

Busing Revisited

Contrast with Congressional Statesmanship

WASHINGTON — In signing the landmark higher education and desegregation assistance bill into law June 23, President Nixon plumbed new depths in his exploitation of the busing "issue" and indicated that fanning the flames of racial antagonism could well be an integral part of his campaign for re-election.

The new \$20 billion measure contained a number of educational initiatives in which the President could (but did not) take pride, such as the first direct Federal grants to public and private colleges, an obvious attempt to guarantee a college education for all students regardless of income, and a \$2 billion program to encourage voluntary desegregation of the nation's elementary and secondary schools.

The bill also contained a relatively mild anti-busing provision — a stay until January 1, 1974, or until the last appeal or time for appeal has been exhausted, of court orders designed to achieve a racial or socio-economic "balance" in public school systems. The Senate had earlier, by a one-vote margin, voted down an amendment proposed by Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.), which would have banned all busing for purposes of desegregation. The Senate-House conference committee ignored two Administration-backed votes to instruct the House conferees and instead replaced the drastic anti-busing provisions passed by the House with language drawn from the Senate's more moderate Mansfield-Scott amendments.

In short, Congress' ultimate handling of the busing issue was as close to statesmanship as that body has come in recent months. In an election year, with waves of irrational anti-busing sentiment sweeping the country, the Congress performed its deliberative, moderating, leavening role and produced a compromise that most of the nation could live with.

Statesmanship

Unfortunately, the President deigned not to exercise domestic statesmanship. "Not in the course of this administration," he said in signing the bill, "has there been a more manifest congressional retreat from an urgent call for responsibility... Congress has not given us the answer we requested; it has given us rhetoric. It has not provided a solution to the problem of court-ordered busing; it has provided a clever political evasion. The moratorium it offers is temporary; the relief it provides is illusory."

President Nixon, in part, was lamenting the failure of his own two anti-busing proposals to emerge from congressional committees. He was also preparing to make school desegregation a full-blown partisan issue in the fall campaign, setting the stage for a dangerous and divisive debate which neither party can win. White House aide John Ehrlichman chimed in with the threat that if Congress did not act on the President's proposals, Mr. Nixon would "go to the country" during the presidential campaign to urge sup-

port of a constitutional amendment on busing. The effects of such a campaign are not pleasant to imagine.

The White House's consternation, whether real or feigned, was partially due, as usual, to its failure to pay attention to what Congress is doing. The new bill's stay on busing, originally proposed by Congressman William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.), had been enthusiastically backed by the Administration from the beginning. It was obvious to any mildly interested observer, however, that since the so-called Broomfield Amendment spoke in terms of "balance," its impact was going to be negligible, because no Federal court has yet ordered busing solely to achieve a racial balance among the schools in a system. Evidently, this never dawned on the President's brain trust until after the bill was passed, when White House advisers suddenly realized that the amendment would not affect current cases in Detroit, Richmond, or other focal points of the anti-busing crusade.

Richmond and Detroit

Meanwhile, the Richmond and Detroit cases continued their measured progress through the courts, which, like Congress, seemed likely to exert a moderating, or at least delaying, influence.

By a 5-1 vote, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the District Court order requiring the consolidation of mostly-black Richmond with two predominantly white suburban systems. In an opinion notable chiefly for the haste with which it was written (53 days from oral argument to decision), the Fourth Circuit stated the issue in its opening paragraph:

May a United States District Judge compel one of the States of the Union to restructure its internal government for the purpose of achieving racial balance in the assignment of pupils to the public schools?

No one disputes the answer to that question, but the defenders of the District Court's order would strenuously deny that that *is* the question. The issue will now be resolved by the Supreme Court, which has carved out most of its desegregation landmarks by reversing the Fourth Circuit.

Meanwhile, in Detroit, U.S. District Judge Stephen J. Roth established a committee with a mandate to devise a desegregation plan for 780,000 students in Detroit and 53 suburban school districts. Panic in the streets seemed premature, however, since the order, by its own terms, did not call for the plan to take full effect until September, 1973, and since the resulting plan was likely to be stayed pending review by both the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. If Judge Roth's order was as far afield as its detractors claimed, there was no chance that it would ever be implemented — a fact that a number of presidential candidates, and one President, cannot seem to grasp.

Whither the Conservatives?

The implications of the presidential candidacy of Congressman John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) have not ended with the primaries. Ashbrook is no longer actively seeking convention delegates but he has not concluded his battle to jettison a "Nixonized GOP" and restore the Republican Party to its "traditional principles." He has said he plans to take his fight directly to the Platform Committee in Miami and will work to restore Nixon and the GOP to a more conservative course. Ashbrook's complaints about Nixon include deficit spending, Keynesian economics, the Family Assistance Plan, defense policies including the SALT agreements and Nixon's parleys with Mao and Brezhnev.

Many conservative institutions and publications have berated the Republican Party's leading conservatives — such as Gov. Ronald Reagan, Senators Barry Goldwater and John Tower — for failing to support Ashbrook and continuing to defend the President.

Writing in reply to criticism from the *New Guard*, the monthly magazine of *Young Americans for Freedom*, Gov. Reagan wrote:

"Why is it so difficult to understand that support can be given to the President by men like Sen. Goldwater and myself, not on the basis of some deal or agreement but simply because we believe that on the basis of overall performance, such support is warranted. On the basis of controls, deficit spending, the China trip — those things which some conservatives are finding impossible to accept — let me just say I'm sure all Republicans wish these things were not necessary. What I have said to Republican audiences is only that the man with access to all the facts, faced with the responsibility for the nation's economy, national security, and fiscal stability felt they are necessary. This does not mean a change in his basic Republican philosophy."

Although Ashbrook's primary showing was generally unimpressive, *National Review* and *Human Events* interpreted it otherwise. *Human Events* said the Ashbrook candidacy showed that Nixon is in danger of losing New York and California, and said the failure of big-name conservatives to support Ashbrook meant "the Ashbrook vote was not nearly so large as it should have been or could have been." The magazine admitted that the Ashbrook effort failed in its aim, but "the truth is, of course, that Ashbrook has become the foremost conservative spokesman within the party."

National Review interpreted Ashbrook's California showing, where he got 10 percent of the vote as "a warning to the Administration that there are lots of conservatives out there who can't be taken for granted. It was a demonstration John Ashbrook set out in the first place to make and in California he succeeded better than he had expected."

Yet, the question remains where CAN the conservatives go this fall? They can perhaps stay at home, but the likelihood of a George Wallace candidacy is slim and a serious candidacy by any other conservative is doubtful. As the big-name conservatives seemed to have realized, there is little real alternative to supporting Nixon this year for them.

As one prominent conservative strategist who did not want to be identified said, the Ashbrook candidacy "turned out to be joke." The Nixon Administration is basically compatible with most conservatives, he said, particularly after the effect of Gov. George Wallace was felt. A rightward shift in defense, welfare and busing is encouraging increased conservative support — even among conservative institutions which have been critical of Nixon, such as *Human Events*. And

on those subjects where conservatives differ with the President — such as the Family Assistance Plan and Revenue Sharing — the Administration's support has been minimal.

The alternative strategy — the one advocated by several conservative publications — is one of stressing congressional and state races in preparation for 1976. The July 8 issue of *Human Events* notes that the time "is now ripe for conservative Republicans to file for both state and national offices. That's the advice of top political experts who believe that conservative candidates are likely to be swept into office on a local tide of anti-McGovern votes." The conservative weekly predicted that a McGovern disaster may be in the works, although the South Dakota Democrat is not a "pushover." *Human Events* suggested that conservatives file in areas where no Republican opposition to Democrats yet exists.

A similar statement was made earlier in *New Guard*, the YAF monthly, "As said before . . . there are Senate seats, House seats, governorships, and state and local offices at stake this year. The outcomes of the elections for them will have a major impact on the nation's future, and enough conservative victories can make it difficult for any President, however liberal." YAF Chapter Director Charlie Black wrote in the same issue, "the opportunity to concentrate on (the congressional elections) to the exclusion of the presidential race is a rare one for conservatives."

A sampling of conservative activity follows:

● The conservative bloodletting in New Jersey will be in 1973, but the cutting action has already begun. A relatively unknown surgeon, Dr. **James Ralph**, got 32.7 percent of the primary vote against liberal Sen. **Clifford Case** this year, a figure which probably represents the rock-bottom conservative vote in the state. Conservative Republicans are gearing up for a probable primary against Gov. **William Cahill** (R) next year. Cahill had registered a slump in the polls before his top aide, Secretary of State **Paul Sherwin**, was indicted for bribery. The Governor was already suffering from Republican disaffection over his income tax proposal, and the conservatives' perennial gubernatorial aspirant, Congressman **Charles Sandman**, is seeking Cahill's political scalp. Another poor sign for Republican liberals was the primary victory of State Sen. **Matthew Rinaldo**, a conservative who is seeking to replace Congresswoman **Florence P. Dwyer**.

● **TENNESSEE:** Mrs. **Anne Weldon**, an ultra-conservative whose husband is a State Representative, is challenging National Committeewoman **Peggy Spurrier** for her position. Gov. **Winfield Dunn** is supporting Mrs. Spurrier but Sen. **Bill Brock** is supposedly supporting Mrs. Weldon. The delegation to the Republican National Convention will choose between the two at Miami Beach.

● The presence of Sen. Brock, whose name has been mentioned as a conservative standard-bearer in 1976, is strongly felt within the Nixon campaign. **Ken Reitz**, who was a major campaign organizer for Brock in Tennessee, heads up the Nixon youth effort, and **Bill Timmons**, who was a former administrative assistant to Brock, has taken **Clark MacGregor's** place as Nixon's congressional liaison.

● The Ripon Society's lethal influence within the conservative community apparently extends even to associations. **HUMAN EVENTS** criticized Congressman **Bill Archer** (R-Texas) this spring for not being conservative enough and for associating with Congressman **Bill Frenzel**, who, **HUMAN EVENTS** noted, got a 100 percent rating from Ripon.

● Nixon aide **Patrick Buchanan** was quoted as saying he would look forward to a McGovern candidacy because it might "bring about a realignment of American politics."

● In Virginia, scene of the recent liberal (Democratic)/conservative (Republican) realignment of the parties, Congressman **Joel T. Broyhill** has called for a conservative Republican-Democratic coalition to block

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Chairmanship Squabble Hurts N. C. GOP

RALEIGH, N.C. — North Carolina Republicans should be in a good position to capture the elephant's share of statewide electoral contests this fall, but Republican chances have been jeopardized by serious intraparty divisions this spring.

The difficulties have centered on the Republican gubernatorial nomination and the position of State GOP Chairman Frank Rouse. Rouse was elected to the post last November when James Holshouser resigned to run for Governor. Rouse is a known supporter of former Congressman James C. Gardner, an ultra-conservative who ran for Governor in 1968 as well.

Rouse, an energetic young engineer and self-made millionaire, was elected party chairman after he privately promised key party personalities that he would not take sides in the gubernatorial fight this spring. Rouse's candidacy for the chairmanship was enhanced by his pledge to devote full-time to the post, a commitment never before made by a state chairman.

When Gardner was forced into a run-off with Holshouser after the May 6 primary, Rouse reconsidered his neutrality. He announced he was relinquishing control of the party to the party's executive secretary and joining the Gardner campaign. Meanwhile, State Vice Chairman Grace Rohrer, who also is the Republican candidate for Secretary of State, called a press conference. She announced that she was taking control of the party because there was no provision in party rules for leadership by the executive secretary. In announcing his "leave of absence," Rouse said he would serve after the run-off at the pleasure of the nominee. Holshouser, who had run behind Gardner in the primary, won the run-off by about 1,500 votes. Angered at Rouse's actions in the primary, Holshouser sought Rouse's resignation.

Rouse, however, wavered over resigning while Gardner, State Finance Chairman Ted Dent, and other party leaders urged his retention. Johnny Walker, the party's candidate for Lieutenant Governor and another self-made millionaire, also supported Rouse for the chairmanship. (There was bad blood between Walker and Holshouser because Holshouser had been cool to Walker's candidacy.) Rouse eventually resigned his post but the party's executive committee re-elected him anyway.

The Holshouser supporters were also primarily from Republican, western North Carolina while Gardner and his supporters were pre-

dominantly from the conservative-Democratic, eastern region of the state. Rouse's election was needed to unite the party and assure that the easterners did not decide to wait out the election. Nevertheless, when the party executive committee met at the June convention, Holshouser supported Mrs. Rohrer for the party chairmanship. Holshouser believed he had the necessary votes to oust Rouse, but apparently-committed votes deserted him in a secret ballot and Rouse was retained.

The party's ticket is rounded out by Attorney Nicholas Smith, 33, who is opposing the popular incumbent Attorney General Robert Morgan, 46. Morgan had a very conservative record in the state legislature but jumped on the consumer bandwagon at the right time. Smith and his black campaign manager, Don Pollack, 34, have pointed out that there is still only one black employee in the Justice Department.

Finally, the Republican nominee for Sen. B. Everett Jordan's seat is Jesse Helms, vice president of WRAL-TV in Raleigh, an ultra-ultra-conservative who believes in the Super Southern Democrat brand of Republican politics. Although Helms stands the best chance to be elected of any Republican candidate,

his positions will doubtless embarrass more moderate members of the ticket. He has already implied that he intends to go his own way — to the far right. In the GOP primary Helms defeated Jim Johnson, a progressive former state legislator who was hurt by his reputation as a maverick.

Helms will face Congressman Nick Galifianakis in the fall. Galifianakis defeated Sen. Jordan in the run-off but many primary supporters of the liberal Congressman will probably desert him in the fall because they were anti-Jordan, not pro-Galifianakis. Galifianakis is said to have run for the Senate because he couldn't get renominated as a Congressman as a result of redistricting.

Meanwhile, the fate of Holshouser, 38, a "Nixon Republican" who comes across as a "nice guy," is in doubt. The highly competent former legislator will face Hargrove "Skipper" Bowles, a former State Senator from Greensboro in November. Bowles is well-financed — he spent over \$1 million in the Democratic primary.

If Republicans stop fighting each other and Nixon makes an expected strong showing, there may be hope for the Tarheel GOP.

Percy Wins Liberal Endorsements

CHICAGO — Endorsements in Illinois have taken some strange twists. The United Auto Workers have announced their endorsement of Sen. Charles Percy (R), but the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Dan Walker, almost lost an endorsement from the same organization.

Talking to the UAW's Community Action Program in Springfield, Walker announced his opposition to political contributions from union dues. He said state laws should outlaw the practice as federal laws have done. After his speech, Walker was informed by the UAW that any contributions Walker would get from labor would come through the dues checkoff system. An eventual endorsement of Walker was foreseen but not until Walker had a chance to digest the errors of his ways. Labor backed Walker's opponent, Lt. Gov. Paul Simon, in an earlier primary.

Meanwhile, Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI), the local state branch of Americans for Democratic Action and a strong force in get-out-the-vote politics, also backed Percy, Edmund Kucharski (R) for State Auditor, and Bernard Carey

(R) to oppose controversial Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan.

Walker once again almost muffed a chance for endorsement but it wasn't for lack of trying. At the IVI mass membership meeting, Walker got an endorsement by packing the meeting. New Walker supporters supposedly joined the organization for the vote and Walker partisans got out the vote for their meeting. But later the same week, the IVI executive board refused to endorse Walker and instead passed a resolution calling both Walker and Gov. Richard Ogilvie (R) "qualified." The IVI opposition to Walker was led by State Senator Richard Newhouse (D), a 48-year-old black Chicago lawyer who charged Walker was unresponsive to blacks in his campaign.

The IVI board, reversed itself in mid-July, however because local chapters and some IVI leaders were upset over the no-endorsement decision. A poll of IVI members showed 57 percent favoring a Walker endorsement, but the IVI board voted only to "prefer" Walker for the governorship.

People in Politics

● **Henry Kissinger**, more noted for globetrotting and starlet-gazing than politics, showed up at a dinner for Sen. **Charles McC. Mathias** (R) in Cockeysville, Md. in June to give a "personal testimonial" to the Maryland Senator, who has often been at odds with the Administration. It was an unusual political appearance for Kissinger.

● Back in New York City after his abortive presidential campaign, Mayor **John Lindsay** discovered his charisma was tarnished in Fun City as well. Democratic politicians went out of their way to disassociate themselves from the Mayor and a group of Brooklyn residents pelted him with popsicle sticks and cigarette wrappers. Despite the displeasure of **Matthew Troy**, a Lindsay critic and Queens Democratic Chairman, Lindsay did get a seat on the New York delegation to the National Democratic Convention.

● Commenting on Nixon's bid to win Catholic votes this year Troy has said, "He's done everything except say Mass."

● **Martha Mitchell** is not alone in her dislike of the Committee to Re-elect the President. Former Campaign Chairman **John N. Mitchell** got a letter from one Republican candidate, apparently a bit miffed, who addressed Mitchell as the head of "CREEP."

● The word filibuster record, a rather dubious honor, was set in Texas June 28 by State Sen. **Mike "Little Hercules" McKool** in a 42-hour, 33-minute marathon for increased mental health expenditures. McKool, who "didn't start out to talk but a few minutes" lost the mental health battle when a new state budget was passed five minutes after he ended his talkathon.

● Increasingly hard-pressed, right-wing Allegheny County District Attorney **Robert W. Duggan** (Pittsburgh) may soon be offered an administration post from his friend from the Goldwater campaign, Attorney Gen. **Richard Kleindienst**. The rumors have former Allegheny County Chairman **Elsie Hillman** and other moderates in something of an uproar. Duggan's last claim to fame has been closing down Pittsburgh's dirty movies while about a half dozen of his detectives have been indicted on bribery and corruption charges.

● Texas State Sen. **Barbara Jordan**, who is favored to join the Black Congressional Caucus next January, was elected vice chairman of the Texas Democratic Convention in June over State Democratic Chairman **Roy Orr**. In the topsy-turvy world of Texas politics, one delegation chairman announced his county's votes this way: "Walker County, home of that great male chauvinist, **Sam Houston**, casts eight votes for Mrs. Jordan."

● Mayor **Sam Yorty's** presidential campaign may hurt his political position in Los Angeles. The L.A. mayor got only one percent of the Democratic vote in California, a rather poor sixth for a California politician. With **Jess Unruh** looking carefully at the mayor's job, and City Councilman **Thomas Bradley** considering a rematch of 1968, Yorty could be in deep trouble.

● The Republican State Convention in New Mexico rejected a bid to elect a McCloskey supporter as a delegate to the GOP National Convention. In a 621-612 vote, the convention rejected a Rules Committee proposal which would have allowed the election of one McCloskey supporter to the delegation. Under state law, one vote must still be cast for Congressman **Pete McCloskey** at the Miami Beach convention, but the vote won't be cast by a McCloskey partisan. The proposed rules change was supported by a number of party leaders including Congressman **Manuel Lujan** and former National Committeeman **Andy Carter**, a conservative. Former State Chairman **Robert Davidson**, a conservative, will replace **Robert O. Anderson**, a moderate, as the GOP National Committeeman.

● Women made up almost 40 percent of the Democratic National Convention delegates this year, compared to 13 percent in 1968. Over 100 women delegates were added during challenges before the Credentials Committee. To accommodate the influx of women, a child care center was set up for the first time. Latest figures for Republicans show that 30 percent of the delegates to the August GOP Convention will be women, up from 17 percent in 1968. Four states, Tennessee,

Campaign Contributions

The 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act went into effect April 7 and already several congressmen have been embarrassed when they were found on the wrong side of the law by Common Cause, the national citizens' lobby.

Common Cause has launched a nationwide monitoring effort to ensure that senatorial and congressional candidates comply with the new laws. Candidates must file reports on June 10 and September 10 as well as 15 and 5 days before each election, primary or runoff. A final report is due January 31, 1973.

Candidates who would prefer not to find themselves the target of a Common Cause press release on their non-compliance with the Federal statute can obtain a set of the regulations by writing the General Accounting Office, 441 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20548. Common Cause also expects to publicize the sources of large campaign contributions.

South Dakota, Arkansas and Minnesota chose delegations which were 50 percent female. Minnesota's delegation will be chaired by National Committeewoman **Rhoda Lund**. According to a spokeswoman for the GOP National Committee, this year's figures show "obviously a big improvement" over 1968 in the representation of women, minority groups and youth. The National Women's Political Caucus plans to be active at the GOP Convention in Miami and make an appearance before the Platform Committee. Ten Republican women are now nominees for Congress, including two incumbents. Two Republican women are Senate nominees including one incumbent.

● District of Columbia Delegate **Walter Fauntroy** not only failed to count the number of black delegates he claimed to have swung to McGovern's camp, he also failed to poll the delegates in question before making the announcement. That kind of sloppy politics has been characteristic of Fauntroy. Just the week before, he backed away from a statement with his name attached which denounced the anti-war movement as racist. Fauntroy said he had trusted black leaders, who included D.C. School Board President **Marian Barry**, to write the statement — but hadn't read it himself.

● District of Columbia Republican Chairman **Ned Pendleton** has appointed **Philip A. Guarino** as precinct chairman. Guarino replaces **Mel Burton**, who unsuccessfully challenged Pendleton for re-election this spring. The appointment dampened hopes that party leaders would reverse the present tendency to make local party activity revolve around raising money — instead of seriously contesting local elections. Guarino revealed his bias in a lengthy speech June 8 before the Nominating Committee. He claimed no Republican had the right to attend a national convention without first working in the party 20 years and raising a lot of money. When it became clear Guarino would not be chosen a delegate — he is now an alternate — Guarino charged out of the meeting swearing profusely.

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MacGregor Stresses Party Cooperation

"A lot better than Mitchell" is the way one Republican state chairman described the appointment of Clark MacGregor to succeed John Mitchell as director of the Committee to Re-elect the President.

MacGregor's appointment was hailed by many party leaders to whom the FORUM talked because they felt it presaged greater cooperation between the CRP and state and local organizations. Party leaders were also buoyed by MacGregor's announced determination to coordinate CRP strategy and assistance with other Republican candidates. Tangible evidence of this determination is MacGregor's appointment of Harry Fleming as MacGregor's special assistant to work with congressional and gubernatorial candidates. Fleming, number two man in CRP under Mitchell, was at one point rumored to be "out" of CRP and his new status is still unclear.

Fred LaRue, a former White House aide and special assistant to Mitchell, will be MacGregor's other special assistant. The deputy director posts have gone to Jeb S. Magruder, the campaign coordinator of CRP under Mitchell, and Frederic V. Malek, a special assistant to Nixon. Magruder will be in charge of internal organizational details like polling and direct mail. Malek will be in charge of field organization and voter blocs. The appointment of Malek, a no-nonsense organizer whose leadership style is reminiscent of a Marine drill sergeant, may compensate for MacGregor's administrative weaknesses.

One GOP state chairman, Dave Krogseng of Minnesota, observed that the MacGregor appointment "puts a professional guy in there who has run for office himself." He noted that members of Congress were reported to be extremely happy with the MacGregor appointment. Although MacGregor's reputation as the President's Counsel for Congressional Relations varied, he was widely credited with improving communications between the White House and Republicans on Capitol Hill. Krogseng, a former administrative aide to MacGregor, noted that the former Congressman's speaking ability and public relations talents would be assets in the new assignment.

MacGregor also scored points with Republican leaders with his criticism of Republican complacency — particularly within CRP. Before MacGregor's appointment, CRP had grown to 226 Washington employees with little cohesion or direction. Although some confusion naturally lingers, MacGregor's intent is to give the committee greater field orientation. But despite MacGregor's acknowledged political acumen, the lack of concrete political experience among other CRP officials worries some Republicans.

Another fear inherent in the MacGregor appointment was that MacGregor would be definitely subordinate to Nixon aides H.R. Haldeman and John Erlichman — and that indeed the appointment indicated that the President himself was intent on running his own campaign. Mitchell, it was theorized, at least had the personal access to the President whereas MacGregor lacked such accessibility. The new CRP chairman moved to dispel this fear as well by acting forcefully in his first weeks in the new job.

Although generally considered conservative, MacGregor was thought to be moderate-to-liberal when he was first elected to Congress in 1960. "He just hasn't changed his views," said one Republican, who preferred to remain unidentified, while considerations of conservative-liberal labeling nomenclature have changed.

MacGregor, however, has taken note of the organizational ability of the McGovern campaign and vowed to duplicate McGovern's precinct organizing.

Among his concerns are "involvement of people walking the precincts, doing the telephoning, identifying voters, getting them registered, planning the get-out-the-vote drive and making sure the absentee ballot situation is understood in every precinct and finally, protecting the security of the ballot once it is cast."

As the sacrificial Republican lamb who ran against Hubert Humphrey in the 1970 Senatorial race in Minnesota, MacGregor is a proven Nixon loyalist. As the originator of the "I Care About Congress" buttons at the White House, MacGregor is a proven public relations assets to CRP. As a political pro, he brings political savvy to a Nixon campaign organization which has been notably lacking in that commodity. The consensus is that MacGregor's appointment will not change the tone of the Nixon campaign. John Mitchell, after all, has not moved far away. But he will bring it a professionalism it might have lacked.

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a "liberal infestation of Virginia." Conservative former Democratic Gov. **Mills E. Godwin** has announced he will play an active campaign role for Nixon; few Democrats have so far deserted their party.

● Columnist **Kevin P. Phillips** is predicting a "new national party alignment" just like "that postulated in my 1969 book, **The Emerging Republican Majority**. Phillips predicts that the minor losses made by the GOP in Congress in 1970 presage a Republican landslide in 1972 — based on four analogous situations earlier in this century, e.g., 1926-28, 1934-36, 1954-56 and 1962-64. Phillips predicts 1972 will see the culmination of his projected Republican majority coalition "through gains among traditional Southern, Border, and Northern Catholic Democrats."

● In New York, Sen. **James Buckley** seems to be on his way to becoming an organization Republican with his appointment as Nixon Co-chairman in the state. Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller**, who has previously rejected attempts to ally the party with the state's Conservative Party, called the move pragmatic.

● Speaking before the New England Rally for God, Country and Family, an ultra-conservative event, Congressman **John Schmitz** who lost a primary bid in California for renomination said he was considering leaving the GOP to form a new conservative party. The California Congressman, a John Birch Society member, said, "There is no party right now that is really nailing the enemy." Referring to the intraparty squabbles in the Democratic Party, Schmitz lamented the state of American politics when "a good-old-American-type like Mayor **Daley** gets kicked out of the Democratic Party." Schmitz said he may run his wife for his seat under the American Independent Party label.

● Conservatives who were elected to positions on the Maryland delegation to the Republican National Convention feuded with moderate Republican leaders over the delegation leadership throughout June. The dispute was settled in early July when the moderates led by State Chairman **Alexander Lankler** won most of the key delegation posts, but the election of GOP National Committee representatives was postponed until the National Convention. Led by Baltimore physician **Dr. Ross Z. Pierpont**, the 16 elected delegates on Maryland's delegation met after the state convention June 3. Moderates, who held the appointed posts on the delegation, met later in Washington because some delegates were not available for the post-convention meeting. When the two factions finally held a joint meeting, the moderate "Big Elephants" who won committee assignments included Lankler, Secretary of the Interior **Rogers C. B. Morton**, Sen. **Charles McC. Mathias**, and State Sen. **Edward Thomas**. Sen. **J. Glenn Beall, Jr.** was defeated for delegation chairman by **Dr. Arris T. Allen**, a black Annapolis physician and member of the conservative insurgent group. (The group was supposedly masterminded by East Shore State Sen. **Robert E. Bauman**). The election to the national committee posts will be close because both sides now have 13 votes on the delegation.

Convention Sidelights

● "How do you let it all hang out and yet get it all together?" mused CBS commentator **Eric Sevareid** about the 1972 Democratic National Convention. A difficult task, but the Democrats did a respectable job.

● Labor's displeasure with Senator **George McGovern** was succinctly summed up by **Hugh Carella**, a Philadelphia local president of the United Steel Workers. "He's a right-to-work son-of-a-bitch," said Carella.

● McGovern, in turn, will try to forge a new liberal-labor alliance with unions like the United Auto Workers; the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, the International Union of Electrical Workers; and the United Farm Workers. But the big guns of big labor are likely to devote their attention to a "Save Congress" campaign. The Steel Workers' **I.W. Abel** made no secret of his intention to ignore the national ticket completely this fall.

● The Young Democrats "old boy" network gave a substantial boost to the Vice Presidential boomlet for **Hodding Carter III** of Mississippi. If McGovern had left the nomination open to the convention, Carter would have made a strong showing.

● Common Cause Chairman **John W. Gardner** headed a team of Common Cause lobbyists which fought to salvage the proposed National Party Charter. Common Cause supported the compromise resolution which Democratic reformers considered a setback. "We barely got 15 or 20 percent of the original draft resolution through," noted one Massachusetts representative on the Rules Committee.

● To insure undivided media attention to key speeches like Party Chairman **Lawrence O'Brien's** opening address and Florida Gov. **Reuben Askew's** keynote speech, Democratic convention planners installed large viewing screens in the convention hall and lowered the house lights. The ploy worked.

● One fledging Democrat was notably quiet in a convention populated by noisy newcomers. New York Mayor **John Lindsay** was conspicuous by his inconspicuousness. The one-time presidential aspirant apparently decided that former Republicans should be best seen and not heard. Another New York party-switcher, Congressman **Ogden Reid**, however, was less reticent. He was appointed an assistant parliamentarian by Chairman O'Brien.

● Spokesmen for the liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress are warning that control of the Senate may pass to the Republicans if McGovern neglects heavy campaigning in the South. A spokesman for the committee feels that Republicans could pick up seats in North Carolina, Alabama and Georgia, along with possible gains in New Mexico, Oklahoma and Rhode Island. In the case of an evenly split Senate, the vote of Sen. **Harry Byrd**, the former Virginia Democrat who last ran as an independent, might be crucial. The NCEC hopes to pick up Democratic seats in Maine, Idaho and South Dakota to offset these losses and prevent the possible election of Sen. **John Tower** (R-Texas) as majority leader of a Republican Senate. The House should continue to be firmly Democratic, in the opinion of the NCEC.

● The rejection of the tax reform plank proposed by Sen. **Fred Harris** was something less than democratic. Not only did convention leaders attempt to bar Harris from speaking but when a voice was taken on the plank, the result was less than obvious. Nevertheless, Deputy Convention Chairman **Yvonne Braithwaite Burke** ruled that the plank had been rejected. Ms. Braithwaite also ruled that less than the necessary one-fifth of the convention stood for a request for a roll-call. When Harris aide **James Rosapepe**, a Virginia delegate, tried to speak to request a roll-call, his mike was dead. McGovern supporters were apparently worried that the tax reform package would pass — costing the Democrats \$5 million in contributions this fall.

● Among the Democratic party reforms at Miami Beach were new accreditation procedures for the underground press and campus newspapers, making access to the convention much easier for these journalists than at past conventions.

● Former Sen. **Eugene McCarthy** surprised journalists gathered at a nostalgic press conference on the eve of nomination. Asked if he would support McGovern, McCarthy told a young campus journalist: "We'll have that question from senior members of the press a little later if that is all right." After the conference, McCarthy explained that the eager young reporter had already asked three questions and he was trying to spread the queries more evenly.

● The Betsy Ross Hotel, located a few blocks from Convention Hall, served as the nerve center for groups like the National Women's Political Caucus, the National Youth Caucus, the Center for Political Reform and the Americans for Democratic Action. Most of these groups — with the notable exception of the Women's Political Caucus — will bypass the GOP National Convention in August.

● One caucus that didn't meet in Miami was a senior citizens' caucus scheduled to meet at the Fontainebleau. The session was cancelled when only four delegates showed up. An organizer of the caucus, **Cyril F. Brickfield**, who is legislative counsel to the American Association of Retired Persons, complained that the Democrats were ignoring older Americans. He pointed out that the Republicans maintain a permanent senior citizens' division.

Political Calendar

● AUGUST

- 1-4 New Orleans, La. (Marriott Hotel): National Legislative Conference Annual meeting
- 9-12 Checotah, Oklahoma (Fountainhead Lodge): National Conference of Lieutenant Governors Annual Meeting
- 13-16 Lake of the Ozarks, Mo. (Lodge of the Four Seasons): Midwestern Conference of the Council of State Governments Annual Meeting
- Aug. 13 - Fontainebleau Hotel — Organizational Meeting of the Committee on Resolutions (Platform)
- 14-16 " " Public Hearings, Comm. on Resolutions
- 15 " " Republican National Committee, Committee on Contests meeting
- 15 " " Republican National Committee, Committee on Rules meeting
- 15 " " Republican National Convention, Committee on Arrangements meeting
- 16 " " Republican National Committee meeting
- 20 " " '72 Convention Gala
- 21 " " Republican National Convention Committee on Rules and Order of Business meeting (10 a.m.)
- 21 " " Republican National Convention Committee on Permanent Organization (10 a.m.)
- 21 Convention Center: Start of the Republican National Convention (1 p.m.)
- 24 Fontainebleau Hotel: Meeting of the new Republican National Committee

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