

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

| <u>Box Number</u> | <u>Folder Number</u> | <u>Document Date</u> | <u>No Date</u> | <u>Subject</u> | <u>Document Type</u> | <u>Document Description</u> |
|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 47 | 42 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Other Document | Telegram from MacGregor to Campaign Headquarters RE urging vigilance. 4 pgs. |
| 47 | 42 | 10/26/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Memo | From Khachigian to Haldeman RE: going on the attack. 6 pgs. |
| 47 | 42 | 10/24/1972 | <input type="checkbox"/> | Campaign | Report | Statement for Senator Dole RE: upcoming McGovern address on the subject of morality in government. 26 pgs. |

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

| DOCUMENT NUMBER | DOCUMENT TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|------------------------------|---------------|--|----------|-------------|
| N-1 [Doc 10] | Tel. | Telegram from Clark MacGregor to Campaign Headquarters, with attached draft copy | 10/26/72 | c (copy) |
| N-2 [Doc 11] [Doc 12] | Memo | Khachigian to Haldeman, re: suffering in silence, with attached draft copy <u>attachment:</u> Handwritten notes: "Keep memo to HRR 10/25/72, ..." n.d. | 10/26/72 | c (copy) |
| N-3 [Doc 13] | Speech | Statement for Senator Dole, re: "McGovern's morality in government, with attached draft copy" | 10/24/72 | c (copy) |
| N-4 [Doc 14] | Memo | Khachigian to Buchanan, re: last two weeks, with attached draft copy | 10/21/72 | c (copy) |
| N-5 [Doc 15] | Report | "Mr. Shivers: You've called me Nixon..." | n.d. | c (copy) |
| N-6 [Doc 16] | Report | "Senator McGovern: You have believed President Nixon..." | n.d. | c (copy) |
| N-7 [Doc 17] [Doc 174] | Report | Radio spot for Defense Commercial, with copy, "Radio spot on McGovern Defense Proposal," 10/20/72 | 10/20/72 | c (copy) |
| N-8 [Doc 18] | notes | Handwritten re: Telecon, 10/12/72, 2:40 p.m. Roger Shultz | 10/12/72 | c (copy) |

FILE GROUP TITLE

SEN. KHACHIGIAN

BOX NUMBER

7

FOLDER TITLE

October [1972] [10/2]

RESTRICTION CODES

- A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
- B. National security classified information.
- C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
- D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.

- E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
- F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
- G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
- H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: Kenneth L. Khachigian

Box Number: 7

Folder: October [1972] [1 of 2]

| <u>Document</u> | <u>Disposition</u> | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| 10 | Return | Private/Political | |
| 11 | Return | Private/Political | |
| 12 | Return | Private/Political | |
| 13 | Return | Private/Political | |
| 14 | Retain | Open | |
| 15 | Retain | Open | |
| 16 | Retain | Open | |
| 17 | Retain | Open | |
| 18 | Retain | Close | Invasion of Privacy |
| 174 | Retain | Open | |

October 26, 1972

TELEGRAM FROM CLARK MACGREGOR TO CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

Though you have received from me an earlier warning as to what to expect in the final days of this election campaign, I wish to urge even greater vigilance in the days ahead. The McGovernite movement is desperate. They are faced with one of the most massive repudiations in American electoral history, and as I reported in my memo of October ____, there has already been a resort to violence in order to make silent the New Majority.

In the next few days you can expect some of the most vicious smears ever used in any campaign. The McGovernites already have planned to use every trick in the book they wrote on smear politics.

The McGovernites will throw forth phony "sabotage" charges as cover-ups to their own attempts at political subversion. We know for a fact that McGovernites are frantically going around asking people to say they were saboteurs for the Republicans and then having these fakes pass off their stories to sensation-seeking reporters. These are totally false stories.

The McGovernites also plan to enlist hordes of radicals to use every conceivable means to harass and disrupt Republican election eve and election day activities. For example, they will attempt to

invade and disrupt our telephone bank operations to make it impossible for us to complete our final canvassing. Take extra precautions to protect your telephone facilities. Also be prepared for the McGovernites to engage in self-inflicted operations and then scream sabotage at the Republicans. It is a tactic fully expected.

Watch for election irregularities on election day. The McGovernites are in all likelihood going to engage in disruptions at the polls and make every attempt to keep the Nixon vote down.

In his speech on morality in government delivered on October 25th, Senator McGovern referred to a "Washington peace gathering" and complained of the arrests which were made. This so-called "gathering" was the infamous May-Day Demonstration whose purpose was to close down the United States Capital. It was sponsored by the Trotskyite Peoples' Coalition for Peace and Justice and would have turned the capital into a trash bin were it not for Washington's men in blue. But if Senator McGovern can refer to this riotous affair as a "peace gathering," he and his radical followers would do anything to make the last days of the election campaign a shambles.

We are dealing with professionals who in their desperation will use every source at their command. Please exercise extra skill and care to continue our work to keep the greatest President we have ever had. The time is now more than ever.

10/26/72

TELEGRAM FROM CLARK MACGREGOR TO CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

Though you have received from me an [redacted] earlier warning as to what to expect in the [redacted] final days of [redacted] this election campaign, I wish to urge [redacted] even greater vigilance in the days ahead. The McGovernite movement is desperate. They are faced with one of the massive and repudiations in American electoral history, as I reported in my memo of October [redacted] there has already been a resort to violence in order to make silent the New Majority.

In the next few days you can expect some of [redacted] the most vicious smears ever used in any campaign. The [redacted] McGovernites already have planned to use [redacted] every trick in the book they wrote on smear politics.

The McGovernites will throw forth phony "sabotage" charges as cover-ups to their own [redacted] attempts at political subversion. We know for a fact that McGovernites are frantically going around asking people to say they were saboteurs for the Republicans [redacted] and then having these sensation-fakes pass off their stories to [redacted] seeking reporters. These are totally false stories.

The McGovernites also plan to enlist hordes of radicals to use every conceivable means to harass and [redacted] disrupt Republican election eve and election day [redacted] activities. For example, they will attempt to invade and disrupt our telephone bank operations to make it impossible for us to complete our

invade and disrupt our telephone bank operations to make it impossible for us to complete our final canvassing. Take extra precautions to protect your telephone facilities. Also be prepared for the McGovernites to engage in self-inflicted operations and then scream sabotage at the Republicans. It is a tactic fully expected.

Watch for election irregularities on election day. The McGovernites are in all likelihood going to engage in disruptions at the polls and make every attempt to keep the Nixon vote down.

In his speech on morality in government delivered on October 25th, Senator McGovern referred to a "Washington peace gathering" and complained of the arrests which were made. This so-called "gathering" was the infamous May-Day Demonstration whose purpose was to close down the United States Capital. It was sponsored by the Trotskyite Peoples' Coalition for Peace and Justice and would have turned the capital into a trash bin were it not for Washington's men in blue. But if Senator McGovern can refer to this riotous affair as a "peace gathering," he and his radical followers would do anything to make the last days of the election campaign a shambles.

We are dealing with professionals who in their desperation will use every source at their command. Please exercise extra skill and care to continue our work to keep the greatest President we have ever had. The time is now more than ever.

10/26/72

TELEGRAM FROM CLARK MACGREGOR TO CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

Though you have received from me an [redacted] earlier warning as to what to expect in the [redacted] final days of [redacted] this election campaign, I wish to urge [redacted] even greater vigilance in the days ahead. The McGovernite movement is desperate. They are faced with one of the massive and repudiations in American electoral history, [redacted] as I reported in my memo of October [redacted] there has ^{already} been a resort to violence in order to make silent the New Majority.

In the next few days you can expect some of [redacted] the most vicious smears ever used in any campaign. The [redacted] McGovernites already have planned to use [redacted] every trick in the book they wrote on smear politics.

The McGovernites will throw forth phony "sabotage" charges as cover-ups to their own [redacted] attempts [redacted] at political subversion. We know for a fact that McGovernites are frantically going around asking people to say they were saboteurs for the Republicans [redacted] and then having these sensation-fakes pass off their stories to [redacted] seeking reporters. These are totally false stories.

The McGovernites also plan to enlist hordes of radicals to use every conceivable means to harass and [redacted] disrupt ^{Republican} election eve and election day [redacted] activities. For example, they will attempt to invade and disrupt our telephone bank operations to make it impossible for us to complete our

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 26, 1972

POLITICAL MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN (Per Buchanan)

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN

We have suffered in silence long enough. It's time to come out fighting. There is the distinct appearance that we are acquiescing by our denials and no comments. We need to go on the attack and to do it hard. It is time for the same type of speech that Ed Muskie delivered in 1970 this time coming from the Veep -- with a big build-up.

McGovern and the left, aided and abetted by the POST et al. are out to destroy the President. They know they will lose and are going down as irresponsibly as they can. But if this stuff sticks -- per McGovern's speech last night -- they have it in their power to make the President a lame duck on November 8th. Not by defeating RN, but by so undercutting his integrity and authority that they will have effectively destroyed his ability to govern. Either we turn that around, or the next four years are going to be unbearable.

Recommendation: The Veep goes on national television with a very low key, but tough, speech which Buchanan and I can collaborate on. The theme is that the McGovernites in their desperation are lying, maligning honorable men, and engaging in the worst kind of divisiveness for their selfish personal gain. Their goal is no less than the destruction of the President with lies and demagoguery.

There need only be about five minutes of defensive stuff. Then we launch into a major, devastating attack which could turn this whole thing around overnight. McGovern won't be expecting it, and it could take him days to recover.

We now have the laundry list of McGovern immorality and corruption, the bribes in his campaign, the smear tactics he used in 1962, 1968, and the smears today, the quashing of the Bobby Baker inquiry, the brand new car he got, the 1968 campaign where he didn't reveal his secret contributors, the nepotism on his own payroll, etc. Frankly, all these, taken together, could make McGovern shrivel in hypocrisy.

Then we go through all the issues that McGovern is trying to cover up -- the welfare, defense, and high budget stuff, plus his total surrender to North Vietnam and finally all his irresponsible statements on J. Edgar Hoover, etc. It could break his back.

I am perfectly aware that they think this is their issue, but we have enough now to make it our issue. The risk is two or three points in the polls, but the gain

Page, 2

is our own integrity and keeping RN's ability to govern. Done right, this one half hour could utterly destroy Magoo, and we ought to be willing to take the chance and go with it.

10/26/72

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~MR~~ H.R. HALDEMAN (Per Buchanan)

FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN

We have suffered in silence long enough. ~~and rather~~ *It's time to*
~~come out~~ *come out* ~~go down fighting, then take the xxxxx crap that's been dished~~
~~out & over the past two or three days.~~ There is the distinct
appearance that we are ~~acquiescing~~ acquiescing by our denials
and no comments. We need to go on the attack and to do
it hard. It is time for the same type of speech that Ed
Muskie delivered in 1970, this time ~~coming~~ coming from the
Veep -- *with a big build-up.* ~~on national television with the largest broadcast~~
~~audience we can get.~~

~~If there was any question, there is none now.~~ *A* McGovern
and the left, ~~aided~~ aided and abetted by the POST et al. are out
to destroy the President. They know they will lose and
are going down as irresponsibly as they can. But ~~if~~ if this
stuff sticks -- per McGovern's speech last night -- they
have it in their power to make the President a lame duck
on November 8th. Not by defeating RN, but by so undercutting
his integrity and authority that they will have effectively
destroyed his ability to govern. Either we turn that around,
~~with some effort,~~ or the next four years are going to
be unbearable.

~~Here is the~~ *A* recommendation: The Veep goes on national
television with a very low key, ~~speech~~ *but tough,* ~~but a tough speech~~

which Buchanan and I can collaborate on. The theme is that the McGovernites in their desperation are lying, ~~and~~ ^{and} honorable men, maligning ~~for the sake of~~ ~~maliciously~~, engaging in the worst kind of ~~divisiveness~~ divisiveness for their selfish personal gain. Their goal is no less than the destruction of the President ~~of the United States~~ with ~~lies~~ lies and demagoguery.

There need only be about five minutes of defensive stuff. Then we ~~launch~~ launch into a major, devastating attack which could turn this whole thing around overnight.

~~McGovern~~ McGovern won't be expecting ^{it,} ~~this type of thing~~ and it ^{could} take him days to ^{recover.} ~~finish it in~~

We now have the laundry list of McGovern immorality and corruption, the bribes in his campaign, the sneak tactics he used in 1962, 1968, and ~~the~~ the smears today, the quashing of the Bobby Baker inquiry, the ~~brand new~~ brand new car he got, the 1968 campaign where he didn't reveal his secret contributors, ~~the~~ the nepotism on his own payroll, ^{etc.} Frankly, all these, taken together, ^{could} ~~will~~ make McGovern shrivel in hypocrisy.

Then we ~~go through~~ go through all the issues that McGovern is trying to cover up -- the welfare, defense, ^{and} high budget stuff, plus his total surrender to North Vietnam and ~~finally~~ finally all his irresponsible statements on J. Edgar Hoover, etc. It ^{could} ~~will~~ break his back.

I am perfectly aware that they think this is their issue,

but we have enough now to make it our issue. The risk is
two or three points in the polls, but ~~the~~ the gain is our
own integrity and keeping ^{RN's} ~~the~~ ability to govern. ~~for 10~~
~~more years~~ Done right, ^{with minimal} this one half hour could ~~be~~ utterly
destroy ^{major} ~~the~~ and we ought to be willing to take
the ^{chance} ~~chance~~ and go with it. ~~The~~ ~~fight~~
~~is~~

Keep -

memo to H.R.H.
10-25-72 thoughts
8:30 p.m.

+ Call folks
- Blouse 1st class
= Courier article?

Aim is nothing less than the destruction of the President of the United States

They have lied - we'll be hurt they have maligned good men.

- Point by point refutation but get on the attack - use every one of our good attack lines - use some visuals

- We can move out attack line by say McG is covering up big issues

- Rather lose 2 or 3 points in the polls than see the integrity of the governance process undercut

- McG benefited from so-called sabotage

- Use laundry list of stuff against McG

- We have been very patient - McG has engaged in the worst demagoguery ever - it is an outrage.

- McG & his tactics need to be massively repudiated

- We are standing aside & side-stepping & hedging - let's attack!!

1/2 hour spot - run 2 consecutive nights - screw those who say we are smoked out

Let's give them a good fight Stand up for ourselves + America
Don't let them accuse them of dishonesty
Goat all of his principles

October 24, 1972

STATEMENT FOR SENATOR DOLE

Senator McGovern, who tonight addresses the American public on the subject of morality in government, possesses one of the shabbiest records of morality in government of any presidential candidate in history. The McGovern record is replete with shady deals, questionable campaign tactics, blatant examples of impropriety, hypocrisy and disrespect for the American political process.

When the white knight gets up tonight, he will be doing so with full knowledge that if but half of his record were known, he would not dare go before the public in an act of pious sermonizing.

Until Senator McGovern answers each and every charge I am outlining today, his credibility as a moralist cannot be respected. In short, Senator McGovern has pulled one of the greatest whitewashing acts in political history with his posturing on the subject of morality in government. We are laying out that record today -- with the bark off -- so the American public can see George McGovern for what he really is, an opportunistic politician who has engaged in one of the dirtiest political campaigns ever to cover up a record full of questionable conduct.

While George McGovern takes up the hatchet tonight, the American public has the right to know the truth about the following subjects:

-- Henry Kimelman, Senator McGovern's chief fund-raiser, closest political adviser, and personal confidante, is a multimillionaire who was caught up in conflict-of-interest charges resulting from his tenure as

personal assistant to former Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall. Kimelman made his fortune in real estate transactions in the Virgin Islands. It is no accident that Udall was in charge of Virgin Islands affairs as Secretary of the Interior.

During his last year in office, Udall made a decision which directly benefited Mr. Kimelman. He approved a site in the Virgin Islands for a new airport to take over the traffic from St. Thomas' present landing field, Harry S. Truman airport. As reported in the Washingtonian magazine in its August, 1972 issue: "Kimelman and his family own a 275-acre tract of potentially prime residential land at Brewer's Bay, uncomfortably close to the Harry S. Truman Airport. Its development possibilities would be greatly enhanced were HST located elsewhere."

Kimelman participated in the decisions to abandon the HST Airport and thus was directly involved in a massive conflict-of-interest, the resolution of which would make him an even more wealthy man. It was only when the Nixon Administration took over that the Udall decision was revoked and Kimelman was denied the fruits of his profiteering.

Now Mr. Kimelman is involved at the highest levels of the McGovern campaign, and Senator McGovern has never repudiated Kimelman for his direct activity in bilking the taxpayers for personal profit.

Instead, Senator McGovern accepts tens of thousands of dollars from Kimelman and has frequently vacationed at Kimelman's palatial estate in the Virgin Islands -- making one wonder whether Senator McGovern knows immorality in government when he sees it.

-- Moreover, Henry Kimelman, the wheeling-dealing, Virgin Islands land manipulator is also a trustee for Senator McGovern's blind investment trust. Of great interest is the fact that Kimelman liquidated the trust and converted all stock holdings into cash and bonds soon after it appeared Senator McGovern would win the nomination and just prior to the fall of the "McGovern Market" in May, 1972.

-- The moralist, George McGovern, has also yet to make public comment on the many apparent violations discovered in his fund-raising activities by the General Accounting Office. The McGovern activities are riven with the lack of proper records, improper receipt of funds from foreign nationals and inadequate identification of sponsors of a political newspaper advertisement. Senator McGovern's great concern for morality in government should also extend to the dummy committees his campaign operation set up to help Playboy magazine publisher, Hugh Hefner, to avoid gift taxes on his huge contributions to McGovern.

-- Senator McGovern has failed to comment on what very reliable sources say to be his participation in one or more highly leveraged tax shelter deals involving foreign-made films, many of them produced as "sexploitation" films. It has been revealed to me by extremely reliable sources that Mr. McGovern is sheltering his income by taking accelerated depreciation on these foreign-produced films.

-- The same Senator McGovern who will be heard tonight attacking morality in government in most likelihood will not discuss his own permissiveness towards the trend of immorality in American life. In an interview in Playboy magazine, August, 1971, Mr. McGovern was asked for his views on traditional moral values. His direct response: "As for the change in sex mores, I'm not particularly concerned about it." It is no surprise, then, that Senator McGovern was one of only five U. S. Senators in 1970 who voted against a Senate Resolution rejecting the findings of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. Senator McGovern's moralism, therefore, puts him on the permissive side of the smut-peddlers who are polluting the mails with their trash.

-- As a bomber pilot in World War II, Senator McGovern was reported to have direct knowledge of two instances of war crimes, but never reported them to the authorities. According to Robert Sam Anson in his official biography on McGovern (McGovern: A Biography, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), McGovern heard two fighter pilots

brag of shooting two Italian civilians off a bridge. McGovern did not report what he heard to the authorities. On another occasion, McGovern's own bombardier destroyed a farmhouse during a jettison of the plane's bomb load in what one of McGovern's bomber crew described as "cold-blooded murder." When McGovern was told about this action, he merely took the bombardier off his crew, but, again, did not report it to authorities. The man who is all too quick to accuse Americans in Vietnam of war crimes is on record as not reporting two of which he had direct knowledge.

-- Senator McGovern's piety and moralism might also well be questioned with regard to his performance during the political assassination of Tom Eagleton. While McGovern promised Eagleton in private that he would have a chance to make his case before the country, the McGovern staff was leaking telegrams to the press and engaging in one of the most vicious back-stabbing operations ever reported. While Tom Eagleton fought for his political life, McGovern table-hopped with reporters in South Dakota laying heavy hints that Eagleton was to go into the tank. The great moralist thus engaged in one of the most duplicitous stiletto operations of political history. Yet he has the gall to accuse someone else of immoral activities.

-- The moralist McGovern has also forgotten his moral principles when it comes to campaign tactics. Senator McGovern, unfortunately, has a long public record of dirty campaigning as reported in his biography

and as recorded in today's newspapers daily. Robert Anson reported that McGovern's victorious race for the Senate in 1962 was marred by whispering campaigns against his opponent, Joe Bottum. Bottum was falsely accused by McGovern campaign agents of belonging to a variety of right-wing organizations -- from the Minutemen on down. McGovern and his people also started the absolutely false rumor that his opponent and wife were alcoholics. Scurrilous cartoons were printed up with this vicious campaign lie as the main theme. Senator McGovern never has apologized for his behavior in that campaign.

Senator McGovern in his race against Senator Karl Mundt, one of the most honorable men in the Senate, said of Mundt: "I hated his guts." As reported by his biographer, McGovern went further to say: "I hated him so much I lost my sense of balance." This from the man whose hallmark is decency and moralism.

And today, the dirty campaign still continues with McGovern likening the President of the United States to the hated dictator Adolph Hitler. How moral is that, Senator McGovern? And McGovern has put forth totally defamatory charges that the Republican party is like the Ku Klux Klan. Without an ounce of proof, Senator McGovern made the "white sheet" charge in what can be described as of the dirtiest campaign tactics I've ever known. As reported in the Washington Post on October 7, 1972, McGovern was asked what the proof was for his charges, and he replied: "You'll just have to take it on my word. . ."

A gross slander, like the other McGovern campaign slanders, is made with no more proof than that we must take the word of a man whose aptitude for distortion is remarkable.

-- George McGovern, the moral crusader, compares the late murderous North Vietnamese dictator, Ho Chi Minh, to the father of our country, George Washington, and then in his great moral posturing asks us to join him in turning 17 million South Vietnamese peasants over to a Communist bloodbath.

-- In George McGovern's re-election campaign in 1968, the McGovern biography reports, McGovern's campaign bribed a man called Chief Eagle Feather to experience a "vision" that McGovern would win the election. In South Dakota, where the vote of American Indians is quite important, McGovern used bribery to influence the Indian vote with the Chief's visions and also provided buffalo and steak feeds to all Indians who voted for Senator McGovern.

-- It has also been widely reported that the AFL-CIO advanced George McGovern \$30,000 to help pay for a recount in the 1962 South Dakota Senate race. After the money helped insure his Senate victory, McGovern then reneged on his promise to organized labor to vote for repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. The issue was not the legislation, but whether or not the moral McGovern could keep his word. According to George Meany, Mr. McGovern did not keep his word.

-- According to Ralph Nader's recent book, "Who Runs Congress" Senator McGovern listed total expenditures for his 1968 re-election campaign as "none." Mr. McGovern knows that this is a patent falsehood; he also knows he was making full use of a loophole in the old campaign law. But today he travels the country bragging how open he is with regard to campaign contributions but has never told the public about his secret campaign slush fund of 1968 -- the thousands of dollars which never showed up on the official contribution lists.

-- One wonders what moral attachment Senator McGovern holds for the fact that his campaign headquarters in Los Angeles was used to drum up publicity for riotous anti-war activities upon President Nixon's visit to Los Angeles less than three weeks ago? Is it morality, Mr. McGovern, to allow your campaign staff to actually threaten the security of the President of the United States by whipping up organized crowds of demonstrators? Is it fair political play? Will you explain this to the American public in your address on morality in government?

-- Was it moral, Senator McGovern to announce your candidacy for the Senate in South Dakota on April 18, 1962 and then stay on the federal payroll as Food for Peace Director until July 17, 1962? Senator McGovern was a candidate for Senator for 93 days before he resigned his \$21,000 a year federal job and spent 46 of those days in South Dakota campaigning. Does this match up to the Senator's strict code of ethics and heavy moralism?

-- Jack Anderson reported on February 6, 1971 that Senator McGovern exchanged a used Chevrolet for a brand new Pontiac in 1965 without paying any difference in cost. McGovern arranged the deal through a Minneapolis business friend who paid the difference out of his own pocket. Senator McGovern told Anderson that he treated the whole affair as a "gift from a friend." Is this the same type of moral attitude in government we can expect from a President McGovern?

-- It is also of great note that Senator McGovern voted in 1964 to whitewash the Bobby Baker scandal as reported in the Rapid City (S. D.) Journal of May 17, 1964. When the minority on the Senate Rules Committee proposed to request witnesses to testify in the Baker case, McGovern voted to turn down the request. There is not a little bit of irony in the fact that Senator McGovern has traveled the country inveighing against scandals but voted to pull the curtain over the major scandal of the 1960's. Senator McGovern also opposed a motion to inquire further into the finances or business interests and activities of members and employees of the Senate. Now we know why. We wonder just what Mr. Morality in Government had to hide.

-- On March 9, 1967 the Washington Daily News reported that Senator McGovern proposed that a committee on congressional ethics be established to "consider cases of possible unethical conduct by the members." It's a good thing Mr. McGovern didn't propose the same thing in 1959 when his brother-in-law Robert Pennington was taken onto the McGovern Congressional Staff payroll while holding down a job teaching history at Dakota Wesleyan University. In this gross abuse of nepotism, Mr. Pennington was a \$8667-a-year employee of his brother-in-law while pulling down a \$4365-a-year job at Dakota Wesleyan University. It was interesting that Mr. Pennington could work nights and weekends for Senator McGovern and accept the taxpayers' money for a substantial sum of money. After this impropriety was uncovered in the Washington Daily News of April 17, 1959, McGovern wrote his constituents back home, as reported in the Mitchell Republic of April 21, 1959, that he regarded the practice of nepotism as "unethical." Is this what McGovern means by morality in government?

-- On April 19, 1963 the Washington Post reported that Senator McGovern accepted a campaign contribution from Washington lobbyist John A. O'Donnell who was promoting passage of the Phillipines War Damage Act. Senator Fulbright at the time charged that "the legislative process has been subverted" by the O'Donnell campaign and that O'Donnell was unduly enriched by his activities on behalf of the Phillipines. According to the Post article the campaign fund was for "friendly Congressmen." One wonders where this campaign contribution fits in to Mr. McGovern's pious campaign against the "special interests."

-- Finally, one has to return to the Daniel Ellsberg case to point out the ultimate in hypocrisy by Senator George McGovern. Apparently, Mr. McGovern believes that just about everything is immoral except for encouraging the publication of stolen top secret government documents. It is a part of the public record that George McGovern encouraged Ellsberg to take the stolen "Pentagon Papers" to the New York Times and other publications. While McGovern cries crocodile tears over a few pizzas sent to a Muskie fundraiser, he always avoids public mention of his complicity with Daniel Ellsberg's violation of federal law. This moral double standard of McGovern's is perhaps the grossest of indecencies on the eve of his address to the nation on morality in government.

One wonders whether George McGovern as President of the United States would think it "moral" to turn over highly classified national security documents to the national media on a regular basis.

* * * * *

So while Senator McGovern preaches morality tonight, he might well wake up tomorrow morning and explain to the American public his attitude regarding his personal acts of questionable morality. Was it moral, Senator, to encourage the leakage of top secret documents to the press? Was it moral to engage in nepotism in the Congress? Was it moral to accept the gift resulting in a brand new automobile from your "friend?" Was it moral to engage in whispering and hate campaigns

against your political opponents? Was it moral to bribe voter support in your re-election contest of 1968? Was it moral to allow your headquarters to be used to ship up potentially violent activity against the security of the President of the United States? These and many other questions must be answered by George McGovern. I hope he will re-tape his morality in government broadcast to include these answers. But I fear we are going to get nothing but massive cover-up activities to gloss over a record of highly questionable conduct in personal and political affairs.

STATEMENT
FOR SENATOR DOLE

10/24/72

Khehjian
draft

Senator McGovern, who tonight addresses the American public on the subject of morality in government, possesses one of the ~~shabbiest~~ records of morality in government of any presidential candidate in history. The McGovern record is replete with shady deals, questionable campaign tactics, blatant ~~examples~~ examples of impropriety, hypocrisy and ~~disrespect~~ disrespect for the American political process.

When the white knight gets up tonight, he will be doing ~~so~~ so with full knowledge that if but half of his ~~record~~ record were known, ~~he~~ he would not dare go before the public in an act of pious sermonizing.

Until Senator McGovern answers ~~each and every~~ each and every charge I am outlining today, his credibility as a moralist cannot be respected. In short, Senator McGovern has pulled one of the greatest whitewashing acts in political history with his ~~posturing~~ posturing on the subject of morality in government. We are laying out that record today -- with the bark off -- so the American public can see George McGovern for what he really is, an opportunistic politician who has engaged in one of the dirtiest political campaigns ever to cover up a record full of questionable conduct.

STATEMENT FOR SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

Tonight, Senaytor McGovern is ~~xxxx~~ addressing the nation ~~xxxxxx~~ on the subject of Morality in Government. From past experience, I expect Senator McGovern's speech to be full of the same pious rhetoric that has marked his campaign ~~of~~ lately. Senator McGovern surely will ~~be~~ again lace ~~his~~ his words with wild and desperate charges of corruption and ~~his~~ venality. What I also expect is for Senator McGovern to ignore any mention of the McGovern record on morality in government. Because there is still time left, I ~~am~~ am hopeful that Mr. McGovern will be able to include in his speech tonight responses to ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~array-of-questionable-actions-~~ his own record of questionable activities.

9 While ~~the~~ George McGovern takes up the hatchet ~~tonight~~, the American public has the right ~~to~~ to know the truth about the following subjects:

-- Henry Kimelman, Chief fund-raiser, Senator McGovern's closest political adviser, and personal confidante, is a multimillionaire who was caught up ~~in~~ in conflict-of-interest charges resulting from his tenure as personal assistant to former Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall. Kimelman made his fortunes in real estate transactions in the Virgin Islands. It is no accident that ~~Secretary of the Interior~~ Udall was in charge of Virgin Islands affairs as Secretary of the Interior.

During his last year [redacted] in office, [redacted] Udall made a decision which directly benefited Mr. Kimelman. He approved a site in the Virgin Islands for a new airport [redacted] to take over the traffic from St. Thomas' present landing field, Harry S. Truman airport. As reported in the Washingtonian magazine in its August, 1972 issue; [redacted] "Kimelman and his family [redacted] own a 275-acre tract of potentially [redacted] prime residential land at Brewer's Bay, [redacted] uncomfortably close to the Harry S. Truman Airport. Its development possibilities would be greatly enhanced were HST located elsewhere."

Kimelman participated in the [redacted] decisions to abandon the HST [redacted] Airport and thus was directly involved in a massive conflict-of-interest, [redacted] the resolution [redacted] of which would make him an even more wealthy man. It was only when *The Nixon* [redacted] administration took over that the Udall decision was revoked and Kimelman was denied the fruits of his profiteering.

Now Mr. [redacted] Kimelman is [redacted] involved at the highest levels of the McGovern campaign, and Senator McGovern has never repudiated Kimelman for his [redacted] direct activity in bilking the taxpayers for personal [redacted] profit. [redacted] Instead, *accepts tens of thousands of dollars from Kimelman and* Senator McGovern has frequently [redacted] vacations at [redacted] Kimelman's palatial estate in the Virgin Islands, making one wonder whether Senator McGovern [redacted] knows immorality in government when [redacted] he sees it.

McGovern,

-- Henry Kimelman, the wheeling-dealing, Virgin Islands land manipulator is also a trustee for Senator McGovern's blind trust ^{investment} ~~to many of his~~. Of great interest is the fact that Kimelman liquidated the trust and converted all stock holdings into cash and bonds soon after it appeared Senator McGovern would win the nomination and just prior to the fall of the "McGovern Market" in May, 1972.

-- The moralist, George McGovern, has also yet to make public comment on the apparent many violations discovered in his fund-raising activities by the General Accounting Office. The McGovern activities are riven with the lack of ~~proper~~ proper records, improper receipt of funds from foreign nationals and inadequate identification of sponsors of a political newspaper advertisement. Senator McGovern's great concern for morality in government should also extend to the dummy committees his campaign operation set up to help Playboy magazine publisher, Hugh Hefner, to avoid gift taxes on his huge contributions to McGovern.

?
-- Senator McGovern has failed to comment on what very reliable sources say to be his participation in one or more highly leveraged tax shelter deals involving foreign-made films, many of them produced as ~~sexploitation~~ "sexploitation" films. It has been ~~revealed~~ revealed to me by extremely reliable sources that Mr. McGovern is sheltering his income by taking accelerated depreciation on ^{these} foreign-produced films.

-- The same Senator McGovern [redacted] who will be heard tonight attacking morality in government [redacted] in most likelihood will not discuss his own permissiveness towards [redacted] the trend of immorality in American life. In an interview in Playboy [redacted] magazine, August, 1971, Mr. McGovern was asked for his views on [redacted] traditional moral values. His direct response: "As for the change in sex mores, I'm not particularly concerned about it." It is no surprise, then, that Senator McGovern was [redacted] one of only five U.S. Senators in 1970 who voted against a Senate Resolution rejecting the findings of the [redacted] Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. Senator McGovern's moralism, therefore, puts him on the permissive side of the [redacted] smut-peddlers who are polluting the [redacted] mails with their trash.

-- As a bomber [redacted] pilot in World War II, Senator McGovern was [redacted] reported to have direct knowledge of two instances of war crimes, but never reported them to the authorities. According to Robert Sam Anson in his official biography on McGovern, (McGovern: A Biography, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, [redacted] 1972), McGovern heard two fighter [redacted] pilots [redacted] brag of [redacted] shooting two Italian civilians off a bridge. McGovern did not report what he heard to the authorities. On another occasion, McGovern's own [redacted] bombardier destroyed a farmhouse during a jettison of the [redacted] plane's [redacted] bomb load in what one of McGovern's bomber crew [redacted] des-

cribed as █████ "cold-blooded murderer." When McGovern was told about this action, he merely took the bombardier off his crew, but, again, did not report it to authorities. The man who is all too quick to accuse █████ Americans in Vietnam of war crimes is on record as not reporting two of which he had direct knowledge.

-- Senator █████ McGovern's piety and moralism might also well be questioned with regard to his performance during the political assassination of Tom Eagleton. While McGovern promised Eagleton in private that he would have a chance to make his case before the country, the McGovern staff was leaking telegrams to the press and engaging in one of the most vicious back-stabbing operations ever ~~reported.~~ While Tom Eagleton fought for his political life, McGovern table-hopped █████ with reporters in South Dakota laying heavy hints that Eagleton was to go ^{into the tank.} The great moralist thus engaged in one of the most duplicitous █████ stiletto operations of political history. Yet he has the gall to accuse someone else of immoral activities.

-- The moralist McGovern has also forgotten his moral principles when it comes to █████ campaign tactics. Senator McGovern, unfortunately, has a long public record of dirty campaigning as █████ reported in his biography and as recorded in today's newspapers daily. Robert Lanson reported that

McGovern's victorious race for the Senate in 1962 was marred by whispering campaigns against his opponent, Joe Bottum.

falsely by McGovern campaign agents Bottum was accused of belonging to a variety of right-wing

organizations -- from the Minutemen on down. McGovern ~~and his~~

~~people~~ also ~~started~~ started the ~~absolutely~~ absolutely false

rumor that his opponent and ~~wife~~ wife were alcoholics. Scurrilous

cartoons were printed up with this vicious ~~campaign~~

campaign lie as the main theme. Senator McGovern never

has apologized for his behavior in that campaign.

Senator McGovern in his race against ~~Senator~~ Senator Karl Mundt, one of the most honorable men in the Senate,

said of Mundt: "I hated his guts." As reported by his biographer, McGovern went further to say: "I hated him so much I lost my sense of balance." This from the man whose hallmark is ~~decency~~ decency and moralism.

And today, the dirty campaign still continues with McGovern ~~likening~~ likening the President of the United States to the hated dictator Adolph Hitler. How moral is that, Senator McGovern? And McGovern has ~~thrown out~~ put forth totally defamatory charges that the Republican party is like ~~the~~ the Ku Klux Klan. Without ~~an~~ an ounce of proof, ~~Senator~~ Senator McGovern made the white sheet charge in what can be described as

~~of~~ of the dirtiest campaign tactics I've ever known. As reported in the Washington Post on ~~October~~ October 7, 1972,

~~McGovern~~ was McGovern asked what the proof was for his charges, and he

replied: "You'll just have to take it on my word...."

A gross slander, like the other McGovern campaign slanders, is made with no more proof than ~~that~~ that we must take the word of a man whose ~~aptitude~~ aptitude for ~~distortion~~ distortion is remarkable.

-- George McGovern, the moral crusader, compares the ~~late~~ late murderous North Vietnamese dictator, ~~Ho Chi Minh~~ Ho Chi Minh, to the father of our country, George Washington, and then in his great moral posturing asks us to join him in turning 17 million ~~South Vietnamese~~ South Vietnamese peasants ^{ants} over to a Communist bloodbath.

-- In George McGovern's re-election campaign in 1968, the McGovern biography reports, McGovern's campaign bribed a man called Chief Eagle Feather to ~~experience~~ experience a "vision" that McGovern would win the election. In South Dakota, where the vote of American Indians ^{is} quite important, McGovern used bribery to influence the ~~Indian~~ Indian vote with the ~~Chief's~~ Chief's visions and also provided buffalo and steak feeds to all Indians who voted ^{for} Senator McGovern.

-- It has also been widely reported that the AFL-CIO advanced GEorge McGovern \$30,000 to help pay for a recount in the 1962 South Dakota Senate race. After the money ~~helped~~ helped insure his ~~Senate~~ Senate victory, McGovern then reneged on his promise to organized labor to vote for repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. The issue was ~~the~~ not the

legislation, but whether or not the moral McGovern could keep his word. According to George Meany, Mr. McGovern did not keep his word.

-- According to Ralph Nader's recent ~~book~~ book, ~~_____~~
"Who ^{is} Runs Congress?" Senator McGovern listed total expenditures for his ~~_____~~ 1968 reelection campaign as "none." Mr. McGovern knows that this is a patent falsehood; he also knows he was making full use of a loophole in the old campaign law. But today he travels the country bragging how open he is with regard to campaign contributions but has ~~_____~~ never told the public about his secret ~~_____~~ *campaign slush fund* of 1968 ~~_____~~ -- *thousands of dollars* the ~~_____~~ which never showed up on the official contribution lists.

-- ~~_____~~ wonders what moral attachment Senator McGovern holds for the fact that his campaign headquarters in Los Angeles was used to drum up publicity for riotous anti-war activities upon President Nixon's visit to Los Angeles less than three weeks ago? Is ~~_____~~ it morality, Mr. McGovern, to allow your campaign staff to actually threaten the security of the President of the United States by whipping up organized crowds of demonstrators? Is ~~_____~~ it fair political play? Will you explain this to the American public in your address on morality in government?

-- Was it moral, Senator McGovern to announce your candidacy for the Senate in South Dakota on April 18, 1962

and then stay on the federal payroll as ~~Director~~ Food for Peace Director until July 17, 1962? Senator McGovern was a candidate for Senator for 93 days before he resigned his \$21,000 a year federal job and spent 46 of those days in South Dakota campaigning. ~~Does this match up to the Senator's strict code of ethics and heavy moralism?~~

-- Jack Anderson reported on February 6, 1971 that Senator McGovern exchanged a used ~~Chevrolet~~ Chevrolet for a brand new Pontiac in 1965 without paying any difference in cost. McGovern arranged the deal through a Minneapolis business friend who paid the difference out of his own pocket. Senator McGovern told Anderson that he treated the whole affair as a "gift from a friend." Is this the same type of moral attitude in government we can expect from ~~Senator McGovern?~~ *(a President)*

-- It is also of great note that Senator McGovern voted *as reported in the Rapid City (S.D.) Journal of May 17, 1964* in 1964 to whitewash the Bobby Baker scandal. When the *minority* ~~Report~~ on the Senate Rules Committee proposed to request witnesses to testify in the Baker case, McGovern ~~voted~~ *voted* his fellow Democrats to turn down the request. There is not a little bit of irony in the fact that Senator McGovern has traveled the country inveighing against scandals but voted to pull the curtain over the major scandal of the 1960's. Senator McGovern also opposed a motion to inquire further into

the finances or business interests and activities of members and employees of the Senate. ^{now we know why.} We wonder just what

Mr. Morality in Government had to hide. ~~_____~~

in the Rapid City (S.D.) Journal of May 17, 1964.

-- On March 9, 1967 the Washington Daily News reported that Senator McGovern proposed that a committee on congressional ethics be established to "consider cases of possible unethical conduct by the members." It's a good thing Mr. McGovern didn't propose the same thing in 1959 when his brother-in-law Robert Pennington was taken onto the McGovern Congressional Staff payroll while holding down a job teaching history at Dakota Wesleyan University. In this gross abuse of nepotism, Mr. Pennington was a \$8667 a year employee of his brother-in-law while pulling down a \$4365-a-year job at Dakota Wesleyan University. It was interesting that Mr. Pennington could work nights and weekends for Senator McGovern and accept the taxpayers' money for a substantial sum of money. After this impropriety was uncovered in the Washington Daily News of April 17, 1959, McGovern wrote his constituents back home, as reported in the Mitchell Republic of April 21, 1959, that he regarded the practice of nepotism as "unethical." Is this what McGovern means by Morality in government?

-- On April 19, 196³ the Washington Post reported that Senator McGovern accepted a campaign contribution from Washington lobbyist John A. O'Donnell who was promoting passage of the Phillipines War Damage Act. Senator Fulbright at the time charged that "the legislative process has been subverted" by the O'Donnell campaign and that O'Donnell was unduly enriched by his activities on behalf of the Phillipines. According to the Post article the campaign fund was for "friendly Congressmen." One wonders where this campaign contribution fits in to Mr. McGovern's pious campaign against the "special interests."

~~_____~~
~~_____~~
~~_____~~
If past experience is any indicator, the above examples are but the tip of the iceberg.

-- Finally, one has to return to the Daniel Ellsberg case to point out the ultimate in hypocrisy by Senator George McGovern. Apparently, Mr. McGovern believes that just about everything is immoral except for encouraging the publication of stolen top secret government documents. It is a part of the public record that George McGovern encouraged Ellsberg to take the stolen "Pentagon Papers" to the New York Times and other publications. While McGovern cries crocodile tears over a few pizzas sent

to a Muskie fundraiser, he always avoids public mention of his complicity with Daniel Ellsberg's violation of federal law. This moral double standard of McGovern's is perhaps the grossest of indecencies on the eve of his address to the nation on morality in government.

One wonders whether George McGovern as President of the United States would think it "moral" to turn over highly classified national security documents to the national media on a regular basis.

* * * * *

So while Senator McGovern preaches morality tonight, he might well wake up tomorrow morning and explain to the American public his attitude regarding his personal acts of questionable morality. Was it moral, Senator, to encourage the leakage of top secret documents to the press? Was it moral to engage in nepotism in the Congress? Was it moral to accept the gift resulting in a brand new automobile from your "friend?" Was it moral to engage in political whispering and hate campaigns against your opponents? Was it moral to bribe voter support in your reelection contest of 1968? Was it moral to allow your headquarters to be used to whip up potentially violent activity against the security of the President of the United States? These and many

other questions must be answered by George McGovern. I hope he will re-tape his morality in government broadcast to include these answers. But I fear we are going to get nothing but a massive cover-up activities to gloss over a record of highly questionable conduct in personal and political affairs.