

RIPON FORUM

NOVEMBER

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ONE DOLLAR

IN A TIME OF COLLAPSING COALITIONS Are these two men relevant?

The election of the next President will usher in a period of crisis in the two-party system, of controversial economic policies and, possibly, of constitutional crisis as well. Howard L. Reiter's acute essay on party alignment (p. 7) pinpoints the groups which are shopping for new political alliances; Duncan K. Foley's column (p. 24) minces no words in outlining the difficult economic options; and Ripon's President (p. 16) and Editor (p. 3) assess the Nixon-Humphrey response to these conditions.



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Beyond Party Loyalty

Allard K. Lowenstein

Politics of Starvation

Robert B. Choate

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Ripon Endorsements



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On Page 20, the Republican nominee for Congress from the 6th District of Washington should read **Anthony Chase**, not **Timothy Chase**.

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 seven cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of sub-chapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions, and revenues from its publications and contract work. The Society offers the following options for annual contribution: Contributor \$25 or more; Sustainer \$100 or more; Founder \$1000 or more. Inquiries about membership and chapter organization should be addressed to the National Executive Director.

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EDITORIAL POINTS

RELEVANT RHETORIC

If the two candidates had used this campaign to educate the American people about the problems that lie ahead, their rhetoric would have been very somber indeed.

"If I am elected President," Richard Nixon would have said, "one of my first decisions will be whether the country should have a recession. If I decide against one, I shall have to remove the gold backing from the dollar. This will very much alter the climate in which NATO is renewed in 1969, in which the German elections are conducted that same year, in which international trading blocs take shape, in which the Japanese Security Treaty is renegotiated in 1970, and in which America reacts to the growth of Chinese nuclear and bacteriological power.

"If, on the other hand, I decide to redress our country's balance of payments problems by means other than devaluation of the dollar, this will mean increased unemployment at home. It will almost certainly mean higher interest rates, for these have been kept artificially low in the pre-election period. It will probably mean continuation of the tax surcharge, despite my campaign pledge to the contrary. The response to even a mild recession by the two groups that will be hardest hit by unemployment—Negroes and lower income whites—will no doubt force me to make good on some of my darker law and order rhetoric during the campaign."

To which Hubert Humphrey would in all frankness have replied: "I, too, will face these problems, but with an important difference: if I am elected President, it will probably be as a result of a constitutional crisis unparalleled since 1876. If by some miracle I do get a clear majority of electoral votes, it will only be through last-minute maneuvering on Vietnam. Thus, all my difficulties during the next four years will be compounded either by the fact that I was the choice of the House of Representatives rather than the people or by the nagging suspicion that my election was somehow bought by diplomatic sleight-of-hand. I shall have to be the most skillful indeed to emerge from my four-year term with a majority coalition."

The real campaign, of course, has been the very opposite of educational. It has furnished scant evidence that the candidates even perceive the problems they will face. Mr. Humphrey has devoted himself to demagogic advertisement of his willingness to ratify the non-proliferation treaty, to name-calling

and to hurling challenges to debate from which he gains much more political mileage than he possibly could from airing the issues themselves. Mr. Nixon has countered with an uninspiring aloofness and with generous promises on military spending that contrast sharply with his austere approach to domestic programs.

If the campaign has revealed a salient difference between the two men, it is that though Mr. Humphrey has displayed the more humane feelings, Mr. Nixon is able to talk to more people—from Strom Thurmond to John Lindsay to Floyd McKissick to the members of his new youth coalition. In the end, Nixon's is more an ability to bargain than to lead, but it may be a skill that is less irrelevant to the years ahead than the marshmallow optimism and generous impulses of Mr. Humphrey.

* * *

FINANCIAL VISION

The next President will make crucial technical decisions that will affect America's international financial standing in the decade to come. These decisions cannot be made intelligently without some larger vision of American-European relations.

In the absence of any guidelines in the speeches of the presidential candidates, it is particularly noteworthy that Mr. David Rockefeller, the President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, has charted a feasible and statesmanlike course. In a speech in Paris on October 16, Mr. Rockefeller suggested the formation of an open-ended North Atlantic Free Trade Area that would initially include the United States, Britain and Canada and would as early as possible be extended to embrace other countries as well.

The North Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA) has been discussed at length in two earlier issues of the FORUM (July and September, 1968). It is certainly a proposal that will merit close attention as the need for vision in international finance becomes increasingly evident in the months ahead. Mr. Rockefeller has done a service by injecting this proposal into debate at a time when well-defined, long-range alternatives are rare in financial circles.

They are even rarer in the Nixon campaign, which has been marked by myopic pledges of protectionism that are in direct contradiction to reassurances that Mr. Nixon has given the internationally oriented investment community.

THE BUILDER

Another Rockefeller brother, meanwhile, is being mentioned as a possible Secretary of Defense, and this is thought to be sufficient reassurance to urban-oriented Republicans that their interests will be well represented in a Nixon Cabinet.

Certainly, Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller is a great builder, and any administration would do well to use him. But progressive Republicans can take little satisfaction if his considerable talents are employed building bomb shelters and anti-ballistic missile systems instead of homes and schools. The main issue for progressive Republicans, after all, is a redressing of priorities between military and domestic spending. The glitter of personality should never be allowed to obscure this issue.

* * *

ENDORSEMENTS

Ripon's 1968 endorsements come at a time when a younger generation demands ever higher standards of political leadership. In selecting candidates for endorsement the Society has accordingly sought progressive and intelligent Republicans who can elicit commitment and enthusiasm from voters who find little to be enthusiastic about on the national level.

The list is selective rather than exhaustive. Several candidates who were offered Ripon's endorsement declined it. In many cases, insufficient information on the candidate's background or on issues in the campaign precluded endorsement. In other instances, candidates sought endorsement and provided background information. Non-inclusion of Republicans on the list does not, then, imply a negative endorsement.

ARKANSAS

Governor: Winthrop Rockefeller

CALIFORNIA

Rep: William Mailliard (6th Dist.)
Rep: Larry Fargher (9th Dist.)
Rep: Paul McCloskey (11th Dist.)
Rep: Joe Blatchford (17th Dist.)
Rep: Alphonso Bell (28th Dist.)
Rep: James R. Dunn (31st Dist.)
Rep: Jerry Pettis (33rd Dist.)

COLORADO

Rep: Frank A. Kemp, Jr. (1st Dist.)
Rep: Paul Bradley (3rd Dist.)

GEORGIA

Rep: Fletcher Thompson (5th Dist.)

ILLINOIS

Rep: Robert McClory (12th Dist.)
Rep: Donald Rumsfeld (13th Dist.)
Rep: John Anderson (16th Dist.)
Rep: Paul Findley (20th Dist.)

INDIANA

Rep: Robert T. Garton (9th Dist.)
Rep: W. W. Hill, Jr. (11th Dist.)

IOWA

Rep: Fred Schwengel (1st Dist.)

KENTUCKY

Rep: William O. Cowger (3rd Dist.)
Rep: Tim Lee Carter (5th Dist.)

MAINE

Rep: Horace A. Hildreth (1st Dist.)

MARYLAND

Senator: Charles Mathias
Rep: Rogers Morton (1st Dist.)
Rep: J. Glenn Beall (6th Dist.)
Rep: Gilbert Gude (8th Dist.)

MASSACHUSETTS

Rep: Silvio Conte (1st Dist.)
Rep: F. Bradford Morse (5th Dist.)
Rep: William Abbott (7th Dist.)
Rep: Margaret Heckler (10th Dist.)
Rep: Hastings Keith (12th Dist.)

MICHIGAN

Rep: Marvin L. Esch (2nd Dist.)
Rep: Donald Riegle, Jr. (7th Dist.)
Rep: Philip Ruppe (11th Dist.)

MINNESOTA

Rep: Albert H. Quie (1st Dist.)
Rep: Clark McGregor (3rd Dist.)
Rep: Harmon T. Ogdahl (5th Dist.)
Rep: John M. Zwach (6th Dist.)

MISSOURI

Senator Thomas B. Curtis
Governor: Lawrence K. Roos
Atty. General: John C. Danforth

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Governor: Walter R. Peterson

NEW JERSEY

Rep: Peter Frelinghuysen (5th Dist.)
Rep: William T. Cahill (6th Dist.)
Rep: William Widnall (7th Dist.)
Rep: Peter Moraites (9th Dist.)
Rep: George Wallhauser (11th Dist.)
Rep: Florence P. Dwyer (12th Dist.)

(turn to page 20)

Mutiny in the Ranks

Never before 1968 have big labor's top brass been so unified behind a single presidential candidate, and never before has the movement had so much money to spend on electing its friends and punishing its enemies.

But never before, either, has there been so much disension from the rank and file. Not only does 1968's labor vote appear to be undeliverable, but the paradox of the year may well be that the leaders of organized labor have nominated a candidate whose defeat will be insured by their own membership.

Labor's behind the scenes support was of course crucial to the Hubert Humphrey's preconvention maneuvers. George Meany, the 74-year-old president of the AFL-CIO, took less than 48 hours to check with the White House after President Johnson's withdrawal from the race on March 31 and put labor on the line for HHH. The AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) worked quietly for Hubert Humphrey in the days before the convention and was a vital part of the Humphrey operation at the International Amphitheater in Chicago. Alexander E. Barkan, director of COPE and one of the shrewdest political operatives in the country, directed labor's convention maneuvering. Lane Kirkland, Meany's administrative assistant, Andrew Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director, and Al Zack, public-relations director, joined Barkan in a special office on the Amphitheater balcony where they kept in contact with the 201 labor union officials who were delegates to the Democrat's convention (there were 103 labor officials listed as alternates in addition to the 201 delegates). The "labor caucus" represented 43 States and was influential in defeating the anti-Humphrey forces on a series of important floor fights—rules, credentials and the Vietnam war plank of the platform. Some of the more prestigious union officials in attendance in Chicago included I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworker's Union and of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, a member of the Pennsylvania delegation, and John Lyons, president of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Ironworkers, from Missouri. Both are Federation vice-presidents and executive council members. This showing presented sharp contrast to the handful of labor union officials at the Republican Convention—the only notable being Lee W. Minton, president of the Glass Blowers Association.

COPE is geared up for a major effort in November. The total contribution all of organized labor is making this Fall is variously estimated at anywhere from \$20 million to \$50 million. COPE alone set aside \$750,000 for registration campaigns and \$500,000 for "political education." Neither of these two funds is supposed to go to candidates, although they often do. The AFL-CIO

regularly taxes each member one-and-one-third cents each month for its "Special Purpose Fund," which amounted to \$2,229,338 for fiscal 1967 and was spent primarily on "voter registration" and "influencing state legislation." In 1964-5, COPE gave \$942,000 directly to candidates. This amount should be increased considerably this year, even though the departure of the United Automobile Workers from the ranks of the AFL-CIO cost COPE \$180,000.

FRINGE BENEFITS

Unions help candidates in other ways aside from financial assistance. Manpower, office space, mimeograph and photocopying equipment and sound trucks are often diverted to political efforts. In addition, the AFL-CIO National Auxiliaries, made up of the wives, mothers and children of union members, have asked the families of union men to give one day a week to approved political activity until November. Computers are also joining the union drive. COPE has engineered data processing systems in California, Colorado, the District of Columbia, Connecticut, Maryland, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Texas. "Political profiles" are being prepared on approximately 3.5 million AFL-CIO members, aiming eventually to include all 18 million union members in the United States. Information stored in the computers should be helpful with registration work, membership voting surveys and in securing campaign assistance.

The major union emphasis is being placed on 60 Congressional districts, including all those in which union supporters lost by less than 5% in 1966. Special



'On the other hand, if he doesn't have a single constructive idea, it could save us taxpayers millions.'

COPE statewide campaigns are planned for California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin. Key cities are Gary, Indiana, Boston, Cleveland and Philadelphia.

Why all this political activity? Naturally, organized labor has a stake in the political process, but why is 1968 viewed as so vital a year, so much more vital than any previous half-dozen Presidential contests? I believe that the answer is twofold.

The first reason for labor's extraordinary efforts in 1968 is its fear of an "anti-union" Congress and a conservative Republican President. On an ideological and a personal level, George Meany simply does not like Richard Nixon. COPE's director, Al Barkan, puts it bluntly: "Don't let anybody kid you that there's a new Nixon. Nixon's the same union-hater he's always been." COPE has convinced itself that a loss of 20 or 25 Congressmen currently listed as "friendly" to labor would be disastrous.

Indeed, a recent edition of the Machinists Union newspaper goes so far as to claim that legislation already in Congress would "destory industrywide bargaining, cram a federal open shop down labor's throat, abolish the National Labor Relations Board, outlaw multi-union bargaining, smash traditional collective bargaining and undermine labor's political efforts." If a "conservative" — read Richard Nixon — is elected, he could alter the whole stance of government from a protector of labor's rights to an oppressor."

Most of this hyperbolic apprehension is mere bombast of course. No one can reasonably expect all these forbodings to come true, least of all sophisticated men like Barkan. Labor leaders' memories are long enough to recall that the last Republican administration had James Mitchell as its secretary of Labor, a man whom most of them thought a great deal of.

If any threat to the big unions does exist, it is not in losing gains already won, but in failing to reach new objectives. Average wage settlements in major bargaining agreements went up from 3.8% in 1965, to 4.7% in 1967. In 1968, contracts have so far averaged 5.8%, with first year "catch-ups" averaging 7.4%. So long as a Democratic Administration contents itself with exhortations about reasonable wage-price behavior, this trend will not be abated. For example, the AFL-CIO sank \$850,000 into the nation's longest strike, the nine-month copper walkout. Their aim was to achieve coalition bargaining, where many trades bargain with an employer at one sitting for all his plants and operation. They lost this one, but the Johnson Administration's refusal to invoke Taft-Hartley at least prolonged the battle and gave them their chance.

Industry-wide coalition bargaining may be the next step in labor's march onward. Walter Reuther, the aggressive and dynamic president of the United Automobile Workers, has even talked about international strikes against a single multi-national employer. A Republican President, especially one with a Nixonian conservative tinge, might be less loathe to dam this kind of tide by invoking Taft-Hartley or other tactics.

But there are offensive as well as defensive reasons

for labor's big push for Humphrey.

SEIZING THE PARTY

First, labor leaders are convinced that they represent the only effective leadership left in the Democratic Party. The old liberals are dying off and the new liberals like Senators McCarthy and Kennedy are not to the liking of the labor hierarchy. As the old Democratic machines in the cities collapse from internal decay, labor is training its own to take over the reigns of power. In Toledo, Ohio, for example, Frank W. King is both president of the AFL-CIO and the Democratic minority leader of the State Senate. It was labor that once again nominated Philadelphia Mayor James H. J. Tate against the opposition of the crumbling Democratic organization. Where it can, labor works very closely with a political leader. In Chicago, the Sanitationmen's Union manned the galleries for Richard Daley and provided some of his now famous muscle power.

But labor would like more influence than its traditional carrot and stick tactics of supporting friends and punishing enemies has returned. If labor support is decisive to a candidate's campaign success, then labor considerations should be proportionately important in the decisions of his administration. By this theory, labor leaders view Humphrey as *their* candidate. They worked to get him the nomination as vice-president in 1964, and they boosted him into the top spot in 1968. He is theirs, and as they see it, the Democratic Party is theirs "from the courthouse to the White House," as another Democrat put it.

The rub in the grand design is that, for all the money and muscle being expended, the working man will have no part in furthering it. A June Gallup Poll gave Humphrey 47% of the labor vote as against Nixon's 28% and George Wallace's 18%. In July, Gallup had union members favoring Nixon at 32.6%, 46.7% for Humphrey and 14.9% for Wallace. A poll of the Connecticut membership of the United Automobile Workers conducted in August gave Wallace 30% of that vote with Nixon and Humphrey splitting the rest. Additional UAW polls taken in September are also of interest. At the Ford Motor Company's Lincoln and Mercury Plant in Middlesex County, New Jersey, a poll of 100 workers found 62 in favor of George Wallace. At a General Motors plant in the same state, a sample of 500 union men gave Wallace 73% of the vote.

In its political calculations, labor, like others this year, failed to take account of the rank and file's rebellious state of mind, so shrewdly exploited by George Wallace. Much of the white labor vote this year will be determined by fear of the black man and the larger frustration that grows out of living in confusing times. The white working man feels alienated from a government that he feels has done something for everyone else but him, a sentiment exacerbated by the current wave of welfare protests. He is bound to vote against those in power, who happen to be Democrats.

Wallace, you hear the working man say, "has guts." He expressed their concern with high taxes, peace marchers, the intellectual establishment, and the whole myriad of problems associated with life in an advanced

industrial state. The new suburban union man has little interest in the old union issues and he has little patience for talk of equality for black people. He wants someone who will talk about his problems, his taxes, his son fighting in Vietnam, his schools, and the rest.

ANTI-WALLACE PROPAGANDA

Organized labor is trying desperately to exterminate this Wallace virus. They realize the votes that Wallace gains here are Democratic, not Republican. And they are well aware of the impetus driving their membership to the Alabama demagogue. A recent editorial in the AFL-CIO News, for example, points out that Alabama ranks 48th among states in per capita annual income and 48th in per-pupil expenditures in public schools. The Kentucky Labor News, the official weekly of the Kentucky AFL-CIO, is hitting Wallace on his home front. "The murder rate in Alabama is running 12.9 murders per 100,00 population annually. . . . The rape rate in Alabama is 11.9 per 100,00," blasted a recent headline. If Wallace is for law and order, why doesn't he clean up Alabama? This is their question. Some unions are planning to distribute a 16-page anti-Wallace booklet to their members. The Southern Committee on Political Ethics, an organization financed by labor, foundations and individuals, prepared this pamphlet which describes Wallace's anti-union positions: his support of right-to-work laws and the low level of Alabama's unemployment benefits and workmen's compensation during his term as Governor.

In at least one instance labor decided that efforts

to register their own union men were counterproductive. In Michigan, UAW chief Walter Reuther stopped a drive to register voters in normally Democratic white working class neighborhoods who had been dropped from lists last time because of failure to vote. Interestingly, the registration drive was re-aimed at Detroit's black inner city, where four out of five Negroes who vote can be expected to choose Humphrey. As labor figured it, the unregistered white is apt to be for Wallace, while the unregistered black will be for Humphrey.

Where will all this lead? Very likely the result of labor's efforts, directed as they must be at George Wallace, will tend to favor Richard Nixon. Not that Nixon will be free from attack, but that there will be less time and money for the effort.

The anti-Wallace propaganda may convince some Wallace supporters to switch their votes to Nixon in preference to Humphrey. But among union men this will not be a common pattern. Most union men are not construction or white collar workers who are willing to embrace the "high status" Republican Party. They are blue collar, industrial workers for whom the GOP is anathema. Suspicion of Republicans, particularly strong among workers in the Mid-land Southwest, make this a two candidate race for many union men: Humphrey v. Wallace.

But no matter which of the non-Democrats the men in the shop support, in 1968 the man so firmly embraced by labor's hierarchy is quite likely to be defeated by the rank and file.

—WILLIAM J. KILBERG

PARTY REALIGNMENT

The Collapsing Coalitions

For the past 20 years, the nation has been gradually moving in the direction of political realignment. This phenomenon, which has occurred in this country about once in a generation, can be defined as a shift in voter loyalties massive enough to alter fundamentally the major blocs comprising the national parties. It has always occurred and probably will continue to do so after a number of national elections which force the electorate to reassess its underlying loyalties. Changing national issues and voter concern lead the voter to cast his ballot contrary to his usual behavior in several consecutive elections. When enough voters go through this process enough times, the original "traditional" patterns of partisan loyalties reach the breaking point.

This process has occurred most notably in three periods in American history, the 1850's, the 1890's, and the 1930's. These great watersheds of American history — the resolution of the slavery controversy, the decision to reject the agrarian past and seek trade on foreign shores, and the use of national government to resolve economic crisis — were all analogous in many ways to the turbulent 60's.

And there is evidence that the voting patterns of the last two decades are moving toward this characteristic realignment. The simplest index is the number of

people who tell Dr. Gallup's interviewers that they are "independents": this figure has been rising steadily since 1940 and surpassed the Republican total in 1965. In each of the last four Presidential elections, as much as 17% of the combined Republican-Democratic vote switched to the other party's candidate, including 23% of the Democrats in 1952 and 20% of the Republicans in 1964. The earliest break in the New Deal coalition came in 1948, when the Deep South walked out on Harry Truman. In the 1950's, many Democrats found themselves breaking Presidential voting habits. Religion caused much crossing-over in 1960, particularly in the cities and border states. Again in 1964 the Goldwater-Johnson battle produced significant defections in both directions. On almost all levels of government, every region of the nation is far more competitive between the parties than it was just a few years ago.

But to catalogue change is not to explain it. The terms of the political conflict are far different from what they were when the present party coalitions were established, and only an understanding of these differences can provide guidance for discerning future trends. Born in a period of economic collapse, the Democratic majority coalition was based on economic factors. The groups hit hardest by the Depression — blue collar

workers, urban ethnic minorities, the lower classes, farmers and the South — banded together, determined to redress material inequities. Significantly, the first group to desert the coalition (and enter the limbo of independent voting) were the successful farmers, who had been granted self-sufficiency by the Roosevelt Administration's farm policies. But even more significant were the rumblings in Dixie. For the South was reassessing its place in the party for a rather noneconomic reason — race.

KEY GROUPS

As much as Northern vanity may rebel at the idea, in this regard the South was leading the nation, virtually ahead of its time, in placing a psychological, status-oriented, fear-ridden motivation over its previous economic concerns. For the pattern was to repeat itself, as each element of the New Deal coalition, satisfied with its economic security, shifted its focus to questions of status and inter-group relationships. Leaving out for the moment the specific content of these questions, the important point is the blurring of income distinctions between professional groups and labor-union members who have "made it" — to the point that the mass of American voters live in relative comfort and do not need a "welfarist" party.

Add to this long-range trend the twin crises of war and domestic strife, particularly in the ghettos, crises which have divided both major parties and disillusioned millions of voters, and the catalyst for realignment appears at last. The form that the new coalitions will take is a question as bewildering as it is intriguing. Certainly, any attempt to project the future must take into account the following:

- 1) A most dangerous trap would be to take the features of this transient, intermediate period and assume that they will be the lasting features of a new political era. For example, to view the Wallace candidacy as the first step in a permanent shift to a new party is to ignore the history of realignment. In the past many voters have stopped at third-party way-stations on their way to a new major-party loyalty — the function of the Know-Nothings in the 1850's, the Populists in the 1890's and LaFollette's Progressives in the 1920's. Anybody who saw any of these parties as permanent made the mistake of confusing flirtation with marriage.
- 2) Another grave error would be to minimize the effect of past loyalties on some of the groups in the population. The long and sometimes unrequited love of the South for the Democratic Party and of blacks for the Republican Party are familiar examples. No realignment has ever shaken *all* groups from their historic loyalties, and the next realignment should prove no exception.
- 3) Nothing in our definition of realignment stipulates that there must be a turnover in party control, or that new parties must or must not arise. The new alignment may be another era of Democratic hegemony, or it might conceivably be an era of brand-new party labels. Republicans should take nothing for granted.

- 4) Finally, and most important of all, realignments need not be neat or rational. Who in the 1920's could have foreseen that blacks and Southern whites would soon be in the same party? Every major-party coalition (and most minor parties) in American history has been comprised of groups bearing strikingly different motives for joining together. This is the basis of that old complaint that ideologues have levelled against our parties, namely that they are meaningless conglomerations of incompatibles. We hear proposals that all liberals join together in one party, and all conservatives in another; but at no time has the division been remotely as clearcut. And nobody should expect it to be now.

For the purpose of discussing the realigning process, several important electoral groups will be considered:

Labor leadership: This group, which is becoming more and more estranged from its supposed followers, has been a bulwark of the Democratic Party, providing it with prestige and money.

Blue-collar workers and ethnic minorities: Increasingly independent, this group is re-evaluating its Democratic sympathies as economic concerns give way to status concerns.

The educated young: As the voting age is lowered in the next several years, this college-educated group will play a role far beyond its numbers — particularly through its activist orientation. The present tendency of this group is to the Democratic Party, particularly to the party's liberal wing.

Blacks: Their Democratic traditions may be shaken as they organize as a swing group.

The poor: Increasing political sophistication or at least attention, may destroy their Democratic fidelity, too.

The small-town South: Once the hard core of the Democratic Party, their racial fears have driven them to reconsider their place in American politics.

Farmers: America's number one swing group goes where its own special welfare state will be protected.

Big business: These older, wealthy captains of industry have provided the Republican Party with exactly what the labor leaders have given the Democrats.

The small-town North: Once the bulwark of the Grand Old Party, their fears about growing metropolitanism have changed their political perspective.

The managerial elite: This group is the newest class in the nation, a result of what Victor Fuchs calls "the first service economy." White-collar, over 30, well-educated, predominantly suburban, they man the prestigious service functions of mid-century America — government, advertising, the mass media, education, science, data processing, and the professions. They provided the votes for McCarthy in the 1968 primaries, and they are no longer a Republican stronghold. This is the group that Marcus Raskin's New Party is after as a crucial element in their plans for realignment. They differ from the business elite in that their motivation is professional and service-oriented, and not the motivation of material satisfaction alone.

The dynamics of realignment may take one of a number of forms, and more likely will be a combination of several types of cleavage. What follows is a series of social cleavages along which realignment might be likely to occur.

I. The Status Cleavage

At any time in the history of a nation, there are groups which want to maintain the status quo, those which desire a return to past relationships, and the men on the make who desire a new order. This is not the standard conservative-reactionary-liberal dimension, because it cuts across ideological lines. The focus is not economics, but status — who runs the show, and who wants to. Therefore the status quo groups of today are those who are satisfied with the present pecking order — traditionally "liberal" groups like the labor leadership, "conservative" big business and farmers.

The managerial elite is at once part of this group, and a threat to the others. For as Daniel Bell has written, "not only the best talents, but eventually the entire complex of social prestige and social status, will be rooted in the intellectual and scientific communities." The managerial elite understands this, and wishes to preserve the society that will enable it to come to pass. Their world of big government, the multiversities, computers, and public and private subsidization of research must be maintained. How labor, business, and the farmers will react to this new power will not be evident for some time.

From the left come the people determined to change all this, to equalize and "humanize" — the collegiate young, the poor, the blacks. What is important here is not their desire to acquire more power and to have greater control over their own destiny, but simply their anger with the present structure of power and access. They serve as a threat not only to the business-labor-farmer bloc, but also to the technocrats who run the institutions which seem to oppress them. In their eyes, Grayson Kirk and George Meany are one.

SMALL TOWN ROMANTICS Opposed to both these forces of stability and change are the romantics of the small towns (North and South) and working-class neighborhoods. They yearn for the world of simpler truths, of conventional morality and patriotism. While their antagonism to the forces of the left is obvious, they also resent big labor, big business, the farm subsidy "racket," and the managerial elite that takes them for granted. They are William Graham Sumner's (and now Richard Nixon's) "forgotten man," the fellow who pays his taxes, stays out of trouble, and watches his country being run by the power blocs and the intellectuals. George Wallace is only the latest of a long line of spokesmen for this breed.

If realignment is primarily to follow the status cleavage, it will pit the groups that have benefitted most from the government policies and social trends of the last generation against those who feel that they still must "make it" and also those who want to end the social turmoil and confusion. The leaders who emerge

will use the rhetoric of maintenance or the rhetoric of nostalgia — the status-quo politician will talk of incremental changes in the present system to solidify his appeal to the satisfied, and the nostalgic politician will talk of bringing us back to fundamental truths. Nowhere was this more evident than in both national conventions this year; Humphrey reciting the familiar list of Presidents who built the system, and Nixon devoting much of his address to trains in the night and rugged individualism. In terms of "substantive" policy, the differences may not account for much; but we have long defined "substantive" in economic terms. What may be far more important than the content of legislation are the groups to which the politicians address themselves. This year, Humphrey must hold on to both the managerial elite and the old labor and ethnic blocs — which Peter Drucker has called "the dilemma of the Democrats."

As for the educated young, poor and blacks, being the smallest group, they would have to content themselves with either a third party or the role of swing group. How they would line up would depend on the extent to which the other social cleavages affected the realignment.

II. The Alienation Cleavage

As if to prove the platitudinous assertion that the far right and the far left converge, many liberals and radicals of the 1960's have taken to criticizing big government and the welfare state. They range from former advisers to Robert Kennedy to the nether reaches of the "new left." They have discovered, they think, the truth to the old right's assertion that big government means limits on freedom, stultifying bureaucracy and the stifling of local and individual initiative. In a sense, a cleavage is developing between those who are alienated from post-New Deal government and those who are not.

The labor leaders, the farmers, big business and the managerial elite are all content with the nature of government in post-war America — the first three groups because of its largesse, the fourth because they are running it or institutions which depend on it. Agriculture expressed its dependence on the Federal government by voting for the Truman Farm program in 1948, and corporate business did the same by voting for Johnson in 1964. On the other hand, the small towns, North and South, and blue-collar groups are resentful of big government's alleged controls and its policies in the crucial area of status relationships (particularly with regard to the poor and to race). On the left are the blacks, who see the government as the capstone of an oppressive system; the poor, who demand more dignity and aid; and the educated young, who sympathize with the blacks and who have their own special axe to grind — the war.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS Whether the two alienated forces can unite against the proponents of big government is a difficult question to answer. If history is a guide, stranger partnerships have existed. But there is so wide a gulf between the aspirations of the two "out"

groups that unity may be an impossible dream. Earlier this year, Richard Nixon attempted to use the Republican Party as a vehicle for this kind of movement, by making a play for the black militant vote. But only Roy Innis seems to have taken the bait, and Nixon's standing with the left was not improved by the visible role of Strom Thurmond and John Tower in Miami Beach.

But Nixon's difficulties do not necessarily mean that a coalition of the disaffected is impossible. The architects of Marcus Raskin's New Party see this kind of union as their best hope. With local control of one's own destiny as the rallying cry, they hope to organize first the students, then the blacks, and then the managerial middle class. Eventually, the conservatives would be wooed. But the managerial elite has backed McCarthy

and Rockefeller on rather specific (and perhaps transient) issues, and is not temperamentally alienated from the government. As for the Wallace folk and other conservative whites, the New Partisans admit that there is no clearcut way to go about attracting them to a coalition with collegians and blacks. It would appear that here, too, status and group concerns are dominant.

If, however, a leader should emerge who can fuse these groups (a small-town Lindsay? a black Wallace?), the issues would again be non-"substantive," but involved with instrumentalities. The Raskin group sees a future of self-reliant communities — urban neighborhoods, suburbs, small towns — without centralized control, giving people a maximum degree of control over their own lives. The greatest problem would be the fact that self-rule by lower-class whites would be differ-

REALIGNMENT PATTERNS

A. TRADITIONAL POST-WAR ALLIANCES

DEMOCRATIC

Labor leadership
Educated young
Blacks
Blue-collar, ethnic
Small-town South
Poor

SWING

Farmers

REPUBLICAN

Managerial elite
Big business
Small-town North

B. THE STATUS CLEAVAGE

ON THE MAKE

Poor
Educated young
Blacks

STATUS QUO

Big business
Managerial elite
Labor leadership

ROMANTICS

Small-town South
Small-town North
Blue-collar, ethnic

C. THE ALIENATION CLEAVAGE

ALIENATED

Educated young
Poor
Blacks
Small-town North
Small-town South
Blue-collar, ethnic

NON - ALIENATED

Labor leadership
Farmers
Big Business
Managerial elite

D. THE IDEOLOGICAL CLEAVAGE

AUTHORITARIAN

Labor leadership
Small-town North
Small-town South
Blue-collar, ethnic
Big business

MIXED

Farmers

TOLERATIONIST

Educated young
Blacks
Poor
Managerial elite

E. THE NEW ALIGNMENT ?

DEMOCRATIC

Labor leadership
Farmers
Managerial elite

SWING

Educated young
Poor
Blacks

REPUBLICAN

Big business
Small-town North
Small-town, South
Blue-collar, ethnic

ently motivated from self-rule by ghetto blacks.

For the purposes of realignment, however, the alienation cleavage is significant for driving wedges between groups that might coalesce along other cleavage lines.

III. Ideological Cleavage

Ideology is the factor that usually comes first to mind when the subject of realignment is raised. But ideology as we are used to thinking about it is along basically economic lines, and the most salient issues of today are not economic. This is not to say that an ideology — a general outlook on life that attempts to explain all and serve as a perceptual guide to the future — cannot be applied to noneconomic issues. In fact, there is arising in this country today an ideological cleavage regarding the treatment of "anti-social," dissident groups. It often is addressed specifically to radicals, criminals, rioters, demonstrators, bohemians and those who practice civil disobedience. In this panoply of issues are included racial and anti-war protest, black power, Supreme Court decisions about civil procedure, extremism and violence, "law and order," police conduct, campus protest — in short, the most inflammatory issues of the day. And all relate directly to the place of nonconformist and deviant behavior in society; it is at the heart of questions of status and inter-group relationships. Perhaps it is the natural type of issue for a generally affluent society.

This year, in one apocalyptic week — the week of the Democratic National Convention — all of these passions rose to the surface in the confrontation between the Chicago police and the youthful demonstrators. All of the issues of the day, save race, unfolded like flower petals — police brutality, unpatriotic behavior, law and order, violence, hippies, the new left — until the affair looked, if you believed the rhetoric, like a clash between fascism and anarchy. No better man could have been imagined for this event than Richard J. Daley, the living model of the blue-collar ethnic faced with the cultural horror of obscene language and unconventional dress displayed by the protesters — not to mention their unorthodox views. All the affair needed for aesthetic fullness was a harangue from Rap Brown.

The reaction of big business, the blue-collar bloc (from the leaders to the "followers"), farmers, and the small-town North and South to all this is predictable. Dissident elements in society seem to threaten all of them, and they respond in ideological fashion — with predetermined reactions and catch-phrases. The educated young, blacks, and poor, who are responsible for much of the controversial behavior, stand at the other extreme, reacting in equally predictable sloganeering. The managerial elite stands, in this case, with the dissidents, for every good liberal must value toleration above all else. It is likely that this was the major group with the greatest sympathy for the protestors at Chicago, mainly due to the behavior of the police and the attacks on one of the privileged sanctuaries of the elite, the mass media. But most important, the elite, confident of its key role in American society, is not concerned with

threats from below. It is the most secure class in America.

If this ideological cleavage becomes the crucial factor in the new realignment, the politics of the next generation will feature the battle of the McCarthys, Gene and Joe. On the one hand will be the politicians who will call for authority to curb deviant behavior; on the other will be those pleading for the rights of minorities. The outcome will of course be of momentous importance for the nation.

IV. Forecasting the New Alignment

These are some of the options for realignment. They are summarized in the table. But it is important at this point to recall the few warnings mentioned earlier:

- 1) The features of the 1968 political scene may not be the features of the new era. For example, the importance of foreign policy as an issue this year may be only a temporary phenomenon.
- 2) Past loyalties may play an important role; perhaps the labor leaders will *never* leave their party, nor big businessmen leave theirs, despite the issues involved.
- 3) The realignment may be another period of Democratic rule — but with a greatly altered Democratic Party. Or it may feature brand-new parties.
- 4) Finally, these cleavages may cut across each other to produce strange combinations. It is conceivable, for example, that the rural white South join blacks as a coalition against big government, while the managerial elite joins the blacks on the issue of minority-group rights.

Considering all these factors together, let us venture a prediction. It is likely that business will remain in the Republican Party and the labor leadership in the Democratic, if only because of tradition. The small-town North will probably remain Republican too, due not only to tradition but also to its attitudes toward minorities. The small-town South and the blue-collar ethnic vote will then drift to the Republicans in large numbers, bound to the small-town North by everything except voting traditions, and to big business by their attitudes toward deviant groups. The Republican Party, then, would be largely the home of the frustrated lower middle class.

LIVE AND LET LIVE

Joining the labor leadership in the Democratic Party will be the farm vote, anxious to maintain liberal farm policies. A residue of the managerial elite will probably remain Republican by tradition, but it's logical that the managerial elite would join the Democrats because of status considerations, attitudes towards government, and the wish to conduct their affairs without any impairment: the managers would let the farmers and labor leaders have their welfare programs, while the farmers and labor leaders complete the trade off by not meddling with the managers institutional wheeling and dealing.

As for the educated young, blacks and the poor, they will probably perch themselves on the fence and look to where the best accommodations could be made,

(turn to page 15)

UNDERNOURISHED FOOD POLICIES

The United States is badly in need of rethinking practically every single one of its programs having to do with food and nutrition both at home and abroad. It is not that we are doing everything wrong. But we have not known how to apply the knowledge gained during the past twenty years.

Essentially, the country is still operating its programs on the basis of the assumptions and of the knowledge current at the end of World War II. This is true in policy for the nutrition of the well off as well as of poor Americans; it is equally true as regards to military programs here and abroad and food programs in our foreign policy.

The chief culprit is the Department of Agriculture but the Food and Drug Administration, AID, Food for Peace, the Pentagon and the State Department have been equally ignorant, indifferent and callous. The tragedy is compounded when one remembers that the United States Government was a pioneer in support of human nutrition studies (with Atwater, at the turn of the century); in the "marriage of food and agriculture" (with the bureau of Human Nutrition of the Department of Agriculture, so constructive in the thirties and early forties); in the teaching of nutrition and home economics in Agriculture Extension Programs; in feeding programs on enormous scales (National School Lunch and National Milk programs); in vitamin enrichment programs; and so many others. The U. S. has led not only the development of scientific knowledge in nutrition, but in its incorporation into significant national applications.

In contrast, consider the situation at present. The Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, has opposed vigorously any measure which would drastically reduce the intake of animal fat, butter in particular, by adult Americans. The formidable amount of evidence indicating the relationship of "saturated" fat to cardiovascular disease, (a chief cause of death in this country at present and the factor which has caused the life expectancy of our men to stay essentially constant since 1948 in spite of a tripling of medical expenses per capita in the last twenty years) has no effect on him. Unwilling to modify an absurd subsidy system which makes it profitable for dairy farmers to add to our mounting surpluses in butter, he has had to disregard obesity and heart disease when addressing himself to problems of nutrition.

Neither has his policy been better as far as nutritional deficiencies are concerned. Mr. Freeman will be remembered as the Secretary of Agriculture who tried to cut down on the national school feeding programs and resisted increases in the scope of food stamp and

food commodity distributions for the poor while publicizing a poorly conceived and interpreted USDA food consumption survey which pretended to show that a major portion of the American public suffered from a shortage of calcium and ought to considerably increase its milk consumption.

The Food and Drug Administration meanwhile resisted pressures of the health professions to make it legal to advertise the polyunsaturated fat content of oils and margarines and, therefore, make it profitable for manufacturers to take important steps leading to a diet less likely to raise the cholesterol levels of our adult population.

Food for Peace has been rightly accused by economists of dumping cheap agricultural commodities abroad (as a way of disposing of our surpluses) — thereby further decreasing the incentive for farmers in underdeveloped countries to increase their production — instead of concentrating on helping this production by assisting in the creation of fertilizer plants, the introduction of new vegetable and animal strains, etc. These measures would provide more permanent solutions to the problems of developing countries. They would not resolve our surplus problems (surpluses would only be needed for emergencies at home and abroad). Only a complete rethinking of our subsidy system can solve that question.

The worst example of perverted nutrition policy comes from the Pentagon. I am referring to the continuing (and expanding) program of crop destruction in Vietnam. Gigantic areas of rice producing land have been sprayed with herbicides, in an effort to deny the Vietcong the food it requires for its soldiers. The historic lessons that food blockades, food destruction and food denials have never defeated an enemy has been lost on the Department of Defense. Children, then the elderly starve, pregnant women abort, nursing mothers cease to have milk and their babies die, but soldiers always get the food they need. Nor has the absence of evidence that the program does anything more than add to the refugee problem convinced the generals. In this field as in others, escalation has been the response to failure.

The examples of continuing ineptitude in federal action in nutrition go on and on, but the lesson remains the same: our government needs better (and more forceful) advice in all aspects of this very basic area.

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FOOD PROGRAMS: The Politics of Starvation

The shocking maladministration and inadequacy of the nation's food assistance programs for the poorest of the poor has been amply demonstrated over the past few months in Congressional hearings and the national press. Seventeen months after the issue was originally raised by a group of Congressmen and Senators, people are still starving, children are still suffering irreversible brain damage from malnutrition.

That this national scandal still exists is not the fault of the Congressional Republicans, who along with concerned Democrats like the late Robert F. Kennedy have fought the callousness, obstructionism and indifference of both Congress and the Johnson-Humphrey administration.

The following is a profoundly disturbing, terse but full account of the incredible contortions that Senators and Congressmen went through in an only partly successful effort to get food to starving Americans.

It would seem that the hunger issue presents Republicans with a clear-cut opportunity to improve on the performance of the Johnson-Humphrey administration. Since June Mr. Nixon's staff was approached several times to take a clear position on the need to improve food programs. In mid-October the position came in the form of a Nixon statement read by Senator Charles E. Goodell of New York. But meanwhile, the machinery of government has not gotten food to the people who need it.

Republican involvement in the issue of hunger in America first came to light with Senator George Murphy's Spring '67 exclamation, "My God, these people are starving," when he visited some Mississippi Delta plantations. From that point on, Republicans have played a series of crucial roles as the public became aware of hunger in America. The controversy, the debate, the public pronouncements, received national attention. Less noted was the importance of Republican participation as this national scandal unfolded.

In the Spring of 1967, Senator Clark's Sub-Committee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty visited the Delta area of Mississippi and quickly learned of the extreme economic circumstances then prevalent in that area. Senators Murphy, Javits and Robert Kennedy were particularly distressed, but the Committee jurisdiction problem hampered proper scrutiny of the hunger problem.

In April of 1967 I was asked by the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty to scrutinize the conduct of the nation's food programs for the poor. Simultaneously, the Field Foundation decided to send a team of doctors into Mississippi to analyze the degree of the problem. Working from a comparison of the participation in Federal food programs with the number of poor people in

a variety of counties in the United States, one could quickly gain evidence that the food programs were not being operated for the benefit of the poor.

The Field Foundation team went into Mississippi on Memorial Day 1967. Reports on both these endeavors were made available to members of Senator Clark's Committee in June of 1967 and Senator Clark decided full-scale hearings were then justified on the subject of hunger and malnutrition. These hearings took place on July 11 and 12. Senator Javits, having studied at length the statistical evidence of how the Department of Agriculture administered its food programs, put Secretary Freeman on the hot seat in front of the television cameras at those hearings. He asked the Secretary to get off his back-side and feed hungry Americans. Secretary Freeman lost his temper and the nation gained a new awareness of the political and economic limitations placed on the nation's food programs.

Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, a very interested observer of the hunger hearings, responded acrimoniously on the floor of the Senate several days later, and then introduced his "Emergency Food and Medical Services Bill" which opened Pandora's box on the whole subject. The Stennis Bill — S2138 — passed the Senate within 10 days with strong Republican help. It then

went to Robert Poage's House Agriculture Committee and received the expected Southern Democratic treatment: shelving. Congressman Albert Quie came to the rescue and tacked the first half of the Stennis Bill onto the then pending Poverty Bill. It finally passed the House unscathed. Senator Robert Kennedy stuck the other half of the Stennis Bill — that which called for a nationwide study on malnutrition — onto the Partnership for Health Bill, and it too passed. These two legislative efforts gave OEO, BOB and USDA a new mandate to look at America's hungry people.

LBJ FIDDLES The White House, however, chose to deprecate the entire issue. Constant pressure from Senators Javits, Clark, Robert Kennedy, and from Congressman Albert Quie put these three agencies into a vise from which they are still trying to escape. Those who tried to persuade OEO, BOB and USDA to make administrative improvements in the conduct of the nation's food programs for the poor soon became convinced that the present administration had no desire to make drastic reforms in the commodity or food stamp programs. The Administration seemed content with feeding one-fifth of the poor by these two programs. It seemed content with having these programs active in only two-thirds of the nation's counties and providing only two-thirds of a month's food to those few participants in these counties that were permitted to enroll. The Administration seemed particularly apathetic about the glaring pockets of hungry people in whole regions of the South and Southwest. Texas, in particular, seemed to be of no concern. Repeated approaches to Administration insiders gave me the impression that (a) this nation administers its food programs on the basis of how much money it wants to spend and not on how many people are hungry; (b) the ultra-conservative House and Senate Agriculture Committees and their Appropriations affiliates were in the driver's seat; (c) the economics of help for farmers was of far more interest to all than was the food intake of the poor. In a remarkable number of instances, one gained the impression that hungry Americans were felt to be unpatriotic.

There were those who anticipated such reactions. Private groups sought to change the nation's attitude towards its hungry citizens. Three major private reports were placed in preparation. The now famous *Hunger USA* was prepared by the Citizens' Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States — an Ad Hoc offspring of the UAW and the Field Foundation. A very comprehensive depth study of the National School Lunch program, entitled *Their Daily Bread*, was prepared by five major women's organizations. CBS, smelling a national scandal, put into production its hour-long documentary entitled "Hunger in America." These three private actions were publicized in a five week period in late April and early May of 1968.

The Congress was sensitive to the issue of hunger and anticipated the arrival of these private reports. Senators Boggs and Hatfield, McGovern and Mondale, met to discuss what their publication would mean to the Senate Agriculture Committee on which they sat. They de-

ecided that it was time for a thorough airing of these issues before Committees more sympathetic to the poor. They carefully drafted a Senate Resolution calling for a Select Committee of the Senate to look into food and personal human needs, and persuaded 39 Senators from both sides of the aisle to be co-sponsors. As anticipated, the Senate Resolution was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and was assigned to Senator Clark's Sub-Committee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty. The Clark Sub-Committee heard the resolution during May and June, reported it out, and successfully brought it to the floor of the Senate. The Select Committee was chosen with the assistance of the leadership of the Senate. This fall it had its first meeting and elected Senator George McGovern Chairman. Senators Boggs, Javits, Hatfield and Percy, at the first meeting resisted Southern Democratic efforts to reduce the impact and budget request of the Select Committee.

NEW HEARINGS The House Leadership, meanwhile, took a bit longer to react. The CBS documentary produced such a flood of letters indicating public indignation. After much discussion, Congressmen Charles Goodell and Tom Foley launched a bipartisan effort to seek a Presidential Commission on Hunger. Eighty-two Congressmen from both sides of the aisle agreed to co-sponsor the measure. It was worded carefully to ensure that it was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Chairman Carl Perkins proceeded to hold 11 excellent hearings on the subject of hunger. The Chairman found himself in a box: he recognized that hunger existed in Kentucky, he knew that the Administration was vulnerable; he knew the Republicans were primed. Congressman Goodell immediately recognized the validity of the issue and the embarrassment it could cause to the Administration. With the help of Republican Congressmen Quie, Dellenback and Steiger, Congressman Goodell made the hearings of major worth. They went far beyond the initial report that had raised the issue of hunger in America. The hearings today constitute a body of evidence which independently has documented that this issue must be resolved in our country.

Chairman Perkins spent innumerable hours protecting the Democratic flank and asked a large number of witnesses of his own choice to independently state whether they knew of hunger conditions at home. Perhaps 80% of the witnesses replied in the affirmative. The good work of these Congressmen was almost undone by a staff job on the Committee report that was somewhat less than honorable. In fact, the Committee report as drafted by the majority staff was so far out of line with the testimony that had been given that there then ensued a minority report to straighten the record. Under Perkins and Goodell's prodding, two major School Lunch Bills and a Hunger Commission Bill were brought to the floor of the House under a suspension of the rules — requiring a two-thirds vote for passage. These measures passed the House mainly because of the arguments presented by Messrs. Goodell, Quie, Dellenback, Steiger and Reid. Washingtonians seldom see legislation affected by rhetoric on the floor of Congress. Page H 6739

of the Congressional Record is well worth reading if one wants to see how eloquence and sincerity can win passage of legislation in a hostile environment.

The Senate responded to the House action by watering down the two School Lunch Bills, despite Senator Javits' extended efforts to attach them verbatim to the Vocational Education Bill. The School Lunch Bill's future is now uncertain as the Senate response was totally different from the House action. The House had voted \$100 million for each of three years to be used in the School Lunch Programs in areas of great need. The Senate responded by authorizing \$5 million for one year for such interest and authorized \$54 million to be used at the discretion of the Secretary. The vagueness of this authority makes it difficult to ascertain what it is that the Senate wants. The Hunger Commission Bill seems to be stalled—the Senate preferring the Select Committee route mentioned above. Food stamp extension and open-ended authority for a Food Stamp Program has passed the House but not the Senate. Such progressive Democrats as Congressmen Machen, Whitten and Poage have established an irrefutable record of disinterest in domestic hunger during all these deliberations.

While the above has taken place in the Congress, Secretary Freeman, caught on a hot seat of public indignation and bipartisan scrutiny, has begrudgingly yielded to suggestions that his food program be improved. He has made alterations in the commodity program and in the food stamp program during the past year. Unfortunately, his public statements far out-perform his administrative corrections. He has obfuscated the coverage of his present programs. He has promised to perform beyond his monetary resources. He has shielded racists in Congress who see food program management as an efficient eviction process for newly voting unemployed Negroes in the South.

Any philosophical Republican in Washington will recognize that the hunger in America represents a great political opportunity while posing future administration problems. The Democratic party has been caught with a gap between promise and performance of unusual proportions in the food issue. The Republican role in exposing this to the public eye has won the admiration of the press. There can be no defensible negative side to the feeding of the hungry. Therefore, the scandalous maladministration of the food programs by the present administration becomes good stump material for Republican candidates. A further item of sizeable hypocrisy has just been unearthed. LBJ, adamantly silent on hunger, has decided to look into the matter with an Executive Order to establish "The National Nutrition Council and Advisory Board on Nutrition." First proposed by Wilbur Cohen as a team effort to muster medical attention to the *mal* side of *malnutrition*, it has now been corrupted to give the Secretary of Agriculture total control over hunger reforms. He, we have noted, is part of the problem.

Were the Republican Party to adopt this as a primary goal in 1969, many thinking Republicans see it as a quick, attention-getting progressive effort on the part

of the new Administration. They see it as being good for votes, good for first impressions, and good for the well-being of a large, troubled population which is all too vulnerable to local prejudices and politics. It smacks of reform while meeting an obvious need.

A GOP CHANCE The problem lies in what the next Republican Administration can do about these same problems. Perhaps they can be avoided by some sort of a guaranteed annual income. But the Republican party in general is not married to this idea. Many Republicans see far fewer problems with guaranteeing a minimum standard of living via converting the food stamp philosophy—the recipient to be enabled to buy food, clothing, personal hygiene necessities, etc., with a Federally provided set of living stamps, probably delivered by mail after some coordination of existing computer technology like that employed in the Social Security Administration. —ROBERT B. CHOATE

Mr. Choate, a former businessman, has been involved with the problems of minority groups and low income families since 1958. Since April 1967, he has been working on an analysis of hunger in America as a consultant to the National Institute of Public Affairs.

Party Realignment *(continued from page 11)*

not trusting either party. They will be the swing group of the future, or the bulwark of a semi-permanent third party.

In short, this possible party realignment follows the status cleavage fairly closely. The Republicans will pick up the small towns of the South and urban neighborhoods, the Democrats will gain the farmers and managers, and the newly enfranchised will be independent. There are enough elements, enough variety in each coalition to make neither party monolithic; therefore they will be able to deal with one another and prevent extreme fissures in society.

With minorities of each of the voter blocs remaining in the other party, and with large numbers of unclassifiable Americans residing in both parties, the new majority cannot yet be predicted. But Republicans would be wise to try to expand their coalition to some of the swing groups, particularly in urban areas. If, by forging an alliance between white and black businessmen, they can corral large numbers of ghetto residents, they could form the basis for a generation of Republican rule. Only time and the wisdom of the Republican leadership will tell.

In the meantime, there is one task for Americans before the new political era begins. And that is to prevent the present strife and violence from reaching the point where we will have to spend the next political era putting the country back together again.

—HOWARD L. REITER

Mr. Reiter, a member of the Executive Board of the Cambridge Chapter, is a Ph.D. candidate in Government at Harvard. His study of delegation continuity at Republican National Conventions, 1944-64, has been widely cited.

Politics is not Religion

"There are few true believers around, almost no ideology and not a blessed blooming hero in sight," Max Lerner wrote of the Republican National Convention. He went on to compare the 1968 election with another which was dominated by sharp reaction against war and domestic violence, the campaign of 1920. Now, as then, he said, "The only battle cry is 'normalcy forever.'"

This picture has been widely applied to both parties this year. It is unflattering and somewhat unfair, not so much because the description is inaccurate but because the standard is unreasonable. It can be said, for example, that there are battle cries far worse than "normalcy forever." It is true that normalcy will not be nearly enough in the 1970's. But if either candidate could re-establish the stability which was "normal" in the 1950's, he would be properly credited with a tremendous accomplishment, the absence of true believers, ideology and heroes notwithstanding.

But the more interesting question concerns the tremendous current demand for heroes and causes in which people can make substantial investment of emotion. In a time of growing religious skepticism, many have made politics into a substitute religion. Political leaders are asked to play the part of religious prophets, their images electronically projected into fifty million living rooms for daily abuse or worship. Because neither Humphrey nor Nixon have chosen to play prophet roles this year, true believers on all sides will vote for neither. To support either, they say, would be to "sell my soul" or "break the faith"—and how familiar such phrases have been. Their hearts, they say, belong to someone else—to a Wallace on the one side or a McCarthy on the other.

The point which needs making again this year is that the heart is not the sole arbiter of civic duty and that politics is not religion. It is hard enough for our political system to provide good government; it cannot bear the strain of serving as a church, the prime focal point for a man's ultimate hopes and fears. This is not to deny that a political position should *express* religious and ethical convictions; the point is that it should not *replace* them. For when that happens, political behavior becomes an end in itself rather than a means, a way of personal salvation rather than a tool through which a man implements socially the visions and values he privately achieves. The test of political morality, in short, should be public impact rather than personal expression, one's influence on events and not his peace of mind. When the Wallace redneck or the alienated student reverses the priority, he is acting somewhat selfishly and irresponsibly, I believe. Sincerity alone will not serve us in a tough and terrible time.

All this is particularly important for those who feel, as Walter Lippmann has said, that the important challenge of the next few years will be keeping some sense of balance in a country which is lurching to the right. At such a time, one dare not wait at the side of a road for a hero to come riding by; for the hero who finally comes will most likely be that "man on a white horse" who has carried so many nations down authoritarian byways.

Humphrey and Nixon may be unheroic figures for many. And certainly, theirs has been the politics of accommodation and adjustment—not the sort of thing to make the blood race, to be sure. But at a time when almost every strong emotion is one which divides our people, when it is hard to find a mandate anywhere for anything very specific, then it is a bit beside the point to complain that the national candidates are "mere builders of coalitions."

In fact, as Joseph Kraft has persuasively contended, both candidates are in a unique position to establish communications between a nervous and distant "leadership community" and the unhappy masses of "middle America," the men and women who now feel threatened and left behind. To ignore these millions, to dismiss them as intellectually backward or morally bankrupt or geographically isolated, is to guarantee the wayward demagogue a ripe harvest indeed. And the same thing is true of strategies that would write off the young or the poor or the black.

As a recent *National Review* editorial has said, it is not easy to build an "efficient governing machine" out of clashing subcultures of our society; it is more difficult and less enjoyable than assembling an ideological crusade. But it is a critical task and that is why "pragmatic coalition politics" has a greater dignity and utility than many would allow.

* * *

But having said all this, we dare not conclude that a talent for accommodation alone is a sufficient tool for aspiring coalition-builders today. Something else is needed if the "governing machine" is to be effective and creative, national in scope, overcoming animosities and replacing emotional confrontation with reasoned debate. One cannot glue together diverse constituencies only by appealing to reigning sentiment. The parts of the puzzle will never fit together unless some of them are reshaped. This requires more than self-righteous preaching; it implies a careful, reasonable and skillful effort to persuade people to change their minds. The policies of accommodation must be supplemented, in short, by the politics of education.

One of the first axioms of modern electioneering is that "you can't educate people during a campaign" but it is also widely recognized that it is during political campaigns for better or worse that a more attentive public receives most of its political education. It is always heartening therefore when any candidate attempts a little thoughtful educating on the stump. When presumably hostile audiences prove responsive to candid and reasoned appeals then one's hopes for the future of our democracy are considerably strengthened.

Perhaps that is part of the reason that so many observers, of both parties, have suggested that the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate will emerge in history's judgement as one of the most respected figures of the fall campaign. If that, in fact, happens, it could provide the most interesting parallel between this election and that of 1920.

—LEE W. HUEBNER

STATE BY STATE

INDIANA: rosy vista

The Indiana Republican outlook this year is a rosy vista of resurgence. Nixon, who carried Indiana in 1960 by 222,000 votes out of two million cast, is headed for a big plurality again in November. Recent polls have given him about two-fifths of the vote, with Wallace and Humphrey running virtually even at 20% each and the other fifth undecided.

In addition to statewide executive offices and judgeships, Indiana elects a U.S. Senator, 11 Congressmen, half the State Senate, and all 100 state representatives. The GOP ticket as a whole is one of the strongest in recent years, with the emphasis on youth and the political views on balance moving closer to the center.

The most closely watched race is the senatorial contest between Democratic incumbent Birch E. Bayh, and golden boy William D. Ruckelshaus. A moderate by Indiana standards, Ruckelshaus at 36 is the youngest person ever to get the GOP nod for Senator.

His rise in Indiana politics has been characterized as "meteoric and brilliant." In 1966, he was elected one of fifteen Marion County (Indianapolis) freshmen GOP legislators to the Indiana House, which promptly chose him Majority Leader, a feat unequalled in Indiana history. At this writing, Ruckelshaus is still running behind Bayh, but counts on two factors to win in November: Nixon's broad coattails, and the fact that polls have shown him gaining and Bayh slipping as he makes himself better known around the state.

The Republican gubernatorial candidate, Edgar D. Whitcomb, is a war hero and presently Secretary of State, having led the GOP ticket in 1966 to its first win statewide in eight years. Though he is not the most articulate candidate on the ticket this year, Whitcomb has earned respect for his capable handling of the office of Secretary of State in the past two years. At present he is rated a slight favorite over Robert Rock, lieutenant governor under Roger D. Branigin (who, by law, cannot succeed himself).

The balance of the Republican ticket statewide is well-distributed geographically and has been working hard for the slate. It was put together in the state convention by a coalition headed by State Chairman Buena Chaney, a conservative but pragmatic and open-minded lawyer from Terre Haute, and by L. Keith Bulen, newly-elected National Committeeman from Indiana and principal architect of Republican resurgence in Marion County (Indianapolis) in the past two years. Bulen, a pragmatist, has been a strong advocate of a balanced-spectrum ticket, and bears watching as a possible power in the National Committee.

Prospects for a Republican return to power in the

General Assembly look bright this year, with control of the Senate virtually assured (of 23 GAP senators in the 1967 session, only four are up for reelection, while all but six Democrats are running). The House will likewise probably return to the Republican fold as it did in 1966.

The Republican congressional candidates, chosen in the May primary, represent an uneven but at times sparkling group.

The race to watch here is in the Ninth District, which pits two-term Democrat Lee Hamilton (who is President of the Democrats' 89th Congress "club") against articulate and youthful GOP moderate Robert D. Garton, who is making a strong bid to unseat Hamilton. Garton has the backing of the entire Republican spectrum in the district, including J. Irwin Miller, former national chairman of the Rockefeller for President organization, and is one of the most promising moderates in the state. A tossup—the outcome could depend on Garton's financial support, which is lagging alarmingly behind that of Hamilton's well-heeled campaign.

Of the remaining 10 seats up, three others will be close, five should go to the Republican, and the Democrats should be able to salvage at least two.

OHIO: Saxbe's 'measure of liberalism'

An editorial endorsement for a Republican by the *Dayton Journal Herald* does not surprise Ohioans. But the papers recent endorsement of Bill Saxbe, GOP candidate for senator against John Gilligan. "Our particular pleasure comes from the fact that Saxbe at least offers a measure of liberalism in Ohio's Republican party . . . Too long Ohio Republicanism has been laggard," the paper said, noting his strong civil rights record and straight-talking manner.

Saxbe's record has earned him significant appeal to large portions of traditionally Democratic voting blocs. Labor has often supported him in the past, and over a third of the local AFL-CIO unions in the state have refused to follow COPE's endorsement of Gilligan. Negro newspapers have noted that he authored and pushed through the reapportionment bill that resulted in 12 members being elected to the Ohio House. Though not a Catholic like Gilligan, Saxbe has consistently ruled in favor of the constitutionality of state aid to parochial schools when he was attorney general, a fact that Catholics remember.

Despite this appeal, Saxbe was considerably behind Gilligan when the smoke cleared from the spring primary that saw Gilligan carried to victory by personal and bitter attacks on Senator Frank Lausche. Saxbe then decided to take the offensive before the presidential race consumed the voter's attention. He then initiated a month-long unprecedented television advertising cam-

paign in mid-June and began traveling around the state in a converted 1948 bus dubbed the Saxbe Senate Special.

To honor his pledge that he would speak out in depth about each issue, he has prepared a steady stream of position papers that began in mid-July and has continued on a regular schedule — on Vietnam, crime, pollution, mental health, education, the elderly, welfare, agriculture, the middle East, metropolitan transportation, and a host of state and local problems.

By the end of July, he had passed his opponent in the polls, but the road since has not been so smooth. The summer television advertising campaign has exhausted campaign funds, and the Ohio Republicans have been slow to refill the coffers. Saxbe has had to cancel his September media advertising and let go two-thirds of his staff to try and conserve funds for October advertising. Meanwhile Gilligan has filled the airwaves with ads accusing Saxbe of trying to buy the election for \$2 million — about two-and-a-half times Saxbe's budget.

As attorney general, Saxbe was forced to defend Ohio's controversial law preventing third party candidates from getting on the ballot. Many right-wingers, already angered because Saxbe agreed with Senator McCarthy that J. Edgar Hoover and Dean Rusk should be fired cannot believe that the state constitution mandates Saxbe's defense of the ballot law.

Recent polls show Saxbe narrowly ahead but holding firm. He has finally scraped up enough money to pay for airwave spots. Now the major unknown factor is what effect the last weeks of the Presidential race will have on the senate contest.

14 CITIES: Nixon's youth coalition

Looking beyond the immediate problems of the election, Richard Nixon has moved to create a "Student Coalition" within the Youth Division of United Citizens for Nixon-Agnew. The stated purpose is "to utilize the talents and energies of the academic community to analyze and resolve the problems of the cities of America — and to involve students directly in their solution."

Directed by Sam Williams and John Campbell, two students who were formerly in charge of Governor Rockefeller's youth effort the "New Majority," the coalition has organized in 14 cities. Currently, they are investigating existing university-based programs that foster activities in urban affairs. They are exploring ways to integrate volunteer student participation in programs to improve city life. One anticipated avenue of activity will be to expand on John Lindsay's Urban Corps project, which employed 6000 students as summer interns in various parts of the city government using Federal money ordinarily reserved for student work on university campuses.

The coalition expects to have a report by the first of November and to continue gathering information after the election. Mr. Nixon has promised to bring their recommendations on expanding student involve-

ment to the attention of the proper state, federal and local authorities. He also says he will make the Coalition's recommendation part of his legislative program where it is possible.

TEXAS: a Republican Governor?

The Nixon-Agnew ticket seems to have an insurmountable lead in Texas and Hubert Humphrey has all but conceded defeat. Poor Humphrey couldn't get a campaign chairman until the beginning of October, and even staunch Democrats were only lukewarm to that selection, former National Committeeman Will Davis. The *Texas Observer* reports that even those loyal souls who want to go through the motions of campaigning for the vice-president are unable to get buttons or bumper stickers. The only poll that did not show Humphrey behind was one conducted by the Democratic National Committee and Larry O'Brien refused to release the questions asked by the interviewers.

Still, Nixon seems determined to appropriate all the political ground in the wide open spaces from mid-left to far right, and John Tower is doing his best to keep the Wallace vote down.

The Republican nominee for governor is Wichita Falls tax attorney Paul Eggers, a fresh face who is running a creditable race against present Lieutenant Governor Preston Smith, a colorless cipher. Eggers has the support of the same reform-minded Yarborough bloc that first elected Tower. If Nixon's coattails are long enough, Texas could have its first Republican governor since Reconstruction.

OREGON: voter turnout crucial

With the election fast approaching, several Oregon races remain very close contests.

Oregon's Senate race between incumbent Democrat Wayne Morse and liberal Republican Bob Packwood, may be decided by the level of voter turnout. Recent polls show the candidates running neck-in-neck, but a high voter turnout will probably help Morse. Challenger Packwood, though lacking experience, has proved himself to be an able and effective candidate.

Morse is running scared this year because of substantial defections by Democratic voters. Morse's 1966 support of dovish Republican Mark Hatfield against Democratic Senate candidate Bob Duncan, and his narrow defeat of Duncan in this year's primary, has lost him many moderate and conservative Democratic votes. Packwood's youthful image and his moderate views on Vietnam and other issues have attracted many former Duncan supporters.

Beyond Party Loyalty

This is the year when an incumbent president withdrew, and a presidential candidate was murdered; the year of the killing of a great civil rights leader, and of riots in a hundred cities; of 10,000 American casualties in Vietnam, and combat in the streets of Chicago; of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, and the rise of George C. Wallace.

In such a year, it is in vogue to say that America is in crisis. Yet we seem so befuddled by the extraordinary events, so bemused by the usual spectacle of a political campaign, that people forget that the crisis began before the year began; and that the causes of our discontents still smolder unattended.

The year began with Americans ripped apart from one another — divided by their views, their ages, by the color of their skin. These divisions grow wider still, and more and more of us come to gaze at our fellow citizens across impassable barriers of hostility and mistrust.

The year began with young people shouting down government officials; now, some, doubly frustrated, shout down presidential candidates.

The year began with children starving in Mississippi, committing suicide in the blank stare of Indian reservations, idling lives away in ghettos, watching their fathers lose self-respect and slide into death in the hollows of Appalachia. Now, the year limps out; and though for a brief moment, such things were the center of our concern, you will seek these despairing eyes in vain amid the ticker tape and political rain dances of the campaign.

And if the year began with great masses of uncertain Americans bewildered about the present and worried about the future, more and more are bewildered and worried, and are turning to a leader and a movement whose promise is in images of further violence yet to come.

Yet this year, in the teeth of such fears and dangers, the traditional political parties produced candidates of whom a clear majority of the American people have said they would prefer someone else. And the traditional parties have conducted campaigns that vie to see which can best avoid the paramount issues. Many scheme to capture a government, but who seeks to reconstruct a battered country?

One hardly knows where to begin. But surely the times demand a leadership beyond narrow partisanship, beyond crippling rules of party regularity. Millions of Democrats, in obedience to a higher call, defied a sitting Democratic President, weathering the resentment of the orthodox who saw in the politics of conscience only an assault on the Party itself; just as millions of Repub-

licans weathered such resentments four years ago.

Now, and through the terrible problems ahead, those of us in both parties who seek for America a rule of compassion and justice, of strength and love, must reach out to assist one another, governed not primarily by Party but by conscience and country.

About the procedures of democracy, as about the war and about the accelerating blights at home, one commitment of men of good will must be to work together against the darkness, to cooperate across the chasms of labels and backgrounds. To make it clear that henceforth the credentials needed to establish loyalty to Party will be inclusive of a prior loyalty to conscience and country; and to show that we shall expect the standards raised and candidates named by our respective parties to meet the prior demands of conscience and country.

So on many issues and on some candidacies we can cooperate; more accurately, we *must* cooperate or betray ourselves as old politicians in new slogans.

And perhaps by these ventures in cooperation, in our willingness to see each other not as party labels that walk and talk but as men of shared purpose and concern for justice and mercy, and for the Nation, we can begin to build bonds between us; and so begin to heal wounds and right wrongs; and thus to become, at least in our own hearts, countrymen and brothers once again.

Allard K. Lowenstein, the New York lawyer and liberal political organizer, was one of the chief movers of the Dump-Johnson movement. He is presently a candidate for Congress in New York's 5th District.

...discussion

Ripon's Comment

Mr. Lowenstein's appeal for "leadership beyond narrow partisanship, beyond crippling rules of party regularity" is especially timely in Nassau County, where he is seeking Independent and Republican support in his Congressional race against a Conservative Party candidate who has cross-registered as a Republican.

Particularly inappropriate demands are made on the party loyalty of Republican voters in the Fifth Congressional District of New York this year, where Mason Hampton, a registered Conservative Party member, has been fitted out with Republican garb by Joseph Margiot-

ta, Nassau County GOP chairman. Succumbing to the political blackmail and blandishments of the Conservatives, Margiotta engineered various cross-endorsements between the two parties this spring, which resulted in a place on the Republican line for Hampton. The FORUM denounced this deal at the time and charged that Margiotta and other Nassau GOP leaders were striving to protect their personal positions, not to build a strong Republican coalition.

By remaining nearly mute in the campaign, Hampton hopes that voters will forget that he is not a Republican and thus enable him to capitalize on a heavy regular Republican vote for Nixon and Javits in the district; he hopes to be swept in without the voters' knowing how unacceptable his views are to most Republicans in Nassau County.

Lest we forget, Hampton is a draftsman of the Conservative Party's platform, which calls for repeal of New York's Medicaid program and of enabling legislation for urban renewal. In a time of rising welfare costs Hampton has himself said that not a penny of state or federal, (as distinct from local) money should be spent on welfare programs. He also proposed a response to the North Korean seizure of the *Pueblo* which would

reduce the harbor city in which the ship is held to rubble; he was explicitly willing to sacrifice the lives of the captured crew to the principle of retaliation for the insult.

Regular Republicans are also concerned by Hampton's refusal to endorse Senator Javits, by his 1966 race against Republican Attorney General Lefkowitz, and by his conversion to the Conservative Party, which monotonously reiterates its desire to defeat other Republican leaders and regularly runs candidates against them.

As a result, many Republicans have felt a commitment to "cooperate across the chasms of labels," and have turned to Allard Lowenstein. The same energy and conviction which helped Lowenstein galvanize young and idealistic campaigners for Senator McCarty extends his appeal, as it did McCarthy's across party lines.

Benjamin Disraeli in the closing passage of *Sybil* said, "we live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can be no longer synonymous." We cannot be indifferent to the wasteful way in which the Nassau Republican leaders have squandered their party's label on a splinter candidate like Mason Hampton and we cannot be indifferent to what Allard Lowenstein has done for his country this year and will do in the future.

—THE EDITORIAL BOARD

Endorsements *(continued from page 4)*

NEW YORK

Senator: Jacob K. Javits
 Rep: John W. Wydler (4th Dist.)
 Rep: Jamer Farmer (12th Dist.)
 Rep: Whitney North Seymour (17th Dist.)
 Rep: Donald Weeden (19th Dist.)
 Rep: John Proudfit (20th Dist.)
 Rep: Ogden Reid (26th Dist.)
 Rep: Hamilton Fish, Jr. (28th Dist.)
 Rep: Daniel Button (29th Dist.)
 Rep: Howard Robison (33rd Dist.)
 Rep: Frank J. Horton (36th Dist.)

NORTH DAKOTA

Rep. Mark Andrews (1st Dist.)

OHIO

Senator: William B. Saxbe
 Rep: Robert Taft, Jr. (1st Dist.)
 Rep: Charles W. Whalen (3rd Dist.)
 Rep: William M. McCulloch (4th Dist.)
 Rep: Charles Mosher (13th Dist.)

OKLAHOMA

Rep: Robert G. Smith (2nd Dist.)

OREGON

Senator: Robert W. Packwood
 Rep: Wendell Wyatt (1st Dist.)
 Rep: Douglas S. Warren (3rd Dist.)
 Rep: John Dellenback (4th Dist.)

PENNSYLVANIA

Senator: Richard S. Schweiker
 Rep: Joseph McDade (10th Dist.)
 Rep: Robert J. Corbett (18th Dist.)
 Rep: John P. Saylor (22nd Dist.)
 Rep: James G. Fulton (27th Dist.)

RHODE ISLAND

Governor: John Chafee
 Rep: Lincoln Almond (1st Dist.)
 Rep: Howard E. Russell, Jr. (2nd Dist.)

SOUTH DAKOTA

Governor: Frank L. Farrar

TEXAS

Governor: Paul Eggers
 Rep: George Bush (7th Dist.)

VERMONT

Senator: George D. Aiken
 Rep: Robert T. Stafford

WASHINGTON

Governor: Daniel J. Evans
 Lt. Governor: Arthur Fletcher
 Sec. of State: A. Ludlow Kramer
 Rep: Wallace Turner (2nd Dist.)
 Rep: Timothy Chase (6th Dist.)

WISCONSIN

Governor: Warren Knowles
 Rep: Alvin O'Konski (10th Dist.)

14a ELIOT STREET

CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY

●**John McClaughry**, the FORUM'S Black Power specialist came in first among a field of four in the GOP primary for the right to represent Vermont's 26th District in the state legislature. McClaughry's shoe leather campaign, the first door-to-door, farm-to-farm canvassing done in the district netted him 710 votes including, as predicted, the unanimous support of the four-man black community. His theme was: "he won't let the sharp dealers from other parts of the state take the Northeast Kingdom's share—your share—of the tax dollar."

In the weeks before the election McClaughry has divided his time between his Vermont log cabin and the Nixon staff in New York, where he acts as liaison with key black leaders.

●A second Ripon member, **Martin Linsky**, is campaigning for re-election as Massachusetts State Representative from Brookline. Linsky is cautiously optimistic that the voters will return him to the General Court for another term as one of the state's brightest and most innovative legislators. Boston Ripon members are assisting his campaign as well as those of other deserving area Republicans.

●Gaining in an uphill fight in a Brooklyn Heights race for the State Assembly is **Malcolm McKay**, whose campaign is being managed by **David Young**, both of the New York Chapter.

●Ripon president **Lee Huebner** is a speechwriter on the Nixon staff. He has now been joined by **George Guilder**, co-author of **The Party That Lost Its Head**. Ripon's Board chairman, **John Price**, is an assistant to Leonard Garment, Nixon's staff man handling advertising. **Bill Kilberg** of the Cambridge chapter is an in-and-outer in the campaign organization after spending the summer clerking at the Nixon, Mudge law firm. In Missouri, former Ripon President **Jack Saloma** is campaigning for Thomas Curtis in his strong Senate bid. **Terry Barnett**, now back at Harvard Law School, directed the research effort in William Saxbe's campaign against John Gilligan in Ohio. **Larry Landis** has been handling similar chores for William Ruckelshaus in Indiana. **Chris DeMuth** is a jack of all trades in the hectic Congressional campaign of James Farmer in Brooklyn.

●Over 30 chapter and National Associated members of the Ripon research staff, coordinated by **Bob Behn**, completed a series of confidential research memoranda for eight Republican Congressional and Senatorial candidates under the experimental Campaign Research consortium for 1968. The memos, which provided background data and reasoned positions for the entire range of domestic problems, are now being extensively used for speeches, press releases and position papers by the CRC partici-

pants across the country in the final campaign push.

●In Dallas, National Executive Committee member **Neil Anderson** and chapter member **Bill Porter** are serving as "downtown co-chairmen" of Young Businessmen for Nixon-Agnew and were responsible for a very successful Nixon rally early in October.

●In Connecticut, **Paul Capra** is coordinating the legislative races for the state GOP, while **Larry DeNardis** is running for State Senator from Hampden and Wallingford.

●Los Angeles National Governing Board member **Joel Fisher** is head of the Arts and Sciences Division of the Republican National Committee.

●**Phillip Humer**, **Quincy White** and **Harold Russell** of the Chicago chapter are all pitching in on the Ogilvie gubernatorial effort.

BANQUET AND TIE

●Good news. Mayor **John Lindsay** will be the main speaker at Ripon's gala sixth anniversary dinner in New York City, December 9th. Formal invitations to all the Chapter and National Associate members will be mailed after the election.

●De rigueur GOP attire will be the new, blue Ripon tie especially designed for the Ripon Society by a famous British cravat crafter. The tie, all silk and fascinating to women, can be ordered from the Ripon office at \$6.50 (which includes postage, duty and packaging).

BIAFRA

●**Lee Auspitz**, the Editor of the Ripon FORUM, testified before the Subcommittee on African Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the conditions of starvation in the former Eastern Region of Nigeria (Biafra). A former newspaper editor in Lagos and an assistant to the Director of the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research in Idaban, he introduced a proposal for the U.S. to send surplus C-119 transport planes to help international relief agencies airlift food to starving civilians. Five days later Senators Brooke and Pearson sponsored a resolution urging the President to make such aircraft available.

The Brooke-Pearson resolution could not be passed due to the press of other Senate business. It will have to wait three months for the reconvening of Congress, in which time 750,000 people will starve to death. Executive action by the President could, of course, relieve this problem.

* * *

●Auspitz, by the way, will take a prolonged leave of absence from the FORUM beginning next month. His replacement as editor will be **A. Douglas Matthews**, about whom more in our next issue.

LETTERS

All of the following are replies to John Talmadge's "The Case for Humphrey" in our October issue.

THE CASE FOR NIXON

Dear Sirs:

When the Ripon Society was founded in 1963, we had two broad objectives: first, to bridge the gap between the intellectual on the campus and the Republican in office; second, to bring to the Republican Party a comprehension of the "new politics" of our time and to imbue our Party with the progressive spirit. Like Sheriff John Sears in Boston, we wanted to show America that Republicans care. Ripon's aims are long-term; they are worthy goals which ought to be fought for with determination, but also with patience.

Mr. Nixon represents a broad step back from the doldrums of 1964. A man accustomed to long hours and hard work, he gave fully of himself in the campaigns of 1966—the campaigns which resulted in victory for so many whom Ripon has praised. Richard Nixon is a party-builder. While the Eisenhower years were years of peace and prosperity, they were not years of Republican growth. Nixon was one of the few around in 1966 with the national

prestige necessary to give impetus to the local and state campaigns of that year; he was the only national Republican to make the exhausting trek. And while he traveled, Richard Nixon developed a whole new concept of what it was that America of the mid-1960's wanted and what it did not want.

It is this new concept which Nixon has brought to the Presidential campaign this year. Whether there is or is not a "new Nixon" is an irrelevancy and to engage in such debate is to engage in a bit of sophistry. But there are new ideas abroad in the land and Richard Nixon is very much aware of them. His proposals for a volunteer army and his speeches on "black capitalism" are indicative of the originality and bold new thinking which pervades the Nixon campaign of 1968. The two proposals mentioned, it should be noted in passing, are concepts which have also received the endorsement and blessing of the Ripon Society.

Richard Nixon is a progressive, a prerequisite, I believe, to Ripon's support. Nixon is a progressive because he is a man for his time; and the time calls for selected decentralization of government, for greater contributions from the private sector and for expansion of democracy

by expanding individual participation in the democratic process. Can we honestly call Hubert Humphrey a progressive? The Democrats have held the Presidency for 28 of the last 36 years, they have controlled Congress for 34 of the last 36 years. Hubert Humphrey, so much a part of those years, is now running a campaign which argues that only he can save the country from the impending disaster wrought by himself and his fellow Democrats in the last three-and-a-half decades. Humphrey presents us with nothing new; Mr. Talmadge merely restates the Humphrey positions and programs of the past. The only new program which Mr. Talmadge refers to is federal revenue sharing—a program new to the Democrats but quite familiar to Republicans. Can Mr. Talmadge really believe that Hubert Humphrey can bring a Republican proposal to fruition more easily than a Republican President?

Richard Nixon, unlike Mr. Humphrey, has a clear and original domestic program. The Nixon program is to build strong and independent Black institutions controlled by Black men and women. By the use of tax incentives, by expanding the Small Business Administration's Loan program, by endorsement of Senator Javits' Domestic Development Bank, by the installation of a nation-wide computer job bank, by the institution of a new student-teacher corps and a host of other proposals all carefully outlined over the past nine or ten months, Richard Nixon plans to "replace dependence with independence." The Republican Party under Richard Nixon's leadership will be a progressive Party, but it will not be a "me-too" Party after the Democratic model. The programs of the Democrats have failed, something more and more Republicans, Independents and Democrats alike are coming to realize.

Richard Nixon is not, of course, running alone. He chose Spiro T. Agnew as his running mate and these past few weeks have seen no dearth of commentary on his choice. Let us set the record straight. Spiro Agnew was, indeed, acceptable to the Southern delegates, but he was not the hand-picked choice of the South. Mr. Nixon listened to Southern advice for Nixon recognizes that there are fifty states in the union and that they are not all north of the Mason-Dixon line. If it is true that the South had great influence on his decision that some have claimed, then the Southern delegates were bought off cheap, for Agnew is qualified and well equipped to handle his assignment.

Running for Governor in 1966, Spiro Agnew received the support of the moderate and forward-thinking people of Maryland. Known throughout the state as a superb administrator, Agnew's administration enacted the first open-housing bill anywhere south of Washington, D.C., following the lead which Agnew set when, as County Ex-

ecutive, Baltimore County became one of the first in the nation to enact a public accommodations law. It was his administration that repealed an anti-miscegenation law on Maryland's books since colonial times and it was the Agnew administration that passed a comprehensive tax reform program with such innovations as a graduated income tax, tax credits for the elderly, and a local option income tax to provide local governments with an alternative revenue source to the property tax. It was Governor Agnew who publicly spoke out in favor of stronger state gun-control laws. As a direct result of Governor Agnew's concern for the public school system of Maryland, the State's educational ranking moved from 12th to 5th highest in the nation.

Mr. Talmadge makes reference to some of the lesser respected members of the Southern wing of our Party. I do not feel it necessary to respond with a barrage about the coalition that brings Senator Eastland, Mayor Daley, George Meany and Hubert Humphrey under the same roof. I believe Senator McCarthy summed it up for me when he said, "The only thing we have to fear is another New Deal."

Mr. Nixon has had a dynamic career in 20 years of public life. His record on civil rights is liberal. During his years in the House of Representatives, he voted for the Anti-Poll Tax Bill and the Fair Employment Practices Act. While no civil rights measures were before the Senate during his tenure, as Vice President, Nixon made a key ruling that cleared the way for passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. As Chairman of the Committee on Government Contracts during the Eisenhower Administration, Nixon was one of the first to demand that Negroes be given more than a mere promise of non-discrimination when he insisted that a definite number of Black people be employed before any contractor might do business with the Government. A well-known expert on foreign affairs, Mr. Nixon has called for a total reexamination of our foreign policy and the traditional collective security arrangements on which we have relied during the past eight years. In addition, Nixon, unhampered by association with policies of failure, will be free to take a fresh approach to the war in Vietnam and to clearly delineate America's interests in Southeast Asia.

A Nixon Administration, then would be an articulate, vigorous and progressive four or eight years. The American people would learn that Republicans care. We have an opportunity in 1968 to govern America for the first time in a decade. This is not a "conservative" opportunity, but a Republican opportunity. The Ripon Society must be a part of the victory in 1968.

WILLIAM J. KILBERG
Cambridge, Mass. and
New York City.

THE CASE FOR UNITY

Dear Sirs:

The results of the Society's poll indicated that a large number of our members do not plan to support the national ticket. In addition, John Talmadge stated eloquently his reasons for supporting Humphrey. I should like to comment briefly and appeal to my fellow members to think twice before they "bolt" the party.

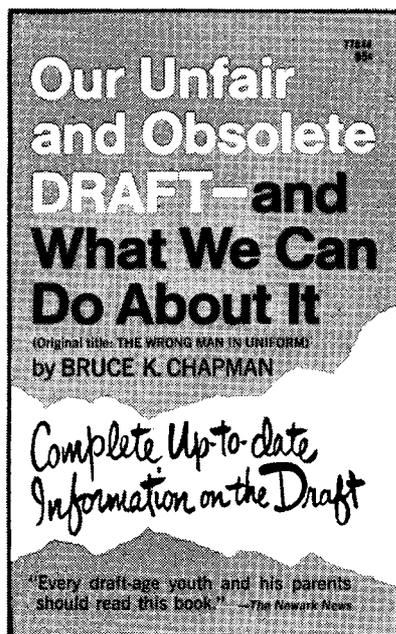
One can say a great deal about the personalities and the past performances of both Nixon and Humphrey but of course the contrasts can be carried to extremes. Is Nixon really a racist, as some of his detractors imply? He is no more a racist than Humphrey is a warmonger. But aren't the issues so far as the Society is concerned far more fundamental and broad than many of our members realize? Perhaps we should ask ourselves some questions—questions perhaps akin to those asked by some of our heroes, viz. Rockefeller, Lindsay, Javits, Percy et al. After all, they decided to support the ticket and are we any better than they?

Are we simply moderates and liberals, or are we moderate and liberal Republicans? Do we want our party to progress and to keep in tune with the modern time? Or do we want it to slide backward as it came close to doing in 1964? There is in fact no better time to remain with the party than this election. If we win we shall be in a good position to influence the government for at least the next four years; indeed, it is quite likely that some of our spokesmen—e.g. Governor Rockefeller, will be offered and will accept important Cabinet posts. If, on the other

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hand, we should lose, the party will surely slip farther to the right, perhaps into the arms of Wallace-type forces. Is this what we want? Is this what Americans want? Is this what they need?

Moderate and liberal Republicans owe it to themselves and to the party to remain within and work for our party and its national candidates. We are not racists nor are we warmongers, but we are concerned Americans who seek ways in which to bring about answers to long standing problems and to remove a number of institutionalized failures. This is the time to make our voices heard and to push diligently for the responsible and progressive leadership of which our party is capable and which the nation needs.

J. T. MOORE
Lawrence, Kansas

LEAVE A LINE BLANK

Dear Sirs:

The real tragedy of John Talmadge's letter supporting Hubert Humphrey for President is that, much like the candidate himself, it is essentially irrelevant in this particular election year. Neither Humphrey nor Richard Nixon deserve our support this year both are irrelevant and silly in the most gruesome of times. In a milder age, both might have been viable candidates—Nixon with his long experience and his newly mellow personality and Humphrey with his old New Deal spark and limitless rhetoric. But this year American soldiers by the hundreds are being murdered each week in Vietnam. Mellowness and rhetoric no longer are enough.

How can we stand ourselves if we support either of these hypocrites this year? Humphrey, who has championed the war for four years, who called it "our great adventure" during a visit to Vietnam in 1966, who assisted in ramming through a "hawkish" Vietnam platform at the Democratic convention, is undeserving of even a scintilla of our faith. And now, to make matters worse, he flip-flops every week on the issue—first being militant, then advocating change, then supporting the President, equivocating further. He tells the world, through his advisors, that he is going to make a dramatic speech on Vietnam on September 30, then he makes a slick, disgusting non-statement which merely rearranges the language that has been used by the Johnson administration for four long, bloody shameful years. Hubert Humphrey plays with the Vietnam issue; trying desperately for a position (any position!) that will win him the Presidency; and all the while the bodies are being counted 9,000 miles away. I can say no to any man who is so cold, so hypocritical, so callous that he can manipulate and distort the Vietnam debacle for political ends.

Richard Nixon is no better. He hides behind the Paris peace talks and says nothing. But there is no indication that he understands the depths to which this nation has sunk in its military response to the Vietnamese civil conflict.

There is no indication that he disagrees with the premise upon which our presence there is built—Nixon just seems disturbed that things haven't gone better during the past five years. And that, really, is not the issue at all.

I do not advocate dropping out of our society or even leaving politics altogether this year. I merely advocate ignoring the Humphrey-Nixon race completely. When the evil is one of "politicking" with American lives, as is the case this year in Vietnam, there is no lesser of evils. The most effectively moral ballot this year is one which leaves the presidential slot as it stands—blank.

CHARLES O. INGRAHAM
Binghamton, New York

Dear Sirs:

There will no doubt be many rebuttals to John Talmadge's, "The Case for Humphrey" which will stress Mr. Nixon's new-found strengths and urge upon us endorsement of the distinguished former Vice President rather than Mr. Humphrey.

But I would like to put forward the case against Humphrey from the Left. Shortly after the GOP Convention I received a telegram from Mr. Talmadge soliciting my support for "Republicans for Humphrey," and responded to it, in part, as follows:

"Let me say at the outset that I agree with everything you said about Nixon in your telegram. My Nixon-

hating credentials are in good order, and my hostility towards his candidacy remains undiminished. Thurmond's role in the Convention and Agnew's subsequent statements further reinforce my opposition to the GOP ticket this year. But Humphrey?

"You must have watched Chicago, Jack. You must have seen the manner in which the Democratic Convention and the City of Chicago were transformed into police states of the most oppressive kind. The Republicans demonstrated incredibly bad judgement in nominating Nixon. But the Democrats demonstrated tyranny of the worst sort in nominating Humphrey. And then the man had such total weakness and/or bad judgement not only to endorse Daley's management of the convention and the city, but to join in his accusation that those who protest are Communists, anarchists, etc., etc. My roommate was one of them Jack. He came back from Chicago with only body bruises, thanks to his forethought in bringing a motorcycle helmet. And he didn't even shout any profanities (hardly a justification for illegally clubbing somebody over the head anyhow).

"In 1964, Jack, they blackmailed us into choosing the lesser of two evils, and look what we got. In 1968, I'm sitting this one out. I plead with you to do the same. If you have not done so already, I call upon you to resign from Republicans For Humphrey."

Vice President Humphrey, it seems to me, is a man whose last moment of courage came twenty years ago, and even then he had much to gain and little to lose. Since that time, he has scuttled cautiously along his path to political fortune with little of his honor unspent. And now, if I may be permitted to sound like a hysterical leftist, he is a man with blood on his hands—blood in Chicago and Saigon.

Nixon's cosmeticians are trying to offer us a "New Nixon" in the face of a rather unattractive old one. It is a plausible, if not an entirely comforting or convincing spectacle. But how much more preposterous it is to attempt to sell us the "Old Humphrey" in the face of the new one.

MICHAEL C. SMITH
Bronx, New York

THE CASE FOR TALMADGE

Dear Sirs:

I commend John Talmadge for his excellent letter in your October number and wish to record my deep regret that the larger, more established, magazine-publishing Ripon of '68 lacks the courage of its purported convictions, as shown by the fledgling Ripon of '64.

The craven quasi-endorsement of Nixon and Agnew in your September editorial blazingly impairs whatever respect and credibility Ripon has built up among the liberal constitutional group which we hope is the "Ripon constituency."

With each passing day of the campaign, is there any shred of respectable doubt that George Ball and John Talmadge are correct in their evaluations of the national Republican ticket? Ghastly as Johnson has been and as Goldwater might have been, Ripon had best wake and know that the electorate's choice has narrowed to three, and three only, alternatives at the November '68 polls: Humphrey-Muskie, Nixon-Agnew and Wallace-Le May. Weighing these possibilities in view of all the evidence, I trust that John Talmadge and I are not the only members of Ripon who conclude that Humphrey and Muskie offer, at least, hope, while Nixon and Agnew, along with their model, Wallace, offer the prospect of a new dark age, devoid of principle, leadership and high talent, insofar as the Executive Branch is concerned.

WILFRED E. GARDNER, JR.
Wellesley Hills, Mass.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

A DISARMING ATTACK

"Senator Church has voted for every disarmament bill that's come along. How long do you think the hunters will have their guns in Idaho, if the soldiers and sailors who are defending their country have theirs taken away."

George Hansen, Republican candidate
for the Senate in Idaho

The Victor's Economic Options

Despite the reluctance of the two major candidates to hint at their substantive positions on economic policy, it is possible to sketch briefly the major choices that the new President will have and to guess at how Nixon and Humphrey might meet them.

Everything, as most people suspect, will turn on the new President's success in ending the war. Any President who can end it quickly will have the resources released to spread around in many different ways: through tax cuts, a negative income tax, tax-sharing with the states, tax incentives or direct expenditures for whatever purposes seem worthy to the new Congress. It will be hard not to please someone in this lucky contingency, no matter how the revenue is disbursed, and relatively easy to please almost everyone, since the only losers will be the voteless Vietnamese, and most of what they lose will be daily bombings and shellings.

But even decent restraint in the conduct of the war may be enough. The budget will be balanced in the early part of next year and thereafter will begin again to produce "fiscal drag" (economists' jargon for the tendency of Federal tax revenues to grow more rapidly than the economy and produce a recession). Fiscal drag made the Eisenhower Administration look very bad in the late nineteen fifties because they refused to get rid of it by cutting taxes; it allowed the Kennedy Administration, which disbursed it in tax cuts and expenditures, to come on like Santa Claus.

Humphrey will probably choose the traditional Democratic solution to "fiscal drag," which is to disburse it to the generals, and in a smaller degree in the form of patronage through legislation subsidizing special interests, particularly farmers, labor, the South and, perhaps, black people.

The Republican philosophy provides for a more constructive solution to the problem of "fiscal drag," which is to let it occur, use it to reduce the deficit and debt, and trust in an easy monetary policy to avoid a recession by encouraging investment in housing and business plant and equipment. This is a strategy which, ironically, in view of the success Democrats have had beating the Republicans with the "growth" issue, encourages economic growth. It works, however, only when the Federal Reserve feels free to pursue an easy money policy. The main argument against easy money now, as in 1958-60, is that easy money aggravates the balance of payments deficit. Under present circumstances we could follow an easy money policy only by devaluing the dollar, or, more likely, by discontinuing altogether our pledge to pay gold for dollars. We would have to let the dollar "float" freely, while the market for inter-nation currency transaction would determine the rate at which dollars would exchange for other currencies.

On January 20 Nixon might include in his inaugural address something like this: "We look toward the eventual establishment of world monetary institutions which are strong and flexible enough to justify this nation in surrendering its monetary sovereignty by fixing our exchange rate. We will work for the establishment of such institutions. At the present time, however, I judge that our national interest and the continued operation of international monetary cooperation will be best served by permitting the free market to determine the rate of exchange between the dollar and other currencies. I will submit legislation to Congress to achieve this, and announce now the end of our commitment to support the dollar by selling gold or any other asset."

As I have indicated, the implications of such a declaration extend very far into the field of domestic fiscal and monetary policy. The Federal Reserve would then be free to adjust its policy to maintain a high level of employment in this country. This might do more in the long run to alleviate poverty than most other programs or policies.

This declaration also has tremendous implications in the field of foreign policy. Our economy will be partially disconnected from the rest of the world. Our rapid investment in Western Europe will slow down. On the other hand many constraints on our foreign spending will be removed. Foreign countries will have much less power to limit our foreign spending and in particular their veto over Vietnam escalation will disappear. The risks and opportunities of such a bold policy are both substantial.

If Nixon does not take this road, his options will be narrower and his choice more like Johnson's and Humphrey's. He will have to disburse the fiscal drag or precipitate a recession. In this case Nixon will probably return to the patronage-and-defense policy of the Democrats with the patronage going to small businessmen, large corporations, the South, and perhaps, black people.

As things look right now there is no prospect under either candidate for a drastic shift in economic priorities. We will spend a little more on our domestic problems, but these problems themselves tend to grow with the economy. So far we have chosen to put most of our government's revenue gains into weapons or wars, and have made only token contributions to education, human welfare and social justice. The labels on the programs change with the parties, and whichever man gets in there will be "new approaches" and other gimmicks. But unless we increase the quantity of resources we put into social problems we won't make much difference in them. The name of the game is money and no one is talking about hard figures.

— DUNCAN K. FOLEY