

EDITORIAL

EIGHT POINT PLAN OF VIETNAM ILLUSIONS

We are inclined to believe Mr. Nixon's eight-point peace proposal was a sincere effort to break the deadlock in Paris. The dramatic announcement of President Thieu's willingness to step down prior to a new election publicly affirms America's commitment to reach a political as well as military settlement in South Vietnam. Still, taken in context, the history of the secret talks does not convince us the President's proposals face the real issues that have blocked agreement.

We should remember that the first proposal on May 31, 1971, was made just as the crucial South Vietnamese presidential campaign moved toward its climactic phase. When, by our own admission, our peace proposal foundered on the problems of reaching a political agreement, Dr. Kissinger finally said that "we'd lump the political and military issues together," — that is, presumably, we would connect the negotiations for our military withdrawal with the fate of the Thieu regime.

Such a decision seems to have offered real promise. According to North Vietnamese Minister Xuan Thuy, a public commitment to withdraw by a certain date would have established American independence from the Thieu government, leading in itself to a political settlement, probably through Thieu's defeat at the polls. Yet our negotiators continued to insist on a cease fire prior to setting the date, a stipulation that had been repeatedly rejected by the Viet Cong, who argued that such a condition gave an overwhelming political advantage to the military and civilian forces under Thieu's control. The Nixon administration in the meantime rejected an opportunity to give even a minimal symbolic sign of political neutrality by failing to embrace a bill before the Senate setting up an independent commission to monitor the election.

By the time of the next secret proposal, August 1, the election in South Vietnam had already deteriorated into a one-man race. The offer to withdraw by August 1, 1972, therefore, no longer afforded a chance to make any political concessions in the only way democratically possible — by bringing the full weight of our military and economic pressure on Saigon for a free election. The failure of the Communists to embrace that proposal was hardly surprising, when the presidential election had just proved the distrust among non-Communist South Vietnamese for an electoral solution. The introduction October 11 of the proposal for a new election reflected less a new beginning than a failure of previous efforts to align military and political policy.

Clearly the President is right when he says that the United States cannot agree to give the North Vietnamese in peace talks what they failed to win on the battlefield — control of the entire South Vietnamese

government. Yet, on the other hand, our continual maneuvering to save the Thieu regime suggested a similar effort on the part of the U.S.: to achieve in negotiations our central war aim of full pacification of South Vietnam under an anti-Communist Saigon government. But the North Vietnamese, let us face the fact, have won the right to a sphere of influence in the I-Corps area, the five Northern provinces of South Vietnam which Saigon cannot hold without U.S. support. Their Viet Cong allies have won significant areas of control in the IV-Corps region. Serious negotiations must face these realities, possibly in a confederal apportionment, redrawing boundaries to accord with current areas of dominance in a scheme embracing Cambodia and Laos as well as South Vietnam. A centralized coalition at the cabinet level in Saigon does not offer promise as a negotiating goal now or in the future.

Party Leaders Inflexible

At any rate, the eight-point plan does not evince the kind of acute responsiveness to the dialectics of power that one associates with Henry Kissinger. Unfortunately the Republican leadership has already taken the inflexible position that critics of the peace proposals are advocates of "surrender" who "prolong the war." Clark MacGregor used the "surrender" argument in a memo to the Senate January 28, while Senators Dole and Scott have adopted the prolongation theme. H.R. Haldeman had gone further, making himself a liability to the President by exposing "personal" views that implicitly impugn the patriotism of the anti-war movement, which includes Republican Senators like Cooper and Hatfield.

The President cannot have it both ways. He cannot use his failure to reach accommodation last fall as an excuse now to attack proponents of any other plan as advocates of surrender. If Mr. Nixon wants the bargaining advantage of unified support at home, he must show that he can take intelligent risks for peace. He cannot "overthrow" Mr. Thieu, but he can recognize that hopes for an ultimate political solution are more realistically placed in setting a date for withdrawal of American ground and air forces first, before demanding conditions which the other side has consistently refused to negotiate. Such flexibility has been absent over the last year in our maneuverings to save the Saigon government from the embarrassment of a change in leadership or an admission of less than total control of its putative territory.

To the extent that the eight-point proposal is used in the meantime to justify increased American bombing, with its certain increase in civilian casualties, refugees and lost flyers, Mr. Nixon will be compounding an untenable Vietnam policy and losing the potential support of those of us who believe that a fully realistic and committed policy for early peace in Vietnam is indispensable to the achievement of the President's domestic and foreign goals — including his re-election.

People in Politics

House Leaders Retire

Nine high-ranking GOP House members will retire when their current terms expire at the end of this year. Their departures will have a significant effect upon the Republican leadership in the House.

● Representative H. Allen Smith of California, 62, a staunch conservative, will retire after 16 years in the House. He is the senior Republican on the powerful House Rules Committee. His position will be filled by Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois, Chairman of the House Republican Conference and a moderate.

Robert H. Finch, Counselor to President Nixon and former Lieutenant Governor of California, has denied a rumor that he intends to run for Smith's 20th Congressional District seat in the safely Republican Pasadena-Glendale area.

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● Rep. William M. McCulloch, 71, ranking GOP member of the Judiciary Committee, and a champion of civil rights, has announced his retirement after 25 years in the House. Rep. Edward Hutchison of Michigan, a conservative, will take McCulloch's place.

McCulloch's 4th Congressional District in Ohio has been combined with that of Representative Jackson E. Betts, number two GOP member of the House Ways and Means Committee and also retiring. His seat on Ways and Means will be taken by Harold Collier of Illinois. The new District, 75 percent of which comes from McCulloch's old area, is solidly Republican.

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● Representative John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin, 58, a very competent conservative, and the ranking GOP member of the Ways and Means Committee, will also retire, after 28 years in the House. His retirement, combined with that of Betts, takes the two top GOP members from the Committee. Byrnes' leadership spot will be taken by Representative Herman T. Schneebeli of Pennsylvania, an obscure and conservative member of the House, regarded less knowledgeable than Byrnes. Barber Conable of New York is expected to take a leading role in the future.

Byrnes' safe Republican Wisconsin District has been altered by redistricting, losing one urban county and gaining seven rural counties.

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● Representative William Springer, 63, of Illinois will give up his ranking position on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee when he retires after 32 years. Rep. Samuel Devine of Ohio is in line to take Springer's Commerce Committee position. He is also a conservative but is considered less knowledgeable. Devine will then be ranking on both the Commerce Committee and the House Administration Committee. Congressmen cannot rank on two full committees simultaneously. Devine is expected to choose to remain on the Commerce Committee. If so, Rep. Bill Dickinson of Alabama will rank on the House Administration Committee.

Rep. Springer's district, considered safely Republican, was not seriously altered by redistricting last year, but it does contain the University of Illinois campus in Champaign/Urbana which represents 25,000 newly enfranchised voters.

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● Like Springer, Representative Thomas M. Pelly, 70, top Republican on House Merchant Marine and Fisheries, represents a district containing a large campus, the University of Washington. He will leave Congress after 20 years. Pelly's seat on the Committee will be taken by Representative Charles Mosher of Ohio, considered more progressive than Pelly. Mosher, like Devine, will have to make a choice between two committee positions, ranking on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and on Science and Astronautics. He is expected to take the Merchant Marine and Fisheries assignment. If so, Alphonso Bell of California will rank on Science and Astronautics.

Pelly's district is the northern half of Seattle, a silk-stockings area, the state's most conservative area and safely Republican. Two Republicans have announced their candidacies. Joel Pritchard, President of an envelope company, who ran against Pelly in the 1970 primary is a progressive Republican close to Governor Daniel Evans. William Boeing Jr., son of

the Boeing Inc. family, is a conservative and has very heavy financial backing. There is no favorite at this point. No Democrats have announced. Labor, particularly the maritime and fishing industries, has supported Pelly in past years and is expected to support whom-ever Pelly endorses. Pelly has said he will not endorse anyone, but late in the campaign he "might let my close friends know who I'll vote for."

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● Representative Richard Poff of Virginia, who took himself out of the running for one Supreme Court vacancy last year, is retiring and will give up his number two position on the House Judiciary Committee. Since ranking member McCulloch has also announced his retirement, the two top Republicans will leave that committee. Poff's committee seat will be taken by Robert McClory of Illinois, a conservative.

Caldwell Butler, former Republican delegate from Roanoke also quit his post at that time and is considered the most probable Republican contender for Poff's seat.

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● Representative Frank Bow of Ohio, 71, will also retire. The ranking GOP member on the House Appropriations Committee, Bow has been in Congress for 22 years. His seat on Appropriations will be taken by Rep. Elford Cederberg of Michigan. The number two Republican on Appropriations, Rep. Charles R. Jonas of North Carolina, 67, will also retire. His committee role will be taken by John Rhodes of Arizona. Thus, Republicans will lose their two top members on Appropriations as they will on Ways and Means, and Judiciary.

Bow's seat is considered safe for Republicans. The leading contender is State Senator Ralph Regula, chairman of the State Legislative Committee on the Environment and a state senator for several years.

Rep. Jonas' 9th North Carolina District was redistricted and lost one largely Republican county. It has long been assumed that as soon as Jonas retires his district will go back to the Democrats, but a young Davidson College professor and Board of Commerce member, James Martin, is given a good chance of holding the seat in the Republican column. His Democratic opponent will be Jim Beatty, former Olympic miler from the University of North Carolina and now a state legislator.

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● The departure of these nine important House members will not have drastic impact on the number of Republicans in the House. Nearly all of their districts will send a Republican to Congress, except in the case of McCulloch and Betts whose Districts have been combined, meaning one less Republican Congressman than before. But there is a reasonable hope that their successors will be more progressive.

The greatest impact will be upon the relative strength of the Michigan and Ohio delegations to Congress. Michigan will gain important ranking minority positions, lost by Ohio, on the Appropriations and Judiciary Committees, to go with the Minority leadership of Rep. Gerald Ford.

The new Republican committee leaders will not be as powerful as the old. There will be a period of shuffling as the leadership get used to each other and learn to anticipate each other's reactions. During this time, the door might be open for the consolidation of power among younger, more progressive Republicans.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

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Political Calendar

Delegate Selection Dates

This Delegate Selection Calendar contains the key dates for the selection process. Some of these dates may change, due to legislative action or failure of states to redistrict prior to established filing dates. NC is an abbreviation for Republican National Convention. Delegate (capital D) refers to Delegates to the NC, while delegate (lower case d) refers to delegates to local or state conventions.

● ARKANSAS

Between April 4 and 18, 1972 — Declarations of candidacy to run for NC Delegate in the primary must be filed.

June 27, 1972 — Primary will be held to elect 15 Delegates. State chairman, national committee man and woman are automatic Delegates.

● COLORADO

May 1, 1972 — Precinct caucuses to choose delegates to county convention.

Between May 11 and 31, 1972 — County conventions to choose delegates to district and state conventions.

July 15, 1972 — Republican state conventions to elect at-large Delegates to NC. Congressional District caucuses will select District Delegates to NC.

● CONNECTICUT

March 7, 1972 — Town caucus or committee meeting held to select party endorsed slate of delegates to state convention.

March 17, 1972 — Deadline for list of endorsed candidates to be certified by town clerk.

March 31, 1972 — Deadline for filing petitions to challenge endorsed slate.

April 20, 1972 — Primary held to elect delegates to state convention.

June 23-24, 1972 — State Convention held to select at-large Delegates to NC. Congressional District caucuses select District Delegates to NC.

● IOWA

April 4, 1972 — Precinct caucuses to select delegates to county conventions.

June 9, 1972 — County conventions select delegates to district and state conventions.

July 6, 1972 — Republican Congressional district caucuses select District Delegates to NC.

July 7-8, 1972 — Republican state convention selects at-large Delegates to NC.

● INDIANA

March 23, 1972 — Deadline for candidates for delegate to state convention to file petition with county circuit court clerk.

May 2, 1972 — Presidential preference primary, and election of delegates to state convention.

June 22, 1972 — Congressional District caucuses at state convention select District Delegates to NC.

June 23, 1972 — State convention selects at-large Delegates to NC.

● NEW JERSEY

April 27, 1972 — Deadline for filing nominating petitions of candidacy for Delegate to NC.

June 6, 1972 — Primary to select both at-large and Congressional District Delegates to NC.

● NEW YORK

March 28, 1972 — First date signatures can be collected on designating petitions for candidates for Congressional Districts Delegates to NC.

Between May 1 and 4, 1972 — Designating petitions for candidates for Delegates must be filed.

June 20, 1972 — Primary to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.

July 5, 1972 — Deadline for Republican State Central Committee to appoint ten at-large Delegates to NC.

● OREGON

March 14, 1972 — Deadline for declarations of candidacy and nominating petitions to be filed with the Secretary of State.

March 16, 1972 — Photograph and statement for voters' pamphlet may be filed with Secretary of State.

May 23, 1972 — Primary will be held to elect all Delegates to NC from Congressional Districts, unless party takes option of appointing as Delegates state chairman, vice chairman, national committee man and woman.

June 27, 1972 — Deadline for alternates to be appointed by elected Delegates.

● SOUTH CAROLINA

February 26, 1972 — Precinct club meetings held to select delegates and alternates to county conventions.

March 6, 1972 — County conventions are held to select delegates and alternates to state convention.

March 25, 1972 — State convention held to select Congressional District Delegates and at-large Delegates to NC.

● WISCONSIN

March 14, 1972 — Deadline for Presidential candidates to file slates of at-large and Congressional district Delegates.

April 4, 1972 — Primary election. Highest Presidential vote-getter statewide receives at-large Delegates. Highest Presidential vote-getter in each Congressional District receives Delegates from that district.

General Events

● FEBRUARY

28 - March 2 Houston, Texas (Rice Hotel): National Farmers Union Annual Convention.

29 Washington, D.C. (Washington Hilton Hotel): Meetings of the Committee on Arrangements and Committee on Rules, of the 1972 Republican National Convention.

● MARCH

1 Washington, D.C. (Washington Hilton Hotel): Meeting of the Republican National Committee.

1-4 Washington, D.C. (Washington Hilton Hotel): The 1972 Republican National Leadership Conference; Administration briefings, panel discussions, etc.

7 NEW HAMPSHIRE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY; 14 Republican delegates, Republican primary: Nixon, McCloskey, Ashbrook.

8 Washington, D.C. (Washington Hilton Hotel): GOP Senate-House Majority Dinner '72.

8-12 Washington, D.C. (Sheraton-Park Hotel): The 1972 Young Republican National Leadership Conference; White House reception, workshops, panel discussions; Contact Jay Morris, YRLC Chairman, (202) 484-6680.

10-11 Washington, D.C. (Sheraton-Park Hotel): College Republican National Committee, luncheon and meeting.

10-12 Gary, Indiana: National Black Political Convention; Co-Chairmen: Congressman Charles Diggs, Mayor Richard Hatcher, and Imam Baraka.

14 FLORIDA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY; 40 Republican delegates.

19-22 San Antonio, Texas (Hilton Palacio del Rio): Southern Regional Conference of Attorneys General Annual Meeting; Republicans and Democrats.

21 ILLINOIS PRESIDENTIAL, CONGRESSIONAL, AND STATE PRIMARY; 58 Republican delegates, plus gubernatorial election.

23-25 Atlanta, Georgia (Regency Hyatt House): Republican Women's Southern Regional Conference; Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Tex., and Va.

27 New Orleans, La. (Royal Orleans Hotel): National Association of Attorneys General Executive Committee Meeting; Rep. and Dem.

Contributions to the calendar are invited; please send notices of events to:

Ripon Political Calendar
Suite 5-E
355 East 72nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Brooke V. P. Write-in Announced

WASHINGTON — A Washington *Evening Star* editorial of January 31 indicated that some Ripon members and "some elements" of the Republican Party feel that Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts should replace Vice President Agnew on the Party's 1972 ticket. The *Star* went on to quote "one knowledgeable Republican" who predicts that "Brooke will be the keynote speaker" at the nominating convention.

Meanwhile, a Manchester, New Hampshire lawyer, John A. Graf, with the aid of the former Ripon President Josiah Lee Auspitz, has begun a campaign to write-in Senator Brooke's name for Vice President in that state's March 7 primary. Graf says things are going well. He and his associates have a bank account with some money in it, volunteers to man an office in Manchester and to canvass in the state, and plans for newspaper advertising. They held a press con-



ference on February 10 to announce their plans.

Graf says they are not professionals, but concerned people willing to be committed. They believe they have a viable candidate and a legitimate issue. They view their activities as a challenge to Senator Muskie's statement last year that the country is not ready for a black vice president.

So far, Senator Brooke has responded only by asking that they cease and desist in their efforts in his behalf. He says he is a candidate exclusively for Senator from Massachusetts. Graf, however, believes the people should have a choice and he and his group intend to give them one.

Brown Honored

In a related development, on January 30, 1972, President Nixon was a surprise guest at a dinner honoring one of the Administration's highest ranking blacks, Presidential Special Assistant Robert J. Brown. Brown was honored for his extensive work in the fight against sickle cell anemia, an inherited blood disease primarily affecting blacks. The crowd of 3,000, predominantly black, gave the President a strong standing ovation. Noting that he has not done enough for civil rights, Nixon said, "We haven't done as well as we would have liked, but we want your help, black and white, to reach our goals."

Women's Caucus Raises Funds

WASHINGTON — The National Women's Political Caucus held its first bi-partisan fundraiser, a champagne benefit attended by nearly 800 men and women, at the Shoreham Hotel on February 3.

The gathering, billed as a make-or-break affair by the Caucus, brought nearly \$16,000, which will be used to achieve representation for women at both political conventions and for operating expenses in the Caucus' Washington headquarters.

Gloria Steinem, *Mrs.* magazine editor and N.W.P.C. Policy Council member, set the bi-partisan tone for the evening by assuring the crowd that "she gets along much better with female Republicans" than with Larry O'Brien and that "we will cross party lines to work for each other."

The Republican women who helped organize the benefit included Barbara Greene Kilberg, Mrs. Eliot L. Richardson, Jo-Ann Evans Gardner, Mrs. Paul N. McCloskey, Pam Curtis, Mrs. John Heinz, Elly Peterson, Mrs. Earl Butz, Hon. Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, and Hon. Florence P. Dwyer of New Jersey.

Protest Nixon Plan

POW Wives Back McCloskey

WASHINGTON — A group representing some 500 POW families and calling itself Families for Immediate Release will send representatives to campaign with Congressman Paul McCloskey in New Hampshire between February 25th and 28th.

Speaking from the group's Washington D.C. headquarters Miss Sheila Cronin, of Silver Spring, Maryland, who runs the office, said the group is not prepared to endorse McCloskey because its membership holds varying viewpoints on issues other than Vietnam. But it is prepared to help McCloskey beat Nixon and Congressman John Ashbrook in Republican primaries as the election year progresses.

Members will be organized to canvass and publicize their support of McCloskey's Vietnam position. They will send speakers to states to speak alongside McCloskey. The

group will consider endorsing a candidate for President after both nominating conventions have been held.

Miss Cronin called the President's latest peace proposal "more of the same" and "an attempt to buy time." She said the member families were more confused than ever following the President's speech in which he introduced his peace proposal. They have tried to get clarification on a number of points concerning the plan from the White House. One member of Dr. Kissinger's staff, John Negroponte, told Miss Cronin that the group should give the President's plan "about 10 months or so."

The group wants President Nixon to set a definite date for withdrawal of all American troops dependent only upon the return of U.S. prisoners of war.

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