

# RIPON FORUM

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ONE DOLLAR

## A Guide to Republican Insurgency

- Nixon's Swing Districts

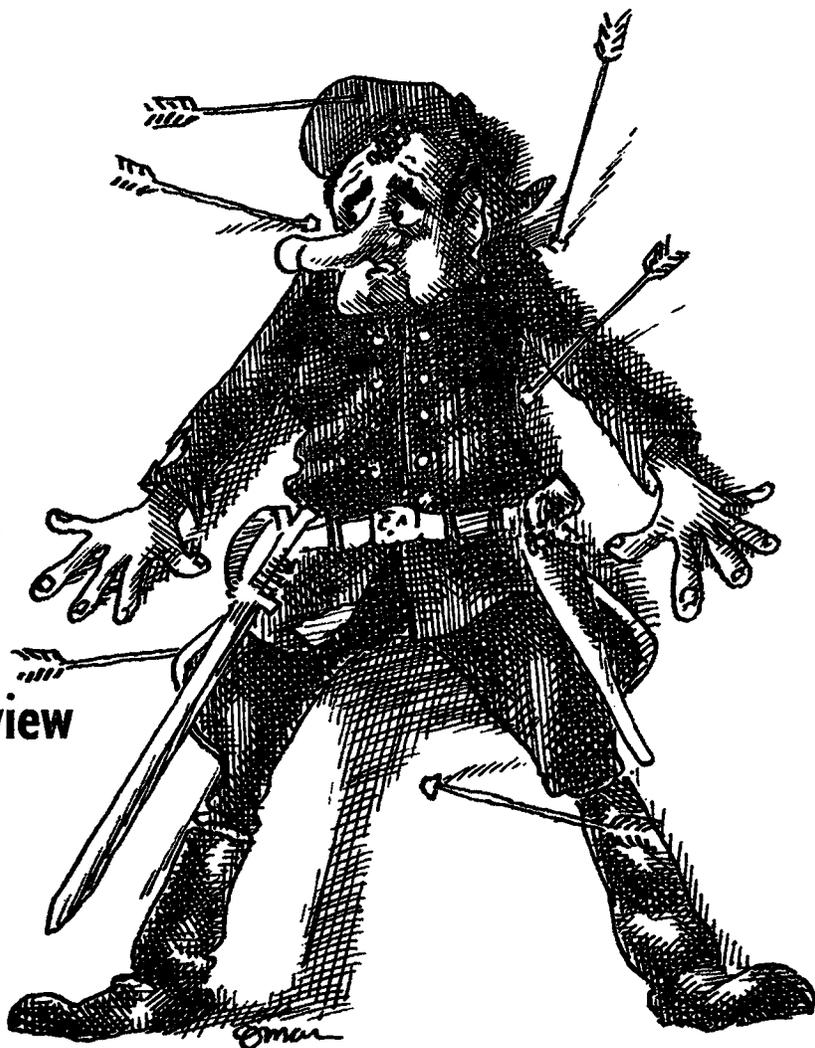
*George F. Gilder*

- The Dumping of the President  
1912-68

*Howard L. Reiter*

- New Hampshire Primary Preview

*John C. Topping*



### PLUS:

**On the R&D Gap**  
**OIC Success Story**  
**Fun City Blues**

*Dr. Jeremy Stone*  
*Senator J. Caleb Boggs*  
*Glenn S. Gerstell*

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## A GUIDE TO REPUBLICAN INSURGENCY

In three parts: I) "The Dumping of the President, 1912-68" traces presidential fortunes beyond the first term throughout American history. You will be surprised to see that very few Presidents have coasted comfortably into a second term. Howard L. Reiter admits that outright dumps are scarce, but serious "dump" movements are a good indication of which way the wind is blowing. II) "New Hampshire Primary Preview" by John Topping is just that: the GOP outlook in the Granite State, territory with a history of extraordinary pro-Nixon leanings. III) "Nixon's Swing Districts" by George F. Gilder tells the President how he can make the McCloskey challenge unnecessary. Two highly significant Congressional Districts point to the possibility of a more promising political approach than the GOP's current binge of ideological purification and morbid introversion. —14

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**THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC.** is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work. 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

## THE LIGHTWEIGHT BRIGADE

H. L. Mencken once described Presidential politics as the quest of "boobs" for "boobissimus" — the superlative boob. As the host of 1972 Democratic candidates approach, in a multi-million dollar charge of the light-weight brigade, flickering down the tube into the living rooms of the land, it occurs to us that an equally good idiom would be "tubissimus." Slick TV cosmetics have become as serious a threat to an edifying democratic process as the mindless demagoguery attacked by Mencken.

In any case it seems timely now to appraise the field of contenders in both categories of political flimflam. Readers are warned, however, that the competition is more intense than usual this year and that in a contest of profiles and postures public fancies will shift rapidly — from the boyish charm to the resonant baritone, or from the law and order pitch to the populist "compassion."

For example, as Republicans it pains us to observe at the outset the sudden deflation of Vice President Agnew, the overwhelming leader in the boobstakes during most of 1969 and 1970. As we go to press the Vice President seems to have been lost to the silent majority. Since the President, meanwhile, has long withdrawn from the race in order to pursue serious goals in international relations, we are forced to concede the field to the Democrats — at least for 1971, if not for 1972 as well.

And in all partisan candor, we must admit that the Democratic array excels in boobissimus potential any Republican offering since 1964.

Among the leading Democratic contenders, for instance, is Senator Harold Hughes, whose chief virtues as a candidate for President (one learns this seriously from enthralled male admirers) are a virile voice, a manly indignation, and experience as a truck-driver. Senator Hughes also is said to be big on ESP. As a Senator he has been negligible except on the issues of drugs and alcohol, which comprise his chief area of expertise. Nonetheless he is a Presidential Candidate, with a grandstand smile and an orotund evangelism — a genuine threat as boobissimus.

Another Democratic hopeful is Senator Birch Bayh, whose chief credentials, one gathers, are a Teamster's bankroll and early recognition of the frailties of G. Harrold Carswell. Since Carswell's limitations were finally evident even to Senator Hruska, Bayh's perceptions are not thereby shown to be dazzlingly acute. It must be said in Bayh's

favor, however, that Carswell's unfitness was not clear enough to be immediately evident to Senator Muskie, the leading Democrat.

What is clear to Senator Muskie is that what Washington needs today to meet the crisis of the times is creation of more commissions and study groups. Like Senator Hughes, both Bayh and Muskie make up for their deficiencies in vision and conviction with a grandiloquent forensic style and with what is considered a good image: tubissimus.

Senator McGovern is a more opinionated figure than any of the others and is thus considered a sure loser. He should not be excluded so easily from the tubestakes, however; for he displays a "can you top this" leftism so mechanically predictable that people may stop listening to what he says and begin responding to his profile, voice, and other assets on the tube. Moreover, his proposal to cut the defense budget is half in one year shows real boobissimus potential — perhaps comparable to that of Senator Jackson, a defense "expert" so gullible that he backed the ABM, even though it will not be built in Seattle.

What more can one say of the two likely post entries, Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy? Humphrey's only original idea in a decade was that 1968 was a good year to try a "politics of joy." Kennedy's most remarkable notion is that his two brothers, in their highly pragmatic political careers, left him a legacy of "idears" worthy of perpetuation through the 1970's. One concludes that Nixon's likely Democratic opposition may make it easy to remain a Republican in 1972.

We believe, moreover, that Mencken's theories are profoundly wrong in terms of current realities. Concepts of "boobissimus" and "tubissimus," based on contempt for the voters, remain fashionable among many "sophisticated" politicians like the New Leftists promoting Senator Hughes. But in fact the people increasingly expect their Presidential candidates to offer more than a cosmetic television image and more than demagogic sloganeering, whether from the left or right. This is the lesson of Agnew's decline; and it was the lesson of the 1968 Presidential campaign when Nixon tried to hold on with slick TV salesmanship during the months after the Convention. If the President has truly learned these lessons — and if he aggressively carries through the best of his programs — he will be able to overcome any imagery or demagoguery the Democrats contrive.

# Political Notes

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## OHIO: a better choice

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Ohio's Republican Senators, Robert Taft, Jr. and William B. Saxbe, have recommended John W. Kellogg to President Nixon for a vacancy on the U.S. Military Court of Appeals.

The Ohioans' nomination was overshadowed by the precipitate withdrawal of Senator Strom Thurmond's choice, former Representative Albert Watson. Watson has been angling for a federal appointment ever since his racist (and unsuccessful) campaign for the South Carolina governorship last fall. Word of Watson's tentative White House approval evoked immediate negative reaction from civil rights groups and liberal Democrats; the Wednesday Club, a group of approximately 10 progressive GOP Senators, unanimously voiced its opposition and reportedly Senate GOP leaders Scott and Griffin urged Nixon to reconsider. The matter was quietly dropped.

Kellogg, 50, a black city councilman in Cleveland and a lawyer, is vice-chairman of the Cuyahoga County Republican Party and was co-chairman of Senator Saxbe's 1968 campaign in that county.

The court is the highest military tribunal in the country with cases going directly from that court to the U.S. Supreme Court. The man appointed will probably take his place on the bench just in time to hear the case of Lieutenant William Calley.

\* \* \*

It had recently been rumored that former Congressman Watson would be nominated by President Nixon for an opening on the Interstate Commerce Commission. In addition to the Military Court of Appeals flap, Nixon had passed over Watson for two vacant Federal judgeships earlier this year. But on June 2, the South Carolina Republican stated that he was not seeking and would not accept the ICC position. He declared that his only interest was his law practice and that he would accept no Federal position.

The ICC job pays \$38,000 a year. Sour grapes are expensive this year.

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## ARKANSAS: yr league break-up

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Over the last two years Arkansas' progressive Young Republican League has appeared increasingly out of step not only with other state Young Republican organizations, but the senior party in Arkansas as well.

As long ago as May 1970 the Arkansas League passed a resolution asking President Nixon to drop Spiro Agnew from the ticket. At their annual convention in Hot Springs May 7-9 the delegates, dominated by College Republicans, reaffirmed their opposition to Vice President Agnew while adding a resolution urging Paul McCloskey to enter as many primaries as possible and commending him for "his courage and initiative in presenting Republicans with an alternative choice

of Republican candidate for President." Coupled with further resolutions criticizing Attorney General John Mitchell and allowing League officers to endorse Republican candidates prior to a primary, the League action proved too much for some senior stalwarts.

As rumors circulated that the entire League charter might be revoked, National Young Republican Committeewoman Judy Petty, the only unopposed candidate at the convention, called a second convention, giving only 24 hours notice, thereby excluding most of the College Republican faction. After repudiating most of the program of the authorized convention, the dissidents elected a new slate of officers, retaining only Miss Petty, and passed a new set of resolutions.

Most important, the rump session voted to break up the League, first formed under the leadership of former State Chairman Ed Allison, into three separate components — city-county, college and teen-age Republicans. Though challenged by the excluded partisans of the original convention, the decision appears to have been upheld with the tacit endorsement of former Governor Winthrop Rockefeller who still pays Miss Petty's salary.

The final compromise, which will split the delegation between factions for the national YR meeting in Phoenix, has apparently helped reactivate Win Rockefeller though at the cost of disillusioning many college Republicans. Ironically enough, the maneuver followed Ripon president Howard Gillette's keynote address to the regular convention calling for an open Republican party.

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## PHILADELPHIA: political vertigo

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In the spring of 1967, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey infuriated liberal supporters by meeting Georgia's Governor Lester Maddox, putting his arm around him, and declaring that the Democratic Party was big enough for both of them. Humphrey later indicated that he had embraced Maddox only because he had temporarily lost his footing.

Recently, when former Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo won the Democratic primary for mayor of Philadelphia on a tough law-and-order appeal, Humphrey telephoned Rizzo his congratulations. Another temporary loss of balance?

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## OREGON: a difference in style

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Senator Mark Hatfield, who says he still has not decided whether he will run again next year, may face serious primary opposition if he does seek reelection.

Republican Governor Tom McCall, a moderate who was elected to his second term last year, is seriously considering making the race against Hatfield, although he would not make the final decision until early 1972. Hatfield was first elected to the Senate in 1966 after two terms as governor.

The McCall challenge would not be based on policy differences with Hatfield, but rather on McCall's dislike of Hatfield's style, coupled with McCall's feeling that he has done as much as possible on the state level and is ready to move onto the national scene

in a more meaningful way.

Only on the war does McCall strongly disagree with the Senator's stance, and that disagreement revolves around how quickly the President is moving and how much discretion he should have, rather than on whether the war should be ended.

Hatfield, meanwhile, has begun early preparations for a reelection campaign, mostly in the area of fund-raising. Though it does seem clear that he really has not yet made the decision to run or not, the McCall challenge may be the gauntlet which throws Oregon's progressive Republican party into its bloodiest primary in many years.

The longer Hatfield lingers in deciding, the more open he leaves himself to sniping from the right. Indeed, the progressive wing of the Oregon party cannot afford a battle between its two strongest candidates, since whoever wins will be very vulnerable in the general election, particularly if the speculation in Oregon papers about Congresswoman Edith Green running for the Senate becomes reality.

And, the Republican right is all set to pick up the pieces after McCall and Hatfield destroy each other.

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## TEXAS: lessons of history

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The current Texas drought may make the Lone Star state arid territory for Richard Nixon in 1972. In 1956 a similar drought caused 22 Panhandle counties to switch from Eisenhower to Stevenson, despite Ike's expressions of concern. The loss in these counties was balanced by Eisenhower gains in East Texas, where the replacement of a deep southerner, John Sparkman, with a border state "liberal," Estes Kefauver, hurt the Democrats in cottongrowing, black belt counties.

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## NEW YORK: hire an expert

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Kieran O'Doherty, a founder and vice chairman of the Conservative party of New York, has been appointed by the Nixon administration as a \$30,000-a-year consultant in the Department of Commerce. O'Doherty, a 44-year-old lawyer and unsuccessful candidate for Lieutenant Governor in 1964, will prepare a study of the franchising industry.

O'Doherty is, of course, an expert in franchising new splinter parties.

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## INDIANA: up to their ears in mayoral races

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The Indiana Republican Party, fresh from a defeat at the polls last November, split by factional disputes, and minus some of its outstanding mayoral spokesmen, is headed for the November municipal elections with hopes of cutting its losses to a minimum.

The outlook for the Hoosier GOP to do so is at best marginal. Part of the blame must be shouldered by Indiana Governor Edgar D. Whitcomb, who took of-

fice in 1969 on a pledge to veto any general tax increase. The Indiana General Assembly, controlled by a narrow Republican majority in each house, wrestled with the tax issue into April and finally passed a tax package which was labeled "Supertax" by the news media.

Whitcomb, true to his word, vetoed the package, and the Republican delegation from Indianapolis-Marion County provided him with the votes necessary to sustain the veto, correctly noting that the prime beneficiaries of the tax package would have been rural dwellers; the cost would have been borne disproportionately by younger urban residents who frequently rent apartments and would not benefit from property tax relief.

The inevitable result, however, is that Republican mayors, who presently control about two thirds of the state's 114 city halls, will take the blame for steadily increasing property tax rates, even though most of the increase is due to skyrocketing educational costs which are not a part of Indiana civil government.

Some of the most familiar faces will not be back this year. Lloyd Allen, who served two terms as Mayor of heavily Democratic South Bend and brought the City back to its feet after the catastrophic departure of Studebaker in the mid-sixties, is not running.

Likewise, articulate Will Hays, Jr., son of the one-time Republican National Chairman, of Crawfordsville, personable Ralph VanNatta of Shelbyville, and capable John Miller of Kokomo did not go to the post.

Elsewhere, Democrat Frank McDonald, Mayor of Evansville, chose not to seek re-election (he is mentioned in some circles as a 1972 Gubernatorial entry), but his hand-picked successor on the Democratic ticket, William Brooks, is rated a heavy favorite over Republican standard bearer Russell Lloyd.

Allen County Democratic Chairman Ivan Lebamoff, whose organizational talents were largely responsible for J. Edward Roush's victory over 20-year Congressional veteran E. Ross Adair and for R. Vance Hartke's hair-line victory over Richard L. Roudebush in the Senate race, was nominated to oppose Fort Wayne Mayor Harold Zeis. The latter might normally be expected to win easily, but he has been a fixture in the City for many years, and Lebamoff's organization is fresh, while Republican County Chairman Orvas Beers' team, once among the best in the state, is apparently in the early stages of political hardening of the arteries.

Indiana's two best-known mayors, Republican Richard G. Lugar of Indianapolis and Democrat Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, easily swept to renomination.

In the Hoosier capital, the largest city in the United States with both a Republican mayor and council, incumbent Richard G. Lugar, who is serving as president of the National League of Cities, crushed three opponents, his 35,000 votes representing 83 percent of the Republican vote. Some political observers had expected a stronger challenge based upon alleged opposition to Lugar's unified government ("Unigov") plan which consolidates city and county governments, but it failed to emerge. Lugar's vote total almost exceeded that of all six Democratic candidates; the winner of that race was John F. Neff, described by one observer as an "ambitious former Young Turk who has outgrown his acne but not his shrillness." Neff has charged that Lugar will seek the help of Richard Nixon, who frequently consults Lugar on urban affairs, and that the Republican party will spend \$2 million to re-elect its standardbearer.

In fact, Lugar is better able to stand on his own before the electorate than could Nixon in this Republican state, and Neff will probably outspend his opponent. Part of Neff's outlay will doubtless be a chunk of the \$400,000 he received as co-counsel in a suit against the State of Indiana to recover \$12.7 million in disputed inheritance taxes for the Marion County MTA. At the time the agreement for attorneys' fees was signed, Democrats controlled the MTA board.

Lugar is favored, but the very fact that he has taken an aggressive lead in the community is bound to alienate some. Stir in possible voter apathy, and a surprise upset could occur, which would not only eliminate Lugar but spell probable doom for Marion County Republican Chairman L. Keith Bulen. Bulen, a master politician, whose string of victories was snapped by the Roudebush defeat in 1970, realizes that he has to help Lugar win handily in order to further his own reputation and career.

Whatever the outcome, though, the Republican Party is likely to witness the further erosion of its pre-eminence in the November election, one year before the next gubernatorial and presidential balloting. And the eighteen-year-old vote, which is not likely to go to many presently-prominent Republicans, will provide a headache rather than a potential opportunity.

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## ILLINOIS: party unity bash

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Senator Charles Percy, in the interests of party unity, arranged a Washington visit for over 300 Illinois Republican county chairmen, ward leaders, town chairmen and their wives. The two-day grand tour, joined by Governor Richard Ogilvie and Attorney General Bill Scott, met with, among others, President Nixon, Senator and RNC Chairman Bob Dole, presidential advisors Donald Rumsfeld and Henry Kissinger, the director of the President's council on international economic policy, Peter G. Peterson, and Cabinet heads Romney, Richardson, Connally and Volpe. Reportedly Connally made the biggest splash: there were more requests that he be included in the itinerary and more bubbling enthusiasm after his appearance than for any other Administration official — a position that Vice President Agnew probably would have occupied before his part in the disastrous GOP campaign of Ralph Tyler Smith last fall.

At this point, Percy expects that he will face no GOP primary challenge when he runs for reelection in 1972.

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## TENNESSEE: southern proving ground

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Tennessee will be the proving ground for the southern vote getting power of candidates in the next presidential election. A bill setting up a Presidential Preference Primary passed the state legislature this spring. The primary will take place May 4 of next year. Already there have been recent visits to Nashville, the state capital, from presidential possibilities Wilbur Mills, Birch Bayh, Henry Jackson and Ted Kennedy.

Heading the bi-partisan group which pushed the

bill through was 25-year old Victor Ashe, a Knoxville Republican. In his second term, Representative Ashe was voted one of the three most effective Republican legislators of the session by the Capitol Hill Press Corps because of his excellent handling of numerous bills. Of an independent turn of mind and a progressive point of view, this hard working young attorney, a Yale graduate, may one day be a candidate for higher office.

Youth has status in Tennessee — legal status. A bill passed the legislature and was signed by the governor which gives 18-year-olds the right to make contracts, marry, seek certain political offices, sue and be sued, buy and consume alcoholic beverages, and practice any profession.

Tennessee was also the third state of the United States to ratify the 26th Amendment to the Constitution, giving 18-year olds the right to vote. A special session was called within the hour after the amendment passed Congress and ratification took place with very little dissent.

Winfield Dunn, Tennessee's GOP governor, is getting national attention for his "No power." A bill passed the legislature which would require a local referendum at a 10 percent request by voters before public housing projects could be built. Governor Dunn said on vetoing the bill that "the legislation . . . would thwart the efforts of local governments to provide safe, decent, and adequate housing for persons of low income . . . we cannot run the risk that public housing will be brought to a standstill in any area of our state."

Governor Dunn has moved into commanding position in the state GOP organization. The Tennessee Executive Committee named Dunn's choice, S. L. Kopald of Memphis, as State Chairman. Kopald is probably the first member of the Jewish faith ever to be elected a state GOP chairman in the South. He replaces conservative State Representative Edward Bailey. Kopald is expected to place new emphasis on local precinct organization statewide for 1972. Another moderate, Ronald Rietdorf of Oak Ridge, was named GOP Executive Director. The election of Kopald is seen in some quarters as a move by the Dunn-Baker forces to forestall any future take-over of party leadership by the more conservative forces of new Senator William Brock, who, as predicted (cf. FORUM, July-Aug. 1970, p. 73), practically wrote off all the state's black and moderate voters in 1970.

But the Brock forces were moving too. When the state YR federation passed resolutions endorsing the 18-year-old vote for 1972 and urging larger YR representation on the state party Executive Committee, Brock partisans quietly slipped through an invitation to Vice-President Agnew to speak at the August convention. Agnew's campaign visit to Memphis last fall angered blacks and moderates and almost blew GOP chances. In election of YR officers, Brock's backers also demonstrated their considerable muscle, dating back to the day Brock's close ally, Ross Walker of Chattanooga, became YR president. Most of the state's young organization moderates are on Dunn's staff or work for Tennessee's senior Senator Howard Baker, leaving Brock and the extreme conservatives with the bulk of the YR federation.

One question for 1972 is how much aid the Brock conservatives will be to Senator Baker's re-election chances. Some Brock leaders still resent the ex-Baker staff help country-singer Tex Ritter received in his spirited 1970 primary against victor Brock and later

massive Baker help Winfield Dunn received in the general election for governor; Brock was bypassed because of his barren conservatism.

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## IDAHO: mild sensation

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After a quarter-century of conservative Republican rule, Idaho is still experiencing somewhat of a sensation with the new Democratic administration of Governor Cecil D. Andrus.

Although Andrus failed to carry a majority of Democrats into the state legislature with him last November, when he ousted incumbent Governor Don W. Samuelson, there is nonetheless little doubt that Andrus retains much personal popularity and has effectively squelched the one-party domination that has been so characteristic of Idaho politics. That this spells more trouble for Republicans in Idaho is privately admitted by many GOP officials.

So far, Andrus has taken the easy road to public approval. He has retained his image as a Democratic "liberal" and blamed a dearth of positive programs on GOP intransigence in the state legislature. And Andrus is not inclined to share any popularity with the Nixon-Agnew administration. Nixon carried Idaho by 56 percent in 1968, a bigger margin than in any other Western state. However, the war, the economy, and other national factors which have had their toll on the Administration have not gone unfelt in Idaho. Furthermore, Andrus harbors a grudge against the Administration for an attack made against him during the campaign by Vice President Agnew, in which the vice president linked Andrus with radical subversives.

Idaho Democrats are already laying plans to capture control of the legislature in 1972 by a campaign against Republican "obstructionists." The Republicans will further be penalized by Democratic capitalization on the growing unpopularity of the Nixon administration. GOP Senator Len B. Jordan, who has been an Administration supporter in most areas, may be especially vulnerable — particularly if Democratic Attorney General Tony Park, a new politics-oriented candidate who scored a bigger breakthrough in 1970 than Andrus, can be persuaded to challenge Jordan. Another potential Jordan challenger, not so formidable, but who could conceivably reverse his 1966 defeat to Jordan, is Democratic National Committeeman Ralph Harding.

Andrus is sure to try to exploit anti-Administration feeling against Idaho's two Republican Congressmen. Second District Congressman Orval Hansen, who had progressive support in 1968 because he faced both a backlash Democrat and an American Independent candidate, should take note. First District Congressman James A. McClure, very conservative and a Nixon supporter in the Administration's more narrowly-based programs, may lose some ground, but has enough personal popularity to discourage any possible opponent.

The state's Republican leaders are beginning to feel the Democrats' hot breath on the back of their necks. Some — notably Lieutenant Governor Jack Murphy, and possibly House Majority Leader Terry Crapo — will probably be persuaded to try heading off the Democratic challenge by taking a more moderate direction than the present negative impasse in which the GOP is mired.

In any event, the present conservative domination of the Idaho Republican party was strengthened — rather than weakened — by President Nixon's recent appointment of former Governor Samuelson as regional (Northwest) director in Seattle, Washington, of the U.S. Department of Transportation.

The appointment was seen by many as an effort by the Administration to keep Samuelson in the public eye, possibly to run him for senator in 1972 if Jordan decides not to run again (Samuelson has indicated an interest, and Jordan is 72). Another possibility is that Samuelson (who unseated incumbent GOP Governor Robert E. Smylie in 1966) may be used to run against Jordan in a primary, Samuelson being more popular with the far-right and more of a Nixon activist than Jordan (who has shown some independence, such as opposing the Haynsworth appointment). Other unhappy Samuelson prospects, insofar as the moderates are concerned, are that the former governor may re-seek his old job in 1974, or have ambitions of running against Democratic Senator Frank Church.

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## KENTUCKY: upsetting the gop applecart

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Only Kentucky and Mississippi will conduct statewide elections in 1971. At present the Republicans hold Kentucky under the administration of Governor Louie Nunn. On May 25 both parties held primaries to determine who will do battle on November 2 in the Blue Grass state.

The Democratic primary featured a stunning upset by underdog Wendell Ford, the state's lieutenant governor. Ford defeated the legendary Bert Combs, former federal judge and governor who, in 1959, was elected Governor by the greatest majority given a statewide candidate in the history of the Commonwealth. Ford put together an urban coalition, carrying Louisville, Lexington, northern Kentucky, and all the other smaller urban counties in the state. He also swept his native western Kentucky, leaving Combs only the votes of the mountains of the east. Ford's margin was over 40,000 votes.

Governor Nunn hand-picked his slate of statewide candidates long before the primary, and all were nominated in a tiny turnout (18 percent). The Republican gubernatorial choice is Tom Emberton. Nunn would have preferred Emberton, who is extremely photogenic and talented on TV, to face the elderly Judge Combs, but the primary upset by Ford also upset the GOP apple cart.

Republican power has waned in the urban areas of the state during the Nunn administration. In the early '60s, the progressive Republicanism of William Cowger and Marlow Cook in Louisville and of Joe Johnson and Don Ball in Lexington led to GOP victories in the growing urban areas. The conservatism of the Nunn administration reversed that trend, and left the GOP to concentrate on the areas of the state which tend to vote conservative, but also are losing population and political influence.

Nunn and Emberton hoped that the contrast between the young Emberton and the older Combs would cause city and suburban voters to swing back to the GOP. Now their opponent, Ford, finds his greatest sup-

port in the urban countries and in his western homeland.

"Tom and Louie will pour enough money into this election to sink a battleship," commented one GOP pro from Louisville. "But most Kentuckians don't like their politicians sold like soap or cars." A young Democrat on Ford's staff was more to the point: "Combs had money too, and look what happened to him. People are sick and tired of TV politics. Wait till November 2."

Another factor in the race is the independent candidacy of former Governor Albert B. "Happy" Chandler, a conservative who supported Nunn in 1967 but turned against his old friend because of tax issues. Chandler is expected to hurt Emberton more than Ford, and especially in the areas that Emberton needs the most: central Kentucky around Lexington and the western part of the state.

"Ford and Emberton will provide the fireworks," one Republican in Lexington stated, "but Happy will provide the fun."

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## MARYLAND: good omen

Maryland's First Congressional District which encompasses all of the Eastern Shore is a strongly conservative area. It comprises some 46 percent of Maryland's land area in its twelve counties, yet, as has been noted, "despite its size the district has little heavy industry, no major university, no city of more than 30,000 residents and only one television station." It is a peaceful somnolent extension of the South, unburdened by the problems of metropolitan living. The climate has been conducive to the pleasant, genial politics of Rog Morton, who first won the seat in 1962. Many observers felt that the huge Democratic majority in the district would be enough to elect a Democratic successor to Morton, who was named Secretary of the Interior last winter. That, however, was not to be the case.

Winning the May 25 special election was Morton's former administrative assistant, William O. Mills, who had only recently bothered to change his registration from Democratic to Republican. Many, including the Democratic nominee, State Senator Elroy G. Boyer, tried to picture the race as a referendum on the Nixon administration. However, there was little difference in the stands of the two candidates. Both opposed setting a withdrawal date from South Vietnam; Mills was for the SST, while Boyer opposed it; both opposed anti-gun laws, a touchy subject in the hunting country of the Eastern Shore, and both favored lowering taxes and preserving the ecology of the Chesapeake Bay region.

The campaign was distinctly low-key. Spring this year just seemed too pleasant a time for bitter partisan politics. The election, characterized by a surprisingly large number of newly-registered 18-21-year-old voters, resulted in a comfortable Mills victory. The 46-year-old Easton Republican defeated Boyer 31,165 to 27,234.

After defeating right-wing State Senator Robert E. Bauman of Upper Shore, a distinct hawk (victory in Vietnam, etc.), Mills ran with strong Administration backing. He emphasized his experience in the workings of Congress with numerous "Rog and I"-type flyers and managed to get Vice-President Agnew into the district for a bull roast. Morton himself campaigned extensively for Mills and turned over his entire dis-

trict campaign organization to him; the Republican Boosters Club beefed up Mills war chest with a \$10,000 gift.

Boyer, who, like Mills, fits easily into the conservative mold, had the strong support of the entire Maryland Democracy; he predicted his victory would be a preview of President Nixon's 1972 defeat. Immensely popular Governor Marvin Mandel came into the district several times, while former Governor J. Millard Tawes headed Boyer's Lower Shore campaign. Other Democratic stalwarts hard at work, running, in effect, against Nixon, included Thomas Hunter Lowe, the Speaker of the House of Delegates and Louis Goldstein, perhaps the most popular Maryland politician, now serving his fourth term. National Democrats generally avoided the campaign, as Boyer is far away from Muskie, Kennedy, Bayh, McGovern, et al.

Mills' victory means that at least the Maryland GOP can lose one Congressman and not necessarily lose the seat, as when J. Glenn Beall, Jr. moved up to the U.S. Senate from his Sixth District seat and a Democrat slid easily into his place in the House. Hopefully, the First District win is a good omen.

\* \* \*

Maryland has no state-wide election in 1972, but — with direct election of national convention delegates — the Free State could witness a flurry of spring, pre-convention politicking. Liberal elements of the GOP are silent on any challenge to the President at the present time and few Republicans seem excited about the possible candidacy of Congressman Paul N. (Pete) McCloskey. The bulk of the party seems to support the Administration and the renomination of former Maryland Governor Ted Agnew in 1972. Agnew was unable to help the GOP carry the state in '68 and was less-than-helpful in Stan Blair's gubernatorial race in 1970. His presence in the First District recently can be taken as an effort to burnish his Maryland political image.

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## CONNECTICUT: Vietnam fix

Connecticut's new Republican governor, Thomas J. Meskill, seems to be tightening his grip on the state party organization. After appointing his campaign manager, Lewis (Chip) Andrews, Executive Director of the State Central Committee, he engineered the removal of state GOP chairman Howard E. Hausman, and replaced him with State Representative J. Brian Gaffney. Gaffney has been a close advisor throughout Meskill's political career. It appears that Republican U.S. Senator Lowell P. Weicker was left almost entirely out of the decisions concerning the state party. Many state Republicans view the selection of Gaffney as a move away from the progressive posture of the Connecticut GOP under Searle Pinney and Hausman, who were both Rockefeller supporters in 1968.

\* \* \*

Freshman U.S. Representative Robert H. Steele was co-author of House Foreign Affairs Committee report on the world heroin problem. The report estimated that 10 percent of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam are heroin addicts, and recommended that the U.S. speed up the withdrawal of draftees. However, Steele's prediction that the drug crisis would spur faster withdrawal of all troops was denied by the White House.

# Affording Austerity, or Budget Blues

It used to be that when its citizens were asked about John Lindsay's proclaiming New York the "Fun City," they laughed and made excuses; now they curse. The city, and the whole state, seem to be having more than their share of problems, and this was clearly shown by the recent legislative session. As might be expected, the root of all these problems is *money*, and there certainly is a lot of that, for the City and State budgets alone are greater than the budgets of many of the world's countries. The politics surrounding the approval of the State and City budgets have been distinguished mainly by their viciousness.

In the past, things generally went according to the following scenario, more or less:

1. New York City signs contracts containing over-generous pension and salary arrangements with police, fire, and sanitation unions, after a short "job action" by one or more of the above unions; Mayor warns that the city will be unable to afford this increase next year. The Governor, not to be topped, warns that the state faces a very grave fiscal crisis.
2. Governor presents multibillion dollar "austerity" budget calling for increased taxes; budget approved after grueling negotiations between legislative leaders and the Governor.
3. Mayor calls for new taxes and presents "survival" budget to the City Council. (It is interesting to note that the City's budget is larger than the State's!) The Council cuts budget and requests permission from the state legislature to raise local taxes (Whatever happened to "home rule?") To dramatize the situation, the Mayor partially closes libraries and cuts back other services.
4. Smiling publicly, Mayor and Governor argue angrily at each other in the tax package negotiations. Finally compromise is reached and legislature approves new City taxes.
5. City Council balances and approves budget with new taxes and Mayor miraculously "discovers" money to keep the libraries and hospitals open. Two Democrats who defected and supported Governor's budget are appointed judges.

This year, for better or worse (apparently worse), it was decided to throw away the script and let everybody do his own thing:

1. To get things off to a bad start the police went on an unprecedented strike in January; as of mid-June the policemen, firemen, and sanitationmen have all been working without a contract for half a year.
2. In February the Governor proposed a mammoth State budget of \$8.45 billion, with \$1.1 billion in additional taxes. As noted in these pages last month the Governor's reelection was accomplished by a definite shift to the right of the political center, and the makeup of both houses of the Republican-controlled legislature reflects that shift. Upstate and suburban legislators, many of whom were elected with Conservative Party support, rallied under the leadership of State

Senate Majority Leader Earl Brydges and especially Speaker of the Assembly Perry Duryea to chop off \$760 million from the budget. Many believe that Duryea would like to be the next occupant of the Executive Mansion, and if one thing was demonstrated this year, it was the political force of Duryea. The Governor expected to run into some difficulties with this independently-minded fellow Republican, but he felt that public pressure would force Duryea to restore some of the more severe budget cuts. A \$7.7 billion State budget was passed on strict partisan lines on April 2; welfare categories were hard hit, the City's share of State income tax revenue was reduced from 21 to 18 percent, and 8,250 State employees were dismissed.

3. Shortly after that budget was passed, Mayor John Lindsay presented four "budget options" to the public; the worst option provided for an elimination of 90,000 jobs, the closing of eight hospitals, and no admission of the freshman class at City University; the most favorable option included only minor improvements in city services. The Mayor claimed that the decision as to which "option" would be implemented was entirely the state legislature's. His almost self-righteous attitude in putting all the responsibility for the City's survival on others won few friends — the Governor, noting that the Mayor's administration has created over 70,000 new jobs, remarked that the worst cutbacks "would bring the City back to where it was when he [Lindsay] took over." The Mayor formally submitted a \$9.3 billion "survival" budget to the City Council; he also eliminated a few thousand jobs, instituted a job freeze, and made other cutbacks. There then followed several weeks of political "hot potato" in which no one wanted to be left with the responsibility of making cutbacks in the budget or raising the taxes. The Council sidestepped its responsibilities by not changing one iota of the budget but requested approval for \$880 million in new taxes from the legislature.

4. Duryea and his upstate conservative Republican friends stubbornly insisted on large budgetary slashes, and were reluctant to approve any tax increase. If Duryea & Co. were hard-nosed, the Mayor was downright obstinate: he insisted that the whole \$880 million tax package had to be passed or else the blame for the resulting "disaster" in the City would be solely the legislators'. The great public outcry for restoration of budgetary cuts that the Governor expected never really developed, but powerful lobbyists swung into action: the teachers', firemen's, policemen's, and civil servants' unions placed full page ads in the N.Y. *Times* and demonstrated at City Hall and the Capitol. Meanwhile, Lindsay, Rockefeller, Brydges, Duryea, and their aides were involved in negotiations in an attempt to reach a compromise. Any pretense at cordiality was thrown aside.

Negotiations were hampered by, on one side, Duryea's fiscal conservatism, and on the other, by Lindsay's "grandstand" maneuvers; however, several times a tentative tax compromise was reached only to be shot down by upstate conservatives (angry at any new

spending or taxing), suburban assemblymen (angry at a larger commuter tax), or city assemblymen (angry at Republicans in general, and at severe cutbacks and higher real estate taxes in particular). The legislators, irritated by the last minute rush of bills crammed down their throats in one of the longest sessions in history, yelled at each other and started several shoving matches on the floor of the Assembly.

Finally, on the day the City was paralyzed by a municipal employees strike (that, among other things, created a monumental traffic jam due to inoperable draw-bridges) an acceptable hybrid tax bundle was created. Most of the 26 bills forming the compromise revenue package were passed unanimously. The deal called for \$525 million in new taxes and state aid plus \$100 million in Federal aid to be paid by the state only if the Federal grant fell through.

5. The Mayor said that \$625 million was less than his requested amount, and as such would still result in a budget gap and some cutbacks in services. The City Council, after extending the legal deadline for budget approval, was expected to further modify and approve the budget in mid-June. Hopefully, next year's script for the budgetary game in Fun City will include a few scenes with characters who demonstrate some responsibility and sensitivity — both of which seem to have been forgotten this time.

\* \* \*

Many liberals in the City were surprised and upset at State Senator Roy Goodman's acquiescence in the recent action to cut state aid to the city by 3 percent. Democrats immediately and viciously attacked him (claiming he "sold his soul" in an unspecified deal) and were doubly enraged when he announced that he would head a drive to restore the state budget cuts. Goodman is very liberal and is the only Republican legislator from Manhattan. But what is more important is that he is recognized as an excellent public official and was expected by almost everyone (at least prior to his puzzling backing of the urban aid cut) to run for governor or mayor someday soon.

\* \* \*

New York must lose two Congressional seats (from 41 to 39) and the latest rumor is that first-term Representative "Batling Bella" Abzug (very liberal,

very vocal, and Democratic) will get thrown into a district on Manhattan's West Side and have to fight it out with 11-year veteran Representative William F. Ryan (also a Democrat).

Brooklyn will also lose a seat; the situation there is more uncertain, but Republican John J. Rooney, a conservative Democrat who has served 27 years in the House, might face redistricting.

\* \* \*

Still in Brooklyn, but back in the Republican Party, there is a different type of challenge to the aged established powers. The dean of American GOP county chairman (after 34 years), John R. Crews, is in very poor health and is facing strong opposition from within his own organization. The strongest threat is being made by Edmund G. Seergy, a district leader from one of the more reactionary areas of the county. He has the support of 6 or 7 of the 23 leaders but he has two handicaps: he has just had another minor heart attack and he is Arabian — his election would be rather impolitic to say the least as Brooklyn is heavily Jewish. His politics are exceedingly right-wing and he supported Conservative Senator James Buckley over his own party's nominee, Charles Goodell. Another faction is supporting the heir apparent, Anthony N. Durso, the Republican County Secretary and a long-time Crews' aide. Finally, district leader Tom Parisi, along with his brother, form the heads of the third, and least powerful, bloc. Unfortunately, there is no group in sight that can be said to represent a more progressive outlook.

Governor Rockefeller generally plays it safe and stays out of such local leadership clashes and he is following true to form this time; the Governor appointed a triumvirate last year to head his reelection campaign in Brooklyn. As one former district leader who was knocked off by Seergy forces says, the election of Seergy to the chairmanship "would be a disaster — the Party would go ultra-right-wing and we can't afford to let this happen." The precarious balance among the forces is likely to remain until Crews resigns or passes away — but in Brooklyn they've been saying that the elderly chairman would be out of the picture soon for the past decade.

GLENN S. GERSTELL

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# Washington Viewpoint

## On the R&D Gap

On May 6, 1971, the Federation of American Scientists released a detailed 50-page study on the research and development gap projected in statements issued by the Pentagon's Directorate of Defense Research and Engineering (DDR & E). The study concluded that the DDR & E discussion of a gap was a "classical numbers game featuring selective disclosure, questionable assumptions, exaggeratedly precise estimates, misleading language, and alarmist non-sequitur conclusions."

It was, therefore, a shock to see that the June Ripon editorial "Less Means More" took for granted an "impending Soviet lead in research and development" on the grounds that Dr. John S. Foster, Director of DDR & E "should know."

There are two basic weaknesses in the arguments of DDR & E. In the first place, DDR & E is comparing U.S. and Soviet expenditures on total military research and development when the relevance of these categories for military technological advance is questionable. Most of R & D expenditures are devoted to engineering development on prototypes — often for weapon systems whose procurement is already ordered. In these cases, especially for *strategic* weapon systems, the expenditures have little effect either on advance in military technology, or on military surprises, or on technological breakthroughs. U.S. expenditures for the so-called "technology base" (including research, exploratory development, and some advanced development) are far more relevant to protecting against Soviet technological advance. But technology base expenditures are normally about 25 percent of the total military R & D budget; no one has ever claimed to be able to measure Soviet expenditures in this category.

Indeed, the utility of expenditures for prototypes of weapons that may not be deployed is a subject of controversy; some believe these prototypes improve the efficiency of the military procurement process and others do not. In any case, the development of such prototypes must be judged on their individual merits. And it must be recognized that the Soviet Union traditionally spends more on prototypes for each weapon finally deployed. This further undermines the relevance of gross estimates.

The second basic weakness in the DDR & E argument is the "softness" of its calculations. Basically, DDR & E has a new study which has concluded: a) that during the 60's, total Soviet militarily related R & D rose about 10 percent a year; b) that this growth was applied to civil space technology until it reached \$5 billion; and c) that this growth is now being again applied to military technology. As

a result of these assumptions, DDR & E sees Soviet military R & D rising over 40 percent in two years!

But estimates of the total resources being applied even to *militarily related* R & D in the Soviet Union are inevitably open to controversy.

Indeed, even if one knew precisely what the Soviet Union was planning to do with each engineer and scientist, there would be a great deal of difficulty in assessing what the dollar equivalent cost of such allocations should be — much less the technological significance. As the Federation report concluded: "Necessary expenditures became progressively larger as one moves from research on basic technological discoveries to development of weapons. This shows the extreme difficulty in making meaningful comparisons on a financial basis of efforts to protect against technological surprise."

In addition to these basic complaints, the Federation felt that the statements of DDR & E had all the hallmarks of an exaggerated scare.

In particular, in the last 24 months, Dr. John S. Foster has argued in successive statements that the United States will lose its technological superiority over the Soviets in a "decade," in the "next several years," in "two years," in the "latter half of this decade" and in the "middle of this decade." Often he charges not only that we will "lose" technological superiority but that the Soviets will gain it.

Far more concrete evidence is required to support these assurances than these estimates asserting that — in the last two years — the Soviets have begun to spend much more on gross military R & D. Indeed, there is much evidence, and even much Soviet admission, that the Soviet state of technology is far behind our own in many, if not most, areas.

I encourage Ripon members to read the Federation of American Scientists' report which was placed in the Congressional Record on May 10 (S6517). And I encourage them to think about the implications of this alarm. On the basis of a projection concerning two recent years of Soviet R & D spending, newspapers and magazines across the country have been discussing for many months, the implications a new "technology gap."

No one can read the Federation's report without conceding the enormous importance of constructing institutional counterweights to Pentagon official statements. Because the Defense Department inevitably lobbies by spreading fear, methods must be found to prevent overzealous officials and departments from repeatedly and needlessly alarming their countrymen.

JEREMY J. STONE

Dr. Stone is Director of the Federation of American Scientists.

## **OIC: Job Training Success Story**

For nearly a decade the Federal Government has been trying to train the disadvantaged for gainful and useful employment, and for the entire decade the results have been, at best, mixed.

Federal participation in job-training began with the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 and was greatly expanded with the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Along the way, programs have included MDTA Institutional training, On-the-Job Training, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Mainstream, New Careers, Concentrated Employment Programs and NAB-JOBS.

Not surprisingly, Federal expenditures have expanded to match the proliferation of programs. From an infinitesimal \$4 million in 1959, funding has grown to a proposed \$2.9 billion for Fiscal Year 1972.

Thus, it is evident that there has been a sincere intent on the part of Congress and succeeding administrations to do something about the problem — to provide valuable training for the unemployed and the underemployed.

Unfortunately, the well-intended programs and the nearly \$10 billion spent during the decade have not always produced satisfactory results. Program costs often have been exorbitant; men and women most in need of training often have not been reached, and the percentage of those who actually find jobs after training or who keep the jobs they find has often been far too small.

### **PRIVATE GENESIS**

There is, however, a very successful job-training program begun seven years ago, not in Washington, but in the inner city in North Philadelphia. Its genesis came, not from a Federal executive or a Member of Congress, but from a Baptist minister and his congregation.

The minister is the Reverend Doctor Leon H. Sullivan, pastor of Zion Baptist Church. He named his program the Opportunities Industrialization Center. Started in 1964 in a former jailhouse leased from the City of Philadelphia and backed by \$100,000 raised by the Zion Baptist congregation, OIC organizations now exist in more than 100 American cities.

Those in operation are providing effective and efficient job training at relatively low cost, and they are doing it with very little support from the Fed-

eral Government.

Doctor Sullivan, who recently became the first black man to serve on the board of directors of the General Motors Corporation, has raised most of the money which supports OIC through contributions from private industry and local governments.

The Federal support to OIC over the years has averaged \$7.5 million channeled through existing manpower programs.

### **HIGH RATE OF RETURN**

Despite inadequate or sporadic funding, OIC's have attained success in very large measure. Of trainees completing the OIC course, 71.2 percent have been placed in jobs. As further evidence of its successful record, OIC's have a one-year job retention rate of 76 percent, the highest, to my knowledge, of any manpower training program in the country.

Dollar for dollar, the return has been far greater than money spent in most other programs. Cost per OIC trainee has been about \$1500, which is about one-third of the cost of many Federal programs.

The reasons for OIC success are many, but they start with Doctor Sullivan. His tireless work and apparently limitless energy give the OIC's a vitality not often found in the more staid Government programs.

The key, however, is that OIC's are not merely job training enterprises. They are comprehensive programs which begin with pretraining counseling and end with job placement and follow-up at regular intervals.

OIC's also are located where the need for job training is greatest — within our urban centers. The trainee remains with his family and friends in his own neighborhood. OIC's prepare the individual for actual job training by means of a pre-vocational feeder program designed to provide basic reading and writing skills and to build self confidence.

Following completion of the feeder program, the trainee learns a skill which is in demand by businesses in the area. The trainee thus has a realistic goal for which to strive. Many times he is guaranteed employment before his OIC training is completed.

In addition, OIC in some instances has ventured into black capitalism. In Philadelphia, OIC has built a multi-million dollar shopping center and it opened Progress Aerospace Enterprises, which employs 150 people on a NASA sub-contract, and Progress Garment Manufacturing Company, where 100 employees turn out 2000 garments a week.

It is evident, I believe, that OIC with relatively little financial help has accomplished much. How much more could it accomplish with only a small share of the proposed \$2.9 billion manpower budget?

I believe it is time we give Doctor Sullivan and his colleagues the opportunity to prove what they can do on a larger scale. That is why I introduced this year the Opportunities Industrialization Assistance Act, which would authorize \$432 million in Federal funding for OIC's over the next three years.

Doctor Sullivan estimates that his organization would reach a level of 51,000 trainees within the first 12 months of funding and that at the end of three years OIC would be serving 100,000 persons.

This legislation would make OIC funding the exclusive responsibility of the Secretary of Labor, removing the current problems of multi-agency funding.

This legislation is not new. I introduced similar legislation last year and it was adopted as an amendment to the Employment and Manpower Act

of 1970 which was vetoed. The OIC provision of that bill was not a cause of that veto. It was, I believe, the only section of the bill to enjoy near unanimous support of the Senate.

The report of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee said of the OIC: "The facts clearly seem to justify the conclusion that this is an unusually successful and surprisingly low-cost manpower program, solidly accepted by the poverty community and the private sector."

The Labor and Public Welfare Committee again this summer will hold hearings on a comprehensive manpower bill, and OIC again will be under consideration.

The Senate Labor Committee is not alone in its appreciation of the OIC. I have been pleased to have a long and impressive list of co-sponsors of this legislation. They include Senators Bayh, Harris, Kennedy, Muskie, Pell and Mondale from the Democratic side of the aisle and Senators Javits, Schweiker, Scott, Taft and Bellmon from the Republican side. Without them, I know this legislation would not have received the attention it has.

It is my great hope that this year the aspirations of Doctor Sullivan's great program will be realized and that the Federal Government will provide it with the means for orderly and constructive expansion.

With that aid, I am confident the OIC will prove to be the most effective job-training program in the country.

*J. CALEB BOGGS*

## **California Corner** *from page 20*

not up for re-election, but Senator Song spent \$65,000 in a 33 percent GOP district to defeat a Republican who could raise only \$10,000. In a 28 percent GOP district, Ralph Dills outspent his Republican challenger \$64,000 to \$8,000 and went on to an easy victory.

After the election, Collier, Song and Dills all improved their positions in the Senate. Collier became chairman of the Finance Committee, Song was named head of the Judiciary Committee, and Dills took over leadership of the Governmental Organization Committee (formerly Governmental Efficiency).

It is difficult to quarrel with Senator Dymally's post-election assertion that he had been vindicated and that his support of Schrade had been a key factor in the Democrats' regaining control of the State Senate. It is equally difficult to see what the eight Republicans who deserted Howard Way did to benefit either the Republican Party or the State of California.

This struggle between the Old Guard and the Reform Coalition refutes the charge that conservative Republicans abide by the majority will of their party, while moderates violate the canons of party unity. It also points out how the basic desires of rank and file Democrats can be ignored by Democratic incumbents if the Republican Party fails to present viable alternatives to the disadvantaged voters in "safe" Democratic districts. Here is a major opportunity for the moderates of the Republican Party. The best chance for ousting lobbyist-oriented Democrats who are favoring special interests is by forging a coalition among the middle income taxpayers and the disadvantaged — both of whom are being poorly served by the present system. Although these groups have several areas of conflicting interests, they would both benefit by structural reform that increased public accountability in the Legislature and increased efficiency in government.

*MICHAEL HALLIWELL*

# A GUIDE TO REPUBLICAN INSURGENCY

## I. The Dumping of the President 1912 - 68

When Eugene McCarthy threw down his elegant gauntlet and set out to deny Lyndon Johnson renomination in 1968, political commentators talked as if a bold new precedent were being set — a President was being challenged from within his own party in an election year. Older reporters recalled a similar venture by Estes Kefauver in 1952, but that was the only example history seemed to suggest.

It may come as a surprise, then, to note that no less than nine times in this century has an incumbent President been challenged seriously; or, to put it another way, only three times since 1912 has a re-electable President gone unchallenged. A brief look at some of those challenges, all of which are of historical importance, can tell us something about just what kinds of challenges are most effective and why.

**NON-RENEWABLE CONTRACTS** We have to focus on this century because conditions of Presidential re-electability have changed so drastically through our history that earlier examples are of dubious relevance.

George Washington of course set the two-term precedent, and until 1840 only two of our first seven Presidents were defeated for re-election. We usually think of Washington's model as a limitation; actually, it was also an opportunity, for it made renomination and re-election seem natural.

Then, in the latter two-thirds of the Nineteenth Century, the Presidency suddenly became a position with scant job security. From Van Buren through Cleveland, only Lincoln and Grant won second terms at the end of their first. The rest fell into three nearly equal categories — those who did not even try, those who tried and were denied renomination *by their own parties*, and those who got the nomination but were rejected by the voters. This is not the place to discuss why the Presidency fell into such low repute, but incumbent Presidents were clearly at the top of nobody's Ten Most Popular (or Ten Most Powerful) list.

Then with McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt, and the growing power and esteem of the institution, Presidents once again found being renominated and re-elected fairly easy. Of the last twelve re-election attempts, only two — Taft and Hoover — failed, and in both cases the unfortunates managed to win renomination.

This change in Presidential solidity make it difficult to discuss 19th Century Presidents, mostly dumped as a matter of course, in the same terms that we discuss their 20th Century successors. So we will start with McKinley.

**THE BULL MOOSE DUMP** Dumping did not become the fashion in Presidential politics until well into the new century. In 1900, McKinley was renominated with nary a dissenting voice, and in 1904 the only potential threat to Teddy Roosevelt's renomination, Senator Marc Hanna, died several months before convention time. In 1908, TR did not seek renomination, holding to a pledge he had made on election night in 1904 (and later regretted).

It was in 1912 that one of the most exciting battles for the Presidency developed, culminating in a race that pitted former, incumbent, and future Presidents against each other. The story is long and exciting, with some striking parallels to 1968, and it began with Progressive Republican disillusionment with President William H. Taft. Senator Robert LaFollette and Teddy Roosevelt fought him in the primaries, with LaFollette handicapped by a physical and mental breakdown and also by Roosevelt's greater political muscle. Between them, they held Taft down to one victory in the primaries, with Roosevelt the usual favorite. But Taft had control of the organization, especially in the South, and held a narrow majority at the Chicago convention. Most of the dissidents refused to vote at the "packed" convention, and Taft was renominated. Roosevelt went off and formed the Progressive Party, and outpolled Taft in November. But the winner was Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

**VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS** In 1916, Wilson had no opposition from his party, and in 1920, broken in health and spirit, he declined to run. Harding, the new President, died in 1923, and Coolidge succeeded.

When Coolidge chose to run in 1924, Republican farm belt Progressives took the opportunity to challenge him in the primaries. LaFollette beat him only in Wisconsin, and Senator Hiram Johnson only in South Dakota (Coolidge defeated Johnson in the latter's native California.) Between them, they netted 44 votes at the convention, and their minority platform did not even come to a vote. LaFollette started a new Progressive Party, which failed to keep the nation from four more years of Coolidge. In 1928 he stepped down, and was succeeded by Herbert Hoover.

By 1932, Hoover was in deep trouble. His only primary opponent, former Senator Joseph France of Maryland, wanted to replace him with, of all people, Calvin Coolidge (a sign of the bankruptcy of the

party). France won most of the primaries by default, although Hoover bested him in his own Maryland, and left him with a whopping four votes at the convention. Perhaps more revealing was the defection of leading Progressive Republicans like Johnson, LaFollette, and George Norris. Hoover, needless to add, was trounced in November by Franklin Roosevelt.

Roosevelt himself encountered no serious opposition to renomination in 1936, but in 1940 two lieutenants, Vice President John Nance Garner and Postmaster General Jim Farley, tried to keep him from a third term. In the primaries and at the convention, they were smashed. In 1944, the anti-New Deal protest turned regional as 89 Southerners initiated the habit of protest by voting for Harry Byrd at the convention.

**DIXIECRATS AND EISENHOWERCRATS** In 1948, Harry Truman, who had succeeded the fallen Roosevelt, was being attacked from left and right. The far left deserted the Democrats and rallied behind Henry Wallace, and the not-so-far-left (the ADA) wanted General Eisenhower or Justice William O. Douglas; at the convention Senator Claude Pepper of Florida presented himself to a convention not willing to accept the gift. Truman had carried the primaries, and once again the main opposition was from the right, with 266 stalwarts opting for Richard Russell. After the convention, the diehards bolted and ran Strom Thurmond for President, but Truman won despite these setbacks.

In 1952, Truman was bested by Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee in New Hampshire, and withdrew from the race less than three weeks later.

Truman was of course succeeded by Eisenhower, who was not opposed by any Republicans in 1956 (although Senate Minority Leader Bill Knowland had filed in some primaries in case Ike stepped down). In 1960, for the first time, an incumbent President was barred from seeking re-election by the 22nd Amendment.

In 1964, the only rumble within the Democratic Party was George Wallace's ominous foray into Wisconsin, Indiana, and Maryland, where he popularized the backlash concept and gave Barry Goldwater some encouragement. This suggests one important rule of dumping politics: that you can't judge an incumbent President's overall popularity by how well a stand-in does in the primary. Wallace would probably have run far worse had it been Johnson himself on the ballot, rather than a succession of unpopular Democratic governors. But of course there was no dissension in Atlantic City. Finally, we have the well-known example of 1968, when McCarthy's strong showing

in New Hampshire and Robert Kennedy's entry into the race were followed quickly by the selfless departure from the Oval Office by Lyndon Johnson.

**ALL KINDS OF DUMPS** The foregoing suggest various scenarios for trying to dump incumbent Presidents, and now we will look at a few:

*The big scare:* This was the situation in 1952 and 1968, when primary setbacks convinced incumbent Presidents to go home to Independence or Austin. In that sense, they were successful "dumps." But note that both Presidents in question had served more than four years, and did not feel that history would scorn them as one-term Presidents.

*The third party preview:* Roosevelt in 1912, LaFollette in 1924, and Thurmond in 1948 all led third parties that grew out of unsuccessful "dump" movements. In all cases, the parties served not only as vents for frustration, but also as conduits for voters seeking to shift to the other party. Only Roosevelt succeeded in denying electoral victory to his party's candidate.

*The exercise in futility:* The moves against FDR in 1940 and 1944, and Wallace's raid in 1964, were little more than foreshadowing of movements that were to blossom years later. They can serve notice on the incumbent that all is not well in the family, but little else for that year.

*The harbinger of bad news.* Joseph France in 1932 demonstrated to anyone who needed to know that even a nonentity could defeat Herbert Hoover in his own party's primaries. In fact, that is the main function of primaries for an incumbent's party: *the incumbent can lose primaries and win renomination anyway, but losses in the primaries usually foreshadow defeat in November.* It is significant that the only two incumbents who lost most of their primaries — Taft and Hoover — were also the only two who lost in November.

Note the absence of what is presumably the *raison d'être* of all dump movements: the situation whereby the maverick defeats the incumbent at the convention. The last time *that* happened was in 1884.

So dump-incumbent movements should not expect political annihilation of the target, unless he has more than one term under his belt. What is more important is to determine what long-range use will be made of the political skills and experience that are developed in the movement.

HOWARD L. REITER

SOURCES: Richard C. Bain, *Convention Decisions and Voting Records* (Brookings Institution, Washington, 1960) James W. Davis, *Presidential Primaries: Road to the White House* (Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1967)

## II. New Hampshire Primary Preview

Two Democratic Presidents, Truman in 1952 and Johnson in 1968, have found the New Hampshire primary results damaging to any plans that they may have entertained of seeking reelection.

Richard Nixon may face a similar test in 1972 in a state whose Republican voters have historically been as pro-Nixon as any in the nation.

- In 1956 when Harold Stassen began promoting a movement to replace Nixon with someone such as Christian Herter as the Republican vice presidential nominee, thousands of New Hampshire write-in votes for Nixon squelched the incipient "Dump Nixon" movement.

- In 1960 Nixon swept the Republican primary and carried the Granite State in November against New Englander Jack Kennedy.

- In 1964 with no campaigning and little organization he finished a strong fourth on write-ins behind write-in winner Henry Cabot Lodge and active candidates Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller.

- In 1968 Nixon waged an impressive personal campaign in wintry New Hampshire, forcing his principal opponent, George Romney, to withdraw before the primary election. In November Nixon handily carried New Hampshire against Humphrey.

Given the extraordinarily deep Nixon leanings of New Hampshire voters, a showing for him as incumbent President anywhere below 75 percent of the vote would have to be viewed by Republican politicians as a sign of serious Nixon weakness in November.

### ALASKA IS OUT

Florida and New Hampshire are jockeying to be the first in the nation primary, but whichever emerges first, New Hampshire is likely to be regarded as the best benchmark of voter affection or disaffection for the Nixon administration. The largely Yankee Protestant small-town Republican voters of this Northern New England state may have to choose between their old favorite Nixon and this new young congressman from California.

Pete McCloskey starts his campaign almost from scratch. In a recent Becker Research Corporation poll commissioned by the Boston *Globe* he trailed Nixon 83 to six percent and enjoyed a 20 percent name recognition among New Hampshire voters. Few significant party figures are likely to line up with his campaign against a sitting President.

The far right Manchester *Union-Leader*, the only paper with statewide circulation, is almost certain to give McCloskey the same hammer and tongs treatment it has accorded to every moderate Republican except Richard Nixon, who has been generally ex-

empted to date because of his early association with Senator Joseph McCarthy. In 1968 the fervent support of its publisher William Loeb for Nixon served to head off any significant Reagan or Wallace activity on New Hampshire's right wing.

While it is difficult to predict whether the mercurial Loeb will still be riding the Nixon horse by primary time, it seems a safe bet that his front-page editorials will be savaging McCloskey or any Republican peace candidate just as he characterized Senator Margaret Chase Smith as "Moscow Maggie," President Dwight Eisenhower as "that stinking hypocrite," and Nelson Rockefeller as "wife swapper Rocky."

### MCCLOSKEY SUPPORT?

An anti-war insurgency is likely to draw its strongest support in the college towns of Durham, Hanover, and Keene, in the capital city of Concord, in Nashua and in other cities and towns on the fringe of the Boston metropolitan area. The older voters who constitute the bulk of the Republican electorate in Northern and Central New Hampshire may, however, be disposed against Nixon if inflation continues to nibble away at their savings. Goldwater's stand on Social Security became a major issue in 1964 in New Hampshire. Nixon may have to contend with discontent among elderly Granite State voters over increased Medicare costs and reduced coverage, inflation, and seeming Administration stinginess on Social Security. The coalescence of antiwar and economic disaffection with the Administration could allow McCloskey to roll up a surprising vote total.

Administration strategists are reportedly torn between running a stand-in for Nixon such as Senator Norris Cotton and having the President campaign directly. Whether or not the stand-in artifice is employed the voters of New Hampshire and observers elsewhere will view the results as a referendum on the Nixon administration.

McCloskey's personality should be well-suited to the small meeting, question-and-answer-session campaigning of New Hampshire. His candor and his ready command of the facts stand out under such close examination. His record as a Korean War hero should insulate McCloskey from many of the innuendoes that Loeb and other self-designated superpatriots will probably spread.

A strong showing by McCloskey in this primary could serve to put him within range of victory in the subsequent primaries of Wisconsin and Rhode Island. For this reason Richard Nixon must hope his past position of strength will hold in New Hampshire.

JOHN TOPPING

### III. Nixon's Swing Districts

As he moves through the third year of his embattled Presidency — faced with a challenge from within his own party — Richard Nixon might find hope in the politics of two widely separate and radically different Congressional districts: one in the Midwest and one in his native state of California. Although both districts are Democratic in registration, they comprise key segments of possible national majority for the President and his party.

The California district is dominated by middle income suburbanites — un-young, un-poor, and un-black — reflecting the ascendant demography of the latest census. Though containing a few students, blacks, and relatively wealthy whites, it is a suburb of the type which should become a mainstay of a nationally prevalent Republicanism. It went narrowly to Humphrey in 1968 but Nixon and Wallace together won 52.2 percent of the vote — in the theory of Kevin Phillips thus forming an "emerging republican majority." It is a constituency near the ideological center of the California electorate and perhaps near the prospective axis of American politics as well: the kind of middle American district that Richard Nixon must win in 1972 if he is to defeat a stronger candidate than the riot-torn, joy-ridden Hubert of 1968.

#### AT THE OPPOSITE POLE

The Midwestern district, on the other hand, is set in an industrial city in a state written off by Phillips in his *Emerging Republican Majority*. It is a district fraught with the urban crisis — impoverished ghettos, rising welfare rolls and property taxes, frustrated and embittered ethnic communities. Catholics, union members, and Democrats predominate. Yet racial tensions are undermining the traditional urban Democratic coalition, and Humphrey defeated Nixon by only 4 percent despite the huge Democratic registration advantage, with Wallace getting nearly 15 percent after early polls giving him as much as a third. If the President could break through in such districts while maintaining support in the ascendant suburbs like the one in California, he could win a national Republican landslide.

Nixon thus should be gratified to learn that the two districts give overwhelming pluralities to a pair of Republican Congressmen who regularly back him in House votes. The California incumbent, in fact, placed 11th, ahead of Minority Leader Gerald Ford, in *Congressional Quarterly's* tabulation of support for the Administration. Nonetheless, as the President knows, the road of partisan service is often beleaguered; and the Congressman endured a bitter primary challenge in 1970. There was concern that he might

have been damaged for the general election. Yet he emerged with 77.5 percent of the vote, first among seriously contested Republican Congressmen and sixth overall in the size of his victory.

The Midwestern incumbent was not far behind either in support for the Administration or in the size of his majority (69.3 percent). Both Republican incumbents, one in his second and the other in his third race, thus won majorities far exceeding the Wallace and Nixon or Wallace and Humphrey votes combined. In fact the Californian won the seat in 1968 with a percentage 32 above Humphrey's and 34 above Nixon's. Anyone interested in contriving Republican majorities through Phillips' mode of adding the Wallace and Nixon votes might contemplate these far greater totals achieved without the veiled appeals to anti-black sentiment favored by Phillips. In both cases the candidate won majorities among both races.

#### THE TWO WINNERS

Although the relationship between Presidential and Congressional strategies and results is complex, the Republican landslides in these two Congressional districts should point to the possibility of a more promising political approach than the one used in the Nixon-Agnew campaigns of 1968 and 1970, when Republican statewide candidates were overwhelmed in both constituencies. Beyond the failure to face the moral and Constitutional implications of the war, it is the refusal of Administration strategists to even consider such changes in political approach that has led the two loyal Republican Congressmen who won these majorities to fear for the future of their party. And these two men, Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey of San Mateo, California, and Donald Riegle of Flint, Michigan are now moving, each in his own way, to a position of open challenge to the President.

Underlying the specific issues raised in the challenge therefore, is the persistent question of the political future of the Republican party. The two Congressmen deeply believe that if Nixon's course persists the party will be crippled and the President defeated. They cannot conceivably hurt the President or the Party, they believe, more than the President himself is doing. But by dramatizing the depth of their estrangement, they hope to shock the President into a reappraisal. They recognize that time is short. For the Democratic landslide has already begun.

Although returns are fragmentary at this point, current registration of young people 18-25, representing a potential vote of 25 million, has been more intensely Democratic than was expected. Early rates range from 3-1 in suburban areas, to 100-1 in high

schools in large cities like Baltimore and New York. Even in conservative suburbs of Buffalo, where current registration is 70 percent Republican, early returns show a level of 40 percent among young people. And in Orange County, California, that bastion of the American Right, Democrats are leading 5 to 3 — a rate sufficient to give them a registration advantage in the area by the time of the election, if young people register in proportion to their numbers. Among the college elite, most likely to vote, the national Democratic lead is overwhelming. A recent poll in *National Review* revealed that only 14 percent of college students on 12 representative campuses identify themselves as Republican, even fewer as conservative. The Republican result is one-third of the finding in 1961. Although support for the Democrats is also down in the poll, the shift there is to the "radical" category.

### HARBINGER OF BAD NEWS

Such portentous developments — together with *Fortune* poll indicating a 10 percent drop in *business* support for the party — may be shrugged off by a Republican Administration in office in 1971. They cannot be ignored by young politicians with a deep personal stake in the future of the party. And there is reason to believe that even in the short run the President is in electoral trouble far beyond his present conception — and far beyond any inconvenience or threat represented by the McCloskey campaign. As a matter of fact the President's very strength within the party — 80 percent approval according to Gallup — may be a manifestation of his weakness outside it. Although poll data is always open to question, there is evidence to indicate a significant shift in the Party's composition that makes it less responsive to changes in the electorate as a whole, less representative of the national demography than it was in the past.

In 1964, at the time of the GOP convention, when Republicans might have been expected to rally to their inevitable nominee, Barry Goldwater, only 25 percent indicated the Arizonan as their first choice. In a two way contest Governor William Scranton's extemporized candidacy won over 65 percent Republican support. Yet today almost 50 percent of the Party indicates preference for Goldwater's present counterparts, Ronald Reagan or Spiro Agnew, in a race without Nixon. This figure indicates a near doubling of right wing strength in the Party during the last seven years.

Other indicators confirm a significant shift, though less than 100 percent, in favor of the right wing. Gallup polls in the years before 1964 disclosed that about a third of the voters identified themselves as Republicans. After the Goldwater debacle this figure

dropped to one quarter, suggesting that some 6 million moderates had left the Party. Subsequently the Republicans have returned to a level of about 29 percent. Since the party has accentuated its conservatism during this period, one may assume that most of the new adherents are on the right. Thus the proportionate size of the Party — already only one third of the electorate — would appear to have diminished by 12 percent between 1962 and 1971, while right wing strength within it increased by between 50 and 100 percent.

Although these estimates are very rough, they are to some extent confirmed by primary and election results. Since 1964, when Rockefeller and Henry Cabot Lodge overwhelmed Goldwater in contested primaries,

### REAGAN AND THE POLLS

*Though conservatives have been touting the May Gallup poll as proof the party has shifted further to the right, their arithmetic is faulty.*

*The Gallup organization asked Republicans who they would like to see as the party nominee if Nixon decided not to run. The results were: Reagan 31 percent, Agnew 25, Rockefeller 19, Romney 12, Percy 11, Lindsay 11, Hatfield 7 and McCloskey 1. You don't need a computer to see that while the Reagan-Agnew total is 56 percent, the combined moderates poll 61 percent. Adding in the undecideds, the final total is 124 percent, since some people suggested more than one nominee. Rockefeller, as the leading moderate, looks like the real winner of the poll.*

*In another poll, Mervin Field of California suggested that President Nixon's ability to carry California is now less than it was six months ago. In November, 1970, the results of a Field trial beat were Nixon 47 percent with 41 percent for either Muskie or Kennedy; Nixon led Humphrey 52 to 30.*

*The April-May sampling showed Nixon behind Muskie, 44 to 45, trailing Kennedy 46 to 43, but edging Humphrey 45 to 41.*

*If Nixon did not run and Reagan was the candidate, the poll showed him losing California to Muskie 53 to 33 percent, to Kennedy 54 to 34 and to Humphrey 46 to 38. Agnew would do even worse according to the survey.*

*None the less, without Nixon, Reagan is the first choice of 40 percent of California Republicans and Agnew the favorite of 21 percent. Rockefeller trails with 18 percent, Lindsay with 17, and McCloskey with 5. It appears that as in the case of Goldwater, Murphy and Rafferty, to win a California Republican primary it still may help to be a sure loser in the general election.*

## 14a ELIOT STREET

• Chairman of the Board **Michael Brewer** has resigned his Ripon office as of this month to join the McCloskey campaign. It has been standard practice for Ripon members to leave official positions in the Society when joining a campaign for major office. In 1968 several Riponers took leaves-of-absence while working on the Nixon-for-President staff.

• The Ripon Society of Chicago has elected **Paul F. Anderson** to the National Governing Board to replace **George H. Walker, III**. "Bert" Walker is returning to the home office of G. H. Walker & Co. in St. Louis after a half-a-dozen years in Chicago; the investment banking firm was recently incorporated and Bert elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Paul Anderson was a White House Fellow in 1968-69 and became a Vice President of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc. last September.

• A delegation from Ripon consisting of **Howard Gillette, Howard Reiter, Dan Swillinger** and **Evelyn Ellis** paid its respects May 25 and 26 to the new national leadership at the Republican National Committee, Sena-

important progressive Republicans have suffered a series of defeats at the hands of relatively obscure conservatives, who in turn have been massively defeated in general elections. This pattern — the syndrome of a minority party on a binge of morbid introversion — occurred most prominently in California where Max Rafferty beat Republican Whip Tom Kuchel; in New York, where State Senator John Marchi defeated Mayor Lindsay; in New Mexico where Anderson Carter defeated Governor David Cargo; and in Idaho, where Don Samuelson beat the Chairman of the Republican Governors Association, Robert E. Smylie. Senator Goodell's failure to win the Republican vote against Conservative James Buckley in New York may be a further case in point, as could be the pathetic collapse of George Romney in the 1968 New Hampshire Republican primary. Progressives and moderates still command about half the Party membership and Governor Rockefeller, third behind Reagan and Agnew in the Gallup poll, still may hold the balance of power. But it would appear that moderate Republicans are both weaker within the Party now than at any previous time this century — and more needed for a successful race against the Democrats.

This problem was only aggravated in 1970 when the Administration tried to overcome it by appealing to the Wallace vote. The results do not bode well for 1972. In states like California, Indiana and Illinois, the party did worse in 1970 than in 1968, though Wallace was not on the ballot and Republican candidates simulated his appeals as they snarled and stumbled to defeat. Even in states like the Dakotas Republicans suffered defections not simply at the top of the ticket but also in state legislative races, indicating attrition of fundamental Republican strength.

The danger today is that these smaller parties, ideologically purer, will applaud the President and

for **Robert Dole** and former Delaware National Committeeman **Tom Evans**. The meetings were amiable. A number of proposals were discussed which should receive attention shortly.

• As part of its expanding activities, Ripon held a reception on May 26 in the Cannon House Office Building in Washington to introduce the Society's new officers and staff to Republican Congressmen, Administration officials, Congressional staffers and representatives of various interest groups.

Over 150 people attended the reception, including 15 Congressmen (and representatives of many more), John Gardner, chairman of Common Cause, labor union people, White House staff, department and agency line and staff officials and officers of several political action groups.

• Congressman **Donald Riegle** was the featured guest at a Ripon reception held by the new Detroit-Ann Arbor chapter on June 4th. The 60 people attending the affair included several state legislators, and **Howard Gillette** (Ripon's President) and **Robert Behn** (National Executive Director). The list of patrons for the event included Governor **William Milliken** and Senator **Robert Griffin**.

Vice President with such clamorous unanimity that they are tempted to ignore the silent or at least less audible majorities of dissidents outside. The changing conditions within the party thus may allow the President to insulate himself from conditions in the country at large. He may be able to slough off the McCloskey challenge at the expense of the Republican future.

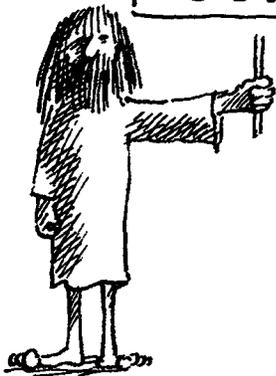
The Administration's long hostility toward progressive Republican congressmen and senators indicates that certain White House advisers may be willing to run that risk under the pretext of what the Ripon Society has called a revolving door strategy, exchanging incumbent progressives for hypothetical Wallace voters. And if the ultimate goal is to make it impossible for progressive Republicans to win their party's primaries, Nixon's strategists may be happy to know that most of the party's progressive incumbents are already feeling the heat. Mayor Lindsay and at least one Senator, in fact, may already be well-done.

If, however, the President wants reelection, he would be better advised to forget about the Wallace vote and attend to the grievances of progressive Republicans like Congressman McCloskey who, rather than step meekly out of the revolving door on the other side, come back around to confront the bouncer.

It is still not too late. It is still perfectly possible for the President to make the McCloskey challenge unnecessary. Nixon remains potentially the best and most constructive President of recent decades. If he ends the war and commits himself fully to his programs of domestic reform, he can create the kind of real Republican majorities that McCloskey and Riegle have assembled in districts perhaps less Republican than the nation at large. And he may be surprised to discover that these majorities give him more real support in governing than the right wing coalition he is assembling today.

*GEORGE F. GILDER*

## CALIFORNIA CORNER



The cozy relationship between certain Democratic legislators and Sacramento lobbyists is becoming brazenly open. Complaints by Democratic Senator Al Song about the failure of special interest groups to support him in the manner to which he had become accustomed attracted press attention when several lobbyists made public a series of high-pressure letters sent out by Senator Song's office.

Senator Song wrote to protest the failure of lobbyists to buy sufficient tickets to his recent testimonial dinner, in spite of his consistent record of supporting them when they needed help. Song went on to complain that, even though he had been a sympathetic member of the legislature for nine years, no legal business had been referred to his office by these groups.

### CASH QUOTA

Shortly after this incident, the Senate Democratic caucus held a cocktail party for representatives of all major lobbying groups. At the party, each group received a quota for the number of \$1,000 tickets it was expected to buy to help the Democratic campaign in the upcoming special election (in the 27th Senatorial District). Such incidents suggest that the Senate is rapidly returning to the style used when the Democrats were last in control, during the Hugh Burns era (1957-1969).

Probably the two most fundamental and obvious changes needed to make this state legislature responsible to the voters and more responsive to their needs are changes in the committee system: open hearings and recorded voting on all major bills. For the key to State Senate operations is secret committee voting. No public records are kept of attendance or voting in committee, and an absolute majority of committee members is required to report a bill to the floor. This gives maximum control to Senators from safe districts with the most seniority (the Old Guard); it also reduces the visibility of crucial legislative decisions and maximizes the influence of lobbyists. Most of the dirty work is done in the so-called "graveyard committees." During the 1969 session, for example, the notorious Governmental Efficiency Committee prevented 124 of the 134 contested bills it received from going to the floor for a vote. This special interest domination effectively prevents action on bills

## Sympathy For Sale

to close tax loopholes, control pollution, promote consumer protection, and, of course, to reform the political system itself. Money taken from the taxpayers to help the disadvantaged is siphoned off by special interests en route while problems grow worse. The system is perpetuated by massive lobbyist contributions which ensure the re-election of the lobbyists' favorites. Campaign expenditures and their sources are public record.

Hope for reforming the system waxed last year when a group of reform-minded Republicans headed by Senator Howard Way gained control of the Senate and commenced to reorganize the committee structure. Their success was shortlived, however. A rump group of eight conservative Republicans who had lost key positions when the reform coalition took over joined hands with 13 Democrats to re-establish Old Guard control of the Senate. This political coup created a public uproar since it was soon learned that the new Old Guard leader, Republican Jack Schrade, had accepted a \$5,000 payment from the thrift and loan lobby the day before casting the deciding vote in committee for a bill to give millions of dollars of new business to the thrift and loan industry. Schrade compounded his problems by advocating an end to voting rights for all those receiving government assistance.

### GOOD FOR THE PARTY

The Democrats who cast the key 21st vote for Schrade was Mervyn Dymally, a black Senator from South Los Angeles. Dymally was especially embarrassed by Schrade's performance. Dymally defended his vote with two points; he contended that he had had to go along with the 2/3 of the Democrats supporting Schrade or lose his position as leader of the Democratic caucus; and he pointed out that Democrats had won several key committee posts as their rewards for supporting Schrade. Old Guard stalwarts Randolph Collier and Ralph Dills (both first elected in 1938) were appointed chairmen of the Transportation and Public Utilities Committees, and Al Song was made Chairman of the Business and Professions Committee.

As it worked out, Democrats did come out ahead; they were able to use these committee chairmanships to raise substantial funds from lobbyists — funds which were spent to help the Democrats regain control of the Senate. The greatest beneficiaries were the committee chairmen themselves. They were able to raise handsome campaign funds and make mincemeat of their Republican challengers. Senator Collier was

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