

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW
WITH
EDMUND S. MUSKIE

MARCH 18, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.

INTERVIEWED BY JIM WILLIAMS

ORAL HISTORY #1992-2

HARRY S TRUMAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR





Edmund S. Muskie

March 18, 1992
(National Park Service photo by Jim Williams)

EDITORIAL NOTICE

This is a transcript of a tape-recorded interview conducted for Harry S Truman National Historic Site. After a draft of this transcript was made, the park provided a copy to the interviewee and requested that he or she return the transcript with any corrections or modifications that he or she wished to be included in the final transcript. The interviewer, or in some cases another qualified staff member, also reviewed the draft and compared it to the tape recordings. The corrections and other changes suggested by the interviewee and interviewer have been incorporated into this final transcript. The transcript follows as closely as possible the recorded interview, including the usual starts, stops, and other rough spots in typical conversation. The reader should remember that this is essentially a transcript of the spoken, rather than the written, word. Stylistic matters, such as punctuation and capitalization, follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*. The transcript includes bracketed notices at the end of one tape and the beginning of the next so that, if desired, the reader can find a section of tape more easily by using this transcript.

Jim Williams reviewed the draft of this transcript. His corrections were incorporated into this final transcript by Perky Beisel in summer 2001. A grant from Eastern National Park and Monument Association funded the transcription and final editing of this interview.

Special thanks to the Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library at Bates College for providing materials to Senator Muskie before the interview and to the park before this transcript was finalized.

RESTRICTION

Researchers may read, quote from, cite, and photocopy this transcript without permission for purposes of research only. Publication is prohibited, however, without permission from the Superintendent, Harry S Truman National Historic Site.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this interview was to discuss with Senator Muskie his three visits to the Truman home, one in September 1968 while he was running on the Democratic ticket for Vice President of the United States with Hubert H. Humphrey, and two others in 1970 when he was in Independence for other reasons. The interview also covered background information about Muskie's association with Harry S Truman when both were in Washington, D.C., earlier in their careers. This interview lasted ninety minutes. However, a tape recorder malfunction on the day of the interview resulted in fewer than ten minutes of audible recording on the tape. The remainder is static. Therefore, this transcript includes portions of the first twenty minutes of the interview only. An attempt has been made to reconstruct the interview from the interviewer's notes made during and shortly after the interview, from the Muskie materials provided by Bates College, and from archival materials from the Harry S. Truman Library. Users of this transcript, therefore, should keep in mind the limitations of the materials provided, which cannot substitute completely for the information lost in the recorder malfunction.



IN REPLY REFER TO:

United States Department of the Interior

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
HARRY S TRUMAN NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
223 NORTH MAIN STREET
INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI 64050-2804



GIFT AND RELEASE AGREEMENT

We Edmund S. Muskie and James H. Williams
Informant (Print) Interviewer (Print)

do hereby give and grant to the United States of America all literary
and property rights, title and interest which we may possess to the tape
recording(s) and transcript(s) of the interview(s) conducted at
1101 Vermont Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C., on the date(s) of
Location

March 18, 1992, for the oral history program of
Harry S Truman National Historic Site, which gift we will never revoke
or recall.

Edmund S. Muskie
Informant's Signature
Chadbourn & Parke, Attorneys at Law
1101 Vermont Avenue N.W.

3/18/92
Date

Washington, D.C. 20005
Address
(202) 289-3041
Telephone

James H. Williams
Interviewer's Signature
3716 Spring Garden Street, #4
Address
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104-2354
(215) 382-0428
Telephone

3/18/92
Date

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW WITH EDMUND S. MUSKIE

HSTR INTERVIEW #1992-2

EDMUND S. MUSKIE: In September of 1968, when I was on the ticket with Hubert Humphrey, and I did visit President Truman, and it's my recollection that I really remember only one visit, and that was with my wife and myself. Records indicate that apparently Humphrey visited Truman with me, or I visited with him. I have no recollections of that. And I remember that my recollection, and I guess maybe I . . . Yeah, I've got a picture also, but I also . . . My recollections of the meeting that took place, aside from the picture, involved only President Truman and myself. So I'm not sure how history separates this out. But as I remember it, I went to Independence and visited him.

And I've got some clippings here from my archives that may be a little ambiguous. I do have this one, which includes Humphrey. On the other hand, there is this one which . . . and this headline which includes Humphrey, but devotes very little of the story to Humphrey's involvement in the meeting with Truman. And the first paragraph in this story is: [reading] "Hubert H. Humphrey made a political pilgrimage Saturday to the man whose 1948 upset victory he

hopes to copy, former President Harry S. Truman, and then hurried to [unintelligible], Ohio.” And that paragraph is all that there is in there about the visit to Independence, except for the picture.

JIM WILLIAMS: What newspaper was that?

MUSKIE: This one is the Portland Sunday . . . the Maine Sunday *Telegram* of September 22, 1968. You can have all this. The Maine Sunday *Telegram*, which indicates that it came to my archives for the period between September 13th and 23rd.

Now this story, I don't know what newspaper it was, but it's also from the Bates [College] archives, so I assume that the name of the newspaper could be . . . Well, it's an Associated Press story, and the picture is an Associated Press picture, so you have that. But then you have this story of Saturday, September 21st: “Muskie to Pay Call on Harry Truman.” And that's from the Lewiston, Maine, *Daily Sun*. And that does not mention Mr. Humphrey. All I'm doing is giving you confusion. This story is from the Portland *Press Herald* of September 21st, which does not mention Humphrey.

WILLIAMS: What may explain this, one of the articles said that Vice President Humphrey didn't decide to join you until the evening before.

MUSKIE: Well, I can remember that he was unhappy that I was going to see Truman and that he apparently could not.

WILLIAMS: Here's the same thing in the Independence paper. It says just you were

going to visit, and then the next morning the paper has Humphrey joining you. So it must have been announced later.

MUSKIE: That may be accurate. And then here, of course, is the schedule from my archives, my schedule for Friday, the 20th of September, and Saturday the 21st, with no mention of Humphrey in any of that. So that's consistent with what you've just said. And I do remember that when I told Humphrey, because we talked every day of course, that I was or had visited Truman, he was unhappy because he would have liked to have been with me. Well, that may explain, you know, what happened, that at the last minute he changed his schedule to be with me. And that probably fits.

But in addition to that, my recollection of the discussion with President Truman doesn't include Humphrey. Whether [Humphrey] walked in after I had arrived at Truman's house, or whether he came in first and then went on, I don't remember. But I remember Truman wanted to know how he . . . [audio problem]

. . . come the closest to resolving that missing gap. The other two meetings, both in 1970, the one on April 11, I take it, was on the occasion of my speech at . . . [audio problem]

. . . Israel to Moscow, to Egypt, to Berlin, in connection with that campaign. And I notice here that there are pictures which included some of the Jewish leaders in this country who traveled with me on that trip, especially to Israel. [audio problem]

. . . shooting match, had to borrow the money to do it, and got a

commitment from the widow that if I could pay cash on the balance within six months she'd knock another \$1,000 off. So that's what I did. I finally was in practice, having bought a practice for \$3,000, and made a living almost immediately at those things. I mean, there were clients. You know, collection clients don't walk away just because a new young lawyer takes over. So I practiced on collections and small estates. I was busy and I made a living. I wasn't married at that time, so it was rather easy. But I decided that . . . I made an agreement with the secretary that she could stay on, provided I . . . [audio problem]

[Remainder of tape is static only.]

END OF INTERVIEW

EDMUND S. MUSKIE

NOTES FROM ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

[This interview took place in Washington, D.C., during the afternoon of March 18, 1992. The tape ran for a full 90 minutes, but on playback it was discovered that a malfunction after the first 5 minutes, 24 seconds ruined nearly all of the remaining recording. While it is no substitute for the tape recording, the notes below are meant to salvage the interview as much as possible. The notes are from my memory, using my list of topics and questions as a guide. The narrative below does not necessarily follow the exact order of the interview, undoubtedly there are omissions, and the wording is mine rather than Senator Muskie's.

—Jim Williams, interviewer]

Before I had a chance to ask a question, Muskie launched into his memories of visiting the Trumans in Independence. Much of this discussion is on the good portion of the tape. The general theme was that in most details he could not clearly distinguish between the three visits, and that he did not remember Hubert Humphrey being a part of the first visit in September 1968. After he had exhausted the subject in his mind, I asked if I could explore some background and his earlier contacts with HST. He agreed.

He first recalls being aware of HST when President Roosevelt died. He shared the country's anxiety about HST and whether he would be an effective president. At the time, Muskie was the engineering officer aboard a ship in the Pacific. When I asked if he shared the feelings of many veterans of the Pacific theater ("HST saved my life by dropping the atomic bomb"), Muskie said that he did not because his ship after the invasion of Okinawa was scheduled for an overhaul and would not have been involved in future engagements. He explained how it sailed back to San Francisco and his responsibilities as engineering officer, particularly to account for all the supplies and equipment that were supposed to be on the ship. He was discharged as a lieutenant in late 1945. He commented that it was an unusual achievement to reach that rank—clearly he was proud of himself—but then he backtracked a bit and said that there were lots of others who did the same.

He returned to his law practice in Maine. An elderly lawyer had kept it going while Muskie was at war. He talked about his first secretary, with whom he had promised not to enter politics in return for her staying on the job. He told me about buying the practice for \$4000 then getting a reduction of \$1000 from the widow of the lawyer whose practice it had been for paying cash, I believe. It seemed natural for him to get involved in politics as a way to increase his notoriety in the community and to build his law practice. The secretary had left for some reason, so he ran

for the Maine house of representatives as a Democrat and won one of the seats from his town.

Muskie is clearly very proud of his accomplishments in building up the Democratic party in a predominantly Republican state. He spoke in some detail about his role in this and how much the people of Maine liked him. By 1950 he had attracted the attention of the Truman administration and was appointed the Maine director of the Office of Price Stabilization. He had not yet met Truman and did not really explain who in Washington was responsible for his appointment. He spoke of his achievements as director of the OPS, especially in choosing to enforce regulations by encouragement and guidance rather than prosecution of violators, which he felt would have served absolutely no purpose.

He met President Truman for the first time in 1952. Muskie was chairman of the Maine Democratic Committee, and Truman was visiting the Portsmouth naval base across the state line in New Hampshire. Muskie felt obligated to attend the speech and afterward he was asked into the president's rail car to meet HST. He recalls that when HST entered the rear car after giving the speech, the press started in with their questions. HST replied, "You'll have to wait. I've got some customers back here waiting to see me," meaning the local political officials including Muskie. Muskie then told me about his defense of HST in a Maine newspaper, a story he also tells in his HSTL speech (April 1970).

Muskie then was elected governor of Maine, an achievement again of which he is proud, in 1954 and in 1956. He explained that the constitution had been changed to allow two four-year terms and that he could have run again in 1958, but he decided to run for the U.S. Senate instead. He insisted that he really did not want to be a senator but that he ran anyway, almost as if it was destiny or just the natural progression of his career. He did not want to be governor anymore, although he liked the job and said the people liked him, and he was not ready to return to small town life.

He was elected to the Senate in 1958 and in this association had more contacts with HST. He recalled HST, during his visits to Washington in the 1950s and early 1960s, would visit the Senate and sit around with his old pals Lyndon Johnson, Sam Rayburn, Hubert Humphrey, and others, and during some of these sessions Muskie was present. They drank bourbon and branch water, talked politics, and told stories. Muskie at this point referred to the senators by their first names, including "Harry." I asked if he got the impression that HST missed being a senator, and he said no, that it really wasn't a natural feeling to want to come back. Muskie himself does not miss it except, he said, for the far-reaching achievements that are possible as a senator. He mentioned environmental legislation in particular, and said that what he does now is not nearly as satisfying as the work he did as a senator. But still, one does not wish to go back, and HST didn't either, although he may have missed seeing his friends. He supposed that

if he went back to Maine, he could still be elected governor. He was that popular.

During this discussion Muskie characterized LBJ--the good and bad sides of his personality--as opposed to HST, who he referred to only positively. LBJ could be cruel, ruthless, mean, and so on, and on the other hand was a skilled politician and friendly at times. HST's personality was more predictable: he was friendly, warm, never forgot a name, etc. The exact description escapes me, but Muskie positively glowed about HST as a person and as a president.

We then returned to Muskie's three visits to the Truman home, and I hoped to extract more details about the visits.

VISIT 1, SEPTEMBER 21, 1968: Muskie does not recall Humphrey being there, only that HHH was annoyed with Muskie when he found out that Muskie was going to or had visited HST during the campaign. Muskie does not remember the photo session on the porch and is perplexed by the photos from various newspapers that show him, the Trumans, HHH, and Mrs. Muskie. I asked about preparations, and he didn't remember calling the day before and speaking to either one of the Trumans, as the newspapers reported. He did recall calling once and speaking to BWT, but wasn't sure which visit it was. He does not remember ever speaking to HST on the phone. His only clear memory of the visit is HST telling him to "tell the truth." To Muskie's reply that his version of the truth might be different than someone else's, HST advised "to be yourself." This story is etched in Muskie's memory and clearly made a distinct (borderline profound?) impression on him. I believe that it was at this point that Muskie mentioned the famous incident with an upset, belligerent, antiwar college student at a campaign stop, when Muskie succeeded in diffusing the situation. He didn't make the link directly but seemed to imply that he was using HST's advice during this incident. I asked if he noticed the Truman's Secret Service, and he said no, that his Secret Service and the Trumans' detail had probably arranged everything and were discreet, i.e. not noticeable and probably not even in the house. At this point he mentioned his preference for the State Department security officers, who were not as zealous as the Secret Service and more discreet. The visit took place in the living room, which he recognized immediately when I showed him the postcard. The orientation of the room and the fireplace especially to the front door were not as he remembered--the room, as best as I can tell, in his memory was turned around so that the fireplace was closer to the door. He doesn't remember seeing any other parts of the house. Since he really didn't remember Mrs. Muskie being there, he couldn't say for sure whether she and Mrs. Truman stayed in the room with the men or retired for a tour of the home or a separate visit in another room. He did not remember Margaret Truman Daniel's phone call to her parents during the visit (as reported in the newspaper), but like the other details and quotations I mentioned from the news reports, he did not contradict them or deny their accuracy. Finally, he brought up the parallels that

were being made between the Humphrey-Muskie campaign in 1968 and the Truman-Barkley campaign in 1948. Yes, such references were made for obvious reasons, and Humphrey and he did say at times that they were rising in the polls and would pull off a Trumanesque upset.

VISIT 2, APRIL 11, 1970: This visit was in conjunction with the 25th anniversary observance of the Truman administration. Before I had arrived, Muskie had read a copy of the speech he made on the occasion, so it was fresh in his mind. He wasn't sure why he was chosen other than that he was an active Democrat. He didn't recall the other speakers or Truman administration officials present in any detail. He reaffirmed what he had said in the speech, namely the qualities he most admired in HST. He doesn't recall visiting the Truman home with Harriman, Acheson, Snyder, Warren, and Charles Murphy, and has only vague recollections of visiting HST at all. Thus I decided not to ask about the details--refreshments, Secret Service, Mrs. Truman. He said HST may have looked worse than in 1968 when he found him vigorous and clearheaded. When he looked at the pictures he commented that HST did look old, but during all his visits HST was on top of the political and world situation and was able to carry on conversations about current events and to ask very relevant questions. Never any doubts about his mental health. He recalls HST walking with a cane and said that one of the canes in the pictures was different than he recalled (I mentioned that HST had a lot of canes). And HST walked the visitors to the door. It was during this visit, he thinks, that he noticed a copy of the letter he had written in Truman's defense in 1952, framed and hanging somewhere in the Truman Library, which he again was proud to mention. He never visited the Truman Library with HST present, but does remember this one detail about the library and museum.

VISIT 3, DECEMBER 14, 1970: After referring to the news clippings I had and the letters and photos he had from his archive, Muskie recalled that this visit was in association with an award he had received in Kansas City the day before from a Jewish organization. Several men from this group were with him in the Truman home, as the photos attest, and Muskie told a bit about two of them (Sumner Redstone and Sherrill Corwin, large contributors to his campaign--see HSTL photo 71-914). The Hipsh brothers he didn't say much about. The conversation on this visit he did recall, perhaps more vividly than any of the visits, because (as the papers reported) he was preparing for visits to the Mideast, Far East, and Moscow, and HST wanted to know about this and talked about the relevant issues involved. Muskie did not remember the specifics otherwise. He talked some about the reasons for this trip, and could have explained much more, but I either redirected the conversation or he went on to another subject on his own. Again, he didn't disagree with the quotations reported in the papers, his description of HST as "well and alert" and "warm and friendly." And again, Mrs. Truman was either not around or stayed out of the way so that he does not remember much about her. I asked if there was any conversation about his run for the presidency in 1972, and

he didn't think so, and chuckled when I read his answer as reported in the newspaper, that the subject didn't come up. He said they both probably knew that he was considering being a candidate but that it would have been too early to discuss it, especially to ask for a Truman endorsement.

Muskie recalls no other contacts with HST before HST's death. He remembers skiing in Vermont with his family when the military notified him of HST's death and that he was invited to the funeral. Then he was told that he was uninvited, which he never knew the precise reason for. "I very much would have liked to go to that funeral," he said two or three times, and not because he enjoys funerals. I suggested that the reason may have been the decision to keep the ceremony small. So he stayed in Vermont. He had no other contacts with Bess Truman.

To conclude, I asked for his assessment of Harry Truman as a president and a person. He reiterated what he had said earlier in the interview and in his speech in 1970. I recall the emphasis on Truman's decisiveness and decision making ability. I asked about his reference to civil rights, and he explained how unpopular it was for Truman to take the stand that he did. Here, I will admit, my memory fails, but nothing Muskie said was different than what others say about Truman as a remarkable and admirable person and one of the better presidents. Mrs. Truman was cordial and friendly--the word "gracious" was not used, I am sure, but its synonyms were. He really had never had much extended contact with Mrs. Truman and therefore could not offer much commentary on her.

Like I did in the Symington interview earlier in the day, I asked Muskie about his impression of the Truman home, if it surprised him, if it struck him as "presidential." He made extended remarks about the house and compared it to the many Victorian homes one finds and that he is familiar with in Maine. He described the "wedding cake" house in Kennebunk, Maine, and also compared their home in Maine to the Trumans'. Mrs. Muskie apparently is into antiquing, and goes to a "goddamn antique sale" every day and has filled their home with curios, knick knacks, political memorabilia, and the like. To him, this is what Victorian houses are supposed to be. So from his perspective, the Truman home was just as it should have been--quaint, homey, elegant in a Victorian way. He didn't seem to have noticed any flaws in the home, as visitors do these days.

Before the tape ran out, I asked him why we should preserve presidential homes, using his perspective as a former senator, etc. He agreed that we should, and said something to the effect that when a couple lives in a house for so long, as the Trumans did, it is bound to tell a lot about the couple. He mentioned his involvement on the commission that oversees the Roosevelt Campobello house in Maine, and that the commission had asked the NPS recently to prepare a general management plan. So obviously he has no objections to the Truman home being preserved and feels it is desirable to preserve significant parts of our heritage.

APPENDIX

1. Senator Muskie's schedule for visit to Kansas City area, including visit to Truman home on September 21, 1968. (Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Series VI.D, Box 24-3, Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College)

mc105 Series VI.D Box 24-3

KANSAS CITY - MISSOURI September 20-21, 1968		M-3
8:10 to 8:25 P.M.	ESM Speech	
8:25 to 8:40 P.M.	Meet and mingle with crowd	
8:40 P.M.	Leave Ballroom for Charles M. Sugar Reception in Suite 1401. (approximately 75 political and labor leaders)	
8:50 to 9:30 P.M.	At Reception	
9:30 P.M.	Sleep	
<u>SATURDAY</u>		
8:30 A.M.	Press bus departs for Independence, Missouri	
9:00 A.M.	ESM and party depart Hotel for Independence Missouri	
9:30 A.M.	Arrive Independence at home of President Harry S. Truman	
9:30 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.	Senator and Mrs. Muskie visit with President and Mrs. Truman--inside. (Pictures when they come out)	
10:00 A.M.	Leave Independence for Kansas City, Missouri Municipal Airport	
10:30 A.M.	Arrive Municipal Airport	

2. Photograph of Hubert H. Humphrey, Harry S Truman, and Edmund S. Muskie on the front porch of the Truman home, September 22, 1968. (Unidentified photographer, Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Series XI, Album 19, Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College)



3. "Muskie to Visit Here Saturday," *Independence Examiner*, September 20, 1968, p. 1.

Muskie to Visit Here Saturday



SENATOR MUSKIE
... plans visit here

Senator Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat, Maine, the Democratic vice presidential candidate, will come here for a visit with former President Harry S. Truman at 9:30 a.m. Saturday.

The vice presidential candidate, on a two-day visit to three Kansas cities, made arrangements for the visit in an early morning call to the Truman home from Topeka, Mrs. Truman said.

Muskie, who is accompanied by his wife, was a breakfast guest of Gov. Robert B. Docking.

At the same time, Ernest H. Fremont Jr., chairman of the Greater Kansas City Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie Committee, an-

nounced that the former President has agreed to serve as honorary chairman of the Missouri Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie Committee, as well as honorary chairman of the Greater Kansas City Committee.

Mrs. Truman said Muskie talked briefly with Mr. Truman in his call here today.

Truman served as honorary chairman of the Humphrey presidential nomination campaign and gave the Vice President his endorsement in a front porch press conference when Humphrey visited here last May 25.

Confucius Says—Buy your shoes at Isis Shoe Store and Save Money! —Adv.

4. "30-Minute Visit Here," *Independence Examiner*, September 21, 1968, p. 1.

30-Minute Visit Here

Vice President Hubert Humphrey will join Sen. Edmund S. Muskie in a visit with former President Harry S. Truman this morning. The visit will last about 30 minutes.

The senator and his wife will arrive at the Truman home at about 9:30 a.m. The Muskies stayed at the Town House Hotel in Kansas City, Kan., last night, scene of a Democratic rally where the senator was the featured speaker.

After the visit with the Trumans, Sen. Muskie and his wife will leave for the Kansas City Municipal Air Terminal to continue on the campaign swing around the Mid-West.

5. "Tell It Like It Really Is, HST Advises Humphrey," Independence Examiner, September 23, 1968, pp. 1-2.

Tell It Like It Really Is, HST Advises Humphrey

By CAROL CONROW
(Examiner Staff Writer)

A "fountain of inspiration" was tapped by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey Saturday when he flew to Missouri to join Sen. Edmond S. Muskie for a visit with Independence's first citizen, Harry S. Truman.

Humphrey arrived at 219 N. Delaware about 9 a.m. Saturday with Muskie, his choice as a Democratic running mate, and was met on the front porch of the famed gingerbread house by the former president and Mrs. Truman.

Humphrey greeted newsmen as he alighted from his car, waited for Senator

and Mrs. Muskie, then dashed quickly through photographers and newsmen toward the waving couple on the front porch of the home.

For a few minutes Humphrey, Truman, and Muskie posed for pictures on the front porch, then went inside where they chatted for nearly an hour.

Before going inside, a newsmen shouted above the noise of the crowd, "Who's going to win in November?"

"The Democrats of course!" Truman answered. "I'm standing next to the winners, both here and here," he said, gesturing with his cane to Humphrey

and Muskie.

Displaying a broad grin, Humphrey quickly added, "I hope you heard that."

More than 150 well-wishers mingled near the front gate during the private visit, as did a score or more of photographers, newsmen and television crews. One local station broadcast the visit live.

The only evidence of non-Humphrey support was one large sign which featured posters and slogans for George C. Wallace, third-party candidate. There were no problems of any nature.

Emerging from the house, Truman, Humphrey and Muskie once again al-

—See Page 2

★ ★ ★ ★

Independence Examiner, September 23, 1968, p. 2.

Tell It Like It Really Is, HST Advises Humphrey

—From Page 1
lowed newsmen to enter the fenced Truman grounds and the former president was asked what the contents of the inside discussion had been.

"You want me to castigate the Republicans," Truman quipped. Grinning, the former president apparently waved the thought off, paused, then asked newsmen to "be kind to the people I love."

"Did you tell them (Humphrey and Muskie) your campaign secrets from the 1948 race?" questioned another newsmen.

"I didn't have any secrets," he answered in his quick, precise style.

"My advice was to see as many people as possible, and always tell the truth, even when it hurts."

When asked his opinion of the Humphrey-Muskie team, Truman replied,

"They're all right. They're the kind you hope for all the time. This time I think you've done a good job in getting them."

After leaving the Truman porch Humphrey and Muskie, followed by members of their parties, moved slowly back through the crowd of newsmen who had been joined by local Democratic leaders.

With the Democratic duo completely swamped, one newsmen told Humphrey, "We're on live television and we couldn't get your comments up there on the porch. Can you tell us what the former president told you?"

"Just to tell the truth," replied Humphrey. "Or as the kids would say, 'tell it like it really is.'"

When asked about the polls, the vice president replied, "They're looking good."

"Perhaps you've seen a later poll than we have," remarked the newsmen, "the last one we saw had you trailing."

"Yes, we're trailing," commented Humphrey, "but we're coming up, and that's what counts."

In the traditional manner of true campaigners, the two candidates managed a short circle through the crowd, greeting the people and shaking hands. Before Humphrey climbed into his car, he looked across the top of his car to another group of onlookers.

Pointing his finger at the crowd, Humphrey said, "Vote Democratic, vote Democratic in November."

Humphrey departed for a weekend visit with his mother in Huron, S.D. Senator and Mrs. Muskie left for Arkansas for further campaigning.

6. "Mrs. Daniel Sends 'Best,'" *Independence Examiner*, September 23, 1968, p. 1.

Mrs. Daniel Sends 'Best'

Mrs. Clifton Daniel, the former Margaret Truman, sent "her best" to the two Democratic party standard-bearers, Vice President Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Edmund Muskie, while they were visiting here Saturday.

Mrs. Daniel's call to her parents coincided with the Humphrey-Muskie call on her parents, former President Harry S. Truman and Mrs. Truman.

Mrs. Daniel, who is one of the founding members of the Citizens for Humphrey Committee, asked her mother to give "her best" to the visitors, including Mrs. Muskie, who accompanied her husband.

Mrs. Truman said she found Mrs. Muskie "a delightful person" and that she liked her "down-to-earth" approach in the role she is playing in her husband's campaign.

7. "Mrs. Muskie Pauses On the Campaign Trail," *Independence Examiner*, September 23, 1968, p. 5.

THE EXAMINER, Monday, September 23, 1968
Independence and Jackson County, Missouri

5

Mrs. Muskie Pauses On the Campaign Trail

By CAROL CONROW
(Examiner Staff Writer)

A breath of beauty and sunshine was given to the Humphrey-Muskie visit to the Truman home here Saturday by attractive Mrs. Edmond Muskie.

Arriving at the front gate of the Truman home seated between her senator husband and the vice president of the United States, Mrs. Muskie disembarked from the car seconds after Humphrey. All three were greeted by a round of cheers from onlookers.

Looking fresh and energetic, Mrs. Muskie, tastefully dressed in a diamond blue matching coat and dress ensemble, looked less tired than her husband or the vice president. She has been accompanying the senator on his recent campaign trail.

Stepping to the vice president's left, as if to watch the oncoming proceedings, Mrs. Muskie, stood completely surrounded by onlookers. Pausing briefly to look back inside the car, Mrs. Muskie was pushed further back into the crowd as her tousled haired

husband alighted from the car and took up a place a few feet behind Humphrey.

Somehow, on the way to the Truman doorstep, Mrs. Muskie dropped back a few steps. Her six foot, four inch husband was quickly surrounded by members of the press, some as tall as he. As if lost, the attractive Maine housewife, called to a secret service agent, "Is Edmond inside yet?"

Mrs. Muskie was swiftly guided to the front porch where she joined the three prominent Democratic figures gathered there. An introduction to Mr. Truman brought a smile to her face, while the former president acknowledged their meeting with words that were inaudible to the press.

However, a twinkle was visible in the former president's eyes as he gestured with his now always-present cane to lead the way to introductions to the former first lady, Bess Truman. A hug, a few embraces and the ladies quickly slid out of picture range while the press fired questions and focused cameras at the men in their lives.

8. "Inspired" By Truman Visit," *Kansas City Star*, September 21, 1968.

Saturday, September 21, 1968 THE KANSAS CITY STAR

'INSPIRED' BY TRUMAN VISIT

Vice-President Humphrey and Senator Muskie Take Time Out From Campaign to Chat With the Former President at His Home in Independence

SESSION LASTS AN HOUR

Former Chief Executive, Appearing in Good Health, Praises the Democratic Candidates Before Crowd of 100

A campaigning Vice-President of the United States flew into Kansas City and visited Independence today to "get a little Truman inspiration."

ling and waving through most of his visit, Humphrey waded through a sea of photographers, newsmen and political figures.

Humphrey, his running mate, Edmund S. Muskie, and Harry S. Truman were standing on the porch of Truman's home in Independence when a newsman shouted, "Who's going to win?"

"The Democrats, of course," Truman answered. "I'm standing next to the winners, both here and here." He indicated Humphrey and Muskie.

"I hope you heard that," Humphrey remarked, grinning.

Humphrey said he decided to come to Kansas City and visit the former President when Senator Muskie telephoned last night and asked him to come. Truman appeared in better health after recent illnesses, although he used a cane as he stood on the porch.

After nearly an hour of private visiting with the two candidates, Truman, Humphrey and Muskie appeared again on the porch of the frame house. The former president was asked what was said inside.

"You want me to castigate the Republicans?" Truman replied. He did not do so, however, but asked the newsmen to "be kind to the people I love."

Truman was asked the secret of his 1948 election victory, when he was rated by the polls as a loser but came back to win.

"See as many people as possible," Truman replied. Always tell them the truth, even if it hurts." Asked for his judgment of Humphrey and Muskie, Truman replied:

"They're all right. They're the kind you hope for all the time. This time I think you've done a good job in getting them, and I'm for them."

Humphrey thanked the newsmen and an occasionally cheering crowd of about 100 before heading for the Truman front gate and his car. Several Humphrey supporters were on hand carrying signs, and one Wallace supporter raised a sign.

Humphrey, who arrived in a chartered airliner, left at 10:25 o'clock in a small Air Force jet for a visit with his mother in Huron, S. D. Senator Muskie left minutes later for campaign stops in Arkansas.

Earlier Humphrey had said at Municipal Air Terminal that, "We're here to get a little Truman inspiration." A newsman shouted, "Will it be Truman, '48?" Humphrey said only "68."

In 1948 President Truman was predicted by major polling organizations to lose but came up from behind to win re-election.

Ending a campaign stay in Kansas, Senator Muskie drove to Municipal Air Terminal to meet Humphrey as the vice-president arrived about 8:20 o'clock today from campaign efforts in Louisville, Ky.

Senator Muskie and Rep. Richard Bolling of Missouri's fifth district, flanking the vice-president on each side, led him through the crowd from the jet plane to his car.

The two national candidates chatted briefly about campaign progress. Humphrey recognized a newsman, greeted him and then kidded back when the man asked him if he were trying to win.

"Always," he said, laughing. "Excelsior! Forward and upward!"

Before entering the car for the motorcade, the vice-president paused to hug Mrs. Sallie Hailley, former Democratic national committeewoman from Arrow Rock, Mo. He also greeted the four children of Francis Wilson, United States marshal for the western district of Missouri.

Among others on hand to greet Humphrey were Delton Houtchens, Missouri state Democratic chairman; William S. Morris, Democratic candidate for Missouri lieutenant governor; Ernest H. Fremont, jr., chairman of the Humphrey for President committee here, and Mayor Gus W. Davis.

While waiting for Humphrey to arrive, Muskie spoke of a Democratic victory to Representative Bolling. Bolling said he thought the party would "come back" in the election, basing his prediction on the Republican presidential candidate.

"I served with him two years, in 1949 and 1950," Bolling remarked. "I've never forgotten it. He breaks. He's fragile."

9. "Candidates Visit An Old Campaigner," *New York Times*, September 22, 1968, p. 1.



CANDIDATES VISIT AN OLD CAMPAIGNER: Vice President Humphrey and Senator Edmund S. Muskie, left, with former President Harry S. Truman yesterday in Inde-

pendence, Mo. With them are Mrs. Muskie and Mrs. Truman. Mr. Truman told Democratic Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees: "Always tell 'em the truth."

United Press International

10. Edmund S. Muskie, Harry S Truman, Hubert H. Humphrey, Jane Muskie, Bess W. Truman, and Mike Westwood on the front porch of the Truman home, September 21, 1968. (Truman Library photo 69-687)



11. "Truman Greets Guests 25 Years After He Took Over Presidency," *New York Times*, April 12, 1970, pp. 1, 74.

Truman Greets Guests 25 Years After He Took Over Presidency

By FELIX BELAIR Jr.

Special to The New York Times

INDEPENDENCE, Mo., April 11—Harry S. Truman sat in the front parlor of his white Victorian mansion on North Delaware Street today and extended his hand, his wit and his thanks to a dozen distinguished visitors from out of the past.

They came through the wrought-iron gate and up the short walk singly and in pairs—former Ambassador W. Averell Harriman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, former Chief Justice Earl Warren, former Treasury Secretary John W. Snyder, former White House Counselor Charles S. Murphy, and others.

They came to pay tribute to the 85-year-old frascible, indomitable man from Independence on the 25th anniversary of his succession to the Presidency. The anniversary is tomorrow.

And from all accounts, they found him full of bounce and good humor, his memory of men and events and his penchant for blunt talk undulled by the passage of time.

The former President rose easily from his upholstered Queen Anne chair to greet each visitor and, preferring to reminisce about old times and politics, he made little of the afflictions of old age.

"My only trouble," he remarked, "is that I've been chased for years by a woman named Anno Domini. But now that the weather is turning warm, I'll be getting back to the morning walks that have

Continued on Page 74, Column 1

Truman Greets Guests 25 Years After He Took Over Presidency

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

helped my circulation over the years."

Mr. Truman declined to attend a gathering of old friends and former official associates at the Harry S. Truman Library for the anniversary celebration. As he explained to one visitor:

"For the first time in my life I am trying to follow the doctor's orders."

The orders are that he should avoid needless drain on his limited vitality. It has been nearly three years since Mr. Truman made any public appearances, except for a 10-minute visit to the library with President Nixon about a year ago.

Nevertheless, his visitors today found him active and talkative. They were greeted at the front door by Mrs. Truman, who, never far away, had occasion to remind some to "speak a little louder—Harry's become a little hard of hearing."

'Can Hear Anything I Want'

To one who started to express his sympathy, however, Mr. Truman said: "No problem—I can hear anything I want to hear, and being 86 years old I guess I've heard about enough anyway." He will be 86 on May 8.

A gold-banded black mahogany cane rested against the right arm of his chair as he talked about old times. He used the cane only to see his visitors to the front door on their departure.

The former President's conversations were not limited to pleasantries and reminiscences. One visitor disclosed that Mr. Truman had touched on the subject of President Nixon and his Administration and "not in an entirely complimentary way."

The setting for the conversations would, by modern standards, probably be called prim—a mixture of Victorian and antebellum décor that includes a number of antique pieces and portraits.

Portrait of His Wife

Above an open fireplace in the parlor was an oil portrait of Mr. Truman, done shortly after the White House years. A larger portrait of his daughter, Margaret, is the first to meet the visitor's eye, covering al-

most the entire wall at the rear of the entrance hall.

When one visitor commented on Mr. Truman's portrait, the former President said: "If you'll look above the mantelpiece in the other room there, you'll see the most important person in this house." He was referring to a portrait of his wife, Bess, done when she was the First Lady.

Mrs. Truman seemed to blush at the reference. A picture of health and vitality, Mrs. Truman, now 85, likes to drive the family Chrysler Newport and uses the car for local shopping.

The reports of Mr. Truman's health and good spirits filtered back to the library sessions during the day. Dr. Philip C. Brooks, library director, said: "I think the President is feeling better both physically and mentally now than at any time in the past four years."

Audience Enthusiastic

At the library, the formal ceremonies followed the annual meeting of the library board of directors, set to coincide with the anniversary of Mr. Truman's elevation to the Presidency on April 12, 1945.

Presbyterian Hospital Aided by Mellon Fund

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has given \$1-million to the Presbyterian Hospital for the construction phases of its development program, it was announced yesterday by Gen. Lucius D. Clay, chairman of the program, and Charles S. Hamilton Jr., president of the foundation.

General Clay said that the gift to the hospital, which is part of the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center, "comes at a time when it is most urgently needed to carry on construction now under way." "The long-range benefits from such a gift for the people of New York and medicine everywhere are incalculable," he said.

He added that the hospital's development program "calls for an expenditure of approximately \$100-million over a period of 10 years of which approximately \$25-million is needed now to complete higher priority projects under construction."



Associated Press
Harry S. Truman

man's elevation to the Presidency on April 12, 1945.

An enthusiastic audience filled the library's 250-seat auditorium as Mr. Harriman, the presiding officer, struck a theme that was to run through the remarks of speakers through the afternoon.

"Mr. Truman was one of the truly great Presidents of American history," Mr. Harriman said, "and his stature increases with the years."

Mr. Acheson, the last speaker of the day, brought the audience to its feet with prolonged applause in the course of his praise of Mr. Truman.

"The test of any President or great statesman is the impact of his character on the circumstances of the times," Mr. Acheson said. "Mr. Truman had in common with Washington and Lincoln that his contribution stemmed largely from his character and his clear perception of the problems that faced the nation. . . . His position among American Presidents has grown in the past 20 years, and in my view will continue to grow in the next 25 years."

Tennessee Tree Planting

WASHINGTON, April 11 (AP)—Tennessee's state tree, a tulip poplar, is to be planted on the Capitol grounds next week with appropriate ceremonies. Representative Richard H. Fulton, Democrat of Tennessee, said state dignitaries, including Gov. Buford Ellington, have been invited to the event Tuesday morning, April 14.

12. "Remarks of Senator Edmund S. Muskie," Celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the Truman Administration, Harry S. Truman Library, April 11, 1970 (7 pages).

REMARKS OF SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

When Dean Heller invited me to speak, today, he asked that I "talk from the viewpoint.....of a public figure active today." I accept the compliment, because I hope those who doubt my public existence and question my activity will experience the same sense of wonder which came to Mr. Kaltenborn in 1948. The world of that dark Thursday afternoon in 1948 was one caught between hope and chaos. The President to whom the nation

It is always an honor to be invited to pay tribute to one's heroes. I confess to my admiration for President Truman, but I would not want you to think that I am wholly uncritical of his record. I think he set a bad precedent when he made Presidential piano playing respectable. I think he had been decimated by the war. In 1945, Japan was defeated and China

Years ago, an out-of-stater struck up a conversation with an elderly native - an octogenarian - in one of our lovely little Maine towns. "I suppose you have lived in this town all your life?" he inquired. The old man replied, "Not yet!"

What would this mean for the nation and his hopes and dreams. In the same spirit this group gathers here in Independence each year.

At home, a nation weary of war, seeking a speedy return to peace
--to pay tribute
difficult --to draw inspiration
but most --to give continuity to those values, and qualities, and principles which are the mark of greatness in a man, and his community, and his country.

What sort of man was this who would now preside over our life. I remember that one of my first political acts after becoming a Democratic National Committeeman from the state of Maine in 1952 was to defend President Truman. The President had just visited the state, and had been subjected to an unwarranted and inhospitable attack by a Portland newspaper. I wrote a letter to the editor. The newspaper featured the letter and conceded, in an editorial, that it had been intemperate. I was pleased; the newspaper editor felt virtuous and I am sure the President--if he was aware of the exchange--smiled with the knowledge that history would be the final judge. Incidentally, it was also timely reassurance that a Democratic point of view, vigorously asserted, could be influential in Republican Maine.

President Truman is one of those fortunate public men who has lived to hear the vindication of history. And if he takes some pleasure in the knowledge that he confounded the doubters, we can rejoice with him.

Each of us comes to this occasion with his or her own memories of April 12, 1945, and the years which have followed. And each of us, I suspect, must confess to a change in perspective toward Harry S. Truman and the Presidency since that date.

Today's observance affords a singular opportunity to use that perspective, as President Truman would, to learn more about ourselves, our country, and the qualities the times require of us.

The world of that dark Thursday afternoon in 1945 was one caught between hope and chaos. The President to whom the nation and the world had looked for twelve years for leadership, was dead. A terrible world war was approaching its end, and in its wake we could see a world order far different from that we had known before. No longer were there several major powers in Europe. Both the victors and the vanquished had been decimated by the war. In Asia, Japan was defeated and China splintered. In the world there were now only two major powers--the United States and the Soviet Union--about to confront each other in a new type of war - a cold war, generated by Soviet dreams of expansion.

What would this mean--for man--and his hopes and dreams--for a better world and a better life?

At home, a nation weary of war desired a speedy return to peace and the comforts war had denied us. A few saw the difficult problems of reconversion from a war economy to peace, but most were oblivious to the backlog of crisis the President would face at home.

What sort of man was this who would now preside over our effort to influence the shape of an uncertain and perilous future?

Much of his background was humble. He had been reared in a small town in middle America. He had no formal education beyond high school. He had worked as a timekeeper for a railroad, in the mail room of a newspaper, as a bank clerk, as a farmer. He had been a small businessman, a soldier and a county judge. He had experienced the rough and tumble of local and state politics, and risen through the ranks. At one phase of his development he might have been classed--if I may coin a phrase--as a member of the "Silent Majority."

And so there were questions about the quality of the new leadership in the White House.

Walter Lippmann comforted himself by writing that "The genius of a good leader is to leave behind him a situation which common sense, without the grace of genius, can deal with unknown--leading his people."

successfully." He was wrong, both with respect to the situation and the quality of the new President.

President Harry Truman did have an average American background, but he was not an ordinary man. He had zest, vitality and energy that were the marvel of those with whom he worked. He had a rare capacity for decision and administration. He had the judgment to realize what principles in American life were worth preserving and the courage to fight for those principles.

His capacity for decision may be the most fabled of his attributes.

He made it clear--in a way which was never fully understood before by grassroots Americans--that the White House was primarily a place where decisions are made--tough, potentially final decisions which cannot be avoided and which carry awesome implications for life in our country and on our planet.

And our people understood--more clearly than before--that such decisions should be made by men of capacity, understanding, and courage--who understand that a President must lead his people in the direction indicated by their best instincts and traditions.

And they came to the realization that Harry Truman was such a President--and they have given him his place in history.

There followed the many bold--often spectacularly successful decisions of the Truman Era. Dean Acheson has described them:

"The 1947 assumption of responsibility in the Eastern Mediterranean, the 1948 Grandeur of the Marshall Plan, the response to the Blockade of Berlin, the NATO defense of Europe in 1949, and the intervention in Korea in 1950--all those constituted expanded action in truly heroic mold. All of them were dangerous. All of them required rare capacity to decide and act."

This was the leadership of a man who saw the world as it was--the need for new and unprecedented action--ranging far beyond any earlier concept of American responsibility in the world.

This man of ordinary background stepped out into the unknown--leading his people--unhesitatingly--clear-eyed--and wisely.

There have been a number of analyses of the Truman decision-making process. Dean Acheson, for example, in his latest book, Present at the Creation, credits much of the President's capacity for leadership and decision to two qualities. First of all, the President had, Mr. Acheson tells us, a magnificent vitality and energy that allowed him to assimilate and understand a prodigious amount of material. Secondly, he had a passion for orderly procedure and superb administrative ability which had been nurtured by his experience in local government.

Acheson reports that the President employed a brand of the adversary process, adapted from the law, and that, in keeping with another venerable legal tradition, he reduced all major decisions to writing.

One of the most delightful accounts of Truman's decision-making process, however, came from Mr. Truman, himself, reportedly in a question and answer session at the University of Virginia in 1960.

The question from the floor was: "Mr. Truman, how did you go about making a decision?"

Mr. Truman's answer was reported as follows: "I asked the members of my staff concerned to submit their recommendations to me in writing. In the evening I read the staff proposals. Then I went to bed and slept on it. In the morning I made a decision."

The next question was: "What happened if you made a mistake?"

The answer: "I made another decision."

Decisiveness is a Truman characteristic. It is an important characteristic of leadership. As a quality, it can inspire confidence and trust in a people--impel them to risk change, to consider new values, to assume new responsibilities. But there must be more. The decisionmaker must also be guided by historic principles and dedicated to their implementation. If the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution mean anything, it is that the goals of a Democratic Society are important, that they should be remembered, and that our leaders should lead us toward them. Nowhere is this more important than in the case of Civil Rights.

From the vantage point of the Seventies, many of us tend to think of the 1954 decision in Brown v. The Board of

Education as the watershed for civil rights in the nation. It was a tremendously important decision in the evolution of our country, but it followed by some years Harry Truman's drive to promote equality of opportunity. As President Truman put it in his characteristically blunt language: "The top dog in a world which is over half colored ought to clean his own house."

I doubt that this man from Missouri gave a moment's thought to a Southern strategy.

He saw the United States as a divided country--divided by barriers that were unhealthy, unwholesome, and un-American. It was his responsibility to try to make it whole.

He supported his sentiments by action. He insisted, over considerable objection, that the armed services be integrated. He established a committee on Civil Rights to investigate the need for Civil Rights legislation and upon the recommendation of the committee, he asked the Congress:

--to establish a permanent commission on Civil Rights, Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.

--to strengthen existing Civil Rights laws and laws protecting the right to vote.

--to provide for Federal protection against lynching.

--to establish a Fair Employment Practices Commission.

--to provide for Home Rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the District of Columbia.

At his insistence--with a full appreciation of the political risks involved--these proposals were also contained in the Democratic Party's Platform in the 1948 elections. He preferred to take risks that could lead to a united country to the risk of an increasingly divided country.

The result is well-known. The Dixiecrats left the Democratic Party. In the perilously close election that followed, their defection cost the President four states from the supposedly "Solid South" that otherwise would have been in his camp. Mr. Truman knew he could have avoided this result. But he refused to compromise on principle. As he wrote in his

Memoirs:

"I believed in the principles these platforms advanced.... I was perfectly willing to risk defeat in 1948 by sticking to the Civil Rights plank in my platform."

Devotion to principle means a willingness to risk such defeat. It is also the only way to appeal to the best in men. It is a quality we need now--at a time when the country is even more divided than it was in 1948. It is a quality we must produce in our leaders, if we are to produce it in our people.

There is another example of that Truman blend of decisiveness, judgment and dedication to principle which has relevance today.

--A principle in which Mr. Truman believed deeply--that the civilian government must at all times exercise ultimate control over the military.

It was one thing to state the principle. It was another to relieve General MacArthur of his command. The General enjoyed immense popularity at home. It was clear that MacArthur's removal could precipitate the biggest fight of his administration. And it did.

But Mr. Truman believed he had no other choice. As he wrote in his Memoirs:

"If there is one basic element in our Constitution, it is civilian control of the military. Policies are to be made by the elected political officials, not by Generals or Admirals."

This was a deep-seated instinct, rooted in the experience of mankind. If any society is to climb toward the goals which are humanity's highest aspirations, the military response must be subordinated to non-military values.

Whenever man feels insecure--whenever he feels beleaguered by the hostile manifestations of frustrated hopes and dreams--he seeks security.

What may constitute security at a given time--in given

circumstances can be a terrible judgment to make--requiring a sensitive and balanced appreciation of the nature of the threat and of the consequences of the available courses of action.

The principle of civilian domination over the military must be regarded as something more than a transient response to the experience of the American revolution.

It is a fundamental principle--enshrined in our Constitution--related intimately to the survival of freedom and the kind of lives our children will live.

It is a principle in which Mr. Truman believed--and for which he fought at great political cost to himself and to other causes he would have liked to advance.

It is a principle which has application to several difficult national decisions with which we are confronted today:

--Our policies in Southeast Asia;

--The dangers of the Nuclear Arms Race and the initiatives we should take to avoid them;

--Our budgetary priorities;

--The "Voluntary" Army.

In each case, which course offers the real security?

What values--military or nonmilitary--should predominate in shaping our answer?

Mr. Truman was a man of his time--keenly aware that his was the responsibility for dealing with problems in the "here and now."

He was enabled to do so by the personal qualities which we all know so well--and because he knew the American experience--and the principles and values which must be projected into the future, if the American experience is to survive.

All who observed the Truman years in the White House were often frustrated by the political "mistakes" he made.

The man in the White House is always the "Master Politician"--shrewd in the use of maneuver and expediency to reduce

the political cost of his policies and to stretch out his political bankroll.

The perspective of time tells us that President Truman believed his political bankroll to be a resource--to be spent without stint in the country's best interests.

Time also tells us that the judgment of history is more likely to vindicate such a view of the Presidency than any other. Political sagacity is not enough to make a wise President. Energy is not enough to give him a forceful Administration. Mastery of the arts of communication is not enough to win the hearts of his people. Knowledge of the principles of public Administration is not enough to command the loyalty of public servants.

Leadership consists in appealing to the best that is in a people, not in exploiting their differences and weaknesses. And that leadership can come only from a man who insists on the best from himself, by knowing what history has to tell us, by understanding what is in the hearts of his people, and by exercising judgment, courage and dedication to principle in the office of the Presidency.

Undoubtedly Dean Acheson had these qualities in mind in dedicating his book to President Truman, saluting him as "The Captain with the mighty heart."

And so he was and is.

* * * * *

13. Senator Muskie's Schedule for Sunday, December 13, 1970, showing visit to Kansas City to receive the Truman Commendation Award. (Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Series U.S. Senate: Senate Office, Box SE1284, Folder 11, Folder Title "1970 Scheduling, December, Folder 3 of 11," Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College)

4:00 P.M.	HOLDING/OFFICE APPOINTMENT: Herman Kerns (Ex-Im Bank President) (1/2 hour) (per ESM)
4:30 P.M.	Joyce (1/2 hour)
5:00 P.M.	Telephone calls (1/2 hour)
8:00 P.M.	Dinner honoring Gwen Dobson (President, American Newspaper Women) sponsored by Allison LaLand, Four Oaks Room, Washington Hilton (NOTE: Black tie)

December 11 - FRIDAY

9:30 A.M.	Joyce (1/2 hour)
10:00 A.M.	Telephone calls
12:00 P.M.	LUNCHEON: Joe Duffey group per Bob Nelson (Bernie Kaplan) with five others from New York (3 hours)
3:00 P.M.	Joyce (1/2 hour)
3:30 P.M.	Telephone calls (1/2 hour)

December 12 - SATURDAY

CLEAR

December 13 - SUNDAY

P.M.	Fly to Kansas City, Missouri
EVENING	ESM to receive Truman Commendation Award - sponsored by State of Israel Bond Association
	R.O.N. - Kansas City, Missouri

14. Letter from Harry S Truman to Edmund S. Muskie, December 13, 1970, that Truman asked Charles Hipsch to read at the Truman Commendation Award Ceremony (Papers of Harry S. Truman, Post-Presidential Name File, Box 107, Folder "Muskie, Edmund S.," Harry S. Truman Library)

December 13, 1970

Sen

Dear Senator Muskie:

I am as sorry as I can be that it was not possible for me to greet you tonight in person. But, as you well know, I have for some time now, curtailed all public appearances. But, so high is my esteem for you I was strongly tempted to make an exception on this special occasion.

Senator Muskie, you are being honored tonight for many important considerations. One that I considered of major importance, is your exceptional record of steadfast resistance to the wiles of the image makers - those who would remold you into the person they think you should project.

These are the people who are more concerned with how one impresses, than what one expresses. To your everlasting credit you have managed to be yourself. You have avoided either raising your voice or lowering it and, despite all the pressures, you have continued and persisted in your own natural, quiet way, in telling the truth as you saw it, and presenting the issues as you understood them. You have continued to appeal to reason and to man's better instincts. That kind of discipline is not easy to practice, especially at a time when image makers, pollsters and computers have combined to convert candidates for office into performers.

For this you have our respect and admiration. Our best wishes go with you.

Mrs. Truman joins me in our warmest personal congratulations.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

Honorable Edmund S. Muskie
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

15. "Truman Award," *Kansas City Times*, December 14, 1970, p. 2.



16. Senator Muskie's Schedule for Monday, December 14, 1970, showing visit to Truman home. (Edmund S. Muskie Papers, Series U.S. Senate: Senate Office, Box SE1205, Folder 12, Folder Title "1970 Scheduling, December, Folder 7 of 11," Edmund S. Muskie Archives and Special Collections Library, Bates College)

SENATOR MUSKIE'S SCHEDULE FOR
MONDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1970

8:00 A.M. Political Contact/Fund-Raising Breakfast: Plaza Inn - Regency Room sponsored by Charles Hipsh (per Sumner Redstone)

10:00 A.M. Depart Plaza Inn for Independence

10:35 A.M. Arrive: Residence of former President Harry S. Truman, Independence, Missouri (816/CL2-7107)

11:35 A.M. Depart Truman residence for Kansas City airport

12:25 P.M. DEPARTURE: Kansas City (Missouri) via TWA #80 (ESM/Ron Eastman/ (CST) Martin Oppenheimer/Sumner Redstone)

3:51 P.M. ARRIVAL: New York/LaGuardia - met by Arnold Picker/Rich Evans - Drive to Hotel

NEW YORK CONTACT: Arnold Picker
(O) 212/CI5-6000
(H) 212/BU8-5537

ADVANCE CONTACT: Rich Evans
(212/JU6-7000)

RUSTIN DINNER CONTACT: Mrs. Rachelle Horowitz
(O) 212/533-8000

4:40 P.M. Arrive: New York Hilton, 53rd - 54th Streets, 1335 Avenue of the Americas (212/JU6-7000) - goes to Suite

6:00 P.M. RECEPTION: Honoring Bayard Rustin, Green Room, New York Hilton
NOTE: BLACK TIE

6:30 P.M. DINNER: Honoring Bayard Rustin, Grand Ballroom, New York Hilton

11:00 P.M. Depart Grand Ballroom for Suite

(NOTE: After dinner George Meany/Lane Kirkland/Richard Ravitch to be in Room 524 - ESM to drop by if he wishes (per Berl)

R.O.N. - New York Hilton
1335 Avenue of the Americas
New York
212/JU6-7000

17. "Truman Gives Muskie Two Pieces of Advice," *New York Times*, December 15, 1970, p. 58.

Truman Gives Muskie Two Pieces of Advice

INDEPENDENCE, Mo., Dec. 14. (UPI) — Harry S. Truman told Senator Edmund S. Muskie today to "tell the truth and be yourself," Mr. Muskie said after a 40-minute visit with the 86-year-old former President.

The Maine Senator is a contender for the 1972 Democratic Presidential nomination.

"I found Mr. Truman well and alert," Mr. Muskie said. "He's always so warm and friendly. He gave me two pieces of advice.

"He told me to always tell the truth. When I said, 'But, Mr. President, your way of telling the truth is not exactly my way,' he replied, 'Well, my second piece of advice is to be yourself.'"

Mr. Muskie was in Kansas City last night to receive the Israel Bond Association's Harry S. Truman Commendation Award.

18. "Muskie Pays Truman Visit," *Independence Examiner*, December 14, 1970, p. 1.

Muskie Pays Truman Visit

By SUE GENTRY
(Examiner Staff Writer)

"That isn't for me to say," Sen. Edmund Muskie said today when asked if former President Harry S. Truman had given him his endorsement as the Democratic presidential candidate for 1972. "We didn't talk about that."

Senator Muskie spent nearly 40 minutes visiting at the Truman home here shortly after 10:30 a.m. today.

Muskie was in Kansas City to receive the State of Israel's Bond Association Harry S. Truman Commendation Award, a citizenship and public service citation.

The 1972 presidential hopeful said he found the former president looking well and alert.

"He is always so warm and friendly," he said. Muskie recalled that this was his third visit with him.

"I was here in '52," he said, "and at that time he gave me two pieces of advice that I will never forget. One, was to always tell the truth. I remembered saying, 'Mr. President, your way of telling the truth is not exactly my way.' And Mr. Truman said, well, my

second piece of advice is to be yourself."

Muskie recalled his visit here last spring with Mr. Truman when he was a speaker at the Truman Library Institute program, and he said the visit today "was just as pleasant."

"I told him of my impending visit to the Far East, Mid-East, and other countries in January, and he expressed great interest in that."

Muskie said he and Mr. Truman naturally "talked politics" but that they just "chatted mostly and discussed old memories."

Then Muskie said he told Mr. Truman a story which he had never told him before.

Mr. Truman, Muskie said, had come to Manchester, N. H., to make a speech in the 1962 campaign. Maine was a very Republican state, he recalled, and Mr. Truman only stepped over into Maine to visit the Portsmouth Naval Yard.

The newspaper expressed gratitude that he hadn't come over in Maine. Muskie recalled, "As a newly elected

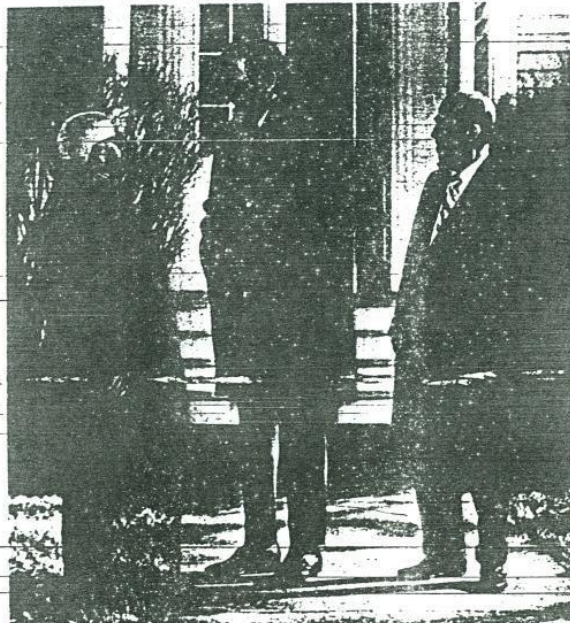
senator, I was incensed at write a letter to the editor. The paper featured my letter in four column headline. So I gave Mr. Truman's defense in the headline. I have promised send him a copy of that paper."

Muskie was asked what he thought about the SST and would there be a filibuster in the Senate.

"My participation in that will be limited," Muskie said. "I am trying to get an air-pollution bill written in conference and that's one other important matter. He added that there isn't much time left in the session and that Senator Proxmire's timing is excellent to achieve his objective."

Muskie, tall and smiling, his brown wavy hair shining in the sunlight, stepped quickly from the car when it pulled up in front of the Truman home. He wore a short black coat with a black fur collar and a bright blue shirt with a striped tie.

He spoke pleasantly to the group in front of the gate and went swiftly to the porch where both Mr. and Mrs. Truman stood in the vestibule to greet him. Neither of them came out into the cold.



THIRD MUSKIE VISIT. . . Sen. Edmund Muskie, here to "chat and talk politics" with former President Harry S. Truman today, shakes hands with Police Lt. Mike Westwood as he

leaves the Truman home after a 40 minute visit. He is accompanied by Charles Hipsh, right, of Kansas City. (Examiner Staff. Photo by Carol Conrow)

19. Senator Edmund S. Muskie and Harry S Truman in the living room of the Truman home, December 14, 1970. (Harry S Truman Library photo 71-920)



20. Senator Edmund S. Muskie with Bess W. Truman and Harry S Truman in the living room of the Truman home, December 14, 1970 (Harry S. Truman Library photo 71-916)



21. Senator Edmund S. Muskie (sitting left) with Harry S Truman and (standing, left to right) Sam Hipsch, Sumner Redstone, Charles Hipsch, and Sherrill Corwin, in the living room of the Truman home, December 14, 1970. (photocopy of Harry S. Truman Library photo 71-914 from Muskie Papers)

