

john vihstadt different drummer

The game of vice presidential speculation has always been more risky than presidential guessing when it comes to predicting who will be on the tickets of the major parties every four years. What with all the chaos and conflict occurring on the Democratic side in 1972, prophesizing for second man this year will be even more difficult than usual.

At first it appears there are few concrete historical precedents or patterns that emerge when examining vice presidential selections. Sometimes governors are chosen (Agnew in '68, Warren in '48), sometimes senators (Kefauver in '56, Nixon and Sparkman in '52), sometimes congressmen (Miller in '64), and occasionally, well-known people who held no elective office at the time (United Nations Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in '60).

On closer look, we find the choice for second spot to be a careful calculation on the part of the nominee to a) "balance" the ticket politically and appease warring factions and b) pick someone of proven vote-getting power and leadership capacity, and secondarily, someone who could best govern the country if he himself should die. What could be better "balance" than an Episcopal Senator from the Southwest and a Catholic congressman from New York, as was the case with the Goldwater-Miller ticket in 1964? Or a young Eastern Catholic liberal paired with a Protestant moderate from Texas, like Kennedy-Johnson in 1960?

If Minnesota Democrat Hubert Humphrey should end up getting his party's nomination, as now seems more and more likely, several possible choices for veep come to mind. The primary contender is freshman Sen. Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois. He is young (42), has the requisite good-looking family, a famous, politically potent last name, and comes from an electorally pivotal state. Winning a term for state treasurer in the otherwise strongly Republican year of 1966, he beat incumbent Sen. Ralph Tyler Smith in 1970 by over 500,000 votes, piling up heavy majorities in crucial suburban and small town areas in addition to the large cities.

Stevenson is regarded as a liberal, but occasionally strays to cast pro-administration votes—he supported Rehnquist for the Supreme Court, defending his "yes" vote by saying that the Senate cannot deny the President his own appointments on clearly partisan, political grounds, distinguishing Rehnquist from the obviously faulty Haynsworth and Carswell. He would help HHH in the suburbs, with youth, almost insure the ticket of the Land of Lincoln's 26 electoral votes, and provide a fresh face with a well-known name.

Sen. John Tunney of California is also a possibility. Coming from the largest state in the Union, his Catholicism, leftist voting record, and

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Kennedyesque personality would provide a neat balance to the Midwest moderate Protestant Hubert. There is speculation that Sen. Kennedy might serve under Humphrey. This would enable Teddy to show his stuff the hard way and reserve himself a place in the catbird seat for '76 or '80, when the memory of Chapaquiddick will have further faded. Still, Kennedy is not a man who likes to play second fiddle to anyone, and since the President will no doubt be re-elected, there is no reason for EMK to tarnish his record with a loss.

It now appears that South Dakota's George McGovern has at least a conceivable chance of getting the nomination, and he will need to pick a moderate to conservative for second place if he is to have a prayer of winning in November. Prime prospects include either Florida governor Reuben Askew or Sen. Lawton Chiles, Arkansas governor Dale Bumpers or Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

There is the ever-present danger, however, that McGovern's hardcore supporters and his friends in the ADA and the leftist intellectual establishment could block this type of nominee, forcing McGovern to accept another member of the radical fringes as his running mate. Or, feeling that half a victory is just as bad as none at all, the liberal purists could go the way of a fourth party, insuring the Democrats of a 1964 in reverse.

If Muskie is able to pull through to the nomination, he would do well to consider a Midwesterner such as Stevenson, Ohio governor John

Gilligan, or Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana. Bayh would still be in the presidential race today if it weren't for his sick wife. Forgotten should be Iowa's Harold Hughes, who is through from contention due to his recent revelations that he believes in ghosts, communication with the dead, and an occasional marijuana cigarette. Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris cannot be counted out. While not going far on his "New Populism" approach before he withdrew his candidacy last November, other candidates seem to be taking up his cry.

As for current Democratic Presidential hopefuls who might prove advantageous if they can be induced to accept second place, House Ways & Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, either Rep. Patsy Mink of Hawaii or Shirley Chisholm of New York.

On the Republican side, there will no doubt be a repeat of the '68 Nixon-Agnew ticket. Unless, of course, Agnew is judged to be more of a liability than an asset to the President. Then Spiro could be replaced by four-term New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, who recently let it be known that he would consider second place, Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, or—just maybe—Treasury Secretary John Connally, who, however, is not due to change parties until 1974. Like Harold Stassen's comical attempt to have Nixon purged from the Republican ticket in 1956 in favor of Bay State governor Christian Herter, any outside or individual move to discredit Agnew is doomed to failure.

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