

**THIS IS  
GEORGE  
Mc GOVERN . . .**

Dear Delegate...

We wish to welcome you at any time to Senator McGovern's hospitality room on the A Floor at the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel.

Senator McGovern will be in the Blackstone and will wish to speak with as many of you as time allows. Our Convention Headquarters are on the Fourth Floor, Blackstone, Telephone 427-4300.

We have a Press Room on the First Floor, Blackstone, at Ext. 249.

And, of course, we have the Amphitheatre facilities at 341-0635. We'll be looking forward to seeing many of you in our Convention Headquarters there.

We are jointly heading the delegate programs and will be happy to talk with you at any time.

Sincerely,

Bill Dougherty and Dave Harrison

Room 412

Sheraton-Blackstone

# McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT

McGovern for President Committee  
P. O. Box 2400  
Washington, D.C. 20013

Edward McDermott  
Campaign Coordinator  
David Harrison  
William Dougherty  
Delegate Coordinators  
Donald O'Brien  
Convention Arrangements  
Frank Mankiewicz  
Press Secretary

This booklet of information is about Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota. It is meant for those who are interested in learning some facts about an uncommon man in American politics.

Here are some of the things said about him:

"McGovern is not a man to be used. He is a politician of quiet courage and steady, kindly conviction." -- The New Republic.

"There are many degrees of political courage, but South Dakota Senator George McGovern is exhibiting one of the greatest --espousal of the unpopular side of a great national issue, even as his political peers try to shut him up." -- Watertown Public Opinion.

The two quoted publications were talking about the George McGovern who spoke out against the war in Vietnam in 1963, has worked for years to relieve hunger and want throughout the world, and who continues to call for a reasoned foreign policy coupled with justice and compassion in America.

Here are some of the things he has been saying:

## VIETNAM

"The current dilemma in Vietnam is a clear demonstration of the limitations of military power. There, in the jungles of Asia, our mighty nuclear arsenal--our \$50 billion arms budget --our costly new 'Special Forces'--have proved powerless to cope with a ragged band of illiterate guerillas fighting with home-made weapons...This is scarcely a policy of 'victory'." -- Senate Floor, September, 1963.

## POVERTY

"The fact of the matter is that we have spent money for thirty years, under the impression that we could buy off our problems--pay our taxes and no more, leave it to the welfare bureaucracy and the government officials to cleanse our society of injustice...Spending money is not enough...We all have to take a direct and personal part in solving the great problems ..." -- Los Angeles, July, 1968.

"I do not believe that America should intervene unilaterally in such areas as the Dominican Republic or South Vietnam. If such troubled areas cannot resolve their conflicts internally, then it is the responsibility of the United Nations or such regional forces as the Organization of American States to intervene." -- New York Times Magazine, May, 1965.

KERNER COMMISSION REPORT

"An unassailable indictment of the racial and economic divisions in American Society today. It sets forth with utmost urgency the direction in which we need to move to restore America."

JOBS

"A job can change dependency into dignity, and can build toward a lifetime of self-sufficiency for people who might alternatively spend all their days on public assistance. (A job program) is an absolute necessity in what we have come to recognize as the crisis in the cities." -- Senate Floor, October, 1967.

CIVIL RIGHTS

"The black man, in short, is echoing the words which Adams and Paine and Jefferson dispatched to King George and to their fellow colonists nearly two centuries ago...If America can not exemplify human dignity and equality at home, how can she hold steady the torch of freedom around the world?" -- June, 1963.

Throughout his political career, Senator McGovern has been direct and unmistakably clear in his positions on the major issues of our time. He is one man whose private and public courage made a deep impression upon the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Here is what Bob Kennedy said about George McGovern:

"...of all my colleagues in the United States Senate, the person who has the most feeling and does things in the most genuine way, without affecting his life, is George McGovern... The courage that I spoke of was the courage to speak out from his conscience about the course we were following in Southeast Asia. He was an early voice giving forth a view that was not popular at the time...I would think that of all the speeches given on that subject, the one that was most highly respected and had the greatest influence across the rest of the country was the speech that was given by George McGovern...He is so highly admired by all his colleagues, not just for his ability but because of the kind of man he is."

Quite a testimonial, man to man.

FROM SOUTH DAKOTA...

George McGovern was born July 19, 1922, at Avon, South Dakota, the son of a Methodist minister.

At the outbreak of World War II he left Dakota Wesleyan University and joined the Army Air Corps where he became a B-24 bomber pilot. Capt. McGovern was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for piloting his crew and severely damaged plane to a safe landing on a tiny Adriatic island.

Immediately after the war, McGovern taught history at Dakota Wesleyan, moving on the Northwestern University where he earned a masters and doctorate degrees. He began his political career as Executive Secretary of the South Dakota Democratic Party. Despite the Eisenhower landslide of 1956, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. As Congressman, he was U.S. delegate to the NATO parliamentarians Conference in 1958 and in 1959, after his reelection.

In 1960, Pres. John F. Kennedy named George McGovern a Special Assistant and appointed him Director of the Food for Peace program. As administrator, McGovern marshaled America's surplus foods in a worldwide war against hunger. His book, "War Against Want," describes the program and his ideas on continuing to fight starvation around the world.

Since entering the U.S. Senate in 1963, McGovern has advocated cuts in military spending in order to increase funds for much needed domestic programs.

One of the first Senators to speak out on the Vietnam issue, he stated in January, 1965:

"Expanding the American military involvement is an act of folly designed in the end to create a larger, more inglorious debacle."

On June 25, 1968, again on Vietnam, he declared:

"From the very beginning the bombing has been a colossal military, political and moral mistake."

Because of his firm positions on domestic and foreign issues, a group of Democrats in late 1967 urged Sen. McGovern to seek the Democratic presidential nomination. He declined at the time, because of demands of his 1968 Senate campaign and his hope that Sen. Robert F. Kennedy would become a Presidential candidate.

George McGovern married the former Eleanor Stegeberg in 1943. They have four daughters and one son. The two eldest girls were married last year. In his limited leisure time the Senator maintains a keen interest in history and photography.

GEORGE MCGOVERN'S RECORD OF LEADERSHIP AND ACCOMPLISHMENT:

He has proved his leadership qualities as a teacher, party leader, Congressman, executive and Senator. He has been a staunch supporter of programs for the ghettos and his constant concern with urban problems and the plight of the poor has earned him great respect as a man of compassion. In his second Senate year, he served as floor manager for the Administration Farm Bill, a rare tribute to the knowledge and acumen of a freshman Senator.

POVERTY

--McGovern voted in support of every appropriation for the Poverty program and has urged repeatedly that funding be increased to make the program more effective.

--McGovern voted last year in support of increased funds for the Teacher Corps and Rent Supplements.

--McGovern voted this year to appropriate \$75 million for emergency summer jobs, but the bill lost.

EDUCATION

--McGovern voted last year for the higher education tax credit.

SPENDING  
PRIORITY

--Beginning with his first speech in the Senate McGovern has urged reductions in wasteful military spending and called for the money to be diverted to more important domestic needs. In 1966 he led a fight to pass the McGovern Amendment to the military foreign aid bill, which would have cut the funding by \$250 million.

CIVIL  
RIGHTS

--McGovern voted in support of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

--McGovern led the 1967 fight to change the filibuster rule.

--This year McGovern signed the cloture petition for the Open Housing Bill; voted in favor of cloture on every vote and then voted aye on the bill itself.

DRAFT

--McGovern voted last year to substitute a volunteer, well-paid army for the present Selective Service System.

AGRICULTURE

--The McGovern voluntary wheat certificate plan prevented collapse of wheat prices and income in 1965.

--McGovern's beef import, hide export, dairy and other farm bills, often passed over Administration opposition, have helped strengthen farm income.

--McGovern led the Senate fight to maintain farm price parity and won, despite Administration opposition.

--McGovern wrote the 1965 Public Works and Economic Development Act section which established a Development Commission for the Upper Great Plains and authorized \$15 million in research grants for development planning.

TAXATION

--McGovern voted against President Johnson's tax surcharge and has stated that as President he would recommend that it be rescinded.

--McGovern proposed, as a substitute for the surcharge, a Corporate Excess Profits Tax.

And that, of course, is only a brief overview of a small part of the excellent record of public service compiled by George McGovern.

Support for Sen. McGovern's Presidential candidacy continues to grow as the Convention draws near.

One of the most recent and eloquent statements of support came from a group of clergymen in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York.

STATEMENT BY CLERGYMEN IN ENDORSEMENT OF SENATOR GEORGE S. McGOVERN

AS DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Senator George S. McGovern, Democrat of South Dakota, met on Tuesday, August 13th at 9:00 a.m. at the Bethany Baptist Church, Brooklyn (Bedford-Stuyvesant) with a group of concerned clergymen of all denominations for the express purpose of seeking advice on the problems of the minority community of this country. Following his appearance, the group unanimously endorsed his candidacy for the Democratic Party's nomination for President of the United States. Spokesmen for the group stated that their support was based on the following considerations:

- 1 - For the first time in this political year, a major candidate for the presidency has come into a minority community, not for the purpose of proposing his own preconceived notions of what is best for that community, but for the purpose of soliciting advice, guidance and counsel as to the programs that community views as best for itself.
- 2 - His unequivocal stand on the termination of the Vietnam war and the abolition of present inequities in the draft system was received with overwhelming enthusiasm.
- 3 - His commitment to the alleviation of the problems of the inner-

city through massive new programs of economic development for minority communities and the necessity for preparing disadvantaged youth for meaningful educational and job experiences impressed the group as realistic and productive of meaningful entry into the larger American economic system.

- 4 - His clear perception of the positive correlation between the war in Vietnam and the economic deprivation of ghetto dwellers in this country was most encouraging.
- 5 - His emphasis on social justice as the key to law and order was a refreshing approach which heretofore has not been clearly articulated by either of the other major Democratic candidates.
- 6 - His sense of understanding and compassion for the plight of the disadvantaged in our society was reminiscent of the best of John and Robert Kennedy.
- 7 - His clear commitment to the ending of the war in Vietnam is stronger than Senator McCarthy's and his concern for the problems of the cities is more convincing than Vice President Humphrey's.

On the basis of the foregoing and in response to the increasing element of the tragic in American life, we clergymen, out of a sense of moral responsibility and concern for the nation's survival, appeal to all convention delegates both black and white to act in Chicago not in terms of what is politically expedient, but in terms of what is morally right.

-----

Rev. James Gay, Greater Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. Hilton L. James, Berean Baptist Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. William A. Jones, Bethany Baptist Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. John A. Lawrence, Interfaith Church Community Services  
Rev. George Murray, Mt. Pisgah Baptist Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. Charles Nesbitt, Bethesda Baptist Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. Curtis Norton, Queens  
Rev. R. L. Paterson, Fellowship Baptist Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. Isaac Patrick, Protestant Council  
Rev. James Reeder, Mt. Aarat Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. Lynwood P. Taylor, Glover Memorial Church, Brooklyn  
Rev. Edward L. Wharton, Charity Baptist Church, Brooklyn

In order to give you a more detailed view of Sen. McGovern's views on some of the major issues, we are including excerpts from the following speeches.

EXCERPTS

STATEMENT ON VIETNAM  
by  
Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.)  
to the  
PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
Washington, D. C.  
Tuesday, August 20, 1968

I come before this Committee for two purposes. The first is to urge that we end the military involvement of the United States in Vietnam now. The second is to urge that we adopt a foreign policy which says firmly and without equivocation, no more Vietnams.

As to the first point, there is no consideration of national interest, no diplomatic commitment, and no other compelling reason to continue the American military intervention any longer. Indeed our involvement in this struggle has been the most tragic diplomatic and moral catastrophe in our national history. To correct error, it is first necessary to admit it -- to admit it frankly, without recrimination, but with a quiet determination to put an end to it.

Why do I call for an end to the war now?

The reasons are legion. Aside from the blood of our young men, we have squandered a hundred billion dollars and the mental and physical resources needed to reconstruct our own society. In a fruitless effort to pacify Vietnam, we have neglected our own desperate internal cities and rural areas until they reek with desperation, danger and despair. We have alienated our friends around the globe and divided and confused our own citizens on an unprecedented scale. The damage to our monetary, fiscal and economic life is incalculable.

But the most compelling reason for ending the war is that it is a moral disaster for America and for Vietnam. This war has become a smoldering cancer that is eating away the ideals of dignity and compassion which have been our surest guides from the earliest days of the Republic.

Ending the war and redeeming our own society are not divisible issues; they are fundamentally one issue, and they go to the heart of our historic ideals and our future hopes. It is this moral and humanitarian challenge of the Vietnam issue that I ask you, our Party, and our fellow citizens to consider.

How can we contend that we are in Vietnam to reduce terror and death, when our bombers have dropped more napalm and explosives on little Vietnam, North and South, than fell from the skies on all the nations of World War II?

How can we justify the search and destroy tactics on the ground that have wrecked the villages, laid waste the rice crops, and herded several million villagers into appalling refugee centers devoid of dignity or decency?

How can we argue that we are defending freedom when our ally in Saigon presides over a cesspool of corruption, prostitution and black market erring?

What are we to say to the parents of American boys who have died trying to save an oppressive regime that has just sentenced to prison for five years at hard labor a presidential candidate whose only crime was to suggest a negotiated settlement of the war?

We cannot answer these questions honestly without recognizing that there are no rational or moral grounds for continuing the war.

There are talks in Paris. But the killing goes on. Bombs are still falling, while we devise three-point, five-point or even pointless plans to strengthen our public posture.

There is only one real answer, one Vietnam plank for the Democratic Party. To that end I suggest that it be the policy of the Democratic Party, and of its nominee for the Presidency of the United States:

First: We should immediately halt all bombing of North Vietnam.

Second: We must immediately cease all search and destroy operations on the ground in South Vietnam.

Third: We must cease our open-ended support of the present government of South Vietnam.

Fourth: We should cease our opposition to participation by the National Liberation Front in the government of South Vietnam.

Fifth: We must clearly demonstrate that our involvement in Vietnam has reached its limit; and that if the war is to be pursued, it will not be at the further and endless cost of American lives, American dollars and American progress.

This program in my judgment would begin to move us at last toward extrication from our disastrous involvement in Vietnam. It is the least we can promise for victory in November. It is the least we can do for our own conscience, and the welfare of our own posterity.

The second commitment I urge today is for a foreign policy that will promise not to repeat the tragedy of Vietnam. That means we must not again send half a million troops and give over 25,000 lives and spend 100 billion dollars -- all to defend an incompetent and corrupt government against itself.

The path to sanity and peace in Southeast Asia will not be easy. The ways to a larger war are enticing and simple; the ways to peace are difficult. But before we make that choice, let us recall the words of Virgil: "Easy is the descent to Hell; night and day, the gates stand open, but to reclimb the slope and escape to the outer air, this indeed, is a task."

EXCERPTS

THE CRISIS IN OUR CITIES

Remarks by  
Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.)

National Press Club Luncheon  
Washington, D.C.  
August 15, 1968

I hold today, as I did during my first year in the Senate, for an end to the war in Vietnam and a diversion of excessive military spending to more urgent needs of our national life.

The crisis in our cities is the most urgent question facing the American people in this generation -- a crisis even more menacing than the costly war in Vietnam. For if our national interest is marginally committed in the war, the survival of our free society is as at stake in the urban crisis. Even if peace came tomorrow, the domestic danger would continue. The next President of the United States will either deal creatively and energetically with our troubled cities, or he will preside over four years of unprecedented violence and confusion.

There is nothing insoluble about the problems usually catalogued as "the urban crisis". In the past half century, all new metropolitan growth now takes place outside the city. Urban plants are old and need replacement. The central city still provides the same service for twice as many people now as before. Suburban tax rates have risen swiftly, criticism of schools has spread to the surrounding community; open spaces have disappeared; traffic congestion matches that of the cities; scandals in suburban government and zoning boards have become increasingly commonplace; and worst of all, crime rates in the suburbs are climbing twice as rapidly as in the city. Nor is there any relief in sight, for suburban governments, no less than city governments. They are being overwhelmed by the expanding metropolis.

All of these are metropolitan problems and cannot be solved by cities or suburbs alone. They must be solved together. What is needed is a new spirit of cooperation between the cities and the suburbs. The Federal Government must devise programs which enhance this cooperation. Additional Federal funds should go to urban mass transportation; public housing should be scattered across the metropolis rather than concentrated in the inner city; rewards should be offered to local jurisdictions which agree to cooperative programs for new recreational facilities or for air and water pollution programs. And most importantly, the Federal Government must commit itself to uniting city and suburbs in a common assault in metropolitan problems.

Another divisive element in the modern city is that division between

black and white. What makes the Negro ghetto so intolerable is that most of its residents have come to believe that it is not temporary but permanent. They feel that the barriers between black and white are high and increasingly unscalable.

One of the consequences that stems from the new ghetto is a growing bitterness among successful middle-class blacks. They have done everything that society has asked of them. They have studied in school, got their education and training, held good jobs, and earned decent incomes. Yet they are denied the final symbol of success in American life - the right to live where they want and bring up their children in the kind of neighborhood which they think appropriate to their achievement and ambition. For a long time it has been asserted that as soon as the Negro had education and income, he could move wherever he wanted. But now he knows this is not the case. The result is that the black middle class is among the most alienated groups in American society. Another consequence of the new ghetto is the deep frustration and hopelessness among black youths. It is this hopelessness and despair which creates a violence potential in every American city and which breeds our long hot summers and our increasingly long, tense winters.

The first priority of American domestic policy must be the dispersal of the ghetto and the easing of the Negro into the historic process which has incorporated millions of people from all over the globe with different backgrounds, languages and religions into our metropolitan society. This requires a splicing loose of the black middle class from the ghetto; and a transformation of the ghetto for those, who, under any circumstances, have to live out most of their lives in its present confines.

The reconstruction of the ghetto requires positive Federal action. New housing, new business and new schools, even when shaped by local participation directed by local leadership and sustained by local pride, will have to be undergirded by extensive Federal assistance.

It would be helpful, for example, if the Federal Government would consolidate its services in ghetto areas. By putting all of our welfare services at a single location, it would increase their availability and efficiency. It would also provide a new community center which could be the symbol of a new relationship between the revived and increasingly self-governed neighborhood and Federal agencies.

But even if successful, the black American is not going to settle simply for a slice of the slum. The burden of meeting the urban crisis falls on both city and suburb, on black and white, on private public sectors, on Federal and local governments. It falls heavily on the Democratic Party -- for the Republican Party as we were painfully reminded in Miami -- has no feeling and little concern for metropolitan problems. But we will succeed only if we realize the urgency of our condition and what is at stake. Our cities constitute a precious heritage; they have been the historic centers of economic growth and cultural creativity. If they slowly die, or go up in flames, the whole American experiment fails too. The next Administration had better succeed because what is at stake is everything we have and all that we are.

EXCERPTS

AGRICULTURE - THE NEGLECTED CORNERSTONE

Remarks of

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota

at the

Buffalo County Fair, Kearney, Nebraska, Thursday, August 22, 1968

In 1938 when Congress enacted the Agricultural Adjustment Act, it declared the policy of Congress to conserve resources, prevent waste of soil, rebuild farm and ranchlands and to regulate commerce in basic commodities. Eighteen years later in June 1966 the United States Senate passed without a dissenting vote a resolution which I had offered with the backing of 42 other Senators from both Parties, calling attention to these parity pledges and directing all agencies of government to observe that policy.

The resolution effectively put an end to moves being made at the time to freeze or roll back farm prices.

We hear a lot about law and order these days. I am in favor of strong and effective law enforcement, and that includes those laws which contain the farm parity policy statements.

It would require less than 1-1/2 per cent more of consumers' disposable income in this nation to give farms parity prices, or parity income.

I would favor the attainment of our parity goal as a matter of fair play. When I see how hard the farm people of America work to produce our food-stuffs, the long hours they put in, and then see the meager returns they get from their investment, management skill, and labor, it breaks my heart.

Intelligent consumers and consumer organizations know that if the family farming system in the United States is destroyed, and farming is concentrated into relatively few large operations, we will ultimately have managed prices, as in steel, aluminum and other concentrated industries, and food will no longer be the bargain it is today.

I have just visited several of our cities -- New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and Los Angeles, among others -- cities recently torn by riot and disorder. In every one of these cities there is an awareness that the influx of multitudes of people from agricultural America has been a major contributing cause of their urban difficulties.

There were 6.8 million farms in America thirty years ago. There will be less than 3 million at the end of this year. Twenty million people have migrated from rural America to the cities in the last two decades. Millions have lacked the training and the skills for anything but manual labor, which

is hard to find, and they exist in the ghettos, contributing to a problem so serious it threatens the existence of our society.

Basic to rural ills is inadequate farm income. When farm income is 73 per cent of parity there are closing out sales both on the farm and in rural towns and cities that service agriculture. The farm decline snowballs as it rolls through the rural communities en route to the metropolis. Achieving the parity income goal for farmers is consequently essential to the merchant, and the banker, and the supplier, and the professional people all the way from the farm to the largest city.

How do we achieve parity income in agriculture? There are many things to be done both in relation to the unfair prices farmers receive and also in relation to costs -- the cost-price squeeze. The current national tight money policy with its high interest rates must be ended. We must see that adequate capital is available in agriculture, through your private banks, through farm credit banks, the Farmers Home Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration and other sources, at reasonable rates, so you have the same access to capital as the corporate enterprises which are moving into farming.

Our farm credit program must provide for new starts in agriculture, so a young man who wants to farm can obtain capital as readily as the corporations raise it.

We need to make a drive for commercial export markets. In the case of less developed countries this may start with Food-for-Work transactions authorized in the new Food For Peace Act, if that will help a country become a cash customer.

We need to divert excessive imports of foodstuffs away from this country, burdened with surpluses, to the hungry world. It makes no sense for products already in excess supply in this nation to be unloaded at our ports when a billion and a half human beings elsewhere desperately need those foods.

Finally, we should begin a broad program to redevelop rural areas -- a program which could require a substantial amount of capital from both private and public sources, but would be largely self-liquidating if we rebuild basic agricultural income.

Because of the enormous cost of our unwise and tragic war in Vietnam, we are cutting back on essential domestic programs to pay for multi-million dollar bombers to drop explosives into jungles half way around the world, or, worse, into the villages of the civilians we are supposed to be defending.

If we would end that war and commit a fraction of its cost to the redevelopment of our own land -- both the cities and rural America -- we would make a far greater contribution to mankind that we are making today.

It would be far less expensive and a far more effective and socially desirable method of meeting the crisis in our cities to reverse the trend of migration and restore the urban-rural balance in America than to try to deal

with displaced people after they arrive at already overcrowded metropolitan areas. It does little good to cure the impoverished in the cities, if new hordes of ill-trained immigrants from rural America continue to flock to the cities as unemployed welfare cases.

If my campaign for the Presidential nomination should help to end the killing in Vietnam one day sooner, and if I can succeed in redirecting some attention in this campaign to the neglected cornerstone of our national economy and our Nation's greatness -- agriculture and rural America -- I shall be a winner of deep personal satisfaction and I hope that the family farmers of America, and the Kearneys, and the Hurons, and the Sauk Centers, the Topekas and the Fargos all across the land will be winners too.

Thus far, the farmer has been the forgotten man in this 1968 Presidential year. I intend to see that he is not forgotten at Chicago next week and in the days beyond.

- - - - -