

Henry Jackson [1]

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Candidate Jackson: his forum is the Senate

by Robert P. Hey Staff correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Sen. Henry M. Jackson sits comfortably in a red leather chair in his office, attention riveted on an interviewer. His manner is as calm as his attire—pin-striped suit and tasteful tie—as he ranges over disparate issues—Soviet trade and the Jewish emigration question; the U.S. economic crisis; strategic arms limitation talks, and presidential campaigning.

As most who know him say, he relates well and easily to others. As he talks, he seems very much at home with his political role—22 years as U.S. Senator from Washington, and a formally declared presidential candidate.

Attracted large crowd

"He has a real 'nice-guy' image," says one veteran political observer. During December's Democratic mini-convention in Kansas City, Senator Jackson drew a much larger crowd than several other presidential candidates.

Two years ago, it was discovered that since 1952 the Senator has turned over to charity every dollar he has made in speaking engagements. A check of his 1973 income tax return shows that he earned \$39,575 in speaking fees, and donated it all to charity. The bulk—\$35,700—went to a scholarship fund for needy students. Until the law required that he be identified as the donor, the gifts had been made anonymously.

But in the Senate, Henry Jackson is the antithesis of anonymity. He takes a leading and sometimes controversial role in energy and the economy, and in foreign affairs.

Achievement emphasized

The campaign, he (Jackson) says, "will be against the background of an economic crisis in which the public will measure a candidate in terms of his ability to articulate, advocate—and in my case where the candidate is a member of the Senate—hopefully achieve programs that will help resolve the crisis."

It will be important for candidates to point to achievement in coping with the economic crisis, he indicates. "What the people are saying...is that we can't wait until 1976 to pick up the pieces and put them back together again. It's in this kind of environment that the campaign this year will be evaluated.

"Therefore, I will be concentrating my efforts in day-to-day things that involve that crisis here in the U.S. Senate. I want to stay close to the legislative work burden." This would be a switch from past campaigns, in which only a president seeking re-election stayed close to the job; challengers invariably barnstormed the nation seeking votes.

Something else will be different about the 1976 campaign: new campaign financing law limits a presidential candidate to spending \$10 million on his primary campaign—and \$20 million in the general election. Two years ago, President Nixon spent approximately \$55 million.

Volunteers called key

To hold costs down, Senator Jackson plans to rely heavily on volunteers, behind a small organization of professionals. He raised \$1,107,000 in 1974, when the new law did not apply.

Some views listed

The Washington Democrat is a candidate who:

- Has been a leading congressional conservationist.
- Has a long record of domestic liberalism, though groups at both ends of the spectrum see him as having moved more toward the center in recent years.
- Proposes economic recovery through massive federal housing aid and standby wage and price control authority.
- Strongly opposes the Ford effort to curtail energy consumption by higher fees on oil imports.
- Supports the concept of balanced reduction in U.S.-Soviet nuclear arms, and criticizes U.S. officials for the Vladivostok agreement as having allowed far too many nuclear warheads.

• Is known as a strong supporter of Israel. He believes Americans support his approach—they are "heavily, heavily against the Arabs."

He says he and Americans generally "want to see an avoidance of war in the Middle East"...such a war would be "fraught with the possibility of...escalating into a major confrontation" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

• Denies Ford administration charges that he and Congress meddled in trade negotiations by adding a provision to the trade bill to require an increased flow of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to Israel. Moscow later abrogated the agreement charging interference in its internal affairs; Senator Jackson—who

sponsored the amendment—says the real Soviet complaint is with the bill's restrictions of Soviet credit.

Second primary attempt

This is Senator Jackson's second run for the White House. In 1972 he ran in several primaries before withdrawing from primary contests; he entered the Democratic National Convention with 54 delegates.

But he emerged from the Miami Beach convention with 534 delegate votes, picking up second-round strength from those who originally had supported other candidates. The showing placed him second behind Sen. George McGovern.

His Miami Beach showing exemplified one of Senator Jackson's assets—his general acceptability among all segments of the party, North and South, conservative and liberal.

Recent political polls put him in the front rank at this early point among Democratic presidential hopefuls. Late in January, the Harris Poll reported that Senator Jackson would lead Vice-President Nelson A. Rockefeller 50 percent to 38 percent in a presidential race; the margin was similar to that by which Sen. Edmund S. Muskie would lead the Vice-President, 50 percent to 38 percent.

The Harris Poll at the same time reported that Senator Jackson was continuing to narrow the gap by which President Ford led him.



JACKSON
FILE

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

A RECORD OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Energy, human rights, environment, trade, the economy, detente — Senator Jackson has provided leadership in solving the problems associated with each of these issues and has been the legislative spearhead of most of them.

He was named the Senate's "most effective" member in a poll of legislative assistants conducted by Ralph Nader's organization. He was voted in the Gallup Poll as one of the world's ten men most admired by Americans.

11
The National Broadcasting Company Presents



MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

Produced by LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

Guest: SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON
Democrat, Washington

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Panel: JOSEPH KRAFT, *Field Newspaper Syndicate*
ROBERT NOVAK, *Chicago Sun-Times*
HUGH SIDEY, *Time Magazine*
DOUGLAS KIKER, *NBC News*

Moderator: LAWRENCE E. SPIVAK

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MEET THE PRESS

MR. SPIVAK: Our guest today on MEET THE PRESS is Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington state, who has just announced his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

We will have the first questions now from Douglas Kiker of NBC News.

MR. KIKER: Senator Jackson, now that you are a candidate, it is said that you are out to change your image as a militarist in an effort to placate and make friends with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. You said you will oppose \$300 million additional aid to Vietnam that President Ford has requested.

If you became President, what would be your policy toward Vietnam and specifically towards the Thieu regime? Would you continue to support it?

SENATOR JACKSON: I would carry out our commitment to provide the necessary transition money to South Vietnam, but I would bring it to an early conclusion and not leave it open-ended.

MR. KIKER: How early?

SENATOR JACKSON: It is confusing, and this is the problem. We have never been able to get that understanding. The Chief of Staff of the Army indicated it would take five to ten years. I believe Mr. Ford has announced, President Ford, in the last few hours that he is going to hold it down to three years. This is what we have been trying to find out.

MR. KIKER: Along that same line, we have a new defense budget \$10 billion greater than last year's defense budget. Should it be cut and, if so, where, and also specifically what about the B-1 bomber? Will you oppose that or be in favor of it?

SENATOR JACKSON: I would ask and will, at the appropriate time, the Secretary of Defense to submit three or four budgets: one showing a \$20 billion cut, a \$15 billion cut, a \$10 billion cut, a \$5 billion cut, and what does it do. I think we need that for an adequate debate.

The issues then could be resolved as to what kind of foreign policy we could have. I would say the Defense budget will be cut. We have cut it each year. Last year we cut the heaviest, \$5 billion. I expect to be able to cut the budget. I have had, since the very beginning, serious reservations about the B-1 bomber. I want to find out whether that is the best alternative for the kind of deterrence that we should have. I would strongly recommend that we look at other options, including land or sea-based missiles, or a subsonic bomber, that would have stand-off missiles, that would cost billions less.

(Announcements)

MR. NOVAK: Senator Jackson, in the three years after the Cambodian invasion of 1970, on 40 key votes in the Senate concerning Vietnam you voted for the hawkish position in support of President Nixon 36 times, or 90 percent. Don't you owe some deeper explanation for the sudden change in your rationale now that you are running for President?

SENATOR JACKSON: You put the label "hawkish position" on it. I don't think that is descriptive of what I did. I voted to make it possible for an orderly withdrawal of our troops out of Southeast Asia. That is the sum and substance of it. I led the effort to prevent a further buildup in Southeast Asia when the effort was made in 1967-68, so I have not changed my basic concept of providing for the orderly withdrawal at that time and then an orderly transition. I voted for \$700 million, which I thought was adequate for the current year, and they now want \$300 million more. In fact you could give them a billion more, and I think they'd spend it. I think whatever we give to Vietnam, they are going to spend.

MR. NOVAK: But Senator, your definition of "orderly" seems to change now that you are running for President. In 1973 you voted for \$952 million, and you voted against a cut down to \$500 million. What is changed now? Isn't it a fact that the Communist forces are on the offensive now and yet you want to give less ammunition to South Vietnam?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, 1973 was immediately after we got out, and they had heavier expenditures. That is not 1974, Mr. Novak.

MR. NOVAK: In Los Angeles in a press conference, Senator Jackson, you indicated strongly you felt that it was a hopeless situation in South Vietnam. Twelve years earlier you said if we lose in Vietnam, we lose all of Southeast Asia, and from the standpoint of our security that is as important as developments in Berlin, Cuba and elsewhere. Were you wrong then or have you changed your mind?

SENATOR JACKSON: That is the same view, of course, that was expressed by President Kennedy, and I felt at that time that there was a real danger, especially in the light of the precarious situation in Indonesia. When Indonesia was saved from a Communist takeover, I think it made a total difference, and it became a more limited threat than it did prior to that time.

MR. SIDEY: Senator, do you feel that war is imminent in the Middle East?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think war is always imminent in the Middle East under the present circumstances and has been obviously with the four wars that have taken place. It is something that we have to contemplate in our thinking and in our planning. But I would hope that it can be avoided, and much will depend on the ability of the Secretary of State to, in effect, isolate Egypt from the other Arab countries in a solution regarding the Sinai. I doubt whether the Egyptians will enter into a separate agreement and, if that is not possible, then anything can happen.

MR. SIDEY: Do you believe this nation ought to fight over there if strangulation of the Western industrialized world is threatened, as Dr. Kissinger and Mr. Ford have suggested?

SENATOR JACKSON: I don't believe a great power should talk publicly about direct military intervention. I think this is nonsense. I think the most important and most effective way to handle a matter of this kind is through private and direct diplomacy, and the most potent weapon we have is to threaten to withdraw our gunboats, not send our gunboats in. This would have far more effect, especially on the Saudis who are fearful of what might happen to them.

MR. KRAFT: Senator Jackson, I would like to ask you a couple of questions about your presidential campaign. Your office has been distributing a clip from a Cape Cod paper saying that if you get the Democratic nomination, Ted Kennedy will be the vice-presidential nominee. Have you talked to him about that?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, I have not.

MR. KRAFT: Do you have any reason to believe that he would accept it?

SENATOR JACKSON: No, I do not.

MR. KRAFT: Doesn't it seem a little disingenuous to put out material like this?

SENATOR JACKSON: I have no knowledge that it was sent out. This was sent by a leading Democrat the other day, or rather, last week, from Massachusetts, and that is all I know about it.

MR. KRAFT: I got it from your office, but on the same theme—

SENATOR JACKSON: I did not authorize it.

MR. KRAFT: There has been some speculation—

SENATOR JACKSON: This party has been sending out a number of those copies from Massachusetts.

MR. KRAFT: There is some speculation that the only way you could get the nomination would be by [making] a deal with George Wallace. Would you accept him as your running mate?

SENATOR JACKSON: I will make my own recommendation for Vice President if I am the nominee, and, of course, I would expect the convention to follow my recommendation. I have not made up my mind whom I would recommend.

MR. KRAFT: You wouldn't exclude him in advance?

SENATOR JACKSON: I wouldn't exclude anyone, but I have my own ideas about what I would do.

MR. SPIVAK: Senator, I would like to ask you a question we have asked many candidates over the years. Why do you want to be President at all in view of the problems that any President faces today?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think that is a real good one.

First of all, all my public life I have wanted to help people. That has been my main motivation, and I know of no time in history where there is a greater opportunity to help people not only here but around the world, for a more peaceful world and a better America.

Secondly, I think I am qualified to do the job. I think I have had the experience in the House and in the Senate, on domestic and foreign affairs, to do that job.

I have complete confidence in my ability to bring in the best people in the area of the economy, energy, foreign affairs, and I think I can do it.

MR. SPIVAK: Senator, one more question on the presidency. When you declared for the nomination in 1971, you said it is fair for someone to ask you, what is your political philosophy.

Now, many people believe that you have been changing your political philosophy to be more acceptable as a candidate in 1976. Will you tell us what your philosophy, your political philosophy, is today, where you stand in the spectrum?

SENATOR JACKSON: You ask that question, Mr. Spivak, in the context of a decade of confusion about terminology. Never in my lifetime have I seen a greater debasement of the political currency: What is a liberal? What is a conservative? A middle-of-the-roader? It has all been debased.

MR. SPIVAK: Straighten it out for us.

SENATOR JACKSON: I don't know that I can straighten it out. Fundamentally I have always taken two positions throughout my entire political career, and it hasn't changed. I believe in governmental activism at home in the economy. I believe this nation has both the human and material resources to give all our people a better life, to be able to end hunger. That's easy. The biggest one is to end poverty and to provide a higher standard and a better standard of living with quality life here at home.

Abroad I believe that if America is going to play a proper role in the world, even to deal with such a problem that is emerging now as China, we must have a prudent defense posture. That is fundamental to negotiations, to the extension of freedom and liberty, which is what foreign policy should be about.

I suppose I can conclude by saying that I am like the fellow who dedicated his book "to my conservative friends who think I am liberal and to my liberal friends who think I am conservative."

I am liberal on some things under that context, conservative on others, middle-of-the-road, I hope, where—progressive center is where I hope I end up most of the time.

MR. KIKER: Senator Jackson, what primaries are you going to enter? I don't think anybody can enter them all, there are so many now, and how much money do you anticipate spending on this campaign?

SENATOR JACKSON: I am going to be a national candidate. I think a candidate, to be viable, must enter key primaries. I will make that decision at the proper time. Under the new regulations, we will not know what the ground rules will be until after July 1st when the states will submit their delegate selection program to the National Committee.

MR. KIKER: You got clobbered in Wisconsin and in Florida in '72. Are you going to go back there and try again?

SENATOR JACKSON: We will cross that bridge when we get to it. I had a very limited campaign. It is entirely different than the one we are getting under way now.

I think we have a strong organization. We have the beginning of good resources, and we will have a massive direct mail effort to get small contributions.

MR. NOVAK: Senator Jackson, Senator Percy has returned from the Middle East with a report of fear there of an Israeli preemptive strike against the Arabs. If there is such a strike, would you favor aid by the United States to Israel in a military form even if they made such a strike?

SENATOR JACKSON: I would make that judgment when I understood under what circumstances such a strike was made. You can't do it in the abstract.

MR. NOVAK: Do you think you can envision some circumstances where a preemptive strike is made and we should still continue to support Israel?

SENATOR JACKSON: Yes, I can, where it is clear that the Russians—I think it would have been justified in this last conflict where the Russians violated allegedly the understanding that we had with the Russians in the June meeting in 1973 at the Summit, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Brezhnev, in which they publicly reassured the world that one of the great examples of detente would be our avoidance of a direct confrontation, and the Middle East was an example. So, if as in that case, the Russians started moving two weeks in advance, they knew about it, were in on the operation, I think very clearly that if you got into a situation where you had all the advance information they were going to move, then steps to prevent your annihilation is certainly in order.

MR. NOVAK: Senator, since your financial support has come so heavily from the American Jewish community and you have been such a strong supporter for Israel, do you have some fears that as President of the United States you would be mortgaged on the Israeli question?

SENATOR JACKSON: Look, the Jewish community has always supported over the years the Democratic Party. Previous candidates, previous nominees, including Mr. McGovern, including—well, he got large contributions. His largest contribution came from people of the Jewish faith.

Let's say a word about that. The Jewish people are very generous. Take a look at the list of contributors to the Community Chest in any community. They are the biggest givers. The Gentiles don't give in proportion to what the Jews have given over the years. I just make that general observation—if it is a symphony, if it is the arts and so on, far out of proportion to their numbers. So the Jewish people have contributed to the Democratic Party heavily over the years. They have contributed to me over the years, and you look at all the lists of Democrats, so what? Down South, I suppose, the Presbyterians and the Southern Baptists give more because they are very strong down there.

MR. SIDEY: Senator, indeed, if you were President, would you welcome ex-President Nixon back as an elder statesman and a spokesman for this nation?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think he has quite a long way to go to work his way back.

MR. SIDEY: How do you characterize him now?

SENATOR JACKSON: I characterize him as a sad figure on the American scene.

MR. SIDEY: A failure as President?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think he was able to do some things that were extremely useful and will be in the long run, such as the opening of China. [On] that alone I give him credit, but in the aggregate it is a bad mark on the American presidency.

MR. KRAFT: Senator Jackson, many people have blamed the collapse of the trade bill with the Soviet Union, the trade deals, on your insistence on tying to it some provision for freedom of immigration. Do you accept that blame and, if not, what do you think is the reason for the blame?

SENATOR JACKSON: I certainly do not accept that blame. If I can believe Dr. Kissinger and the President of the United States, the letter that they sent to me—and in sending it to me, to the Senate—on October 18, 1974, made clear that they had all these assurances from the Soviet leadership that they would carry out, in effect, the provisions of my amendment.

Now, it turns out that on October 26th a letter was received from Mr. Gromyko that appeared to contradict that, but was never made public, never made public until after the Trade Bill was signed. If there is deception, I think the administration has to take that blame.

MR. KRAFT: Whom do you blame for it?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think very clearly Dr. Kissinger had a minimal duty to disclose to me that letter of October 26th, which—

MR. KRAFT: Are you charging him with bad faith?

SENATOR JACKSON: I am charging him with a failure to keep the Senate fully and currently informed, and when he complains about the Senate interfering or the Congress interfering in foreign affairs, I say he is on weak ground because we have a right to ask for openness.

MR. KRAFT: Do you agree with Senator Bentsen that his powers ought to be clipped?

SENATOR JACKSON: I don't think his powers ought to be clipped, but he ought to start to be at least open with the Congress. This happened in SALT I agreements too. Remember, there were two documents that were withheld from the Congress, and when he went before the Finance Committee he should have told the Finance Committee—that was December 3rd, a month later—he should have told the committee of that letter. Instead,

he said, "Mr. Brezhnev reaffirmed the assurances they had given to me."

I leave it to history to decide who misled whom and why.

MR. SPIVAK: Senator, when you declared the other day, you told the American people that they want a President who has the courage to ration fuel if necessary. Do you think it is necessary to ration fuel now?

SENATOR JACKSON: Not now, no, but I would—what I would do would be to give to the President the authority that he asked. We gave that authority to Mr. Nixon, and he vetoed it last year when Mr. Ford was Vice President.

MR. SPIVAK: Why do you say not now? How do you know not now, and when do you think you should?

SENATOR JACKSON: Let me just explain why. If you had immediate rationing now, you would throw out of employment 440,000 people, according to the administration's own figures. I think "gradualism" is the word. I think you back into this with a series of conservation moves because we have a new factor of an economy sliding down hill so fast that we have to consider the loss of employment as an overriding factor.

MR. SPIVAK: We have less than three minutes.

MR. KIKER: Senator Jackson, there is one issue that every Presidential candidate I think must be asked about, and that is busing. We know where George Wallace stands. Where does Henry Jackson stand?

SENATOR JACKSON: I think my views are well known. A word on busing: it is very simple. We bused children for ages in this country to better schools. While that was going on, black children were bused from good school areas to bad school areas. That was wrong, and two wrongs don't make a right. I introduced a constitutional amendment to provide for the right of every child to go to school in his own neighborhood. Incidentally, my children go to school, public schools, not far from here, in the District, which is rather unique for politicians in this community, and may I point out that I would require with the amendment, as I did in the other, the other part of it, quality education. When you bus for quality education—my daughter is bused to a school in the District for quality education—I am for that. But the problem is that we are not doing that. I would require as a part of the constitutional amendment, the California decision—which was overturned by the Supreme Court—requiring all school districts to receive equal apportionment of funds. The poor kids in a poor district will get just as much money for their school as the kids in the rich district. When you do that, you will solve this problem.

MR. SPIVAK: We have less than a minute.

MR. NOVAK: Senator Jackson, you were a strong supporter of the CIA, at least in your pre-presidential candidate days. Are you worried that the Senate investigation may hurt the effectiveness of the CIA as a protector of national security?

SENATOR JACKSON: There is a danger of that, but I have great faith in the fairness and objectivity of Senator Church. What is needed here is to look at whether or not they violated the law, especially in the area of civil liberties. I think we need to take a new look at the CIA and find out whether or not they shouldn't concentrate more on analysis, intelligence acquisition than in some of the areas they have been involved in in operation.

MR. SPIVAK: I am sorry to interrupt, but our time is up. Thank you, Senator Jackson, for being with us today on MEET THE PRESS.

With summit talks set to start June 18 between Russia's Brezhnev and President Nixon, not everyone agrees that the meeting is in America's best interests. Senator Jackson is a spokesman for that view.



—UPI Photo

“A RISKY TIME FOR BARGAINING”

Interview With Senator Henry M. Jackson

Q Senator Jackson, in contrast to most people in Congress, you seem to be “down” on the coming summit meeting between President Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev. Why is that?

A I believe that it's a very, very poor time for the President to be meeting with Mr. Brezhnev. I think the meeting should be postponed—not canceled, but postponed. That would be the wise course.

Q Why do you feel that way?

A Because there are too many pressures on the President. This is a risky time for him to be bargaining with the head of an extremely powerful country in terms of trying to work out disagreements that run very deep.

Mr. Brezhnev will be coming here right in the fury of the Watergate hearings on Capitol Hill. Surely Mr. Brezhnev is not so high-principled that he's going to forgo the temptation to take advantage of that situation.

The Russians are past masters at following the political situation. I think Mr. Brezhnev is extremely conscious of the advantages from his point of view.

Q What advantages?

A The Soviet Union is in deep economic trouble. But it is moving ahead militarily. The Soviet Union knows that the Western world is in a crunch in the Persian Gulf on energy. There are just lots of opportunities for the Russians to take advantage of a situation that could be very serious from a Western point of view.

I don't know what is being proposed in connection with this meeting. If it's a meeting that will be more or less cosmetic, that's one thing. But if serious negotiations are going to take place, that's something else. I have no idea whether or not some harmful, one-sided concessions are going to be made by our Government, but that would trouble me.

Q Does Brezhnev come here politically strong?

A Yes. I think that Mr. Brezhnev has strengthened his position in the Politburo. He has brought in Marshal Andrei

Grechko, who is the Defense Minister and a career military officer. He has brought in the head of the secret police—the KGB. And he has brought in Andrei Gromyko, the Foreign Minister. So Brezhnev comes here at the peak of his political power.

Q Despite internal problems in Russia?

A Yes. He really must lean heavily on the United States for economic help, and I want to emphasize that point. The Soviets cannot supply the food and the fiber that they need for their own people within their own borders. There are not enough consumer goods, and quality is poor. The supply system is bad. They can't get help from the European satellite countries. The satellite countries need economic help from them.

I believe that our economic power at this point in history can be far more effective than our military power alone. It is a trump card. We ought to use this economic power to our advantage.

Q In what way? What should we try to get with our economic power?

A I would put top on the list the freer movement of people, the freer movement of ideas across frontiers. This could be the beginning of a course of conduct which could make for less tension in the world. That's why I have pushed so strongly to use our economic power to make it possible for just a tiny bit of freedom to seep through the Iron Curtain.

I'm speaking now of my insistence that the Russians open the way for Jews or others to migrate out of Russia as a condition of the trade concessions—most-favored-nation treatment and U. S. Government credits and guarantees—that the Russians are seeking and that require congressional authorization.

I simply say that after a lapse of 25 years, it's high time they implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the United Nations adopted. It says, among other things, that a person shall have the right to leave a country



—USN&WR Photo

Henry M. Jackson, 61, a Democratic Senator from Washington State since 1953, has become one of Congress's most influential members on defense, atomic and international affairs. As chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, he also plays a key role in energy and environmental matters.

freedom to the people in these countries, in particular the freedom to emigrate. Well, I couldn't agree more. I'm just trying to implement his 1963 promise.

Q Do you oppose more trade with Russia, then?

A Not when it serves our larger interests as well as their economic interests. I cosponsored the East-West Trade Relations Act in 1971. But East-West trade must be *mutually* beneficial. Look what happened in last year's grain deal. The Russians bought wheat at subsidized prices of \$1.60 a bushel when they should have been paying the full price.

The American taxpayer ended up subsidizing the Russian housewife to the tune of more than 300 million dollars, and the American housewife ended up paying higher prices for beef and other grain-based foodstuffs. Our shipping and grain-transportation systems have been severely disrupted. On that deal, at least, the Soviets got the wheat and we got the chaff.

Why should we underwrite credits to the Soviet Union? Are they doing that sort of thing for us? We're so anxious to do business—any kind of business—that we'll agree to anything.

I recall that Lenin, in discussing the grave economic difficulties in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, said: "But, comrades, don't let us panic. If we give the *bourgeoisie* enough rope, they'll hang themselves." Karl Radek, a member of the C. P. Central Committee and co-worker of Lenin, asked: "Where are you going to get the rope to give the *bourgeoisie*?" Replied Lenin: "From the *bourgeoisie*."

Q Are we as anxious for their natural gas as they are for our food?

A No, I think it would be unwise for the United States to invest some 6 billion dollars or more in a liquefaction program that would convert their natural gas to liquid form and ship it to the United States. That gas probably would cost us as much as \$1.50, possibly more, per thousand cubic feet shipped to New York City. Gas from Texas and Louisiana now costs about 70 cents per thousand cubic feet in New York City. Even though those domestic prices will go up some, the Russian gas is still a total disadvantage for us from an economic point of view.

The American consumer would be subsidizing the Soviet Union. We'd be driving our prices way up.

Russian gas is a good deal for the Japanese. They could run a pipeline from Siberia into the Japanese islands without having to go through the cost of liquefaction. This would help to relieve the demand for fuel from the Middle East. The Japanese now get 90 per cent of their petroleum from the Persian Gulf. Europe gets 80 per cent, and we're just now beginning to draw heavily on the Persian Gulf. That area poses a real, real problem.

Q Is our need for oil from Arab countries in the Mideast so great that it may cause us to change our support for Israel? Is there a middle ground for the U. S.?

A The average American gets the idea that our trouble in the Middle East stems from our support for Israel. Nothing could be further from the truth. The facts are that if Israel did not exist, Jordan would have disappeared. Saudi Arabia, which has over half the known oil reserves in the world out-

(continued on next page)

freely. I would hope that the Soviet Union would permit the people who want to leave to leave.

Q Haven't the Russians said they were abandoning their exit tax on Jews?

A That's the biggest hoax pulled in quite a while. They put the tax on last summer. Then they announced that they were taking the tax off. When the American presidential election was over last November, they put the tax back on. Now they have removed it again.

The tax is just a cover for a policy prohibiting thousands of people, Jew and gentile alike, from leaving. Tax or no tax, if you apply for an exit visa you may lose your job, get thrown in jail, put in an insane asylum. They tell you, "You can't go."

There are a lot of dissidents in the Soviet Union who are not Jewish. Solzhenitsyn, the writer, is gentile. Sakharov, the great nuclear physicist, is gentile.

My interest here is to use our economic power to extend human freedom just a little bit.

I think the greatest crime committed by the Western world occurred during the 1930s, when we failed to listen to Winston Churchill. He alone cried out for action against Nazi Germany, and we stood idly by while millions of people were put in the ovens.

We're on notice now that there are millions in Russia who want greater freedom. We know that many of them have been in concentration camps. I talked to one scientist who spent half his life in a forced-labor camp in Russia. Let's face it, this is a concentration camp. And the things that are going on shock the conscience of people of good will everywhere.

I'm disappointed in the President's position on all of this. I've been reading some statements that he made back in 1963. The United States, he said, should be willing to sell wheat to the satellite countries as a business deal provided that the government involved gives some greater degree of

Senator Jackson:

"Mr. Brezhnev will be coming here right in the fury of the Watergate hearings. Surely [he] is not so high-principled that he's going to forgo the temptation to take advantage of that situation."



Interview continued

side the Soviet Union, would have disappeared from the map, and maybe Lebanon, too. The problem in the Middle East is the have-not Arab countries against the haves.

The two stabilizing factors in the Middle East are Israel and Iran. It's only Israel and Iran that could prevent an overrunning of the regime in Saudi Arabia. A key country that we're concerned about for oil for the U. S. is Iran. Iranians are Moslem, but they aren't Arab. They have a relatively close alliance with Israel. Iran is a crucial country.

Then there is Kuwait. What's the threat to Kuwait? Israel? Not at all. It is Iraq, backed by the Soviet Union. What's the threat to Saudi Arabia? The have-not Arab countries: Egypt, operating through Yemen as they did several years ago; Syria, and Iraq, a country with a lot of oil but with an extremist Government in power.

These are the real threats to the security of oil supplies out of the Gulf. It's not Israel that's the problem in the Middle East.

Q Are you afraid the Russians are about to take over the Middle East?

A No, no—not that. What they propose to do is to manipulate the situation and control the moves of certain Moslem countries in ways that favor Russia and are unfavorable to the West: encouragement of radical elements, withholding the shipment of oil. Even the latest run on the dollar may well be traced to some of that activity in the Middle East.

Q What in your opinion is the most dangerous place in the world for the United States?

A I think the Persian Gulf. The Russians have moved their attention from the Mediterranean to the Gulf. As long as we can keep the Suez Canal closed, it will keep the Russian Navy from moving freely from the Mediterranean into the Gulf.

Q You want to keep the Suez Canal closed. Is that correct?

A Yes. I can't understand our State Department announcing that we want to open the Canal as a gesture of good will. That would mean the distance between Odessa in the Black Sea, where the Russians base their Southern Fleet, to the Persian Gulf would be some 4,000 miles, compared with perhaps 8,000 from Vladivostok to the Persian Gulf, the principal route the Russian Navy uses with the Canal closed.

Q It's one of the long water routes in the world, isn't it?

A That's right. But as far as the United States is concerned, reopening the Suez Canal would not help our Navy. The Canal is not deep enough and wide enough for our carriers to use, and our carriers are the key instrument by which we operate in those areas.

Secondly, the Western world would not be able to use the Canal for tankers. Our oil tankers now are 250,000 tons, and they're going on up to 500,000 tons. They draw 90 feet of

water. It would take seven years to widen and deepen the Canal so that it could handle our fleet and use our tankers.

Q So the Russians could use the waterway for the vessels they wanted to get through, but the West couldn't—

A There isn't any doubt that there are two things that the Russians are interested in in the Persian Gulf:

One is their historic interests in warm-water ports. They have been various grand designs in that direction since the Czars. That's why the Shah [of Iran] is so uptight on the issue.

Secondly, the Russians recognize that within this limited area is 80 per cent of the known oil reserves of the world—80 per cent. Europe is completely dependent. Japan—the industrial heartbeat in the Orient—is completely dependent. And there is nothing the U. S. can do except get more of our oil supply from that area.

Last year we imported about 27 per cent of our oil needs. This year we're going to import 35 per cent. By 1976 or '77 we will import about half of our needs, and the great bulk of the increase, as we go from 27 per cent up to 50, will have to come out of the Persian Gulf.

CHINA vs. RUSSIA: HOW U. S. FITS IN—

Q Senator Jackson, what role, if any, should the United States play in the relationship between the Soviet Union and mainland China?

A The United States has a lot of good will in China. We were the only major power that did not seek or exercise genuine control over pieces of Chinese territory, as others did. American missionaries, teachers and doctors went to China. There is a whole generation of Americans who did so much to bring education and medicine and help to China.

It seems to me that our role is this:

We are in a position to help restrain the Soviet Union from making any military move against China. This probably is why the Chinese are extremely receptive toward the United States and will be most co-operative.

On the other hand, the Russians are in serious economic trouble and need our economic help. So we can use both our economic power and our strategic power as deterrents to war and as a means of lessening tensions in the world.

I want to say that it is vital that we maintain the credibility of our strategic deterrent. The Chinese have been rather outspoken on this subject in their talks with Western diplomats. The Chinese felt we were "taken" in SALT I [first round of strategic-arms-limitation talks between the U. S. and Russia], and I agree with them. They want to see a stronger NATO, and I agree with them. We want the kind of world in which one day we can really live in peace.

Q The Chinese seem unhappy with MBFR—mutual and balanced force reduction talks about troops in Central Europe. Are you?

A Well, I'm very unhappy with the way it's going. If we could have a mutual pull-back of forces, it would be important from the standpoint of bringing about a genuine European settlement, which we've been seeking since the end of World War II. It also would mean a pull-back of Russian forces from the satellite countries. I'm talking about East Germany, where the Russians have over 20 divisions. I'm talking about Hungary and Poland and Czechoslovakia.

So MBFR could help to lessen tensions and it would help to provide some encouragement—a little bit of freedom—for the satellite countries. The hobnailed boot has been in those countries since Hitler took over in 1938. That's all most of those people have known: first, the Nazi hobnailed boot and then the Russian hobnailed boot.

Q Over all, Senator, how would you rank the U. S. as a world power in comparison with the Soviet Union?

A From a military point of view, our power in strategic terms in relation to that of the Soviet Union has steadily changed. This trend was dramatically evident in connection with SALT I.

In SALT I we agreed, on an interim basis, to a so-called freeze, which spells out specifically the strategic differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. In that agreement, the Soviet Union was permitted to have 1,618 land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles to our 1,054. They were permitted 62 strategic-type submarines—what we call Polaris submarines—to our 44.

Over all, then, they were given more intercontinental strategic missiles—land-based and sea-based. The over-all throw weight—the size of the missile—permitted was 4 to 1 in their favor.

I believe this best sums up the change that has taken place in U. S. strategic power vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

WHY KREMLIN WILL GROW TOUGHER—

Q Does this put us in a bad position?

A This doesn't mean what the average person might assume: the threat of nuclear war. What it really means is that the element of risk-taking has gone up by a substantial factor. For example, when the Soviet Union did not have a single nuclear weapon, they were able to take over Czechoslovakia in 1948. In 1956, as they acquired a few weapons, they were able to overrun Hungary a second time. Then in 1962, when we still had a 7-to-1 advantage in strategic arms, they took a great risk by putting missiles in Cuba.

Now, one has to ask oneself the very simple question: What would the risk factor be should they get a substantial advantage over the United States?

I would say we will have a more difficult Soviet Union in the period ahead. Soviet nuclear strength coupled with their growing conventional surface forces compounds our problems. It could have special meaning in places like the Persian Gulf, and the Middle East in general.

Q Even though we have given Russia an advantage in numbers of missiles, the argument is made that multiple, independently targeted re-entry vehicle warheads—MIRV's—on our rockets balance things out. How do you see that?

A But SALT I does not prohibit the Russians from working on MIRV technology. MIRV could compound the Soviet numerical advantage, because they have more and larger vehicles on which to put MIRV's.

For example, the Russian SS-9 has a megatonnage yield of 25 megatons. Our biggest missile other than the 54 Titans, which we may phase out, is the Minuteman which has less than a 2-megaton yield. Then there is the follow-on to the Soviet SS-9—let's call it the SS-17—which has a yield of 50 megatons-plus.

Science and technology do not rest on a plateau. No matter what kind of agreement we have, it seems virtually impossible to freeze—really freeze—the development of science and technology.

The question is: Would an American President be able to protect our freedom and the freedom of those associated with us if we were in a position of strategic inferiority? I think this is a proper question.

Q In light of this, should we build up our military strength, or can we trim back more than we have already?

A What I would like to find out first is whether the Soviets are really moving toward *détente*.

One way to find out would be to see if they, in connection

with all their economic troubles, would be willing to cut back on strategic arms so they could use a larger proportion of their resources to help their own people enjoy a better standard of living.

Today we have a golden opportunity to go to the world and find out who really believes in peace—who wants to cut back arms so that there will be more bread, as the saying goes, for people.

I just hope that the President would take advantage of this opportunity and take his case to the world and say: "Here's where America stands. Who are the ones that are preventing meaningful arms control? Is it the United States? We want to cut back. The Russians are in deep economic trouble. Shouldn't they be cutting back?"

I would like to see our land-based strategic forces cut back, let's say, to 900 land-based missiles. Let's cut back our submarine strategic forces to 35. And let's have the Soviets do the same, both in numbers and in the size of their missiles.

Q What if the Russians don't agree to do that?

A If we can't get parity, the only alternative is to build up, particularly our sea-based forces, so that they will be more survivable. The Trident submarine program, for instance.

Q When does the U. S. find out if the Russians are serious about slowing the arms race? In the second round of SALT talks now going on?

A Yes, in SALT II. This is what the objective should be.

There are all sorts of estimates as to the percentage of the Soviet gross national product that is being spent for arms. I've seen figures as high as 30 per cent or more. Our percentage of GNP for arms is only about 6 per cent.

So there is a good opportunity, if Mr. Brezhnev is going to come to Washington, for the President to say to him: "We would hope that, assuming your desire to improve the standard of living of your people—and we want to help—you will show some real evidence of it. Let's have both sides scale down the level of armament."

Q What do you think is going to happen on arms during the Brezhnev visit here?

A I don't know. It's my understanding that there wouldn't be much on SALT II in connection with Mr. Brezhnev's visit. The issues are too complex, in that short time, to work out an adequately safeguarded agreement. There is likely to be more on Europe—mutual balanced force reduction effort, attempts to make some headway toward a European settlement, and I assume some new initiatives in the economic and technological area and in cultural exchanges.

WHERE AMERICA WIELDS GREAT POWER—

Q You want the President to be tough in dealing with Brezhnev, to use his bargaining power on the economic side to extract something on the military side—is that right?

A The economic power of the United States is enormous. Never in our history, in relation to other countries, has our economic power been greater—despite all our troubles at home and despite recessions and an inability to fine-tune the economy so that we can do all the things we'd like to do; despite the weakness of the dollar abroad.

Our free-enterprise system is the most productive in the world. Coupled with what we've done in agriculture, coupled with what we have been able to do through science and technology, it is without a doubt the most productive system ever devised by a free people.

And here the Soviet Union, after more than 50 years of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-now-Brezhnev economics, is still badly off and floundering economically.

JAN 27 1975 *Ryba*

Jackson Opposes Increase in Aid to South Vietnam

'There Has to Be an End,' He Tells Supporters at
\$250-a-Plate Century Plaza Fund-Raising Dinner

BY KENNETH REICH
Times Political Writer

Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), an all-but-announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, arrived in Los Angeles Sunday, sounding a distinctly dovish note on aid to South Vietnam.

Jackson—who is long known as a Vietnam hawk and as a result was described for a time as then President Richard M. Nixon's favorite Democratic senator—declared in remarks prepared for a \$250-a-plate fund-raising dinner here that he is opposed to any increase in American aid for the South Vietnamese.

He specifically opposed President Ford's proposal to provide \$300 million more in such aid, and he declared:

"I voted to cut that \$300 million last year and I am not going to vote to hand it back this year. There has to be a limit. There has to be a ceiling. There has to be an end. The problems of Southeast Asia are not going to be solved by \$300 million more in ammunition."

As Jackson arrived here for the fund-raising dinner at the Century Plaza and a news conference today and meetings with newspaper editors and supporters, there was another sign that he is bending toward the party liberals and Vietnam war critics who are powerful in the California Democratic Party.

The senator, who according to some reports will formally announce his presidential candidacy in the first week of February, was accompanied on the flight from Washington, D.C., by Morris Dees, a Montgomery, Ala., civil rights lawyer and one-time publisher who was an active supporter of liberal Democratic Sen. George McGovern's bid for the Presidency in 1972.

Dees, who said he appreciates Jackson's stand on civil rights matters, said he has written a fund solicitation letter for Jackson that will be sent out shortly to about 500,000 potential contributors.

Dees has given some help to another contender for the Democratic nomination, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, but the fact that he was willing to come to California to appear publicly with Jackson is regarded by the senator's aides as valuable help for him with the liberals.

Unlike other major contenders for the Democratic nomination, Jackson did not attend this week's state Democratic convention in Sacramento, although he did send his chief political aide, Bob Keith.

He explained that he had a conflicting engagement in Washington, D.C., Saturday night and could not have arrived in Sacramento before the convention broke up.

The money Jackson raised from Sunday night's affair here will swell a campaign fund chest that at this point is far larger than any of the other announced or unannounced Democratic contenders. Even before he arrived here, Jackson had raised \$1.1 million toward his candidacy and he reportedly has spent only about \$200,000 of this amount.

About 1,200 persons attended the dinner, a highly successful turnout.

In his prepared remarks Sunday night, Jackson again criticized President Ford's economic plans for the nation, calling them inequitably slanted towards the wealthy.

"There have been expressed sympathies for stock brokers, oil companies, higher-income individuals and other interests (out of the White House) whom I do not regard as the supreme victims of public policy," the senator declared.

"So when we talk about tax rebates and the figures show the \$50,000-a-year man getting \$1,000 and the \$5,000-a-year man getting \$12, there is a plan that begs for amendment (by the Congress)."

Jackson said "we can solve both our energy and economic difficulties.

"I also believe that any solution will involve sacrifice and inconvenience. The American people accept this. But they insist upon a fair sharing of the burdens and a fair distribution of the benefits."



Jackson File

JACKSON: ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT, ANTI-COMMUNISM

For his second try at the presidency, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D Wash.) is presenting himself, on the basis of wide experience and long seniority, as the man with the best answers for a troubled time.

In 1972, Jackson ran as an ideological alternative to the Nixon administration and to the numerous liberals crowding the Democratic field. Three years later, issues that Jackson has dealt with for years have become the nation's major concerns, and he has suddenly become a key figure in national policy-making.

Not a charismatic figure, Jackson is counting on his reputation as an effective legislator to make up for what he may lack in style. Accordingly, he is trying to draw national attention to his performance as a senator. "As a declared candidate," he said the day after his Feb. 6, 1975, announcement, "I intend to spend the majority of my time not on the road but on the job."

Background

The son of working-class Norwegian immigrants, Jackson was raised in Everett, Wash., a small lumber mill town north of Seattle. He worked his way through Stanford University and the University of Washington Law School, then returned to Everett in 1936 to practice law.

Jackson immediately immersed himself in local Democratic politics, beginning his career as head of the area First Voters League for FDR. Two years later, he won his first political campaign by beating the incumbent, an alleged alcoholic, for Snohomish County prosecutor. In that job, he was known as "Soda Pop" Jackson for his crackdown on gambling, prostitution and bootlegging. But his boyhood nickname of "Scoop" has stuck.

In 1940, Jackson, at age 28, easily won election to Washington's vacant 2nd District House seat. He remained in the House until 1953, fending off five challenges to his seat. In 1946, he was the only Democrat sent to the House from Washington.

Senate

Jackson moved from the House to the Senate in 1953, after he unseated the one-term incumbent, conservative Republican Harry P. Cain (1946-53). Bucking a Republican tide that gave Dwight D. Eisenhower a margin of 106,262 votes over Adlai Stevenson and captured six of Washington's seven House seats, Jackson defeated Cain by 134,404 votes.

Jackson's subsequent Senate elections have been a cascade of increasing margins. He won 52 per cent of the vote in 1952, 67 per cent in 1958, 72 per cent in 1964 and a record 82 per cent in 1970. "I'll have to admit," said his 1970 opponent, Republican Charles W. Elicker, after the election, "Jackson's virtually unbeatable."

Although not an electrifying campaigner, Jackson has built a reputation for invulnerability through constituent service and legislative ability. Compounding the problem for potential opponents has been the reluctance of national Republicans to oppose Jackson. "Hell, there'll be no money



going to an opponent of Scoop in the state of Washington," Sen. John G. Tower of Texas, head of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, was quoted as saying by *The Wall Street Journal* in 1970. "We aren't going to do anything to hurt Scoop."

The foundation of Jackson's presidential candidacy is his long tenure in Congress. He has spent more than half his 62 years in Congress—12 years in the House and 23 in the Senate. His seniority has enabled him to use his office as a power base in dealing with the administration, his colleagues and the public. With the staff and expertise that seniority brings, he has cast himself as an authority on issues of nation concern. (*Details on issues, p. 1893*)

Energy, Environment

While he was in the House, Jackson showed an early interest in two subjects, energy and the environment, that have buoyed him to national prominence. Among the committees and subcommittees on which he served were Appropriations, Indian Affairs, Flood Control, Rivers and Harbors and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. His Pacific Northwest constituency naturally led him to concentrate on environmental interests—forestry, roads, dams, soil conservation.

A member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee since 1948, Jackson developed some expertise on atomic

energy and became an advocate of its use for both peaceful and wartime purposes. He worked with the chairman, Sen. James O'Brien (Brien) McMahon (D Conn. 1945-52), to transfer control over atomic energy development from military to civilian authority. He sponsored in the House in 1951 a McMahon resolution to divert funds from the nuclear arms race to peaceful purposes. In his home state, one of his best-known accomplishments is his role in bringing a nuclear power station to Hanford, Wash., in 1965. The federal project was one of the nation's first peacetime reactors. "There we literally did beat swords into plowshares," Jackson said, "and provided jobs."

Jackson has been equally as interested in the wartime uses of atomic energy. As a member of the joint committee, he participated in the initial decision to proceed with development of the hydrogen bomb. He is a close ally of Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, for years the head of the Navy nuclear submarine program, and he has been a key figure in development of the Nautilus/Polaris and Trident submarines.

Jackson's Interest-Group Ratings

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)—ADA ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the ADA position on selected issues.

National Farmers Union (NFU)—NFU ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the NFU position.

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE)—COPE ratings reflect the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position.

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA)—ACA ratings record the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with the ACA position.

Following are Jackson's ratings since Congressional Quarterly began publishing them in 1960, plus a composite score for 1955-59:

	ADA ¹	COPE	NFU ³	ACA ³
1974	62	82	100	11
1973	55	100	100	21
1972	40	100	90	38
1971	56	100	82	27
1970	56 ⁴	100	100	24
1969	78	100	88	14
1968	57	100	77	12
1967	69	100	100	0
1966	80	100 ²	93	11
1965	71	100 ²	92	15
1964	68	73 ²	76 ²	24
1963	65	73 ²	76 ²	13
1862	83	100 ²	100 ²	3 ²
1961	100	100 ²	100 ²	3 ²
1960	100	100 ²	100 ²	1 ⁵
1959	92	100 ²	100 ²	1 ⁵

¹ Failure to vote lowers score.

² Scores listed twice indicate rating compiled for entire Congress.

³ Percentages compiled by CQ from information provided by groups.

⁴ ADA score includes some votes from December 1969.

⁵ Score for votes on selected issues since 1955.

Anti-McCarthy Cold Warrior

Despite his long-standing distrust of the Soviet Union, Jackson avoided the red-baiting politics of the McCarthy era. He voted against creation of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1945 and declined an opportunity to be its chairman. When he went to the Senate, he stepped into the heat of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's (R Wis. 1947-57) anti-Communist campaign as a member of McCarthy's Permanent Investigations Subcommittee.

When McCarthy tried to assume the subcommittee's full hiring and firing power in 1953, Jackson and the two other Democratic members resigned in protest. He rejoined the subcommittee a year later during the Army-McCarthy hearings and nettled the chairman so much during the televised proceedings that McCarthy aide Roy Cohn promised the "get" Jackson for "stuff that he has written favorable to communism."

"The true test of a man is where he stands on national defense," Jackson declared in 1971. It is ironic that he won his first national attention for his stand against red-baiting, for Jackson's reputation in foreign affairs is largely based on his hard-line distrust of the Soviet Union and his insistence on military preparedness. "His whole gambit in foreign policy," observed Robert J. Keefe, his campaign director, "is: what do we get out of it?"

The same year as the Army-McCarthy hearings, 1954, military leaders testified secretly before a Jackson subcommittee that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in nuclear technology. Jackson expressed concern over the threat in a series of secret letters to the Defense Department and President Eisenhower in 1954 and 1955. In 1956, warning of "ballistic blackmail" by the Soviets, he called for a crash missile program and an increase of funds to bridge the so-called missile gap.

Since then, Jackson has carved out a role as the Senate watchdog of U.S.-Soviet relations. In 1962, he criticized as "unrealistic" the Kennedy-negotiated nuclear test ban treaty with Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and 10 years later, he attacked President Nixon's arms limitation agreement as political posturing. "The question is how much we're going to give up and give in for international cosmetics," Jackson said. "Summitry is dangerous business."

Jackson's hawkish image is hardened by his predilection for expensive weaponry. Breaking ranks with his liberal colleagues in the Senate, Jackson consistently has supported such costly weapons systems as the Sentinel anti-ballistic missile, the Trident submarine and the F-111 fighter-bomber. "You can never have enough security for Henry," complained Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D Minn. 1959-71) in 1969. "If he had his way, the sky would be black with supersonic planes.... He was that way in the House. He is just one of those people who are always saying, 'If you only knew what I know.'"

Jackson's rigid national defense posture derives in part from his attitude toward the Soviet Union. "The only way you get the Soviets to the conference table," he has said, "is from a position of strength."

He resents being referred to as "the senator from Boeing," but the Boeing Company of Seattle is the largest corporation in his state, and its executives have contributed to his Senate and presidential campaigns. Jackson came under strong criticism for allowing a Boeing lobbyist to operate out of his office during the SST debate, and he was accused during the 1972 presidential campaign of accepting

illegal Boeing money. Jackson denied any wrongdoing, and no charges were ever filed.

Jackson's foreign policy views reportedly earned him an offer in 1968 to be Nixon's secretary of defense. Jackson is said to have declined because he felt he could be more effective in the Senate. Yet his incessant criticism of Republican foreign policy, especially of detente with Russia, has placed him squarely in confrontation with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, and Jackson seems to relish the role. "Kissinger is afraid of me," he told one reporter. He has challenged Kissinger in hearings over strategic arms limitations talks, and he has used his Permanent Investigations Subcommittee to attack Kissinger and Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz for their roles in what Jackson calls the "great grain robbery" of 1972—the sale of huge quantities of American wheat to the Russians.

Israel

An unswerving defender of Israeli independence, Jackson's position again has been shaped, in part, by his suspicion of the Soviets. He has portrayed conflict in the Middle East as part of a Soviet scheme of aggression and has blasted the Nixon and Ford administrations for abetting that scheme. "Without Soviet support and material encouragement, without Soviet training and equipment, without Soviet diplomatic and political backing, this war would not have been started," Jackson said at the outbreak of the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. "And yet Dr. Kissinger...comes before the American people to say that Soviet behavior has been moderate and not irresponsible. I cannot agree."

Jackson's attitudes toward Israel and the Soviet Union came together in a dramatic way in 1974, when he almost singlehandedly forced the Soviets to allow freer Jewish emigration in return for a loosening of American trade barriers. But the agreement broke down early in 1975, when the Soviets repudiated any *quid pro quo* and the administration indirectly laid blame for the breakdown, and any adverse effect on detente, at Jackson's feet.

Vietnam

Jackson's reputation as a hard-line anti-Communist in foreign affairs is due chiefly to his unyielding support of the Vietnam war. Early in the hostilities, he characterized the American presence in Vietnam as part of "our opposition to Communist expansion." In 1967, he sketched an elaborate scenario, along the lines of the "domino theory," by which the fall of Vietnam would lead to a Communist takeover of Southeast Asia, then all of Asia and ultimately Europe. "It would be only a matter of time," he asserted.

Jackson did support the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, and in the end he refused to give support to the Ford administration's request for emergency military aid for the collapsing Saigon government. But the outcome of the involvement apparently did not shake his support for the original American entry into the war. "The basic decision to go into Vietnam was right," he said in April 1975.

Domestic Policy

Jackson is normally in the mainstream of liberal Democrats on domestic issues, although his ratings from liberal groups have fallen in recent years. For his votes on issues selected by the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, Jackson received ratings of 100 per cent in 1960, 80 per cent in 1966, 56 per cent in 1970, 40 per cent in 1972 and 62

Jackson's Background

Profession: Attorney.

Born: May 31, 1912, Everett, Wash.

Home: Everett.

Religion: Presbyterian.

Education: University of Washington, LL.B., 1935.

Offices: Prosecuting attorney, Snohomish County, 1938-41; House, 1941-53; Senate since 1953.

Military: Army, 1943-44.

Memberships: Phi Delta Phi, American Legion, Elks, Eagles, Sons of Norway, Masons.

Family: Wife, Helen; two children.

Committees: Chairman, Interior and Insular Affairs; Government Operations: chairman, Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations; Armed Services: chairman, Subcommittee on Arms Control; Joint Committee on Atomic Energy: chairman, Subcommittee on ERDA, Nuclear Energy.

per cent in 1974. The drops in 1970 and 1972 can be attributed in part to Jackson's support of the Vietnam war. (*Ratings box, p. 1890*)

In the 1960s, Jackson supported most of the Johnson administration's "Great Society" programs, although he is not strongly identified with any particular one. He has, through his chairmanship of the Senate Interior Committee, worked on legislation to improve the lives of Indians and other native Americans. He played a central role in passage of the Alaska Native Claims Act of 1971 (PL 92-203), which settled long-standing land claims against the United States by Eskimos and other native Alaskans, and the Indian Education Act of 1972 (PL 92-318), which provided for comprehensive upgrading of Indian school programs.

In domestic affairs, Jackson is best known for his interest in the environment. He cites as one of his greatest accomplishments passage of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (PL 91-190), which articulated the nation's first real environmental goals. More recently, he has been identified with the battles in Congress over land use and strip mining. He managed land use legislation (S 268) through the 93rd Congress and strip mining legislation through the 93rd (S 425) and 94th (S 7) Congresses, only to see the land use bill die twice in the House and the strip mining bill be vetoed twice by the President. His efforts have won him support among environmentalists.

But Jackson himself has undermined that support by voting for some major programs opposed by environmentalists, including votes for the ABM, the supersonic transport, the Alaska pipeline and Amchitka Island nuclear tests. In those cases, Jackson's interest in the nation's military and economic strength apparently took precedent over environmental concerns. Jackson has made no claims to be an environmental purist. As adviser Ben Wattenberg has put it, "He's not an ecology freak who's about to write off industry as a villain."

Jackson has placed himself in the middle of the conflict between Congress and the Republican administration over energy policy. With his long experience and his large staff, he has been ready with instant responses to Ford energy proposals. In January 1975, for instance, after the President announced a comprehensive energy plan to the 94th Congress, Jackson was ready with his own plan. And the same day that Ford released his fiscal 1976 budget, Jackson presented his own economic and energy plan.

Congressional Quarterly Vote Study Ratings...

	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966
Presidential¹									
support	45	47	61	40	51	61	77	75	78
opposition	55	53	15	23	37	31	16	16	22
Voting Participation²	99	99	74	65	85	87	92	93	98
Party³									
unity	85	78	42	50	66	72	82	83	84
opposition	15	22	29	18	22	16	12	10	14
Conservative Coalition⁴									
support	21	33	38	28	32	16	29	11	19
opposition	78	67	37	36	56	77	67	79	81
Bipartisan⁵									
support	90	96	69	57	74	71	79	84	91
opposition	9	4	7	5	9	16	12	10	7

¹ Ground rules, 1974 Almanac p. 1008.

² Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 1016.

³ Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 1001.

In 1975, Jackson has seen at least two of his energy bills, one providing standby energy powers (S 622) and the other opening military oil fields for commercial drilling (S 677), passed by the Senate. When Ford took the initiative on energy policy by proposing increases in the oil import tariff, Jackson helped lead the Senate opposition that resulted in a compromise.

National Politics

Jackson first reached real prominence in national politics in 1960, when his friend and fellow senator, John F. Kennedy, won the party presidential nomination. Jackson had been lobbying most of the year for the vice presidential spot and, with the support of Kennedy's brother, Robert, was considered the top choice at convention time.

But Jackson was shoved aside at the last moment in favor of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas 1949-61), and afterward he made no effort to hide his disappointment. "I will do whatever Senators Kennedy and Johnson want me to do," Jackson said at the time. "I will do whatever a good sport should do." Jackson was given the chairmanship of the national party as a consolation prize, but he quit in a few months and remained an outsider during the Kennedy administration.

In 1972, Jackson offered himself as a presidential candidate to fill what he saw as a void left by liberal and conservative candidates. "The great center of our party has been alienated," Jackson proclaimed. "And the Democrats are inviting real trouble if they depart from this centrist concept." He drew a particular contrast between himself and the eventual nominee, Sen. George McGovern (D S.D.), whom he derisively labeled the candidate of "amnesty, acid and abortion."

With solid financial support and the prospect of labor backing, Jackson skipped the liberal-dominated New Hampshire primary and started his campaign in Florida.

The strongest contender there was Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who forced Jackson on the defensive for his record of support for civil rights. Bombarded by Wallace for his votes against busing curbs, Jackson finally retaliated by proposing a constitutional amendment against all forced busing. Wallace won the primary, however, and Jackson finished a weak third with 13 per cent of the vote.

After dismal showings in the Wisconsin and Ohio primaries, among others, he withdrew from the race for lack of funds. Although no longer an active candidate in the primaries, Jackson finished second behind McGovern in balloting at the Democratic convention, inheriting some moderate Humphrey and Muskie delegates who could not reconcile themselves to McGovern's candidacy.

1976 Campaign Strategy

Jackson entered the 1976 campaign as a front-runner, a label that four years previously had proved a burden and a jinx for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine). Muskie quit the race in 1972 after failing to live up to expectations in the early primaries. When he announced his candidacy in February 1975, Jackson was the leading money-raiser among announced candidates, and he had a full-time campaign staff that had been operating since July 1974. By mid-year 1975, he had raised \$2.4-million, according to his financial reports.

Jackson aides downplay the early front-runner problem, noting that under new party delegate selection rules most of the important primaries will be proportional contests, yielding few clear-cut winners or dramatic victories.

Because he figures there will be no make-or-break primaries at the start of the campaign, as in the past, Jackson is devoting his resources to big primary states such as New York, California and Pennsylvania. Campaign Director Keefe feels the campaign will be an accretion

...Covering 19 of Jackson's Years in Senate

	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956
Presidential¹										
support	82	56	73	90	85	41	40	42	65	43
opposition	15	29	15	10	15	48	59	42	33	57
Voting Participation²	98	84	90	98	100	99	98	87	98	100
Party³										
unity	82	55	81	97	96	86	84	80	79	96
opposition	15	25	10	3	4	13	14	6	21	4
Conservative Coalition⁴										
support	21	16	30	24	12	7	5	*	*	*
opposition	79	69	63	76	88	91	92	*	*	*
Bipartisan⁵										
support	91	68	78	90	95	83	86	69	82	66
opposition	7	10	12	7	5	15	12	18	9	34

¹ Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 991.

² Definitions, 1974 Almanac p. 986.

* No ratings in these years.

process, one of methodically picking up delegates in the primaries to ensure a strong position by convention time. Accordingly, the campaign in 1975 was concentrating on fund-raising, in order to build a treasury to carry Jackson through the gauntlet of primaries. "We're trying to get the money in hand now so we can project it over the primaries," said Keefe. "We want to guarantee ourselves to be at the convention."

One of Jackson's primary assets, he hopes, is organized labor. He always has voted with labor in Congress, and he has enjoyed a close relationship with AFL-CIO President George Meany. Labor has contributed generously to his Senate campaigns.

But labor support may be difficult for Jackson to marshal in 1976. In the first place, Meany has expressed displeasure over Jackson's 1974 call for ties with China and his support of the 1974 trade bill, which removed protections dear to industry and unions. In addition, the labor federation has taken a neutral stand on the presidential election, releasing member unions to find their own candidates. Some of the unions may turn to candidates more liberal than Jackson.

Jackson is targeting his campaign at the broad band of mostly industrial states extending from the Northeast down through New Jersey and Pennsylvania and west to the Upper Midwest states. With his western background and environmental record, he assumes that he has a natural constituency in the Far West.

To attract votes in the first, largely urban target area, Jackson is striking a populist chord in hopes of appealing to the large working-class population that has been hard-hit by economic decline.

It was to these people that he directed himself when he announced his candidacy: "For the past six years, the Republican administration has been tilting in favor of big business, the large corporations, the people who can take

care of themselves," Jackson said in a five-minute, \$23,000 nationwide telecast in February. "And the little people—little business, the elderly, the young, across the board—have been the ones who have been taking the beating."

Image Problem

Jackson faces two image problems that could hold him back in 1976. First, he is still trying to shake the pro-military image that puts off liberals. He has been able to soften that image to some extent by his votes against emergency aid to South Vietnam before the fall of Saigon and for reductions in the Pentagon budget.

His charge, just before the Communist takeover of Saigon, that the Nixon administration had made secret pledges of aid to South Vietnam helped prevent congressional approval of emergency aid. Jackson attempted to placate the liberals by campaigning in 1974 for such Democratic congressional candidates as Allard K. Lowenstein (N.Y.), Abner J. Mikva (Ill.), Robert F. Drinan (Mass.) and Gary Hart (Colo.). Hart was McGovern's campaign manager in 1972.

Jackson's other image problem is that his campaign style has been, as one columnist put it, "stupefyingly dull." Aides indicate that Jackson is aware of the problem. "His demeanor on the stump has changed dramatically in the last six months," Keefe said in July.

Positions on Issues

Following is a summary of the positions taken by Jackson since he has been in Congress:

National Defense

Jackson has been a consistent proponent of a strong national defense and has regularly supported Pentagon requests for major weapons systems.

A member of the Armed Services and Joint Atomic Energy Committees, he has been a reliable source of support for Navy nuclear submarine programs. In 1957 and 1958, he led floor fights in the Senate to provide funding for the fledgling Polaris submarine system. In 1973, he managed a successful effort, opposed by Senate liberals, to fund an accelerated Trident missile-firing submarine program. The base for the 10-vessel fleet has been assigned to Jackson's home state.

Jackson's national security stance has its roots in the Cold War era. During the 1950s, he constantly warned of a growing "missile gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1962, he raised a conspicuous voice of opposition to the nuclear test ban treaty negotiated with the Soviets by President Kennedy. Jackson lobbied against the treaty in the Senate, then switched his position at the last moment and voted for ratification.

Similarly, after President Nixon's 1972 visit to the Soviet Union, Jackson questioned the interim strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) agreement that grew out of the trip. For several months he held up Senate approval of the agreement by his insistence on an amendment guaranteeing that any future treaty "not limit the United States to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to" those of the Soviet Union. The Nixon administration feared that the amendment would bind its bargaining hand in future negotiations, but accepted it after attempts to weaken it were defeated.

Jackson has charged that the United States was frozen into a position of inferiority by the SALT I treaty, and he has been a ceaseless critic of the ongoing negotiations. In 1975, he criticized President Ford's Vladivostok agreement for setting too high a ceiling on the two countries' strategic weapon levels.

Anti-Ballistic Missiles

In 1969, Jackson was a leader of Senate Pentagon supporters who fended off an attack by liberals on the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile (ABM) program. With Jackson wielding charts on the Senate floor to illustrate what he claimed was a Soviet missile threat, the ABM supporters defeated by only two votes an amendment to limit the Safeguard system. He helped lead support for the ABM in a similarly bitter but less prolonged debate in 1970.

In recent years, Jackson has tempered his national security position. In 1974, for instance, he led opposition to a Pentagon plan to test its Minuteman intercontinental force over the western United States. In 1975, he joined other senators in cutting back the Pentagon's arms procurement request.

Foreign Policy

The keystones of Jackson's foreign policy position have been his unswerving support of Israel and his antipathy to the Soviet Union. The two became entwined in 1974, when Jackson managed to hold up Senate passage of the trade bill (HR 10710—PL 93-618) with an amendment requiring the Soviet Union, in order to qualify for trade benefits, to allow freer emigration of Russian Jews. The bill was passed after an "understanding" was reached with the Soviets in October 1974, but the Soviets repudiated the putative agreement in early 1975 and refused to cooperate on the Jewish emigration issue.

Jackson cites as a major accomplishment his role in 1970 of securing for Israel military aid that appeared to be in

Jackson Staff, Advisers

Campaign director: Robert J. Keefe, a party professional who has worked in past presidential campaigns of Senators Birch Bayh (D Ind.) and Hubert H. Humphrey (D Minn.). Before joining Jackson, he was executive director of the Democratic National Committee.

Finance coordinator: Richard Kline, a former California newsman and onetime press aide to former Gov. Edmund G. Brown (D Calif. 1959-67). Kline, the first full-time employee in the Jackson campaign, handled press relations and fund-raising for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) in 1971 and 1972.

Administrative assistant: Sterling Munro, a staff member since Jackson's House days.

Senate press secretary: Brian Corcoran, a former Washington state newsman and longtime Jackson aide.

Speechwriter and adviser: Ben J. Wattenberg, political writer and co-author of a book, *The Real Majority*, a best-selling election analysis. He has been a friend and unpaid adviser since the 1972 campaign.

jeopardy. That year's foreign aid bill, which contained an Israel arms sales authorization, became stalled in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, so Jackson pushed through the Armed Services Committee a military procurement amendment authorizing a \$500-million sale of Phantom jet fighters and other military supplies to Israel.

In 1975, Jackson won Senate approval of a measure (S 920) extending that credit authority and authorizing unlimited loan credits to Israel to purchase U.S. aircraft and other military equipment.

As chairman of the Government Operations Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, Jackson conducted two sets of hearings into U.S. grain sales to the Soviet Union. The first was in 1973, after massive sales that critics said depleted the domestic stock and drove up prices in this country. The subcommittee in July 1974 issued a report criticizing details of the transaction, then launched a new investigation into a proposed sale that had been stymied at the last moment by the intervention of President Ford. Jackson criticized the administration for its judgment and the Soviets for their intentions in the two deals.

Jackson was a defender of the U.S. role in Vietnam. He consistently voted for continued funding of the war and against congressional efforts to limit or end the American involvement. As late as 1974, he voted against a successful defense supplemental appropriations amendment (HR 125-65—PL 93-307) that barred further U.S. military aid commitments to Southeast Asia in fiscal 1974.

Jackson began softening his support of South Vietnam as the United States began to withdraw its troops. He opposed Nixon's May 1970 decision to send troops into Cambodia, because it conflicted with the policy of withdrawal. And in a Senate showdown with Nixon in 1970, Jackson voted for the Cooper-Church amendment (HR 15628) barring funds for U.S. troops in Cambodia after July 1, 1970.

In 1975, Jackson voted in the Armed Services Committee against the emergency military aid to South Vietnam sought by the Ford administration.

While remaining a critic of detente with the Soviet Union, Jackson has gone beyond administration policy in his attitude toward the People's Republic of China. Upon his return from a visit there in July 1974, Jackson called for full diplomatic relations with Peking and withdrawal of the U.S. embassy from Taiwan.

After the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Jackson voted to cut off further arms sales to Turkey (H J Res 1131, H J Res 1163). In 1975, he voted against a bill to resume military aid to Turkey.

Environment

The most notable environmental legislation introduced by Jackson is the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (PL 91-190), which established the Council on Environmental Quality and articulated the nation's first environmental policies and goals. Jackson lists among his major environmental accomplishments his role in establishing the Redwood National Park in California (PL 90-545) and North Cascades National Park in Washington (PL 90-544). He managed both bills to Senate passage in 1968.

In 1975, Jackson remained frustrated in his efforts to win passage of legislation regarding two hotly disputed environmental issues, land use and strip mining. He led a successful Senate effort to pass a land use bill (S 268) in 1973, only to see it die the next year in the House Rules Committee. The House killed a similar bill (HR 3510) in 1975.

Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D Ariz.) pushed through the 93rd Congress major legislation to regulate strip mining, but the bill (S 425) was vetoed by President Ford. The two sponsors rushed out a similar measure (HR 25) in 1975; but Ford vetoed it again, and the House sustained the veto.

Jackson's environmental interests often have given way to his concern for defense and the economy. He led unsuccessful fights for development of the supersonic transport plane (SST) in 1970 and 1971, arguing that its benefit to the economy and American aviation outweighed possible threats to the environment.

Environmentalists have faulted Jackson for his stands on the Alaska pipeline and a proposal for nuclear testing in Alaska. Jackson steered through his Interior Committee a bill (S 1081—PL 93-153) permitting pipeline construction, then helped lead support for the bill on the Senate floor. On a key vote designed by environmentalists to delay the start of construction, Jackson voted against an amendment to allow consideration of an alternative pipeline route through Canada instead of Alaska. He sided with environmentalists, however, in voting against an amendment, which was approved by one vote, to bar judicial review of the environmental aspects of the project.

In 1971, Jackson declared opposition to two unsuccessful amendments that would have delayed a proposed underground nuclear test at Alaska's Amchitka Island. The test was opposed by environmentalists, some scientists and West Coast residents on the grounds that it could result in radioactive leakage and tidal waves.

Energy

As chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee since 1963, Jackson got an early start on his Senate colleagues in grappling with energy issues. He warned of possible oil shortages as early as 1971. When such shortages appeared imminent in 1973, Jackson pushed through Congress a bill (S 1570—PL 93-159) directing the President to draw up a fuel allocation plan.

Also in 1973, Jackson engineered Senate passage of a bill (S 1283) to promote long-term energy research and development, with emphasis on finding fuel alternatives to oil. The 10-year, \$20-billion program became law late in 1974 (PL 93-438).

Jackson in 1973 and 1974 led Senate efforts to enact an omnibus emergency energy bill. The bill was stalled twice by Senate-House disagreements before the two chambers reached agreement on a version (S 2589) in February 1974 that included a rollback of oil prices. President Nixon vetoed the bill March 6, 1974.

A bill similar to the emergency energy bill was passed by the Senate in 1975. The Standby Energy Authorities Act (S 622), introduced by Jackson, authorized emergency powers that had been requested by President Ford, but it reserved to Congress the right to review plans for their use.

In 1973, Jackson introduced and floor-managed legislation (S 2776), requested by the administration, creating a temporary Federal Energy Administration to manage federal programs dealing with short-term fuel shortages. The bill was enacted in May 1974 (PL 93-275).

A major Jackson bill before the 94th Congress would provide for development of the energy resources of the outer continental shelf. The bill (S 521) would require development of a federal leasing program and set up a coastal states fund to help states affected by the program. A similar bill (S 3221) passed the Senate but died in the House in 1974.

Economy

Jackson professes a Keynesian approach to economic policy, advocating federal intervention in the marketplace to relieve specific problems. To counter inflation in 1973, Jackson proposed an across-the-board freeze for six months on all prices, rents, wages, salaries, interest rates and dividends. His amendment to the wage-price law extension (S 398) was rejected by the Senate.

In 1975, Jackson proposed standby wage and price control authority for the administration. To pump more money into the recession-struck economy, he has called for a national goal of 2.6 million housing starts a year, with two million federally subsidized units going to low- and middle-income families. He also proposed creating a temporary agency to provide emergency capital for cash-strapped businesses.

Civil Rights

Jackson has supported most major anti-discrimination legislation. He voted for the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, respectively, and for the Open Housing Act in 1968.

However, he has taken equivocating positions on busing, opposing it in his public statements but voting against statutory efforts to curtail forced busing. During the 1972 presidential campaign, he introduced a constitutional amendment to stop all forced busing. But in a key 1974 vote (S 1539), he voted to kill an amendment limiting busing to the school nearest a child's home and only as a final resort.

Other Issues

During the 1960s, Jackson supported most of the "Great Society" social programs. He voted for the initial Medicare, model cities and rent supplements programs and against a series of efforts to destroy the poverty program.

As chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Subcommittee on Territories during the 1950s, Jackson sponsored and floor-managed the bills that granted statehood to Alaska (PL 85-508) in 1958 and Hawaii (PL 86-3) in 1959.

—By Ted Vaden

Washington Post
7/7/74

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

A Warning to President Nixon

Just before leaving for the Moscow summit, President Nixon received this stern warning from an important Democratic ally in Congress: the most dangerous thing you can do is defy a ruling of the Supreme Court.

Such hardboiled realism from Capitol Hill conflicts with the view inside Mr. Nixon's inner circle, where outright defiance of a Supreme Court ruling to hand over subpoenaed tape recordings is considered a viable option. The warning duplicates advice by Vice President Ford and House Republican John Rhodes, but Mr. Nixon often seems more attentive to conservative southern Democrats than his own Republican leadership. Thus, hearing the warning personally from a pro-Nixon Democrat could profoundly influence Mr. Nixon's decision.

The President received that advice because, threatened with impeachment, he uncharacteristically keeps in touch with key congressional supporters—particularly southern Democrats. On the eve of his trip to the Soviet Union, he telephoned one such Congressman whose support is essential to Mr. Nixon's survival. The President's big question: How am I doing?

Much better, he was told. But, the Congressman went on, don't get yourself in contempt of the Supreme Court. In other words, if, following tomorrow's hearing, the Court orders Mr. Nixon to turn over tapes subpoenaed by Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, obey that order. Otherwise, it was implied, you may well be impeached.

"Mr. Nixon replied that he fully intended to avoid winding up in contempt of the Supreme Court—a somewhat ambiguous answer . . ."

Mr. Nixon replied that he fully intended to avoid winding up in contempt of the Supreme Court—a somewhat ambiguous answer which reassured his Congressional supporter. Although Mr. Nixon sometimes gives replies in private conversation intended more to placate his questioner than reveal his intentions, the warning from Capitol Hill may push him toward compliance—even a recalcitrant, sluggish, partial compliance.

While National Chairman Robert S. Strauss's brilliantly conceived telethon last weekend was netting an estimated \$4.5 million for a Democratic Party seemingly reborn in unity after the debacle of 1972, McGovernites were demonstrating in two unlikely states—conservative Nebraska and Scoop Jackson's Washington—that they are alive and unreconstructed.

In the closing hours of last weekend's state convention at Norfolk, Neb., after more than half the delegates had gone home, the McGovernites won approval of unconditional amnesty for Vietnam draft-dodgers and civil rights for homosexuals (though endorsement of legalized marijuana failed narrowly). Approval of the amnesty and homo-

sexual proposals after most delegates had left duplicated the script followed at the Maine state convention a month earlier.

The hoary technique of coming early and voting late barely failed last weekend at Richland, Wash., where Sen. Henry M. Jackson's forces beat down unconditional amnesty by only seven votes. However, a Jackson-opposed platform plank opposing further construction of nuclear power plants was approved.

Moreover, Jackson will not enjoy the total control of his state's delegation to the Kansas City midterm convention in December that he had at Miami Beach in 1972. Jackson's forces claim 22 out of 30 delegates elected, but McGovernites say they have 10 delegates and that four others will vote with them on policy questions at Kansas City. In Nebraska, an estimated eight of the 13 delegates are McGovernites well to the left of Gov. James Exon and most other Nebraskans.

These two latest state conventions provide new evidence that Kansas City, though more moderate than Miami Beach in 1972, will contain substantial McGovernite strength and con-

not be easily controlled by Strauss and the regulars.

Members of President Nixon's Citizens' Advisory Committee on Nuclear Arms Control were aghast when the President named a long-time government physicist, Dr. Harold M. Agnew, as chairman.

Mr. Nixon appointed Agnew over protests from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who agrees with distinguished experts on the committee that the chairmanship should have gone to a nongovernment member. Kissinger's personal choice: John A. McCone, former head of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Central Intelligence Agency who is now a private citizen in California.

The President's selection of Agnew, for years head of the government's Los Alamos nuclear laboratories, was pressured by Roy Ash, head of the Office of Management and Budget. Long a friend of Agnew, Ash persuaded Mr. Nixon to make him chairman despite protests from Kissinger and some members of the committee. The outgoing chairman, John J. McCloy, could criticize the government's nuclear policy without having to worry about keeping government funds flowing to Los Alamos.

Critics of the Nixon administration's nuclear weapons policy believe Agnew's selection was designed to give the White House extra leverage on the work of the Citizen's Committee, helping block committee recommendations that might be contrary to White House policy.

1-16-2

Wash. Post
Sat. 1 7/6/74

1-15-3

Sen. Jackson At the Apex Of His Career

OLD-FASHIONED virtues have not counted for much in the recent media-minded world of American politics. They have been, for example, no match for the vague but much-sought-after quality known as charisma. Further, a suspicion lingers that to be old-fashioned is to be obsolete in terms of today's problems.

It is possible, however, that Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson, an old hand on Capitol Hill, is out to prove that charisma is not everything, and old-fashioned virtues have a place in the modern world after all.

Disciplined and hard-working, as unassuming as a next-door neighbor, the senator from the state of Washington has earned his share of news stories over the years. But nothing in the past can compare with the attention he is getting now.

At a remarkably youthful 62, when others begin to think of retirement, Jackson has reached an apex in his admirable career. Probably no other man or woman in Congress has so powerful—though not uncontroversial—a voice on so many leading issues. It is as if all the pieces of his 34 years in public life have fallen suddenly, luckily, into prominent place. Oil and energy, detente and trade policy with the Russians, nuclear weapons and land use, to name a few.

And there are some Democratic politicians who figure that the presidency, too, may be in Jackson's immediate future. Certainly he is one of two or three Democrats at the top of everybody's list of possibles.

In a recent interview with Jackson in his comfortable, uncluttered Senate office, conversation covered many subjects—from adverse effects of affluence on young people, to the opposition his nomination is likely to arouse from his party's left wing.

But again and again, he came back to two issues on which he has been catching plenty of heat. One is his outspoken skepticism about the value of detente as pursued by the Nixon administration. The other is his trade-bill

amendment that requires countries seeking most-favored-nation trade status with the United States to allow free emigration. The amendment is worded generally, but applies clearly to Soviet Jews who wish to leave Russia.

For his critical questioning of detente, Jackson has been called a Cold War warrior, a hard-liner and a man

The writer is a contributing editor with the Minneapolis Tribune, from which this article is reprinted.

who cannot change with the times. He shrugs at those descriptions, although the cold-warrior phrase slightly ruffles the usually calm manner. He is for detente, he explained, but he wants it to mean not just better business and the movement of commercial cargo, but the movement, too, of people and ideas.

He would take a tougher bargaining stance than Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "Henry does not pick on those things he thinks the Russians won't accept or like. I say the whole purpose of negotiation is to discuss hard things on which we differ."

Jackson wondered frankly if the Cold War "is really over" or merely disguised. He referred several times to the Russians' desire for "primacy." When you examine detente, he said, "What have we achieved since that great and glorious word came into the vocabulary? He listed what he regards as benefits to the Russians. There was the wheat deal. ("We were had.") Another example: the joint space venture in which the United States will put up \$240 million, the Russians, nothing. ("I call it 'wheat in the sky.'") Further, in trade agreements and the strategic arms limitation talks, Jackson claimed the Russians have come out ahead.

"Kissinger says the United States is benefitting from detente through a better world climate and good will," Jack-

son said. He snorted. "Good will? Like being eyeball to eyeball in the Middle East? With the Russians telling the Arabs to keep the price of oil high? With Gromyko doing everything he could to break up the negotiating efforts?"

As for his insistence that the Russians change their emigration policy before getting most-favored-nation status, Jackson said quietly, "This is a moral, civil-libertarian issue." He denied that his amendment is a calculated play for Jewish votes. His Norwegian heritage taught him respect for human rights and liberties, he said, and his horrified reaction to Buchenwald concentration camp in 1945 reinforced that belief. From that time on, he became a staunch supporter of the state of Israel.

"Where I get in trouble on foreign policy," he added, "is I have very strong views on individual liberties. But at least I'm consistent. I voted against aid to Greece and for the embargo on Rhodesia." He spoke with feeling of Soviet emigres who visit his office to thank him. "I feel a personal responsibility not to let these people down," he explained. "You know, it says in the Talmud that if you save one life, you help save the world."

Jackson criticizes fault him—oddly enough in these times—for his consistency and his unwillingness to compromise. But the senator pointed out that he has changed his mind many times during his long career, and he has had to compromise on almost every bill he has introduced. The time may have arrived when he will have to compromise on his trade-bill amendment.

"But I am not a bowl of mush," he asserted. "And I do have strong convictions." He also has a blunt directness to his speech, a respectful regard for the rights of others and a solemn belief that the right of free speech means "the right to sound like a fool on occasion."

If all those old virtues ever replace charisma, Scoop Jackson could be a prime beneficiary.

'Scoop' Goes to Peking

1-15-3

The New York Times 6/28/74

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 27—Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson of the State of Washington is turning out to be the most vigorous Democratic candidate for the Presidency these days, the challenger of Henry Kissinger, and the darling of the Pentagon, the weapons industry, the pro-Israel lobby, and the labor leaders at the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

This is a formidable political base—sort of a military-industrial-labor complex of his own—and it's no accident that he attacked Mr. Kissinger and the Administration's strategic arms control policy on the eve of President Nixon's mission to Moscow, and then took off himself on a mission to Peking.

"Scoop" is well worth watching. He has been around here for over 33 years—12 in the House and 21 in the Senate—and at 62, he has the energy of a bull, looks no more than 50, and has strong views on most of the great issues of the age.

His main theme now is that "détente" is a trap, a tricky French word that the Russians are using to achieve the military domination they couldn't get with threats and bluster. He insists he is not against an accommodation with Moscow, but he wants it on terms Mr. Kissinger doesn't think he can get. And here lies the dilemma.

Senator Jackson does not deny that Watergate has weakened the Nixon Administration, but in spite of Watergate, he thinks the U.S.S.R. is much weaker than the United States, needs the trade and advanced technology of the West more than we need what he regards as the dubious political advantages of "détente." In short, he believes Mr. Kissinger has misjudged the world political and strategic problem, and with his usual subtlety he charges Mr. Kissinger with being too "soft" and Mr. Nixon with being too "eager" to make military and commercial concessions.

The bloody muddle and perverse difficulties of foreign affairs don't bother "Scoop." He is quite capable of debating them, and his sincerity is not at issue; but he leaves little room for the honorable perplexities of foreign affairs, or for the notion that great nations can change. In the slow philosophic approach of Mr. Kissinger, he sees nothing but the coming whirlwind of disaster.

Accordingly, while he has lately been talking privately with the Secretary of State about the issues of the Moscow summit conference, he has acted publicly to put barriers in the way of what he fears will be a phony compromise that will merely help the President over the Watergate barrier and place the nation in an awkward and even dangerous strategic position.

In fact, he has been so sold in challenging the Nixon-Kissinger mission that he summoned the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who share his fears, and charged the Administration with making "secret" deals with Moscow that would place the United States at a military disadvantage. Even the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, himself a constant critic of the Administration's foreign policy, took the floor to defend the President.

"If anyone is exploiting Watergate to the detriment of our foreign policy," Mr. Fulbright said, "it is not the Russians but some of our own military leaders and certain members of the Senate. . . . With a flawless sense of timing, the enemies of détente have chosen the moment of the President's departure for Moscow to fire a few broadsides at his policy." He went on to accuse Mr. Jackson of precisely this intent.

The Senator from Washington merely characterized this as nonsense and went off to Peking and it is probably no accident that the Chinese will welcome him there around the President's Moscow visit, and thus give him a platform in Peking to continue his campaign.

In fairness, he has always suspended judgment about the good intentions of the Soviet Union. He believes in the persuasive quality of power rather than of philosophy, and relies on it more than on the fairness of the Russians or the eloquence of Mr. Kissinger or the judgment and wisdom of President Nixon.

Mr. Kissinger sees the world as fundamentally intricate, but capable of change if a modicum of trust can be established by mutually beneficial compromises. He would, as he proposed to President Sadat of Egypt, "take chances for peace," believing that not to take chances would be the larger risk. But not "Scoop." He sees only the dark riddle of Moscow, and puts his trust in missiles.

If he is gambling his last chance for the Presidency on this assumption, it is probably an honest but a poor gamble, for he is inviting a return to the cold war, and this is not likely to be the most popular platform in 1976.

After all, the President's most successful experiment, and the thing that is holding him up without any other visible means of support, is precisely that he has worked valiantly to get away from the cold war and move, as he says, from an era of confrontation to an era of accommodation.

Still, Mr. Jackson is a blunt man, with powerful forces behind him, and if the President's efforts at dependable arms control and a genuine peace in the Middle East do not produce results, public opinion could move toward Jackson.

But whether it moves that way or not, "Scoop" is likely to keep drumming on power. In this sense, he is a man of his New Deal and cold war days—liberal at home, tough and unyielding abroad. He has a kind of naked vigor but it is almost always in opposition. He seems to be saying that the world is wicked, and beyond persuasion or redemption, and the chances are that the Chinese will probably agree with him—especially since he is so suspicious of the Russians.

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SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

A RECORD OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Energy, human rights, environment, trade, the economy, detente — Senator Jackson has provided leadership in solving the problems associated with each of these issues and has been the legislative spearhead of most of them.

He was named the Senate's "most effective" member in a poll of legislative assistants conducted by Ralph Nader's organization. He was voted in the Gallup Poll as one of the world's ten men most admired by Americans.

Jackson

Yergin tells of an evening in 1967 when Jackson was at a Washington dinner party and a young man began to criticize American policy in Southeast Asia. "Jackson lost his temper, and responded not with argument but only by declaring over and over that the young man had no right to criticize policy, that the President had secret information but that this young man had no information, that he knew nothing. . . ."

Many people who know Jackson feel uncomfortable at the thought that a fellow of such quick and vengeful temper might get his hands on the President's little black bag of atomic tricks. This fear is heightened by Jackson's many enthusiastic references down the years to atomic warfare. He is, reputedly, the Joint Atomic Energy Committee's authority on atomic weaponry, and he seems to see the world through mushroom clouds. There were moments during his fanatical defense of our position in the Vietnamese war when, as Yergin put it, "he came close to advocating an all-out blitz of North Vietnam—by possible inference, a nuclear attack."

When North Korea seized the *Pueblo* in 1968, Jackson immediately predicted a strong chance "we will be getting into the use of nuclear weapons." Seventeen years earlier Jackson had proclaimed his notion of the proper way to negotiate with Russia: "When it comes to dealing with Russian leaders, atomic explosions often speak louder than words." His mind has dwelt so obsessively on atomic weaponry that sometimes he has seemed to suffer from hallucinations. One of the primary sources of the 1957 "missile gap" hoax was Senator Jackson, who warned sullenly that Congress might have to increase taxes to finance an all-out nuclear defense program and, in addition, that we might have to cut back on public works to get enough money for atomic missiles. President Eisenhower protested that there was no missile gap and eventually Ike was proven correct.

Now Jackson is once again urging that we MIRV the hell out of our atomic missiles because, he insists, Russia could be arming itself with an additional 20,000 nuclear warheads with the intention of giving itself a first-strike potential against us. Whether or not this will prove to be another hoax (Jackson blamed bad information from the CIA for pushing him into the earlier false position), it at least is at odds with estimates within the Pentagon itself. Edgar Ulsamer, senior editor of *Air Force Magazine*, has reported:

SAC's Commander in Chief [Gen. John C. Meyer] stated that a MIRVed Soviet ICBM force, on the basis of current Air Force studies, "will make some but not a great deal of difference so far as the survivability of our ICBM force is concerned." The reason for a relatively small gain in attack capability, General Meyer explained, is "that Soviet planners will be restricted by interference [of one warhead with another] and timing constraints. Even though MIRVing gives them more weapons, they would not be able to lay them down much faster than they could at present. The Soviets are more or less forced to adopt the most effective timing sequence possible, and, as a result, we would be provided with categorical warning before the vast majority of our missile fields could be hit."

Ulsamer quotes Lieut. Gen. Kenneth W. Schultz, com-



Hyannis Sandlot (1954). Jackson at Bat; JFK Catcher; Mike Mansfield, Plate Umpire.

of whiskey to celebrate the event [Fulbright's defeat] stands in the corner of one of Jackson's offices."

Jackson naturally takes an even meaner attitude toward those who oppose him on his home ground. In 1970 his primary opponent was Carl Maxey, an anti-war candidate who didn't stand a chance to win the Democratic nomination. But simply because Maxey dared to run against him, Jackson told friends, "I'm not going to beat Maxey, I'm going to bury him." He did, and while doing so gratuitously questioned Maxey's patriotism.

Richard Reeves, who watched Jackson in action in 1972, later wrote that political reporters who tailed the Washington state candidate "know they don't like him—what's more, they know that most of the Secret Service men assigned to protect his body in 1972 also came to dislike him. Jackson, they found, was petty, testy, and a little mean; he couldn't take the pressure."

"Whenever Scoop has been under pressure, the threatening kind, when he's on unfamiliar ground, he's gone for the cheap shot," said a man who has known him for twenty years in both Washingtons. "Go back to that stuff about Harry Cain being a left-winger."

This was in reference to Jackson's first campaign for the Senate, in 1952, when he knocked off his Republican opponent, Cain, by linking him in the most oblique fashion to Sen. Glenn Taylor of Idaho, who was Henry Wallace's running mate on the 1948 Progressive Party national ticket. That was supposed to mean Cain was pinko. "Cain can talk from now until doomsday," Jackson had said, "but he cannot escape the fact that he and the left-wing Senator from Idaho were the only two Senators who voted against a seventy-group Air Force."

One of the inexplicable Jackson cheap shots cited by Reeves occurred when a young man in Florida asked him a question about the proposed cross-Florida barge canal and, in phrasing his question, referred to Jackson as the "chairman of the Interior Commission." Jackson, who does not like young people, began ranting and raving and ridiculing the young man for not knowing it is a committee, not a commission.

THE SCOOP

A REPORT FROM THE JACKSON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Vol. 1, No. 3

February, 1976

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1976

Esposito Backing Jackson, A Major Boost for Senator

By FRANK LYNN

Meade H. Esposito, the Brooklyn Democratic leader, endorsed Senator Henry M. Jackson's Presidential candidacy yesterday and gave the Senator a major boost in New York State, which he has labeled a key to his aspirations.

The Esposito move, coupled with an earlier endorsement by Borough President Donald R. Manes of Queens, that county's Democratic chairman, gave Senator Jackson the support of the regular Democratic organization in the two most populated counties in the state.

Brooklyn and Queens have 58 Democratic delegates to the National Convention, or 28 percent of the 209 district delegates to be elected in the April 6 Presidential primary in the state.

Mr. Esposito, who picked the wrong horse in the 1974 gubernatorial and 1972 Presidential primaries, said he was supporting Mr. Jackson because a Brooklyn Democratic poll and soundings by Brooklyn district leaders and public officials indicated the Senator would be the strongest of the announced candidates in the borough.

"The common denominator is that he is a middle-of-the-roader, a little bit to the right," said the Brooklyn leader.

Mr. Esposito said he had not consulted with either Governor Carey or the state Democratic chairman, Patrick

Cunningham, before announcing his endorsement, although his move tended to undercut the Carey-Cunningham plan to head a large uncommitted delegation at the convention here in July. He said he had indicated a leaning toward Senator Jackson in a conversation with Mr. Cunningham a month ago.

"I had my experience with uncommitted delegates four years ago; the other side kicked the hell out of us," Mr. Esposito said. He referred to the sweep of the state delegation by Senator George S. McGovern over the opposition of most party leaders.

Mr. Cunningham in an interview, denied that the Esposito move ran counter to his or the Government's wishes. "It fits into the philosophy that every county is free and open to support candidates who bespeak the sentiments of a county," he said. He added that Senator Jackson appeared to "out front in New York, particularly in New York City."

The Senator campaigned here yesterday, speaking at a meeting of his Queens delegates and at a meeting of the Queens County Council on Soviet Jewry, at which he pledged that he would "never retreat" from his commitment to free emigration from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

Mr. Jackson is expected to run well in Jewish areas because of his longstanding support of Israel. He is also expected to appeal to conservative and moderate Democrats because of his generally moderate

record.

As a result, Senator Jackson and an undeclared candidate, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, are strong favorites among the state's 62 Democratic county leaders, almost all of whom are publicly uncommitted. They are waiting to see how Senator Jackson runs in earlier primaries.

Jackson delegates also face a strong challenge in this state's April 6 primary from delegate candidates pledged to five other Presidential contenders—Senator Birch Bayh, Jimmy Carter, Fred Harris, Gov. George C. Wallace and Representative Morris Udall—as well as uncommitted regular Democratic organization slates in 10 of the state's 39 Congressional districts.

Thus the Esposito-Manes endorsements of Senator Jackson will be tested in the Presidential primaries in the 11 Congressional districts—with a total of 58 delegates—in Brooklyn and Queens.

However, the combination of regular organization support and likely Jackson appeal to moderate and Jewish middle-class voters in the two boroughs make the Jackson delegate candidates formidable. All the regular organization delegate slates in Queens and four of the six in Brooklyn are pledged to Senator Jackson.

Of the two other organization slates in Brooklyn one—in the predominantly black 12th district—is uncommitted and the other—in the 14th district—is split between Senators Bayh and Jackson, according to Mr. Esposito.

Heading into the early primaries, we continue to bring you the news from along the campaign trail.





THE SCOOP

A REPORT FROM THE JACKSON FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Vol. 1, No. 2

January, 1976

George F. Will

Henry Jackson's Durable Campaign

WASHINGTON—Henry Jackson's aides will tell anyone who will listen that the success of his presidential campaign is the best kept secret in this town, which is a town not famous for keeping secrets. Least of all secrets about success. Jackson's ideas say that compared with his rivals, Jackson is less dull and more affluent than most people expected him to be.

A year ago, before the nation had a squint at his rivals, it was said Jackson lacked that certain electricity that pulls people through the slush to voting booths in presidential primaries. But today the whole party is suffering a virtual brownout of such electricity.

Edward Kennedy has it, but isn't running. George Wallace has it, but only for an inelastic minority. Hubert Humphrey only seems to have it because he is too shrewd to try to prove that he still has it.

Jackson is the most prosaic of men. But none of his rivals can be plausibly accused of understanding Yeats' poetry. And if Jackson is the least electrifying candidate, his supporters know what the tortoise knew and what the hare learned too late: the race is not always to the swift.

A premise of the Jackson campaign is that the rival candidacies are more lively than durable. All are vulnerable to terminal poverty in April.

While the hares have scampered conspicuously across the landscape, tortoise Jackson has spent a year inconspicuously facing the facts of life under the new restricting campaign contributions. The fundamental fact is that you must raise money early. Jackson has done that.

The law proscribes contributions (including loans) larger than \$1,000. So candidates must rely on direct mail appeals based on tested lists of contributors. Raising money this way costs money and takes time.

In 1972 George McGovern could launch a direct mail appeal right after an encouraging primary (New Hampshire) and use gargantuan contributions and loans to stay solvent until the mail appeal paid for itself and began to produce a profit—about three weeks. Today that is illegal.

As of Oct. 1, Jackson had almost as much money in the bank as all his rivals combined, including Wallace and President Ford. Liberals used to have their share of "fat cats," but the new law exterminates those beasts. And there is not burning issue—lie a war—to cause liberal money to flow. What money exists is split into half a dozen trickles.

To start off the election year, we have chosen several columns from across the country to keep you posted on the developments of the campaign.



Jackson's rivals (e.g., Jimmy Carter, whose three most expensive aides have gone off salary until the end of the year in order to save \$4,500) may think December is the cruelest month. They are hanging on until January, when all campaigns get transfusions—federal funds matching private contributions of up to \$250.

But if the Jackson campaign assumption is correct, April will be the cruelest month. Then—by, say, the evening of April 6, the New York primary—most if not all his rivals will be broke again.

Jackson already has about \$1.2 million. Carter, who is not untypical, has about \$15,000.

CARTER SELLS T-shirts adorned with his smiling face. They go for \$5. Why is he smiling? He must sell 29 of them to raise enough (\$142.50) to purchase a single 30-second spot on a

major New York City radio station (WOR) during the morning commuting hours.

Unless the jumble of liberal candidates is winnowed down to one by about April 7, it will be impossible for any candidate to spend—which is to say, compete—with Jackson down to June 8. On that day, primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey will elect 540 delegates, more than a third of the 1,505 needed for the nomination.

Of course, the Supreme Court may resuscitate the fat cats by recognizing that the law limiting campaign giving and spending is a grossly unconstitutional abridgment of free political expression. I hope it does so, soon.

I am not hostile to the Jackson candidacy. In fact, Jackson's clear-sightedness about the new rules of the political game commends him to be as a plausible President.

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

My dear friend,

I seek the Presidency of the United States and now I ask for your help.

Also I want your personal views about some tough current issues. You'll find an opinion ballot attached to the return envelope.

Your answers will tell me whether I am coming through to people on these issues and whether you support me in what I am trying to do.

I've never been one to quibble in stating my position on an issue, nor have I ever hesitated to give my full strength to a cause I believed in.

Some people have criticized me because I have been an outspoken supporter of the State of Israel. I believe we not only have a moral obligation to ensure Israel's survival, but a strong Israel is vital to American foreign policy in the Mideast. And I will not back down on a matter that involves the security of the United States.

Neither will I discontinue my fight in the Senate for an energy program that will rid us of the blackmail of foreign oil. I will not stand for our nation being bled while oil companies grow rich beyond belief.

I've had enough of government economists who play with inflation...argue about recession and depression...juggle low interest rates and high interest rates...while jobs are being wiped out and the lifelong savings of millions threaten to go down the drain.

The time has come to give financial protection to middle class working people and to the elderly -- and to help our small independent businessman who is caught in the squeeze.

I want to get this country working again. I want to get the government working. I want to get the economy working. And most of all, I want to get people working.

I seek a genuine reduction of nuclear arms in the world and peaceful trade with nations -- trade that benefits everyone and is not a one-way street.

No more Russian "grain deals" and no more giving cheap credits when they fail to live up to international agreements on human rights, which they previously signed.

I have seen the financial drain of terminal and chronic illness. We need a workable form of national health insurance.

We need faster action on tax reform and welfare reform.

We need to protect our future retirees by getting the social security system on a sound financial basis.

And I want to make sure every child gets a decent education without placing an unfair tax burden on the home owner.

I have voted for every piece of Civil Rights legislation for the last 30 years and will continue to do so.

I am proud to be the only United States Senator to have received the Sierra Club's coveted John Muir award for environmental legislation.

Yet I am not one who says we must choose between a healthy economy and a healthy environment. We need both. What good is clean air and water if we have empty plates? Let's use common sense when jobs are at stake.

If you agree in general with the things I believe in, it is not too early to help me lay the groundwork so I can begin to speak to the country as a candidate.

Largely because of the Watergate scandals, there is finally a law which forbids donors of great wealth from making huge contributions to Presidential candidates. It means the end of influence that usually rides with big money.

This puts us all to the test. We must make the new law work. It will only work if people like you support the candidate of your choice.

So I ask for your financial support -- now -- when it can count the most.

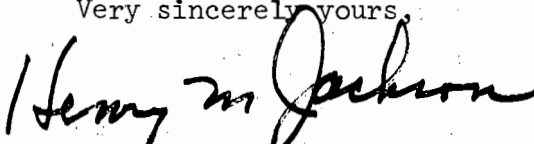
The new Campaign Reform Act provides federal matching grants for gifts of up to \$250.

I will need 200,000 concerned citizens to give me an average of \$25 each to conduct an effective national campaign.

Your contribution, however modest, is vitally important to me. With your help, I am confident we will achieve success in 1976.

Will you please send your contribution to me now in the enclosed envelope? I will acknowledge it with my personal thanks.

Very sincerely yours,



Henry M. Jackson

HMJ:pc

P.S. Don't forget to fill out your opinion ballot and enclose it with your contribution. We have some critical votes coming up in the Senate in the next 60 days. Please let me know if I can count on your support.

If you receive more than one copy of this letter, please pass it on to a friend. The elimination of duplications is economically impossible.



Your stamp on this envelope will save us the cost of return postage.

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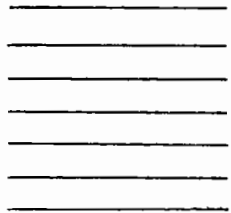
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OPINION SURVEY

1. How do you feel about the \$22.8 billion tax cut passed by Congress and signed by the President?

____ Too Much ____ Fair to most people
____ About Right ____ Not Fair
____ Not Enough

2. Should the government mobilize an all-out effort (like the space program) to develop our full energy potential and hasten the day when the U.S. is less dependent on foreign oil?

____ Yes ____ No

3. How do you rate the effectiveness of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's brand of one-man diplomacy?

____ Good ____ Fair ____ Poor

4. Should we set limits on the purchase of American companies by foreign interests?

____ Yes ____ No ____ No opinion

5. Please tell me briefly how you feel about the new Campaign Reform Act which provides federal matching funds for donations of \$250 or less to presidential candidates. (For example, if you donate \$50, the Federal government will match with \$50 and your contribution will be worth \$100.)

Dear Senator Jackson:

I want to be a part of the 200,000 who contribute \$25 to help you in your campaign for the Presidency. Enclosed is my contribution of:

\$15 \$25 \$50 \$100 \$ _____

Make check payable to: JACKSON for PRESIDENT.

(Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ms.) _____

Home Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Because a Senator is prohibited from soliciting Federal employees, Federal employees should ignore this request for a contribution.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

Walter T. Skallerup, Jr., Committee Treasurer.

House of Representatives, U.S.

MEMORANDUM

Steve

The attached refers to a subject in which you are interested, and is, therefore, referred for your information.

Yours very truly

Carol

S. L. Jackson

SENATOR HENRY M. JACKSON

A RECORD OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Energy, human rights, environment, trade, the economy, detente --
Senator Jackson has provided leadership in solving the problems associated with each of these issues and has been the legislative spearhead of most of them.

He was named the Senate's "most effective" member in a poll of legislative assistants conducted by Ralph Nader's organization. He was voted in the Gallup Poll as one of the world's ten men most admired by Americans.

Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Senator Jackson has been a strong and effective proponent of legislation to protect the civil liberties of Americans since he entered Congress.

Most recently he has sponsored legislation to establish a special joint Committee of Congress to oversee agencies of the federal government which are authorized to engage in investigative activities involving individuals. The purpose of the Committee would be to prevent abuses of civil liberties such as the Army investigation of alleged subversives in 1970, the "Plumbers" unit set up in the White House, the use of the I.R.S. to investigate political activist organizations, and the recently revealed "Cointelpro" Program of the F.B.I.

A summary of some major civil rights and civil liberties votes in Congress follows:

- Opposed former Senator Joseph McCarthy's Senate Investigations of alleged subversive activities. (1954)
- Supported amendments to Senate cloture rule to make it easier to limit debate. Filibusters historically used by opponents of civil rights legislation to prevent legislation from passing Congress. (1950s and 60s)
- Opposed legislation permitting states to enact "subversive" activities laws. (1958)
- Opposed student "loyalty oaths" to qualify for National Defense Education Act educational loans. (1959)
- Supported Civil Rights Act of 1957 providing judicial remedies for persons deprived of civil rights including voting.
- Supported legislation authorizing federal injunctive relief in school desegregation cases. (1960)
- Supported Civil Rights Act of 1960 providing for court supervised voter registration of blacks.
- Supported Equal Employment Opportunity Act and all legislation to strengthen the Commission. (1960s)
- Supported Civil Rights Act of 1964 covering voting rights, equal access to public accommodations, desegregation public facilities and schools. (1964)

- Supported Open Housing legislation to bar discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. (1966 and 1968)
- Supported elimination of "poll tax." (1965)
- Supported 18-year-old vote. (1970)
- Opposed nomination to Supreme Court of Judges Haynesworth and Carswell.
- Cosponsor of legislation allowing women to enroll in U.S. military academies.
- Consistently supported equal rights amendments to the Constitution since 1953 -- including the one which passed the Senate in 1972 -- as well as other measures eliminating discrimination against women in credit, taxation, education, and other areas.
- Proposed program to provide federal support to local schools, designed to benefit schools in poorer areas where local property taxes provide inadequate funding.

Environmental

Senator Jackson is the only member of Congress to receive the Sierra Club's prized John Muir Award for his environmental contributions. These include:

- Author of the Redwood National Park bill plus adding four million acres to the National Park system.
- Author of the National Environmental Policy Act.
- Author of the Land and Water Conservation Act.
- Author of the National Land Use Policy Act.
- Author of the Wilderness Act.
- Sponsored legislation to control strip mining.
- Authored Youth Conservation Corps bill, providing summer jobs for more than 100,000 teenagers working on environmental improvement projects.

Foreign Policy and Mutual Arms Reductions

Senator Jackson, a widely recognized authority and leader in the fields of foreign affairs and defense policy has taken effective initiatives to promote a more stable strategic balance and a more peaceful world.

- Authored a far-reaching proposal for a mutual and reciprocal reduction of U.S.-Soviet strategic forces to a sharply lower level of equivalence.
- Co-authored the NATO "burden-sharing" legislation requiring our NATO allies to offset the U.S. balance of payments deficit incurred from the stationing of American forces in Europe.
- Joined with colleagues on the Senate Armed Services Committee in trimming billions of dollars of unnecessary funding from defense budgets submitted by the Administration.
- Advocates a mutually beneficial "human detente," recognizing that if there is to be long-term peaceful cooperation there must be progress toward the freer movement of peoples and ideas between East and West. Initiated Jackson Amendment requiring the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries to allow freer emigration as a condition of eligibility for most-favored-nation status and continued eligibility for Ex-Im Bank and other such credits.
- Supports legislative efforts, which began in 1971, to ban the importation of Rhodesian chrome and to eliminate the South African sugar import allotment because of the racist policies of these two governments.

- Recommends that we achieve a proper equilibrium in American policy toward both China and the Soviet Union, by moving beyond contacts between a limited number of U.S. and Chinese personalities to a more institutionalized relationship.
- Sparked a broad program for Western cooperation and allied unity to meet the economic crisis created by the quadrupling of world oil prices.

Energy

Before anyone else was worried about the energy problem, Jackson was sponsoring a national policy which could have prevented it from becoming the crisis issue it is today. He warned that increasing dependence on oil from the Arab countries could lead to political blackmail and put the U.S. economy in hock to the cartel countries. He points out that the single most important reason for skyrocketing prices is the four-fold increase in oil prices. As Chairman of the Senate's National Fuels and Energy Policy study, Jackson has authored tough legislation to cut foreign dependence and increase domestic supplies, including:

- The bill authorizing construction of the trans-Alaska pipeline.
- The program of mandatory fuel allocations.
- The energy emergency act, a comprehensive price-rollback bill vetoed by President Nixon.
- The energy conservation bill.
- A \$20 billion research and development program designed to give the country a capability for self-sufficiency in energy.

Social Issues

Senator Jackson has consistently supported progressive social legislation throughout his career in Congress. Senator Jackson's record on some of the major social issues is as follows:

- Backs a comprehensive national health insurance program.
- Backs welfare reform designed to help and not punish the needy.
- Has proposed reasonably priced, government-insured credit for housing.
- Co-sponsored legislation to more than double the number of hot meals served to older Americans.
- One hundred percent support for federal aid to education issues.
- Supports food stamp, school lunch and school breakfast programs.
- Consistently co-sponsored legislation improving social security benefits for senior citizens, including adoption of a cost of living benefit escalator clause.
- Authored major Indian Health bill providing improvement in facilities, manpower, and quality of care for Indians.
- Senate co-sponsor of private pension reform legislation providing federal guarantees of private pensions of American working men and women.
- Strong supporter of health research programs in such fields as cancer research, sickle cell anemia prevention, sudden infant death and huntington's disease.

- Actively supported a progressive child day care program to assist working parents, the Emergency Employment Act, and the Vocational and Rehabilitation Act.
- Conducted inquiries into Indian health care problems and into mistreatment and maltreatment of children of military dependents in psychiatric facilities.
- Strong supporter of legal services program.

Jobs and the Economy

Senator Jackson has stated that the nation's economy is deeply intertwined with energy, and the administration must move forward boldly with an energy program to deal with inflation and unemployment.

Jackson has called for a five-pronged energy program to get the economy back on the track, including massive conservation of fuel, rollback oil prices, massive domestic production, a strategic reserve, and allied cooperation in dealing with the oil cartel nations.

His hearings on the "Great Grain Robbery" exposed administration policies that cost Americans consumers \$1 billion more for food products.

Senator Jackson maintains a healthy economy is a precondition for the nation to be able to meet its pressing domestic commitments in the areas of education, welfare, health, the environment, transportation and many other areas. Unless the economy is productive we will not be able to generate the tax revenues necessary to effectively deal with these and other domestic problems or to meet our international responsibilities. Moreover, joblessness and inflation bring with them additional burdens of human suffering which must be dealt with.

A brief summary of Senator Jackson's legislative record in the area of employment, economic development, and labor related issues:

- Supports legislation to provide for allocation of credit to stimulate depressed industries such as the housing industry.
- Coauthor of original PEP Program (public employment program) and strong supporter of increased public employment effort during periods of high unemployment such as at the present time.
- Sponsored legislation to establish a new public employment program in the nation's parks and forests to put thousands of unemployed to work on conservation projects.
- Coauthor Economic Disaster Area Relief Act to provide federal aid for economically depressed areas.
- Supported Economic Development Administration program to provide federal aid for economic development.
- Supported Rural Development Act to provide federal funds for economic development in rural areas.
- Supported on numerous occasions legislation to provide extended unemployment insurance benefits for unemployed workers.
- Consistent supporter of legislation to improve minimum wage and working conditions and to provide for better health-safety conditions for workers.
- Authored legislation to provide emergency assistance to workers displaced due to energy shortages.

* Important
good background

Dorinda,
FYI Steve

Scoop Jackson Comes Down with Presidential Fever

He's gaining recognition but also stirring doubts—and losing ground with business.

by Juan Cameron

If you consider just his strengths—and forget the weaknesses for the moment—Henry M. Jackson seems to have started his quest for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination with invincible qualifications. During his two decades in the U.S. Senate he has become one of that body's most powerful and most respected members. Last year a group of legislative assistants in the Senate, a pretty critical bunch, voted him "the most effective" Senator. He stands very high with organized labor, and yet his centrist image, combined with a touch of hawkishness, gives him appeal in the South and among Middle Americans. He won his last Senate race in 1970 with 84 percent of the vote, the most lopsided victory in any of that year's two-party contests for Senator or Governor. He has driving ambition and abundant energy. He looks and acts much younger than his sixty-two years. And there is no hint of personal scandal about him, an important plus in these times.

What's more, Jackson has issues. Handicapped by a certain flatness of personality, he needed some vivid issue or event—what one political commentator has called the Golden Kazoo—to raise him into national prominence. Luckily for him, certain issues have broken his way dramatically. As a national-defense specialist outspokenly suspicious of the U.S.S.R., he has benefited from the disillusionment with détente since the Yom Kippur war last fall. And his foresight in predicting the energy shortage, when few politicians were saying anything on the subject, has helped make him Congress's acknowledged expert in that field.

But as Jackson emerges as a serious presidential contender, it becomes obvious that he has some warts too. Lyndon Johnson once said that when the ambition to be President gets hold of a man, it "burns in his gut" so intensely that his personality and judgment become affected. L.B.J.'s observation seems to apply to Scoop Jackson (the nickname came from a cartoon character that was popular when he was a boy). His role as a presidential hopeful appears to be changing him, and certainly is changing people's perceptions of him.

The savvy, unemotional manner that has been his trademark as a Senator is now often marred by snappishness or bombast. When a nationally known economist met with Jackson to discuss economic issues not long ago, the Senator lectured the professor who came to instruct him. On meeting another Senator afterward, the economist was asked whether he had managed to get a word in edgewise. Business executives also comment on Jackson's compulsion to talk instead of listen; when they come to lobby the Senator, they wind up being lobbied by him. Even his colleagues, reluctant to criticize a fellow Senator, say that recently Jackson has become more dictatorial in committee—"impossible to deal with at times," says one Republican.

A little strident, but ...

Besides an aversion to listening, Jackson has exhibited a tendency to demagogy, which has invited strong criticism from the business community. One executive who served in Lyndon Johnson's Cabinet observes, "There's a downturn in business people's respect for Scoop and their confidence in him. They've always considered him the most logical and balanced of Democratic presidential contenders. But during the last six months he has given the impression that he's working harder at running for the presidency than at trying to solve problems."

That impression was confirmed during the hearings on the energy crisis his permanent subcommittee on investigations held last winter. During those televised proceedings, Jackson pasted executives of Gulf Oil and Exxon for being unprepared to answer questions about the oil shortage and their own profits. At one point he accused the oil companies of taking their orders directly from the King of Saudi Arabia.

In retrospect, Jackson admits that his tone may have been "a little strident," but he quickly adds that he was impatient with the "arrogance" of the oil executives who came before his committee unprepared. He believes the oil companies seriously miscalculated their political vulnerability in Congress today: "They don't seem to

recognize that they're not like other multinationals selling drugs, soft drinks, or computers. They hold life and death power over this economy."

A good many businessmen were troubled by Jackson's performance at the hearings. William Jenkins, chairman of the Seattle-First National Bank and an old acquaintance of the Senator, had this to say: "If Scoop thinks his behavior was good politics, he was wrong. If he thought his economics were correct, he was wrong. And if he thinks the oil companies were responsible for the oil shortage, he was wrong a third time." Jenkins, who has supported Jackson in many causes, said he was "scared" by the Senator's call for stringent controls on oil prices.

"More Zionist than the Zionists"

Jackson is a man of strong views, which can be a virtue in some circumstances and a failing in others. To some observers, his views on major foreign-policy issues appear to lack balance and perspective.

In the Middle East conflict, he has supported Israel so ardently that he has appeared to be anti-Arab. Accordingly, it might be difficult for Jackson as President to pursue a credible and evenhanded policy of fostering a peaceful settlement in the Middle East—the only policy that offers a tolerable long-run prospect for Israel. Many Arabs have come to think of him as an antagonist. Asks Jamil Baroodi, the Saudi Ambassador to the U.N.: "Who is that Senator Jackson, who hails from a distance of 6,000 miles away from the Middle East, to be an arbiter of the destiny of the people of Palestine, when he gives the impression that he is more Zionist than the Zionists?"

In his attitudes toward the U.S.S.R., Jackson is often

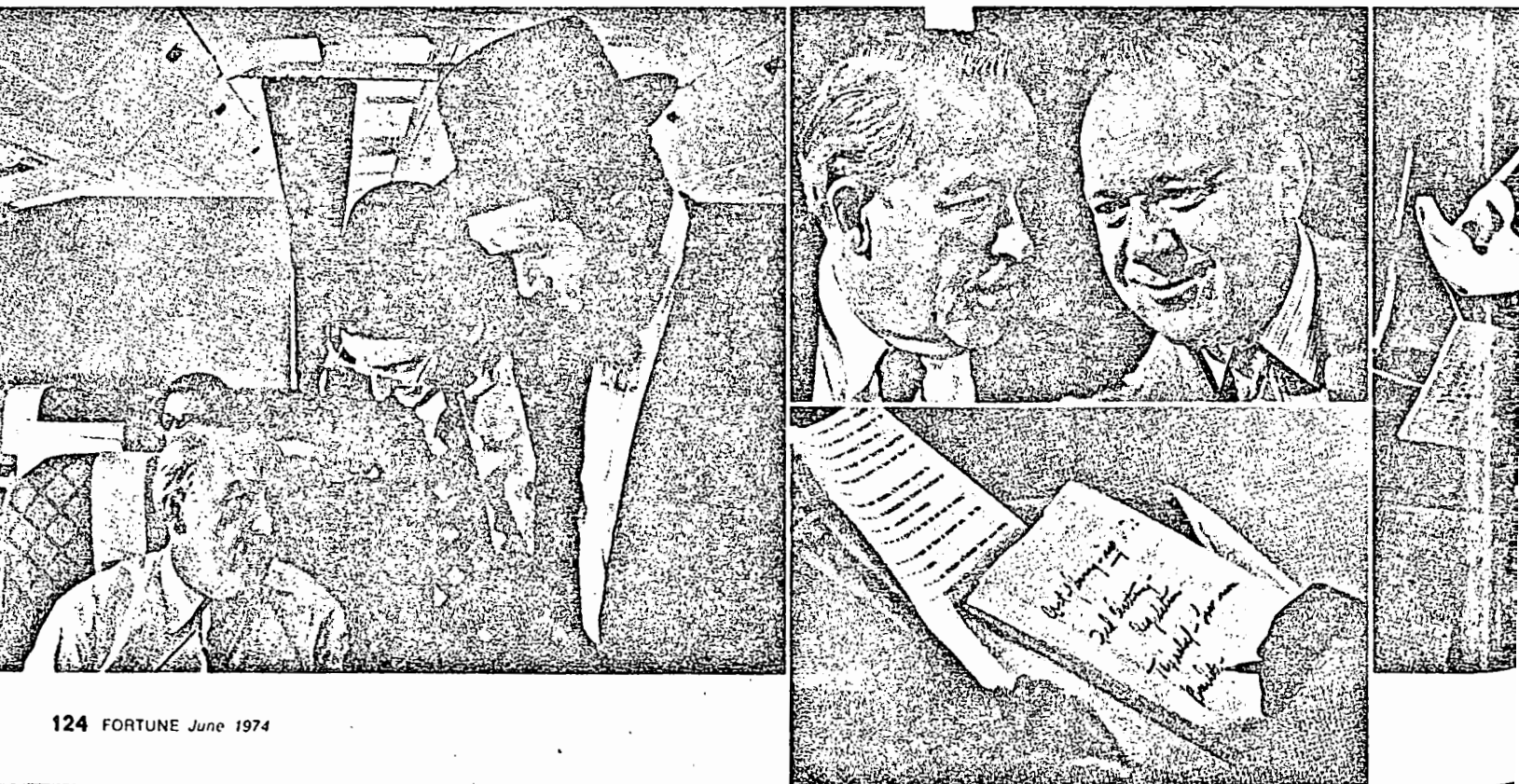
accused of being narrowly doctrinaire. Since the end of World War II he has been marinating in the belief that the Russians are seeking world domination. He has likened the Soviet leadership to a hotel burglar who sneaks down corridors trying to find an unlocked room to loot. As one journalist commented, Jackson sees himself as the vigilant hotel detective. He favors a policy of toughness toward the U.S.S.R. to contain its expanding power, and he considers this a coldly realistic view of the world.

A number of Americans with experience in dealing with the Kremlin think it's too cold a view. Says Averell Harriman, former Ambassador to Moscow and adviser to four Democratic Presidents: "His policies toward the Soviets are very dangerous. He threatens to pull us back into the cold war by pulling the rug from under those Soviet leaders who are hard pressed to maintain negotiations with the U.S." For his part, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warns that confronting the Russians around the world, as Jackson would do, would make it difficult to negotiate settlements—in particular, a settlement in the Middle East.

Jackson has his answers. "Hell," he says, "I've been hearing for decades that we must not aid the hawks in the Politburo." As for the Nixon-Kissinger policy of détente, Jackson calls it a phony. "I want détente," he says, "but I want an honest one." An honest détente, in his view, would include a significant quid pro quo.

The Administration, Jackson charges, has failed to press the U.S.'s economic advantage. He feels that U.S. economic power "is more decisive than all of our military strength and that of our allies combined." And, he adds, his hands jabbing the air, "I want to use that strength."

On his whirlwind campaign trips, Jackson occasionally finds time to make notes on a yellow pad, but most of the time he is meeting with people . . .



As Jackson sees it, the Russians are "in desperate economic straits. They need our science, technology, and management know-how to rescue themselves. We've got all the chips. Let's not dissipate them for nothing."

The U.S. should seek two kinds of quids, Jackson feels. The first is a mutual reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Jackson proposes that each side maintain some 800 ICBM's and thirty-five missile-launching submarines—about half the present number of land-based missiles and three-fourths of the missile subs on each side. He also thinks a mutual reduction of conventional forces in Europe is a possibility. The second set of concessions, he goes on, should entail freer movement of ideas and people—not just cargoes—between East and West. "I'm not suggesting that the Soviets embrace the Magna Carta. Only that they show in some significant way that they are willing to move toward a more peaceful world."

Against the background of détente, Jackson's suspicions of Soviet intentions serve as a useful warning against naive assumptions that the rulers of the U.S.S.R. are a bunch of nice guys. And it certainly makes sense for the U.S. to try to extract concessions in return for economic help. But for a prospective President, the tone seems excessively antagonistic.

Jackson has come in for considerable criticism for his efforts to get through the Congress his now-famous amendment linking U.S.-Soviet trade with emigration of Jews from the U.S.S.R. Jackson's proposal would withhold most-favored-nation status from the U.S.S.R., as well as Export-Import Bank credit from U.S.-Soviet trade, until the Soviet government further lowers the barriers to emigration. Secretary Kissinger thinks Jack-

son overrates the leverage of U.S. economic help. As he sees it, withholding most-favored-nation status and Exim-bank credit would be just a "pinprick" to the Russians.

Jackson's stand, however, has won him wide support among American Jews. Rabbi Mitchell Wohlberg of Beth Shalom Synagogue in Washington, D.C., told a gathering of Jews not long ago: "We have a hero and his name is Henry Jackson. More than any other leader on the American political scene, Senator Henry Jackson has been there in our times of trouble and pain."

Fortunate noes to the White House

Jackson's views will continue to be heard, and his influence felt, even if he misses his shot at the presidential nomination in 1976. The Senate, and the position he occupies within that exclusive club, provides him with both a forum for his views and a leverage point in influencing legislation and policy. And over the years, Jackson has shown an ability to use the institutions of the Senate with consummate skill.

His standing in the Senate was such that Richard Nixon, after his presidential victory in 1968, offered him either of two top jobs in his Administration—first Secretary of Defense, then Secretary of State. Fortunately for his own presidential hopes, Jackson declined.

A rift has now developed between the two men, but until recently Nixon continued to consult with Jackson and depend on his support in the sphere of international security affairs. Jackson was an important influence in Nixon's selection of James Schlesinger as Secretary of Defense last year. The Senator admires Schlesinger, a former Rand Corporation analyst, for his "bright, tough,

with two Hasidic Jews; with Senator Russell Long in Louisiana; with two strangers at an airport; with three blacks after a breakfast in Baton Rouge



and logical mind," and the two are in agreement on most defense issues. Apparently Jackson was also influential in Nixon's selection last year of Fred Iklé, another former Rand scholar, as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Jackson felt that in the first round of SALT negotiations the agency was too soft.

As chairman of the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Jackson has immense power over a wide range of matters, including jurisdiction over deposits of coal, shale oil, and petroleum located on federal lands and in offshore waters. In addition, Jackson has long been a power on both the Armed Services Committee and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, which shape the nation's military forces and budgets.

Last year Jackson's power was greatly enhanced when he took over the chairmanship of the permanent subcommittee on investigations, with its staff of forty-three and a writ as wide as that of any committee in Congress. Its power to investigate virtually any area of government supplements the legislative power that Jackson wields in the defense and energy fields. The two former chairmen of this subcommittee, Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin and John McClellan of Arkansas, became national figures as a result of their investigations of Communists in government and organized crime. So far, Jackson has made use of it mainly in his inquiry into what he calls the "obscene" profits of the oil companies.

Jackson selects his issues carefully, then spends a prodigious amount of his own and his staff's time preparing his case. His sense of confidence in his causes, which he presents in an aggressive debating style, makes him a formidable legislator. The result is that an impressive num-

ber of bills and amendments introduced by Jackson have passed the Senate. Among the best known of them is the National Environmental Policy Act, the legislative linchpin of the environmental movement. Conservation has been one of Jackson's specialties over the years. In 1969 he became the first member of Congress to be awarded the Sierra Club's John Muir Award, for his role as a champion of national parks.

Jackson's chief influence on national policy in the past twenty years has been felt in the area of defense. His stand in favor of a large defense establishment and his bitter-end support of Johnson's and Nixon's policies in South Vietnam have won him the hostility of many liberals in his own party. But the characterization of him as a hawk and as the last of the cold warriors fails to measure his important contributions to the defense of the nation. Vice Admiral Hyman Rickover, the father of the nuclear Navy, and retired Air Force General Bernard Schriever, who oversaw the building of the land-based ICBM forces, credit Jackson with having been a prime architect of U.S. strategic power.

A scenario for disaster

Rickover, whom Jackson saved from being separated from the Navy as a captain in the early 1950's, says the development of the nuclear Navy would have been delayed for years without Jackson's vigorous support. He was a forceful advocate of the controversial nuclear-powered submarine *Nautilus*. Later, when the first five underwater shots of the Polaris missile misfired, Jackson stiffened the Eisenhower Administration's wobbling support. Rickover, an unabashed admirer and a charter member of the

... with Detroit Democrats before a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner (Andrew of course, not Henry); with Massachusetts Congressman Robert Drinan, S.J. ...



Jackson-for-President movement, says of the Senator: "Without him, I wonder where we would be today."

It is not surprising that a man who considers himself an expert on nuclear forces and their strategic uses is wary of any agreement that might result in a relative weakening of those forces. Jackson fought successfully to tighten both the nuclear test-ban treaty negotiated by the Kennedy Administration in the early 1960's and the SALT agreement negotiated in 1972.

Recently he raised warnings about the Administration's efforts to negotiate a second arms-control pact with the Russians. With Nixon distracted and weakened by the threat of impeachment, Jackson argued that it would be dangerous for him to negotiate a strategic-arms agreement at a summit meeting in Moscow this month. He charged that the White House was trying to divert attention from the Watergate scandal by seeking "a quick fix" on nuclear arms with the U.S.S.R. "How can Nixon focus?" Jackson asked. "If someone were to write a scenario for disaster, it's all there."

His position has brought some vehement attacks from the Administration and many of his colleagues in Congress. Secretary Kissinger is outraged by Jackson's effort to distort the import of the first SALT agreement by hammering away at the seeming advantage it gave the U.S.S.R. in the number of land-based missiles, as well as their throw-weight (i.e., payload). Just listing numbers and throw-weight, Kissinger and others maintain, ignores the enormous U.S. technical lead in guidance and command and in the ability to equip missiles with multiple warheads (MIRV). Furthermore, Jackson's critics point out, the U.S. superiority in manned bombers and missile sub-

marines more than offsets the Soviet advantage in throw-weight of land-based missiles.

But there is a political dimension to the nuclear arithmetic, and Jackson feels it is often overlooked. He argues for the need to find a formula, easily understood in political terms, by which the relative strength of the two superpowers' missile forces can be measured. He does not want the U.S., in the eyes of its allies or the U.S.S.R., to appear to be inferior in such highly visible measures of strategic strength as throw-weight or numbers of missiles. If a disparity is perceived, Jackson contends, this could destabilize U.S. military alliances and tempt the U.S.S.R. to be more aggressive.

The Norwegian connection

For years it has been widely believed that Jackson's convictions about the need for a strong defense are related to the fact that large military budgets have benefited his home state—and his own political career. He has frequently been referred to as "the Senator from Boeing." Jackson rejects the rap. He himself points to a kinship between his views on national defense and his Norwegian ancestry. His philosophy about preparedness, he says, grew out of the fate that befell Norway in World War II, which was unprepared to resist the German invasion. His initial suspicion of the Soviet Union also stemmed from that era. He recalls the difficulty Norwegians had in getting rid of Russian troops who arrived in 1945 to "liberate" the country.

Both of Jackson's parents came from Norway. His father, who was born in Trondheim, emigrated to the U.S. in 1885 and changed his name from Greset to

continued page 233

with press secretary Brian Corcoran; and with admirers in New York, including Stanley Lowell, head of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.



Scoop Jackson *continued from page 127*

Jackson. The future Senator's mother was a matriarchal figure born 200 miles north of the Arctic Circle. "Her upbringing," her son says, "developed a certain stubbornness in her"—a quality that Scoop himself has in generous quantities.

The Pacific Northwest attracted Scandinavians. The country around Everett, Washington, with its forests of fir and cedar, its lumber and pulp mills, and fishing fleets strung along its harbor, was reminiscent of Norway. Norwegian immigrants, tightly knit through the Sons of Norway lodges they joined, impressed their social and political views on their new home. There was a strong labor movement in the raucous mill town where the elder Jackson worked as a small, not very successful cement contractor. He served for some time as financial secretary of the Plasterers and Cement Union, Local 190.

"Soda Pop Jackson"

Jackson absorbed the background and work ethic of his parents. "I'm the son of immigrants," he says with pride. "My father was a workingman and in the labor movement for fifty years. I worked my own way." Among other things, he worked as a hod carrier for a time. This heritage has imprinted in Jackson a strong sympathy for the aims of labor unions. An assistant to President George Meany of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. remarks: "Scoop is one of us. His voting record is 100 percent."

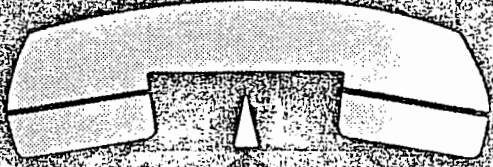
After working his way through the University of Washington law school, Jackson served a brief stint in a local law firm. The senior partner, a former judge, persuaded him to run for the post of prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County. Elected at the age of twenty-six, Jackson initiated a crackdown on gambling and the widespread violation of the prohibition laws then in effect. The battle against illegal booze won him the local nickname of Soda Pop Jackson. His success as prosecutor led him to run for Congress in 1940. He served six terms, and then, in 1952, went on to upset Republican incumbent Harry Cain in a hard-fought campaign for the Senate.

Jackson has pursued his political career with a notable intensity. A former associate recalls that when the two of them were campaigning by automobile, Scoop would sit in the right front seat constantly switching from one radio station to another to see whether his latest campaign release was getting a play on the air. Always nervous to get to his next speaking engagement, he would issue a stream of driving instructions to his companion, who recalls that Scoop "would be shouting, 'Turn right, turn right' even though I was already in the turn."

When the two traveled by train, Jackson "would have the luggage piled on the car platform twenty minutes before we reached the station—as if the train would slow down, but not stop to let him off." It's the same with planes—by the time the plane taxis to a halt, Jackson is

continued page 235

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ready to spring out. "Scoop," an aide remarks, "must think the damn thing will evaporate ten seconds after it stops rolling." This pattern suggests a certain tension behind the appearance of competence, candor, and self-confidence that Jackson presents to the world.

There is a private Jackson who is inscrutable. One of his oldest friends remarks that "Scoop is essentially a loner whom very few people know." Even after his many years in public life, he is extremely sensitive about what is printed concerning himself and his family. He usually comes on as calm and unemotional ("I hate emotion—even in religion"), yet he sometimes seems to have in him something volcanic that now and then bubbles through a fissure in the surface. Reporters who covered his campaign for the presidential nomination in 1972 were taken aback at the vehemence with which he sometimes lashed out at hecklers, or just nonfriendly questioners.

Jackson's marriage at the age of forty-nine surprised many of his friends. As one of them remarks: "Many of us felt he was too ambitious to fall in love. Politics was his substitute for family life. He was, you might say, a political celibate."

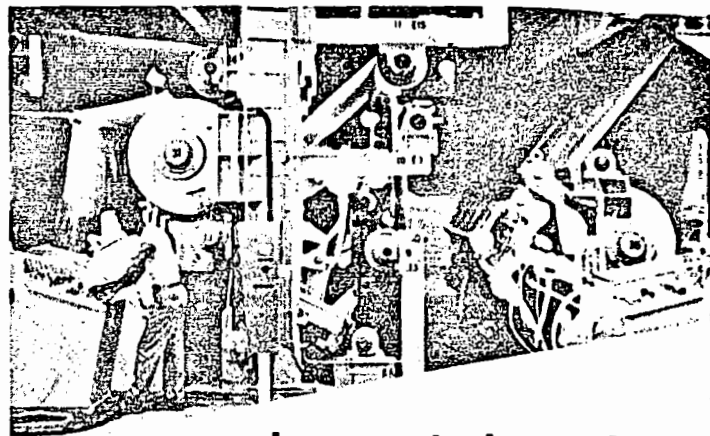
His wife, Helen, daughter of a New Mexico businessman, had some money of her own, and this is reflected in the Jacksons' style of living. Besides an imposing house in Everett, they own a place in the posh Spring Valley section of the capital. Jackson himself has virtually no income except his Senate salary. His speaking fees, now around \$40,000 a year, have been going to charities ever since he became a Senator.

"They wanted you, Scoop"

Marriage, parenthood, and material comfort have certainly not stilled Jackson's ambition for national office. He came close, or thinks he did, in 1960. Thanks to his close friendship with Robert Kennedy, Jackson was hopeful that he would be chosen as John Kennedy's running mate. Instead, at the last moment, J.F.K. tapped L.B.J. It was a crushing blow for Scoop, who had been waiting for hours in his Los Angeles hotel room for a phone call asking him to join the ticket. Years later, when President Johnson came to dinner at Jackson's home in the capital, he told his host, "Hell, Scoop they didn't want me. They wanted you. It was the old man." He was referring, of course, to Joseph P. Kennedy, who felt Johnson would bring in more votes. The thought of what might have been has burned in Jackson ever since.

In his effort to get the presidential nomination in 1972, Jackson aimed at the center. He was deeply influenced by *The Real Majority*, the famous 1970 political analysis by Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg. Jackson believed that he, of all the Democratic candidates, best represented the center, which the two authors said would be decisive in the 1972 presidential election. The main theme of the book was that the great majority of American voters are not liberal but middle-of-the-road, desiring, above all,

continued page 236



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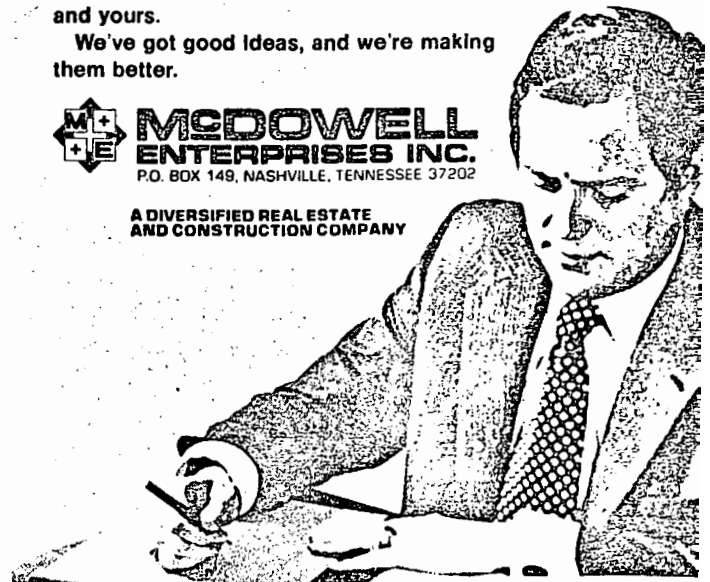
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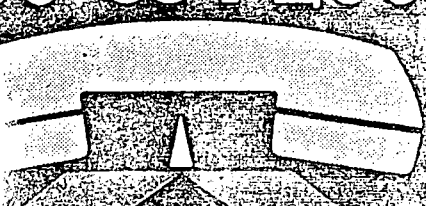
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28,259	25,603	23,083	17,848	15,543	10,916
1.46	1.38	1.08	1.16	1.08	.70

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economic and social stability. They favor law and order, aid to cities, and "civil rights, not civil disruption." Jackson's campaign was geared to the Scammon-Wattenberg analysis. Wattenberg himself, a former speech writer in Johnson's White House, joined Jackson's campaign staff as a speech writer and strategist.

The campaign was a flop. Jackson was somewhat shocked, his campaign staff notes, to find that one of the most powerful men in the Senate was virtually unknown in states like Florida, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The Senator, with his button-down blue shirt, neat striped tie, and wing-tipped shoes, seemed a somewhat anachronistic figure in the year the McGovernites took over the Democratic party. He was not an inspiring campaigner. One writer who followed him reported: "Jackson rarely says and never does things that are not dull." And although he was more accessible to the press than most candidates, Jackson clammed up when a reporter probed at the inner man. One political writer said of Jackson that "like Muskie, he regards as hostile almost any reporter who really bores in on him."

The press, some of his staff felt, prematurely wrote Jackson off as a serious candidate. And some coverage was damaging. He was harshly criticized for his antibusing stand, which won the lifelong liberal the label of "a thinking man's Wallace." Before he withdrew from the primaries, he faced humiliatingly small audiences in many places, and his receptions at times seemed to be attended chiefly by his own entourage.

A lost vision

This time, despite the disappointment of 1972, Jackson will again direct his appeal to the center. Inflation, he believes, will be the key issue in the next presidential election. He speaks, too, of the mass frustration that has to do with the breakdown in city and county government, particularly the ineffectiveness of law enforcement.

"The nation has lost its vision," Jackson says. "The trouble began in Korea, which was a war without victory, and then was reinforced by the traumatic experience of Vietnam. Perhaps all this led to the social revolution—the mass drug problem and blatant sexualism." After a decade of turmoil and confusion, Jackson observes, "people are frightened." Clearly, he views himself as the man to quiet those fears.

He may not get a chance to try, of course. But one thing is quite evident. While the issues through which Jackson has recently captured national attention may fade, he himself is not likely to. Jackson will not, like Edmund Muskie, be caught crying in the snows of New Hampshire. His hard discipline and intense drive will keep him in the contest as long as there seems any possibility of victory. Defeat, one former associate comments, is "emotionally unthinkable" for him. And he must be keenly aware that this will be his last chance to be elected President of the U.S.—for Scoop Jackson, now sixty-two, it's 1976 or never.

END

Talent

THE PUBLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLATFORM ASSOCIATION

Volume 82, No. 1

PART ONE OF TWO PARTS

Jackson

February, 1975

Jody Interview
Pg. 12
w/ Jackson - Kelpat
Tom

cc - J. U
Sta
CNO. Files



Official News And Guide For The Program Chairman

... "for the man on the platform, the manager who puts him there, and the committee that keeps him there." —Carl Sandburg, former editor. Poet James Whitcomb Riley, IPA member, added ... "and the vast audience that WANTS him there."



Many IPA members have been predicting for some time that Senator "Scoop" Jackson would be a serious contender for the Presidency. Whether the liberals in his own party stop him or not it is hard to argue with the thesis that the man from the timber state of Washington is one of the most powerful Democrats on the current American political scene. His interview with James Jackson Kilpatrick, the most formidable syndicated columnist on the conservative side, at our 1974 Convention reads almost as well in January as it did in July. The fast paced action following our Convention and President Nixon's almost immediate exodus from the scene makes it unnecessary to include that part of the interview dealing with the impeachment issue. We want however to go on record with the candid Senator's hope for the future . . . "I see a real impact on the part of our citizens, reforms that may not be effective but I think there is something more than that. Every person who holds office now and will hold it in the future will be affected for some time to come by these events. I must say for the better. It has been traumatic but we have demonstrated that the most important institution of all is the steadiness of the American people."

JACKSON-KILPATRICK INTERVIEW

K: Senator, we wanted to begin on the energy issue if we may and take you back to the late summer and fall of 1973 when your bill S1517 was going through (the Mandatory Allocations Bill). I remember interviewing you once up at the Senate Press Gallery and you were insisting, pretty fervently I think, that gasoline rationing had to be proposed. Since that time gasoline rationing has not been imposed. Let me open up our questions by saying weren't you wrong, Senator? Didn't you overestimate the gravity of the situation?

J: I was wrong on the issue of whether the embargo would continue. We got the gravity of the inflation out of the oil embargo and the shortages of that period. You mentioned the Mandatory Allocation Act; I can only say to you how important that act is by referring to the point in the bill, the law which provides for tight controls on what we call the home oil. If that law expires and if it is not extended beyond February 28th, 1975 you will be seeing 30 million dollars more a day for petroleum expended or a total of 11 billion dollars more annually by the consumers and American industry. We have already had the worst inflation in our history, and we have been introduced to two digit inflation of

which petroleum costs are about 60%. We will have another massive dose if that law expires, and are trying to extend it for four months.

K: Do you agree that we give a couple of brownie points to the President and Mr. Kissinger for getting that embargo called off? Was it skillful diplomacy?

J: I don't know whether we paid too high a price. The price that we have paid and are paying right now is the possible bankruptcy of the western world. Let me just point this out to you so that you get a picture of what is happening to the hard currency reserves of Japan and Europe and, of course, of our own country. Last year the Arab countries took in 18 billion dollars; this year it will be between 60 and 80 billion dollars. The accumulative for next year will be 140 billion and by 1980, if these prices, cartel prices, rigged prices, remain (they went up from \$1.75 a barrel to as high as \$14.00 a barrel; oil that costs 10¢ a barrel to produce! ten cents a barrel! ! !) they will have 800 billion dollars. As the distinguished economist Irving Friedman told me yesterday, they will have exactly the amount needed to buy up every share on the New York Stock Exchange based on current values. The value of the stock is 800 billion (August '74).

K: But you don't really expect any such extrapolation as that to occur?

J: No, I am just pointing out the gravity of the situation. Here is what is happening: a number of our largest banks, American banks, are getting almost half of their earnings overseas. A large part of these deposits are from the Arab countries on short term and banks have been making long term loans. We face, I think, the most serious financial crisis nationally and internationally in our history and we could be in a financial depression. The public doesn't understand this as an outgrowth of the energy crisis.

K: What, the accumulation of wealth by the Arab nations?

J: The transfer of the wealth of the western industrialized democracies, plus Japan.

K: What do you do about it?

J: Libya, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Abu Dhabi (that is one that you don't hear too much about; they have 50,000 people and I think the per capita wealth is something like \$5 million each) will by the end of this year have accumulated all the money that they will need to run their countries for years to come. There will be no incentive, you see, to produce. I do think we face a very serious situation ahead. What better investment is there than to



Democracy in action—Conservative syndicated columnist James Kilpatrick (1); Dr. Everette Peterson, Denver Executive Club (c) moderator, and Senator Henry M. Jackson, a liberal contender for the Presidency in 1976.

keep the oil in the ground? It is a pretty good investment just keeping it in the ground, bearing in mind that the price of that oil has gone up from \$1.75/\$2.00 a barrel to the average price now of about \$10.75 a barrel. A pretty good investment.

First of all we must move much faster than we are moving to develop our own oil resources. In this connection I would observe that contrary to what the industry would say (which I warned about and no one listened last year), even if you took the price lid off, production would not go up because of the shortage of rigs and drilling equipment. No matter at what price, we just don't have the equipment! Now what has happened is that our oil production has been going down this past year and over last year and our imports are going up. This is a very, very bad situation. We first need to develop petroleum reserve number 4 in Alaska and make it into a truly strategic reserve, thanks to Uncle Carl Vincent, a great congressman from Georgia who served in Congress for about 50 years. He set up these petroleum reserves. One of them was Teapot Dome (that was the smallest one.) Reserve number 4 has more oil in it than all of the reserves that we now carry on our books. It has over 30 billion barrels and our total reserves are over 35. It is in Alaska

near Prudhoe Bay. We have to go full speed on that and also on our development of the Continental Shelf, obviously making proper judgements as to areas where there may be adverse environmental impact. But I would point out to you that we have the oil here and we need to really move on it. We must stop this nonsense of exporting our oil rigs and equipment abroad. And by the way, the Import Export Bank has been financing some of it at 6 to 7%, just one half the going rate. Then we have all of the alternate courses that we must follow, the development and conservation of coal, oil shale, geothermal factors, and the far out things: the infinite sources of solar energy, fusion, and hydrogen. But we should now be building a strategic reserve which we are not doing. We should be working hard with our allies in Western Europe in particular to develop and assist them in speeding the development of the North Sea. The United States of America has the ability to work in those very difficult waters of the North Sea and I think we should encourage a speed-up in the development of that area between Norway and Scotland and England so we can get oil as fast as possible. The sum total of all these things will gradually convince the Arab countries that we mean business. This will help to get the price of oil down

as it relates to the foreign price; a rigged priced, not a free market price.

K: Some of these things that you are talking about are going to take years, are they not?

J: Yes, and I have stated them in order of capability. That is my point.

K: The point I am working at is this: if as you say such countries as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia by the end of 1974 accumulate all the wealth that they might require to run their countries for the foreseeable future and no longer have the incentive to get the oil out of the ground, and it takes years to develop these alternative sources of energy that you are talking about, the situation, then, in your view could be very grave indeed. Is that right?

J: That is right.

K: As early as next year?

J: Well, we could have trouble between now and 1975 (the spring) by reason of the possibility of an outbreak of hostilities between Syria and Israel.

K: You lead up to the question I was going to ask and I put it to you as a member of the Senate who has concentrated as much on national security, on war making if you please, as on energy. Would it be unthinkable in the sort of situation you describe that some nation would not go to war on the Arab

nations? Would the western world permit its civilization to stop, to grind to a halt, for want of petroleum? Wouldn't it go to war?

J: Well, it is easier said than done, because you have . . .

K: Easier said than done by other nations?

J: That is right, Jack, but let me just observe that we are living in a nuclear age and that the Russian bear is right in the Middle East. In other words, I think this is an area in which, obviously, the Soviet Union would get involved directly.

K: Let me skip to something a bit more mundane than the possibility of war for the oil of Arabia. Auto emission standards and catalytic converters and these good things have been imposed in the name of environmental improvement and of decreasing air pollution. Won't these various measures have the effect of increasing the consumption of gasoline and in a time when gasoline is in very short supply?

J: You are correct. In drafting the legislation in regard to air quality standards, we focused only on the issue of air quality. We have had to waive, as you know, certain air quality standards in order to be more realistic about it in the light of all those energy considerations.

K: You certainly have won most of the awards and sponsored most of the bills in the area of conservation. But don't we now have to get into an area of balancing and compromising? Maybe we can't have everything that was hoped for in the clean air act and the clean water act for the time being?

J: I would agree in general, but it is important to keep the feet to the fire. As the author of National Environmental Policy Act, I took the position that it was a matter of two objectives: One was quality of life (clean air, clean water, clean land) and the other a growing economy to meet the material needs of our people. This country does have the genius to accomplish both if we make up our minds to do it. This is the most talented group of people the world has ever known and all you have to do is travel abroad a little while and make a comparison in order to appreciate our tech-

14 nology.

K: Senator, you were the chief sponsor of a bill in the Senate last year that would have provided the Federal funds to subsidize the states to develop guide lines for land use in the cities, suburbs and rural areas. The bill was not passed.

J: It passed the Senate . . .

K: It passed the Senate, it did not pass the Congress, but part of that legislation which you were actively supporting last year provided certain sanctions that if the state does not adopt certain land use guide lines within a period of three to five years you were proposing to take their highway money away from them or their airport money away from them. There was a good deal of criticism about that. Have you had any second thoughts about the wisdom of these sanctions, this punishment you would impose upon those states who didn't do what you wanted them to do?

J: I have no second thoughts, I just have my first thoughts.

K: You still think that you are right?

J: Yes, sir. I believe that the problem here is a very simple one. We do a lot of talking about states' rights but you will find that where the Federal Government has moved into certain areas it is because the states have failed to exercise their rights.

K: They have failed to exercise their rights as you would like them to exercise them?

J: No, I am talking just horse sense. Why in the world should we be building highways, as we have in the past, to a park where the local community is receiving local grant and aid money to acquire land for the park? Here, we have another program moving along that is going right through the program that we established. Look, we are saying to the states that within three years you should inventory all of your land, classify it, take a look at it, identify the areas that should be preserved and the areas that should be developed. We have got a situation in this country that is ludicrous from both standpoints. As a conservationist I feel that there are areas that we ought to set aside well in advance and not have to undo the damage. At the same time we ought to be able to tell industry: over here is where you build your

plant; or the utilities: this is the way to run your utility corridor. In my state of Washington we have one corridor after another going across the great forests, where in fact you could have one utility corridor instead of doing it piecemeal and wasting a lot of trees and land. But the main point is that the purpose of the legislation is to provide an inducement to the states to engage in long term land use planning so that we can identify the areas that are to be set aside and preserved and the areas that are to be developed.

K: But if they don't take the carrot, you are still going to hit them with the stick?

J: They ought to know, they should know, Jack, where those highways are to be built in the future. They ought to look ahead and identify where the airports are going to be. You will save billions of dollars in otherwise wasted funds because of the escalation of the price of land, and so on. If all fifty states would just move on this there would be no need for the legislation. But do you know why we can't have statewide land use legislation?

K: Tell me why.

J: In the United States there are 80,000 governmental units that have a hand in zoning and in my state of Washington there are 2000 subdivisions of the state that have authority in zoning. So when the Governor wants to try to bring about a consolidation, and say we are not going to have all of these various entities involved, the lobbies storm the place. None of the bureaucrats want to give up their authority and nothing is accomplished. They are right back where they started from.

K: Unless I am misinformed, at least 17 states already have adopted fairly comprehensive land use laws. So you can't say that state governments are . . .

J: No, not comprehensive, they are advisory, there are no teeth in them, no bite at all.

K: Senator, now that you have been in Washington a long time, what persuades you to the wisdom, this imperial wisdom, of the Federal Government as opposed to the wisdom of the State Governments?

J: All this legislation does (there is no fear of the Federal Govern-

ment at all in this) is make sure the states will simply go about their business of inventorying their land and then working their own plans. They can work it out as long as they take into consideration the entire state. The Federal Government doesn't enter into the picture. We are not talking about zoning. There is a lot of propaganda out on this bill—"that no bureaucrat in Washington, D.C. is going to tell you how to run Podunck."

K: It is the Secretary of the Interior, under your bill, who has to approve the guidelines, is it not, Sir?

J: He approves pursuant to the guidelines, not the specifics of the plan, but it must be a plan which identifies the areas of environmental concern and the areas that we have identified such as facility areas, industrial areas, and so on.

K: I am satisfied with that right now. You once told me a good lawyer never pushed his questions too far so I am going to drop it right there.

J: A good lawyer and a good newspaper man.

K: This consumer protection bill that you all have up there now. They changed the name of it the other day to the Agency for Consumer Advocacy. You are supporting this legislation in general?

J: That is right.

K: Let me ask you, Senator, how much protection is too much? There has been a good deal of opposition to this bill on the grounds that this agency would be interfering here, there, and every other place trying to advocate consumer causes and that instead of really protecting the average consumer it may so delay various things as to be not much help in the end.

J: I don't agree with that. The bill has broad support, crossing ideological lines, in the Senate. Some major industries are supporting, some aren't. The bulk of them are opposing it. The other day when the bill came out of committee to the consternation of some of its opponents, it had been stripped of any capacity to deal with organized labor.

K: How can this be justified when what is done by organized labor figures so drastically into the price of consumer goods?



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J: Well, organized labor is not a consumer product and we are not regulating labor or the professions in this act. We are not dealing with the individuals; we are dealing with the products produced. If you are going to start regulating every individual component going into a product, that is something else. In the inflationary area you are going to see a lot of strikes now. They have already started, as I predicted they would early last year. For the last few years working men and women, whether members of organized labor or on fixed incomes, have taken the worst beating of all. Real income is down but labor has practiced restraint, unusually so, and the agreements have surprised business people, but I don't think they are going to stay this way.

K: I remember campaigning with you in Florida and elsewhere and some of the appeals you made to the senior citizens in behalf of generous social security benefits. In this year though it seems to me that we have heard more criticism of the Social Security System than I can remember ever hearing before, largely because of the very large tax bite which is taken out of the income of younger workers, workers in their 20's and their 30's. Can you look ahead and see any fundamental changes in the Social Security System? To introduce some degree of volunteerism, perhaps?

J: Well, I believe we have exhausted that direct tax route. I don't believe we can raise the tax on the employer and the employee anymore, it is regressive as far as the employee is concerned and the increases to offset inflation will have to come out of general revenue.

K: Except for a bookkeeping device that is where the benefits are now being paid for, isn't it? Right out of a general fund?

J: They are earmarked. They are bonds in the treasury, and they are protected from that standpoint but, of course, the country has a debt and the Social Security people are



Kilpatrick's not running—but the Platform loves him

directed by law to invest it in government bonds. It is a bookkeeping transaction.

K: You recently spent weeks in Communist China in which you saw Chou-en-Lai, among other leaders of China. Let me ask you for just a few minutes for a few of your impressions. Is there any possibility of an overthrow of the Communist Regime in the foreseeable future?

J: I know of no evidence that would indicate an overthrow of the Communist Regime. The big question mark in China is the successor of Mao, Chairman of the Party. That is where all the power resides and he is 81 years of age. Chou-en-Lai is 76 and ill. It is obvious that succession is the key issue and I suppose in this area one would have to ask the question—will it be the party, the Communist Party, that will be the decisive factor or will it be the military? Lin Pao (I believe this was about 1971) who was the Defense Minister and allegedly the heir apparent to Chou-en-Lai, led an abortive coup that didn't get very far. He took off for the Peking airport with a few of his ringleaders. He got a plane, allegedly with enough gasoline and then went down in Mongolia. The real issue internally in China is succession.

K: Senator, if succession is the big issue then you see no prospect

of any military overthrow by the anti-communist forces? What then becomes of the Nationalist Government of Taiwan? Do they see succession as the prime question?

J: I told the Chinese, it is a real pleasure to talk to their leaders. I found first of all that they had a great sense of humor and secondly they talk directly to you and that you can talk directly to them. I did this, and I found it extremely helpful and I made it clear to the leaders to whom I talked that we have a treaty commitment with Taiwan and that we keep our word. The Chinese leaders repeat over and over again their main difference with the Soviet Union have been over the fact that the Russians do not keep their word. They repeat this constantly. They cite a whole series of events where agreements were broken, understandings not kept, and so on. What I see is a very uncertain period in the years ahead as far as Taiwan is concerned. We are the only country that has a relationship with Taiwan and, of course we are the only one that has a treaty with Taiwan to guarantee the integrity of the area.

K: No very specific answer then, just a period of continuing uncertainty?

J: That is right. I know of no specific answer. It is up in the air.

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My guess is that the present leaders in China are not in a hurry about Taiwan and their main concern in China is the Eurasian land mass from Europe to Asia. What the Chinese see is an effort on the part of the Soviet Union to surround them, to encircle them. And curiously enough, the Chinese are now one of our strongest supporters for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Now why is that? Two years ago when the President was in China and up until earlier this year the Chinese talked about an imminent possible attack by the Russians. Russia had a million men on their borders backed up with nuclear arms. Since the first of the year the Chinese line has changed and they talk now that "Fate" is to the East (meaning to them) and the attack will come in the West (meaning NATO), and so a strong NATO serves their interest. They want to be sure that the Soviet forces are pinned down. There is parallelism, in other words, of our interest in Europe and, may I say, Japan. They want to see an independent Japan that is strong and vigorous and viable. They say publically, withdraw all foreign troops but they support American forces in Japan, and they support our security agreement with Japan and they support the stationing of American forces in Europe as a stabilizing factor in what they see as an attempt by the Soviet Union to encircle them. That is basically their concern.

K: Senator, this colloquy leads me to a question I wanted to ask about our detente with Russia. You have been the foremost critic of the so called detente between the United States and Russia. Now, as part of your criticism, as part of your efforts towards Soviet/United States relations, you have undertaken the Jackson amendment which would deny certain trade privileges to the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union relaxes its emigration policy with respect to the Jews. Now the question I had to ask is this, and I am sure that it has been offered to you many times: If the Soviet Union or any nation were to undertake to interfere in the same fashion with the internal policies, the domestic concerns, of the United States wouldn't it be greatly resented? Suppose the Soviet Union

were to condition something that we wanted upon the United States' relationship with the Indian people or with the Negroes of the south? How would you justify going into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union in this manner?

J: First let me point out that we have been interfering since the end of World War II. We have provided aid to countries on condition that they do certain things. Kennedy's old Alliance for Progress in South America and the Marshall Plan required the countries getting aid to adhere to certain conditions. What I am saying to the Soviet Union is this, you want most favored nation treatment and you want credit at 6% interest. We want you to honor article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted unanimously by the U.N. in 1948 and codified at the convention in 1965 and signed by the Soviet Union in 1968.

K: How far are you getting with this proposition?

J: Well, I am dickering with Dr. Kissinger and my disagreement with the administration is over one thing. I believe in hard bargaining. I think the American people want hard bargaining. The Soviet leaders are denouncing Scoop Jackson every other day. That gives me a pretty good clue as to what I need to do. If I had not introduced that amendment (The Jackson Amendment), Valorie Panoff wouldn't be here with his wife, Solzhenitsyn wouldn't be out, or thousands of others, and I am glad that we are not asking for any commercial advantage for our country. We are only saying look, let us provide just a tiny bit of freedom, just a tiny bit. We need to make that first step down the long road that I think we are going to have to travel, but a first step is a good beginning.

K: Let me ask you in the related area of bargaining, a question that has troubled a good many observers of military science, this business of overkill. Senator, why does the Soviet Union need 1600 ICBM's, why do we need 1000 ICBM's? You could kill each other off and devastate the other country a hundred times over and why is there any necessity for this parity or this essential equivalency or equality in nuclear weapons?

J: Well, the Jackson program is simple and to the point and I would hope that the administration would wake up and start to move in that direction. Both sides have more than enough; they have too much. What I am saying is—let us start the process of reduction of arms so that one day we can see the goal of disarmament. Let us start this year with a hundred missiles reduced proportionately to new and lower levels of equivalence or parity. What are we going to do with superiority? Well, the concomitant of the other side having superiority is inferiority for us, and I want to know where we are going to end up. I want to see parity and I have a specific program that I have advocated and I think it is sound. The Soviet Union wants economic help from the United States. They don't want much—they want all our science, all our technology, all the Russian grain deals, and a few other things. Now I am willing to help, but let's not kid ourselves. So far this has been a one way street. I want it to be a two way street. I would provide help, but they haven't really anything to sell us except one of those wild proposals you get burned on in the Middle East. Who wants to invest 12 billion American dollars out in Siberia to develop their petroleum resources? I say invest it here. I'll be darned if we should subsidize the Soviet military industrial complex. I would propose that the Russians, who now have 1618 huge land missiles (3 times the total weight of ours: we have 1054) should reach a goal of 800 and that both countries should reach that goal. Instead of 62 submarines there should be 35; hold the bombers to 400. In that way both nations would save billions of dollars and I want to see us move to a program of arms reduction based on equivalency and I believe we can do it through hard bargaining. The world will applaud us for taking that kind of leadership. (Editor's Note: The world now knows that Scoop lost this one).

K: I wish we could pursue that, Senator, because you are talking about really more than the number of bombers or missiles or something; you are talking about a dream of humanity for conditions of peace.

Jackson Shows Midas Touch With \$1.2 Million in War Chest

By James R. Dickenson

WASHINGTON Star Staff Writer

To the extent money is the mother's milk of politics, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson is easily the healthiest presidential candidate around.

He now has a whopping \$1,242,345 on hand, three times as much as Gov. George C. Wallace, although Wallace has raised more than twice as much money as Jackson.

President Ford's contributors read like a Who's Who of American Business and R. Sargent Shriver shows strong early foot in campaign contributions. Morris (Mo) Udall and former Gov. Jimmie Carter are about equally successful in raising money.

THESE ARE THE disclosures of yesterday's quarterly campaign contributions reports to the Federal Election Commission — the only mild surprise in which is the size of Jackson's bank balance.

Since the last reporting period in July, Jackson has raised \$500,003 and spent \$418,774. Since the first of the year he has raised \$1,704,288 and spent \$1,400,924. The cushion is provided by the \$1,139,187 he raised in 1974. He now has qualified for more than \$1,000,000 in federal matching funds.

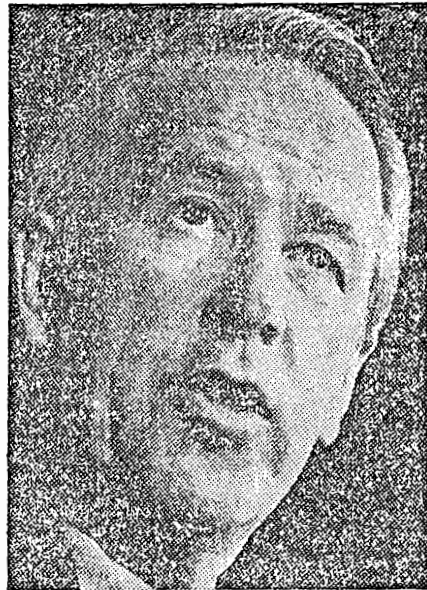
Wallace, Jackson, Shriver, Bentsen, Udall, Carter, and former Fred Harris whose accounting was too late to be reported, have qualified for federal matching funds, generally for a major percent of the money they have raised themselves this year.

WALLACE HAS RAISED \$848,053 since July and spent \$830,367, much of it for his large and sophisticated direct mailings to small contributors. More than 90 percent of Wallace's contributions in the last quarter were from contributors of less than \$100.

Wallace reported \$744,208 cash on hand, about \$15,000 less than three months ago, and debts of \$85,073. He has raised a total of \$2,519,713 this year and spent \$1,973,869. He raised \$1,758,989 last year.

Since the formation of his committee last summer Ford has raised \$706,925, all but \$10,000 in the current quarterly reporting period. He has spent \$278,897 and has \$426,627 cash on hand.

Ford's contributors include banker David Rockefeller, oil billionaire J. Paul Getty, Robert O. Anderson,



SEN. HENRY JACKSON
Qualifies for million

chairman of the board of Atlantic Richfield, John Hay Whitney, Bruce Gimbel of the department store family, opinion pollster A.J. Nielson, and Pepsico Chairman Donald Kendall. Under the new laws, none is able to contribute more than \$1,000 to a Presidential primary election.

THE THIRD-LARGEST money raiser is Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. He col-

lected \$272,129 in the last quarter and has raised \$768,735 in 1975 plus more than \$1,000,000, primarily from large Texas contributors in 1974. He had \$386,598 on hand in July and reports \$194,868 now and nearly \$40,000 in debts.

Udall has raised \$277,392 since July 1 and a total of \$578,429 this year. He has spent \$541,331, has \$45,562 on hand, and owes \$130,837.

Carter has raised \$196,683 since July 1 and \$500,221 this year. He has \$14,545 cash on hand.

Shriver, who announced just three weeks ago, has raised \$189,493 and has \$66,918 on hand. Ronald Reagan, who has not yet announced whether he will challenge Ford for the GOP nomination, has raised \$396,412, has \$100,593 on hand, and owes \$190,722.

SEN. BIRCH BAYH, who also has not formally announced, has raised \$81,782 and has \$60,399 on hand.

Terry Sanford, the president of Duke University, has raised \$120,614 this quarter, \$209,631 for the calendar year, has a cash balance of \$6,885 and debts of \$78,645. Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania has raised \$121,742 and has a \$20,404 cash balance.

Former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, who is running as an Independent, raised \$6,445 for the quarter, \$40,040 this year and has a cash balance of \$7,322.

Washington-USA

JACKSON'S IMAGE PROBLEM

BY WALTER R. GORDON

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this article*

WASHINGTON

I SPENT a day recently in the offices of Senator Henry M. Jackson, talking to his political and policy aides about the Democratic Presidential campaign, and I came away troubled by a feeling I could not at first identify. Later, reviewing my clippings of previous campaigns I had covered, in 1968 and 1972, I realized what disturbed me: the recurring parallels between the Jackson preprimary campaign and the early Nixon reelection effort as it was gathering momentum in the pre-Watergate spring and summer of 1972. Let me hasten to make clear that I do not mean to imply any illegal, underhanded or corrupt activity on the part of the Washington Senator or his staff members. It is, rather, more a matter of an attitude—some might say a cynicism—that one had perhaps naïvely hoped would not be with us in '76.

Now, as then, politics and issues seem to exist in separate worlds and be subject to different levels of calculation. The candidate is perceived of as cool, aloof, above the battle,

too busy demonstrating his competence (his strongest card) to engage fully in the hurlyburly of battle. The word "Presidential" is frequently used to describe his demeanor. Issues, thought by some voters to be the vehicles available to the candidate for demonstrating his Presidential attributes, appear to be viewed as of negligible importance. A leading Jackson strategist who has been close to the Senator for 20 years told me, "Issues are only grist for the mill, and people, in my judgment, are looking at the mill and not the grist."

Like the Nixon pols, too, the Jackson staff seems more worried about Governor George Wallace of Alabama than any of the more mainstream politicians in the race. Wallace is repeatedly referred to as the best known contender among the voters, the best organized and the man with the best fund-raising operation—the last being regarded as the key element of the early campaign.

In another echo of the not too distant past, Jackson people speak of the Senator as a leader handicapped

by an uncharismatic manner. But he is also specifically spoken of as sharing "the strengths of Nixon": a strong foreign policy orientation together with the "ability to do the job."

And for the Jackson of 1975, as for the Nixon of 1972, the political campaign has led to a fuzzing of once clear-cut positions. Jackson aides deny heatedly, and with considerable persuasiveness, that the Senator has sold out his views to win the backing of the Democratic Left. A careful examination of the Senator's recent statements in fact shows few direct contradictions with earlier ones, except on Vietnam, and a lot of people have been doing contortions on that subject lately. Nonetheless, the Jackson stand on a wide range of foreign and defense questions—the areas of his acknowledged expertise and his greatest forcefulness—are becoming often muddled and sometimes undermined by profound logical contradictions.

Such contradictions exist, for example, in the case of weapons policy. The Jackson position is that while the Soviet Union is not seeking a first-strike nuclear capability (one that would enable it to launch a successful surprise attack and escape devastation itself), it is seeking a "counterforce" or "damage limiting" capability. Yet developing the ability to limit one's own damage by destroying opposing missiles before they have been fired is an expensive and difficult feat that would hardly be worth attempting if it were not actually the essence of a first-strike capability.

In a closely related argument, the Jackson position on arms reduction—recalling the two sides of the divisive debate of 1969—is that there should be equivalency of strategic weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States. Yet in the next breath it is suggested that, given Soviet intentions, equivalency would be inadequate. The Russians have an insurmountable military ad-

for \$250 a plate and when it takes only 20 sales to hit the \$5000 mark for a state. The next Tuesday he would pick up a third state in Phoenix, and number four is already set up for Seattle, Washington, in mid-February. A second series of fundraisers is planned for the spring months.

It's a safe bet Jackson will be one of the first in the large field of presidential aspirants to qualify for public funds; in fact he would have qualified in 26 of the 38 states in which he raised funds in 1974 (\$1.139 million) despite his camp's aggressive use of a loophole allowing 230 supporters to kick in \$3000 each up to January 1, 1975, when the ceiling dropped to \$1000. The loophole was used to sell about \$80,000 in tables of 10 (\$2500 per table) for the Los Angeles bash but there were plenty of sales left over to meet independently the \$5000 goal. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D, Tex.) also slipped some of the \$1,034,000 he raised before January 1 through the same loophole.

Jackson's fundraising tactics have brought criticism but they've also put the Jackson camp in an advantageous position. The money can't be used to get matching funds, regardless of the size of the contribution, but it can be used as part of the two million dollars in "seed money" a candidate can spend to raise additional funds without chalking it off against the \$10 million limit on total spending prior to the '76 convention. For instance it was used to pay for a huge direct mailing that went out of the Jackson headquarters in early February.

Keeping spending down with all that money on hand could be a more serious problem; however, Jackson manager Robert Keefe is determined to keep 1975 spending within the cost-of-living increase. It works this way: On January 1, 1976 the \$10 million limit on spending through the Democratic convention (half of this can be in matching funds if contributions are limited to \$250 or less) will go up by the percentage increase in the cost-of-living index as reported by the Department of Commerce. At the current rate of inflation that could be a million dollars or more and Keefe intends to keep staff and campaign expenditures within that limit. The Jackson strategy of "running from Washington" for the next year fits Keefe's budget.

Jackson has major pools of support, such as Los Angeles' large, well organized and wealthy Jewish community, which bought an estimated 70 percent or more of the tickets to the dinner at the Century Plaza. He has friends in organized labor and among party regulars. It's very possible that he can use the more than one million dollars he picked up last year to raise the five million dollars in contributions of less than \$250 each by next January 1, then pick up his public monies and go into the primary season with the money on hand to finance his operation through the convention. It would allow for careful budgeting and give him a distinct advantage.

His only competitor at this time is Gov. George

2/15/75

Henry Jackson's Way with Money

Los Angeles

Two down, 18 to go. That's how the scoreboard read when Scoop Jackson strode into the ballroom of the Century Plaza Hotel here with his wife, Helen, on his arm and the cheers of 1100 backers ringing in his ears. It was the first of a series of fundraisers planned by the Jackson camp to qualify the Washington senator for public financing by raising at least \$5000 in contributions of \$250 or less in each of at least 20 states. Once that's done he'll collect one dollar in federal matching funds for every one dollar in contributions of \$250 or less he collects, up to a maximum of five million dollars, a figure subject to a cost-of-living escalator. On this night he qualified California and Nevada, which was not too difficult when the dinner tickets were selling

February 15, 1975

15

Wallace of Alabama, who raised \$1,759,000 in 1974, largely in sums of under \$100. One massive direct mail effort could easily qualify Wallace in at least 20 states and put him first in line at the window where they pass out the federal dollars.

There's some irony in this script. The campaign finance law passed last year was seen as a boon to the Democratic party's left wing, which leaned heavily on volunteers and massive direct mailings in 1968 and 1972 despite the presence of a number of big givers in those circles. It was said that if you read "the rich" out of the game, and provide some federal matching money, 1976 would be a snap for the well entrenched liberal wing of the party. It isn't working out that way.

Right now the group most affected by the changes isn't the rich businessman who can't contribute to his heart's content but the committed young men and women whose "voluntarism" was sustained by a \$50 per week salary and lots of peanut butter and jelly sandwiches in 1968 and 1972. Those cheap jobs aren't there this year. Apply for one and you'll have a copy of the campaign finance bill waved in your face as someone points you in the direction of the volunteer list tacked to the wall.

Former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma leans heavily on the changes in campaign financing as he tries to convince his listeners that this is the year for a genuine "populist" revolt. He sent back all the checks that came in before January 1, but since then has been accepting contributions. Gifts are running about \$150 per day (as of late January), enough to support Fred and La Donna Harris as they travel the country, living off the land

(that means bed and breakfast at the home of a supporter). It won't buy much media time nor pay for many mass mailings. It doesn't seem to bother Harris, who claims to have signed up 6000 to 7000 volunteers from New Hampshire to California in his quest for the presidency.

Rep. Morris K. Udall (D, Ariz.), a chief sponsor of the campaign reform act, shunned any contributions of over \$1000 before January 1 and has yet to get his fundraising operation underway. "Voluntarism" is the name of the game at the Udall headquarters these days, brought on by an awareness of the money limitation and the short supply of cash.

It's much the same for ex-Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, who, like Harris, is devoting full time to his campaign and putting together a direct mail operation under the guidance of Morris Dees, the Alabama expert who shaped the successful McGovern mail operation in 1972 and is now sharing his knowledge with a number of candidates. Carter is working from lists drawn up during his travels as the party's national campaign manager in 1974 and is starting to get a small flow of cash.

Just how fast the Federal Election Commission, the new supervisory agency, gets itself together remains to be seen. It has taken a while for the members to be picked. Nor has a court ruled on the challenge by Sen. James Buckley (Con., NY) and ex-Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D, Minn.) against the ceiling on contributions. Right now everyone is feeling his way and only the Jackson people appear to have a firm grasp of the situation.

Paul R. Wieck

Jackson File Jackson DOMESTIC On Rights

By Tom Wicker

Senator Henry Jackson campaigned through Queens last week in pursuit of the two-to-one victory he had predicted in the New York Presidential primary. Mr. Jackson was promising to do something about unemployment when a number of demonstrators for homosexual rights began to harass him.

Mr. Jackson, as reported by Douglas E. Kneeland of The New York Times, turned on the hecklers and said:

"Go on and have your own rally. Our people want hard work. We don't want gay work. We don't want gay jobs. You have your gay jobs. You just do your own thing and stay away."

Allowing for Mr. Jackson's probable fatigue in the midst of a hard campaign, and for whatever excesses might be charged to the hecklers, this still seems a rather extreme reaction, signifying a more exclusionary view toward a substantial number of Americans than seems desirable in a President.

I have no idea how many male and female homosexuals there are in the United States. Such figures probably would not be reliable anyway, since attitudes like that expressed by Mr. Jackson keep so many homosexuals "in the closet." But if there are 100,000 or a million or ten million, they are all Americans, all entitled to human dignity, all entitled to jobs, all entitled to express their views to political candidates—even rudely, if the candidates' attention can be attracted in no other way.

As a matter of fact, the issue of jobs for homosexuals—particularly in the public sector, as firemen, policemen, teachers, social workers, etc.—is a political issue in New York and elsewhere. The question whether homosexuals employed in the defense establishment are security risks merely because of their sexual preference has been argued in the courts,

IN THE NATION

and both politically and legally "gay rights" are beginning to be recognized, at least in some jurisdictions.

Mr. Jackson, however, is reported by Americans for Democratic Action to have told a Colorado newspaper on April 12, 1975 (a spokesman for him says the Senator does not remember making the remark): "I am not about to give in to the gay liberation and codify into law the practice of homosexuality. . . . It is the first beginning of a breakdown of a society. . . ."

The Supreme Court took much the same restrictive view, apparently, in upholding last week a state law that made homosexual practices illegal, even between consenting adults in the privacy of a home. "Gay rights," moreover, are certainly not a major issue in the Presidential campaign, even in the New York primary. It may even be that other candidates would not differ all that much from Mr. Jackson on this issue.

Even so, a man who seeks to unify and lead the nation, who proclaims himself a "liberal," who says he is for "human détente," and who makes much of what he modestly calls a "perfect" civil rights record, raises reasonable doubts about his balance and his generosity when he lashes out so intemperately at other Americans, however uncongenial they may be to him.

As for civil rights, how would Mr. Jackson—and the Supreme Court, for that matter—reconcile the view that homosexuals have no legal right to be homosexuals with the "civil right" of every American not to be discriminated against by law, in employment, etc? Do civil rights depend on sexual preference? Or do they apply to the fortunate and the unfortunate, the conventional and the unconventional alike?

That question—how a potential President views the misfits and dissenters from conventional society—is relevant to the campaign and entirely pertinent to put to any candidate and especially to Henry Jackson after his Queens remarks.

Mr. Jackson raised another question about his understanding of things when he remarked in Rochester, N. Y., that he would match his civil rights record with that of former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia "any time." Mr. Carter, he said, "remained silent through those long, difficult years when Scoop Jackson had a 100 percent voting record."

In fact, during "those long, difficult years" of the civil rights struggle that Mr. Jackson apparently referred to, Mr. Carter refused to join the White Citizens Council in Plains, Ga., and later told the people of that state in his inaugural address as Governor that "the time for racial discrimination is over." Mr. Carter has his own transgressions to answer for, but if Henry Jackson thinks it was harder and more admirable for him to cast votes in the Senate than for a Southern white to stand up and be counted in Georgia, Mr. Jackson knows very little about civil rights or "those long, difficult years."

In fact, in those years, Mr. Jackson voted as a moderate Democrat from a state where racial issues were not pressing. He compiled a record sound enough to stand on—but not the record of a vigorous leader of the cause, much less one entitled now to criticize others whose risks were real.

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Jackson Nearly Errs

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, March 1—Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Wash-
ington was so carried away today by getting the endor-
sement of Daniel Patrick Moynihan that he almost talked
himself into trouble.

When a reporter wanted to know if Moynihan, who
just retired as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations,
might be Secretary of State in a Jackson administra-
tion, the senator said expansively, "He will at least
be offered a very high position."

"You've just broken the law," said Moynihan, re-
ferring to the statute making it a crime to offer any-
one a federal government appointment as an induce-
ment for support.

"This is Boston," Jackson said. "No law applies in
Boston." Then, thinking second thoughts, he added
hastily that he and Moynihan had "never discussed"
the possibility of the Cabinet job.

Chevy Chase open Monday and Thursday until 9 PM.
All stores open 9:30

Tailored by
George K.
Heller



JACKSON AIMS AT BUSING

Sen. Henry S. Jackson starts his position paper on busing to achieve integration by reaffirming this country's "moral imperative" to provide "equal opportunity for educational advancement to all children - regardless of race, religion or economic circumstances." But his call for congressionally imposed restrictions on the power of Federal courts to order "the involuntary transportation of students" is likely to be largely illusory unless it leads to a constitutional amendment. And that is something most of his colleagues in the Congress would like to avoid considering. Most of them are not in favor of abolishing the 14th Amendment's equal rights provision for a short-term political gain.

Although Congress has the constitutional power to "ordain and establish" courts inferior to the US Supreme Court, and although it could put an intolerable burden on the already overloaded court system, it might be beneficial to have three judges, rather than one, deliberate on desegregation orders, at least in terms of the pressure on individual judges. However, massive case law precedent, including some dozen US Supreme Court rulings, makes it very unlikely that a special three-judge panel would change the pattern of desegregation rulings, even if they personally wished to do so.

Sen. Jackson's inference that Judge Garrity in Mass., and others like him, have acted alone and have willfully strayed into the area of "social engineering" is false. Judge Garrity's order for Boston was based on a ruling in Denver and followed several Massachusetts court findings of violations under the state's racial imbalance law. Judge Garrity's rulings have been appealed - and upheld - by a three-judge appeals court and by the US Supreme Court, which unanimously refused to review his order. And, across the nation, other judges, not all of whom were militant civil rightists, have done almost exactly what Judge Garrity has done.

The courts acted because local school committees and government agencies did not work hard to make voluntary programs succeed. The Supreme Court's "root and branch" decision came 14 years after the 1954 Brown decision. It was not until 1971 that the US high court specified that busing was a legitimate tool - to implement redistricting, to get students to new schools and to schools with special programs. Only three years ago did the high court rule in the Denver case that where substantial deliberate segregation was found, an entire system should be involved in the remedy.

Sen. Jackson ignores or misrepresents these painstaking steps in his apparent call for a new beginning based on "voluntary transfers, rezoning of schools or magnet schools." All of these have been tried in Boston, but because of delay and deliberate obstruction by school committees, busing has become necessary to carry them out. Thus to restrict the use of busing here would be disruptive. Also, Jackson's proposal may violate the separation of powers in permitting Congress to intervene retroactively.

While restricting the court's role in school desegregation, Jackson would require the courts to go beyond 14th Amendment questions of equal access and make determinations about educational quality and white flight. However, these two phenomena are taking place even where there is no desegregation order and are beyond power of courts to solve alone. Would place another insupportable burden on the courts.

Authors dispute that Jackson's proposal can realistically solve the urban and national problems it attacks without once more separating black and white citizens in our public school system.

Jackson's measure would require court to determine impact busing would have on quality of education in each school district, including "white flight". The proposal limits the court's powers of remedy to those specific areas where segregation has been found, rather than city-wide. The bill would also extend the Federal Desegregation Assistance Program for two years, authorizing the expenditure of \$1 billion.

Jackson points to pro-civil rights record. Opposes forced busing "because it has become an unwitting tool for creating segregation, not for eliminating segregation." Points to 20,000 white students that have left the Boston school system over past two years since Garrity's order. Feels that voluntary plans are more effective.

One of Jackson's aides says proposal is not a personal attack on Garrity. Three-judge plan would avoid "personalization".

One civil rights attorney points out that Boston case has already been decided by one trial judge, Garrity and the 3 members of the Circuit.

• Court of Appeals. "I don't see how it could affect the outcome of one in a hundred of the desegregation cases that have been tried since the 1954 Brown decision.

BOSTON GLOBE 12/7/75

Court suite filed
DESEGREGATION LAGS IN ATLANTA - by Muriel Cohen, Globe Staff

This is the second of a series of

Steve

Jackson Introduces Bill Creating Fair Financing Insurance Board

FROM THE BOND BUYER BUREAU

WASHINGTON, Sept. 18 — Sen. Henry M. Jackson today introduced a bill he said would help relieve the borrowing problem of New York City and other localities without causing direct Federal intervention in local government affairs.

Sen. Jackson, D-Wash., is a candidate for his party's Presidential nomination and has indicated that he intends to try to turn the Administration's hard line stance against Federal aid to New York City into a campaign issue.

The measure he introduced today is the latest in a growing list of bills which have been forwarded on Capitol Hill to alleviate the problems of New York City and other local governments. As yet, none have been acted upon.

Co-sponsored by Sens. Hubert Humphrey, D-Minn., and Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn., the bill would create a fair finance insurance board which would be empowered to:

- Reinsure 75% of the municipal bond insurance issued to a city by a private insurance company.

- Guarantee 75% of the bonds issued by any state agency set up to help local governments. The Senator said such agencies already exist in Vermont, Maine and New York and that some local government bonds are guaranteed in California, New Hampshire, Michigan and Minnesota.

The fair financing insurance board would be established by the Federal Government, the Senator explained, adding that it would charge premiums for its services and, like the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., is designed to be self-financing.

"It is my hope," Sen. Jackson said, "that by reducing the risk to investors throughout the country, this act will reduce borrowing costs for local governments and assure the availability of capital to meet their needs."

He claimed the bill will stabilize financial markets, protect investors and "ultimately save billions in interest payments for our hard-pressed cities and counties."

The Senator said the measure would promote sound local government finance without direct Federal intervention into local affairs.

He said the bill would assure sound economic standards for localities in three ways:

- Since 25% of the value of the bonds would not be insured, the state would have an incentive to monitor city finances and avoid losses should a city default.

- The Board is required, before issuing a guaranty, to determine that the state agency prescribes and enforces strict accounting standards, financial controls and balanced budget programs.

- Any state which failed to comply would be disqualified from the guaranty program.

"Local governments are caught in the same kind of bind that occurred during the depression of the 1930s," Sen. Jackson said.

"The financial collapse of New York City, and with it of New York State, would threaten state and local governments throughout the country," he said. "It would result in even more unemployment and would endanger the health of financial institutions and the security of investors."

The bill was circulated for comment prior to introduction and the Senator's office said reaction has been "pretty good" from mayors and from Wall Street. "Things are starting to change," said one Jackson aide, "people are starting to view this as a national problem."

The bill is expected to be referred to the Senate Government Operations Committee, which is chaired by Sen. Ribicoff, a co-sponsor of the measure.

The fair finance insurance board would consist of five members, all of whom would be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for five-year terms. The Secretaries of the Treasury and Housing and Urban Development would be ex-officio members of the board.

The board would be directed to establish special advisory committees to provide advice and information. The advisory committees would consist of representatives of city, county and state government, the labor movement, and the financial community.

The bill, according to Congressional sources, received input from Felix Rohatyn of New York State's Municipal Assistance Corp.

Time
Feb. 17, 1975

I-Domestic

9-7, 5-11, 6-13, 8-11, 10-16, 13-9

Jackson

POLITICS/COVER STORY

II-FOREIGN

3-2, 3-7, 6-9, 10-7, 12-9, 16-1-12

Scoop Jackson: Running Hard Uphill

The scene is the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, where 1,100 people have gathered for dinner. Many of the women are dressed in long gowns. The men are in dinner jackets and patent-leather pumps. It is a merry, excited, optimistic crowd. In the center, sitting at a table on a round, raised platform is a rather penguinesque, stolid son of Norwegian immigrants, Henry Martin (Scoop) Jackson. It is difficult to conjure up a truly merry Senator Jackson, but as he smiles and nods to well-wishers, he is obviously pleased this evening, happy in his work, which is running flat-out for the presidency of the U.S.

Many prominent California Jewish philanthropists and political angels are present at the dinner, Jan. 26. But lesser-known and less wealthy people are there as well. Most paid at least \$250 into his campaign war chest for the privilege of attending—one reason why he beams so happily. But he looks well in any case. He has lost 12 lbs. and fully recovered from two operations late last year—one to remove a kidney stone, the other to correct a drooping left eyelid. At 62, he looks perhaps 15 years younger.

Off the Cuff. The audience belongs to him, heart, brain and pocketbook. But Jackson's speech—as usual, delivered off the cuff—is for the most part flat and dull. He dwells on the energy crisis, pushing out statistics like a book-keeper. He lectures, informs, but does not inspire until the last part of the speech, when he talks of international human rights. "I want to see a clear movement of people and ideas across international boundaries," he says, "and,

may I say, not just machinery and wheat."

The audience frequently interrupts Jackson with applause, but it is polite applause, not the huzzahs of which American political dreams are made. Afterward, a man in a brocade dinner jacket observes: "A great evening, just a great evening." But the pros in Jackson's entourage know better. They are unhappy with most of the speech, know that it lacked fire and vision, that Jackson should have had this audience standing on the tables. After dinner, a Los Angeles businessman approaches two of Jackson's aides and says: "I know he's a great man, and I'm going to support him no matter what. But that speech! I want to make a deal. I want to buy you a video-tape machine for Scoop to use when he's speaking. He can look at himself and see what he looks like to others." The offer is accepted.

Actually, professional camera crews had been filming nearly every facet of the dinner for use in Jackson's unusual, slyly contrived announcement last week of his candidacy for the presidency. The five-minute documentary, created for Jackson by Producer David Wolper at a total cost of \$30,000 (including air time on the CBS network), opened with the candidate rising from his table at the Century Plaza to the applause of the guests and beginning his speech to them. The scene set an affective *cinéma vérité* tone for the filmed highlights of Jackson's career that followed.

Dinner and documentary were vivid examples of the meticulous planning

that Jackson is bringing to his challenge for the 1976 Democratic nomination. Thirteen months before the first primary election, 17 months before the party's national convention, it seemed an almost indecently early march on 1976 and an undue claim on the attention and patience of the electorate. Jackson's reply to such criticism, offered in a Washington press conference the following day: "The 1976 presidential campaign really began the minute this nation was given its first appointed President and Vice President; this nation has a critical agenda that cannot wait until November 1976 to get started." He might have gone on to add what every politician knows: that unless the economy improves sharply in the next 21 months, almost any Democrat who gets his party's nomination will require a kind of perverse genius to lose. The far more difficult task will be to capture the Democratic nomination. Given the stakes for the nation, Jackson may well be right in declaring that the contest—and the scrutiny—are beginning not a moment too soon.

Acute Shortage. Another reason why Jackson's announcement, which otherwise could have been the ho-hum event of the year, drew so much early attention is that the Democratic Party seems to be facing its great presidential opportunity with an acute shortage of convincing leaders. So far, three others have formally entered the race, and at least one more will declare next week (see box page 20). But Jackson has put together a combination of skilled organization, nationwide support and, most

JACKSON & WIFE HELEN IN THEIR WASHINGTON HOME WATCHING HIS PRE-TAPED ANNOUNCEMENT ON TELEVISION



STANLEY TRETICK



PLAYING SOFTBALL IN 1954 WITH JOHN KENNEDY & MIKE MANSFIELD; WITH A MISSILE MODEL (1958)
A penguin-like figure and a style best described as pedantic populism.

important, nearly \$1.5 million in cash that makes him, if not quite the front runner in a race as yet too formless to have one, at least the Democrat with the mostest at the moment.

It will be an uphill run for him because, as Columnist James A. Wechsler observed, all too often Jackson "seems to personify what Aldous Huxley once called the 'insistent bore.'" The only flaw in his televised announcement was that eventually the documentary had to stop and Jackson had to look directly into the camera's eye and speak for himself. Oddly, he never quite made eye contact, and the speech was pure Jackson, a style best described as pedantic populism. Still, for a colorless man, Jackson evokes a surprising amount of hostility from many people, particularly liberal supporters of Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972, who feel that he embodies a rare combination: both dullness and danger. Many Democrats believe that he will never be able to convert the liberals and as a result will lose the nomination.

Broken Barrier. Despite 34 years in Congress, Jackson until recently was well known only in his home state of Washington, the nation's capital and among politically savvy groups, including lobbyists for the oil and aerospace industries and Jewish organizations. Most Americans had no idea who he was, let alone what he stood for, even though he ran for the Democratic nomination in 1972 and finished second in the convention balloting to McGovern. But in the past year or so, Jackson has broken through the national-recognition barrier. Several recent polls show that well over half of the American public now at least know who Jackson is, and the proportion is rapidly rising.

He is still notably opaque for a man in public life. The private personality behind the long face, doleful eyes and resonant voice is known only to his family

and a few close friends, though one cynic insists: "There is no such thing as an off-the-record Scoop. What you see is what he is. He's that way at home, he's that way with his friends." Almost completely dominated by politics, Jackson has shown himself to be aggressively ambitious, rigidly self-disciplined and often unwilling to tolerate criticism or forgive a slight. He has been known to berate hostile questioners, but normally he is unemotional in public, though on rare occasions he explodes in private. One close associate has seen him in a rage on only three or four occasions, but each time Jackson became sick to his stomach.

Jackson's political viewpoint defies easy categorization. Says he: "I am a composite of many different things. I don't worry about ideologies. I've been called a Communist, a socialist, a conservative." Yet his views actually have been largely consistent through the years, so much so that some people suspect that his mind is closed to new ideas. On domestic issues, he has shown himself to be a middle-of-the-road Democrat: backing labor but friendly to business, backing conservation but fighting against "environmental extremists," backing social legislation but opposing radical solutions. On questions of defense and foreign policy he is unyieldingly conservative: deeply suspicious of the Soviet Union, stridently in favor of new weapons like the B-1 bomber and the Trident submarine. He was a bitter backer of the Viet Nam War, believing that the fall of the South would lead to Communist domination of all Southeast Asia, and that eventually "Europe would very probably fall." He has been a fervent supporter of Israel since the country was founded in 1948.

For years he has been one of the Senate's most effective members, in part because of his deft ability to draft bills with broad appeal and his powers of

THE NATION

cloakroom persuasion. His range is indicated by two pieces of legislation that he considers to be major achievements: 1) an act creating a comprehensive federal policy on environmental protection; and 2) an amendment directing that future arms agreements with Russia do not leave the U.S. with inferior numbers of weapons. Critics point out that numbers alone are largely meaningless, but this hardly bothers Jackson.

As his presidential ambitions grew, so did Jackson's eagerness to make headlines by launching probes by his Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, which sometimes turned out to be mostly ballyhoo and bluster. During an investigation of crime on Wall Street, he was much embarrassed by trumpeting a shady

witness's wild charge, backed up by no evidence, that Elliott Roosevelt, son of President Franklin Roosevelt, had plotted the assassination of Prime Minister Lynden O. Pinning of the Bahamas. Last year he recklessly called executives of the major oil companies before the subcommittee and harshly accused them of jacking up prices and making extortionate profits from the energy crisis. The oilmen argued that the high earnings were for only one year, came after several years of modest profits, and were largely from big sales overseas. At one point, Exxon Vice President Roy A. Baze could not recall the size of his company's 1972 dividends. Jackson angrily threatened "to start slapping subpoenas on some of you," and then telephoned a stockbroker and announced that the dividends had been \$3.80 a share.

To prepare for the campaign, Jackson has been polishing his policy positions, some of which he is carefully modifying to appeal to a broader spectrum of Democrats without violating his long-held principles. Among his views:

THE ECONOMY. The recession gives an extraordinary opportunity to any Democrat who can produce a convincing alternative to Ford's program. Jackson has always believed that the power of the Government is the most effective way to bring order to the marketplace (see interview page 19). Among other things, he has proposed setting a national goal of 2.6 million housing starts a year, including 2 million federally subsidized units for low- and middle-income families, creating a temporary agency to provide emergency capital funds to business and giving the Government the authority to delay wage and price hikes. Such views place him in the Democratic mainstream, though Republican critics regard him as a big spender who promises more than he can deliver.

ENERGY. Jackson first and presciently warned of the coming oil shortage in

1971; two years later, he urged that Congress enact a \$20 billion program for energy research and development. He believes that the answer to the problem lies in increasing domestic production rather than in cutting demand heavily to reduce imports. Jackson would have Congress roll back domestic oil prices. He thinks that the companies' profits are so high that a substantial price cut—he has not settled on a figure—would still leave the incentive to increase domestic exploration and drilling. Oil company executives argue that the current price is necessary to pay the cost of new domestic production, but Jackson responds: "Baloney. Just look at the record: production has gone down steadily." To boost U.S. production, he would open to production the federal reserves at Elk Hills, Calif., and Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 in Alaska, and set up a board to coordinate and accelerate development on the continental shelf, perhaps through a Government-assisted consortium of several companies. Jackson considers Ford's immediate goal of cutting U.S. oil imports by 1 million bbl. per day to be unrealistic. Some conservatives regard Jackson's energy program as inimical to the free enterprise system.

FOREIGN POLICY. He gives unwavering support to Israel, not only on principle but to preserve the U.S. position in the Middle East, and implacably mistrusts Russia. Both came together in his most dubious effort: his insistence on amending the U.S.-Soviet trade agreement so that the Russians would have to liberalize their emigration laws—which would chiefly benefit Soviet Jews—in exchange for U.S. trade concessions. The Administration and many others regarded the amendment as a perilous and unwarranted intrusion into Russian internal affairs. But Jackson looked upon it as "one small step along the road to an international community based on law." Such was Jackson's clout in the Senate that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for a time seemed to be negotiating with two sovereign powers—the Kremlin and Jackson. When the Russians appeared to give in to the demand, he boasted that he had demonstrated "what tough bargaining can accomplish."

But last month the Soviets repudiated the deal Ford and Kissinger pinned the blame on the Jackson Amendment, arguing that Jewish emigration had in fact been increasing as long as quiet pressure was being applied, but that Russian leaders could not countenance Jackson's advertisement of it as a condition, especially since Congress had failed to make it worthwhile by the piddling credits offered. Many people at first feared that the debate and collapse of the agreement had seriously jeopardized détente. Jackson blamed Moscow for an "egregious breach of good faith" and insisted that the U.S. would be wrong to back down. Though Jackson

says that he believes in détente, he argues that Presidents Nixon and Ford and Henry Kissinger have been too willing to give too much away to Russia in its name. It remains to be seen how much all this has hurt him among voters who might consider that his personal foreign policy, however motivated, had backfired. The Soviets leave no doubt about their sentiments toward Jackson. Recent Russian press articles have called him the "demonic advocate of the military-industrial complex," "the devil of Seattle" and the "henchman of Zionist circles."

The bitterest liberal criticism of Jackson has been over his support of the Viet Nam War. In 1970 peace activists vainly tried to defeat him in the Senate primary (he won it with 87% of the vote); when he spoke on college campuses, students pelted him with marshmallows. But Jackson is still unrepentant. Says he: "I always wanted to go in there, fight the war quickly and get out." When he decided that the U.S. could not win the war, he favored a withdrawal. Now, in a switch that may shake his conservative support by seeming to renege on his principles, Jackson no longer will even back the Administration's request for \$300 million in additional aid to South Viet Nam, arguing that "it has to end somewhere." Says Jackson: "The Thieu government is repressive. We had these promises that he would liberalize and broaden his base, but it just didn't happen."

DEFENSE. Jackson has always been a proponent of new military hardware, and he shows no signs of changing. Critics charge that his views reflect the fact that his state's largest employer is the Boeing Co. (hence "the Senator from Boeing"). The charge is not quite fair. Jackson has worked on the company's behalf, and during the SST debate he let a Boeing lobbyist work out of his office. But Jackson fundamentally believes that new technology is essential to preserve peace and U.S. freedom. As he once said, "The way you get the Soviets to the conference table is from a position of strength." He provided much of the impetus behind the Navy's decision to build a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines and led the fights for the anti-ballistic-missile program and the supersonic transport.

Jackson is close to Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger, consults with him frequently, and is likely to recommend only minor cuts in the Pentagon's proposed \$9 billion increase in defense spending next year, even though it is unpopular with liberals. He favors mutual arms reduction by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. He faulted the interim arms agreement because he thought it favored the Soviets. More recently he agreed with liberals that Ford's Vladivostok agreement set too high a limit on the two countries' strategic weapons.

Jackson actually has been campaigning for the presidency since 1971,

when he played a spoiler role in the campaign for the 1972 Democratic nomination. Poorly organized and poorly prepared, he showed traces of demagoguery in his desperate bid for attention. He ignored a lifetime dedication to civil rights by proposing a constitutional amendment against busing to desegregate public schools. He called McGovern the candidate for "amnesty, acid and abortion," an unfair phrase that stung and stuck. After the campaign, Time Oil Co. and Gulf Oil Corp. were fined for giving him illegal contributions. In addition, the Senate Watergate committee reported that Oilman Leon Hess, chairman of Amerada Hess Corp., secretly



SPEAKING AT A SYNAGOGUE
"I am a composite."

channeled \$225,000 to Jackson through other people.

In that campaign, Jackson was trying to give Democrats on the right and in the middle a choice between McGovern and George Wallace. This time Jackson is trying to put together a program appealing to all shades of Democrats, including liberals who have not forgiven him for backing the Viet Nam War and attacking McGovern but who are now in disarray and in search of a candidate for 1976.

Wallace Constituency. Last fall Jackson pointedly campaigned on behalf of many liberal candidates, including Father Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts, Allard Lowenstein of New York, Abner Mikva of Illinois and Gary Hart of Colorado, who was McGovern's



RELAXING AT HOME WITH HIS WIFE, DAUGHTER ANNA MARIE & SON PETER
Undistinguished suits, black wingtip shoes and a 1961 Chevrolet.

campaign manager; of the four, only Lowenstein lost. Albeit somewhat reluctantly, Jackson also supported liberal reforms of the party's delegate selection rules at the mini-convention in Kansas City in December. So far, however, his efforts apparently have brought few liberals into his camp.

A further problem for Jackson is the diehard constituency of Wallace, whose unannounced campaign is similarly well financed (\$1.8 million at the end of 1974) and well organized. Indeed in the polls Wallace continues to lead Jackson by a substantial margin as the Democrats' choice as their nominee, now that Ted Kennedy has declared himself out of the race. The Alabama Governor is so intensely disliked by liberals and many moderates that he is exceedingly unlikely to win the nomination. But he may still wind up with enough convention delegates so that no one will be able to get the nomination without first making a deal with him. Significantly, Jackson has said that Wallace is "eminently qualified to be Vice President," and that he "would welcome him on a ticket if he were the choice of the convention."

Unflagging Support. Jackson's traditional backing by American Jews because of his unflagging support of Israel is stronger than ever these days, owing to Israel's heightened anxieties for the future and its declining support in many quarters. Much of his national campaign funding thus far has come from Jewish contributions. But Jackson's appeal to another traditional constituency, organized labor, has slipped somewhat. He had earlier appeared to be the AFL-CIO's first choice for the nomination. Lately, however, associates have reported that the AFL-CIO's George Meany has been increasingly unhappy with Jackson, first for visiting China in 1974 and then for backing the trade bill

in the first place, which Meany considered a threat to American jobs.

Jackson intends to concentrate principally on fund raising this year. His campaign treasury of nearly \$1.5 million was collected in the past six months and is second only to that of George Wallace among prospective Democratic presidential candidates. Jackson's early contributors have included Leonard Davis, director of the Colonial Penn Group Inc. of New York, and his wife, who gave \$6,000; Max Karl, president of MGIC Investment Corp. of Milwaukee, \$3,000; Investment Banker William R. Satomon of New York, \$1,000; and Charles Wohlstetter, chairman of Continental Telephone Corp. of Chantilly, Va., \$1,500.

Jackson hopes to raise between \$7 million and \$10 million by Feb. 1, 1976. The new federal campaign-finance law offers presidential candidates matching funds of up to \$5 million for primary expenses but only if they first get contributions of at least \$5,000 from each of 20 states. As a result, Jackson will depend heavily on a direct-mail appeal for funds, coordinated by Morris Dees, the liberal Montgomery, Ala., lawyer who raised \$20 million by mail for McGovern in 1972. By year's end, Jackson expects to have sent his appeal to about 2 million people.

It is far too early for Jackson to make firm plans for the primaries. State parties have until July 1 to decide how to choose their delegates. Until then, says a top Jackson aide, "we won't even know the rules of the game." But some tentative strategies are under consideration. For example, Jackson believes that he should spend money evenly on the primaries rather than concentrate on the early ones. He explains: "Some candidate might spend a bundle in New Hampshire and a few others and then

THE NATION

find that he is nearly out of money by the time that he gets to California [in June]."

The forces that shaped Jackson included the prolabor, internationalist traditions of Washington State, and his close-knit family. Born May 31, 1912, he was the youngest of four children in a working-class family in Everett, a small mill town 28 miles north of Seattle. His Lutheran parents had emigrated from Norway in the 1880s; Father Peter was a cement worker, Mother Marie was a stern but loving matriarch who infused in her son a strong sense of right and wrong.

Delivery Boy. As a boy, Jackson was a poor athlete, an avid Boy Scout and a skillful debater. At 13, he won a prize from the Everett Herald for diligence as a newspaper delivery boy. Its comic page chronicled the adventures of a newspaper reporter named Scoop, who was the inspiration for Jackson's nickname. His newspaper route included Everett's red-light district, where Jackson was appalled to find prominent men patronizing whorehouses, gambling dens and speakeasies. Indeed, in his commencement speech at his high school graduation in 1930, Jackson primly lectured his audience about the evils of disrespect for the laws.

After working his way through the University of Washington, where he graduated barely in the top third of his law school class in 1935, Jackson returned to Everett to practice law. He also became active in local politics and soon seized control of Everett's Young Democrats organization, using it in 1938 as a base to run for Snohomish County prosecutor, soundly beating the alcoholic incumbent. Two years later, after earning the nickname "Soda Pop" Jackson and a reputation as an aggressively moralistic prosecutor for running the gamblers, madams and bootleggers out of the county, Jackson easily won election to a vacant seat in the U.S. House.

In Congress he established himself as a New Deal Democrat. In 1952 he moved up, bucking the Eisenhower landslide to win election to the Senate over conservative Republican Incumbent Harry Cain. In the Senate, Jack-

VISITING CHINESE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI



son was soon enlisted in the Democratic campaign to bring down Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin and end his witchhunt for subversives in Government. Among other things, Jackson asked a series of ironic questions during the Army-McCarthy hearings that helped reduce the Wisconsin Senator to an object of ridicule. The strain of those hearings led to an attack of fibromyositis, an extremely painful, body-wide muscular cramp that Jackson likens to "a giant charley horse." To avoid future attacks, he still exercises daily for 45 minutes, usually in the Senate gym, where he swims a quarter of a mile and then vigorously pedals an exercise bicycle.

For much of Jackson's political career, three men have helped shape his political views and still act as a frequently consulted, yet sometimes critical, home-town kitchen cabinet. They are:

▶ John Salter, 62, a boyhood friend who served as Jackson's political strategist and chief aide until 1961. Later he founded a political consulting firm in Seattle, with Boeing as one of his biggest clients. A gregarious back-slapper, Salter describes his main service to Jackson now as making certain that he "doesn't get too big for his britches." Salter lately has urged his friend to pay more attention to domestic affairs. He explains: "Some guy working in a paper mill in Everett can't even spell détente, but he knows that he can't afford to pay a doctor to get his kid's busted leg fixed."

▶ Stanley Golub, 61, a wealthy Se-

"People Are Looking for Answers"

Candidate Jackson talked with TIME Correspondent Stanley Cloud last week in Washington, D.C. Highlights of the interview:

How would your presidency differ from others?

Mine would be an activist, provocative Administration. Let us first talk about the economy. True, we can't totally tame the business cycle. But I think that it can be influenced in a substantial way to be less troublesome and to unleash the enormous resources of this country. What has happened is that there has been a tendency to deal with effects and not causes, so we have had a lot of patchwork, *ad hoc* solutions that do not deal with the overriding issues of growth and wage-price stability.

I would use the resources of the Government and of the private sector to take inventory of what our requirements are for the next ten, 15, even 20 years, much as A T & T and other big companies do. I would look at the requirements in terms of both available resources and what we need to do. We have to think in terms of new technologies, new materials, what is required in education, training and so on, both in the sciences and the simple trades. When I look at our needs and I look at our resources and what we need to do, I see an America in which everyone is going to be fully employed. I see an America where, literally, we will rebuild the country. We will have to do it with great skill, of course, because resources are finite. We can't corrupt the atmosphere and the water and the land in the name of growth.

What policy changes would you advocate in foreign affairs?

Looking ahead, the biggest problem will be in maintaining a proper equilibrium among the three powers—Russia, China and the U.S. The U.S. has a tremendous responsibility to maintain a credible posture both in material terms and in being able to deter wars. We will need the kind of skill in diplomacy that will avoid brinkmanship and the possibility of miscalculation.

How would your foreign policy differ from President Ford's?

The broad outline of better relations and communications with Russia and China would continue to be the objective. We have made a beginning, but it is going to be a very, very difficult road, full of booby traps. I don't want to be specific right now, but people who assume that I am rigid in every area are wrong. I am not a wild man, but I am also not the kind who is prone to the status quo. I am not frightened of embark-

ing on new courses that are going to upset a lot of people.

You have been accused of having in effect prolonged the cold war by pressing for freer emigration of Soviet Jews. What is your response?

The immediate reaction of some people to the announcement that the Russians were backing out of the trade agreement was that détente is off. Very candidly, the Russians have given every indication that they want to continue détente.

We should not let the Russians decide that we are patsies. They are watching the American reaction. If we cave in, the Russians will decide that they can get away with things like this. But if they want to break off détente, it won't be over an issue of this kind.

Many people fear that you would issue a blank check to the Pentagon for new weapons. Is there any end to the development of new means of annihilation?

Science is not on a plateau, and we will not be able to outlaw new theoretical methods of annihilation. I think though that we do need a more effective code of arms limitation. We need a better way of monitoring [the other side] to reassure other nations of the limitation on destruction. That can be carried out if we can get the Soviets to agree to on-site inspection.

Why are you hopeful that an agreement of that kind is possible?

Over the long run, I think that the Russians are going to have to look more at the problems that they have internally; the technological gap between the Soviets and ourselves is widening. They want to buy the means by which they can close the gap and therein, I think, lies an opportunity for the U.S. to use its economic power to help create world peace.

Even your friends say that you lack charisma. Will this be a problem in the campaign?

I don't think that it is the problem that it once was, because the voters now are really much tougher in evaluating appearances. The American people have heard a lot of promises that just weren't delivered on. They are not cynical; they are skeptical. They are leary of the guy who comes in promising everything and who has the magic touch. With big crowds, charisma can be effective. But when voters sit down to decide, they want to know whether a candidate has real answers. That is why the Democrats are in a position where, having won by wide margins, they must deliver some programs. People are really looking for answers.

CAMPAIGNING IN FLORIDA (1972)



STANLEY TREBICK



GETTING MADE UP FOR TELEVISION

attle jeweler who attended law school with Jackson. He talks to Jackson by telephone several times a week on all manner of subjects, from editors he thinks Jackson should meet to foreign policy matters. A strong supporter of Israel, Golub is somewhat more liberal than his friend, and regrets never having been able to convince Jackson that he was wrong to support the Viet Nam War. Golub accompanied Jackson to China last year.

► Jerry Hock, 53, a wealthy retired Seattle advertising executive who met Jackson during his 1952 campaign. More conservative than Jackson, he is called on chiefly for advice on press-relation problems and for occasional help in writing speeches.

For 20 years, Jackson was one of Washington's most eligible bachelors; yet he scarcely took advantage of the glittering social life that was in his reach. He lived in a series of cluttered apartments, shared usually by other bachelors. When not politicking back home, Jackson routinely spent Saturdays in his office, devoted evenings to dining with constituents who came to Washington or, more frequently, to poring over staff and technical reports, newspapers and magazines. On Sundays he would some-

times play softball with the Kennedy clan in Georgetown. Teammates describe him as an adequate second baseman but a rather weak hitter. Occasionally he would date; his most frequent such companion in the 1950s was Helen Langer, niece of the late Senator from North Dakota.

Tea Date. Then, on the day that the Senate convened in January 1961, Senator Clinton Anderson introduced his new blonde receptionist to Jackson. She was Helen Hardin, a divorcee, daughter of the president of American Gypsum Co. in Albuquerque and graduate of Scripps College and Columbia University, where she earned a master's degree in contemporary literature, specializing in Virginia Woolf. A date for tea in the Senate dining room led to bicycling dates and to marriage in December. Jackson was 49; his wife was 28.

Despite marriage, politics still dominated Jackson. Characteristically, he interrupted his honeymoon to attend a naval briefing at Pearl Harbor. But his wife brought new grace and style to his life, though he still wears undistinguished suits and black wingtip shoes, and drives a 1961 Chevrolet. The Jacksons own two houses, one in Washington's fashionable Spring Valley, the

Six Others for '76—and More to Come

The list of contenders, seeking or sought, for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination is almost infinitely expandable at this premature stage of the campaign. It includes those household familiars: Edward Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Edmund Muskie, George Wallace. It extends to those whose potential candidacies may only be a gleam in someone's eyes, be it only their own, such as New York Governor Hugh Carey, California Governor Jerry Brown, Illinois Governor Dan Walker, Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp, Idaho Senator Frank Church, West Virginia Senator Robert Byrd, Ohio Senator John Glenn, former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford, Boston Mayor Kevin White. But any list must include six men who are either already seeking the nomination or have winning personalities and significant regional support. The six are:

DALE BUMPERS, 49. Probably the nation's fastest-rising politician, the Arkansas Senator has achieved a giant-killer reputation by coming out of his state's hill country to defeat popular former Governor Orval Faubus in a primary election. Later in 1970, he knocked off the incumbent Governor Winthrop Rockefeller to take over the statehouse and, finally, Senator J. William Fulbright last year. Breezy, charming and easygoing, his winning ways make him a highly effective campaigner. A lawyer and farmer who tags himself a populist, Bumpers is liberal on such issues as expanded

DALE BUMPERS



Medicare and race relations. The freshman Senator has made no move toward the presidency. But on the stump he is probably the most appealing of the party's fresh faces, and that could turn out to be a prized asset in the eyes of the pros in 1976.

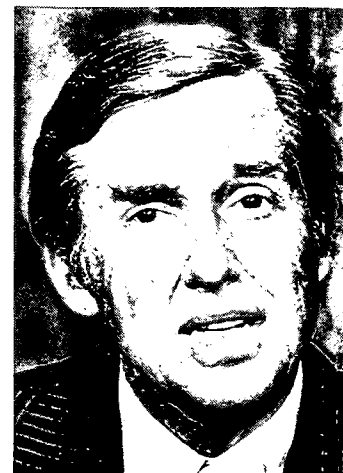
REUBIN ASKEW, 46. First elected Governor of Florida on a tax reform theme in 1970, the former state legislator delivered on his promises and won a smashing re-election last year to become the state's first successive two-term Governor. The feat was particularly remarkable because he favored busing. A native of Oklahoma who neither smokes nor drinks, Askew is a Southern liberal who has raised corporate taxes, repealed various consumer levies and pushed hard to help the elderly and protect Florida's endangered environment. Soft-spoken and handsome, he was an effective keynote speaker at the Democrats' 1972 convention. A strong executive, Askew adamantly professes no interest in seeking the presidency—a good position to be in if a deadlocked nominating convention turns to a non-candidate to break the impasse.

LLOYD BENTSEN, 53. Suave and sophisticated, the Texas Senator is a landed millionaire (estimated worth: \$2 million) whose cool style contrasts with the earthy, flesh-pressing ways

REUBIN ASKEW



LLOYD BENTSEN



other a large house in Everett that was once the home of a banker who was the richest and most powerful man in town when Jackson was a boy—a bit of symbolism much appreciated by the Senator's friends. But Jackson's family still lives relatively modestly, its only income being Jackson's \$42,500 annual salary and a small return—\$3,238 last year—from stocks owned by his wife and their two children, Anna Marie, 12, and Peter, 8. Since 1952, Scoop has donated all of the money he earns from speeches and articles—totaling \$34,350 last year—to scholarship funds in the state of Washington.

At this early stage in the campaign, Jackson's candidacy has failed to stir much enthusiasm in the Democratic Party. Pollster Patrick Caddell of Cambridge, Mass., reports that "70% or more of the party activists are not supporting anyone. They are all still looking for a candidate." Moreover, party leaders are also withholding their endorsements, and for an excellent reason. Explains Deputy Mayor John DeLuca of San Francisco: "A lot of the boys learned a political lesson the hard way last time. They came out early for Muskie and were left holding the bag." Adds Illinois Democratic Chairman John Touhy:

"Anybody that tells you now what's going to happen in '76 would have to have a beatific vision." There is a widespread feeling among party professionals that Jackson is the best prospect around at the moment, but that somehow he cannot survive the long road to the convention and nomination.

No Name. As a result, there is a currently fashionable speculation in Washington and elsewhere that might be called the Mr. X theory. It holds that either in the primaries or at a deadlocked convention a new candidate, Mr. X, will sweep the exhausted and disarrayed Democrats off their feet. The one major flaw in the theory is that no one has yet come up with a plausible name. Some Democrats believe that Senator Edward Kennedy might be persuaded to accept a draft; others keep hoping for Senators Edmund Muskie, Hubert Humphrey or even McGovern; still others yearn for a genuinely fresh face and a fresh start for the party. But for the moment, at least, Jackson is out front and going for broke. For the present, as never before in recent times, the rest of the field is clear. Says California Democratic Pro Bill Holzman of his party's prize: "There's no one there to beat. It's there to take."

STANLEY TRETICK



WORKING OUT ON HIS EXERCISE BICYCLE

of Texas politicians like Lyndon Johnson. Bentsen resists facile classification. His conservative image was buttressed by his unseating of Liberal Senator Ralph Yarborough in the 1970 primary and his opposition to busing and gun controls. Yet, claiming to be a political moderate, he has also opposed the SST, favored reduction in the oil depletion allowance, and voted to make it easier to cut off Senate filibusters. He is admired by Senate colleagues for his unpredictable but reasoned stands on issues. Running hard for months and well financed, Bentsen will probably announce his candidacy next week.

FRED HARRIS, 44. Although his aborted 1972 presidential campaign ran out of steam—and money—in just six weeks, the former Oklahoma Senator is such an evangelistic speaker and is working so hard this year that he cannot be ignored. A sharecropper's son, Harris, who earned a Phi Beta Kappa key and law degree from the University of Oklahoma, worked with his state's oil barons to become Senator. But to their surprise he quickly turned against Oklahoma's power cliques and championed legislation to help the poor. Advocating a "new populism" and "economic democracy," he sought the presidency instead of re-election to the Senate in 1972. He is conducting a far more frugal presidential campaign this time, staying with friends in New Hampshire and working tire-

lessly throughout the area's small towns in an effort to draw national attention—and Democratic Party support—by scoring an upset victory in that state's opening presidential primary next year.

JIMMY CARTER, 50. One of the earliest symbols of the New South's political moderation on racial issues, the just-retired Georgia Governor was born on a farm, still owns one, and sends his second-grade daughter to a public school that is 75% black. A Baptist who taught Sunday school as a midshipman at Annapolis and conducted religious services on wartime submarines, he was a postwar nuclear engineer under Admiral Hyman Rickover. After two terms as a state senator, it took him two tries to succeed troglodyte Governor Lester Maddox. As Governor he was scandal-free but unspectacular. Another self-styled populist and a genial campaigner, he announced his presidential candidacy last December.

MORRIS K. UDALL, 52. Tall, handsome and witty in the Will Rogers manner, the 13-year Arizona Congressman is the favored candidate of most unreconstructed McGovern liberals.

Udall is a strong conservationist (his brother Stewart was President John Kennedy's Secretary of Interior). Outgoing and athletic, the 6 ft. 5 in. Udall was born on a farm, played professional basketball (the Denver Nuggets), and is a lawyer. He has shrewdly maintained rapport with the center of his party, and even his home-state Senator, Republican Barry Goldwater, holds him in high regard. Udall was the first Democrat to announce his presidential candidacy. So far, his effort has produced more volunteers than money.

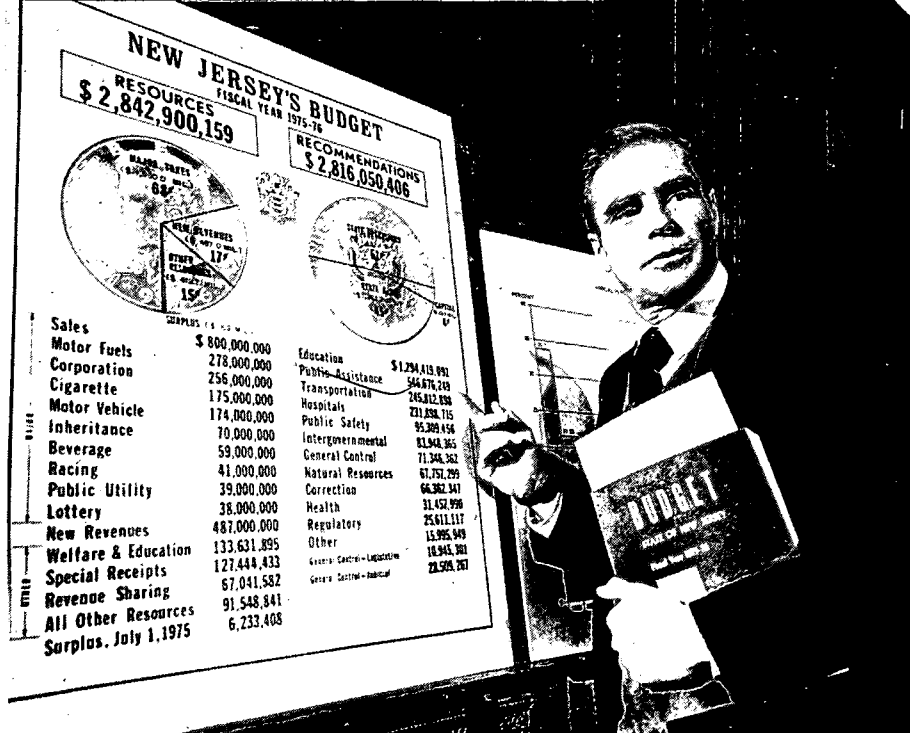
MORRIS UDALL



FRED HARRIS

JIMMY CARTER





GOVERNOR BRENDAN BYRNE PRESENTING THE NEW JERSEY BUDGET

NEW JERSEY

Going Broke

Small as it is, there is something for everyone in New Jersey, including some things nobody really wants. The state possesses some of the finest beaches on the Atlantic coast, and one of the most dismal lunar landscapes of swamp, industrial waste, and smelly oil refineries to be found in the U.S. Its nearly 8 million people live in communities as diverse as the grinding black ghettos of Newark, the elegant \$200,000 homes of Short Hills and Princeton, and the Rockwellian small towns of Cumberland County that preserve the life-style of an earlier, simpler America.

In theory and on paper, New Jersey is one of the most favored states in the nation, ranking fourth in both per capita and median family income. But its tradition of politically powerful counties has tended to emphasize local rule to the detriment of that wielded from the statehouse in Trenton, and New Jersey has paid a high price for its localism. Higher education, public health and mental institutions suffer from inadequate funding. The state bears only 28.7% of the cost of local education, compared with the national average of 43%. Half the public money spent in the state is raised at the local level, primarily through real estate taxes. Affluent towns end up with the lion's share of the pie, while poor areas struggle under the inequitable system. Part of the problem is that state legislatures have refused to enact a state income tax.

New Jersey may be about to shape up, however, thanks to pressure of two kinds. One is the recession, which has sent the unemployment rate up to 10.3%, and revenues plunging by \$135

million. The other is the fact that the state is under a court order to come up with a new method for financing public education. In 1973, the State Supreme Court declared that heavy reliance on local property taxes created wide disparities in the quality of education. But the state senate blocked a \$300 million plan submitted by Governor Brendan Byrne to rectify the imbalance because it depended on enactment of that old bugaboo, a state income tax.

Moral Duty. In his State of the State message last month, Governor Byrne warned against the "spectacle of a government so immobilized by fear of political consequence that it cannot do its moral and legal duty." Last week he translated that into figures. He outlined a "rock bottom" spending program for the next fiscal year. His \$2.82 billion budget is up only 1.83% over the current year, and represents the smallest increase in 20 years. He called for no pay raises for state employees, a \$15 million cutback in optional parts of Medicaid, a freeze on enrollments at state colleges, a reduction in scholarship assistance, lowered daily food allowances in state institutions, and a hold-the-line policy on aid to local schools.

In his budget message, Byrne told the legislature that the state had reached the moment of reckoning, and again recommended a graduated income tax. His proposal would generate \$1 billion in income and would cancel his budget deficit of \$487 million, provide the \$300 million to comply with the court order on schools, and still leave revenue left over to lower the sales tax from 5% to 3% and provide some relief from local real-estate taxes. And this time he may get what he wants. Opposition is waning. Even Democratic Senator Thomas Dunn of Union County, a long-

THE NATION

time income tax opponent, is reconsidering. The Governor, he said, "put a shotgun to our heads."

Until now, Byrne, who took office 13 months ago with a reputation for probity and common sense, has seemed to lack the political wiles to tame the county tigers. While he has been able to put through a number of anti-corruption measures, he has lost on other key issues, notably his fiscal program and a controversial bill to revive that fading beach dowager, Atlantic City, by permitting casino gambling there. Ironically, if his budget is passed but no new revenue is found, Byrne may end up as the only state employee to get a salary increase: under a measure enacted before he took office, the Governor is due for a raise in pay from \$60,000 to \$65,000.

OPINION

Defending the Founders

A bicentennial is, of course, an appropriate time for a revisionist look at a nation's beginnings. Two recent books became bestsellers by taking just such a view, each portraying the revered Thomas Jefferson and George Washington in a new and unflattering light. Last week Virginius Dabney, a proud Virginian, historian and retired editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, came to the defense of the founding fathers in an outspoken Charter Day address at Virginia's venerable College of William and Mary. He sharply assailed Fawn Brodie, author of *Thomas Jefferson, An Intimate History*, and Gore Vidal, who wrote the historical novel *Burr*, for pretending to sound scholarship.

Dabney's primary target was Bro-

CULVER



THOMAS JEFFERSON
Graffiti on the statues.

NORTHWEST

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER

SUNDAY/APRIL 17/1976



DATELINE: NORTHWEST

**1942: A Nervous U.S. Army
Rounds Up Seattle's Japanese**

Page 4

Dear Hamilton:

I am certainly
appreciative of
briefing as well
as the personal
touch and thank
you realized how
many "you all" are.

His description
of the Headquarters
certainly would
marvelous and quite
a contrast to
the enclosed
article.

Best wishes
Anne Roblin



Scoop HQ Girds For a Long Haul

By Tom Dowling
Star-News Staff Writer

The structure at 511 2nd St. N.E. is a green brick rowhouse facing Union Station. Late last week, a visitor squinted to read the brass plaque on the door there. It read: "Jackson Planning Committee."

What they were planning inside was one of the few growth industries still proliferating in the rapidly shrinking U.S. economy: A presidential campaign. Indeed, Sen. Scoop Jackson had made his candidacy official the night before in a five-minute TV spot which included film clips of the Democratic hopeful indulging in two of America's most popular pastimes: Fishing with his son and telling off Earl Butz.

THE VISITOR opened the door. In the foyer a telephone was sitting on a straight-back chair where one would have expected to find a receptionist's desk. The neighboring cubby-hole offices were empty; indeed, a fine layer of dust could be seen on the downstairs office desks.

The explanation was simple. The Jackson planners had decamped for the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, where Scoop was kicking off his candidacy with a talk at the Washington Press Club.

The speaker had some barbed criticism of the Ford Administration's wavering economic policies. "There's no one in charge of the store," Scoop told the reporters, without so much as an ironic lift of an eyelid.

MEANWHILE, at 511 2nd St., a secretary emerged from a back room. She seemed astonished to see a visitor, but cordially acceded to his even more flabbergasting request to take a look around the store, which would soon have a plaque on the door identifying itself as Jackson-for-President headquarters.

Back at the Sheraton/Carlton, Scoop was telling the press that honesty had constrained him to declare his presidential ambitions some 21 months before the election. "Who is kidding whom?" he said. "I have raised funds; I have an organization."

Upstairs at the 2nd Street rowhouse, the telephone rang from time to time. Randy Hoch was minding the store. He answered the phone with an enthusiastic "Jackson for President." Most of the calls were for those members of the office staff who were, for the moment, not minding the store.

HOCH — a tall, gap-toothed young man in glasses — genially allowed that a telephone stampede of Jackson volunteers had not yet materialized. For one thing, the telephone had inconveniently picked the morning after Scoop's TV spot to temporarily go on the blink. For another, Hoch doubted that the telephone company had as yet been informed that the Jackson Planning Committee was now the Jackson-for-President headquarters.

The visitor urged Hoch to put this supposition to the test. So Hoch dialed 411 and was finally told by the operator that, as far as the C&P Telephone Co. was concerned, the Jackson-for-President headquarters was a nullity.

DOWLING

Continued from C-1

In any event, Hoch said, there was no great rush for volunteers. A more pressing need was the purchase of a receptionist's desk for downstairs. Because, after all, it would be useless to have office volunteers without a receptionist downstairs to greet them, and even more useless to hire a receptionist until a desk had been obtained for her.

THE PHONE RANG and a secretary picked it up. "Jackson for President," she said. Then, after a pause: "We will have position papers very soon."

Hoch said it was his understanding that bumper stickers were on order.

Another secretary returned from the Sheraton-Carlton with the news that Scoop's session with the press had gone quite well. The phone rang. "Jackson Planning Committee," she answered, wincing and snapping her fingers in abashment. "I mean, Jackson for President."

Hoch said his rise in the Jackson organization had been satisfyingly swift, especially for a college sophomore. He had begun last fall as a part-time volunteer, had then been made a paid office boy, was now working up a schedule for volunteers to man the office, and hoped to be asked to head the campus-volunteer program for the campaign. "This is the Making of the President, 1976," as Theodore White would say," he explained somewhat grandiloquently, and then chuckled at himself.

THE VISITOR felt obliged to venture a Theodore White question or two. For openers, he asked Hoch why he was for Scoop.

"Well," Hoch replied, "his domestic stand is pretty good."

"How about his defense position?"

"Well, I'm pretty liberal on defense, which is more than I can say for Scoop Jackson. Still, he's losing his Cold War image slowly but surely. Besides, the defense issue won't be as important as the domestic issues."

The visitor wondered about Scoop's widely hailed reputation as a bore.

"We've heard that he's a lackluster campaigner," Hoch said cheerfully. "He gave a big speech in L.A. recently. I was kind of worried how he'd come across. Then a woman from L.A. called up and said he was charismatic. Charismatic! Boy, I've never heard that word applied to Scoop! I don't know, maybe he'll come across a lot more charismatic and not as big a dud as people think he'll be. Not that I know him well or anything. The most I've ever said to him is 'Good morning' or 'Good night'."

THE PHONE continued to ring from time to time. The office was beginning to teem with the upper-level staff, who'd returned from downtown. It was time to go. After all, candidates were never less messianic-sounding than when their top salesmen were at the counter, minding the store, pushing them like potions.

The visitor shook Hoch's hand and wished him well. For what it was worth, the visitor shared a mild predilection for Jackson, more or less for the same qualified reasons Hoch put forward. As Scoop himself had said, he had an "organization," and the visitor was charmed to see that it had not peaked too early.



Noel Skarick
for Steve's file on
other card.

March 6, 1976

Place in
JACKSON file -
an example of getting
in where heads become
of an adequate report.
LSP

Senator Henry Jackson
U. S. Senate
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Jackson:

As citizens of Florida long committed to the importance of full disclosure of campaign finances and expenditures, we urge you to disclose those presidential campaign contributions received by you prior to the effective date of the Federal requirement of full disclosure of the sources of contributions on April 7, 1972. During your abortive 1972 campaign you raised \$1,100,000, a considerable portion of which was raised prior to the time that Federal law required you to disclose the sources of contributions. You have thus far refused to reveal who contributed to your campaign prior to that date except as the Watergate Special Prosecutor investigation and the Senate Watergate investigation of oil companies illegal contributions uncovered certain of the contributions made to you.

According to the report of the special review committee of the Board of Directors of Gulf Oil Corporation, dated December 30, 1975 as filed in the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, during that period you personally solicited a campaign contribution from the lobbyist and Executive Vice President for Gulf Oil Corporation, Claude C. Wild, Jr. After your staff called Mr. Claude Wild for an appointment, and Mr. Wild met with you and your assistant, Mr. Sterling Monroe and after your personal solicitation of his help, Mr. Wild delivered to Mr. Sterling Monroe \$10,000 in cash.

Mr. Wild was charged with Federal election law violation for contributing corporate funds of Gulf Oil Corporation to you. At the time that Mr. Wild plead guilty before U. S. District Court Judge George L. Hart, Jr. on November 13, 1973, Judge Hart said that he hoped that the special prosecutor's office would move against those who accepted the money as well as those who gave it, as it takes two to commit this crime.

Senator Henry Jackson
Page Two
March 6, 1976

A spokesman from your office stated that you were not aware that corporate funds were involved in the donation and in 1973 the \$10,000 contribution was returned to Gulf Oil Corporation. Secondly, prior to April 7, 1972, it has been revealed as a result of Senate Watergate Committee's investigation of illegal oil company contributions that Leon Hess, President and Chairman of the Board of Amerada Hess Corp., (Hess Oil Company) donated \$165,000 to President Nixon's re-election drive and \$225,000 to your campaign by means of funneling the money through his accountant and others under other persons names and by making donations to a multiplicity of campaign committees. According to your former aide, Stanley Golub, Hess donated \$160,000 to you in August, 1971 and \$65,000 in March, 1972 shortly prior to the April 7, 1972 effective date of the new Federal disclosure law. You and Congressman Wilbur Mills are the only presidential aspirants in 1972 who have thus far refused to make public disclosure of pre-April 7, 1972 contributors. Since you have offered yourself again for the Presidency, both the people of Florida and all of the American people in subsequent Democratic primaries are entitled to know who else contributed to you prior to April 7, 1972 and what the true source of such contributions were.

Today, the undersigned are making demand of the office of special prosecutor and the Justice Department under the Freedom of Information Act (Section 552 Title 5 of the U. S. Code, as amended by public law 90-23) for full revelation by that office of all evidence including affidavits, depositions, checks and other documents possessed by that office or the Department concerning the Gulf Oil Corporation contribution to you, how it was solicited, the full circumstances under which the \$10,000 in cash was received by your staff aide, Sterling Monroe and all other matters pertaining to this contribution. Mr. Wild was fined rather than put in jail because he volunteered his cooperation to the Watergate Special Prosecutor's office. Presumably, he has given a full account to that office and the people are entitled to the full revelation of such information.

According to the report by the Washington Post of August 10, 1974, the accountant for Mr. Leon Hess, Isidore Werthauer, channeled the Hess contributions through his and his wife's name (\$9,000 each), \$9,000 each through thirteen other friends, relatives and the widow of a client, some of whom did not even know that the contributions were listed in their names. It has

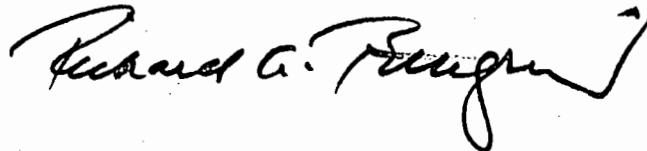
Senator Henry Jackson
Page Three
March 6, 1976

also been reported by the Washington Post that the Internal Revenue Service is examining this transaction to determine whether the \$225,000 contribution by Hess violated the Federal gift tax law.

Since under the Freedom of Information Act there will be some delay in obtaining the foregoing information unless you voluntarily authorize its release by the agencies, you are hereby requested to authorize the Internal Revenue Service, the Justice Department and the office of the special prosecutor to authorize the immediate release of all information and evidence in possession of each of them pertaining to contributions to your 1972 campaign so that the people of this state by Tuesday will have such information in connection with evaluating your candidacy.

Such action on your part would demonstrate your full adherence to the principle of full disclosure of campaign contributions. Only by such disclosure will the public be fully informed of that which it has the right to know.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Richard A. Pettigrew". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

Reply to:

Richard A. Pettigrew
Suite 1820, One Biscayne Tower
Two South Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131
305/358-9215

March 6, 1976

Edward Levi
Attorney General and
Office of Special Prosecutor
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Chief of Disclosure Staff

Re: F.O.I.A. Request All Records Pertaining
to Contributions to 1972 Presidential
Campaign of Senator Henry M. Jackson

Gentlemen:

Request is hereby made under the Freedom of Information Act (Section 552 of Title 5, U. S. Code, as amended by public law 90-23) for the immediate release and delivery to the undersigned of all information and evidence, including all affidavits, reports, depositions, checks and other documents in the possession of the office of the Special Prosecutor or by the Department of Justice pertaining to the following:

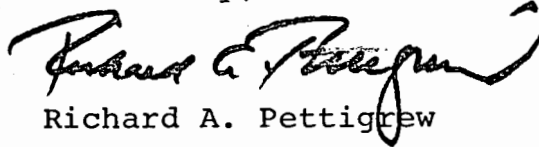
1. The contribution of Gulf Oil Corporation of \$10,000 cash to the 1972 Presidential Campaign of Senator Henry M. Jackson, as particularly described in the report of the Special Review Committee of the Board of Directors of Gulf Oil Corporation dated December 30, 1975 as filed in the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia, excerpt attached.
2. The \$225,000 contribution by Leon Hess, President and Chairman of the Board of Amerada Hess Corp. (Hess Oil), as more particularly described in the attached article in the Washington Post by Morton Mintz to said campaign.
3. Any other evidence or information pertaining to pre-April 7, 1972 campaign contributions made to the Presidential Campaign of Senator Henry M. Jackson.

Page Two
March 6, 1976

My telephone number is 350/358-9215 in Miami, Florida and I request that you please call me if any question arises over identification of the documents being sought. In the public interest request is hereby made that such documents be provided free but in the event that the Department determines otherwise, the undersigned is willing to pay any expenses incurred by the Department in supplying such information.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Richard A. Pettigrew", written in a cursive style.

Richard A. Pettigrew

Reply to:

Richard A. Pettigrew
Suite 1820, One Biscayne Tower
Two South Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131
305/358-9215

\$225,000 to Jackson

By Morton Mintz

Washington Post Staff Writer

8/10/74

Oil tycoon Leon Hess, after concealing \$135,000 in contributions to former President Nixon's re-election drive by funneling the money through a certified public accountant, sent \$225,000 through the same kind of conduits to the 1972 campaign of Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Hess' contributions to the Jackson drive—about one-fifth of the \$1.1 billion collected—were disclosed by his campaign aides in a report requested by the Senate Watergate committee, which has made them public. The oilman's contributions to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President were revealed by The Washington Post Nov. 25.

Hess contributed to both candidates before April 7, 1972, when an election-financing disclosure law took effect. But he made the Nixon contributions after he apparently had concluded—correctly—that Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) was destined to head the Democratic ticket.

Jackson's presidential campaign treasurer said Hess had told him that he would much prefer Mr. Nixon in the White House because he did not think McGovern "qualified to be President."

The former aide, Stanley D. Golub, in a telephone interview in Seattle, pointed out that Hess donated \$100,000 to Jackson in August, 1971, and \$55,000 in March, 1972. But it was not until three days before the disclosure law became effective that the contributions to Mr. Nixon were recorded.

The accountant, Isidore (Greing) Warshauer of New York City, had been, until his death in July, 1973, the longtime personal accountant of Hess, chairman and chief executive of Amerasia Hess Corp.

The CPA and his wife, Nora, were listed for \$9,000 each. But, The Washington Post's investigation showed, Warshauer apparently channeled contributions of \$9,000 each through 13 other friends, relatives and even the widow of a client, Mrs. Julius Tavin. "I never gave any money to anybody for President," she told a reporter in November. "I have barely enough to live on." And, she said, she had written no checks.

The money seemed clearly to be Hess'. None of those to whom the gifts were listed claimed they had given their own funds. Although Hess declined to comment, his personal lawyer, Roger E. Oresman, did not identify Hess as the source, while emphasizing that none of the money had come from the corporate treasury.

In addition to the \$135,000 routed through conduits, Hess and four other Ariz-

Hess had delivered were in exempt amounts—up to \$3,000 per person (\$5,000 per married couple) to each of a multiplicity of committees. However, two checks to a single Jackson committee were in the amount of \$25,000 each.

The Internal Revenue Service is known to be looking at the Hess contributions, the Washington Star-Newspaper reported. Hess' lawyer Oresman was unavailable, but associates in his law firm, Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy, had no comment.

Golub said that he had been assured by Jackson's legal advisers that Hess' method of contributing was legal. He also said it had not occurred to him that there could be gift tax complications.

Moreover, Golub said, he had made it "extremely clear" to Hess that there could be "no quid pro quo." The treasurer said that Hess "asked for nothing and got nothing."

Jackson and Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) were the only candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination who had made no public disclosure of pre-April 7 contributors.

Golub said the senator in good faith had pledged confidentiality to some of his pre-April 7 donors and chose to heed the pledge even if the result was that unfair inferences might be drawn.

Golub also said that voluntary disclosures made by Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) in the presidential contest had been "partial" and therefore worse than no disclosures at all.

The Jackson financial report to the Senate Watergate committee was praised by its chairman, Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.) as the most complete made by a 1972 presidential aspirant. Jackson aides said, Golub said Jackson was meticulously honest, "to the point of having him carefully screen all offerings to be sure that none had originated in corporate treasuries.

A \$10,000 cash contribution from Claude Wilde, then a vice president of Gulf Oil, turned out to have been given illegally from corporate funds. Golub said that Wilde had insisted the money was his own, and that the company since has expressed regret that the true situation had not been made clear.

Other major pre-April 7 contributors listed by Jackson:

Dwight O. Andreas, Minneapolis soybean magnate, \$20,000 in cash. He had, during the same period, been Senator Humphrey's biggest contributor and had given the senator \$100,000.

Washington Post

Aug. 10, 1974

Portion of text missing from Teleopic

①

IN THE
United States District Court
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
Plaintiff,

v.

GULF OIL CORPORATION
CLAUDE C. WILD, JR.
Defendants.

RECEIVED
DEC 24 1975
Civil Action
No. 75-0324

REPORT

OF

**THE SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE
OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF
GULF OIL CORPORATION**

JOHN J. McCLOY, *Chairman*
NATHAN W. PEARSON
BEVERLEY MATTHEWS

MILBANK, TWEED, HADLEY & McCLOY
Counsel

S. D. LEIDESDORF & Co.
Accountants

December 30, 1975

2

To obtain the funds, Wild testified, he called Viglia, who brought him the \$50,000 in cash from the Bahamas Ex. account in April or May of 1971. Wild gave the cash to Nunn.

Calling on Wild again in January 1972, Nunn told Wild that it would be a very expensive campaign and he would like another \$50,000. Nunn implied to Wild that this was "kind of a quota that they were expecting from large corporations." Nunn suggested that Wild might like to meet with Mr. Maurice Stans and Nunn set up an appointment. Wild met with Stans on February 4, 1972, while Stans was still Secretary of Commerce but after he had announced his intention to resign that office. Stans, who knew of the previous \$50,000, indicated that he was hopeful of obtaining \$100,000 from the large American corporations. Wild told Stans that he would have to think about it. Wild then called Viglia, obtained the additional \$50,000 and delivered it personally and in cash to Stans, who by then had moved his office to the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

In early 1972, Mr. William Brawley of Senator Henry Jackson's staff called Wild for an appointment, and Wild agreed to meet with Senator Jackson and his assistant, Mr. Sterling Monroe. The Senator indicated that he was having a difficult time raising money and was hopeful that Wild would be helpful; Wild said he would see what he could do. Wild then arranged through Viglia to obtain \$10,000 and delivered it to Monroe. Also in early 1972, at the request of Carl Arnold, a very close friend, Wild arranged to give him \$15,000; Wild presumed that Arnold passed the money on to a committee handling Congressman Wilbur Mills' campaign. Again, the source of the money was Viglia and Bahamas Ex.

In the course of questioning by members of the Senate Watergate Committee, these interchanges between Wild and Senator Ervin took place:

"Senator Ervin....

March 6, 1976

Internal Revenue Service
Chief Disclosure Staff
P. O. Box 338
Ben Franklin Station
Washington, D. C. 20004

Re: F.O.I.A. Request

Gentlemen:

Request is hereby made under the Freedom of Information Act (Section 552 of Title 5, U. S. Code, as amended by public law 90-23) for the immediate release and delivery to the undersigned of all information and evidence, including all affidavits, reports, depositions, checks and other documents in the possession of the Internal Revenue Service pertaining to the following:

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2. The \$225,000 contribution by Leon Hess, President and Chairman of the Board of Amerada Hess Corp. (Hess Oil), as more particularly described in the attached article in the Washington Post by Morton Mintz to said campaign.

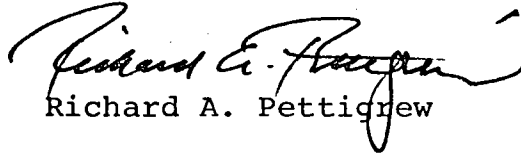
3. Any other evidence or information pertaining to pre-April 7, 1972 campaign contributions made to the 1972 Presidential Campaign of Senator Henry M. Jackson.

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Page Two
March 6, 1976

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,


Richard A. Pettigrew

Reply to:

Richard A. Pettigrew
Suite 1820, One Biscayne Tower
Two South Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131
305/358-9215

\$225,000 to Jackson

By Morton Mintz

Washington Post Staff Writer

8/10/74

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Hess' contributions to the Jackson drive—about one-fifth of the \$1.1 million collected—were disclosed by his campaign aides in a report requested by the Senate Watergate committee, which has made them public. The oilman's contributions to the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President were revealed by The Washington Post Nov. 25.

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Jackson's presidential campaign treasurer said Hess had told him that he would much prefer Mr. Nixon in the White House because he did not think McGovern "qualified to be President."

The former aide, Stanley D. Golub, in a telephone interview in Seattle, pointed out that Hess donated \$100,000 to Jackson in August, 1971, and \$50,000 in March, 1972. But it was not until three days before the disclosure law became effective that the contributions to Mr. Nixon were recorded.

The accountant, Isidore (Irving) Warshauer of New York City, had been, until his death in July, 1973, the long-time personal accountant of Hess, chairman and chief executive of Amerside Hess Corp.

The CIA and his wife, Dora, were listed for \$8,000 each. But, The Washington Post's investigation showed, Warshauer apparently channeled contributions of \$2,000 each through 13 other friends, relatives and even the widow of a client, Mrs. Julius Tovin. "I never gave any money to anybody for President," she told a reporter in November. "I have barely enough to live on." And, she said, she had written no checks.

The money seemed clearly to be Hess'. None of those to whom the gifts were listed claimed they had given their own funds. Although Hess declined to comment, his personal lawyer, Roger P. Oresman, did not disclaim Hess as the source, while emphasizing that none of the money had come from the corporate treasury.

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Other major pre-April 7 contributors listed by Jackson:

Wayne O. Andreas, Minneapolis soybean magnate, \$25,000 in cash. He had, during the same period, been Sen. Humphrey's biggest contributor and had given the senator \$100,000.

Washington Post

Aug. 10, 1974

Portion of text missing from Teletypier

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5/14/76
**Senators Being Investigated
On Payments by Gulf Oil**

By Leonard Curry

United Press International

The Justice Department and two other federal agencies are investigating several senators for possible criminal activity involving illegal campaign contributions from Gulf Oil Co., the Senate ethics committee said today.

The committee said it was working with Justice, the Internal Revenue Service and the Securities and Exchange Commission on an "in-depth investigation of these allegations."

The committee, which has responsibility for assuring that members of the Senate meet certain ethical standards for conduct, said it "has met, in formal session, three times on these matters within the committee's jurisdiction in reference to Gulf Oil's alleged illegal contributions to several members of the U.S. Senate."

THE SEC HAS filed in U.S. District Court sworn statements of former Gulf officials that alleged payments of about \$100,000 were made to Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and more than \$40,000 to Sen. Russell Long, D-La.

The former officials also said a "sealed envelope" of cash was delivered to ethics committee Chairman Howard Cannon, D Nev., in the early 1950s. They said Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., exerted pressure to get a \$10,000 contribution for his 1972 presidential campaign. Jackson is also a candidate this year.

The sworn statements also suggested payments may have been made to every member of the Senate Watergate committee except Chairman Sen. Ervin, D-N.C. Ervin re-

tired shortly after leading the investigation into corrupt practices of the Nixon administration, including the receipt of illegal campaign contributions.

THE ONLY committee member to acknowledge a Gulf contribution is Sen. Howard Baker, R-Tenn.

Baker and Jackson said they did not know the Gulf contributions were from corporate funds. Long, Cannon and Scott said they had no recollection of receiving money from Gulf.

Other alleged recipients of Gulf money included four presidential candidates: President Ford when he was House Republican leader, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, former Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., and Jackson.

The Justice Department has 50 investigations involving illegal campaign contributions some of which include individuals. A high government source said the special prosecutor gave Justice evidence of large and continuous corporate payments to members of Congress nearly three years ago, but no charges have been brought.

THE INTERNAL Revenue Service is investigating 110 corporations for possible evasion of gift taxes and the SEC is investigating more than 30 corporations for failing to report slush fund activities.

Gulf admitted diverting \$5 million from corporate funds from 1959 to 1973 for campaign contributions to federal, state and local candidates. But 43 other corporations have been convicted of, charged with or admitted diverting more than \$400 million in the past 15 years for illegal campaign contributions and foreign bribes.

Two Oil Firms Plead Guilty in Donations

By Timothy S. Robinson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two oil companies pleaded guilty yesterday in federal courts here and in Kentucky to charges of making illegal campaign contributions totaling \$225,000.

Gulf Oil Corp. entered its guilty plea here to charges that it illegally gave \$125,000 to 1972 presidential campaigns, with \$100,000 going to President Nixon's reelection effort, \$5,000 to the unsuccessful Democratic campaign of Sen. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) and \$20,000 to the unsuccessful drive by Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.).

Ashland Petroleum Co., a subsidiary of Ashland Oil Inc., pleaded guilty in Kentucky to giving \$100,000 to the Nixon reelection campaign.

Both companies were fined \$5,000 and two company officials were fined \$1,000 each. The officials could have been jailed for a year, but apparently escaped imprisonment because they volunteered their cooperation to the Watergate special prosecution force.

Claude C. Wild Jr., a vice president of Gulf since 1967 who pleaded guilty before U.S. District Judge George L. Hart Jr., said the donation was "a mistake in judgment and certainly inexcusable."

In accepting the pleas by Wild and the company to criminal information charges filed by the Watergate special prosecution office, Hart said the criminal acts they admitted may be worse than a crime of violence "because you're corrupting our government."

Hart said he hoped the special prosecutor's office will move against those who accepted the money as well as those who gave it, since "it takes two to commit this crime."

Spokesmen for both Jackson and Mills said the two Democrats did not know the Gulf donation was illegal, and said preparations were under way to refund the money.

Yesterday's pleas brought to six the corporations that have pleaded guilty after coming forth to tell the Watergate special prosecutor that they have illegal corporate campaign donations.

A seventh corporation, American Shipbuilding Co. of Cleveland, is known to be under investigation by the special prosecutor for illegal campaign contributions. Executives for that firm who have been granted immunity appeared before the Senate Watergate committee yesterday during its investigation into campaign financing.

Watergate Associate Special Prosecutor Thomas F. McBridge, who heads the task force investigating presidential campaign financing, has told newsmen that additional prosecutions are expected, and that as many as two dozen corporations and labor unions are being investigated.

Gulf and its vice president were specifically charged with a nonwillful violation of federal laws prohibiting campaign contributions by corporations.

They were also the first charged with nonwillful violation of federal laws prohibiting campaign contributions by corporations.

They were also the first charged with illegal contributions to Democratic candidates in 1972, and when this was pointed out to Hart, he

exclaimed that at least the organization was "impartial."

Attorney Cloyd Mellott of Pittsburgh, representing the company and Wild, said Gulf has determined "never again (to) use corporate funds" for political contributions.

He said the firm regretted the incident, and claimed that the political system "exerted pressure both on this corporation and this officer" for such donations. He did not expand on this statement in court, and would not comment out of court.

Mellott said also that the donations were not made in an effort to get favor from the government.

Mills, who lost his attempt at the Democratic presidential nomination, is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which writes legislation on tax matters that include such elements as oil-depletion allowances. A spokesman for him said the congressman had not been aware of the illegal donation and would return the money from his own pocket if Gulf asks for it.

Jackson, who also failed in his bid, is chairman of the Senate Interior Committee and takes a special interest in oil policy and other energy-related matters. A spokesman said the senator was not aware that corporate funds were involved in the donation, and that a refund to the corporation was being processed.

*Washington Post
Wednesday
Nov. 14, 1973*

JACKSON FILE

HENRY JACKSON

PEACE QUOTIENT* 11.5%

"I MUST SAY, QUITE FRANKLY, THAT WE ARE NOW VERY CLOSE TO THE MILITARY MARGIN OF SAFETY."

JACKSON LOBBIED AGAINST THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY (1963) BUT VOTED FOR IT AT THE LAST MINUTE. HE GAVE FIRST PRIORITY TO MAINTAINING "A GREATER NUCLEAR POWER AND STRENGTH THAN THE SOVIET UNION. STRATEGIC PARITY IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH" APRIL 15 1971.

HE VOTED AGAINST CURB OF ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE.

TRIDENT SUBMARINE

B-1 BOMBER

C-5A

OVERALL DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS.

"I SAY THANK GOD FOR THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX"

THE CIA

SEN. JACKSON GAVE, EXTREMELY HELPFUL ADVICE ON HOW TO DEFLECT A THREATENED CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF CIA AND ITT ACTIVITIES IN CHILE.

* BASED ON 88 VOTES IN THE SENATE.

JACKSON OPPOSES AMNESTY.

AICKOVER IS SUPPORTER OF JACKSON

JACKSON HAS ALWAYS BEEN A PROBONENT OF
NEW MILITARY HARDWARE (TIME FEB 17 '75)

HE LED FIGHTS FOR THE ABM AND SUPER-
SONIC TRANSPORT.

Jackson FILE

April 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Steve Stark
FROM: Elliott Weiss *Elliott Weiss*
SUBJECT: Senator Jackson's Past Financial Supporters

Summary: In connection with his 1972 campaign, Jackson received two illegal corporate political contributions--from Gulf Oil and Time Oil Co.--and large amounts of secret cash contributions, including \$225,000 in cash given by Leon Hess, principal stockholder of Amerada-Hess Oil Co. This information may be particularly damaging to Jackson in Pennsylvania, where Gulf's illegal contributions were a factor in Sen. Scott's decision to resign and are a factor in the Republican Senatorial primary campaign.

Background: Sen. Jackson raised a total of \$1.1 million for his 1972 presidential campaign. Jackson received almost all the money he raised before April 7, 1972, the effective date of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. During the 1972 campaign, Jackson consistently refused to disclose from whom he had received contributions, but he did turn his campaign records over to the Senate Water-gate Committee. The committee did not discuss Jackson's campaign in its final report (it did discuss the McGovern, Humphrey and Mills campaigns), but on Aug. 6, 1972, it did release information it had gathered about Jackson's campaign. Aug. 6 was the day after Nixon released the "smoking gun" tape, and, needless to say, the information about Jackson's campaign was largely ignored by the press and the public.

The following aspects of Jackson's campaign financing are worthy of note:

- Hess contribution--Leon Hess, principal stockholder in Amerada-Hess Oil Co., gave \$225,000 in cash to Jackson's campaign treasurer. The treasurer was told that most of the money came from other persons whose names Hess used to disguise the fact that he was the source of the contributions. Hess delivered \$160,000 in August 1971 and the remaining \$65,000 in March 1972. Hess also made a \$250,000 cash contribution to the Nixon campaign, using the same technique.

At the time Hess made his contributions to Nixon and Jackson, Amerada-Hess was under investigation by the Interior Department for violating an agreement under which it had received permission to build a huge oil refinery in the Virgin Islands. Interior found Amerada-Hess had violated the agreement, but took no punitive action against the company. Jackson, then chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, never investigated the matter. The treasurer of Jackson's campaign said Hess had never mentioned the Virgin Islands dispute to him.

● Gulf Oil contribution--There is some controversy over the circumstances surrounding Gulf Oil's contribution of \$10,000 to Jackson, but all parties agree a contribution was made early in 1972 to Jackson by Claude Wild Jr., Vice President in charge of Gulf's Washington office. Wild, over the period from 1961 to 1972, made approximately \$4 million in illegal corporate campaign contributions with Gulf Oil funds.

On Nov. 14, 1973, Wild testified before the Senate Watergate Committee as follows:

Mr. Dorsen. Would you please describe what contacts you had with representatives of Democratic candidates themselves?

Mr. Wild. All right, sir. As I recall the time frame, it was in early January, could have been February of 1972, I was contacted by Mr. William Brawley, Bill Brawley, who is on the staff of Senator Jackson. He called me two or three times. My intuition told me what he was calling about. Finally, I agreed to meet with--he wanted to arrange a meeting with me with Senator Jackson. Subsequently, that meeting did take place. I met with Senator Jackson and his assistant, Sterling Monro.

At that time, Senator Jackson indicated that he was having a difficult time raising money, and this was well documented, at least by the press, and he was hopeful that I would be helpful. I told him I would see what I could do.

What I did was arrange, through the same sources, to get \$10,000 and delivered it to Sterling Monro. That is the last I saw of Senator Jackson or Sterling Monro.

Mr. Dorsen. Is it your testimony that Mr. Brawley called you and contacted you for the contribution?

Mr. Wild. That is my testimony.

Mr. Dorsen. And is it your testimony that the subject of money was discussed at the meeting that you just described?

Mr. Wild. No specific sum, but when you say, "a politician says to someone, I hope you will be helpful," you kind of understand what that means.

Mr. Dorsen. But no sum was discussed at that meeting?

Mr. Wild. No sum was discussed.

A lawyer who had interviewed Wild in 1974, in a deposition given late in 1975, stated that Wild had delivered the \$10,000 in cash to Munro at a restaurant near the Capitol. Wild told the lawyer he gave Jackson the money to help Jackson "make a big splash" in the Florida primary. Wild said he agreed to assist Jackson because he was chairman of the Interior Committee, which is responsible for energy legislation.

Munro and Jackson have denied they first approached Wild for a contribution, and Munro also has said he took the money in the belief that it was a legal contribution of Wild's personal funds. During 1974, a Jackson campaign committee returned the \$10,000 to Gulf.

● Time Oil contribution--Also before April 7, 1972, the president of Time Oil Co. gave \$15,000 in cash to the Jackson campaign. A part of that contribution came from corporate funds, and Time Oil subsequently pleaded guilty to charges of having illegally contributed corporate funds to the Nixon and Jackson campaigns.

● Other secret cash contributions--In addition to the contributions from Hess, Gulf Oil and Time Oil, Jackson received secret cash contributions from the following persons:

Walter L. Davis, Texas oil operator	\$ 50,000
Dwayne O. Andreas, Minneapolis soybean oil dealer	25,000
J. Peter Grace, Chairman of W. R. Grace Chemicals Co.	10,000
Edwin W. Pauley, Chairman of Pauley Petroleum	10,000
J. D. Coleman, Saratoga, Wyo.	5,000
Ben Sonnenberg, N.Y. public relations man	5,000
B. L. Perkins, Boise, Idaho	5,000
Fred J. Russell, former Undersecretary of Interior under Nixon	<u>5,000</u>
	<u>\$115,000</u>

● Other large contributions--Jackson received another \$164,000 in contributions that might be considered controversial. The largest of these--\$100,000--came from Meshulam Riklis, head of Rapid American Corp. (Riklis also gave \$100,000 to Humphrey and \$200,000 to Nixon.) In addition, Jackson received \$29,000 in large contributions from other oil and aerospace interests and \$35,000 or more from persons who had contributed at least \$10,000 to Nixon. An article detailing these contributions is attached.

Discussion: Nothing Jackson did constituted a violation of law, since before April 7, 1972, candidates were not required to report contributions received for

their primary campaigns. But Jackson does appear vulnerable for having solicited and received in secret many large contributions, often given in cash, and given in large part by people in the oil business. At the time he solicited the contributions, Jackson, as chairman of the Interior Committee, was responsible for much legislation affecting the oil industry. Also, dating from about the time he began to run actively for president, Jackson abandoned his practice of working in cooperation with the industry and had some well-publicized confrontations with oil company officials.

As is noted above, Gulf Oil's illegal contributions, particularly those it made to Sen. Hugh Scott and to Rep. Heinz, who is running for the Republican nomination to replace Scott, have recently been subjects of particular controversy in Pennsylvania. Jackson may be particularly vulnerable to questions concerning why he apparently personally solicited a contribution--or at least "discussed his campaign financing problems"--with Claude Wild, Gulf's chief lobbyist and a person who was apparently well known in Washington as a political "bag man."

(202) 833-3727

Follow-up: If you have any questions about the above, please call me. I am trying to run down additional information about Jackson's 1972 campaign, and am also trying to determine whether Jackson can be linked to Congressional action on recent energy legislation which resulted in Amerada-Hess reaping a \$400 million windfall under the Federal Energy Administration's entitlements program. Will keep you posted.

Hess Donation to Jackson in 1972 Disguised

By James R. Polk
Star-News Staff Writer

Oil millionaire Leon Hess pumped \$225,000 into the losing 1972 presidential try by Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., by disguising his secret donation under the names of other persons, Senate Watergate records show.

Hess had used the same method to mask \$250,000 given for President Nixon in 1972 while an Amerada Hess Corp. oil refinery in the Virgin Islands was under investigation by the Interior Department.

JACKSON'S campaign treasurer said Hess eventually told him the money was a personal donation, although he said, "When I first got the checks, I was naive enough to think he had raised the money (from others)."

An elderly widow in Florida, whose name was used for part of the Hess contribution, said, "I didn't give anything. That's as crazy a thing as I ever heard of."

The disguised Hess donation surfaced today as the special Senate Watergate committee made public its file of documents gathered on the 1972 Jackson campaign.

The records also showed nearly \$166,000 in secret cash contributions for Jackson, with more than half of

Gulf Oil pleaded guilty last fall to using corporate cash brought in from the Bahamas for the Jackson and Nixon contributions, but no shadow has fallen so far over the other donations for the Democratic senator.

The Watergate files showed the Jackson presidential campaign raised slightly more than \$1.1 million for its 1972 race — and just under half of the money came from donors also associated with Nixon.

Hess, who is the board chairman of Amerada Hess

Corp., was the biggest Jackson backer. The second largest, at \$100,000, was Meshulam Riklis, head of Rapid-American Corp., a clothing conglomerate. Riklis also gave the same sum for Humphrey and put \$200,000 into Nixon's campaign.

OTHER MAJOR donors found in both the Jackson and Nixon records include the heads of United Air Lines, American Airlines, Atlantic Richfield Co., Dart Industries, and Electronic Data Systems Corp. (EDS), a computer firm with government ties.

Almost all of the donations were made in a secret fund-raising period before a new disclosure law took effect in April 1972. Jackson had refused to make public the identity of his donors

Jackson's treasurer, Stanley D. Golub of Seattle, said Hess apparently used the other names for his donation so it could be kept confidential.

"I BELIEVE Hess completely when he states that's personal money," Golub said. "Of course, that's a hell of a lot of personal money, but he is a wealthy man."

Golub said he called on Hess in New York City in 1971 after he was told the oilman had contacted Jackson's campaign and said he wanted to contribute.

"I never knew he had any system," Golub said.

Sometime after Hess' donations began arriving, the treasurer said, the oilman told him he had made gifts to the other persons, "and through these gifts, they made the contributions."

The Internal Revenue Service is known to be looking at the Hess donation for Jackson. The Watergate special prosecutor's office also has a file on it.

Asked about the Jackson money, Hess' attorney in New York, Roger Oresman, said, "I have no comment on that."

GOLUB provided the Watergate committee with a three-page breakdown of the Hess donation, a listing of all known cash donors

government found the firm had sufficient excuses for its lapses.

Jackson is chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, which also oversees the Interior Department. But Golub said Hess had never mentioned the Virgin Islands dispute.

"He asked absolutely nothing, no favors," Golub said. "He asked for nothing, he got nothing."

Davis, the Texas oilman, sent an affidavit to the Watergate committee saying he also had sought no special treatment.

"... Never prior to the date of the contribution, or after, has Senator Jackson extended any favors to myself, my family, or anyone that I know, nor have I ever solicited any favors from him," Davis swore.

DAVIS WAS NOT a Nixon donor in 1972, although he did give \$25,000 for a White House-backed operation for GOP Senate candidates in 1970.

Asked if Hess is supporting Jackson again in the Democrat's 1976 presidential campaign which is now being organized, Golub said, "I don't think the senator's position is going

to attract very many contributions from oil interests."

Jackson has been a vocal critic recently of the

Atlantic Richfield, sent \$2,000.

Edward E. Carlson, president of United Air Lines, sent \$1,000 for Jackson and gave a much larger amount for Nixon. C. R. Smith, who took over again last year as chairman of American Airlines, donated \$8,000 to Jackson, compared to only a token contribution for Nixon.

MORE THAN a dozen donors who, like Riklis, Andreas, and Hess, sent five- and six-figure sums for Nixon also showed up on the Jackson list. Among them were:

Milledge A. Hart III, Dallas, president of EDS, \$10,000; Justin Dart, Los Angeles head of a drug store chain, \$5,000; John Loeb, New York, stock broker, \$5,000; Nathan Lipson, Atlanta, carpet manufacturer, \$5,000; Charles E. Smith, Washington, office building developer, \$5,000; Samuel Rothberg, Peoria, Ill., a leader in the American Jewish community, \$5,000, and C. Douglas Dillon, a former Treasury secretary, \$2,000.

April 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM

FOR: Steve Stark

FROM: Elliott Weiss *EW*

SUBJECT: Jackson's Finances--Follow Up to my Memo of April 7, 1976

Summary: I have developed a small amount of additional data on Senator Jackson's finances. I recommend you provide what we have to a friendly journalist as basis for inquiries directly to Jackson and a story on the subject, preferably to run before the Pennsylvania primary.

Background: I have been able to develop only a little additional data on the financing of Jackson's 1972 campaign.

● Watergate Committee--A source familiar with the Watergate Committee's work told me they devoted very little effort to investigating Jackson's campaign. He said, though, that he had no reason to disbelieve Claude Wild's testimony that Jackson first approached him for a contribution.

● Special Prosecutor--Someone very familiar with the Watergate Special Prosecutor's investigation of corporate contributions made a similar statement about Wild's story. With regard to the Hess contribution, he said Hess had a history of making large cash contributions from personal funds and had been a heavy financial backer of President Johnson in 1964. He said that he doubted whether any direct link could be proven to exist between Hess's contributions to Nixon and Jackson and the actions taken with respect to the Amerada-Hess refinery in the Virgin Islands. The pattern, he said, was one of Hess being a generous donor and then receiving friendly treatment from those he supported without having to ask for any explicit quid pro quo.

The same source also suggested I look into Jackson's relationship with Time Oil, if I had any good contacts in Seattle (I don't). He characterized the relationship as "very interesting."

● FEA--I have checked with several people who are familiar with the Federal Energy Administration's entitlement program, under which Amerada-Hess has reaped a \$400 million windfall, but have found no indications that Jackson was responsible for the program or took any particular actions designed to support Amerada-Hess's interests.

● Personal Finances--I have also looked into Jackson's positions on recent campaign reform legislation. One item may be of interest. On the first

day the most recent reform bill was debated in the Senate--Oct. 25, 1973-- Sen. Pastore introduced an amendment to bar Senators, Congressmen and certain others from accepting any honoraria. The amendment, which Jackson supported, was adopted.

Jackson then introduced an amendment to bar those same officials from receiving any "earned income" other than their salaries. Sen. Hugh Scott accused Jackson of being hypocritical in sponsoring the amendment. (Scott probably was correct, since neither the Senate nor the House was likely to adopt a bill with such a stringent limitation.) Jackson responded to Scott: "I am not being hypocritical. I have given up all my earned income since I came to Congress."

The Jackson amendment was adopted, but it and the Pastore amendment were later dropped by the Senate from the bill. However, the House enacted a limitation on honoraria, which was included in the law finally enacted as a provision barring Senators and Representatives from receiving more than \$1,000 for a single speech or article or from receiving more than \$15,000 in honoraria in a single year. The provision became effective in 1975.

In 1974, Jackson earned the fourth largest amount in honoraria of any Senator--\$34,350. I do not know if he kept the fees or gave them up, as he said on the Senate floor it was his practice to do.

Discussion: I suggest we make available the information in this and my April 7, 1976, memo to a good investigative reporter--such as Walter Pincus of The Washington Post--who could follow up on these matters and raise some hard questions directly with Jackson. (I have deliberately refrained from calling Jackson's office.)

Four points any reporter working on the story might wish to consider are:

--Jackson should be pinned down on whether he met with Wild and whether he discussed his campaign finances at the meeting. Jackson's denials that he sought a contribution may be technically correct but, as Wild pointed out in his testimony, when a politician says to someone "I hope you will be helpful," you kind of understand what he means.

--Jackson should be questioned on all contacts he had with Leon Hess in 1971 and 1972. He also should be asked why his Interior Committee never investigated the Interior Department's decision concerning the Amerada-Hess refinery.

--Hess admitted last week that he has paid substantial amounts of his personal funds to a foreign government official (probably by way of a bribe) in the hope of obtaining some benefit for Amerada-Hess.

This could be viewed as evidence that Hess was in the practice of spreading his money around to benefit his company, and that he was so motivated when he supported Jackson and Nixon in 1971 and 1972.

--Jackson, who has recently cultivated an image of himself as an enemy of the oil industry, was known as somebody who worked well and easily with the industry until early 1974. There was a good background story on this in The New York Times early in 1974.

Please Note: I do not intend to do any additional research in this area unless requested to do so by you.

P.S. I have noted that Herb Alexander of the Citizens Research Foundation in Princeton, N. J. is due to publish his study of financing of the 1972 election on April 25, 1976.

That might be a good "peg" on which to hang a story about Jackson's past financial backers. Alexander's phone number is (609) 924-0246.

To: Jimmy Carter

From: Peter Bourne PE

Subject: Impeachment

The endorsement of Mo Udall by Archibald Cox has had a very significant impact in his favor in Massachusetts. Your best way of dealing with it is to talk about your own early statements on impeachment.

On Sunday October 21, 1973, the day after Cox was fired you said at a press conference at the mansion, "By firing Archibald Cox, Nixon has committed an action that warrants impeachment. I think he shows signs of irrationality. A man of integrity can find little hope in the Nixon administration." Udall never took a comparable position and was consistently cautious and uncertain on impeachment. On October 23, 1973 he made a speech entitled "We must guard against divisiveness" in which he suggested that Nixon should resign as a quid pro quo for the confirmation of Ford as Vice President. He was a co-sponsor of HR-630, a resolution instructing the Judiciary Committee to "inquire into and investigate whether grounds exist for impeachment of Richard Nixon." This was a cautious move and Udall himself remained ambivalent. In an article in the National Observer on January 19, 1974 that identified Udall as one of the 42 per cent of House members who were undecided and said, "Morris 'Mo' Udall, Democrat from Arizona cannot decide whether to vote for impeachment until he decides whether it is essentially a criminal conviction or a political process for removing unfaithful servants from office. There is some basis for each viewpoint."

I think you should let people in Massachusetts know that you called outright for impeachment as early as October 21 because you knew the difference between right and wrong, and that Udall was still procrastinating four months later, asking Nixon to resign and do the job that was the Constitutional responsibility of the House and Mo Udall. In addition Cox, although fired, never called for Nixon's impeachment.

People in Massachusetts felt vindicated for their vote for McGovern when Nixon was forced out. You can get across the board support by reminding people that you called for impeachment long before any of the other candidates including Udall. The data shows that some of the earliest and strongest support for impeachment was among blue collar workers, and I believe that people who are against busing also were against Nixon. In particular you will enhance your credibility with the liberals and undercut criticism such as Birch Bayh's in saying that you are a Republican disguised as a Democrat.

I feel there is great urgency to make those statements in Massachusetts, but the issue is a very good one for dealing with your liberal critics in general. It is an issue that was very dear to them and they can not fault you on it. You have a better record than any of the "liberal" candidates and you should make the most of it.

*Udall finally came out for impeachment
on August 6th 1974, Nixon resigned on August 9th.*

Jackson
file

Charles E. Spahn, S. of Ohio

Jackson's energy policy is based on federally-mandated, federally-subsidized development of coal and shale resources from the public lands of the Rocky Mountain and Northern Great Plains States. Jackson has introduced legislation (S. 740, National Energy Production Board Act) creating a new White House agency with extraordinary powers to direct capital and other resources away from other regions of the country, and away from other sectors of the economy, to support a public lands energy development program.

At the same time that Jackson is promoting Western coal as the way to expand national coal production, he is also working to make sure that Western coal becomes the feedstock for the synthetic fuels industry. Jackson is the Senate's prime mover behind proposals to provide federally-guaranteed loans, direct construction grants, and product price supports to synthetic fuel producers. While Jackson's language does not openly designate Western resource developers as beneficiaries of the subsidies, most private industry lobbying for Jackson's bill has come from WESCO, El Paso, and other companies hoping to develop coal in the Rockies and Northern Plains.

Because of the extraordinarily high capital costs of synthetic fuels plants, a federal decision to subsidize development of a synthetic industry in one region of the country is likely to determine where most U.S. synthetic production will take place. Even if federal funds are used to build one or two synfuel plants in the east, the overwhelming percentage of applications for subsidies and the overwhelming number of projects recommended by the federal government (FEA, Interior, Treasury, Commerce) are based on western resources. Given the combination of direct federal subsidy and access to public coal and shale at bargain prices, synthetic fuel enterprises based on western resources are clearly favored by both the substance and the timing of Jackson's proposals. Timing is important because since there is no genuine market for synthetic fuels because of their high cost, coal owners who don't get subsidies will not themselves be able to go into the synfuels production business.

A key regulatory decision that will affect the public lands development proposals is enforcement of the Clean Air Act. Strong no-significant-
deterioration standards, and uniform requirement of scrubbers, would create obstacles to major energy development on the public lands of the West, and would permit more widespread use of medium-to-high sulfur Illinois/Indiana/Ohio coals, diminishing the competitive advantage of strip-mined low-sulfur coal from the Northern Plains.

While Jackson has not joined the Ford Administration's overt attack on Clean Air Act standards that stand in the way of Western coal development, Jackson's energy bill (S. 740) contains a little-noticed provision that would permit public-lands energy projects, unless Congress voted against such proposals within 60 days after they were initiated by Jackson's new agency, to operate exempt from the regulatory standards and procedures of EPA and other federal agencies.

So -- Jackson's energy program, subsidy for development of western fuels and relaxation of Clean Air standards, is identical to the Ford Administration's in biasing the economics of energy production so as to divert capital investment, jobs, and tax revenues away from the Midwest and East to the Rockies and Northern Plains -- at the expense of the agricultural economy of the west and of the industrial economy of the midwest and east. While Carter's program -- no subsidies for Western energy development, no subsidies for commercialization of synfuels, enforcement of Clean Air standards, -- encourages production of Midwest-East coal, gives Midwest coal a competitive advantage over Western when economics do permit investment in synfuels (because the Midwest coals are closer to both markets and adequate water supplies), and avoids the agriculture-vs-energy tradeoff required if the Western coals become the foundation of America's expanded coal production.

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JACKSON

February 20, 1976

To: Oliver Miller
From: Milton Gwirtzman

Re: Senator Jackson's voting record on busing legislation

An examination of the roll-call votes in the United States Senate on the issue of busing over the past four years shows that Senator Jackson has voted against busing in the years he was running for President and for busing in the years he was not.

In 1972, a Presidential year, the House of Representatives passed a bill prohibiting students to be bused for the purpose of school desegregation, except to the school district closest or next closest to the pupil's home. This would strengthen the neighborhood school concept and outlaw busing across town or for long distances. The bill would also have allowed all previous busing orders by federal courts and agencies in every city, to be reopened to bring them into compliance with the bill's directives, whether the busing was working or not.

When the bill came over to the Senate, some of the liberal members started a filibuster to kill it. Three efforts were made to invoke cloture to cut off debate and pass the bill. Senator Jackson voted for cloture each time. These were the only votes he cast on the busing issue that year.

In 1973, a non-Presidential year, Senator Jackson reversed his position and voted ~~in favor of busing~~ ^{two} times.

1. on a motion to table (kill) an amendment by Senator Helms to the Fuels and Energy Conservation bill, ordering HEW to limit busing of students to the school nearest their residence, in order to save on fuel. Jackson voted ~~To~~ table the amendment.

2. on a motion to table a similar Helms amendment to the National Emergency Energy Act, Jackson voted to table.

These were the only busing votes in the Senate that year.

non

In 1974, a Presidential year, Jackson voted for busing 14 times

1. Against an amendment by Sen. Helms to the HEW appropriations bill prohibiting any funds in the bill from being used to bus any students, or to transfer teachers, to overcome racial imbalance in schools or carry out any plan of desegregation.

2. In favor of an amendment by Senator Pell providing that no language in the HEW appropriations bill could prohibit the implementation of constitutionally-guaranteed rights.

3. In favor of Senator Brooke's motion to table (kill) an amendment by Senator Helms to the Supplemental Appropriations bill for fiscal 1975, prohibiting the federal government from withholding funds from school districts as a method of compelling them to assign students or teachers on the basis of race.

4. Against an amendment by Senator Bayh requiring that any court requiring a plan or any school district proposing a plan to remedy de jure segregation be required to use all alternative methods before ordering or proposing the busing of students; and that even then, no such order or proposal could be made unless the school district boundaries were established to maintain segregation.

5. In favor of a motion to table (kill) an amendment by Senator Gurney

of Florida to the Elementary and Secondary Education bill prohibiting busing for desegregation purposes to any but the school closest or next closest to the student's home.

6. Against an amendment by Senator Ervin to the same bill allowing parents to exercise freedom of choice in student assignments to public schools.

7. Against an amendment by Senator Beall to the same bill prohibiting any court-ordered busing plans from taking effect during the school year.

8. For a motion to table an amendment by Senator Griffin prohibiting future busing to all but the school next closest to the student's home and then only after all other methods to end segregation had been exhausted.

9. Against a motion to table a move by Senators Mansfield and Scott (pa.) to weaken the Griffin amendment (#8) by allowing the final determination of busing cases to be left to the courts.

10. For the Mansfield-Scott amendment (#9)

11. For another motion by Senator Brooke to table the Griffin amendment (#8)

12. For a motion to table an amendment by Senator Ervin prohibiting federal courts from ordering busing to remedy discrimination except when the Supreme Court had considered the matter under its original jurisdiction.

13. Against an amendment by Senator Buckley to permit the use of federal funds for busins to acheive racial integration only if parents, rather than local school authorities, requested such assistance.

14. Against an amendment by Senator Helms to forbid federal agencies from withholding federal funds from a school district found to be practicing discrimination if the school distrixts was operating under a court-ordered school desegregation plan.

(NOTE: VOTES 4-14 WERE ALL CAST DURING THE SENATE'S CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTENSION OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT ON MAY 15-16, 1974)

In 1975, in September, after he had announced for the Democratic nomination for President, Senator Jackson

1. voted twice for an amendment by Senator Biden providing that no funds in the HEW appropriations bill could be used to require any school district to assign teachers or students to schools or classes on the basis of race, except where ordered by a federal court.

2. voted for an amendment by Senator Byrd of W. Va. prohibiting HEW from requiring students to be bused to a school farther than the one closest to their home, unless it was necessary to provide a particular curriculum needed by the student.

Thus Jackson's 1975 votes were directly opposite the positions he took on busing when he was not running President, in 1973 and 1974. This was noted in the following item in the authoritative journal, Congressional Quarterly:

Vote Analysis

An analysis of the votes on amendments to HR 8069 indicates that several northern Democrats have switched their positions from a year ago to oppose busing required by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Of the 14 northern senators supporting the first Biden amendment, only four—Haskell (Colo.), Cannon (Nev.), Byrd (W.Va.) and Proxmire (Wis.)—supported similar busing amendments in 1974.

Voting for the first Biden amendment but against busing in 1974 were Biden (Del.), Eagleton (Mo.), Symington (Mo.), Mansfield (Mont.), Metcalf (Mont.), Burdick (N.D.), Jackson (Wash.), Magnuson (Wash.), Randolph (W.Va.) and Nelson (Wis.).

Of those 10, Biden, Eagleton, Symington, Mansfield, Jackson, Magnuson and Randolph also supported the Byrd amendment, while Metcalf, Burdick and Nelson voted against it.

But on the vote on the second Biden amendment, Burdick and Nelson again supported the anti-busing stance, as did Biden, Eagleton, Jackson and Magnuson. Metcalf and Symington were absent, Mansfield was paired for the Biden amendment and Randolph voted against it.

PAGE 2004—Sept. 27, 1975

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In 1976, Senator Jackson has proposed a Constitutional Amendment against busing, and is running in states like Florida and Massachusetts as an opponent of busing, while accusing Governor Carter of taking inconsistent stands on issues.

adoption of an amendment by John L. McClellan (D Ark.) making the Title I formula to distribute compensatory education funds conform to that approved by the House.

The Senate also settled on a compromise amendment that left final busing determinations to the courts. While it was stiffer than the Senate committee version, it was weaker than the House provision and the busing issue was still expected to be a major hangup during the House-Senate conference to draft a final bill.

Highlights of debate and amendments:

BUSING

"Busing is spreading like a cancer through every part of our country," Edward J. Gurney (R Fla.) declared as he offered his amendment identical to the House provision that would bar busing except to the school next closest to the student's home. "If there was ever an issue on which the vast majority of Americans have voiced a unanimous opinion, busing is it," Gurney contended, pointing to a 1973 Gallup poll that showed 95 per cent of the people interviewed opposed to forced busing to achieve integration.

Gurney maintained that busing was detrimental to children and their education on a number of fronts. "Proponents of artificial ratios and balances would have us believe that such arrangements will increase the learning ability and the educational achievement of the minority student," he said. "Factual evidence now indicates the contrary." Furthermore, he continued, busing "prevents family and community participation in the student's education process," "increases tension and racial polarization," and "financially (straps) our taxpayers and our school districts to pay for the court's folly."

Pointing out that courts have required busing in northern cities—Detroit, Denver, Indianapolis, Pasadena—as well as in the South, Gurney said: "It is interesting to note that the farther busing spreads, the closer the vote here in Congress on anti-busing measures."

But he sharply criticized the Senate for not having "the guts and courage" to enact tough anti-busing legislation sooner.

James B. Allen (D Ala.), leader of several previous anti-busing fights, denied that the Gurney amendment would undercut the *Brown* decision. "All that *Brown*... decided was that the state educational agencies could not make assignments on the basis of race," Allen said. "Well, no one objects to *Brown*... That is good law; that is accepted throughout the entire South. What we object to is the fact that the Supreme Court has changed course 180 degrees and now holds that the state and local education agencies must make assignments on the basis of race and that the ordering of busing... is a proper implement in the forced assignment by race."

Warning that adoption of the Gurney amendment could lead to a return of the dual school system, Brooke said: "I have lived in this country all of my life.... And I have never seen anything both separate and equal in this nation."

"I cannot understand the hearts and minds of legislators who seek to invite chaos and confusion across our troubled nation, further racial divisions and strife and precipitate a constitutional confrontation at a time when other abiding concerns trouble Americans and at a time when the country is moving slowly, sometimes painfully,

but I believe inexorably, toward 'one nation indivisible,' " Brooke declared. "The issue is simple. 'Shall we or shall we not permit necessary remedies to a constitutional violation?'"

Floor manager Claiborne Pell (D R.I.) took particular exception to the reopener provision of the Gurney amendment: "This amendment could reopen cases settled years ago—decades ago—and lay bare wounds which have only recently closed." Others, including Harold E. Hughes (D Iowa), William D. Hathaway (D Maine), Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.) and Walter F. Mondale (D Minn.) took the floor to oppose the amendment.

Bayh Amendment

Agreeing that busing was a proper tool for desegregation but contending that it should be kept to an absolute minimum, Birch Bayh (D Ind.) offered his substitute amendment to the Gurney amendment which would bar busing across school district boundaries unless those boundaries were established to maintain segregation or unless discrimination was practiced in each of the districts. The amendment would also instruct courts and schools to use busing only as a last resort.

The Bayh amendment is "simply a ploy," Gurney said, "in order to prevent the Senate of the United States from voting on this all-burning, all-compelling, all-pervasive issue of school busing..." He said the Senate should be able to vote the Gurney amendment up or down.

The Senate rejected the Bayh amendment, 9-84. (*Vote 189, p. 30-S*). Javits then moved to table (and thus kill) the Gurney amendment, and the motion was adopted 47-46. (*Vote 190, p. 30-S*)

Subsequently, Bayh resubmitted his amendment and the Senate accepted it, 56-36. (*Vote 192, p. 31-S*)

Ervin Amendment

An amendment to establish "freedom of choice" in assigning students to public schools was offered by Sam J. Ervin Jr. (D N.C.). The amendment would also have prohibited federal agencies from withholding federal funds from school districts to coerce them to bus students to balance the racial composition of the district's schools.

Contending that his amendment was in "perfect harmony" with the Constitution because it eliminated race as a basis for school assignments, Ervin said the freedom of choice plan would require "the federal government to keep its hands off the local school boards, let the little children have liberty, and allow the school boards to run their schools." The amendment was rejected by a wide margin, 38-55. (*Vote 191, p. 31-S*)

Griffin Amendment

The following morning, May 16, Minority Whip Robert P. Griffin (R Mich.) offered an amendment that was essentially the same as the defeated Gurney amendment except that it deleted the provision allowing past court cases to be reopened.

The Griffin amendment "is still what I believe to be a cynical attempt to circumvent the law of the land," Edward W. Brooke (R Mass.) declared.

A motion by Jacob K. Javits (R N.Y.) to table the Griffin amendment was rejected 46-47. (*Vote 194, p. 31-S*)

Scott-Mansfield Compromise

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D Mont.) and Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R Pa.) then offered a com-

Morris Udall has been campaigning in Pennsylvania as a simon-pure liberal and strong environmentalist. There have, however, been a disturbingly large number of significant issues on which Cogg. Udall has deserted the liberal cause on critical roll call votes in the House of Representatives.

It was Cong. Udall who voted in favor of continued funding for the notorious House Unamerican Activities Committee, thus helping to frustrate the efforts of House liberals to dismantle this committee, which had become the symbol of the assault upon individual liberties. (votes on 2/2/73 and 4/1/74)

It was Udall also who opposed a liberal amendment to the CIA appropriation that would have forbidden the CIA from ~~using~~ undertaking activities to undermine or destabilize foreign governments. (vote 9/24/74) The Udall position was a green light for the CIA to continue the repressive, clandestine activities it had carried on in countries like Chile.

Udall also supported the effort to weaken even further the inadequate gun control legislation now on the books, by his vote in favor of an amendment exempting .22 caliber ammunition from the record-keeping provisions of the present law. (12/21/70) House liberals called the Udall-supported loophole "the first weakening" of the legislation that had been passed shortly after the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Sen. Robert Kennedy.

In the area of civil liberties, Udall voted for the two major, repressive Nixon Administration crime bills; the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970, which the American Bar Association ~~×~~ said contained "the seeds of official repression" ~~(votes 10/7/70) xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ (including the jailing of recalcitrant witnesses for up to 18 months) and the D.C. Crime bill, which contained such noxious

features as preventive detention, no-knock search authority, extension of wiretapping authority for ~~the~~ police and elimination of jury trials for juveniles. (Org. crime bill vote 10/7/70; D.C. crime vote 7/17/70)

Udall also broke with House liberals to support extension of the Sugar Act, despite the bill's grant of a lucrative share of the United States sugar quota to the apartheid government of South Africa. (6/10/71)

In the area of womens' rights, Udall voted to prohibit poverty lawyers of the Legal Services Corporation to help women obtain abortions. He also voted to allow hospitals to turn away women who needed abortions if it was against hospital "policy". (6/21/73) Rep. Abzug opposed Udall's position on these amendments, saying they would make it far more difficult for poor women to obtain abortions.

Udall also voted to deny low-income elderly citizens access to federally subsidized housing if, because of Congress-approved increases in their social security payments, their annual income exceeded eligibility levels for admission to such housing. (6/21/73). Social security payments are already inadequate to keep up with inflation. To ~~evict~~ ^{EVICT} the elderly from their apartments solely because their social security checks increase is grossly regressive as a matter of public policy.

Udall's ambivalence on the subject of controlling inflation was also shown by his opposition (4/16/73) to ^{"price rollback"} eight ~~amendments~~ ^{amendments} designed to strengthen the wage-price control program that had been put into effect by President Nixon (the so-called "Phase 3") The moves opposed by Udall's votes would have rolled back price increases and rent hikes to the levels ~~of dates~~ ^{that obtained} earlier in ~~the~~ ^{that highly-inflationary} year. When, however,

it was proposed that those who had benefited from ^{this} inflation be ~~subjected~~
~~to~~ restricted ⁱⁿ on their windfall profits, Udall supported a conser-
vative industry move to exclude the coal industry from this provision.
(12/13/73)

On military matters, Udall refused to join the growing number
of liberal members of the House who have had the courage to cast
symbolic votes against the entire defense budget as a protest against
inclusion of excessive amounts for unneeded weapons systems, ~~or as~~
~~a protest against Republican war policies.~~ When, for example, several
peace-Congressman efforts to ~~xxx~~ cut the swollen \$74 billion defense
appropriations bill had failed, Congressman Talcott of *California*
moved to send the entire bill back to committee. Peace liberals
supported the Talcott move, but Udall's vote supported the military
establishment. (12/20/73)

~~This xxxxxxxx of xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx
of xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx of xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx 12/20/73~~

While Cong. Udall is considered to be a staunch environmentalist,
some of his votes in this areas raise questions which deserve
explanation.

He voted against stopping the nuclear ^{underground} tests planned for Amchitka
Island in the Aleutians, a key environmental issue of the early 1970s
because of the danger of permanent ecological damage the blasts might
cause. (7/29/71)

He voted against allowing states to establish standards for
nuclear plant emissions stronger than those set by the ~~xx~~ federal
government. (6/25/73)

He voted for passage of a bill which severely weakened clean air
standards by relaxing, or eliminating altogether, some auto emission
controls except in certain areas of dense pollution (5/1/74)

leaders of the Congress, in whose ranks he would like voters to believe he stands.

Defense

DRAFT

March 24, 1976

Dick Creecy

SENATOR JACKSON on MILITARY POLICY

- - - - -

Over the past 12 years, Senator Henry M. Jackson has consistently voted for large increases in military spending. He has firmly established himself as the leader of the famous "military-industrial complex" about which President Eisenhower had the wisdom to warn the nation in his farewell address of 1961.

In fact, the only debatable question is whether Senator Jackson is the prime mover or the tool of the aerospace industry, which has had such a phenomenal growth during this 12-year period of Jackson's domination of Senate committees concerned with military policy and spending.

This paper will detail Henry Jackson's public record on what may become a major issue in this year's Presidential campaign - U.S. military policy in an era of strategic nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. It will cover first, the Jackson record on military expenditures and then, his voting record and certain statements of his on Vietnam. This documentation clearly shows him to be consistently extreme and incapable of modifying obsolete Cold Warrior concepts in the face of both the realities of a changing world and of the perception of the American people of these realities.

A comparison of Senator Jackson's record with that of Gerald Ford when the latter was a Representative, moreover, shows that Jackson and Ford share to a remarkable degree these outdated world views, as well as an apparently unshakeable belief in the need for a vast peacetime military establishment to support questionable foreign policy objectives.

I. Military Expenditures (Including Military Aid)

The extraordinarily consistent Jackson approach to the advocacy of large military expenditures can best be shown by the following table:

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Proposed Senate Action</u>	<u>JACKSON Vote</u>
1. 1966	Reduce military aid by \$250 million	Against
2. 1967	Finance arms sales to underdeveloped countries	For
3. 1968	Delay authorization of ABM for one year	Against
4. 1968	Reduce authorization for military R & D by \$500 million (S 3293)	Against
5. 1968	Bar use of funds for ABM until proved out (S 3293)	Against
6. 1969	Cut military aid by \$75 million	Against
7. 1969	Restrict ABM funds to R & D and prohibit deployment of ABM. (S 2546) Defeated on 50-50 vote with Vice-President Agnew breaking the tie, on August 6, 1969.	Against
(Note: Senators Bayh, Bentsen, Church, Harris, Kennedy, McCarthy, McGovern and Muskie voted to prohibit ABM deployment. Jackson led the pro-ABM forces.)		
8. 1969	Reduce R & D funds for B-1 bomber by \$75 million (S 2546)	Against
9. 1969	Impose ceiling on military aid to Taiwan and South Korea	Against
10. 1970	Delete \$322 million for ABM deployment	Against
11. 1970	Lower ceiling on military spending to \$66 billion	Against
12. 1970	Delete \$155 million in military aid to Cambodia (HR 17123)	Against
13. 1971	Limit military expenditures to annual rate of \$68 billion	Against
14. 1971	Increase military aid by \$318 million	For
15. 1972	Cut funds for accelerated development and procurement of the Trident Submarine (HR 15495) Defeated July 27, 1972	Against

(Note: Senators Bayh, Bentsen, Church, Harris, Humphrey, Kennedy, McGovern and Muskie opposed Trident Submarine acceleration. Jackson led the pro-Trident forces. Note that the only planned Trident base is to be in Puget Sound in the state of Washington.)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Proposed Senate Action</u>	<u>JACKSON Vote</u>
16. 1972	Reduce military budget to \$78 billion (HR 15495)	Against
17. 1972	Jackson Amendment urging President to work for numerical equality in "inter- continental" strategic nuclear forces. Adopted Sept. 14, 1972	FOR
<p>(Note: Senators Bayh, Church, Harris, Humphrey, Kennedy, McGovern and Muskie voted against or were paired against the Jackson Amendment, the net effect of which was to lead to the Vladivostok Understanding of November, 1974 and to permit both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to <u>increase</u> strategic forces to numerically equal levels.)</p>		
18. 1972	Increase military aid by \$270 million instead of by \$35 million	FOR
19. 1973	Cut military budget by \$500 million (HR 9286)	Against
20. 1973	Reduce authorization for Trident by \$885 million (HR 9286)	Against
21. 1973	Cut \$3.5 billion from military weapons procurement and R & D budget	Against
22. 1974	Delete \$77 million for programs to improve strategic counterforce capability	Against
<p>(Note: Senators Humphrey, Kennedy and Muskie voted <u>FOR</u> the deletion; Bayh and Church were absent but would have voted <u>FOR</u> if present.)</p>		
23. 1974	Lower military spending ceiling by \$1.1 billion to \$81 billion	Against
24. 1975	Symington Amendment to delete \$1.2 billion from \$25 billion FY 1976 authorization	Against
25. 1975	McIntyre Amendment to delete \$142 million for R & D on programs to improve strat- egic counterforce capability	Against
26. 1975	Prohibit construction of military base on Diego Garcia, an island in the Indian Ocean	Against
27. 1975	Kennedy Amendment to dismantle ABM site in North Dakota. Rejected 47-50	Against
28. 1975	Eagleton Amendment to reduce military appropriation by \$500 million to \$90 billion	Against

II. Vietnam

Senator Jackson supported U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war from the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964 to the bitter end. On February 7, 1972, he said concerning Vietnam, "I'm very proud that I stood up and supported the men in uniform when they were being kicked around....I say thank God for the military-industrial complex." (Orlando Sentinel, Feb. 7, 1972) And even as late as 1975 he was saying "The basic decision to go into Vietnam was right." (Colorado Democrat, April 12, 1975.)

The following record demonstrates the depth of his commitment:

1. December, 1965. After a nine-day tour of Vietnam, Jackson said that President Johnson "should double U.S. forces in Vietnam" and that "the air war should be renewed to include such projects as power plants, hydroelectric facilities, petroleum plants and the mining and blockading of Hanoi." (Seattle Times, Dec. 24, 1965)

2. 1967. Opposed Congressional action to cut off funds used for bombing North Vietnam.

3. January, 1968. Stated "I would be all in favor of us getting out of Vietnam tomorrow if in the end it would mean our being lessinvolved in Asia, and if I didn't think that general nuclear warfare would be the end result. (Underlining added.) (Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Jan. 7, 1968)

4. 1969. Co-sponsored Senate Resolution supporting President Nixon's Vietnam policies. (Congressional Record, p. 33668.)

5. 1969. Voted against reducing US troop levels by the number withdrawn from South Vietnam after July 1, 1969. (S 2546)

6. 1970. Voted against McGovern-Hatfield Amendment to complete withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam by Dec. 31, 1971 (HR 17123)

7. 1971. Voted against amendment to bar use of funds to support US forces in Indochina after Dec. 31, 1971.

8. 1971. Voted against non-binding amendment to withdraw all troops from Indochina within nine months.

9. 1971. Senator Jackson voted to delete provision prohibiting use of funds for US forces in Indochina for any purpose except troop withdrawal and protection.

10. 1972. Voted against cutting off funds for US troops in Indochina within four months.

11. 1972. Voted against barring further funds for bombing of Indochina.

12. 1973. Voted against the prohibition of bombing of Cambodia and Laos.

13. 1973. Voted against the immediate termination of US activities in Indochina.

14. 1974. Voted against \$150 million cut in military aid to Vietnam (HR 16243.)

(CAUTION: In interpreting the above statements and votes on Vietnam, it must not be concluded that any particular action by Senator Jackson was necessarily wrong. Each action must be judged on the basis of a complete analysis of the military, economic and political factors pertaining at the time. What does appear to run completely counter to the prevailing view of most informed observers, however, is the overall pattern of Senator Jackson's views on Vietnam during the entire period 1964-1975.)

III. Jackson and Ford

During the period 1965-1973, Congressman Gerald Ford cast 8 votes relating to military expenditures and 16 votes relating to Vietnam which represented essentially the same views as those reflected above for Senator Jackson. It must be concluded that Jackson and Ford have the same basic conservative bias on the questions considered in this paper.

IV. Campaign Implications

It is evident from this paper that Senator Jackson's views on military policy are strongly opposed by many past and present Democratic candidates for President - Senators Bayh, Church, Harris, Humphrey, Kennedy, McGovern and Muskie, and Representative Udall. If the Udall campaign fails to pick up momentum in the next three weeks, it will then appear likely to most people that the choice for the nomination must be between Carter and Jackson; a "brokered convention" may as a result seem less and less likely. In this event it is possible that a number of the above Democratic leaders might be persuaded to support Carter rather than Jackson.

The logic of this situation for Jimmy Carter, insofar as his position on military policy is concerned, is that he would now do well to enunciate a position which moves away from the Jackson Cold Warrior image and toward the defense policy views of Kennedy and Muskie.

In adopting this new position, the theme could be developed that a \$100 billion defense budget in peacetime is an absurdity; that an immediate 5-7 % reduction in defense spending can and should be achieved immediately; and that a major new approach to the Soviets on nuclear disarmament should be undertaken as soon as possible. Jimmy Carter would denounce the SALT negotiations as unproductive and call for an early end to the irrational, dangerous and very expensive arms race.

If carefully developed, such an approach would infuriate Jackson and might bring some of the more liberal Senators, and other leaders as well, over to the Carter side as soon as it becomes evident that Udall is going nowhere.

4 Vents Alone

Then 15 compressions &
2 breaths

2 breaths: 15 compressions

2 rescues

4 Vents

Compress every second

1 breathe: 5 compressions

Ventilate when he is up "compressions"
as compressions coming back up breathe then

Alan Bubby

1 breath: 5 compressions

Breath would rise & mouth

① Allday

② Ad in Trench press
on Carter

③ Trench water

Udall admit to a Church
made "deal" where U
stay out of N.S. & Church at
Comm.

Boycott

Steve
I send him
a letter thanking
him for this
Peter

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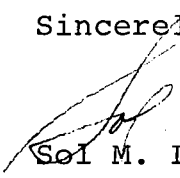
April 15, 1976

Dr. Peter Bourne
Carter Headquarters
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Peter:

I thought Governor Carter might be interested in some of these reflections on the social responsibility of the American business today. The chapter has just appeared in the new "Chief Executive's Handbook".

Sincerely,


Sol M. Linowitz

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BUSINESS LEADER

by Sol M. Linowitz

*Partner, Coudert Brothers; Former Chairman of the Board,
Xerox Corporation*

"BUSINESS IS FOR THE BIRDS"

TODAY, THERE IS great disenchantment with business and widespread antagonism and suspicion directed toward business leaders in this country. This is particularly true among young people who have, in increasing numbers, turned away from possible business careers because they do not believe they can find such a life satisfying and fulfilling. The epitome of the young people's view of business today was captured in that scene in *The Graduate* when Ben, the anti-hero, is told by a friend of his parents to remember just one word, "plastics." For young people, that word "plastics" has come to be the universal symbol for all things synthetic, vulgar, superficial, and insincere—especially the business world, its products, personnel, and organization. The corporate world has come to represent for much of our youth an unreal "plastic" world insulated and protected from the real world of poverty, disease, hunger, and deprivation. It has come to represent apathy as against empathy; insulation as opposed to involvement; competition as opposed to cooperation. In short, for them, business stands for making money as opposed to creating a better way of life.

All of this came through loud and clear during the White House Conference for Youth in 1971, when hundreds of young people between the ages of 14 and 24 came together and set forth their views of our society and its institutions. An analysis of their conclusions and recommendations is especially relevant. For what they focused on perhaps more than anything else was "humanization." They indicated that they saw the business community as a direct

threat to their lives as "total persons" because it tended to develop a superspecialist; to compartmentalize individuals into slots; to dictate their style of dress; to discourage free human interaction; to render work "meaningless"; to segregate employer from employee. They also said that they viewed the efforts of business as a threat to their whole way of life through unbridled proliferation of technology without concern for social or environmental implications. What it all boiled down to was a queasy feeling among a large percentage of our youth that business leaders in particular have failed to evolve concepts of social and moral responsibility in the midst of all of our opulence and technological advancement.

These are the same views I heard expressed again and again on our college and university campuses when I served in 1971 as Chairman of the American Council on Education's Special Committee on Campus Tensions. Our goal was to try to find out what had caused the outbreaks on the college campuses and our committee consisted of educators, university presidents, students, faculty people, and public members. Although there were obviously a number of factors involved, certainly one of the most prominent—repeated again and again—was the disillusionment with our society and its leadership—particularly business leadership. A number of students said quite clearly that, in striking out against their college or university, they were rebelling against our institutions, especially our corporate leaders who, in their judgment, ran our colleges and institutions.

All of this explains why the *Wall Street Journal* started off a piece on business and youth by saying that the word around campuses is that "business is for the birds."

Not only is this a view held by young people, but it is far more widely shared in this country. The impression is that business has not been doing its fair share to help deal with our social problems, that it has been involved in all kinds of hanky-panky with the government, that the allegations surrounding ITT are typical, etc. And this view of the American businessman is, of course, prevalent in other parts of the world. I remember an occasion when as Ambassador to the Organization of American States I talked to a large group of students in Colombia, and we had a rather extensive and probing exchange of opinions. When I got through, I asked them to guess what my occupation had been before I became an ambassador. There were guesses all over the place, but when I told them that I had been in business, there was utter incredulity. One student

put it succinctly: "We are smarter than you think. We know that you cannot be a businessman, because American businessmen are concerned only for themselves and never for others."

How do we change this image? What does the businessman have to do to establish the fact that he is in fact concerned about the problems of his society and his world and is ready to pitch in and do his fair share in dealing with these problems?

FIRST, LET'S CUT OUT THE DOUBLE-TALK

For a long time, business leaders have been mouthing pious preachments about their "commitments" which are simply not observed in practice. For too many years now, chairmen of boards and presidents have been making eloquent speeches about the responsibilities of business, yet these are often ignored within the very companies they head. This covers the whole range of activities. For example, some business leaders speak with conviction about the need for honesty and integrity, yet their own advertising agencies and departments resort to misrepresentations, exaggerations, and misstatements. Many business leaders speak about the importance of preserving the "quality of life" in this country, and yet their own companies may be peddling products inimical to that goal. A number of businessmen understandably complain that there is a failure to accord business the credit and respect to which it is entitled for its leadership and contributions. Yet when there are allegations as in the ITT case, that corporate executives may have misused their power or abused their trust, these same business leaders remain silent, unwilling to raise their voices to condemn such behavior.

All this has led to the broad feeling that business engages in double-talk and hypocrisy.

Professor Milton Friedman of Chicago leads a school of thought—supposedly *pro* business—which claims essentially that the only obligation of a business is to make money. This approach may be medieval, but it has the virtue of putting on the line precisely what it believes business is all about. It minces no words in saying that business ought to be concerned only with what it can get and gives short shrift to the notion that management ought to pay any attention to its social contribution other than what comes out of running its business. I believe very few business leaders today go along with this view.

But the fact is that the more business leaders talk about social responsibility, but ignore it in practice, the more will people believe that—despite all the fine speeches—business is *really* out to get all it can from society without any real concern as to what it can contribute.

LET'S FACE IT: THE BUSINESS OF BUSINESS— IS AMERICA

The simple fact is that we have come a long long way from 1925 when Calvin Coolidge said that "The business of Business is business." For in its own self-interest, business is today deeply and inextricably involved in our social problems in this country, and no intelligent business leader—and no intelligent employee or shareholder—really believes that a business can be successful which ignores the problems of our society. The simple fact is that society is the life support system for business. All the problems which plague and agonize our society—poverty—inadequate health care—lack of education—polarization—racial struggle—the abandonment of cities—all have a direct effect on the future of business in this country, and most business leaders today recognize it.

After the urban riots in 1967, even the most reluctant business leaders had to come down from their executive towers in the sky and recognize that they had to become involved. This led to the formation of the National Urban Coalition and other organizations such as the National Alliance of Businessmen, all trying to play a part in dealing with the problems of our cities and our broader society. I first became involved in these problems in Rochester in 1965, when the first city riot occurred and when we worked to establish a citywide unit to deal with the problems and try to find answers.

Today, it is simply good business to become involved in the needs of our society. And any businessman who fails to understand it is not only begging for trouble, but risking the future of his own enterprise.

I think that this involvement by business must go beyond urban problems and extend into virtually every area of society. For example, I think that business has a real responsibility to make sure that our educational institutions, our art galleries, our symphony orchestras are properly supported. At Xerox, we tried to do these things with great generosity—not out of any misguided sense of do-goodism,

but because we recognized that to attract the kind of employees we wanted, and to keep them happy in Rochester, they ought to have the kind of intellectual and social climate which a university, an art gallery, a symphony orchestra could provide. This had much to do in bringing us the kind of people we needed in Rochester.

Obviously, corporate enterprises as such cannot, and should not, become involved in politics. There is, on the other hand, every reason why business leaders should be willing forthrightly to take political positions and to identify themselves on behalf of political candidates. Moreover, companies should encourage this kind of political participation—and, especially, activity on the part of employees in both parties. A personal experience in 1956 indicated how much can be done to stimulate activity and participation from the top down. In that year General Eisenhower was running against Adlai Stevenson for the presidency. Joseph C. Wilson, president of Xerox and my closest friend and associate, was a strong Eisenhower supporter and became chairman of the Monroe County Committee for Eisenhower. I had long been a friend and admirer of Adlai Stevenson, and I became vice chairman of the New York State Committee for Stevenson. Joe Wilson and I then undertook debates on television, on radio, and in the newspapers on the merits of our respective candidates. This, predictably, led to a great deal of interest and evoked significant attention—some of it even nationally—but most importantly, it led others in the company (and indeed in other companies of the Rochester area) to announce their own affiliation and to go to work actively for candidates whom they were willing to support. The point that was clearly made, of course, was that it is possible to disagree about politics, and yet work together in friendship and mutual respect, even in the corporate community. I think business leaders have come to recognize increasingly that they have the same responsibility as other citizens to participate, to make their views known, to stand up and be counted.

Recently I had an experience which suggests how far we have yet to go. When President Nixon announced his proposed budget for 1973, I wrote to 12 American business leaders asking them to join me in a statement along these lines: That we recognized the importance of having an overall spending ceiling as recommended by the President; that we believed it would be presently neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to institute a tax increase; but that we felt it was of the greatest importance that the President and Congress together

carefully reexamine the allocations of resources as proposed, in order to assure that the great human needs of the nation—in housing, education, welfare, health care, etc.—were given proper prior attention and concern.

Of the 12 business leaders who responded, only one was willing to sign such a statement. Virtually every one of the others agreed with the position set forth, but felt it would be "inappropriate" for him to say so publicly.

THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA IS ALSO THE BUSINESS OF AMERICAN BUSINESS

What is of concern to us as a nation in world affairs is also significant to the future of the American business community.

In the international area—to a gratifying extent—business seems to have recognized this. For example, today when strong isolationist waves are washing over the nation, the American business community is at the forefront of those stressing the importance of internationalism, and emphasizing the fact that good international relations must be a two-way street. Admittedly, part of this arises from the fact that so many multinational corporations are American, and they have a stake in the preservation of peace and the establishment of sound trade relations. But this in itself underscores the point that what is in the nation's best interest in the world today, will also tend to benefit American business. Thus, most of the pressure for quotas and tariffs is coming not from the soundly established, well operated companies, but from those who are by and large hanging on or surviving in the midst of real economic uncertainty.

By the same token, business has a strong stake in assuring the survival of the United Nations. For, clearly, the United Nations is devoted to the goal of helping to bring about a world at peace in which American business can prosper. It was this conviction which led Xerox, in 1962, to sponsor four television films in prime time telling the story of the United Nations in dramatic form. We put \$2 million into the project, and presented the hour-long films without any commercials. Involved were the best actors, producers, screen writers, and directors of Hollywood, working in conjunction with Adlai Stevenson, Paul Hoffman, and other United Nations personnel. When we announced the establishment of the television series, we were immediately deluged with attacks from the John Birch Society.

Joe Wilson and I each received almost 30,000 letters, and other members of the Xerox board were also castigated for undertaking to present United Nations programs. But the counterreaction was also strong and, in due course, we came to believe that this had been the best business investment Xerox could have made in the whole field of advertising and public relations. For people from all over the world applied to the company for positions, and we acquired a reputation which paid off in countless ways.

There are many ways business can play an appropriate role in its own best interest in the international area. Thus, in 1964 business leaders founded the International Executive Service Corps. Working in conjunction with the government, there was set up a private organization of American business leaders who would undertake to arrange for American executives, scientists, and technicians to go to enterprises in developing countries for a period of from six months to two years in order to help these ventures as a kind of executive peace corps. Virtually every important American corporation joined in the venture, and today the corps is a flourishing enterprise which has sent almost 5,000 representatives to various countries of the world and has presented the picture of American business as interested in helping make available its managerial techniques, its technology, and its executive and expert competence.

Notwithstanding the fact that business leaders clearly shared the grave concern of most Americans over the Vietnam War, few business voices were raised about it. An exception was Mr. Louis Lundborg, then president of the Bank of America, who testified before a congressional committee that he felt the war was a mistake and had done much to erode the national spirit.* A group of liberal businessmen did undertake to organize in order to express opposition to the war, but none of the members was connected with any of America's important corporations or institutions, and their views were regarded as those of a fringe business group. Quite clearly, when confronted with one of the gravest international adventures in which this country had ever engaged, the nation's business leaders regarded it as unwise and impolitic to express their concern. Interestingly enough, this fact loomed large and strong in the minds of young people who were so deeply disturbed about the war, and

* [Ed. Note: See the chapter by Louis B. Lundborg, "Dealing with Local Action Groups."]

who felt that the whole powerful business community of the nation was lined up on the other side.

WHAT KIND OF BUSINESS LEADERS DO WE NEED?

The clear fact is that, as never before in our history, we will need business leaders in the future of breadth and vision, with a worldview far more expansive than has been required in the past. Especially at this time of increasing sophisticated technology and exploding knowledge, we have to recognize that "splinter specialists" will no longer be able to cope with the great challenges. This means, I think, that American business is going to have to give new emphasis to the importance of a liberal education in the preparation of its business and industrial leaders. We are going to have to look for business leaders who will be able to communicate with one another and with other people in other places, who will know how to transmit and stimulate ideas, who will recognize that things human and humane are even more important than the computer or the Xerox machine, who understand that "know-why" is even more important than "know-how."

This means that the business leaders will have to instruct their personnel departments to look for such broad-gauged people in their recruiting.

Within the corporation, much more has to be done to assure the development process of the individual. In too many companies, the executives rise in responsibility in a directly vertical line—spending years in one function or related functions, such as sales and marketing or finance and control. To get the young people we need as business leaders, there should be progression within the corporation which would be neither lateral nor vertical, but diagonal. People should be given jobs of increasing responsibility and function—enough to sustain interest and curiosity, to challenge ability, and to equip them with the kind of diversified knowledge necessary for executive leadership in the company of tomorrow.

Part of this must involve development in the area of public affairs. No longer can the public policy of the corporation be the sole prerogative of top management, or that of the staff of a specialized department. Increasingly, corporations will have to consider assigning public problems to management at all levels so that those who are charged with responsibility in the future will have some under-

standing of the complexity of the problems of our time. Incidentally, it is this kind of a program of development for the individual within the corporation that the White House Conference of Youth in 1971 stressed as so important to young people in their consideration as to whether or not to embark upon a business career.

**IF IT ASSUMES LEADERSHIP, AS IT CAN AND SHOULD,
BUSINESS CAN DO MUCH TO MAKE US THE KIND
OF SOCIETY WE CAN AND SHOULD BE**

If the business community approaches the future with the vision and thought required, and develops the kind of men who are able to understand the changing and developing human condition, it can help bring into being the kind of free society we have always talked about in this country.

This will mean a willingness on the part of business and industry to recognize that science and technology are tools which can be used effectively to advance the human condition, and that improvements and scientific developments must therefore be evaluated in terms of their social impact. I am not suggesting that American industry take on itself a solitary crusade for the conquest of our problems. What I am suggesting is that a systematic and intimate understanding of the dominant social problems of our day, combined with the firm dedication to public service, will lead to the discovery by businessmen of innovations that will satisfy their direct corporate goals and simultaneously make a contribution to the solution of our pressing human needs.

WATERGATE SPECIAL PROSECUTION FORCE
United States Department of Justice
315 9th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

March 23, 1976

Mr. Richard A. Pettigrew
Suite 1820, One Biscayne Tower
Two South Biscayne Boulevard
Miami, Florida 33131

Dear Mr. Pettigrew:

This is in response to your Freedom of Information Act request of March 6, 1976.

The material in our files on Henry Jackson's 1972 Presidential campaign consists of the following: FBI reports, memoranda and notes of interviews of witnesses, intra-agency communications between attorneys, memoranda of conversations with counsel to various witnesses, inter-agency correspondence and memoranda, correspondence with attorneys and witnesses, documents provided by witnesses, and press clippings.

The FBI reports are the property of the Bureau. Accordingly, we are not able to make these available to you. You should direct your request to the Bureau.

The memoranda and notes of interviews of witnesses are an attorney's distillation of information provided to us in confidence. We gave numerous assurances throughout our investigations that information and documentation could be safely supplied to us without fear that it would be disclosed other than in a formal judicial proceeding brought by our office. Thus, the interview materials and documents provided by witnesses are exempt from disclosure under 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(5), (b)(7)(C) and (b)(7)(D). The intra-agency communications between attorneys, the inter-agency correspondence and memoranda and the memoranda of conversations with counsel to various witnesses include policy discussion, advisory opinions and discussions of facts developed from confidential material. They are therefore exempt under 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(5) and (b)(7)(D). The correspondence between attorneys and witnesses is confidential and is exempt under 5 U.S.C. § 552(b)(5) and (b)(7)(D).

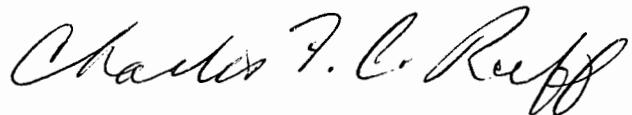
The press clippings are not exempt from disclosure and copies are being provided to you free of charge.



Also enclosed is a copy of Claude Wild's testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, in which he mentions the Gulf Oil contribution to Jackson's campaign. You may wish to contact the Senate Rules Committee, which is the former Senate Select Committee, for further information on this matter.

I am required by the Act to inform you that under 5 U.S.C. § 552(a)(4)(B), you have a right to bring an action in the Federal District Court in the District of Columbia or where you reside to challenge our bases for nondisclosure and to seek an order compelling production. Under regulations promulgated by the Department of Justice, there is no right of appeal to the Attorney General from decisions of the Special Prosecutor denying a request in whole or in part. I wish to emphasize, however, that I will be happy to entertain any questions you may have concerning this response. Please address any questions in writing.

Sincerely,



CHARLES F.C. RUFF
Special Prosecutor

Washington Star-News

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Hess Donation to

Jackson in 1972 Disguised

By James R. Polk
Star-News Staff Writer

Oil millionaire Leon Hess pumped \$225,000 into the losing 1972 presidential try by Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., by disguising his secret donation under the names of other persons, Senate Watergate records show.

Hess had used the same method to mask \$250,000 given for President Nixon in 1972 while an Amerada Hess Corp. oil refinery in the Virgin Islands was under investigation by the Interior Department.

JACKSON'S campaign treasurer said Hess eventually told him the money was a personal donation, although he said, "When I first got the checks, I was naive enough to think he had raised the money (from others)."

An elderly widow in Florida, whose name was used for part of the Hess contribution, said, "I didn't give anything. That's as crazy a thing as I ever heard of."

The disguised Hess donation surfaced today as the special Senate Watergate committee made public its file of documents gathered on the 1972 Jackson campaign.

The records also showed nearly \$166,000 in secret cash contributions for Jackson, with more than half of that money coming from other oilmen.

WALTER R. DAVIS, an oil operator in Midland, Tex., made the largest secret cash gift — \$80,000 sent through a Washington bank to Sen. Jackson's administrative assistant, Sterling Munro Jr.

Munro said the Jackson campaign handled all its cash properly, either depositing it in regular banking accounts or using it for normal political purposes.

He said of the Davis money, "A portion was deposited in Seattle, some here, and another portion was given out in cash to advance men as cash advances."

Other cash donations found in the Senate Watergate records included \$25,000 from Minneapolis soybean tycoon Dwayne O. Andreas, who was the major backer of Jackson opponent Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn.; \$15,000 from E. Edmund Miller of Beverly Hills, Calif., president of Time Oil, and \$10,000 from former Gulf Oil Corp. lobbyist Claude Wild Jr.

HESS, ANDREAS, Miller and Wild were all secretly backing President Nixon's campaign at the same time, and Davis had been a Nixon donor earlier.

Gulf Oil pleaded guilty last fall to using corporate cash brought in from the Bahamas for the Jackson and Nixon contributions, but no shadow has fallen so far over the other donations for the Democratic senator.

The Watergate files showed the Jackson presidential campaign raised slightly more than \$1.1 million for its 1972 race — and just under half of the money came from donors also associated with Nixon.

Hess, who is the board chairman of Amerada Hess

Corp., was the biggest Jackson backer. The second largest, at \$100,000, was Meshulam Riklis, head of Rapid-American Corp., a clothing conglomerate. Riklis also gave the same sum for Humphrey and put \$200,000 into Nixon's campaign.

OTHER MAJOR donors found in both the Jackson and Nixon records include the heads of United Air Lines, American Airlines, Atlantic Richfield Co., Dart Industries, and Electronic Data Systems Corp. (EDS), a computer firm with government ties.

Almost all of the donations were made in a secret fund-raising period before a new disclosure law took effect in April 1972. Jackson had refused to make public the identity of his donors during the early 1972 primaries, but the campaign

turned over its full records to the Senate Watergate committee.

The new law makes it illegal to give donations under the names of other persons — but the Hess money came in ahead of that change.

Eleven of the persons whose names were used in the Hess package included the oilman's longtime personal accountant and several friends or relatives of the accountant. Others were top executives of Amerada Hess Corp.

MRS. LEIGH TUVIN, a widow in Fort Lauderdale, whose financial affairs were handled by the same accountant, was listed for \$9,000 apiece for Jackson and Nixon. But she said, "I know nothing of what you're talking about."

Mrs. Tuvin added, "I have no idea of giving any contributions. I have all I can do to take care of my little self."

David I. Schaffer, an Avis executive who was the accountant's son-in-law, refused to say where the money came from for the \$18,000 listed for him and his wife to both Jackson and Nixon. "I have no comment," Schaffer said in Great Neck, N.Y.

The personal accountant, Irving Warshauer, died last year.

A CONT'D

Jackson's treasurer, Stanley D. Golub of Seattle, said Hess apparently used no other names for his donation so it could be kept confidential.

"I BELIEVE Hess completely when he states that's personal money," Golub said. "Of course, that's a hell of a lot of personal money, but he is a wealthy man."

Golub said he called on Hess in New York City in 1971 after he was told the oilman had contacted Jackson's campaign and said he wanted to contribute.

"I never knew he had any system," Golub said.

Sometime after Hess' donations began arriving, the treasurer said, the oilman told him he had made gifts to the other persons, "and through these gifts, they made the contributions."

The Internal Revenue Service is known to be looking at the Hess donation for Jackson. The Watergate special prosecutor's office also has a file on it.

Asked about the Jackson money, Hess' attorney in New York, Roger Oresman, said, "I have no comment on that."

GOLUB provided the Watergate committee with a three-page breakdown of the Hess donation, a listing of all known cash donors, and full totals on campaign spending.

A spokesman for Jackson said the campaign had complied fully with the law in effect before April 1972, and had cooperated in every way with the Watergate panel.

Golub's records showed \$160,000 of the Hess money was donated in August 1971 and the rest in March, 1972.

The names used on the Jackson checks overlapped repeatedly with names also found in the Nixon files for Hess' similar contribution.

Less than two months after the Nixon donation, the Interior Department closed out its Amerasia Hess probe with a finding that the Virgin Islands refinery had violated its government agreement — but Interior took no punitive action against the firm.

AMERASIA HESS had been threatened with a loss of its special oil import quota because of failing to meet investment and hiring requirements for the Caribbean refinery. The federal

government found the firm had sufficient excuses for its lapses.

Jackson is chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, which also oversees the Interior Department. But Golub said Hess had never mentioned the Virgin Islands dispute.

"He asked absolutely nothing, no favors," Golub said. "He asked for nothing, he got nothing."

Davis, the Texas oilman, sent an affidavit to the Watergate committee saying he also had sought no special treatment.

"... Never prior to the date of the contribution, or after, has Senator Jackson extended any favors to myself, my family, or anyone that I know, nor have I ever solicited any favors from him," Davis swore.

DAVIS WAS NOT a Nixon donor in 1972, although he did give \$25,000 for a White House-backed operation for GOP Senate candidates in 1970.

Asked if Hess is supporting Jackson again in the Democrat's 1976 presidential campaign which is now being organized, Golub said, "I don't think the senator's position is going

to attract very many contributions from oil interests."

Jackson has been a vocal critic recently of the soaring profits made by oil companies during the gasoline shortages.

Other donations in cash shown for Jackson in the Golub files included:

- J. PETER GRACE**, Manhasset, N.Y., chairman, W. R. Grace & Co., \$10,000; Edwin W. Pauley, Beverly Hills, Calif., chairman, Pauley Petroleum, Inc., \$10,000; J. D. Coleman, Saratoga, Wyo., \$5,000; Ben Sonnenberg, New York City, public relations, \$5,000; B. L. Perkins, Boise, Idaho, \$5,000, and Fred J. Russell, Los Angeles, Nixon's former Undersecretary of Interior, \$5,000.

Oil firms and aerospace companies were prominent among the other donors listed in the full breakdown of Jackson's money.

Top officials of Martin Marietta Corp. gave \$3,000. Executives of Kerr-McGee Corp. were listed for \$5,000. A lobbyist for LTV Aerospace added another \$5,000. Nixon backer Robert O. Anderson, chairman of

Atlantic Richfield, sent \$2,000.

Edward E. Carlson, president of United Air Lines, sent \$1,000 for Jackson and gave a much larger amount for Nixon. C. R. Smith, who took over again last year as chairman of American Airlines, donated \$3,000 to Jackson, compared to only a token contribution for Nixon.

MORE THAN a dozen donors who, like Riklis, Andreas, and Hess, sent five- and six-figure sums for Nixon also showed up on the Jackson list. Among them were:

- Milledge A. Hart III, Dallas, president of EDS, \$10,000; Justin Dart, Los Angeles head of a drug store chain, \$5,000; John Loeb, New York, stock broker, \$5,000; Nathan Lipson, Atlanta, carpet manufacturer, \$5,000; Charles E. Smith, Washington, office building developer, \$5,000; Samuel Rothberg, Peoria, Ill., a leader in the American Jewish community, \$5,000, and C. Douglas Dillon, a former Treasury secretary, \$2,000.

Ziegler to Leave Nixon Soon and

Start University Lecture Tour

indexed # 352

Ronald L. Ziegler, press secretary throughout the Nixon Presidency, will soon wrap up his work with the former President's transition team at San Clemente, Calif., and begin a lecture tour for W. Colston Leigh, Inc., one of the country's oldest and largest lecture bureaus.

The 35-year-old former advertising man, who early in his career delivered the spiel on a jungle-cruise boat as a Disneyland tour guide, has been booked for "a number" of lectures beginning next month at "a variety of well-known universities throughout the country," according to William Leigh, president of the agency. Mr. Leigh declined to name places or dates or talk about money.

Mr. Ziegler is the senior member of a small team at the Nixon compound in California that is scheduled to go off the Government payroll on Feb. 9. The lecture bureau also represents such other former White House officials as Herbert Stein, William Ruckelshaus (as well as his wife, Jill), Egil Krogh and William Safire.

J. terHorst, who resigned as President Ford's press secretary as the result of the President's pardon of Richard M. Nixon, will receive the first—and projected annual—"Conscience in Media" gold medal of the Society of Magazine Writers. Mr. terHorst, now the syndicated columnist for The Detroit News, will be given the award tomorrow at a dinner, open to those with reservations, at the Biltmore Hotel.

John Hohenberg, journalism professor at Columbia University from 1950 until this year and still administrator of the Pulitzer Prizes, has been named to receive the ninth annual Distinguished Teaching in Journalism award of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi. Mr. Hohen-

berg, who is 68, attended the Columbia Journalism School after graduation from the University of Washington and was a newspaperman for 20 yeyayrs. His book "The Pulitzer Prizes" was published last month.

The list of \$3,000 contributors to Senator Henry A. Jackson's Presidential campaign efforts during 1974 includes some of the most conspicuous backers of a variety of other candidates in 1972. They include Arnold Picker, the movie executive, who backed Senator Edmund S. Muskie; Joseph Robbie, owner of the Miami Dolphins, a backer of George McGovern; S. Harrison Dogole of Philadelphia, former campaign

treasurer for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, and David Karr, a New York banker, who traveled with Sargent Shriver on his Vice-Presidential campaign trail that year. Dec. 31 was the deadline for giving contributions larger than \$1,000 to Presidential campaigns.

II. GULF OIL CORP.

Gulf Oil Corp., a company with annual revenue of \$9 billion, prior to April 7, 1972, made cash contributions of \$100,000 for the reelection of President Nixon, and \$10,000 to Senator Jackson and \$15,000 to Congressman Mills, respectively, for their campaign in seeking the nomination as the Democratic candidate for President. Claude C. Wild, Jr., vice president for Government relations of Gulf Oil Corp., stated:

[I]n early January or February [1971], a Mr. Lee Nunn came to my office or visited and informed me that there was being set up a Committee To Re-Elect the President and that they would handle the campaign outside of the normal Republican channel which he meant the Republican National Committee, and Mr. Nunn was hopeful that I could arrange to get \$100,000 in their hands one way or the other. He suggested if I wanted some verification of his legitimacy of his role in the operation because this was a new role for him—he had been up here, as you know, with the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee for any number of years, and Mr. Nunn suggested that if I wanted verification for his participation in this role, that he suggested that I contact Mr. Mitchell because he was going to be active in the strategy part of the campaign and Mr. Stans was going to handle the finances.⁶³

Wild related that he and a friend, Jack Mills, met in the Justice Department with then Attorney General Mitchell, who "indicated that this was an operation such as the Committee To Re-Elect the President, that Mr. Nunn was going to participate in that, that he had full confidence in Mr. Nunn, and that is about it." Wild was aware of the importance of the April 7 date, "the day when the disclosure law became effective."⁶⁴

Wild stated that, without consulting anyone at Gulf, he decided to give \$50,000 and that "I had to find a place for the money—where the money was, so I called the controller of one of our companies in the Bahamas and told him I needed \$50,000 and he brought it to me."⁶⁵ He explained that the man's name was William Viglia and that the company was the Bahamas Exploration, Ltd., a subsidiary of Gulf which is no longer in existence, and that the \$50,000 was charged to miscellaneous expense account. Wild related that Viglia delivered the \$50,000 in cash to him and that in April or May 1971, Nunn was given the cash in Wild's office. Wild stated that he was contacted again by Nunn in January 1972 for an additional contribution:

Mr. Wild. Well, I think he came to my office again and indicated that this would be a very expensive campaign and that they wanted more money and he would like another \$50,000, making a total of \$100,000, the implication being to

⁶³ 13 Hearings 5461.

⁶⁴ 13 Hearings 5462, 5467.

⁶⁵ 13 Hearings 5462.

me, and I cannot remember whether he made that exact statement or not, but the implication was that this was kind of a quota that they were expecting from large corporations.

Mr. DORSEN. What was the result of that meeting?

Mr. WILD. Well, he suggested that I might like to visit with Mr. Stans about this, which I did. He set the appointment up. This was—not my records but their records indicated that it was the 4th of February, which was after—probably while Mr. Stans was still Secretary of Commerce, but after he had announced he was going to resign. I met with him for about 15 minutes.

Mr. DORSEN. What occurred at this meeting? First of all, who was present?

Mr. WILD. Just Mr. Stans and myself.

Mr. DORSEN. And what was said?

Mr. WILD. Well, he indicated that he was hopeful of obtaining \$100,000 from the large American corporations. Ours being one of the top 10, he hoped that we would participate. He knew of the previous \$50,000, and he said he would like \$50,000.

Mr. DORSEN. What did you tell Mr. Stans?

Mr. WILD. Well, I told him I would see about it.

Mr. DORSEN. What did you do after that?

Mr. WILD. I contemplated it a little further, and I guess I made another mistake and said, "All right, I will do it." So I called Mr. Viglia again and got the money, delivered it personally to Mr. Stans. By that time, he had moved to his office in the Committee To Re-Elect the President.

Mr. DORSEN. Did you deliver the money to Mr. Stans?

Mr. WILD. I did, in person.⁵⁶

Wild was asked why he considered it necessary to make such a large contribution:

Senator ERVIN. You said you decided it would be in the best interests of Gulf to comply with the request made by Mr. Nunn after being requested to make a contribution. How did you figure that?

Mr. WILD. That was the decision I arrived at.

Senator ERVIN. Yes. How did you figure that the best interests of Gulf would be promoted by making a contribution?

Mr. WILD. Well, Senator, you have to make decisions in the context of the situation that existed at the time. I arrived at the decision that if we were going to be treated in an equal way, I knew other corporations were going to—a big effort was going to be made, and if there was not some participation on my part or our part, we may be, you know—whether you call it a blacklist or bottom of the totem pole, I would just like to answer my telephone calls once in a while and that may not happen sometimes.⁵⁷

Senator Montoya questioned Wild about the meaning of the term "pressure" used by Gulf in a press release⁵⁸ issued at the time the company admitted making its illegal contributions:

⁵⁶ 1: Hearings 3663-66.
⁵⁷ 1: Hearings 3671.
⁵⁸ 1: Hearings 3609.

Senator MONTROYA. I will quote from this press release as follows—third paragraph:

"These contributions were made in response to persistent requests to Gulf's Washington representative, Claude C. Wild, Jr., from representatives of the Finance Committee To Re-Elect the President. The company was not seeking any special favors and did not have any corporate activity under Government scrutiny.

"There was enormous pressure in the political system, and the fact that others apparently also yielded is evidence of this. This pressure was intense * * *"

Now, was Gulf Corp. correct in making this evaluation of the kind of pressure that was applied?

Mr. WILD. Well, we were talking in the release about pressure in the whole political system.

Senator MONTROYA. How would they know about the other pressures and not know about the pressure that was applied to you?

Mr. WILD. This was written after they found out about the pressures. I did not disclose any of this information to anyone prior to—

Senator MONTROYA. Well, were they not directing the context of the statement to the pressure that was applied as a basis for their corporate funds being used in the contribution? Was that not the main thrust of this release?

Mr. WILD. The first thrust of the release, I think, was that there was pressure in the system on me as a representative of the corporation.

Senator MONTROYA. Yes. Now, what kind of intense pressure was applied to you by these individuals? Let us start with Mr. Nunn, and then let us continue with Mr. Stans.

Mr. WILD. I guess the wording here "intense pressure," is subject to various interpretations, but in my days, I considered it considerable pressure when two Cabinet officers and an agent of one of the committees that was handling the election asking me on various occasions that I have enumerated, the times that I have enumerated; asking me for funds—that is just a little bit different than somebody collecting for the Boy Scouts.

Senator MONTROYA. In other words, having been around Washington for quite a bit, you read the message.

Mr. WILD. Well, I thought I had a message.⁶⁹

Responding to questions from Senator Ervin, Wild testified:

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Wild, don't you think it is very unfortunate that we have so much regulation of business in America that business necessarily is susceptible of being coerced by people in authority to make a campaign contribution which, if left to themselves, they certainly would not make?

Mr. WILD. I could not have said it better.

Senator ERVIN. Don't you agree that Congress should give serious consideration to making it a criminal offense for any

official clothed with great governmental power to solicit or receive a campaign contribution!

Mr. WILD. Senator, I don't think I would be prepared to go quite that far. There is certainly the right of an individual to do what he pleases with his money.

Senator ERVIN. I agree with you on that. But this is a different question. I think. Here, for example, is an Attorney General of the United States who has so much power and in large part, discretionary power over American business—

Mr. WILD. That is right.

Senator ERVIN. And likewise the Secretary of Commerce, which in many cases is discretionary in nature, that when he requests a campaign fund, it is almost a coercive practice, isn't it? It is quite close to is, isn't it?

Mr. WILD. Well, that is the way it came through by brain, anyway.⁷⁰

Mr. Wild stated that sometime in the spring of 1973, he met with Nunn, who informed him it may be necessary to disclose the names of the pre-April 7 contributors and that Wild should be prepared to give names. Wild testified as to what happened next:

Then Secretary Stans called me, and wanted to know how the \$100,000 contribution should be—he expressed again a concern at this matter, he regretted it very much because these contributions were supposed to be made where no disclosure would be made. He was very apologetic and so forth. But at the same time, he said, it looks like we are going to have to make a listing of these contributions made prior to April 7. He asked me how I wanted it listed. I told him that, well, I didn't have any names to give him, so I said Claude Wild & Associates.⁷¹

Stans called Wild a second time, and Wild gave him the same response:

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Then we obtained counsel in a short period of time, made a disclosure, voluntary disclosure, to the then Cox committee, and requested our money back from the Committee To Re-Elect the President, which we did obtain.⁷²

In connection with the corporate contributions made to Senator Jackson, Wild gave the following testimony:

⁷⁰ 13 H. R. REP. 3474.

⁷¹ 13 H. R. REP. 3466.

⁷² 13 H. R. REP. 3464.

As I recall the time frame, it was in early January, could have been February of 1972. I was contacted by Mr. William Brawley, Bill Brawley, who is on the staff of Senator Jackson. He called me two or three times. My intuition told me what he was calling about. Finally, I agreed to meet with— he wanted to arrange a meeting with me with Senator Jackson. Subsequently, that meeting did take place. I met with Senator Jackson and his assistant, Sterling Munro.

At that time, Senator Jackson indicated that he was having a difficult time raising money, and this was well documented, at least by the press, and he was hopeful that I would be helpful. I told him I would see what I could do.

What I did was arrange, through the same sources, to get \$10,000 and delivered it to Sterling Munro. That is the last I saw of Senator Jackson or Sterling Munro.

Mr. DORSEN. Is it your testimony that Mr. Brawley called you and contacted you for the contribution?

Mr. WILD. That is my testimony.

Mr. DORSEN. And is it your testimony that the subject of money was discussed at the meeting that you just described?

Mr. WILD. No specific sum, but when you say, "a politician says to someone, I hope you will be helpful," you kind of understand what that means.

Mr. DORSEN. But no sum was discussed at that meeting?

Mr. WILD. No sum was discussed.⁷³

Gulf Oil Co. and Wild were fined \$5,000 and \$1,000, respectively, for making illegal corporate contributions to the Presidential campaign of President Nixon.⁷⁴

I. THE HERTZ CORP.

In the fall of 1971, Donald Petrie, a former president of Hertz International Division, retired from a New York investment firm and became associated as a volunteer worker with the Washington, D.C., campaign office of Senator Edmund Muskie. In a committee interview Petrie stated that, at the request of Deputy Campaign Chairman George Mitchell, he had made arrangements with Hertz and Avis for the leasing of rental cars to key Muskie campaign workers.

Petrie stated that the reason he sought an accommodation from the car rental companies was the fact that the key Muskie campaign workers were not being afforded the usual discount rate in renting cars, were experiencing difficulty in obtaining reservations for rental cars, and, because of the lack of credit cards, were being required to tie up inordinate amounts of cash for the purpose of making rental car deposits.

Petrie stated that he called Robert A. Smalley, then president of the Hertz Corp., and requested special credit cards by which rental cars might be made available with the billing to be held in abeyance until the primary campaigns were ended. Petrie stated that he volunteered to be a guarantor of the rental car bills.

⁷³ 13 Hearings 5464.

⁷⁴ A contribution to the campaign of Congressman Mills is discussed elsewhere in this report.

Gulf Oil Corp., a company with annual revenue of \$9 billion, prior to April 7, 1972, made cash contributions of \$100,000 for the reelection of President Nixon, and \$10,000 to Senator Jackson and \$15,000 to Congressman Mills, respectively, for their campaign in seeking the nomination as the Democratic candidate for President. Claude C. Wild, Jr., vice president for Government relations of Gulf Oil Corp., stated:

[I]n early January or February [1971], a Mr. Lee Nunn came to my office or visited and informed me that there was being set up a Committee To Re-Elect the President and that they would handle the campaign outside of the normal Republican channel which he meant the Republican National Committee, and Mr. Nunn was hopeful that I could arrange to get \$100,000 in their hands one way or the other. He suggested if I wanted some verification of his legitimacy of his role in the operation because this was a new role for him—he had been up here, as you know, with the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee for any number of years, and Mr. Nunn suggested that if I wanted verification for his participation in this role, that he suggested that I contact Mr. Mitchell because he was going to be active in the strategy part of the campaign and Mr. Stans was going to handle the finances.⁶³

Wild related that he and a friend, Jack Mills, met in the Justice Department with then Attorney General Mitchell, who "indicated that this was an operation such as the Committee To Re-Elect the President, that Mr. Nunn was going to participate in that, that he had full confidence in Mr. Nunn, and that is about it." Wild was aware of the importance of the April 7 date, "the day when the disclosure law became effective."⁶⁴

Wild stated that, without consulting anyone at Gulf, he decided to give \$50,000 and that "I had to find a place for the money—where the money was, so I called the controller of one of our companies in the Bahamas and told him I needed \$50,000 and he brought it to me."⁶⁵ He explained that the man's name was William Viglia and that the company was the Bahamas Exploration, Ltd., a subsidiary of Gulf which is no longer in existence, and that the \$50,000 was charged to miscellaneous expense account. Wild related that Viglia delivered the \$50,000 in cash to him and that in April or May 1971, Nunn was given the cash in Wild's office. Wild stated that he was contacted again by Nunn in January 1972 for an additional contribution:

Mr. WILD. Well, I think he came to my office again and indicated that this would be a very expensive campaign and that they wanted more money and he would like another \$50,000, making a total of \$100,000, the implication being to

⁶³ 13 Hearings 5461.

⁶⁴ 13 Hearings 5462, 5467.

⁶⁵ 13 Hearings 5462.

me. and I cannot remember whether he made that exact statement or not, but the implication was that this was kind of a quota that they were expecting from large corporations.

Mr. DORSEN. What was the result of that meeting?

Mr. WILD. Well, he suggested that I might like to visit with Mr. Stans about this, which I did. He set the appointment up. This was—not my records but their records indicated that it was the 4th of February, which was after—probably while Mr. Stans was still Secretary of Commerce, but after he had announced he was going to resign. I met with him for about 15 minutes.

Mr. DORSEN. What occurred at this meeting? First of all, who was present?

Mr. WILD. Just Mr. Stans and myself.

Mr. DORSEN. And what was said?

Mr. WILD. Well, he indicated that he was hopeful of obtaining \$100,000 from the large American corporations. Ours being one of the top 10, he hoped that we would participate. He knew of the previous \$50,000, and he said he would like \$50,000.

Mr. DORSEN. What did you tell Mr. Stans?

Mr. WILD. Well, I told him I would see about it.

Mr. DORSEN. What did you do after that?

Mr. WILD. I contemplated it a little further, and I guess I made another mistake and said, "All right, I will do it." So I called Mr. Viglia again and got the money, delivered it personally to Mr. Stans. By that time, he had moved to his office in the Committee To Re-Elect the President.

Mr. DORSEN. Did you deliver the money to Mr. Stans?

Mr. WILD. I did, in person.⁶⁶

Wild was asked why he considered it necessary to make such a large contribution:

Senator ERVIN. You said you decided it would be in the best interests of Gulf to comply with the request made by Mr. Nunn after being requested to make a contribution. How did you figure that?

Mr. WILD. That was the decision I arrived at.

Senator ERVIN. Yes. How did you figure that the best interests of Gulf would be promoted by making a contribution?

Mr. WILD. Well, Senator, you have to make decisions in the context of the situation that existed at the time. I arrived at the decision that if we were going to be treated in an equal way, I knew other corporations were going to—a big effort was going to be made, and if there was not some participation on my part or our part, we may be, you know—whether you call it a blacklist or bottom of the totem pole. I would just like to answer my telephone calls once in a while and that may not happen sometimes.⁶⁷

Senator Montoya questioned Wild about the meaning of the term "pressure" used by Gulf in a press release⁶⁸ issued at the time the company admitted making its illegal contributions:

⁶⁶ 1: Hearings 3663-66.

⁶⁷ 1: Hearings 3671.

⁶⁸ 1: Hearings 3106.

Senator MONTROYA. I will quote from this press release as follows—third paragraph:

“These contributions were made in response to persistent requests to Gulf’s Washington representative, Claude C. Wild, Jr., from representatives of the Finance Committee To Re-Elect the President. The company was not seeking any special favors and did not have any corporate activity under Government scrutiny.

“There was enormous pressure in the political system, and the fact that others apparently also yielded is evidence of this. This pressure was intense * * *”

Now, was Gulf Corp. correct in making this evaluation of the kind of pressure that was applied?

Mr. WILD. Well, we were talking in the release about pressure in the whole political system.

Senator MONTROYA. How would they know about the other pressures and not know about the pressure that was applied to you?

Mr. WILD. This was written after they found out about the pressures. I did not disclose any of this information to anyone prior to—

Senator MONTROYA. Well, were they not directing the context of the statement to the pressure that was applied as a basis for their corporate funds being used in the contribution? Was that not the main thrust of this release?

Mr. WILD. The first thrust of the release, I think, was that there was pressure in the system on me as a representative of the corporation.

Senator MONTROYA. Yes. Now, what kind of intense pressure was applied to you by these individuals? Let us start with Mr. Nunn, and then let us continue with Mr. Stans.

Mr. WILD. I guess the wording here “intense pressure,” is subject to various interpretations, but in my days, I considered it considerable pressure when two Cabinet officers and an agent of one of the committees that was handling the election asking me on various occasions that I have enumerated, the times that I have enumerated; asking me for funds—that is just a little bit different than somebody collecting for the Boy Scouts.

Senator MONTROYA. In other words, having been around Washington for quite a bit, you read the message.

Mr. WILD. Well, I thought I had a message.⁶⁹

Responding to questions from Senator Ervin, Wild testified:

Senator ERVIN. Mr. Wild, don’t you think it is very unfortunate that we have so much regulation of business in America that business necessarily is susceptible of being coerced by people in authority to make a campaign contribution which, if left to themselves, they certainly would not make?

Mr. WILD. I could not have said it better.

Senator ERVIN. Don’t you agree that Congress should give serious consideration to making it a criminal offense for any

official clothed with great governmental power to solicit or receive a campaign contribution!

Mr. WILD. Senator, I don't think I would be prepared to go quite that far. There is certainly the right of an individual to do what he pleases with his money.

Senator ERVIN. I agree with you on that. But this is a different question, I think. Here, for example, is an Attorney General of the United States who has so much power and in large part, discretionary power over American business—

Mr. WILD. That is right.

Senator ERVIN. And likewise the Secretary of Commerce, which in many cases is discretionary in nature, that when he requests a campaign fund, it is almost a coercive practice, isn't it? It is quite close to is, isn't it?

Mr. WILD. Well, that is the way it came through by brain, anyway.⁷⁰

Mr. Wild stated that sometime in the spring of 1973, he met with Nunn, who informed him it may be necessary to disclose the names of the pre-April 7 contributors and that Wild should be prepared to give names. Wild testified as to what happened next:

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⁷³ 13 Hearings 5164.

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news from:

senator henry m. jackson

Brian Corcoran, Press Secretary, 202-225-3441

FOR RELEASE: A.M.'s
Thurs., May 29, 1975

AFRICA AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
Address by Senator Henry M. Jackson

Pan African Business Center

New York City
Wednesday, May 28, 1975
7:00 p.m.

Two hundred years ago, the people of the United States declared their independence from foreign rule, and set about to build a new nation in which they would control their own destiny. As we in the United States celebrate the Bicentennial of our own independence, the struggle for independence is still being carried on in Africa. The last major colonial empire, that of Portugal, is now being dissolved -- no thanks to the United States, I regret to say. But in Rhodesia and in South Africa, white minorities still deny black majorities their rights. And all over that continent, young countries struggle with the economic and social problems that greet every nation which chooses the uncertainties of independence over the restrictive patterns of colonialism.

American Policy in Africa -- Time for a Change

Many leaders in the African struggle for independence have noted how much they were inspired by the experience of the United States in winning its independence and then in the difficult process of nation-building. The world's oldest democracy and its youngest ones should have made common cause in the fight against tyranny, and poverty, and disease.

Sadly, this has too seldom been the case. Too often, American policy towards Africa has been not to lend a hand in assistance, or to extend the hand of friendship; instead, all too often it has been to show the back of the hand in pushing aside African affairs. No area of the world has been assigned a lower priority by the United States Government in recent years than has Africa.

The results have not been surprising. Year after year, opportunities for greater friendship and cooperation have been lost -- and both the peoples of Africa and the people of the United States have lost as a result.

This conference is especially important because it demonstrates that there is still time to make a new beginning -- time to restore Africa to its rightful place in American foreign policy considerations, time to expand economic cooperation between the nations of Africa and the United States, and time to restore the friendship between America and Africa that marked the early days of decolonization.

America and Africa: Common Interests

For the major concerns of the nations of Africa should be our concerns here in the United States. We must, together, seek to foster economic and social development -- to continue the struggle against hunger and disease and illiteracy. We must, together, seek to avoid great power rivalry or conflict on the African continent. We must, together, seek to expand trade between our continents on an equitable and, insofar as is possible, reciprocal basis. And we must, together, seek peaceful paths to social justice and political liberty in all of Africa.

In all of these steps, the advantages to the United States are at least as great as those which accrue to the nations of Africa. The new American approaches to Africa which all of us seek are not gestures of philanthropy; they are grounded in American principles and American self-interest.

The strategic importance of Africa, resulting from its location on vital air and sea routes, is clear. The mineral wealth of the continent is staggering, with 96 percent of the world's known reserves of chromite and roughly half its cobalt, gold and platinum. In January and February of this year, Nigeria was America's second largest supplier of crude oil, and provided one-fourth of all crude oil imports. Six billion dollars of United States investments are located in Africa -- two-thirds in black African countries -- and development needs suggest a potential several times that high. African requirements for capital goods and technology offer American industry a challenge and a great opportunity.

And there is a very great common interest between the United States and the States of Africa on the question of world oil prices. The impact of enormous oil price rises on the United States has been severe, but for many nations of Africa it has been catastrophic. For the price and availability of oil determine the price and availability of fertilizer, and there is a very direct relationship in many nations between the supply of fertilizer, and the supply of food. For the United States, high oil prices have contributed to a major recession, in parts of Africa, high oil prices have contributed to hunger and indeed starvation. So there is an important area of common interest here which the nations of Africa and the United States should pursue.

Finally, more than 12 percent of the population of the United States is of African origin. As the political power of American Blacks grows-- and sitting here with Percy Sutton and Charley Rangel, I'd be the first to report that it is growing fast -- American Blacks will demand a new policy towards Africa which reflects their concern and interest in its future.

And this is as it should be: American foreign policy should not be the creation of one individual or the product of one particular point of view.

It must reflect the concerns and aspirations of all Americans, and must reflect America's deep commitment to the principles of political and social justice on which our nation was founded.

A New American Policy

We have the opportunity -- and the obligation -- to demonstrate this commitment in Africa today.

-- In Rhodesia, the United States must pledge its full support of United Nations sanctions. I have always opposed the Byrd Amendment and have sought to have U.N. sanctions respected by this country -- and I will continue to do so. America must commit itself to support the international efforts now underway for a peaceful transition from minority rule to participation by all in the election of a truly representative government.

-- In South Africa, the United States cannot be neutral in a struggle for racial justice and political liberty. We must

give full support to the efforts now underway to bring about real changes in South African racial policies. These efforts have shown a sensible and moderate attitude towards the South African problem, but Africans will not -- and America must not -- accept words instead of deeds.

The message on this point is clear: Black Africa demands steady and significant progress towards the elimination of apartheid, and nothing less is acceptable.

We in America must support this stand. I have been especially critical of one disastrous recent move by the United States Government. In April, it was revealed that this country has shipped weapons-grade uranium to the Union of South Africa. As soon as I learned of this, I wrote to Robert Seamans, head of the Energy Research and Development Administration, to demand an explanation. As I told him in April, "I am deeply disturbed that a U.S. atoms-for-peace program could end up aiding the acquisition of nuclear weapons by South Africa." This was a foolhardy move by the United States, and one which can only threaten peace on the African continent.

This is a prime example of what the United States should not be doing in Africa. It was the wrong move, at the wrong time, in the wrong place. And meanwhile, many opportunities for a positive American role in South Africa are being lost. We are in a special position to help encourage the peaceful evolution away from apartheid.

For instance, many American investors in South Africa have allowed their personnel policies to become part and parcel of the apartheid system. This cooperation with racism must end, and a policy of "equal pay for equal work" for Blacks and Whites alike must replace it. Several American companies, acting on their own initiative, are pursuing non-discriminatory personnel policies in South Africa, and they have set an example. American business practices should help break down the barriers of apartheid -- not prop them up.

And America must take a principled stand in support of international law on the question of Namibia. Withdrawal of South Africa must be our goal, so that the people of Namibia may determine for themselves the future of their land.

-- In Angola, in Mozambique, and in Guinea-Bissau, Portuguese rule is coming to an end. We in America should welcome these new nations to the international community. In fact, in less than one month -- on June 25th -- Mozambique will join the ranks of independent states, under the unified and progressive leadership of Frelimo.

To all of the new states, American policy must be to deplore intervention by any great power, directly or indirectly, in their internal political developments. At the same time, we must stand ready to offer generous assistance.

The most difficult period in any struggle for freedom -- and ours in the United States was no exception -- is usually the first years after independence is achieved. The political structure, the economy, foreign policy, staffing of government offices -- all must be developed to new levels to meet the challenges of independence.

American interference in any of this must be avoided; but American technical help should be made available whenever requested. Trained technical personnel will be in short supply when the Portuguese leave, and U.S. assistance in setting up emergency training programs is an example of American help that might be very valuable to the recipients and might establish the base for friendly relations in the future.

Conclusion

We cannot, tonight, touch on all aspects of U.S. policy towards Africa. I have tried to address some of those which are now most pressing, and which offer the United States the most immediate opportunities.

President Johnson, who did so very much to advance the cause of racial justice in America, once spoke with visiting leaders from the Somali Republic of an old Muslim saying. It goes: "There are four things which can never be retrieved -- the spoken word, the sped arrow, times past, and the neglected opportunity."

Let us resolve -- we in the United States, Black and White, in government and out, and those of you from abroad -- let us resolve to make a new beginning in American relations with Africa. Let us not neglect the opportunities before us. Let us seize them, and let us assure that friendship and cooperation will mark African-American relations in the years ahead.