I commend this article to anyone who doubts the necessity of fundamentally overhauling our present compromising system of financing political campaigns through large private contributions. More persuasively than anything I have read to date, it makes an irrefutable case for campaign contributions by large businesses.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Wright's article appearing in the November 25 edition of the Minneapolis Tribune be printed in the Record.

STANS TACKLE SHOCKED GOP FUND RAISERS

(The Way's Note: Increasing attention has focused on the record $60 million raised for President Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. Much interest has centered on Maurice Stans, the man who resigned as Mr. Nixon's secretary of commerce and became chief fund-raiser, serving as chairman of the Finance Committee to Re-elect the President. Here is the story of how he operated, especially with big businessmen, as told to Frank Wright, Minneapolis Tribune staff correspondent, by a campaign official who worked closely with Stans in a major state.)

When Stans' staff came into my office, we decided there would be no quotes put on at all. We felt that really all we had to do is set up a little budget for our state campaign that we were working on.

This was early in 1972, but it was already looking like (George) McGovern might be the Democrat's guy instead of (Edmund) Muskie, and it was just obvious that it was going to be, very, very easy.

There wasn't any sell with businessmen whatsoever. We decided that we would have sort of a $1,000 club, a very innocent, modest thing. And we would have a lot of guys, a lot of small businessmen, a lot of larger businessmen, and they would get a little stickpin, and they would just be organized to lobby against what the group saw as the overbuilding of low-income housing in the West Side Urban Renewal Area.

Dr. King's Physician

One of the first black graduates of Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, Dr. E. L. Stans, comes to the city to give many people, including the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Duke Ellington. During the Poor People's March on Washington in 1967, he mobilized a medical team to treat the demonstrators camped out in tents in "Resurrection City.

He was one of the original partners in the Upper Manhattan Medical Group, serving the community in lower Washington Heights for more than 20 years. In addition, he found time to be active in his West Side neighborhood.

But while we were waiting for Stans to become national chairman we had this guy from Minnesota, Newell Weed, who was already looking like (George) McGovern might be the Democrat's guy instead of Muskie, and it was just obvious that it was going to be, very, very easy.

FINANCING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, yesterday the Senate passed the most far-reaching and significant piece of the reform legislation ever adopted by either House of Congress. This legislation seeks to rid our political system of the corrupting influence of big money by providing for public financing of Federal elections.

The most convincing case for public financing is already well known. It has been most forcefully and effectively made by some of the fundraising practices used in the 1972 Presidential election.

Recently Frank Wright of the Minneapolis Tribune talked to a campaign official who worked closely with Maurice Stans, President Nixon's chief fund raiser. This official outlines the way in which money was solicited from business on behalf of the President's campaign; it can only be described as a shakedown and an outrage.

"You have got to get new wealth," he'd say, "You have got to get the Paltalitos." And we asked what is a Paltalito.

Stans said that is the name of a businesswoman in Wisconsin who has reached new wealth."

Involvement in the medical community, he said, is a "new way," as he put it, of reaching the people who call it a "wider circle.

So I picked a guy I knew whose family business was a $1,000 club, a very innocent, modest thing. And we would have a lot of guys, a lot of small businessmen, a lot of larger businessmen, and they would get a little stickpin. And we had a little organization to lobby against what the group saw as the overbuilding of low-income housing in the West Side Urban Renewal Area.

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Then he switched to Muskie, who was, you know, big on the pollution stuff. "We have had a terrific struggle with Buckets- haus.", Maury said, "but you know what happened if we had Muskie in.

"Our system has to be preserved, the kind of balanced system that has allowed you to get what you want, to watch the lines, and it is mighty serious. The president isn't going to have an easy time. There are to be armies out there, and now I am asking you to be members of the Judiciary Committee on Monday next to be among the Dem­
ocrats anything like that." That was the only thing I remember him saying. But the next day he gave us his check for $10,000. We only had $38304.

After that Maury gave us his three rules that he always worked by.

Number one, know your man and to what extent he can give. He would always re­
search what problems a company had with the government, know them inside out. It is sort of terrifying when a solicitor that you're talking to knows the fact that you have problems, and it looks like he is looking at your soul.

Number two, never ask the amount before he can give. You would always have to get his check for a quarter of a million. One of them, a kind of new guy who had built up the family busi­
ness and is worth about $200 million, said Stans came to him and told him that fund­
raising in the state was "terrible shape, that the old wealth wasn't giving, that it was in a crisis," and the guy put in a lot so that the little guys would have some­
ingthing to look up to."

Maury asked him for $300,000. The guy told him later he was astonished, just a stunned. He'd never given more than about $5,000 before. But this time he gave it all. He was a true believer, Maury said, and that helped.

Most of the guys Maury handled were not.

Most of them were giving between $10,000 and $50,000, pretty big money for them, and some of them would give you the check and look out. Not very strange.

"Well, I have just been visited by an angel of Christ's death," They always looked to me like they had sucked in a few.

Most of them tended to be in fairly big businesses that were fairly heavily regulated by the federal government.

Maury was a hard SOB. He lived on fear. But it got results.

A lot of those guys didn't like him, but even today there is not much guilt about maybe their slightly exploitive blackmail and that kind of stuff and that boatload of prostitutes at Miami Beach. They are unhappy with Maury because it turned out this way and was so inefficient and all.

But you take my guy, who was the state chairman and a big businessman and old boy, who never gave more than about $5,000 before and who was not there is any sin committed or any great ethical problem.

He would be upset if Maury had run away with a broad and gone to而且 himself with the money. But Maury never did that.

And so, consequently, they sort of regard it as—at least the people that I know—some­
what naive, dirty work but nevertheless necessary to save the system from McGovern. There isn't any real sense of remorse yet about it, not in any sense. You don't find it here in this state or anywhere else that I know of.

There is a feeling among businessmen now, after a while, that they are starting to say to themselves, "We've had it. We're through." Feeling of resigning because you are in a way not effective any more in running the system and not because you have done some­
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