

September 6, 1967

The Honorable Henry M. Jackson  
The United States Senate  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Jackson:

May I enclose, for your information, my exchange  
of letters with Senator Stennis:

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosures

Harold E. Stassen

September 6, 1967

The Honorable Strom Thurmond  
The United States Senate  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Thurmond:

May I enclose, for your information, my exchange  
of letters with Senator Stennis.

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosures

Harold E. Stassen

September 6, 1967

The Honorable Jack Miller  
The United States Senate  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Miller:

May I enclose, for your information, my exchange  
of letters with Senator Stennis.

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosures

Harold E. Stassen

September 6, 1967

The Honorable Stuart Symington  
The United States Senate  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Symington:

May I enclose, for your information, my exchange  
of letters with Senator Stennis.

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosures

Harold E. Stassen



September 6, 1967

The Honorable Margaret Chase Smith  
The United States Senate  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Smith:

May I enclose, for your information, my exchange  
of letters with Senator Stennis.

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosures

Harold E. Stassen

September 6, 1967

Mr. Jack Bell  
Associated Press  
Senate Press Gallery  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

Herewith copies of the follow-up with Senator Stennis.

With personal best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosures

Harold E. Stassen

September 5, 1967

Mr. Jack Bell  
Associated Press  
Senate Press Gallery  
The Capitol  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jack:

As a follow-up for your information, enclosed  
find a copy of the reply of Senator Stennis.

With personal best wishes, as ever

Sincerely yours,

HES:cc  
Enclosure

Harold E. Stassen



September 8, 1967

Honorable J. William Fulbright  
Chairman  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
United States Senate  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator:

Thank you for your thoughtful note of August 31st.

Responding to your question, as an integral part of the policy and program recommended, it is very important that a United States military presence be maintained in Vietnam. This can be done, however, with a minimum of cost, when related to the recommended program.

It will be comparable more to the Korean presence and the NATO presence in nature.

In the longer term, it should be changed to a United Nations presence, when the modernizing and strengthening of the United Nations and the establishment of two Vietnams for membership in this period of history has been accomplished.

The events of each passing week emphasize so much the importance of a changing of policy and program, that I am moved to ask whether you would consider providing an occasion when I could present this policy and program thoroughly to your Committee or to a Sub-Committee thereof. I would hope that out of my extensive relevant experience I could make a convincing case and that you and your Committee might then become the crucial element in the constructive movement of United States policy from its present tragic course.

With my respects and my continued high regard,

Sincerely yours,



J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN

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KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.  
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.  
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

August 31, 1967

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF  
ARTHUR M. KUHL, CHIEF CLERK

The Honorable  
Harold E. Stassen  
1020 The Fidelity Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

Dear Harold:

I was sorry I missed you when you called  
at my office.

I read your letter to Stennis, and it has  
much merit. Certainly your policy is far superior  
to what we are following. My only question is the  
necessity of our maintaining a military presence in  
Vietnam for the indefinite future. In any case,  
your policy is a very great step forward from our  
present disastrous course.


With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
J. W. Fulbright

JWF:kj

September 12, 1967



General Lucius D. Clay  
One William Street  
New York, New York 10004

Dear Lucius:

Thank you for your thoughtful and forthright letter. I would like to talk this Vietnam situation over with you personally at your convenience.

In the meantime, may I write this clarification and further explanation of my views.

On the Vietnam policy and program, the following factors are very important in my view.

South Vietnam has fourteen thousand square miles of dense jungle. These jungles connect up directly with jungle areas of Cambodia, Laos, and North Vietnam along approximately two hundred miles of jungle border. In Admiral Halsey's command we had extensive experience with this same type of jungle in World War II. There are approximately twenty million North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. Approximately 250,000 North Vietnamese young men reach military age each year.

Thus I hold that a war of attrition by the United States, as General Westmoreland stated he was now under orders to conduct, is not sound and cannot be successful.

The United States can prevent a Communist takeover of South Vietnam; but the United States cannot obtain an affirmative military solution of Vietnam.

The objective of the United States in Vietnam can be won by a thoroughly revised strategy and program.

Page #2

General Lucius D. Clay

The revised strategy and program should direct that a powerful United States military presence should be maintained, with priority on the security of Saigon and the major rice bowls, and with a deliberate policy of a minimum of United States casualties.

Recognizing these military pressures and limitations, the priority should be placed on the political and economic solutions. Here the key fact is that the Vietnamese people, emerging from long French Colonialism, want full status in the world. This can only be accorded now by having two Vietnams in the United Nations, with full status for each, in this period of history. These two Vietnams can compete for their respective systems, and in time the guerilla attraction of the young men will fade, as occurred in the Philippines under General Eisenhower's wise policy of United States military restraint; and as occurred in Malaya under the British similar policy of military restraint and political initiative.

The United Nations modernization and strengthening which I propose is not easy to accomplish, but in my judgment it can be, and urgently needs to be, brought about by sustained effective United States initiative.

With personal respects and best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh

*Sen John H. Tower  
Cong. Ronald E. Lukens*

LUCIUS D. CLAY

General, Retired

U. S. Army



*One William Street  
New York, New York 10004*

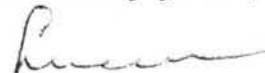
*September 14, 1967*

*Dear Harold:*

*Thank you for your letter. If you  
get to New York now and then, please let  
me know a little in advance so that we could  
lunch together.*

*It is always a pleasure to visit with  
you.*

*Sincerely yours,*



*The Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania*



RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA., CHAIRMAN

JOHN STENNIS, MISS.  
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.  
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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WILLIAM H. DARDEN, CHIEF OF STAFF  
CHARLES B. KIRBOW, CHIEF CLERK

September 13, 1967

Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Stassen:

This will acknowledge your letter of September 6th in which you renew your request that you be provided an opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee to present your views on the war in Vietnam.

I have previously advised you of the Subcommittee's present position on the witnesses to be called. In addition, at this time the Subcommittee has no concrete plans to hold any further hearings on this matter in the near future. As you know, we have already issued the summary report on this matter.

Thanks again for your interest in this important matter, and for your offer to appear.

Sincerely,

John Stennis  
Chairman, Preparedness  
Investigating Subcommittee

J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK., CHAIRMAN

JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.  
MIKE MANSFIELD, MONT.  
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.  
ALBERT GORE, TENN.  
FRANK J. LAUSCHE, OHIO  
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JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.  
KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.  
CLIFFORD P. CASE, N.J.  
JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

CARL MARCY, CHIEF OF STAFF  
ARTHUR M. KUHLMAN, CHIEF CLERK

September 16, 1967

The Honorable  
Harold Stassen  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Dear Harold:

I have just returned to my office to find your letter of the 8th. I do not believe it is going to be possible to have further hearings on Vietnam during this session, for a variety of reasons. I have a number of engagements in Arkansas, as many Senators have in their home States during the dog days of this session, and we have a number of conferences going on with the House which takes a great deal of time.

As you know, we have been in session for many months, and it is very difficult to obtain the representative group of the Committee for any occasion during this period, since so many of them have other obligations during this period.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. W. Fulbright

JWF:kj



THE CITY OF NEW YORK  
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

September 19, 1967

The Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Dear Harold:

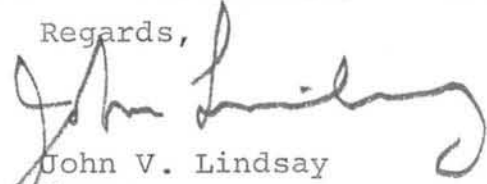
It was good to hear from you once again,  
and I appreciate your sending me a copy of your address  
in Rochester.

I thought the talk made very good sense.  
I particularly appreciate your effort to break down  
the over-simplified labels of "dove" and "hawk." I  
think they are assigned to individuals and groups  
with all too little thought or discretion.

I thought you might be interested in reading  
over my views on the question, which were expressed  
while I was still a member of the House of Represen-  
tatives. Although the speech is now 2½ years old,  
I have stood by it since its delivery.

My best to you and yours.

Regards,

  
John V. Lindsay  
Mayor

Enclosure

September 26, 1967

Mr. Harrison Salisbury  
The New York Times  
229 West 43rd Street  
New York, New York

Dear Harrison:

I was pleased to read your comment regarding the possible "Two Vietnams" solution.

I have long felt that this is one of the essential keys to a sound conclusion of the Vietnam tragedy.

Enclosed find a copy of an address I made some-time ago at the University of Maryland and a copy of a Memorandum to Senator Stennis.

With personal best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

HES/cbh  
Enclosures



October 2, 1967

General Lucius D. Clay  
One William Street  
New York, New York

Dear Lucius:

Thank you again for the opportunity for a discussion on September 27th. It was stimulating and clarifying, as ever, to consider these subjects with you.

On a confidential basis, I am enclosing a copy of my letter to President Johnson of August 16, 1965, which as I had indicated to you had included the concept of a possible military move in the North (in Paragraph Number 6).

Tentatively, I would be inclined to add to my summary outline of September 27, 1967, which I left with you, a new item 6 somewhat along the following lines:

"If the United States initiative under No. 4 above is continually rebuffed by the North Vietnamese Government, and if the process in No. 5 does not show a marked sign of success, and the opposition pressure continues to be extensive in the South notwithstanding the steps of Nos. 1, 2 and 3 above, then, in that event, after a period of six months, consider the establishment of a significant South Vietnamese and United States military presence in North Vietnam at a location selected to maximize the effectiveness of air and naval support, to facilitate the interdiction of supply routes, to be maintainable against substantial counter-attack, to draw pressure off the South, and provide an additional incentive for the acceptance of No. 4 by the North and the ending of the conflict."

With personal best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

HES/cbh  
Enclosure

Outline of Salient Features of Plan For Vietnam

1. The United States to maintain a powerful military presence in South Vietnam in a manner designed to incur the minimum of United States casualties and with a limited objective for the United States forces of preventing a complete North Vietnamese-Vietcong takeover of South Vietnam.
2. The United States to make it clear that ground fighting beyond the United States defense of a United States military presence, is a matter for the Vietnamese; and that if there is to be a long, drawn-out struggle over the land of Vietnam, it is a struggle to be conducted by the Vietnamese. The United States will train, supply and, for agreed operations, will provide, certain air and naval support; and will backstop on the ground consistent with No. 1 above.
3. The United States, consistent with No. 1 and No. 2 above, to deescalate and quiet down the bombing and hunter-killer drives.
4. The United States to take the initiative toward the admission of two Vietnamese Governments into the United Nations, with full sovereign status, to complete their emergence from French Colonialism; and to compete for their respective social, economic and political systems for the contemporary period of history.

PLS  
9/27/67

5. The United States to place priority upon winning over the young people of Vietnam, South and North, for educational and economic opportunity, and for their free choice of their future lives.

The basic aim is to win the youth away from the guerilla movement as was done in the Philippines and in Malaya, rather than a self-defeating attempt to kill off all the guerillas or to vainly reach for a United States military solution.

6. The United States initiative toward two Vietnams in the United Nations can be a part of a larger initiative to modernize and strengthen the United Nations and to make it potentially truly worldwide with two Chinas, two Germanys, two Koreas; competing and developing for the longer term historic decisions of peoples.

PREMISE: For the United States to fight a War of Attrition in Vietnam on the Mainland of Asia is unsound and self-defeating because of the extensive jungles, the high levels of population, and the psychological factors of color and of emergence from Colonialism.

OVERALL POLICY: The United States to continue to be militarily very powerful and alert; to continue to maintain capability for devastating response to any attack; and to administer this power with exceptional moral restraint, ever mindful of the mutual catastrophe that is inherent in world war in this age of nuclear weapons and intercontinental missile systems.

LUCIUS D. CLAY

General, Retired

U. S. Army

*One William Street  
New York, New York 10004*

*November 13, 1967*

*Dear Harold:*

*I have not answered your October letter sooner as I should have to have thanked you for sending me a copy of your letter of August 16 to President Johnson.*

*Certainly to me your proposed modification would be substantial improvement. Always I am deterred by the doubtful advantage of ever informing your opponent of your intentions.*

*It is always good to see you or hear from you.*

*Sincerely yours,*



*The Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
1020 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania*



October 12, 1967

Honorable Nelson Rockefeller  
Governor  
State of New York  
State Capitol  
Albany, New York

Dear Nelson:

It has been interesting to read recently that you may be considering moving your position somewhat on Vietnam in the light of up-to-date information.

If this is correct, I would be pleased to quietly spend some time in an endeavor to convince you and/or your key advisors of what that new position should be.

With personal best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Stassen

HES/cbh



STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER  
GOVERNOR

October 25, 1967

Dear Harold:

Just a line to acknowledge, with many thanks, your letter of October twelfth. It did not catch up with me until after I returned from the National Governors' Conference "cruise." I do appreciate your suggestion.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Nelson'.

The Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
Stassen and Kephart  
1020 The Fidelity Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109



FOUNDER  
JAMES W. TURPIN, M.D.

# Project Concern, Inc.

*A Non-Profit Organization*

P. O. Box 536  
CORONADO, CALIFORNIA 92118  
PHONE 435-6814 AREA CODE 714

P. O. BOX 2468  
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA  
PHONE 233-6626 AREA CODE 714

PHILADELPHIA REGIONAL OFFICE  
44 Linwood Avenue  
Ardmore, Penna. 19003  
Phone: MI 2-7900 Area Code 215


November 9, 1967

Mr. Harold E. Stassen  
Stassen and Kephart  
1020 The Fidelity Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19109

Dear Mr. Stassen:

Thank you so much for your recent letter addressed to Dr. James Turpin. Dr. Turpin is out of the office on another segment of his speaking tour but be assured your letter will be brought to his attention upon his return. I know Dr. Turpin will appreciate your kind remarks concerning "A New Course for Vietnam" and will be encouraged by your belief that such a plan could be the solution to the current problem in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

  
Peggy E. Matter  
Ardmore Office

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
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W. P. MARSHALL  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

## TELEGRAM

R. W. McFALL  
PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Harold E. Stassen	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 15, 1967

Honorable Everett Dirksen  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Everett:

I am not kidding when I say stop the killing in Vietnam. I am not kidding when I say that you and Richard Nixon are very wrong when you join with President Johnson in escalating and expanding the Vietnamese War into an American War. I am not kidding when I say that I stand with the distinguished retired Generals Lauris Norstad, James Gavin, David Shoup and Matthew Ridgway for an early and honorable end to the Vietnamese War and the establishment of peace. Sincerely

Harold E. Stassen

1020 The Fidelity Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19109



x

Harold E. Stassen

November 15, 1967

United Press International  
Washington, D.C.

For Release. The following telegram has been sent to Senator Everett Dirksen by Harold E. Stassen QUOTE Honorable Everett Dirksen, Washington, D.C. Dear Everett: I am not kidding when I say stop the killing in Vietnam. I am not kidding when I say that you and Richard Nixon are very wrong when you join with President Johnson in escalating and expanding the Vietnamese War into an American War. I am not kidding when I say that I stand with the distinguished retired Generals Lauris Norstad, James Gavin, David Shoup and Matthew Ridgway for an early and honorable end to the Vietnamese War and the establishment of peace. Sincerely Harold E. StassenUNQUOTE The foregoing is in response to the UPI story

C. B. Hill,  
Secretary

1020 The Fidelity Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

x

Harold E. Stassen

November 15, 1967

Honorable Everett Dirksen  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Everett:

I am not kidding when I say stop the killing in Vietnam. I am not kidding when I say that you and Richard Nixon are very wrong when you join with President Johnson in escalating and expanding the Vietnamese War into an American War. I am not kidding when I say that I stand with the distinguished retired Generals Lauris Norstad, James Gavin, David Shoup and Matthew Ridgway for an early and honorable end to the Vietnamese War and the establishment of peace. Sincerely

Harold E. Stassen

1020 The Fidelity Bldg.  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19109

November 27, 1967

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Everett:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of  
November 20th.

I do quite understand how the comment could  
have been made and assure you that you are cheerfully  
forgiven!

Naturally it did hurt a bit, and added somewhat  
to the high ridge of ridicule which I am well aware I  
must climb over.

If you do find it in your heart and do find the  
occasion to make a somewhat favorable comment about  
me or my record or my objectives, it would be helpful  
and would be appreciated.

With my affectionate best wishes as ever,

Sincerely yours,

HES/cbh



United States Senate

214

November 20, 1967

Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
Stassen & Kephart  
1020 Fidelity Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Harold:

When I was in the press gallery after our usual Tuesday Policy Luncheon -- a gallery visit which is just as regular as the weeks come and go -- there is always a good deal of banter and chitchat and when Jack Bell of AP asked me whether I knew you had held a press conference and announced your candidacy as a peace candidate, I said what I might have said had it been any other person, "Are you kidding?" That was it. I presume I should mind my tongue a little more and realize that the very things which you least expect to go out on the wire are the ones to go first and find a spot on the front page. I hope you were not offended.

Regards,

  
Everett McKinley Dirksen





United States Senate

December 4, 1967

Honorable Harold E. Stassen  
1012 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia 9, Pennsylvania

Dear Harold:

I am sure there will be opportunities for me to make amends  
for my recreant tongue and I shall certainly do so. Mean-  
while, my very best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Everett".

Everett McKinley Dirksen



151 Lancaster Avenue  
Bangor, Maine 04401  
December 22, 1967



The Honorable Harold Stassen  
Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Sir:

Suppose that you, or some other prominent Republican, were to electrify the nation by contacting North Vietnam through quiet diplomatic channels, such as some foreign embassy or a number of foreign embassies in Washington, to ask North Vietnam if it would agree to a cease-fire either until after the Republican national convention next summer or until the election in the fall.

If North Vietnam did not accept your offer, you would have nothing to lose. For, no one would have to know about it. But, I believe that North Vietnam would accept your offer. For, its acceptance would almost guarantee the nomination and election of a peace President. And, thus, the cease-fire could become permanent.

Please consider this suggestion very carefully. It has the power to set off the needed chain reaction for peace that must be produced if a peace candidate would be both nominated and elected.

The very best of luck.

Sincerely,



Al Bernstein



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