



# **The daily cardinal. Vol. LXXXIII, No. 43**

## **October 23, 1972**

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Gov. Patrick Lucey



Attorney General Robert Warren

## Lucey: The strength of McGovern is the strength of vision

By PATRICK J. LUCEY  
Wisconsin Governor

George McGovern is a decent and honest man. He has been frank and open in the conduct of his campaign. He has identified his goals and priorities; he has articulated his deeply felt sense of the need for America to steer a new course—to renew its dedication to the fundamental principles upon which this nation was founded.

The promise of new national leadership, which George McGovern represents, is most clearly apparent when contrasted with the pervasive disregard for fair play and the public interest which has characterized the tenure of Richard Nixon as president.

AS CIVILIAN death tolls mount, bombing missions are stepped up and additional American names are added to the list of those killed or injured, missing in action or prisoners of war, Richard Nixon would have us believe that he has succeeded in winding down an unconscionable military involvement on the part of the American republic.

As our economy continues to combine both inflation and high unemployment, punishing most severely those who are poor, those who are elderly and live on fixed incomes and the young, Richard Nixon marvels at the effectiveness of his economic wizardry. But those who are out of work or seeking to finance an education or feed a family do not easily understand why, if they "have never had it so good," things are essentially so bad.

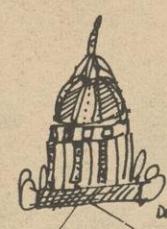
At a time when a decade of effort finally established laws and legal interpretations directed towards securing the civil rights and civil liberties of all of our citizens, Richard Nixon has boasted of his attempts to systematically dismantle those guarantees which allow our citizens to be free.

While corporations work their will in exchange for a quid pro quo to the Re-elect the President Committee, when agents of the President engineer the great grain robbery, the bugging of a campaign headquarters, the sabotage of political campaigns and the flaunting of campaign disclosure laws, Richard Nixon piously talks about morality and citizen confidence in government.

GEORGE McGovern represents an opportunity to establish a different standard of conduct for our government and a different kind of leadership for our society. In his belief of what America can become, there is no place for the continuation of a senseless and tragic war. There is no place for the wasteful use of billions of dollars to subsidize the military complex at the expense of pressing domestic needs. There is no place for an inequitable tax structure that drains the average family budget to provide a multi-billion dollar welfare program for those who are financially privileged.

The strength of the McGovern candidacy is the strength of vision, of political morality and of participation by the people in their government. The strength of George McGovern is his integrity, his record of public service and his genuine compassion for the needs and aspirations of our citizenry.

The election of George McGovern to the Presidency on November 7 will reflect these strengths. His election will revitalize our national government so that it is once again a vibrant force through which free people can effect their will.



### AT ISSUE: THE PRESIDENCY

*Two weeks from tomorrow, the people of this country will choose the men and women (mostly men)—and the policies—that will guide them for the next four years.*

*Today's Cardinal Monday presents a series of views of the candidates and the issues facing the electorate this fall. On this page, the Democratic Governor and Republican Attorney General of Wisconsin present the case for their respective candidates.*

*Inside, Cardinal reporters examine the positions of McGovern and Nixon on six issues—the war, foreign policy, the economy, women, justice and the environment. Phil Haslanger reports on what it's like to cover Spiro Agnew and Chris Galligan takes a look at minor party candidates.*

*The Cardinal's Presidential endorsement will appear in tomorrow's paper with other endorsements continuing during the week.*

*The editor for today's Monday was Phil Haslanger.*

## Warren: Why I will vote for the President

By Robert Warren  
Wisconsin Attorney General

On November 7, I will vote for the reelection of President Nixon.

The President has demonstrated his ability to lead this nation. The beneficiaries are Republicans, Democrats and Independents alike—all Americans. His policies are based in the philosophy of the Republican Party, a philosophy which I have long espoused, and believe provides the best possible framework for modern American government.

Belief in individual rights and responsibilities is the root of Republican philosophy—it was given us by Abraham Lincoln and it remains today the basic tenet. Republicans believe governmental power should be kept as close as possible to the people—vested in their state and community leaders.

PRESIDENT Nixon's revenue sharing proposal is an example. Republicans believe that state and local governments are best able to assess their own needs. The President's legislation is returning federal tax dollars to the states and localities, to be spent on pressing local problems under the direct scrutiny of the people affected.

Republicans also believe in a businesslike approach to the administration of our federal govern-

ment. To this end, following a thorough study of the executive branch of the federal government, President Nixon proposed a government reorganization plan to streamline the cabinet departments and to modernize the federal approach to problem solving.

A strong belief in fiscal responsibility always has been an integral part of Republican philosophy. Republicans do not espouse ongoing federal management of the national economy. But when problems occur, such as the spiraling inflation and unemployment caused by eight years of Democrat irresponsibility, the President is willing to act decisively. The President's new economic policies are therefore strong but temporary. It is relevant to point out, therefore, that under Republican leadership a deficit in the federal budget is a strong economic measure, not the result of negligent management.

Republicans believe in a strong, credible foreign policy; and we believe military preparedness is necessary to prevent confrontations that may lead to war. How else a generation of peace?

AS OUTLINED in the Nixon Doctrine, the United States must honor its commitments to smaller nations, but this country cannot act as the world's policeman. The Republican approach is perhaps most evident in Vietnam. After years of Democrat escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, a Republican Administration has reversed that trend. President Nixon has withdrawn more than 90 per cent of the U.S. troops who were in Vietnam in 1969 and has given the South Vietnamese the resources they require to defend themselves.

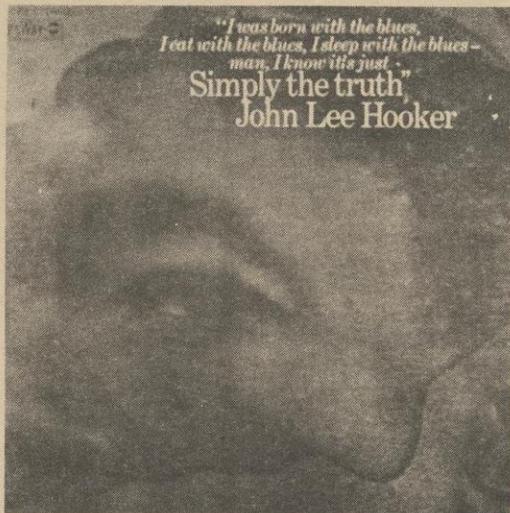
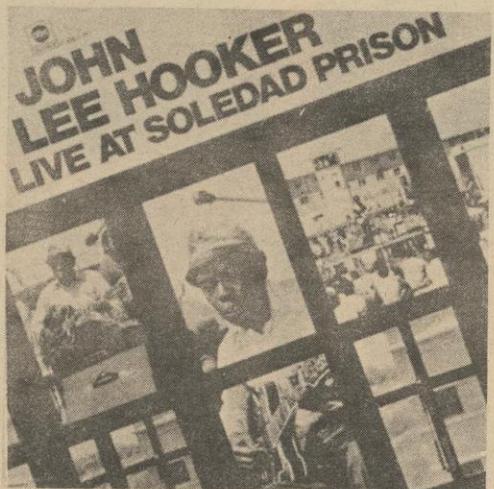
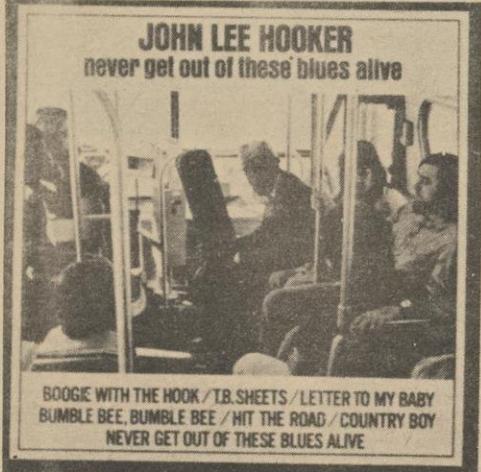
In his visits to the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, President Nixon has demonstrated the Republican belief that we must work with nations of all philosophies to ensure a full and lasting peace.

We are moving toward an easing of tension throughout the world—as witnessed in the signing in May of the SALT agreements to limit nuclear weapons. And as long as we have this type of leadership—founded on Republican principles—this nation is sure to maintain the necessary strong defenses that serve as a deterrent to war.

At this juncture, the Republican Party is a minority party, the "Party of the Open Door," as the President has characterized it. Because of our basic belief in individualism, we do not think in terms of "blocs" of voters. We open our party to all who believe as we do—minorities, ethnics, youth, underprivileged, older Americans, women, Democrats, Independents—to all citizens.

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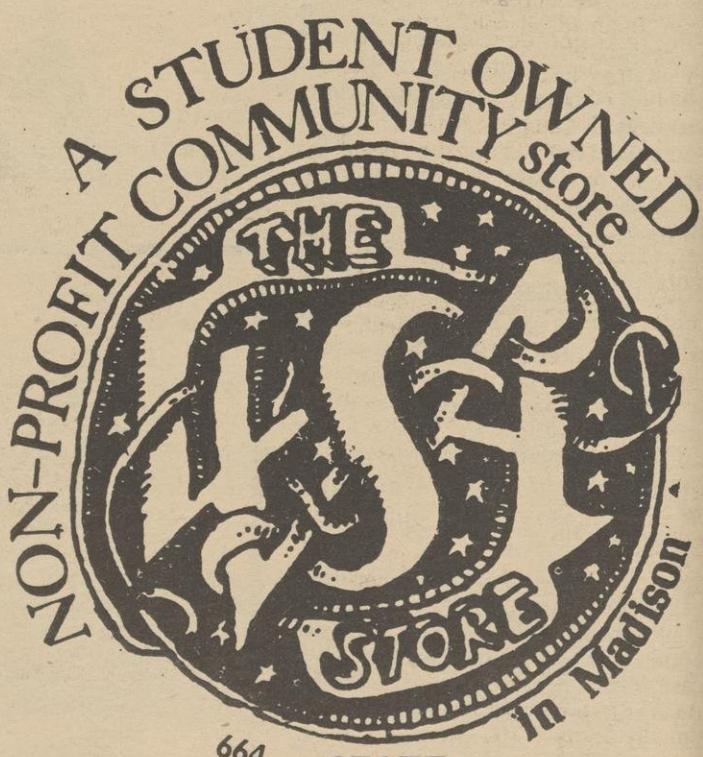
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## In the matter of dollars and sense

By NED DODDS

As the 1972 Presidential campaign moves into its final stages, it is clear that the chief domestic issue — the economy — has become a battle of sharply divided values and rhetoric that has added little to the public's understanding.

In the year or two before the campaign started in earnest, pundits and politicians predicted that the economy would be the main issue. Inflation was (and still is) increasing, unemployment hit a high of six per cent and controversy surrounding President Nixon's about-face Phase I and II plans dominated the news in the lull of anti-war activities.

**TAX REFORM** was of major concern to many, especially George Wallace, who brought the issue to national prominence, with the other Democratic contenders following suit.

Yet despite great hopes for a national forum on these issues, the subject has become clouded with emotion, shifts in position and misunderstanding.

Sen. George McGovern and Nixon have both addressed themselves to economic issues, with Nixon relying essentially on his past record and McGovern relying on the specificity of his proposals.

McGovern has proposed a "radical" redistribution of taxes and income that includes taxing capital gains, municipal bonds, elimination of the oil and gas depletion allowances and a readjustment of the tax structure that he says will close tax loopholes and place a greater burden on those who can better afford it.

**ADDITIONALLY**, to solve the unemployment problem, the South Dakota Senator proposes putting up to one million people on the federal payroll and eliminating welfare by replacing it with a "National Income Insurance" and expanded social security.

To curb inflation, McGovern would concentrate on big corporations and big unions with voluntary controls instead of Nixon's Phase II, which he feels is inequitable.

President Nixon, on the other hand, has chosen to rely essentially on his record and has pointed to recent government statistics that indicate that the economy is expanding while inflation has reduced its rate of increase.

He has not mentioned tax reform plans, but has promised that the White House would not ask for a tax increase in his next term. In an adroit political move, he has shifted the responsibility for any tax increases to what he labels "the spendthrift Democratic Congress."

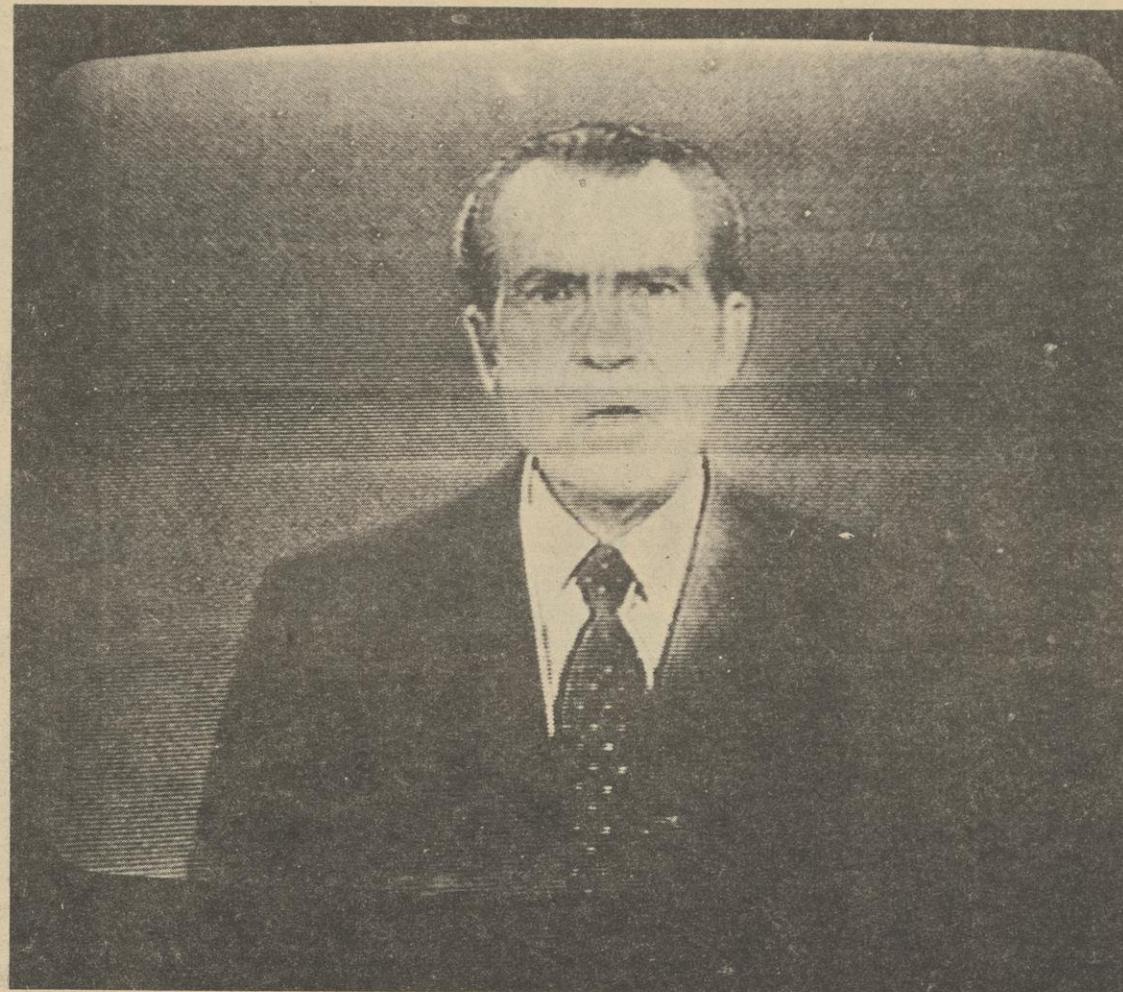
**IN ADDITION**, there has been talk in the past of the Administration seeking a national sales tax, although as the election approaches, that talk has been muted.

The crux of the President's stand seems to lie on his assertion "that the corner has been turned" and that he has taken "real" action to solve inflation and unemployment.

These are their stands, yet the candidates have not concentrated on expounding and selling their own ideas but rather have been busy attacking each other's plans. The Republicans have been more guilty of this, presumably because they appear to have fewer concrete plans of their own that they care to mention.

**PRESIDENT** Nixon has continually accused McGovern of not being able to pay for his social welfare programs, although

(continued on page 11)



Cardinal photo by James Korger

## 1972 - the war goes on

By CHRIS GALLIGAN  
of the Cardinal Staff

On November 7 President Nixon will have presided over the war in Vietnam longer than it took the United States to fight World War II, from Pearl Harbor to the surrender of Japan.

Polls indicate that those who support the President share the same objective towards the war as those who support Senator McGovern, both overwhelmingly favor a prompt and complete American withdrawal. But if there is one issue that clearly distinguishes the two candidates, it is the issue of war.

**THAT IS THE ISSUE** that propelled Richard Nixon to the Presidency in 1968 and that is the issue that brought Senator McGovern the Democratic nomination in 1972.

There is not much new to be said about the war. The arguments are familiar; the statistics keep pouring forth and there is agreement from both sides that the war should end. Still, no magazine examining this presidential campaign would be complete without a review of the candidate's positions on the war.

Even those who opposed his election believed that Nixon could end the war which had sent

President Johnson to an early retirement. In September, 1968, Nixon pledged, "I say the time has come for the American people to turn to new leadership, not tied to the policies of the past. I pledge to you: we will have an honorable end to the war in Vietnam."

A month later the presidential candidate said, "Those who have had a chance for four years and could not produce peace should not be given another chance."

When President Nixon assumed office in 1969 there were 542,000 American ground troops in Vietnam. In 1972 troops have almost been totally withdrawn, to the present level of under 36,000. American casualties are down to a minimum, although the President says one is too many. The President's plan for withdrawal, has been possible via Vietnamization.

Ironically, on the same day Hanoi released three POW's a few weeks ago, four more pilots were shot down and taken prisoner.

**ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT** has never explicitly explained America's intentions in Viet-nam an editor of the conservative National Review, James Buchanan, has written that Nixon has two goals, to get out and to leave a stable, independent, non-communist government in Saigon.

The President has rejected the idea of a cease fire until a negotiated settlement has been

subcommittee has made these estimates for the last three and a half years: 165,000 South Vietnamese civilians killed, 400,000 wounded and 1,850,000 made refugees," said the Times.

Replacing American troops has seen a 100 per cent increase in B-52 bombers and aircraft carriers, with bombing tonnage being dropped at an unprecedented level. The cost to U.S. taxpayers for the recent intensified bombing and mining of Hanoi's harbors has been set at a billion dollars. Over \$60 billion has been funneled into Indochina since 1969. In the last six months 106 airmen have been taken prisoner by the North Vietnamese.

Ironically, on the same day Hanoi released three POW's a few weeks ago, four more pilots were shot down and taken prisoner.

**SAIGON NOW COMMANDS** the world's largest standing army and the sixth largest air force. In this perspective, what have been the costs and achievements of our Viet-nam policy over the past four years?

The New York Times reports that since 1969 over 20,400 American lives have been lost.

The South Vietnamese have seen over 80,000 killed. "A Senate

(continued on page 11)

## What's important is hogs in St. Louis

"You can say all you want about foreign affairs but what is really important is the price of hogs in Chicago and St. Louis."

Former Gov. of Illinois William G. Strotten in conversation to Richard Nixon 1960 Presidential campaign

By DAN SCHWARTZ

Just prior to the April Wisconsin primary, a group of people who Madison police detective George Croal would call leftist, sat down in a room with Presidential Candidate George McGovern.

McGovern appeared pale from the after effects of a flu but conducted himself with just enough energy to sustain the discussion. The questions covered a broad range of issues, many of them predictable for the group assembled. The meeting ended and McGovern departed. "If we share that many notions," one participant mused out loud, "then that man will never be President."

A great many people are still wondering whether or not George McGovern will be President. The more significant question is, however, if the electorate is wondering. In 1972, the campaign which even President Nixon has said had issues is now being called the campaign in which the issues were ignored.

**ISSUES ARE** the very bread and butter of foreign policy. For political scientists, presidential campaigns are times when all issues are handled badly, and foreign policy, the bastion of the intellectual, is handled the worst of all. Stephen Hess, in a representative view in the fall issue of *Foreign Policy*, writes "Foreign policy becomes a dominant issue in a campaign only when it has reached the raw nerve of the electorate and is thus 'domesticated.'

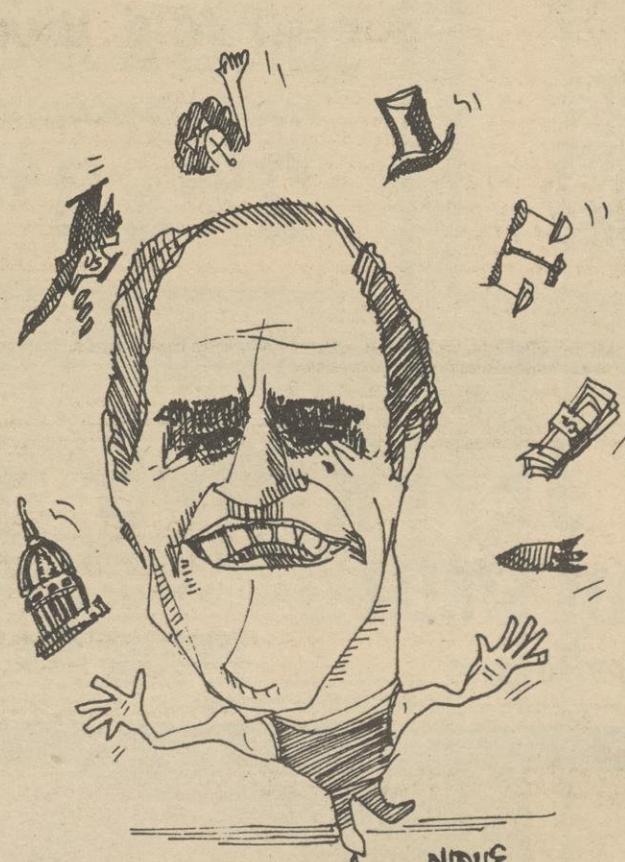
Vietnam is the great "domesticated" issue of 1972. In many ways, it defines the foreign policies of the United States because the war has become the great watershed of the cold war ideology. It is to George McGovern's credit that he made it his issue and rode its crest to his present position in time and circumstance. As is true of many foreign policy issues, however, the war has sublimated its stimulus—the root causes of our involvement—and when the war is discussed it rears its head in all sorts of bizarre forms of rhetoric. The same is true of the larger questions of American foreign policy.

America does have a foreign policy. For over a decade it expressed itself in tense confrontation of mind and might that some people called the Cold War. There was talk of policies like containment, as President Kennedy ushered in a new era of counter-insurgency warfare. Dominoes became a favorite metaphor and Mort Sahl became famous. The policy murdered thousands of people. Some, who were economically minded, called it imperialism.

Richard Nixon, who has been called the coldest of the cold war warriors, made the best of the times. He ranted about the Communists in China, in Russia and at home. He spoke a lot about the need for a position of strength and acted as if nuclear warfare was a given of confrontation rather than an absolute end. But he wasn't President then. When he became President, he travelled to the Soviet Union and let us all know that one quarter of the world's population was alive and well in China. For awhile, there was talk of a Nobel Prize.

**MUCH OF** Nixon's foreign

(continued on page 11)



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## For women, it is often the choice between mediocrity and evil in a male political world.

By MARIAN McCUE

It would not be the whole truth to say that the 1972 presidential race offers women a clear cut choice between mediocrity and evil.

That statement obscures the reality that it is important for women to vote in large numbers against a president who has consistently worked against their best interests. But the fact that they will be forced to vote for a candidate who has waffled and panned on women's issues shows that presidential politics holds little value for women's issues.

**THE CONTEST** itself shapes up to this. An incumbent president who has done everything to shaft women meets a mock-heroic challenger who says, and even thinks all the right things but seems willing in a crunch to sell the women down the river.

don't have an equal chance," and "I wouldn't want to wake up next to a lady pipefitter" (not to mention how any self-respecting lady pipefitter would feel waking up next to him.)

A speech he gave at Girls' Nation reveals a sinister misunderstanding of the goals of the women's movement: "Some of you might be tempted to think that 'Unless I play a role of spending my whole time in business, in other words, unless I become like a man', and this is what our women's lib people might say — 'then I haven't really done my share'. Don't you believe it. There are millions of women in this country who, without ever running for office, without ever becoming involved in business full-time, have an influence on the country as homemakers, as wives, and as mothers that is perhaps far greater than most men."

would have given the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) more power in enforcing the anti-sex discrimination guidelines of the Civil Rights Act of 1965. Without the teeth provided by this bill, sex discrimination complaints must now take a long, circuitous route through the courts — a procedure which denies justice to many.

He was "silent" on the Equal Rights Amendment throughout the period when Congressional attempts to weaken it endangered its passage. His eventual support was weak and late.

One of Nixon's most backward-reaching acts was the veto of the comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971. The act, which had remarkably unified support in Congress and in the ranks of labor, would have provided two billion dollars to set up day care centers for three million children. Its effect on the lives of working women would have been enormous. Nixon's veto, couched in anti-communal, anti-radical rhetoric, killed all hopes for the bill.

Nixon's position on abortion is clear and simple. "From personal and religious beliefs, I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control." He aligned himself squarely with the Catholic hierarchy in their last-ditch attempt to overturn New York state's progressive abortion legislation by writing cozy, supportive letters to Cardinal Cooke and the anti-abortion lobbies of New York.

**NOR DO WOMEN** dominate the upper echelons of Republican administration. They hold only 1.5 percent of the top administration jobs, and there is no woman as high as Cabinet rank.

When the opportunity appeared to appoint a woman to a Supreme Court vacancy, Nixon was presented with a list of distinguished women jurists compiled by the National Women's Political Caucus. He responded by suggesting the worst woman he could find, Mildred Lillie, who could not even get approved by the American Bar Association. At the same time, Nixon (straight-faced) interpreted his action to the public as an example of his progressive stance on women's rights.

This whole sad record would make any Democrat look good by comparison, and George McGovern has been trying very hard to present himself as the women's candidate. Memoes from the Washington campaign office direct that "every laundry

list of issues must mention women." And every list probably does mention women, for he has nothing to lose and everything to gain by saying the right things.

McGovern's voting record on women's issues is good, as the Equal Rights Amendment, the Nixon-vetoed Day Care bill, and the efforts to put teeth into the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission all were favored with McGovern's support. It was this Democratic challenger who chaired the Commission which approved the reform guidelines which brought more women to the convention.

But all these pious actions were also conveniently self-serving, and the shining image dims considerably when difficult political choices have to be made.

**THE WOMEN** at the Democratic convention could testify to this, as McGovern and his forces lied to them and sold them out. The representation of women in the South Carolina delegation was sacrificed in a complicated technical question to insure McGovern's success in the California delegate challenge.

But worse than this, and less justifiable on pragmatic political grounds, was the failure to include any sort of progressive abortion plank in the final Democratic platform. McGovern has never had a strong abortion position, but pressure from anti-abortion forces during the primary forced him to retreat entirely.

On the women's issues that would have less general importance to women than the abortion question, McGovern has made two campaign promises. He says that he will appoint a woman to almost everything, including the National Security Council, Supreme Court, and to other positions of Cabinet rank. He also wants to elevate the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor to an independent agency status, and to appoint a woman as Special Assistant to the President who would oversee the fight against sex discrimination.

Special Assistants and promises like that are only as good as the person who makes them, and McGovern's track record is ambiguous. It will be for the women to watch and make sure that all the promises are kept, for in the presidential role his own vested political interests won't be at stake, as they are now. He may again have a good cause to sell women out. He probably won't be a major catalyst for women's rights, but the catalyzing in that direction isn't going to come from the top anyway. Gloria Steinem has suggested that he might be the only leader "who would let fundamental change happen." That may well be true, and of course anything's better than what we've got now. But the real test is yet to come.



Richard Nixon's words speak almost as loud as his actions in showing how he really feels about women's liberation. He has been quoted as saying, "My view is don't be too concerned about the fact that women

Nixon's record is consistent with these words. He has stamped a heavy paternal foot on all the progressive equal rights legislation to find its way to his desk.

FOR EXAMPLE, he vetoed a bill which

### Recipes from

Eleanor McGovern

### Stroganoff

3 Tbsp flour  
1 1/2 tsp. salt  
1/4 tsp. pepper  
1 clove garlic  
1 lb. sirloin, rib or tender round steak, 1/2 inch thick

Combine flour, pepper and salt. Trim fat from meat and rub both sides with garlic. Pound flour mixture into the meat. Cut into thin strips.

1/4 cup margarine or butter  
1/2 cup minced onion  
1/4 cup water  
1 can condensed cream of chicken soup  
1 lb. sliced mushrooms

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Melt butter in heavy deep skillet. Brown meat strips, turning often. Add onion. Sauté until golden. Add water. Stir to dissolve particles in the bottom. Add soup and mushrooms. Cook about 1 1/2 hours over very low heat. Add just before serving the sour cream. Heat but do not boil as cream will curdle. Serve sprinkled with chopped parsley or chives. Serve with rice, noodles or potatoes. I prefer the noodles. I often make this recipe but do not add the sour cream. I freeze this sauce and then when I need it, thaw, heat and before serving add the sour cream. Good for those last minute guests!

### Wild Rice Stuffing

Brown 2 medium onions, chopped, and 1 can chopped mushrooms in 2 Tbsp. chicken fat (I use margarine or butter). Add 2 c. cooked wild rice and season to taste with salt, pepper and paprika.

I like to cook my wild rice in chicken broth. If I have none from a stewing chicken, I use the canned. Also, sometimes I add 1/2 white rice to 1/2 the wild rice recipe. For special occasions I use the all wild rice proportions.

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## Scoring touchdowns for Dick in Green Bay

By PHIL HASLANGER

The 5,000 persons inside Green Bay's Brown County Memorial Arena last Wednesday evening listened to music and speeches for about a half hour when suddenly through a door to the right of the stage, about 40 members of the press corps came rushing in to grab seats in the press section.

That could only mean that the Vice-President—Spiro T. Agnew—was not far behind.

About ten minutes later, the band struck up "Hail to the Chief" and a shiver of excitement went through the crowd. Then there was the nightmare of advance men—an awkward silence while we waited for Agnew to appear.

AN AGNEW STAFF man came running around the right side of the stage and gestured frantically for the band to hit the introduction to "Hail to the Chief" again. But they couldn't understand what he wanted.

Finally, Agnew walked onto the stage and a ripple of applause spread as people began recognizing him. And then—again—the band struck up "Hail to the Chief."

It was an inauspicious beginning to an uninspired appearance.

\*\*\*\*

For the press corps, Agnew's visit "began" nearly two hours earlier outside a hanger at Austin-Straubel airport.

THE SECRET SERVICE let it be known that Agnew would arrive sometime after six. So like little kids visiting their first airport, all of us local-press types stood around waiting to see the Vice-President's plane land.

It was dusk when I arrived, clouds coming up in the east, an almost full moon hanging alone in the silver-blue sky and what warmth there had been was gone with the sun.

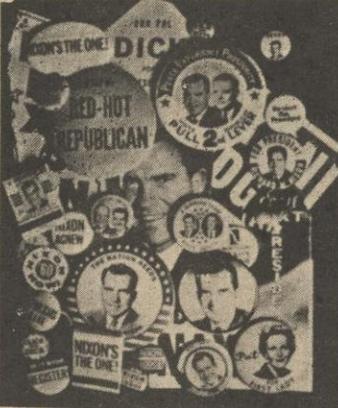
The place was crawling with police. I came in by what might be called the back way, and watched police climb out of a school bus, saw police standing all along the fence, saw more police inside the hanger, and wondered why still more police were moving their cars from one spot to another every ten minutes or so.

A full contingent of fire-fighting equipment was standing by, as was an ambulance. Hospital emergency rooms had been checked out by the Secret Service and were on stand-by should anything happen to Agnew.

THE SECRET SERVICE themselves remained largely invisible until Agnew stepped off the plane, but their unseen presence was assumed.

\*\*\*\*

The Republicans in Green Bay knew about ten days ahead of time that Agnew would probably come to the rally they were planning. Five days before the rally, the visit was confirmed, and the advance work began.



McDonald-Davis, the advertising agency that is handling Nixon's Wisconsin campaign, sent four people up to help with arrangements. Aides on Agnew's staff arrived. The Secret Service came in. On Saturday, the work began.

The Midway Motor Lodge, located a few hundred feet from the arena, was chosen to serve as the headquarters for the visit. A time was set for the rally. Bart Starr was lined up as master of ceremonies. Republican wheels were invited to sit on stage. Publicity wheels began turning.

THE LOCAL COMMITTEE turned over their plans to the Secret Service, which checked them out and made any recommendations they felt necessary for security. The Secret Service, in turn, began checking out the airport, the route to the Arena, the Arena. They devised alternate routes and worked with local police to secure the routes.

A press room appeared at the Midway and part of the hanger at the airport was fitted out with tables, typewriters and telephones. Two buses were chartered to

cart the press from the airport to town and back again.

\*\*\*\*

We were inside the hanger when the first plane—an American Airlines jet carrying the national press—touched down. Everyone said, "That's the press plane," and then went out into the cold to watch it land in case it was the Vice President's plane.

A few minutes later, a second set of jet engines became audible, and once again we poured out into the cold night to watch the Michelle Ann III (it's named after Agnew's granddaughter) pull up a few hundred feet away from us.

WE WERE KEPT safely behind ropes next to the hanger, from where, if your eyesight was good, you could see Agnew come down the steps, you could watch Attorney General Robert Warren and Congressional candidate Harold Froelich and others greet the Vice-President, and you could watch them all pile into a big, black limousine.

If you watched all that, though, you learned nothing and ran the risk of missing

the bus, so you high-tail it onto the second bus, reserved for local press, and wind up at the end of the multi-car caravan conveying Agnew and company to the rally.

The police have blocked off each intersection along the way, and police cars are positioned on the roadside on the way into town. The caravan stops at the Midway, where the Vice-President is hustled off to some private chamber and the press is wooed with ham and turkey sandwiches, cheese and beer.

We eat, drink and talk. I learn that at a conservative religious college in Grand Rapids, Michigan, earlier today Agnew was severely heckled by anti-war demonstrators. I learn that he is going back to Washington yet this evening, having left the Capitol only at 4 this afternoon. I learn that Ike Pappas has gas pains and Anthony Lewis has a moustache. I learn a stale joke.

A Secret Service man sends us back to the bus, leaving half-full beer bottles and unfinished sandwiches behind. Five minutes later, he tells us there's been a delay, and we go back inside to finish the beer and sandwiches. Then he rounds us up again for the two minute trip to the Arena.

\*\*\*\*

INSIDE THE ARENA, Froelich had just finished a campaign pitch and the band was playing while the crowd sat passively. Congressman William Steiger tried to get people clapping and made a fool of himself. The press noted a large number of empty seats toward the back of the auditorium.

OF THE AUDITORIUM.

Bart Starr introduced Mrs. Vince Lombardi, who had come from Washington with Agnew. The crowd gave her a standing ovation. A Washington reporter said, "Vince would turn over in his grave if he knew this. He was a Democrat."

Robert Warren took the microphone to praise Bart Starr: "You know, in America there are one of two people you want to be when you grow up—President or Bart Starr." Starr smiled shyly. The crowd loved it.

Starr introduced Agnew: "Spiro Agnew knows what it is to be on the first team." Agnew loved it.

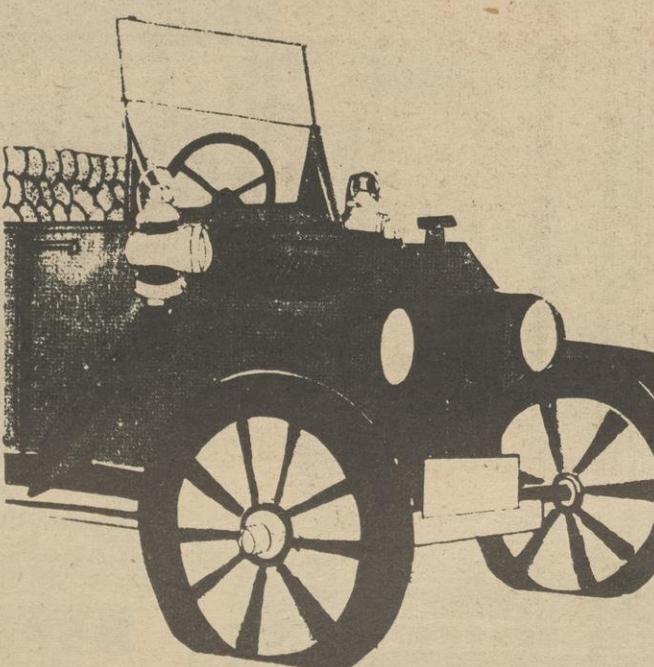
Then Agnew lashed out at McGovern's "inconsistencies" and sparred with about 20 hecklers. ("Every radical in the Fox River Valley must be here," one reporter said). He plugged those Republican Congressmen who were in close races—Froelich, Thomson, Stalbaum, O'Konski. He also plugged Steiger, since he was sitting there.

The speech ended, the crowd applauded, Agnew left, the press ran for the buses. At the airport, we bolted from the bus and managed to see Agnew trot back up the stairs into Michelle Ann III. And he was gone in the night.

And, with the temperature in the 20's, I discovered I'd left my coat at the arena.



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LINDA JENNESS

By CHRIS GALLIGAN  
of the Cardinal Staff

When Wisconsin voters arrive at the polls on November 7 they will be choosing from the longest presidential ballot since 1936. There will be seven tickets represented on the ballot, including four independent parties, the American Party and the two major parties.

Besides the Democrats and Republicans, the candidates and their parties are: John G. Schmitz and Thomas Anderson, American Party; Benjamin Spock and Julius Hobson, People's Party; Louis Fischer and Geneviene Gunderson, Socialist Labor Party; Evelyn Reed and Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party; Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party USA.

**BECAUSE THE STATE** of Wisconsin legally recognizes only three parties, Democrats, Republicans and American Party, the four other minority tickets will be officially listed as independents. But according to the office of Secretary of State, they will be allowed to affix a party label next to their names to identify their principles.

The American Party had its origins in the 1968 campaign of George Wallace, who returned to the Democrats for his 1972 presidential bid. At its July convention in Louisville, the party nominated John G. Schmitz, a congressman from Orange

County, Calif., President Nixon's home district. Schmitz is the only member of the John Birch Society in Congress. A lifelong Republican, Schmitz joined the American Party after being defeated in last spring's primary in his re-election bid to Congress.

Schmitz, who appeared on campus recently, contends that most public events can be explained in terms of conspiracy, a theory which the candidate says has taken years to formulate. He actively opposes disarmament, appeasement and no-win wars. According to conservative Schmitz, the central issue in the campaign is Richard Nixon. When the President announced his trip to Peking, Schmitz, "broke off diplomatic relations with the White House", and now calls the President a modern version of Dr. Faustus for selling out his Republican principles. Schmitz's running mate is Thomas J. Anderson, also a member of the John Birch Society and editor of *Farm and Ranch Magazine*.

The People's Party was formed last year as a coalition of antiwar and activist groups. At its St. Louis convention last summer, the party nominated Dr. Benjamin Spock as its presidential candidate and Julius Hobson for vice-president. Spock, 69, is a noted pediatrician and has been a vocal critic of the Vietnam war since the mid-sixties.

IN A RECENT visit to the campus, Spock explained that his party's platform is centered around the concept of decentralization of all American institutions. The people's Party platform means, he said, "control of local industries and local affairs by local people." According to Spock, the primary role of the People's Party in this election is undertaking the construction of a broad opposition party in the United States. Julius Hobson, 50, is director of the Washington Institute for Quality Education. The Spock-Hobson ticket will be

on the ballot in 25 states, and has the support of the Wisconsin Alliance.

Louis Fisher, a former spotter in a Chicago dry cleaning plant, is the presidential nominee of the Socialist Labor Party. The party Labor Party. The party is a surviving Trotskyite wing of America's original Socialist Party. It believes socialism will soon replace a decaying capitalistic system but believes socialism is a matter of persuasion rather than violent revolution. "We're not fighting the effects of capitalism. To get rid of the effects, get rid of the system. So we're not offering reform, only a solution to the complete abolition of capitalism." The Socialist Labor Party is on the ballot in 13 states. Fisher's running mate is Geneviene Gunderson of Minneapolis.

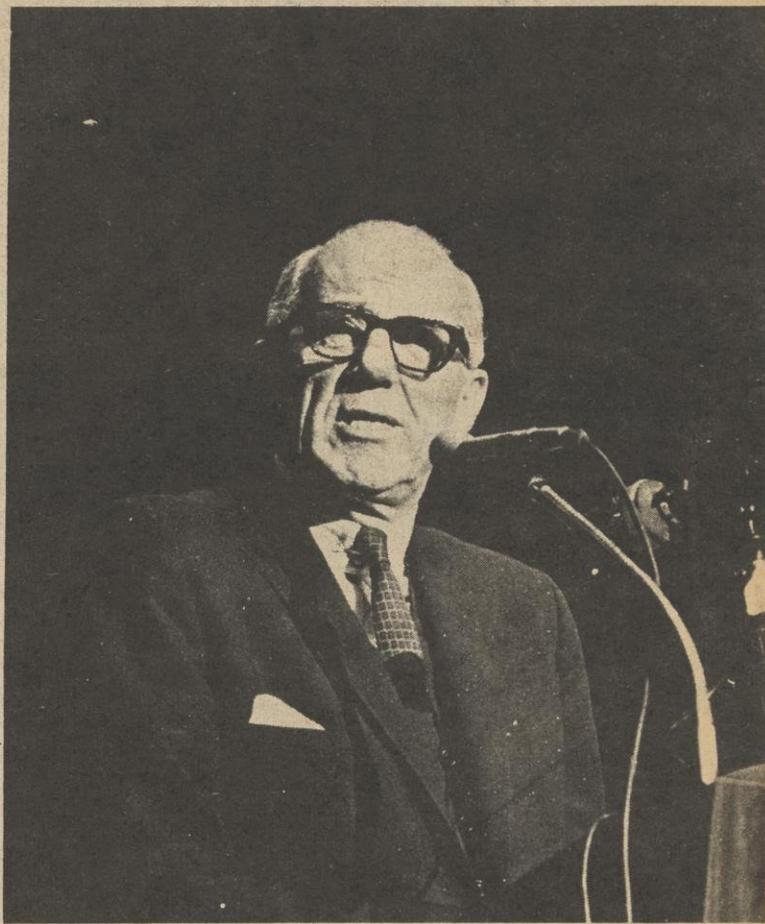
The Socialist Workers Party will be on the ballot in 30 states but is in the unique position of running two tickets. Linda Jenness, 31, and Andrew Pulley, 21, are the party's nominees, but because they do not meet the constitutional age requirement they have not been allowed on the ballot in some states, including Wisconsin. Voters here will see the names Evelyn Reed, a New York anthropologist and Clifton DeBerry of Berkely, Calif., both of whom are stand-ins for the Jenness-Pulley ticket.

The SWP stresses the tweedledee-tweedledum difference between the two major candidates and is particularly critical of the McGovern candidacy. The party is attempting to form a more representative political organ and according to Jenness, "stop looking to the Republicans and Democrats for answers to our problems, and steer the country away from the status quo."

FOR THE FIRST time in 24 years the Communist Party will be on the ballot in Wisconsin, with Gus Hall as its standard bearer. Hall is a native of Yonkers, N.Y.

and is a founder of the United Steelworkers Union. He is now general secretary of the party. The Communist Party has chosen Jarvis Tyner, 31, as its vice-presidential candidate. Tyner is a former teamster and chairman of the young workers league.

The placing of the Communist Party on the ballot in Senator Joe McCarthy's home state is, according to campaign chairman Fred Blair, "A historic step in the fight for the legitimate place of the party in the American political arena."



DR. SPOCK

(continued from page 9)

The Nixon Administration came to power at the beginnings of the environmental awareness binge, saw it peak in April, 1970, and has watched it submerge back into a lower consciousness. It had the opportunity to seize the issue and make significant progress both in terms of increasing public

awareness and of fostering legislation.

Instead, it followed a program of rhetoric with only minimal action. George McGovern promises to do more, but the surge of public support may already have passed by. If it has, the losers of this election will be the public.

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By PHIL HASLANGER  
of the Cardinal Staff

"The so-called Nixon Court may have a more enduring influence on the history of the Republic in the next twenty years than anything else Mr. Nixon has done or will do," writes James Reston of the New York Times.

Richard Nixon is proud of his record on law, order and justice. He is well aware as James Reston of the historical magnitude of his appointments to the Court and of the directions they may give to American society. Indeed, he hopes to continue "to appoint judges who share my philosophy that we must strengthen the peace forces against the criminal forces in America."

**NIXON'S STAND** on law and order in the 1968 campaign, offering voters an end to the violence that was plaguing the nation, certainly was a major factor in his victory that year.

The cities burned after Martin Luther King's assassination, the campuses rioted in May of '68,

## Justice comes home for the election

fear of crime was at its peak and all the elements of disorder came together at the Democratic Convention in Chicago.

There is no doubt that there has been a cooling off since Nixon took office. The question is, how much of that can be attributed to efforts by the Administration and how much is due just to the natural social process of a country having reached its limit and then having pulled back?

What credit the Administration can claim for the image of law and order that exists this year is tempered by the blame they must accept for weakening some of the fundamental constitutional rights of individual citizens.

**CONSIDER, FOR** example, the May Day arrests, the grand juries used against dissidents, the actions by the Justice Department to attempt to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers.

These actions represented both a "get tough" attitude on the part

of the Administration and a challenge to some basic constitutional assumptions.

And when the Constitution gets involved, so does the Supreme Court. In 1968, Nixon promised



that, if he had the opportunity, he would appoint justices to the Court who shared his philosophy of "strict constructionism," whatever that meant.

In the four years since then, he has had ample opportunity, appointing four justices, including Chief Justice Warren Burger, all of generally conservative bent. While it is much too early to tell exactly what their impact will be on the Court in the long run, the immediate result of their presence seems fairly clear.

**CONSERVATIVE** columnist James J. Kilpatrick states flatly that "the Court's major decisions of 1972 (were) a direct result of the election of 1968."

New York Times Supreme Court reporter Fred Graham provides the statistics that fill out the image of the court: "Of the 66 cases in which all nine Justices participated, the 'Nixon four' voted together in 54. Even more telling was the cohesiveness of the Nixon bloc on close cases. Of the 18 cases in the final weeks of the term that turned on five-to-four decisions, the Nixon four voted together on 13—invariably, on

what would be considered the conservative side."

If Nixon is re-elected on Nov. 7, there is a possibility that he will be able to appoint two, perhaps three more justices in the coming four years, thus shaping the direction of the Court for years to come.

It should be noted, however, that despite the cohesiveness of the Nixon four on the present Court, they do not necessarily give Nixon what he wants. They turned down an Administration request to give the Justice Department the power to initiate wiretaps without a court order. They have upheld the constitutionality of busing. They may well rule in favor of striking down state abortion statutes in this term.

Furthermore, despite the cohesiveness of the voting record, all four Nixon appointees, indeed all nine Supreme Court Justices are very independent thinkers whose concurring opinions and dissents represent a wide range of views.

**NIXON'S PRINCIPAL** failures in the Supreme Court area were his appointments of two mediocre judges, Haynsworth and Carswell, who were both rejected by the Senate.

His principal success has been political. Nixon has used his law-and-order proposals and his Supreme Court appointments as a means of shoring up his right flank (this is not to suggest he doesn't believe in legal direction he's moving). No one can accuse

Richard Nixon of being "soft on crime," least of all, George McGovern.

What McGovern does accuse Nixon of is "systematically eroding the fundamental personal liberties guaranteed all citizens by the Constitution and laws of this country."

"The greatest bulwark against governmental attacks on individuals' rights is the Supreme Court," a McGovern position paper states. "But Richard Nixon has sought to weaken the judiciary by willfully nominating mediocrities."

**Beyond those** general kinds of statements, McGovern has given few indications how he would deal with the Justice Department or the Supreme Court. He has pledged to appoint a woman to the Court, and presumably she would be a liberal.

In the Senate, McGovern voted in favor of confirmation of three of the Nixon four and against Haynsworth, Carswell and Justice Rehnquist.

The Supreme Court and law and order are not big issues this year, but still they are essential considerations in the choosing of a President.

As Robert M. Hutchins, chairman of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, wrote recently, "The Constitution is the symbol of national values and the charter by which we are to learn how to govern ourselves. Therefore a President has no more important task than the selection of the justices of the Supreme Court."

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1. Tear out the form below and fill it out.
2. Have the form notarized. Ask school officials for help with notarization.
3. Mail this form to your county or town Clerk or your County Board of Elections.
4. When you receive the absentee ballot

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October 1972

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## The environmental answer is blowing in the wind

By JAN LAAN

Both Richard Nixon and George McGovern claim the title "environmental defenders," but then who doesn't? The problem facing the voter lies in separating the rhetoric and the real record.

The McGovern campaign charges that Nixon is long on wind, but short on generating any substantial power to clean up the environment. The Nixon campaign material — a slick brochure with a casual picture of a wind-blown Nixon on the beach — claims that the Administration was first to do This, That and the Other Thing.

**THE NEWS MEDIA**, on the whole, report on the formalities of legislation — whether it is passed, whether it is signed or not — and it is difficult to assess the charges by the McGovern campaign of back-room pressures by the Administration to weaken environmental bills. There are reports, though, that seem to concur with this opinion of the Democrats.

As a recent *New York Times* article by William Shannon put it: "The average citizen could hardly be expected to know that on the two most important environmental bills pending before Congress — those on water pollution and pesticides — the Administration has used its influence on behalf of private industry to get weakening amendments.

But beyond the backroom pressures, the current Administration appears to be doing some other sleight-of-hand tricks in the environmental area.

Take, for instance, the attempt by the Administration to secure legislation that will enable them to avoid spending funds voted by Congress on various projects. This will be of great importance in the environmental area. And consequently, it is here that the McGovern campaign has launched its greatest attack.

**MCGOVERN CHARGES** that Nixon is already not spending the money Congress voted for environmental legislation. A spectacular example of this concerns legislation to fight lead poisoning danger to more than 2.5 million children living in urban areas. Thirty million dollars was authorized for fiscal year 1971-72 for the Lead-Based Paint Poisoning Prevention Act to detect and treat poisoned children. In 1971, the Nixon administration requested no money for the program, according to McGovern material.

This approach was continued in 1972, when the Administration asked for \$2 million, Congress appropriated \$7.5 million and then the Administration spent nothing.

despite many requests for the money.

Another McGovern campaign charge is non-enforcement or weak enforcement of legislation. While the Nixon material boasts of 39 criminal cases brought by the Justice Department against polluters in fiscal 1971, the McGovern material notes that 40,000 to 100,000 polluters are violating legislation every day.

Beyond the charges, specific differences in approaches between the two candidates can be found. They rest on their fundamental assessment of who the government is responsible to.

A **BILL** co-sponsored by McGovern would allow citizens to have more effective power in the courts in environmental matters. The federal courts would be able to review substantive decisions of administrative agencies in the environmental field (done very rarely, now). The Nixon administration is said to be opposed to this bill.

The meager Nixon campaign materials on the environment contain no reference to the working environment. McGovern's material is quite extensive here. In his recent white paper on the environment, he pledged a National Workingman's Compensation System, daily inspection of deep mines, and compensation to workers and small businessmen adversely affected by anti-pollution legislation.

Nixon campaign material talks about the comparability of increasing economic growth with environmental protection, whereas McGovern has been questioning the basic tenet of continued expansion of industry.

While Nixon has "accelerated oil and gas leasing on the outer continental shelf" (according to his own material), McGovern has

stated that the oil companies buying up coal reserves are not in the public interest.

**NIXON FAVORS** "regulation" of strip-mining. McGovern stated recently he would phase it out in a few years. Deep-mine reserves far outweigh stripable reserves by a ration of six to one.

The low-key Nixon campaign has, until recently, been in evidence in the environmental area. As in other areas, the President has used surrogates to speak for him.

One of these, the assistant administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, Fitzhugh Green, "ran in a little rhetoric" from his "sponsor", "Dr. Richard Nixon", at Stevens Point recently in defending the Administration's Vietnam environmental bombing policy.

McGovern has voted for a Senate bill to require the Department of Defense to file environmental impact statements with the EPA on proposed projects, subject to review for approval. McGovern pledged to push this bill if elected.

**THE NIXON** Administration has touted its success in getting the public involved in assisting it in environmental affairs. An example of this is his National Industrial Pollution Control Council — composed of big business people.

The Council on Environmental Quality is another Administration advisory group for which Nixon claims credit. One member of this group is Shirley Temple Black.

A third advisory group — the National Advisory Committee on Occupational Health and Safety — contains two members from labor and six from industry. This group was formed to help implement legislation aimed at protecting the workers' health and safety.

(continued on page 7)



Cardinal photo by Mark Perlstein



### CORRECTION

It was inaccurately reported in the Friday Daily Cardinal that Paul Krauth was apprehended after avoiding arrest in the Engineering building during the Honeywell demonstrations. Krauth turned himself in. The Cardinal regrets the error.

\*\*\*\*

### KASTENMEIER

Second District Congressman Bob Kastenmeier (D-Sun Prairie) will speak at Great Hall in the Wisconsin Memorial Union on Tuesday, October 24 at 7:30 p.m. The meeting, open to the public, will be followed by a question and answer session, according to Ann Grady, chairperson of the Students for Kastenmeier organization.

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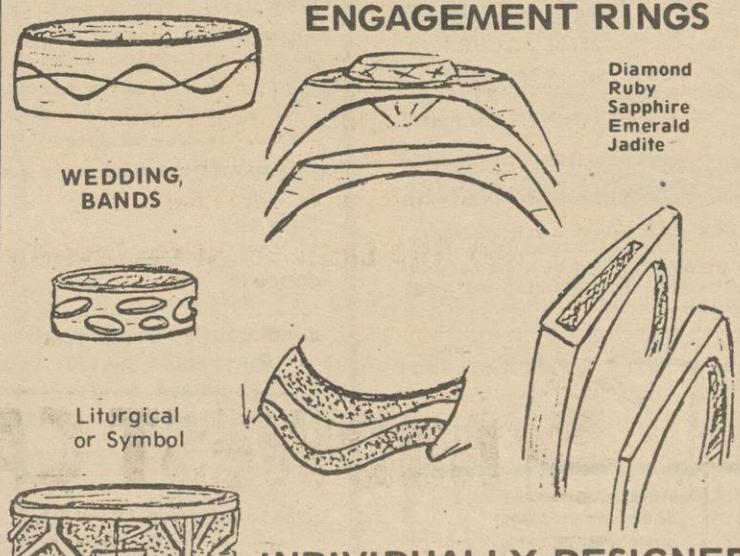
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## Foreign policy is important when its domesticated

(continued from page 3) policy, the rhetoric of a "generation of peace" and the more significant attempts to stabilize policy with the Soviet Union and China, came through the efforts of Henry Kissinger. He was the man who accepted nuclear warfare as a given and once wrote that a shift was necessary in "the focus of disarmament negotiations from eliminating the use of nuclear weapons to reducing the impact of their employment."

Kissinger is currently negotiating peace in Paris while American planes destroy French embassies in Hanoi. He believes, as does Richard Nixon, in negotiating from optimal military strength. He believes in pursuing our commitments regardless of the nature of the governments we support. And in the application of our foreign policy, we have commitments, both economic and political, throughout the world.

I.F. Stone, in a study of Kissinger currently appearing in the New York Review of Books, writes, "The rungs on Kissinger's ladder to success have a common characteristic. At each major step upward he has been the protege of men who have believed in military strength and who were obsessed with the postwar struggle for hegemony between the U.S. and the USSR and fearful of the revolutionary tide in the poorer countries. All saw in him an exceptional mind and a willing spirit for enlistment in the cause of the cold war and American imperialism."

The Nixon doctrine never severed its cold war roots. It is a policy that maintains an implicit trust in the military as a mechanism of achieving peace and guarding US economic interests. It is a policy that is not adverse to establishing new commitments in Third World countries threatened with internal

liberation from within. The policy still retains an essential edge of distrust for the Communist mind. After all, if Nixon is capable of murdering thousands of Vietnamese with pre-meditation imagine what he considers the Communists capable of.

IF GEORGE McGOVERN were elected President, Abram Chayes, a former State department official would probably become his Kissinger. Chayes is very quotable and it is surprising that some of his ideas have not received wider circulation. Here are some examples as reported by Robert Semple in the New York Times. Some quotes are direct and others are Semple's paraphrasing:

On the military: Military considerations no longer dominate the foreign policy task. There should be a new emphasis on "creative endeavor of social and economic development of underdeveloped nations."

On the cold war: The age of containment and the policies it created are probably coming to an end. It would be silly for me to say that the cold war is over. But that next administration will not have to be preoccupied as the present one with relations with the Soviet Union.

On aid to dictatorships: Simultaneously, he (McGovern) would cut off assistance to what Mr. Chayes calls "reactionary and repressive dictatorial regimes, including not only Saigon but Greece and Portugal. The Democratic platform plank on Africa calling for more vigorous sanctions against Rhodesia and South Africa was largely the work of Mr. Chayes.

On Cuba: "Relations with Cuba would be re-examined and normalized after 13 years of boycott crisis and hostility."

The thrust of McGovern's entire foreign policy is the substantial cut of some 25 billion dollars in defense spending that he has



(continued from page 3)

signed, stipulating that US forces will remain until all POWs have been accounted for. As noted in his acceptance speech in Miami Beach, Nixon shuns any settlement which could be interpreted as surrender or abandonment of the Thieu regime.

"If at this time we betray our allies it will discourage our friends around the world and encourage our enemies in aggression," Nixon said.

Perhaps no one in American politics has been more consistently identified with opposition to the war in Viet-nam than this year's Democratic Presidential nominee, Senator George McGovern. McGovern refers to it as his "obsession," and it is an obsession that goes back to 1963 in one of his first addresses to the U.S. Senate:

"The current dilemma in Vietnam is a clear demonstration of the limits of military power. Our policy there is a policy of moral debacle and military defeat," McGovern said.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE believes that the war has transcended the stage of a political or tactical mistake and has become an assault on the decency and moral fiber of the nation. McGovern has stated: "What we now present to the world is the spectacle of the richest and most powerful country in all the world standing off at a safe distance and raining down our terrible technology of death on helpless people below."

Upon inauguration as President, McGovern has pledged that he would immediately stop all bombing of Indochina with no pre-conditions and withdraw all American troops within 90 days. In short, his plan for ending the war is abandoning support of "the corrupt Thieu dictatorship", bring home all salvageable American military equipment and hold the Hanoi government to its written

proposed. The cut is the symbolic heart of the distinctions between McGovern and Nixon. It has been the focus of the Nixon TV ads. It is the key reflection of McGovern's essential distrust of military solutions and Nixon's implicit reliance.

There are substantial differences between Nixon and McGovern. Whether those philosophical differences would

overtly express themselves under a McGovern administration may be simply a matter of conjecture. Whether the voters will actually vote on the distinctions is another matter of conjecture. In any case, the war in Vietnam will be the first vital link in the next chain of foreign policy decisions which will bind us all in the next decade.

## War goes on and on

promise to release all prisoners in the same 90 day period.

As was pointed out by the Senator in his recent broadcast to the nation, this is virtually the identical program of withdrawal followed by the French in 1954.

It is clear that since 1969 Americans have been withdrawn from Vietnam but the President has not made clear what four years of Vietnamization, more air power and mines have ac-

complished toward a settlement of the war.

WHEN SENATOR MCGOVERN announced his candidacy in 1971 he was benevolently dismissed as a one issue candidate. But that is the issue that brought him his party's nomination and if that is not the issue between a McGovern presidency and a Nixon presidency, then there is no issue.

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(continued from page 3)

University Economics Department Chairman Lee Hansen disputes this, as do many prominent economists.

In addition, the Administration has caused fear among the business community by declaring that taxing capital gains would seriously hamper business investment. University economics professor Don Nichols flatly rejects this assertion, as does economist Paul Samuelson of MIT.



McGovern has de-emphasized his income redistribution program, says University economist Harold Watts, in favor of attacking Nixon's policies and concentrating on inflation and unemployment. The Senator has repeatedly referred to a "Nixon recession" and claims that if re-elected, Nixon would raise taxes.

Both Professors Nichols and Watts agreed that a tax raise was inevitable, but cautioned that it would be inevitable for McGovern as well as Nixon.

THE MCGOVERN camp also accuses the President of favoring big business and the rich — for example, the ITT and wheat deal affairs. However, McGovern does continue to push his own proposals to some degree.

Economic issues have received enormous stress in this campaign, but the ideological and emotional differences between the two candidates have precluded much dialogue.

In the end, what it comes down to is a McGovern philosophy favoring government intervention to level off the disparities of wealth in this country, while Nixon favors helping big business which he believes in turn will help

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