

# RIPON FORUM

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## *"Unanticipated Hardships"*

### **Courts, Congress Ignore Nixon on Busing**

WASHINGTON — Last summer, the Nixon Administration, through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare drew up a desegregation plan for the metropolitan Nashville schools, involving extensive busing. Last August, the Nixon Administration, through the same Department of HEW, refused to permit any of a 75 million dollar desegregation assistance fund to be used by Nashville (or anyone else) to pay the costs of such busing.

Nonetheless, Nashville doggedly implemented its desegregation plan, scheduling buses for as many as five trips a day, and even managed to make something of a success of it. So the Nixon Administration, through the Department of Justice, filed a friend-of-the-court brief in the sixth circuit court of appeals on April 10, suggesting that the Nashville plan be cut back, because of "unanticipated hardships."

The Nashville brief was the low point in the Justice Department's scatter-shot attack on court-ordered busing, carried out in the wake of President Nixon's March 17 anti-busing proposals. Without apparent rhyme or reason, Justice also filed briefs in cases affecting Richmond, Detroit, Dallas, Ft. Worth and Oklahoma City. The briefs are short, wishy washy in the extreme, and appear to offer the various courts not the barest legal rationale for rolling back the desegregation orders in question. Opponents of desegregation who have been lead to believe the Administration has

intervened forcefully in their behalf should not be surprised if nothing happens. (In Detroit, Judge Stephen J. Roth simply ignored Justice's motion for delay, and then denied its request to intervene as a party to the case.)

Meanwhile, the Administration's antics generated new unrest in Justice's Civil Rights Division. Nearly 100 of the Division's attorneys sent a letter to Congressional leaders, urging rejection of the President's legislative proposals, and ten black Justice lawyers signed an eloquent and far more strident letter that appeared in the *Washington Post* on April 25th. Six attorneys quit the Department on May 9, and went to work for George McGovern. (A group of black Administration officials also issued a statement opposing the President's new bills.)

#### **Legislation Stalled**

The Nixon measures — a "moratorium" on new busing orders and a bill permanently limiting busing and emphasizing compensatory education — languished in Congressional committees without much hope of ever emerging. The moratorium was opposed by liberals, because of its questionable constitutionality, and by Southerners, because it did little to relieve them from previously ordered busing. The second bill, dubbed the Equal Opportunities Act, was lost in a cloud of rhetoric as the Administration tried vainly to justify its sudden interest in compensatory education. Almost the only person of

stature to support the Administration's bills was, sadly, HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson.

Amidst all this anti-busing hoopla, the Administration finally released the results of an HEW contract with the Lambda Corporation of Arlington, Virginia, which showed that most school systems should be able to desegregate completely with, at most, a slight increase in busing. In a "typical urban area," the study showed, simply rearranging present bus routes without any increase in busing could produce a forty-three percent increase in the degree of desegregation; efficiently busing 25 percent of the student body (compared to the 22 percent already bused for other reasons) could result in a system which is 70 percent desegregated and busing 30 percent of the students could produce an 80 percent level of desegregation. Applications of the Lambda report to Prince George's County in Maryland, where school officials had denounced HEW's demands for "excessive busing," yielded similar results and effectively ended a year of resistance to desegregation.

Rational approaches such as the Lambda report appeared to offer a road back to sanity and an end to the national agonies over busing. But instead of seizing upon such an initiative President Nixon let it be known during the month that if his legislative proposals failed to pass he would back a constitutional amendment to end busing.

### **Texas GOP Misses 1972 Opportunity**

AUSTIN — Texas Republicans are faced with a choice between two extreme conservatives in the gubernatorial run-off primary June 3 — State Sen. Hank Grover, 40, the most conservative and the leader in the May 6 primary, and Albert Fay, 59, a businessman.

Two moderates, Tom McElroy and David Reagan, finished third and fourth. Reagan, a newcomer to elective politics, was supported by most of the party moderates. He reportedly also received quiet sup-

port from former National Committeeman Peter O'Donnell and State Chairman George Willeford.

By defeating both candidates associated with last year's political scandals — Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes and Gov. Preston Smith — the Democratic voters have made the Grover-Fay winner a sure loser in November. The likely Democratic candidate is rancher Dolph Briscoe, who faces State Sen. Frances "Sissy" Farenthold in the run-off.

Sen. John Tower will oppose

either former Sen. Ralph Yarborough or Barefoot Sanders, an LBJ White House staffer and former U.S. Attorney, who unexpectedly forced a run-off.

Incumbent Republican Congressman Jim Collins fought off a primary challenge from former Dallas County GOP chairman Tom Crouch. But Collins still may face indictment on kickback charges involving his Washington office employees. One former assistant has been indicted.

# People in Politics

● Anti-war Naval veteran **John Kerry** is hoping that his opponent in his race for Congress in Massachusetts will be **Edward W. Cox**, the Nader Raider of the Nixon household. Kerry is challenging for the Democratic nomination to succeed Progressive Republican Congressional leader, now U.N. official, **F. Bradford Morse**, in his district stretching from the affluent Concord suburbs to the industrial towns of Lawrence and Lowell northwest of Boston. Although the 26 year old Cox is rumored to be contemplating entrance into the race, he has not yet offered any evidence of serious political plans. An already announced GOP candidate is **Paul Cronin**, former aide to Congressman Morse.

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● Both **Human Events** (April 22) and the **RNC's Monday** (April 17) reprinted portions of Senator **James Buckley's** April 11 Vietnam speech. Interestingly enough, **Human Events**, which backs **John Ashbrook** for President, omitted a phrase that praised President Nixon's stepped up bombing policy as one of "wisdom and one which I wholeheartedly support." **Monday** on the other hand omitted Buckley's military proposals, including "appropriate air, naval and logistic support" for battalion-sized amphibious assaults by South Vietnamese marines along the coast of North Vietnam in order to give the Communist leadership a useful lesson in the fact that North Vietnam will no longer be regarded as a "sanctuary from which attacks can be launched at will."

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● State Rep. **John McClaughry** of Kirby, Vt., a "Jeffersonian Republican" with support from all sectors of the party, has announced his candidacy for Lt. Governor. His chief obstacle for nomination may be the uncertain stance of the incumbent, **John Burgess**, once considered a likely gubernatorial choice, now contemplating an Attorney General race, but still a possibility for reelection.

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● **Thomas E. "Tim" Petri** of Fond du Lac, former Executive Director of the Ripon Society, has announced his candidacy for the Wisconsin State Senate from the second district. There is no incumbent and Petri is favored.

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● **L. Keith Bulen**, regarded by many as the Indiana GOP's best organization politician, has resigned as Marion County chairman, to devote more time to his position as Republican National Committeeman. He had said privately last fall that he wanted to resign after re-electing Indianapolis Mayor **Richard Lugar**. One of the few people able to deal with most parts of the state's factionalized party, Bulen and his conciliatory talents will be sorely tried at the June 23 state convention when the gubernatorial nominee will be selected from among at least four serious candidates.

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● **Carl Shipley**, Republican leader in the District of Columbia for nearly 16 years, on May 2 lost his position as National Committeeman to **Robert S. Carter**, who ran on a pledge to broaden the party base to include more blacks and young people. In the race for delegate to Congress, **Dr. William Chin-Lee** lost to City Councilman **Jerry Moore** by a narrow margin of 44 votes which had been tested in a recount. Moore ran with considerable party support, including the endorsement of former Council President, **Gilbert Hahn**, but failed to campaign actively. General **Hassan Jeru-Ahmed** ran a distant if colorful third.

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● Since most of Senator **George McGovern's** economic ideas consist of sky-pie a la mode — to be financed presumably by capitalizing the esthetic value of red ink — it is ironic that Republicans have focussed their criticism on his most defensible proposal: inheritance tax reform. McGovern's concept of basing inheritance levies on the wealth of the recipient rather than of the donor would force wider distribution of large estates and expand the class of capitalists at a time when capitalism is under attack. The idea in essence was originated by **Louis Kelso**, endorsed by **Wil-**

**liam F. Buckley, Jr.**, implemented by British Prime Minister **Edward Heath**, and in the form of the "expanded ownership" concept, adopted by the President himself.

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● Running for the New York State Assembly from Yonkers is a young progressive Republican, **Bruce F. Caputo**, 28. Formerly a member of the staff of Defense Secretary **Robert McNamara**, assigned to **Alain Enthoven's** systems analysis team, Caputo has since organized the Inner City Fund, a management consulting firm active in assisting black enterprise. His original opponent, veteran Democratic legislator, **Thomas McNerny**, has just announced his retirement.

## Political Calendar

- **MAY**
  - 23 RHODE ISLAND PRESIDENTIAL AND OREGON PRESIDENTIAL, CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE PRIMARIES
- **JUNE**
  - 4-7 Houston, Texas (Shamrock Hilton Hotel): National Governors Conference Annual Meeting
  - 6 CALIFORNIA, NEW JERSEY, NEW MEXICO, AND SOUTH DAKOTA PRESIDENTIAL — AND MISSISSIPPI, MONTANA IOWA — CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE PRIMARIES
  - 13 SOUTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE PRIMARIES
  - 18-21 Arlington, Va., (Marymount College): Annual Teen Age Republican Leadership Conference
  - 19 MAINE STATE PRIMARY
  - 20 NEW YORK PRESIDENTIAL, CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE PRIMARY
  - 25-28 Lake Tahoe, Nevada (Sahara-Tahoe Hotel): National Association of Attorneys General Annual Meeting
  - 25-28 Bismarck, N.D. (Holiday Inn): Midwestern Governors Conference Annual Meeting
  - 26 (tentative) Meetings of the Committees on Arrangements, Rules, and Contests, 1972 Republican National Convention
  - 27-28 (tentative) Meeting of the Republican National Committee
  - 29-July 2 Washington, D.C. (Marriott Twin Bridges Hotel) 1972 Candidates Conference, sponsored by the National Republican Congressional Committee.

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

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**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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# Vietnam Report

by Theodore Jacqueney

For all its attendant drama President Nixon's sea-and-land interdiction of North Vietnamese supplies may not be able to affect the serious — if not desperate — military situation in South Vietnam.

"It would take several months" before the President's blockade measures "would have any effect" on the campaign in Vietnam's central highlands, according to John Paul Vann, the senior American official in the region. "They have enough in the pipeline," Vann said, to settle the outcome of their offensive.

While units of the South Vietnamese armed forces are fighting with determination and spirit, most news reports from Vietnam speak of Saigon troops reacting to military emergencies on a negative range from apathy to panic.

In the northern-most military region of South Vietnam hopes are pinned upon a new military commander, Lt. General Ngo Quang Truong, to hold the vital city of Hue. General Truong's respected fighting units — the ARVN First Division and some Vietnamese Marine units — are said to face at least three of Hanoi's best divisions. According to all observers, the fall of Quang Tri province, directly north of Hue, was a "classic rout." Observers in Hue now conclude that there is "scant assurance that the stampede syndrome gripping the ARVN can be successfully checked at Hue."

The lull in the fighting after the fall of Quang Tri repeated the North Vietnamese pattern in this offensive of regrouping and preparing for a new assault.

One former Marine colonel of long experience in Vietnam who returned from this threatened region one week ago sums up the situation this way: "The South Vietnamese Rangers have had their morale shattered in the Quang Tri debacle. If the spirit is broken in these ARVN elite soldiers, what hope is there for the ordinary Vietnamese trooper?"

The terrain between Communist-occupied Quang Tri and Hue consists largely of open, sandy flat lands — with virtually no geographic obstacles to slow an enemy advance. The forces holding Hue, he concludes, "are unlikely to stand up against a determined NVA thrust."

The military situation seems comparable elsewhere in Vietnam. More than 40 ARVN-held firebases have fallen. In Kontum province in the central highlands reports are that the new military leadership is as incompetent, and the troops perhaps as poor, as those who gave up Quang Tri. As in the northern corps area, the old commander, Lt. General Ngo Dzu, has been replaced. Notorious for his venality, Dzu was accused in the U.S. Congress last year of being a large-scale heroin dealer.

The new commander, Maj. General Nguyen Van Toan, also celebrated for storied feats of corruption, is known as a firm political supporter of President Nguyen Van Thieu — apparently his prime qualification. Thieu, it should be noted, now feels his political position — thus far the central stumbling block at the Paris Peace Talks — shaken enough to have ordered a full battalion of soldiers from the ARVN Eighteenth Division camped right on his palace grounds.

Observers in precariously-held Kontum report the collapse of "one South Vietnamese position after another." Fleeing remnants of the ARVN 42nd and 47th regiments stationed at the lost fire bases have spread horror stories of North Vietnamese strength through the city of Kontum and, it is reported, "a wave of demoralization" exists. One South Vietnamese

soldier is quoted saying: "How can you have fighting spirit when you see all the civilian officials and army officers getting their families out?"

Joining Kontum province is the important province of Binh Dinh, the largest in Vietnam with a population of more than one million people. Three district headquarters in this province are reported overrun, and all are menaced.

Further south, near Saigon, most of the border province of Binh Long has been occupied by the advancing North Vietnamese, and only the surrounded provincial capital of An Loc holds out — a pocket much like Stalingrad, or more to the point, like Dien Bien Phu.

What does all this tell us about "Vietnamization" — the foundation of the Administration's Vietnam policy? Presidential Special Assistant Henry Kissinger stated at his May 9 press conference that the Administration "... perhaps underestimated the massive influx of offensive weapons (which) tipped the balance in the North Vietnamese direction." It seems fair to conclude that the Vietnamization program assumed that the North Vietnamese would not, at some time, fight with all the means at their disposal.

If present trends continue, the Administration may find itself confronting the dilemma of seeing Danang or Cam Ranh or even Saigon directly challenged; or re-inserting U.S. forces to secure these areas and the Americans stationed there.

## Specter of Defeat

The specter of defeat may face us in Vietnam — not because we were beaten by our adversaries, but rather because we were utterly wrong in our choice of goals, and allies. On May 8 President Nixon outlined the three "options" he believes he faces in Vietnam — withdrawal, negotiation or escalation. Present military and political realities may require emphasis on a political settlement.

The Communist position on a political settlement has moderated since their two-part "clarification," issued in February, 1972, which scaled-down their previous demands for a new government without any top member of the Thieu Administration. Now the Communists declare that Thieu is the sole individual unacceptable to them.

President Nixon repeated on May 8 President Thieu's offer to resign one month before the prospective general elections that are central to the peace packages presented at Paris by both the Communist side and our own. A further compromise might be possible. For example, would both sides accept something like Thieu's resignation six months, rather than one month, before an election, if a mutually acceptable interim government to administer the elections could be arrived at, and if Thieu were permitted to run in the new elections?

As the military situation deteriorates and the Administration prepares for the worst contingencies in Vietnam, Communist proposals at Paris, previously rejected as hopeless compromises of our position, may now become more acceptable.

*Mr. Jacqueney, a former AID adviser in Vietnam, resigned in February 1971 to become director of the Vietnam elections project, which opposed the Administration's tacit support for General Thieu in his 1971 race.*

## New York Ripon Members Begin Campaigns

ALBANY — If a group's success can be measured by the number of its members running for public office, then the New York Ripon chapter is thriving.

In Manhattan, Ripon NGB member Tanya Melich, who is also active in the Women's Political Caucus, has been selected as an Alternate Delegate to the GOP National Convention. Another member of the Women's Political Caucus, and a member of the Executive Committee of Ripon-New York, is running as the Republican candidate for State Assembly: Joyce Ahrens is waging an uphill struggle against the liberal Democratic incumbent, Peter A.A. Berle, and is involving many Ripon members in her East Side campaign.

Also on the East Side, in the area that used to be represented by a Congressman named John V. Lindsay, Ripon member and former Lindsay administration official William J. Diamond is the GOP candidate in one of the key Assembly races in the state. If President Nixon does moderately well in the area, Diamond is given a fair chance of ousting the incumbent, who is the first Democrat to hold that seat in 53 years. Diamond's campaign likewise is staffed by many Riponers and is seen as a crucial race in the effort to rebuild the liberal wing of the Republican party in the city.

Another important contest is the primary campaign of former NGB member Edward (Ned) S. Cabot in Nassau's 16th Assembly District. Cabot, who was Senator Jacob Javits' Executive Assistant and who headed Governor Rocke-

feller's 1968 New York Presidential campaign, is given an even chance of winning his June 20th primary against the organization candidate of conservative county leader Joe Margiotta.

Margiotta also figures in another development involving a former NGB member. White House aide and Ripon member John R. Price left Washington to run for Congress against Rep. Lester Wolf, only to find that redistricting had thrown the city's only Republican Congressman, Seymour Halpern, against Wolf. Since Halpern was obviously the GOP nominee, Price was forced out of the race. However, faced with a hard campaign and poor health due to an auto accident, Halpern decided in late April not to seek reelection in the new district which is partly in New York City and partly in Nassau. Halpern and local Republican leaders were agreed on Price as the candidate, but Margiotta turned thumbs down. Price will now direct the Nixon campaign in Queens, one of the key boroughs in the City.

### Nixon Campaign

The Presidential campaign in the state will be very much a Rockefeller effort. The same team that directed the Governor's 1970 reelection victory will be managing the Nixon operation. R. Burdell Bixby, chairman of the State Thruway Authority and an attorney in the late Governor Dewey's law firm, will direct the state campaign; Fioravante G. Perrotta, who was John Lindsay's running mate in 1969 for Comptroller and an attorney

with Royall, Koegel and Wells (the firm of Secretary of State Rogers and of Jack Wells, a long-time top Rockefeller aide), will once again direct the New York City campaign.

Also in the City, but in the Borough of the Bronx, 21-year old Ripon member John Mullins is running for State Senate, but unfortunately has little chance of winning. A congressional district that takes in part of the Bronx and part of Westchester County is the scene of a major comeback attempt. Former Representative Richard Ottinger, who was the Democratic candidate in 1968 for U.S. Senate against Buckley and Goodell, is trying to upset Congressman Pete Peyser, a moderate Republican. Like so many races, this one will be affected by how the top of the ticket fares.

The decision of Congressman Ogden Reid to follow his friend John Lindsay into the Democratic party dealt a sharp blow to the progressive wing of the state GOP. Reid, as the Democratic Congressional candidate, will probably be opposed by the conservative and popular District Attorney, Carl A. Vergari in the nearly 40 percent Italian district.

In another area of Westchester, Ripon member Assemblyman J. Edward Meyer, will probably face a stiff campaign but will hopefully be reelected. Ripon's other member and incumbent, State Senator Roy M. Goodman, is expected to be reelected. Goodman represents Manhattan's East Side and has been of great assistance to the local Ripon chapter.

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## Indiana Primary Results

### Moderate Republicans Face Defeat, Recount

INDIANAPOLIS — Two moderate Republicans lost and a third is barely ahead and facing a recount following Indiana's May 2 Congressional primaries.

In the northwestern 2nd District State House Majority Leader Richard Boehning fell fewer than 3000 votes short in his effort to beat incumbent Congressman Earl Landgrebe, who had the lowest ranking of all Ripon's 1971 Congressional ratings.

William N. Salin, a former secretary of state, was soundly defeated by conservative State Senator Alan Bloom for the right to take

on Democratic incumbent J. Edward Roush in the 4th District centering on Ft. Wayne.

In the 11th District, which includes most of Marion County (Indianapolis), William Hudnutt, a minister, has an 81 vote lead after the official count over conservative former state Senator Dan Burton. Hudnutt was drafted by the county organization after Larry Borst, re-

garded as the strongest potential Republican candidate, did not run. Burton has asked for a recount, which probably won't be completed until the end of May. The 11th District lines have been redrawn to ensure that incumbent Democrat Andy Jacobs would be an underdog to any decent Republican candidate, but a Burton candidacy would make it easier for Jacobs.

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