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**"Face the Nation" - Senator Edmund S. Muskie Interviewed for  
CBS News**

Edmund S. Muskie

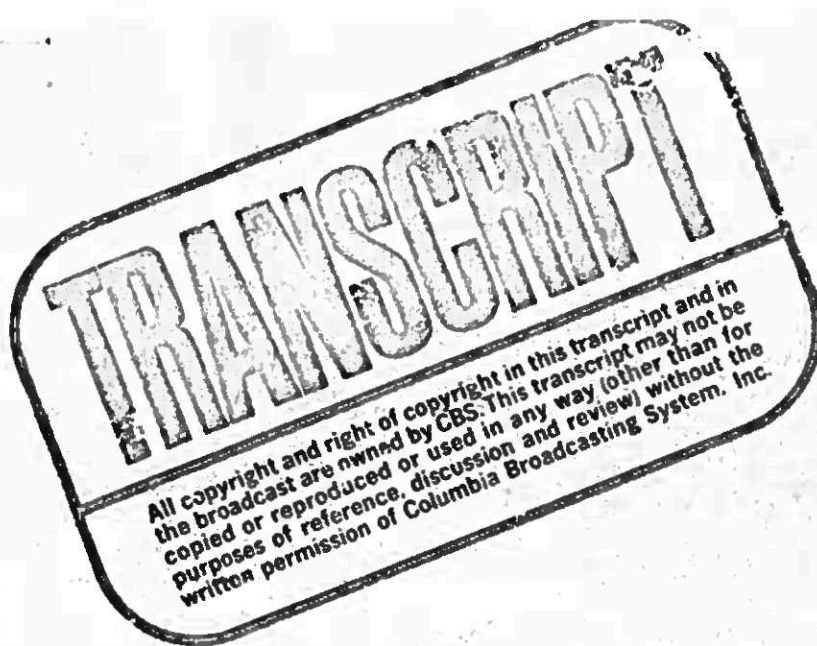
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CBS NEWS  
2020 M Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20036

**FACE THE NATION**

as broadcast over the  
CBS Television Network

and the

CBS Radio Network

Sunday, October 24, 1971 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EDT

Origination: Washington, D. C.

**GUEST: SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE**  
Democrat of Maine

**REPORTERS:**

George Herman, CBS News

Martin F. Nolan, The Boston Globe

Bruce Morton, CBS News

**PRODUCERS:** Sylvia Westerman and Prentiss Childs

**NOTE TO EDITORS:** Please credit CBS News' "Face the Nation."

GEORGE HERMAN: Senator Muskie, for about a year now the polls have shown you beating President Nixon, if the election were held at the time of the poll. Now all of a sudden for the first time the polls begin to show President Nixon coming out ahead of you. What have you done wrong or has he done right?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, I suspect that the polls more often reflect the President's supposed successes or failures than what his potential opponents do or fail to do. And the President has taken three important initiatives, at least three, in the last two or three months, and they are bound to be reflected in the polls. From a personal standpoint my answer would be it's not good enough, we've got to do better.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS Washington, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, who is considered a leading contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination next year. Senator Muskie will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Bruce Morton, Martin Nolan, Washington Bureau Chief of the Boston Globe, and CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

HERMAN: Senator, these initiatives, which have given the President this edge in the polls now, will they -- will these initiatives hold on, will they last through until election time, will he still look this good by election time?

SEN. MUSKIE: I don't believe it -- I just don't believe that a President who's presided over an economic policy which has seen the dollar shrink 14 per cent while he's been in office, which has seen

unemployment climb from three and a half to six per cent, which has seen our balance of payments deficit at record levels, which has produced the first trade deficit in this century, whose present unemployment target is 40 per cent higher than when he took office -- I just don't believe that a President with this economic record can look forward to 1972 with any comfort about his political prospects.

NOLAN: Senator Muskie, a couple of weeks ago you gave a speech in New York, talking about 30 years of failure on the part of American liberals. I think the record shows that during at least half that time, you were in public office, and you co-sponsored and voted for many major pieces of liberal legislation. Now unless that speech was solely a gimmick to appeal to the sort of masochistic tendencies of many liberals, it raises the question what were you doing all that time, particularly in the way of leadership?

SEN. MUSKIE: The speech was not intended to suggest that there had been a lack of effort on the part of liberals to achieve the changes in American society that we need to achieve, if we are to deal with the problems of the cities, if we are to deal with the grievances of minorities, if we are to deal with the divisions in our society. The point I was trying to make in that speech is that in order to implement these changes and these objectives, we need a broader political base than liberals have been able to put together most of the time in the last quarter of a century. I think in '64 and '65, as a result of the election of that year, President Johnson's election, that in the domestic field a great many important initiatives were taken which were subsequently lost because of the Viet Nam war. We've not been able to regain that initiative, and in order to do so,

what I was saying in that Liberal Party speech was that we must broaden the political base so that we can have the popular support and the legislative majorities necessary to regain that initiative, and that in order to do that, we must reestablish communications with sectors of our society which haven't been particularly the target of liberal attentions in recent years.

MORTON: What sectors?

SEN. MUSKIE: For example, the working man, the middle class American, who feels that focus upon the grievances of blacks and other minorities, lower income groups, has tended to neglect their real interests. And my point also in that speech was that the interests of middle class working Americans and the poor deprived Americans aren't really that different. They share a common interest in the state of the economy, they share a common interest in our potential for economic growth, they share a common interest in stability and a climate of safety, for example, in our society, so that their interests are shared, and we need to identify that area of shared interests if we are to develop the political support for working change.

MORTON: Something else recently that's created a good deal of comment and that was your statement that you didn't think a black on the national ticket was electable at this point. Looking back at all the columns, all the comment, has that hurt you or helped you?

SEN. MUSKIE: That's hard to say. I mean I have analyses of the number of favorable as against the number of unfavorable columns, and in both the white and black press the statistics tend to support me. That gives me no comfort, because I was not trying to promote a point of view in that statement. I was trying to give an honest opinion to

a group of black leaders in a private meeting, so I'm not trying to promote that point of view. Indeed in that same meeting I said that I regretted that this was a fact, the fact of political inequality, and that we must work to change it. So if I have any regrets about it all, it is that what I said has been misinterpreted and misunderstood. Now what I was trying to say is that this is what I believe to be a fact of American political life, a fact we must change, and it's a fact which stands in the way of dealing effectively with legitimate black grievances and injustices.

NOLAN: On regard to reconciliation of all types of Americans, do you think that any President can truly achieve that reconciliation after the Viet Nam war without a declared amnesty for the many young men who have tried to avoid the draft? There are more than 50,000 in Canada now and it's a big issue among young people. Where do you stand on it?

SEN. MUSKIE: I think we have to look at the question of the impact of the war upon young people and especially upon those young people who've been called into service, and especially service in Viet Nam, in a much broader way than that question would suggest. There are many young men who went to Viet Nam and died. There are many young men who went to Viet Nam and found their private lives postponed, who do not now have the educational opportunities or the employment opportunities to ease their transition into private life. There are many young men who went to South Viet Nam and became subject to the drug habit, who've come back, 60,000 of them. Now I don't think that we deal with the problem of adjusting these young men to private life by giving special treatment to one group. All of these problems, including the problems

of those who went to other countries to escape the draft and its responsibilities will be looked at when the war is ended, and I'm sure they'll be looked at compassionately, but I don't think we give special treatment to this group in advance of addressing ourselves to the whole problem.

HERMAN: How about the group that is coming to Washington this week to have demonstrations, the Nixon eviction in front of the White House, and so forth. How should they be treated? Should they be arrested en masse when they break Washington laws?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, the assumption that they'll break Washington laws, I don't think is one that should be --

HERMAN: If they break some simple law, like obstructing traffic or obstructing the sidewalk, one of the many ordinances that exist in any city?

SEN. MUSKIE: I think there are examples in Washington history in recent years of thousands and even tens of thousands of young people coming to Washington and conducting themselves responsibly in ways that ought to prompt us to listen to them, and I think that if we follow the example of the best of these demonstrations, and there have been such, that we should have no difficulty. I think we need to reach out to people who want to be heard, who want to express their views, and I think we should set an example for that here in Washington.

HERMAN: Do I understand that by that you mean that they should not be arrested? I'm trying to figure out exactly where you stand. This is going to be a difficult problem for the people who run the City of Washington, for the administration. What would you do if you

were President and they came in and they broke into --

SEN. MUSKIE: I think, as I say, in the best examples of these meetings, that we found it possible to avoid sticking to the letter of the law, that we've been able to, with patience and understanding, make possible these meetings. I think to look at the letter of the law and to watch, you know, with meticulous attention every minor, you know, violation as a way of drawing a line, is simply to exacerbate the possibilities for violence and explosions. Surely we can show more patience than that.

MORTON: Well, Senator, last May, during the Mayday demonstrations, the administration used mass arrests as a weapon. I think it was something like 13,000 arrests, almost none of which were sustained in court. One of the chief architects of that plan was Mr. Rehnquist, who is now one of the President's nominees to the Supreme Court. Are you pleased by that nomination?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, I could find other nominations that would please me more, but may I say that on this and others there will be hearings, and we ought to examine, I think, in those hearings Mr. Rehnquist's role. We ought to examine more than that -- his basic philosophy with respect to the use of such tactics and to his whole view of constitutional rights, First Amendment rights and so on, as we evaluate his qualifications for the Court. The President has said that one of his reasons for appointing these two men is that he wants to give the Court a different thrust for years into the future. If that's a legitimate consideration for him, then that imposes a responsibility upon the Senate as well. So we ought to examine on the basis of what we can learn about the judicial philosophy of these men,



their political and legal philosophies, the thrust that we think they may give to the Court in the years ahead. It's a proper concern for the President, he said so. It's a proper concern for us as well, and Mr. Rehnquist's role in the events of last May will certainly be an important consideration.

(MORE)

HERMAN: How do you estimate the feeling of the Senate? Will they pass a pair of candidates who are of very strongly conservative judicial philosophy?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, the fact--

HERMAN: Assuming everything else to be--

SEN. MUSKIE: The fact that they're conservatives--I mean, just that fact by itself, I don't think tells us enough to suggest that these nominations would be turned down. I think we all understand that the Court at any given time is going to be made up, and probably should be made up, of liberals, conservatives, those in between. I don't like these labels anyway, because they tend to distort or confuse or conceal a man's real political philosophy.

But insofar as those labels are a way of characterizing the Court, I think we all understand that the Court will inevitably be representative of a broad spectrum of political philosophy over the years, and that it will continue to, and that maybe--and that it should if it's truly to reflect this country.

NOLAN: Senator, several weeks ago you were in Providence, Rhode Island, and you received quite an imperial welcome to the city from the governor and the mayor, and the mayor spoke--

SEN. MUSKIE: I don't know if it was imperial.

NOLAN: Well, Mayor Doorley spoke of you in terms of unbounded praise.. And then two weeks later, Mayor Doorley, who is a member of the Democratic National Committee, voted for Mrs. Patricia Harris as the temporary chairman of the Credentials Committee. And indeed, many of your friends and supporters throughout the country did not vote for Senator Hughes of Iowa, who is the candidate of the reformists. And

in fact in that vote, which your side lost by 72 to 31, the Muskie organization so-called, displayed a fairly feeble clout on this issue. And I'm wondering how much of an effort you made on behalf of Senator Hughes, or if you made an effort at all.

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, what you suggest is that I'm not an emperor, and I've never--you know, I've never claimed to be. When you put together a political organization, you're not putting together an empire in which the man at the top rules with an iron hand. That ought to--

NOLAN: And an emperor should get more than 31 votes--

SEN. MUSKIE:; That ought to--that ought to be clear. Secondly, I regarded this responsibility as that of the National Committee. I became involved because two members of the committee happened to be on my staff, and so they wanted to know what my view was. And so I told them that I thought Senator Hughes was the man who ought to be elected. That happened to conform to their view as well, and they did work at it. Now I have no monolithic control over all those who have indicated an interest in my possible candidacy next year. I'm not even a candidate yet, and you're suggesting that as a non-candidate I ought to have, you know, ironclad control over the views of all those who are interested, you know, on any point that I--that I think I ought to rally them to.

But that doesn't happen to be the fact. What I'm trying to do here, in the weeks that have passed, in the weeks ahead, is to build a broad base of political support--a broad enough base to make it possible to lead the country if I should get that far down the road. That means that I've got to have an appeal from people who won't agree with each

other. Well, if that's the case, how can I expect them to agree with me in all respects on every question, every issue, every decision, every political problem that comes along? I don't expect to control them. I expect that to try to assert that kind of a control would alienate many of them.

I can try to lead them, give them my indications. I have no power in this situation. I was not National Chairman. I was not a member of the National Committee. I was not even an announced candidate or the nominee of my party. So I undertook in the best way I could to indicate my preference. And I felt a responsibility to do so because two members of my staff are members of the committee, and they worked for Senator Hughes, and Senator Hughes has acknowledged their assistance and my support with appreciation.

MORTON: Well Senator, you're talking about trying to build a broad base. It's been suggested that your unsuccessful effort in behalf of Senator Hughes cost you some support. The New York Times quotes one of your staff people as saying that your relations with labor, with Mr. Barkan of the AFL-CIO's COPE, were shattered. Did you lose support through coming out for Senator Hughes?

SEN. MUSKIE: I doubt very much--you know, if we talk about labor, that a quarter of a century of shared aspirations and many shared efforts with labor--that this issue, you know, suddenly has turned labor into a monolithic camp of hostility against me. I don't believe that. I've had disagreements with labor and with labor leaders before, and we still find that overall we share many aspirations and political objectives together. I doubt that that's been shattered.

If I--if, in order to have the support of any one group, to turn

around Marty Nolan's question, you know, I must agree with everybody who wishes to support me, then the whole thing is a hopeless venture. And I'm seeking, or presumably will seek, the top office in this land. Now in order to do that, I've got to form my own opinions; I've got to take my own initiatives. And people either have to measure me across the board in the light of all I represent, or the whole thing falls. If what is required is that I agree a hundred per cent with every group that shows any interest in what I offer for the country, then I have no potential for leadership.

And they understand that, and I'm sure that leaders of labor understand that. And I've detected no monolithic hostility from the people of labor since that event.

HERMAN: Let me take you back to the questions and answers about your speech to the liberals, so that I'm sure that I understand you. Are you saying that the liberals are the right philosophy or basically the philosophy that you are somewhat sympathetic with, and that they should broaden their base? Or are you tending a little bit toward Senator Jackson's idea that the liberals should form another party and get out of the Democratic Party and make the Democrats stronger?

SEN. MUSKIE: Oh, by no means. I don't agree with the politics of exclusion at all. I believe in the politics of inclusion. I think the Democratic Party, with its humanistic philosophy as developed over the years--and I prefer that as a real description of the attitudes, the societal attitudes of the party, than the word liberal. I think we must reach out, and what I was saying to the liberal party is that if it simply examined--you know, the values and the aspirations of say middle class and working Americans--they would find that they

share many of the liberal objectives, that liberals tend to identify with perhaps a narrower group.

HERMAN: The fuss over your statement about a possibility of a black vice presidential candidate reminds many of us of the fuss in 1960, when Henry Cabot Lodge was running with Mr. Nixon, suggested that he would be--he would think that there ought to be a black cabinet member, and that caused quite some excitement in the Nixon camp. Do you think that there should be at least one black cabinet member in any Muskie cabinet, if you were to be elected?

SEN. MUSKIE: Yes, I think that we should reach out to--there're many minorities who feel they're not represented adequately in the highest councils of the government--not just blacks, but Mexican-Americans, for examples, even Poles and Italians--and you can go down through the list--and women, who really are not a minority; they're a majority, I might point out. But they all feel the urge to greater recognition and representation in the highest councils of government, and we should reach out and make that possible. I think habit is a very strong thing in this respect, and that we tend, you know, to follow the lines of habit in finding places of responsibility for these various groups, and I think that we must make a positive effort to change that. And it was in--under President Johnson that the first black entered the cabinet. And I think it's regrettable that having established that principle, that it hasn't been continued. And I'd make an effort to do that.

NOLAN: There are 25 million new voters in 1972, and there're many issues among them. But one very practical issue is where the college students will register, and there're various court battles

going on in different states. And some state rulings say that they can only register at the home of their parents, and some say that they can register where they live, which is at a college dormitory. Where do you stand?

SEN. MUSKIE: I think the test should be the same as it is for adults. The adults aren't characterized into groups as to where they can register. Registration to vote depends upon domicile, and domicile depends in large part upon intent as reflected by objective acts. And now, for example, many married students--and many students are married--this wasn't so when I was a college student. As a matter of fact, if you got married you could get expelled when I was a student.

But today they're married. So obviously, they're emancipated, to use the legal word, from their parents, so that voting domicile for the purposes of registration in voting are to be based on what they indicate by establishing residence, by continuity of residence, and all of the other tests that are applied to adults.

What they object to, and I think rightly so, is that different tests are being applied to them than to adults. And I think if we apply it to--not every college student necessarily wants to register in his college community. Many of them want to register back home, and have indicated in one way or another that that's their intent. So they all ought to be treated in that way, and not as a body, you know, that ought to be treated differently. And I sympathize wholeheartedly with that point of view.

HERMAN: That sounds as though you feel that any student--any bachelor student--who simply goes to college, keeps his automobile registration, for example, in his hometown, should not be allowed to

vote at the college, should have to go back home, no matter how far.

SEN. MUSKIE: There now again, you're taking one fact and saying that one fact--

HERMAN: No, I'm--I'm trying to turn over your answer and--

SEN. MUSKIE: The fact that he's a bachelor and that he registers his car are two--maybe two relevant facts, but you have to take the whole thing into consideration. And if an adult goes to a--goes down to the registration office in a community, usually the only question he's asked is how long you've lived here. Isn't that right? I think that's so. Then by his act of going down to register, it's just the question of continuity of residence they're taking into account. Now why should the college student be cross examined any more closely than that?

HERMAN: Well, Senator, the answer--the answer at the local--

SEN. MUSKIE: We've made--we've given them the right to vote. That's a constitutional amendment, and my view is that in exercising that right to vote, they ought to be put on the same basis as anyone older than 21 has been in the past.

MORTON: Senator, on a tactical level, there're 23 primaries, I think, this year. If you're a candidate, do you have to go heavily into the primaries, and do you have to win the one--all the ones you go into?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, the more you can win the better. So far as entry is concerned, of course that is a decision I haven't made yet. I think we'll go into all that we can afford in terms of time, energy and resources; and all of those factors bear upon it. And--

MORTON: Would you go into Florida?



SEN. MUSKIE: Well again, I'm not making decisions today. Florida is obviously a very important, and a very important early primary. And I would find it--I'd find the case for entering it very strong.

HERMAN: When do you have to decide to announce as a candidate?

SEN. MUSKIE: Oh, when I'm ready.

(MORE)

HERMAN: Do you have any parameters of when that has to be? When is most advantageous?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, we're obviously getting closer to that time.

NOLAN: Senator, has the thought ever struck you that your dominant position in the party today would not be quite the same had Senator Kennedy not met misfortune in the summer of 1969, and he is --

SEN. MUSKIE: Yes, that quite often occurs to me.

NOLAN: Well, what do you think? I mean does that make you think that it's just fate and luck, or how does it affect you?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, the whole business is fate and luck. If I hadn't decided to run for governor against overwhelming odds in Maine in 1954, I wouldn't be here, so I suppose the whole the whole 17 years that has elapsed has contained a lot of fate, a lot of luck, a lot of hard work, a lot of effort, a lot of the right timing -- all these ingredients go into it. I'm not one who goes back and says, well, this one fact is something that I'm going to worry about or agonize over.

NOLAN: Do you mind being second choice, as apparently the two Supreme Court nominees are?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, I'll tell you, Marty, in November of 1972 the first choice will be made, and when that's made, I'll abide by the result.

HERMAN: There's a preliminary first choice, however, that has to be made at the convention.

SEN. MUSKIE: Yes, and I'll abide by that result --

HERMAN: Well, it's not just a question of abiding; it's a question

of working.

SEN. MUSKIE: I'm doing that, George.

HERMAN: Well, once again I come back to when do you think you have to most advantageously make a decision to build for that convention? When do you have to announce that you are a candidate?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, if I were to answer that question now, it would be the equivalent of the announcement, wouldn't it, George?

HERMAN: Well --

SEN. MUSKIE: And I'm not quite ready to make it.

MORTON: Senator, along with the Supreme Court, we've all been talking this week about the President's economic Phase Two. If that works, and if he winds down the war, with his November troop announcement as he is widely expected to do, what do you have left to run on?

SEN. MUSKIE: Well, if you solve all the problems for him this afternoon, we have nothing left to run on, but I've been asked that same question about his economic policy after each of the three previous economic policies he's had, and after each one a member of the press has said to me, well, now, the President has solved the economic problem, what have you got left to run on, and he hasn't solved it yet. And early in the program I recited the evidence of the failures. I hope, of course, that he's successful in stabilizing prices and in reducing unemployment -- that's in the interest of the country -- but his own target, I remind you, is an unemployment level 40 per cent higher than when he took office. That's his target. That's his optimistic target. This is what he describes as his new economic prosperity. Well, that isn't good enough, and if that's the best he does, and if he ends this year with a trade deficit, and

that's the projection, and if he ends this year with the dollar still under seige, I mean, the record will be a deterioration of our economic situation since he took office. Now I don't revel in that as an American citizen concerned about the economy, but as a political fact, that's something that he is going to have to face.

NOLAN: Senator, can you be any more charitable towards the President in his late change of mind and the economy since it bears a great resemblance to your change of mind in Viet Nam. In 1968 you were very much strongly for President Johnson's policy and even after President Nixon took office you were not as strongly against the war as, say, Senator McGovern. So isn't there a process of education that he's going through that's similar to yours?

HERMAN: We have 30 seconds.

SEN. MUSKIE: I don't agree with your characterization of either my position on Viet Nam or on his economic policy, but we don't in 30 seconds spell that out. Of course, changing your mind is part of the process, I agree with it, but the kind of abrupt and 180-degree reversals that the President's economic policies recommend undermine his credibility, in my judgment.

HERMAN: On that point I have to interrupt you. Thank you very much for being with us on Face the Nation.

SEN. MUSKIE: Thank you very much.

ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Bruce Morton, Martin Nolan, Washington Bureau Chief of the Boston Globe, and CBS News Correspondent George Herman. Next week another prominent figure in the news will FACE THE NATION.