

# RIPON FORUM

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## Nixon's California Problem

### Right Uses '72 Race for Party Control

SACRAMENTO — Moderate Republicans here fear that the President is endangering his own reelection — and preparing a statewide disaster for 1974 — by his acquiescence in conservative domination of his 1972 campaign machinery.

They believe that the campaign organization now being created under the leadership of Lyn Nofziger, former aide of Governor Ronald Reagan, is more interested in gaining a right wing stranglehold on statewide nominations for 1974 than in reelecting Richard Nixon.

With Senatorial and Gubernatorial races in 1974, California is shaping up as a vital intraparty battleground for 1976. Governor Reagan is eyeing a race for the Senate, while his Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke is already building a statewide organization for a 1974 gubernatorial race, allegedly using the state Department of Commerce as his campaign headquarters.

Yet it is widely believed here that a natural voter scepticism toward the GOP after eight years of incumbency would produce a party



catastrophe if the Republicans offered an all conservative Reagan-Reinecke ticket against fresh Democratic faces.

The President seems to be going along with the Reagan scheme despite the likelihood that counsellor Robert Finch, as a 1974 prospect for the Governorship or Senate, will be a leading victim if it succeeds. The President is also evidently ignoring Reagan's very low current popularity and his own need for a broad base in 1972.

Not only has the President apparently accepted Reagan's veto of popular State Senator Bob Monagan as his state campaign manager, but

it also appears that conservatives are getting the other key roles.

For example, Reagan associate Gordon Luce, Vice Chairman of the party's state Central Committee, is apparently being given precedence over Chairman Putnam Livermore, a moderate, in 1972 planning.

Among the most distressed with recent developments are said to be key Republican fundraisers, prominently including Leonard Firestone.

In general the Republicans' prospects in the state appear bleak at the moment. While President Nixon looks to Governor Reagan as his chief political asset in the state, the unsettling suspicion is arising here that the Governor regards *his* chief asset as Richard Nixon. Though touched by this relationship, California Republicans would be more reassured if the mutual admiration pact were extended to include the people of California.

Reagan's current problems are no greater in this regard than those of the President, who has been running about 7 points behind Senator Edmund Muskie in California according to both the Gallup and Harris polls.

## Gallup Shows 71% Support

### Taft Amnesty Bill Shakes Democrats

WASHINGTON — Senator Robert Taft Jr.'s bold proposal for conditional amnesty for some 70,000 exiles evading the draft has embarrassed politicians across the country who were previously evading the issue.

But a Gallup poll showing 71 percent public support for the concept suggests that the rest of the politicians lag behind the people.

Senator Taft's proposal, the Amnesty Act of 1972, would permit the young exiles to return with impunity within one year of enactment for three years of low-pay alternative service.

Although deserters are excluded as a special case because of continuing problems of military discipline, draft evaders in prison would receive a Presidential pardon, with up to two years of their jail

time creditable against their three year obligation.

The only Democratic Presidential candidate to raise the issue before Senator Taft's introduction of the Amnesty Act was Senator George McGovern, who promised, if elected, to grant unqualified amnesty to draft resisters in exile and to conduct a case-by-case study of imprisoned deserters.

Republican Paul McCloskey has been advocating amnesty for several months on the condition that it not be extended until the fighting is over. This general position has recently been adopted by Senator Muskie and by the President.

Sources close to the Humphrey campaign say that the Senator soon will divulge his own ideas on the subject, as will Senator Edward Kennedy.

Nowhere has the divergence of opinion been so wide as in Taft's own state of Ohio. While Taft is the number one advocate of conditional amnesty, his colleague William Saxbe has rejected the measure with a disdainful reference to draft resisters as a "bunch of dogs."

Other opponents, such as Sen. Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.), stress two specific points: first, that the concept of amnesty does a grave disservice to those who fought and continue to fight in spite of their opposition to the war, and second, that amnesty legitimizes the concept of selective obedience to the law.

Senator Taft believes these points are outweighed by the concept's positive potential: the repatriation of many young men of high moral concern whose lives have been bitterly disrupted.

# People in Politics

● The decision by Presidential Counsellor **Robert Finch** to seek the safe Republican Congressional seat of retiring Rep. H. Allen Smith sets him on a collision course with the state's conservative establishment. The district, north of Los Angeles, is a bastion of the California right, represented in the state legislature by Birch Society associate **H.L. Richardson** and by Ronald Reagan's friend and spokesman **John Harmer**. Finch may hope that a victory over right wing primary opposition like Senator Harmer will give him momentum for a statewide challenge for the Senate or Governorship in 1974 when he will have access to his natural Northern California base.

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● Mayor **John Lindsay** has finally found a way to distinguish himself ideologically from the other Democratic candidates. As he pointed out in his announcement in Miami, he is the only contender who is not from Washington (except for George Wallace, Sam Yorty and Eugene McCarthy). Unless Lindsay can emerge more clearly from the run of fungible Democrats, his switch may be seen as a political emasculation and a warning to other Republicans who wish to pick up cheap points by becoming Democrats.

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● While **Spiro Agnew** continues to claim to be "flattered" by his reputation for divisiveness (he thinks it's the way to win elections), two New England Republican moderates, Congresswoman **Margaret Heckler** of Massachusetts and Senator **Robert T. Stafford** of Vermont, have called on President Nixon to find a new running mate. Stafford, who this month won overwhelming election for the remaining five years of the late Senator **Winston Prouty's** term, prefers Senator **Brooke** for Vice President. Mrs. Heckler said that "Agnew tends to alienate many people and this is a detriment to the President."

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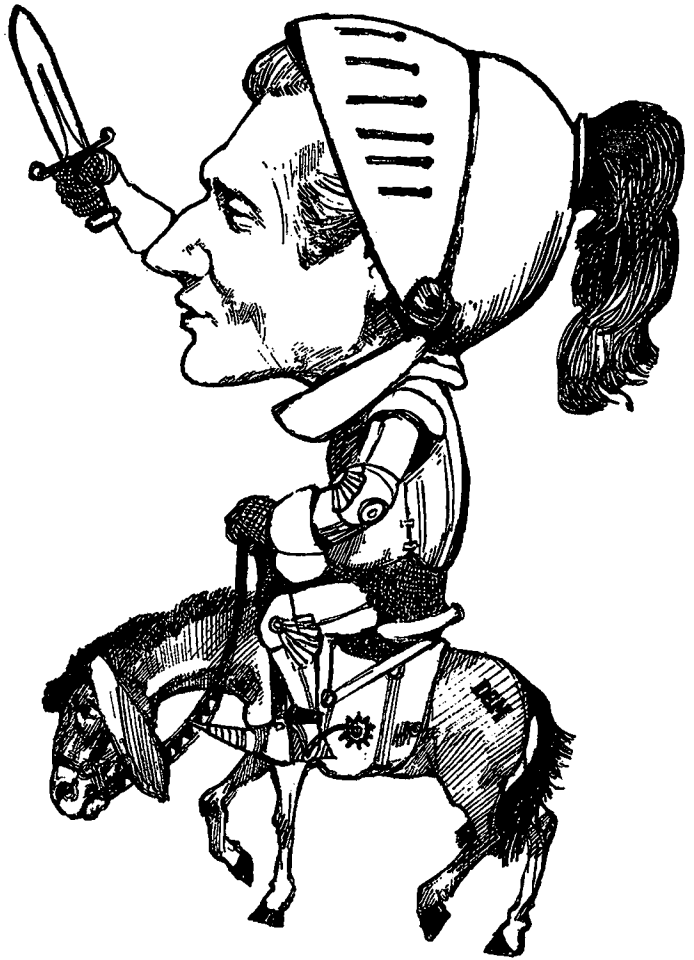
● While **Pete Wilson**, the newly elected Mayor of San Diego, prepares for the summer GOP National Convention, an important special primary election is developing in his former Assembly district. The GOP party leaders are backing 28 year old **Jim Ashcraft**, son of Hale Ashcraft, a very conservative Republican legislator who, beaten by a moderate, was appointed the California Workman's Compensation Appeals Board at \$45,000 a year by Governor Reagan. The other major GOP candidate is moderate **Bud Porter**, the veteran legislative representative for the city and considered most likely to continue the progressive record established by Wilson. The primary will be held in early February, with Porter favored and a runoff expected.

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● The myth of the "bloc vote," hopelessly inaccessible to the GOP, has been cultivated for years in South Carolina by Republicans like **Albert Watson** and, until recently, **Strom Thurmond**; but it was put to rest in Charleston recently, as Republican **Arthur Ravenel, Jr.** came within 704 votes of upsetting formidable incumbent Mayor **J. Palmer Gaillard** largely by winning 4-1 majorities among blacks. Although Ravenel ran as a "coalition" candidate, he was known as a Republican and black leaders said that he would have received their support regardless of his affiliation because of his responsiveness to their concerns and his inclusion of blacks in his campaign. Statewide Republicans should take the lesson to heart. By ignoring blacks in recent years, they have been in the process of creating in the state a real "block" vote, excluding Republicans from office.

\* \* \*

● Tennessee Democrats redrawing the lines of the state's Congressional districts may be fostering future trouble for themselves if they continue with their evident intention to give Republican conservative **Dan Kuykendall** a constituency dominated by black Democrats. The Congressman's impressive statewide appeal was demonstrated in a fairly close challenge to Senator **Albert Gore** in 1964 and if he is redistricted out,



he would be a likely candidate in 1974 to follow Republican Governor **Winfred Dunn**, who cannot succeed himself. Kuykendall's prospects may further depend on the fortunes of Democratic Congressman **Ray Blanton**, a strong prospective opponent for incumbent Senator **Howard Baker** this fall and likely Gubernatorial possibility if he does well.

\* \* \*

● The House Democratic establishment has won another victory on the House Armed Services Committee against members who doubt that the country can be best defended by the concentrated deployment of boondoggles on the Southern front. After several years accumulating seniority on the Committee, GOP Congressman and potential 1972 Ohio Gubernatorial candidate **Charles Whalen** of Dayton, like other moderates before him, has concluded that it is futile to struggle any longer against **SMIC** (the Southern Military Industrial Complex) which controls the committee leadership. He also warned the new moderate Republican Congressman **H. John Heinz III**, once interested in Armed Services, to seek more rewarding Congressional battles.

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● A Ripon friend in New Jersey, **Thomas A. Kean**, proved he could wheel and deal with the best (and worst) of them, gaining the Speaker's position in the State Assembly despite the Republicans' minority status. Kean benefitted from a Democratic defection led by Hudson County leader **David C. Friedland**, who had been denied an important position with the Democrats because of his disbarment for a role in a loan sharking scandal.

**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 those states beginning the process between publication date and early March. 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.*

### ● DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

February 15, 1972 — Deadline for D.C. Republican Nominating Committee to receive recommendations for delegates.

March 1, 1972 — Deadline for D.C. Republican Committee to nominate slate.

March 18, 1972 — Deadline for candidates to file petitions to be a delegate.

May 2, 1972 — Primary election.

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### ● CALIFORNIA

February 23, 1972 — Last day for filing names of nominating committee with Secretary of State. Last day for candidates for delegate to file affidavit with Secretary of State.

February 23, 1972 — First day for committees to file nominating petitions for slates of delegates.

March 24, 1972 — Last day to file nominating petitions for slates of delegates.

June 6, 1972 — (Winner-takes-all) primary.

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### ● FLORIDA

March 1, 1972 — Last day for Presidential candidates to file slates of at-large and Congressional District Delegates.

March 14, 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.

April 13, 1972 — Last day for State Executive Committee to select Delegates for a winning candidate who did not file a slate.

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### ● ILLINOIS

January 19, 1972 — Last day for candidates for Delegates to the NC from Congressional districts to file petitions. (At-large delegates are selected by the State Convention. No date has yet been set.)

March 21, 1972 — Primary election, to select district Delegates to the NC.

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### ● MARYLAND

March 6, 1972 — Deadlines for candidates for delegate to file notice of candidacy.

March 24, 1972 — Deadline for Presidential candidates to file petitions of candidacy.

May 16, 1972 — Primary election to elect delegates by Congressional Districts.

June 6, 1972 — Deadline for elected District Delegates to elect at-large delegates.

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### ● MASSACHUSETTS

February 1, 1972 — Deadline for candidates for delegates to file petitions with local registrar. Deadline for Republican State Committee to select list of at-large delegates.

February 8, 1972 — Deadline for candidates for at-large or District delegate to file petitions with Secretary of State. Deadline for Republican State Committee to submit its list of at-large delegates.

April 25, 1972 — Primary election.

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### ● MINNESOTA

February 22, 1972 — Precinct caucus to select delegates to Congressional district conventions.

April 1972 — Congressional district conventions to select delegates to the state convention and Delegates to NC.

June 22-24, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

### ● NEW HAMPSHIRE

February 8, 1972 — Last day to file declaration candidacy for at-large or Congressional District Delegate to NC.

March 7, 1972 — Primary election selecting both at-large and Congressional District delegates to NC.

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### ● OHIO

February 2, 1972 — Last day to file declaration of candidacy for Congressional District and at-large Delegates to NC.

May 2, 1972 — Primary election, to select both Congressional District and at-large candidates to NC.

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### ● PENNSYLVANIA

February 15, 1972 — Last day for filing petitions for Congressional District Delegate to NC.

April 1, 1972 — Last day for State Central Committee to select at-large Delegates to NC.

April 25, 1972 — Primary election, to select Delegates from Congressional Districts to NC.

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### ● SOUTH CAROLINA

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

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

Between March 13 and March 31, 1972 — State convention selects Congressional District Delegates and at-large Delegates to NC.

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### ● WEST VIRGINIA

February 5, 1972 — Last day to file declaration of candidacy for at-large and Congressional District Delegate to NC.

May 9, 1972 — Primary election, to select at-large and Congressional District Delegates to NC.

## General Events

### ● JANUARY

19-22 Washington, DC (Marriott Twin Bridges Motor Hotel): Professional Staff Conference; for state & county chairmen, other staff members; will discuss party organization, research, fund-raising, etc. Contact RNC Deputy Chairman Ed DeBolt for further information at 202 484-6500.

26-28 Washington, DC (Washington Hilton Hotel): Winter Meeting of the National Association of Attorneys General (Rep. and Dem.)

### ● FEBRUARY

1 Louisiana: Gubernatorial and general election; Candidates for Governor: Representative Edwin Edwards (D), David Treen (R), and Hall Lyons (American Independent Party).

2-4 Washington, DC: Citizens' Hearing on National Security, sponsored by the Coalition on National Priorities and Military Policy; panel discussions on "What is National Security," "The Decision Making Process," and "The Domestic Aspects of National Security." Further information from: Dean Rudoy of the Coalition at 202 546-7000.

4-6 Austin, Texas: Southwest Area Student Fieldman Training School, sponsored by the College RNC.

22-25 Washington, DC (Washington Hilton Hotel): Annual Meeting of the National Governors Conference (Rep. and Dem.).

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

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

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# N. H. Plot Thickens with Loeb, Hoffa

MANCHESTER — A casual reader of recent headlines in William Loeb's *Union-Leader* here might have assumed that former Teamster executive James Hoffa is running for President — with the endorsement of Richard Nixon, who pardoned him for Christmas, Congressman John Ashbrook, who came into the state singing his praises, and Loeb himself, whose paper had borrowed \$2 million from a Teamster Trust Fund.

But presuming that Loeb's headlines do not misfire and produce a surprise write-in victory for the ex-convict labor boss, the entry of Loeb-favorite Ashbrook into the Republican Presidential primary is expected to aid Paul McCloskey by attracting potential Nixon votes within the reach of the *Union-Leader*.

In a state dominated by outside television coverage, chiefly from Boston stations, the newspapers are crucial, and the *Union-Leader* has about three times the circulation of any other journal. In the past Loeb has been able to deliver as many as 20-25,000 votes for his favored Republican candidates.

Expected Republican turnout in 1972 is approximately 100,000, but



Loeb is considered unlikely to be able to deliver his usual proportion for a largely unknown Ohio Congressman against a President Loeb endorsed before the 1968 primary.

Loeb's recent denunciations of the President as "Tricky Dick . . . mentally and spiritually paralyzed by his foreign-born Rasputin, Dr. (Henry) Kissinger," came to a

temporary halt with Hoffa's release. But within a couple weeks the crusading Publisher returned to the attack, charging Attorney General John Mitchell with failure to prosecute Justice officials who, Loeb alleged, had "tampered" with the jury that convicted Hoffa of jury tampering.

Loeb also described Rep. Father Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) as a Communist dupe — "Mr. Nasty himself, a Leftist-Marxist Congressman who masquerades behind clerical garb." Drinan had charged a connection between Hoffa's release and Loeb's influence. But it is indeed hard to see how Nixon could have expected any Loeb support when he will spend some of the key days of the primary talking to the man whom Loeb calls "Chinese killer Mao."

The Ashbrook campaign, moreover, is mostly a Loeb creation, with a staff largely made up of the managers of Loeb's recent losing Gubernatorial candidate Mel-drin Thompson, and with prospective support largely in the conservative *Union-Leader* orbit, where McCloskey could hope for very little backing.

## Members Lobbied For Bill

### Daycare Edit Stirs Dispute

WASHINGTON — A significant proportion of the Ripon National Governing Board under the leadership of Executive Committee Chairman Patricia Goldman on January 5 dissented from a widely publicized FORUM editorial which praised President Nixon for vetoing comprehensive daycare legislation.

Several active Ripon members, including Goldman, Pamela Curtis, and Bobbi Greene Kilberg had lobbied for the bill.

Although not officially renouncing endorsement of the veto, the National Governing Board members objected to an argument in the editorial which was interpreted as opposing the entry of women into the work force.

The offending language indicated that a comprehensive federal daycare program "would imply a governmental judgment that as a matter of highest priority huge appropriations should be employed to encourage women in all [financial]

circumstances to enter the already crowded competition for jobs. . . . We would submit that such a program is a matter of the very lowest priority at this time of high unemployment, and vastly increasing demand for more urgent governmental programs, relating to poverty, jobs, housing, schools and hospitals."

This theme was featured in United Press, New York *Times* and NBC-TV coverage of the editorial.

Calling the Society in protest were representatives of the National Daycare Council, the National Organization of Women, and the Women's Political Caucus, which has made advocacy of comprehensive daycare a condition of its support for any candidates in the 1972

elections. Curtis and Kilberg serve on the Caucus policy board.

Several members of the Ripon chapter in Pittsburgh, led by National Executive Committee member Leah Thayer, were said to be incensed by the FORUM stance, since the chapter had worked hard in 1970 for Jo Anne Evans Gardner, a daycare supporter who led the Republican slate in a losing race for the Pittsburgh City Council.

Also opposing sections of the editorial were members of the leadership of the New York Chapter, including Ripon Finance Chairman Peter Wallison, and Minneapolis City Council and Ripon Chapter President John Cairns.

The subject of daycare and national priorities will be discussed further in the February issue in articles and letters by the protesting Ripon members and by FORUM editor George Gilder.

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