

# RIPON FORUM

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## Wednesday Group Acts on Crime

WASHINGTON — The Wednesday Club of Senate Republicans has set a standard for all candidates of both parties who wish to use the issue of law and order in the 1972 campaign.

Thirteen members, led by Senators William Saxbe and Charles McC. Mathias, Jr., have joined in introducing the omnibus Criminal Justice Reform Bill of 1972, comprising nine titles relating to prison improvement, victimless crime, police training, juvenile delinquency, criminal rehabilitation and a gamut of other law enforcement problems.

Among the 68 pages of recommendations, which entail a total of \$1.5 billion in new funding, are

compensation for victims of violence, additional grants to states and localities from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for police, courts, and jail improvement, and the shifting of most responsibility for juvenile delinquency programs from the Justice Department to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The bill also would create regional law enforcement academies, provide a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour for prisoners with jobs, and give ex-convicts the right to vote in federal elections.

Co-sponsors are Senators Beall, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Cooper, Hatfield, Javits, Percy, Stevens, Taft and Weicker.

### House Activity

Meanwhile the Wednesday Group in the House, shaken by the appointment of its indefatigable leader, F. Bradford Morse' to the Secretariat of the United Nations, and by Ogden Reid's less damaging defection to the Democrats, is being reinvigorated by several new young Congressmen and by Ripon Executive Committee Chairwoman, Patricia Goldman, the newly appointed chief of staff.

Morse is the last of the original seven founders to leave the group. Others included Mayor John Lindsay, Senators Mathias and Robert Stafford, and former NATO Ambassador Robert Ellsworth.

## Wisconsin: The Role of Crossovers

The usual effort to discredit strong performances in the Wisconsin primary by attributing them to crossovers from the other party is no more valid in 1972 than in previous years. Close analysis of the results suggests that George McGovern and George Wallace both would have done nearly as well without Republican votes, and that the performances of Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie were in fact even less promising than they appeared.

Although Wallace received approximately 18,000 votes fewer in 1972 than in 1964, his performance in Wisconsin this year was impressive—certainly more impressive than his Florida showing and probably in part because of inflated press interpretations of that predictable and comparatively modest harvest of conservative Democratic votes in his own territory. In spite of the large number of candidates, Wallace broadened his appeal in 1972 in Wisconsin, reaching areas that had not backed him in the past.

Wallace's total was not significantly the result of Republican crossovers. First, there is strong evidence that much of his vote in the Milwaukee area in 1964 came from crossovers in the Northern Republican suburbs — not, as is commonly believed, in the Polish wards. This year, however, his performance in these same GOP areas was much worse than his 1964 performance and somewhat below his statewide average. His vote in Milwaukee County dropped by over 35,000 votes, in Waukesha county by over 2,000, and his total increased only marginally in the Northern suburban counties where the population has exploded since 1964. Hence, previous Republican crossovers deserted Wallace in the Milwaukee area in 1972.

The area of Wallace's greatest improvement came in the heavily Democratic rural Wisconsin counties of the North. Many of Wallace's most "Republican" voters, moreover, are really American Independence Party voters presidentially; and Wisconsin is one of the few Northern states where he probably hurt Nixon more than Humphrey in 1968. If you assume that one half of his total is AIP voters from 1968 (127,865 out of 248,195), it is still less meaningful to blame Republicans for Wallace's performance.

The Muskie and Humphrey performances were even worse than they appeared. Had it not been for Muskie's residual appeal among Polish-Americans, he

clearly would have finished behind Jackson and perhaps Lindsay as well. Humphrey's only improvement came among Milwaukee blacks, in a low turnout.

Humphrey received 233,914 votes in 1972, more than 130,000 less than he received in 1960 while the total vote increased by over 250,000. This might be explained away by the number of candidates (2 vs. 12) were it not for the fact that his relative performance also generally declined. In the entire Eastern labor oriented part of the state where Kennedy had beaten him in 1960 he made no inroads at all in 1972. And in the Southern regions of the state where he had done so well in 1960, McGovern swamped him.

The McGovern vote was most impressive not so much for its size as for its composition. There is a very strong statewide correlation between McCarthy's 1968 and McGovern's 1972 vote — both strong in the Madison and Green Bay areas, both weak in the North. But McGovern's ability to do almost as well in Milwaukee county as he did statewide is a departure from this pattern. In a very tentative way, it suggests he might be able to attract the labor vote to a much greater extent than his anti-war predecessor. But like McCarthy he still has a long way to go with blacks.

### Trend Against GOP

There is no convincing evidence that McGovern benefitted from a substantial GOP crossover vote. For instance, in Dane county, where McGovern received his highest percentage, the drop in GOP votes from 1968 to 1972 was marginal, much less than the statewide average. However, there are indications that somewhat more Republicans than usual did choose a Democratic ballot. President Nixon's total this year was the lowest in his history: 1960 — 339,989; 1968 — 390,368; 1972 — 275,851. These results are commensurate, since each of these years saw a hotly contested Democratic race and an unopposed Nixon candidacy. (Reagan was on the ballot in 1968 but did not campaign). This dramatic drop since 1968 is therefore not encouraging for Republican prospects in November. In fact, if crossovers are defined as voters who revert to their original party in the general election, it might be more accurate to describe many of these Wisconsin voters as switchers, part of the national trend away from the GOP.

— CLIFFORD BROWN

# EDITORIAL NOTE



## One Year Ago — And Now . . .

Since his Vietnam policy speech of November 3, 1969, Mr. Nixon has advertised to the world that a humiliation in Indochina will undermine America's resolve to maintain its global commitments. He has specifically mentioned Berlin and the Middle East as areas whose safety will be in doubt. He has taken every opportunity to reaffirm this view, the latest being his portrayal of a bad outcome in Vietnam as leading to a wave of neo-isolationism in America.

The President has thus defined the stakes in Southeast Asia as exceedingly high at the very time that he has extended the area for possible embarrassment into Laos and Cambodia and has simultaneously reduced his ability to affect the outcome. To be sure, he has increased the ability of the South Vietnamese to defend themselves, but no administration official has ever argued that the Saigon government could hold the northernmost I Corps region without the threat of massive American bombing of the North. An attempt to substitute South Vietnamese for American air squadrons should not be given hopes of immediate success.

Thus the logic of Mr. Nixon's position is that as he withdraws troops, he has only bombing left to protect I Corps. If the North Vietnamese call the President's bluff in these five northern provinces of South Vietnam, Mr. Nixon must reescalate the war or suffer the blow to American prestige that he himself defined. -- From analysis by then Ripon President Josiah Lee Auspitz, March 1971.

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## People in Politics

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### Senate 1972 Update

● Kansan Senator James B. Pearson, a mild mannered moderate appointed to office from obscurity in 1962, almost beaten in a 1966 primary, and overshadowed by his volatile colleague Senator Robert Dole in the Senate, seemed headed for defeat in 1972. His likely nemesis was the popular conservative Democratic Governor Robert Docking. Diligent home state campaigning and Senatorial service, however, have made Pearson not only a probable victor in the election but also, improbably, the most popular Republican in the state. After reading the polls, Docking decided to seek re-election as Governor, leaving the Democrats in disarray.

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● Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon, long the Senate's leading opponent of the Vietnam War, has also been the leading Senate Republican candidate for defeat in 1972. The Senator's chief prospective opponents, however, Governor Tom McCall in the GOP primary and Rep. Edith Green in the general election, have both decided to withdraw from contention despite substantial but diminishing leads over the Senator in the polls. This favorable turn is attributed to Hatfield's increased homestate activity, McCall's problems as Governor and disinclination for a factious primary, and Rep. Green's personal unwillingness to face the stresses of a statewide campaign. Remaining in the Democratic race are cantankerous dove Wayne Morse in a last hurrah, and hawkish former Rep. Robert Duncan, a perpetual Senate candidate, who already has been beaten in the past by both Hatfield and Morse.

## The War Powers Dilemma

Democratic Senator Mike Gravel's attempt to have the Senate vote on a declaration of war against North Vietnam shows once again the confusion of many Senate liberals on the issue of Congressional war powers. By implying that declaration is the chief Congressional war power, Gravel's position in fact accords with the position long prevailing in the executive branch: that short of the cumbersome measures of declaring war or cutting off funds, Congress is constitutionally impotent to regulate the deployment of American forces overseas.

In effect, this approach gives the executive *carte blanche* in relation to all conflict situations that do not justify such drastic Congressional intervention. The fact is, however, that Congress possesses a panoply of intermediate war powers that can be exerted by statute. As Senator Charles Mathias, author of comprehensive legislative proposals in this field, has observed ("The Optional Congress," Ripon FORUM, Nov. 1971), "Far from allowing troop deployment *overseas* without Congressional authorization, the Constitution doesn't even permit deployment *on* the seas — even for police actions against 'piracies and other offenses against the law of nations.'"

In fact the Constitution in Article II, Section 8 and elsewhere attempts to catalogue all the likely foreign conflict situations of the day (mostly involving the Navy, as the one standing military force) and reserves to Congress the relevant authority in each instance. It is only the long Congressional acquiescence in executive usurpation that has led Senators to imagine they have no real war powers except declaration and the annual process of appropriations. Even the Javits-Stennis War Powers bill, though commendably drafted, is technically unnecessary and may be counterproductive if the executive assumes that unless it passes, Congressional war powers under the Constitution can still be flouted by the Administration.

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A final though unlikely problem for the Senator may be McCall running as an independent if Hatfield seems weak.

\* \* \*

● Meanwhile in Iowa, Senator Jack Miller, once beleaguered by a farmers revolt and the likely candidacy of popular young Democratic Representative John Culver, has also made sufficient gains to deter his most formidable opponent from the race. Culver is seeking reelection to Congress and has endorsed the candidacy of his former Administrative Assistant Richard Clark, who hopes to capitalize on a resemblance to Senator Harold Hughes. Like many GOP incumbents across the country, Miller's chief obstacle to safe reelection now seems to be the still maladroit politics of the Nixon Administration.

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Editor: George Gilder

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, Howard Reiter.

D.C. Correspondent: Linda Hannaway.

Circulation Dept.: Judith H. Behn.

Art: Leslie Morrill, David Omar White.

● Although President Nixon's recent blunder-busting maneuvers embarrassed and demoralized many Republicans in the Congress and across the country — and although his Gallup public approval dipped from 56 to 53 percent — White House political strategists can console themselves with new support from the Democrats. Philadelphia's Mayor Frank Rizzo has announced that he plans neither to attend the Democratic convention nor to back the Democratic Presidential nominee, and he called the President "one of the greatest we've ever had." Having made campaign promises to bring law and order to Philadelphia without new taxes, Rizzo may have been influenced by a discovery that his city's deficit will also be "the greatest we've ever had" unless he is bailed out by

the Administration. Rizzo is learning that, unlike a "supercop," a Mayor can't make ends meet by knocking heads together.

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● Carolyn Johnson, a longtime aide to Senator Charles Mathias and one of the ablest and most versatile Republican staffers on the Hill, has been appointed to the editorial page staff of the Washington Post. Though most recently assigned as Minority Staff Director on the Senate D.C. Committee, she has written lucidly and eloquently about a gamut of public issues, from law and order and conservation to foreign policy, and should not be restricted to District affairs in her new role.

## 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

June 15, 1972 — Last day to file written notification of intent to be a Delegate to NC, with the Secretary of the Republican State Committee.

July 1 - 5, 1972 — District committees select Congressional District Delegates to NC.

July 15, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

#### ● DELAWARE

May 2, 1972 — Deadline for filing declaration of candidacy for delegate primary.

June 3, 1972 — Delegate primary election to elect delegates to state convention.

July 17, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to NC.

#### ● HAWAII

January 19, 1972 — Precinct meetings to select delegates to the state convention.

May 19 - 20, 1972 — State convention to select at-large and Congressional District Delegates to NC.

#### ● IDAHO

May 19, 1972 — County meetings to select county delegates to the state convention.

May 20, 1972 — Legislative district meeting to the state convention.

Between June 15 - 30, 1972 — The state convention must be held to select Delegates to NC.

#### ● MICHIGAN

March 24, 1972 — Deadline for filing nominating petition for candidate for delegate to the county convention.

May 16, 1972 — Delegates to the county convention elected at the presidential primary.

May 31, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to the state convention.

June 16, 1972 — Congressional District caucuses to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.

#### ● NORTH CAROLINA

May 7 - 13, 1972 — Precinct meetings to select delegates to county conventions.

May 13 - 27, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to district and state conventions. The same people are elected to both.

May 27 - June 10, 1972 — District conventions to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.

June 17, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

#### ● NORTH DAKOTA

April 18, 1972 — Recommended date for precinct caucuses to select delegates to the district conventions.

May 12, 1972 — Last day for district conventions

to select district delegates to the state convention. June 6 - 8, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to NC.

#### ● TEXAS

April 6, 1972 — Party rules must be filed with the Secretary of State.

April 26, 1972 — Time and place for holding precinct caucuses must be posted at county court-houses.

May 6, 1972 — Precinct caucuses to choose delegates to the county and Senatorial District conventions (between 2 - 9 p.m.).

May 13, 1972 — County and Senatorial District conventions to select delegates to the State convention.

June 13, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to the NC.

#### ● UTAH

May 10, 1972 — Notices of voting district mass meetings must be posted in each district.

May 15, 1972 — Voting district mass meetings select delegates to county and state conventions.

June 30, 1972 — Last day to hold county convention to confirm delegates to the state conventions.

July 15, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

#### ● VIRGINIA

March 31 - May 27, 1972 — City and county meetings to select delegates to District and State conventions.

May 20, 1972 — First, third, fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth Congressional Districts select Congressional District Delegates to NC.

May 27, 1972 — Second and fifth Congressional District select Congressional District Delegates to NC. (Ninth and tenth District dates not yet decided.)

June 2 - 3, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

### General Events

#### ● APRIL

30 - May 2 White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia (The Greenbrier): Republican Governors Association Spring Conference.

#### ● MAY

2 Presidential, Congressional and State Primaries in D.C., Indiana and Ohio.

4 Presidential Primary in Tennessee.

5-7 Chicago, Illinois (The Marriott Motor Hotel): National Republican Heritage Groups Council Convention.

6 Presidential, Congressional and State Primary in North Carolina.

9 Presidential, Congressional and State Primaries in Nebraska and West Virginia.

11-12 Atlanta, Georgia (Marriott): National Conference of State Legislative Leaders Advisory Council.

16 Congressional, State and Presidential Primaries in Michigan and Maryland.

18-20 Philadelphia, Pa. (Belevue Stratford Hotel): Republican Women's Northeastern Regional Conference.

18-20 Santa Fe, N.M.: Western Regional Conference of Attorneys General Annual Meeting.

## Women's Caucus Elects Kilberg

WASHINGTON — Bobbi Green Kilberg, a Ripon member, was elected co-chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus at the tri-monthly meeting of its Policy Council here on April 8 and 9. Kilberg and the other co-chairwoman, Lupe Anguiano, a leader in the Chicano women's movement, replace Virginia Allan, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, and Bella Abzug, co-chairwomen the last three months.

Among the other Republicans prominent at the meeting, Jill Ruckelshaus was unanimously elected to the Caucus Policy Committee.

Major items discussed by the Council included: the progress of the 46 state caucuses formed since July; the drive for ratification of

the equal rights amendment, which is being coordinated by Pam Curtis, a Ripon National Governing Board member; campaign assistance to be provided by the Caucus to the nation's growing number of women candidates; and the state of the women's delegate selection effort for equal representation in the Republican and Democratic conventions.

The drive for the selection of women delegates is being spearheaded by Women's Education for Delegate Selection, an organization closely associated with the National Women's Political Caucus. Both Bobbi Kilberg and Pam Curtis are on the board of this group, and Chris Topping has been retained as its advisor and consultant.

Ms. Topping, a Ripon member,

has found that 27 percent of the Republican delegates already chosen for the 1972 convention are women, only two percent less than the Democratic proportion, despite the fact that the Democrats have binding equal representation rules (the McGovern-Fraser guidelines), while the GOP has only a recommendation for such rules from the Delegates and Organization Committee. The DO report will be voted on at the San Diego Convention.

GOP members of the NWPC plan to testify at the convention platform hearings on issues affecting women and to give their strong support to the DO Commission recommendations for equal representation of women and men as delegates, and on all convention committees.

## People's Party Makes Gains

WASHINGTON — While speculation about a possible third party candidate in November revolves around George Wallace, members of the new People's Party are on the way to placing a candidate on the ballot in most of the fifty states. Groups supporting People's provisional candidates, baby doctor Benjamin Spock, and Washington's statehood chairman Julius Hobson, are already on the ballot in Kentucky, California (Peace and Freedom Party), Michigan (Human Rights Party), New Mexico (New Mexico Independent Party), Montana (New Liberty Party), Utah (Human Rights Party), and Vermont (Liberty Union Party).

The People's Coalition failed to meet the deadline for signatures in Nebraska, Pennsylvania and Maryland, but they expect to run local candidates in all three states. They have already won coalition victories for city council seats in Ann Arbor, and Cotati, California.

The People's Coalition rests its hopes on extensive student support for their platform, which includes the legalization of marijuana, and disaffection particularly among Democrats with a Nixon/Humphrey race. They plan a national convention in St. Louis July 20-23.

Among candidates now running for the Democratic nomination, only Eugene McCarthy has shown interest in joining the new party.

## DC Slate May Be Challenged

WASHINGTON — Carl Shipley's effort to retain his position as D.C.'s National Committeeman after losing the Republican Central Committee's endorsement February 29, has been unexpectedly overshadowed by controversy surrounding the Nixon delegation to San Diego.

As originally announced by Henry Berliner, Jr., its temporary chairman, the Nixon slate contains a rough racial and sexual balance. District Republicans were surprised and angered, however, to find that Nixon operatives selected two black delegates, Norman Jarvis and Elaine Jenkins, whose candidacy for alternate National Committeeman and woman had been vigorously contested by the city's ward organization. The Nixon decision had its effect when Mrs. Jenkins lost the contested post to Mrs. Cecil Grant.

Ripon chapter vice president Willie Leftwich was bumped from the slate at the last minute, according to Berliner, to make room for Anna Chennault, who reportedly intervened to hold up the Paris peace talks in the fall of 1968 to help Nixon's election.

The real surprise for District Republicans proved to be 27 year old

Norman Neverson, an attractive former football great at George Washington University, who switched parties after running for the school board last fall. Neverson drew an assignment while on the staff of Shipley's opponent for National Committeeman, Robert Carter, to collect signatures for the Nixon slate.

Apparently the task proved difficult for Neverson, because many of the names he collected turned out to be forgeries and the Nixon slate lacked the requisite 1,000 valid signatures. Neverson quickly disappeared while Berliner engineered a plan with the acquiescence of both Shipley and District Chairman Edmond Pendelton, Jr. to adopt a party by-law allowing the Central Committee to appoint a full slate of nine delegates and nine alternates after the May 2 primary. The rule passed at a closed Central Committee meeting April 7th which reportedly fell considerably short of a quorum. A challenge to the delegation is likely.

The losers in the controversy appear to be Berliner and Carter who had lined up against Pendelton and Shipley, but who had to seek their rivals' support in order to gain acceptance for the rules change.

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