective—the whole name of the game—will be reached in due time. And with the departure of hypenation will begin the departure of "rules" which had the effect of excluding or alienating nearly any Democrat who had ever won an election or who knew how one could be won.

In a word, Strauss is taking the craziness out of the post-McGovern party one step at a time and, in this process, is making possible the nomination next time of a candidate who can win. If that candidate does win, the man who put him in position to do so will have been Robert S. Strauss—personally, and no doubt about it. Of no other party chairman in memory could such a statement have been made.

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# Publicizing Of Hills Role Is Planned

By David S. Broder  
Washington Post Staff Writer



ROBERT S. STRAUSS

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss said yesterday his party would launch a new effort next month to show the country "this is a do-something Congress."

Reacting to public opinion polls showing that the Democratic Congress has a lower confidence rating than President Nixon, Strauss said he and the party's House and Senate leaders had agreed to seek "a more aggressive and articulate defining of the Democratic Party's goals."

"They haven't done a bum job of legislating," Strauss said of the Capitol Hill Democrats, "but they have done a bum job of promoting themselves."

As a first step to combat what Strauss said "will obviously be a well-orchestrated (Republican) effort to blame all the ills of the nation on the 93d Congress," he said he would join Democratic congressional leaders in promulgating "a six-to eight-point

Democratic program we'll stand on and pass this year."

Spokesmen for House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.) and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said no agreement had been reached on the substance of that program, but Strauss said it might include such areas as energy, campaign reform, transportation, health care and urban programs.

Strauss said he hoped the manifesto would be issued at the next meeting of the joint leadership, to be held before the Eastern congressional recess. But congressional sources said they doubted that program could be drafted and cleared through the House Steering Committee and the Senate Policy Committee by that time.

The party chairman said he believed "Nixon is going to be the issue" in the November elections but said that "Democrats have to run on positive issues" as well.

He declined to be drawn into substantive discussion of impeachment prospects at a breakfast with newsmen, but said that "from what I hear, there's a great deal more sentiment to vote impeachment out of the House than there was 10 days or two weeks ago."

planning manifesto

Turning to internal Democratic disputes, Strauss said "I feel strongly" that the Democratic Charter Commission made a mistake Sunday in requiring that midterm conferences be held for the indefinite future.

Strauss said that before he would endorse permanent mini-conventions he would want to see how the one scheduled for December in Kansas City works out. "I'd like to see what it does to the election process of congressmen and governors," he said. "It's a disruptive thing."

"It's easy to mandate these things," he said, "and damned difficult to implement them. This one is going to cost us \$750,000 and not one single person who voted for this at the 1972 convention or on Sunday has contributed one single dollar to it."

Strauss said he was also opposed to the draft charter proposal for expansion of the Democratic National Committee membership. The committee is already so large—303 members—that "it's very difficult to give them a chance for participation," he said, "and a larger committee would just mean more frustrated people."

*Handwritten signature*