

RIPON FORUM

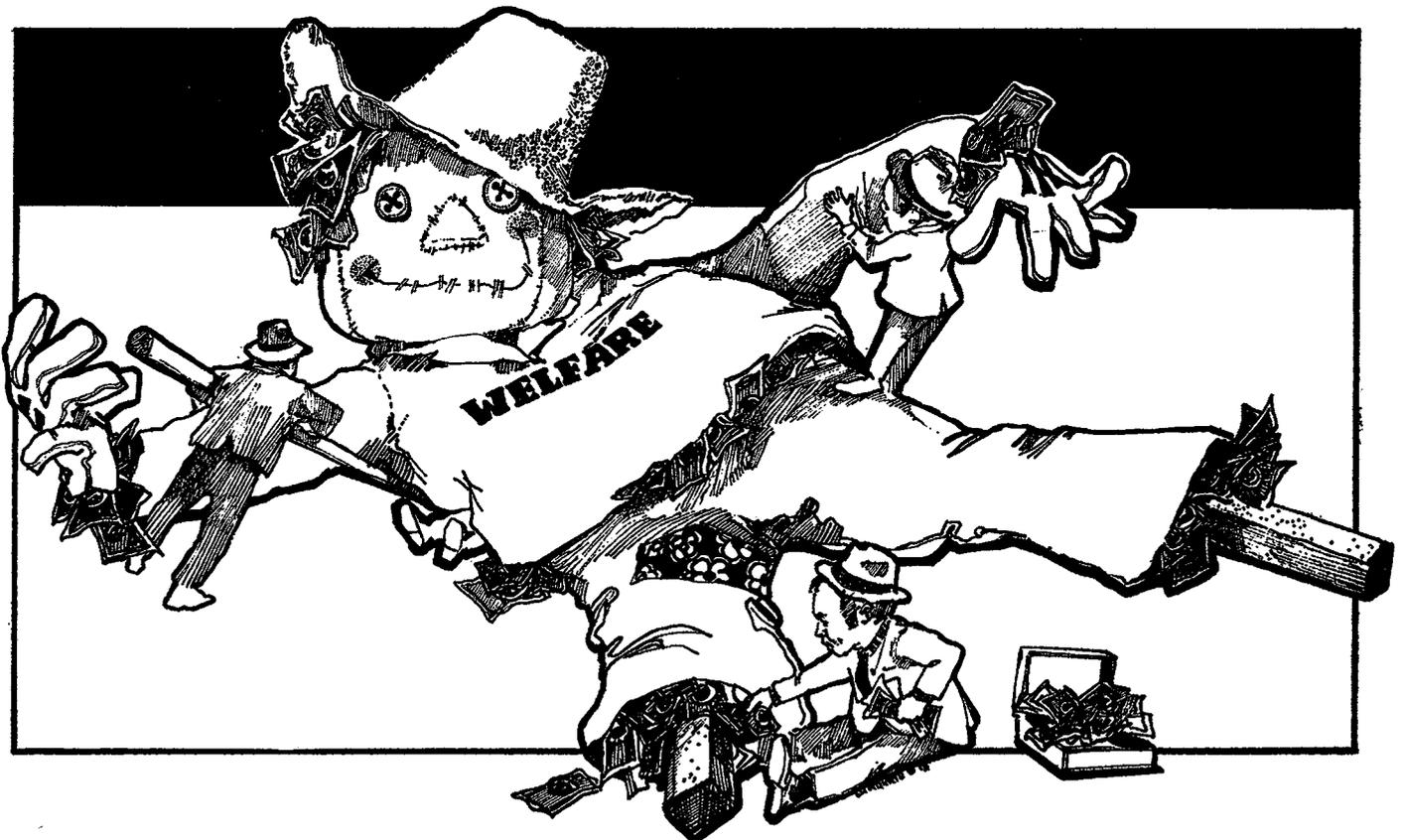
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ONE DOLLAR

THE URGENCY OF FAP

An Interview with Daniel Patrick Moynihan



RIPON PRIZE ESSAY

Productive Assistance: An Alternative

By Robert A. Roos

ALSO:

Senator Hatfield on the War; Clifford Brown on Convention Deadlock

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The Urgency of FAP

An Editorial Note and Interview with Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Let us take this opportunity to congratulate the winner of the Ripon Essay Prize, Robert Roos, author of a proposal for reform and consolidation of the country's welfare and employment programs; and then to welcome to our pages Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the author of the welfare reform program we support, the President's Family Assistance or Workfare plan.

Roos' elaborately developed proposal was chosen by our distinguished panel of judges for its qualities of thoroughness, knowledge and specificity. We commend many of his ideas, particularly with regard to consolidation of job training and job programs, the potential role of social workers freed from the welfare bureaucracy, the problems of ex-convicts in establishing employment records, and the importance of finding or creating jobs for current welfare recipients able to work. We believe, however, that these concerns can best be advanced within the framework of the Family Assistance Plan, and our support for it is as staunch as ever.

We believe FAP to be the most important program currently before the Congress. The President's administrative delay of its application does not reduce at all the need for its passage during this session. The politics of an election year will not provide a favorable atmosphere for enacting bold and controversial new social initiatives. Reform, moreover, is needed now on the Federal level.

The crisis of the present welfare hodgepodge continues unabated, engendering new perversities almost weekly as state governments compete with one another with displays of often unconstitutional "toughness." Perhaps the greatest absurdity is the enactment of new residency requirements. An average of 20 percent of the population moves annually in quest of new jobs or other opportunities. The poor, however, who have more restricted employment possibilities and thus need mobility most, are permitted to move only until they find a place where they lose their jobs or fail to find work. Then, with residency requirements, they are constrained to remain in this dead end, or jeopardize their welfare eligibility.

Places where employment is declining — often central cities — will of course entrap and immobilize more such citizens than the rest of the country; recipients gather and reinforce each other's sense of hopelessness, while pauperizing the local or state government and outraging resident workers. Residency rules, together with benefits wildly differing from state to state, thus have long contributed to the urban crisis. The attempt to re-

impose them now, despite court rulings of their unconstitutionality, dramatizes the Luddite mentality of most state "reform" efforts and the need for federal action now.

The states, however, at least have an excuse for their irresponsibility. While the Senate temporizes, they have the impossible task of administering a monstrosity; it is understandable that they wish to disassociate themselves from it. But Senators McCarthy and McGovern, both angling for the Presidency, have no excuse at all. Both urge income maintenance levels of \$5,500 or more for a family of four. Moynihan succinctly dismisses such programs, which would cost at least \$65 billion annually and cause a massive withdrawal from the work force, as "madness." McGovern, however, also has a family allowance proposal for everybody that would cost a mere \$35 billion. It is not clear whether he wants both of them at once, but he can presumably work it out when he is elected President.

The current President, meanwhile, has a solidly developed and fiscally practicable proposal. It would replace the present maze of state-run welfare programs with a unitary system, scaled to give benefits to the working poor who comprise a majority of the impoverished. It is potentially a self-limiting program since unlike the present system it rewards rather than punishes work. The President's enthusiasm for describing it as "workfare" is legitimate.

No program, of course, designed to move people into jobs, will succeed unless the employment is provided. The most important workfare program of all thus remains the promotion of economic growth and the removal of artificial limits on trade and competition — some of them spuriously imposed to protect jobs — that actually slow our economic expansion and reduce total job opportunities.

In the following interview with Moynihan, formerly Special Counsel to the President and now a Professor at the Harvard School of Education, we asked him to meet the various criticisms that have been raised by opponents of Family Assistance, including the objections implicit in Roos' Prize Essay. The interview took place on October 10 in his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. We only wish that his words on paper could fully convey the humor and energy, compassion and indignation, with which he expressed his views — as well as the depth of his continuing support for Family Assistance and for the essential decency, integrity and high purpose of the Nixon Presidency.

An Interview with Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Q: Over the year the Family Assistance Plan, the welfare reform program you are credited with developing for the Administration, has been severely attacked from both the left and the right.

From the left, Senator McGovern and former Senator McCarthy have both urged income maintenance programs at far higher levels than FAP's current support level of \$2,400 for a family of four. Both have accepted, admittedly with sometimes less than full enthusiasm, the Welfare Rights Organization's level of \$5,500. Do you think such a program would be desirable?

A: I think the first issue that has to be addressed with respect to proposals for higher levels of funding is the direct fiscal question. You can talk about its impact after you consider its possibility. . .

Now the Welfare Rights Organization proposal that Senator McCarthy endorsed at a \$5,500 level has been raised to \$6,500. But at \$5,500 it would cost a total of about \$65 billion. It would not cease providing payments until a family of four had an income of about \$13,000. Only a person totally innocent of social reality could believe we could have something like that without a desperate withdrawal of labor from the work force. The real consequence would probably be *draconic* work requirements. You couldn't run the economy without them. It is, in fact, a mad proposal, and nobody has taken it seriously, except, in a curious way, a few people with some reputation in politics. Faced with the specific costs and consequences, of course, they would grant "it's not serious," but none the less they propose it as a statute.

Now Senator McGovern has also advocated a Family Allowance program, which in crude figures would cost about \$35 billion, also a huge amount but conceivably not out of the range of possibility sometime. It is an amount, however, that cannot be financed out of the fiscal dividend. One has to say "I wish to raise taxes by 35 billion (minus the relatively insignificant dividend)," and I have never heard anyone who urges such programs say that.

Q: What about the effect of such high levels on the morale of the poor — their family stability and work incentives?

A: Well nothing like this has ever occurred in history, so it is difficult to anticipate its effects. Men like Nathan Glazer, however, have spoken with enormous energy and conviction on the demoralizing effect of welfare as a system of dependency, and I think they are right. He makes a sound critique of advocates of expanding the numbers dependent on welfare, maintained exclusively by provision of public

funds. I think the very limited social science research in the field supports his position and I know of no such evidence to oppose it.

Q: The left also maintains that FAP, with its aid to the working poor, in effect subsidizes exploitative businesses, helping them to maintain inadequate wage levels, and penalizes businesses that pay well. Do you think this is a fair criticism?

A: It could be a fair criticism if the level of payments reached a very high point. But this same left, which insists that even a low level subsidizes businesses that pay low wages, then asks for a level three times as high, under which the subsidy for such business would truly distort the economy. None the less I think there is always this danger in income maintenance and part of the art of devising proposals is to provide enough but not too much: not to get too far out of line with the actual economic and productive capacity of the lower third of your work force. One must consider how much an employer can economically pay his employees and keep his enterprise going. These are realities, not fictions; and the problem is not essentially different from the problem of devising an appropriate minimum wage. A \$10 minimum wage would provide everybody with \$400 a week earnings, except you would have an unemployment rate of about 35 percent.

Q: The right maintains that current FAP benefits are too high, that despite workfare and compulsory work provisions, in effect it merely expands the numbers subjected to the baneful impact of public charity; that those disinclined to work regularly can still combine their welfare receipts with unreported earnings and do better than workers who pay taxes. It is also said that although FAP alone might provide sufficient safeguards and work incentives, together with public housing and other poverty programs, one can still do well by being "poor." How do you respond?

A: People who are in a situation to combine a whole succession of public assistance programs can do relatively well, as has been demonstrated in Congressional hearings on FAP. But those are a little like people who go to the race track and pick winners in eight races in a row. There are not many such people or there would not be many such racetracks. In any event there are limits in public assistance programs: The family must typically be dependent and female headed, though not invariably; and there are other conditions.

Under any system, however, it will be possible to find some extraordinarily fortunate exceptions. I

think it is more pertinent to consider not some exceptional parlay under FAP but the almost insane way we now deliberately provide enormous total assistance for poor people who put themselves into fully dependent situations but virtually no form of assistance at all for those often equally poor who insist on working. The only exception is public housing which is relatively rare (I think 40 percent of all public housing is in New York City); it is not a program generally available all over America.

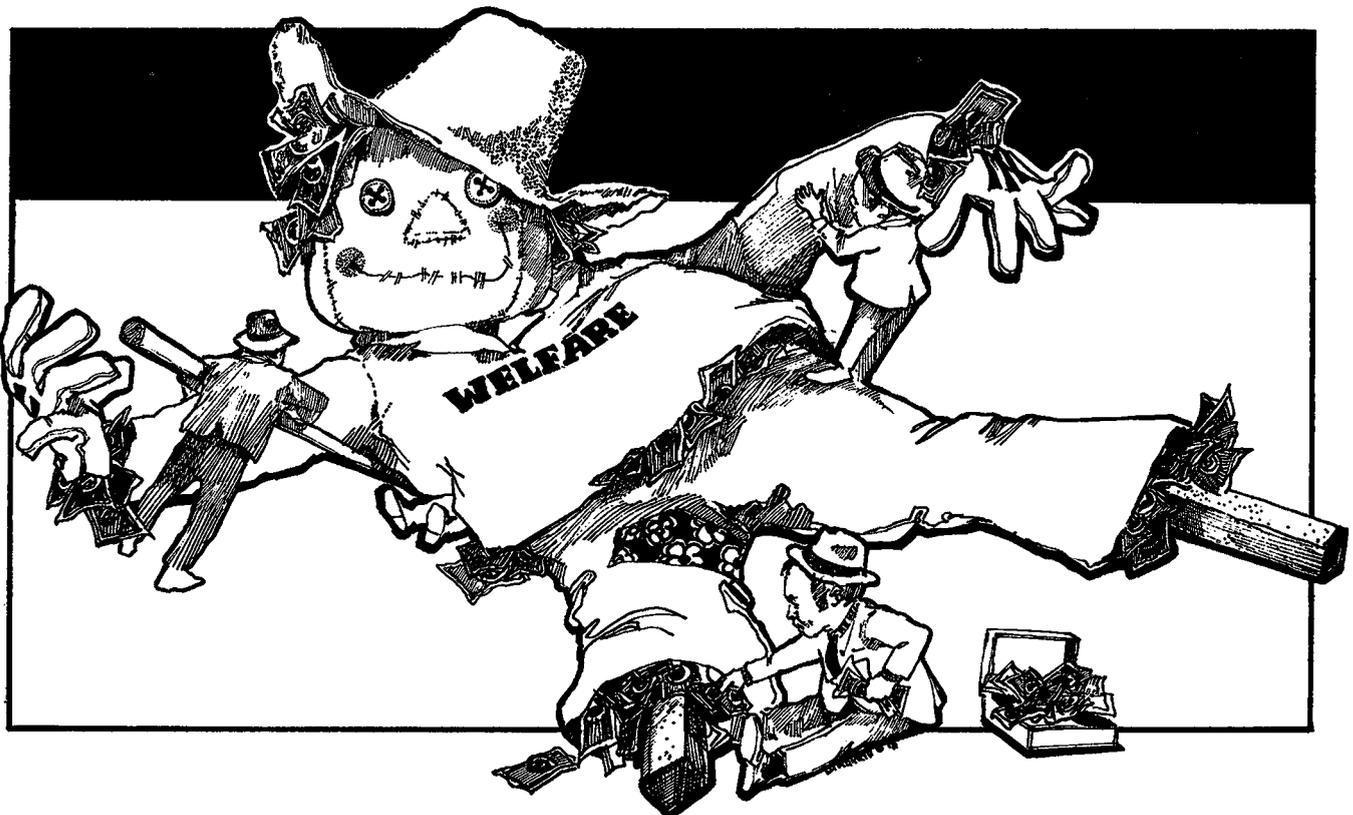
The working poor are left out. They work and do everything they can to maintain themselves, and do maintain themselves (nobody else does); but they clearly do not have a level of income that we would regard as decent — they don't need much but they need a little. One of the problems of welfare reform which is not their fault obviously is that sensible income maintenance is thwarted by the inability of most crude minds in politics to judge what amount is too little and what amount is too much. It would surprise you how few people are capable of that abstract judgment, or that concrete judgment based on abstract principle. Thus the working poor get virtually no support at all.

Q: It is said that the problem of incentives is inherent in all income maintenance schemes: that it is impossible to grant adequate levels of support without damaging work motivation or creating a system of compulsory peonage, unless one scales benefits to the working poor at a level that would drive over-

all program costs prohibitively high. At present it is said FAP may not be prohibitively costly, but its work incentives will remain widely unemployed. Would you prefer a steeper scale of benefits for the working poor?

A: Most students of the problem would like to see a lower marginal rate of effective taxation on income earned by FAP recipients than any present proposal envisages. But we have to keep the fiscal possibilities in mind. And in any event, when one considers the nature of the welfare problem, the need for very high incentives becomes less urgent. As Wilbur Mills has very clearly recognized, most of the people on welfare had been struggling hard to make it on their own. But they found it marginally difficult to do and went under in a sense, and went onto welfare where they don't work and are dependent. Thus the evidence of the way people behave is that they try hard to stay independent, to earn enough to be their own masters. The purpose of FAP is to make that struggle a successful one for the great majority of the people who are in the lower income range: to see that they get that extra amount that is the difference between success and failure, between an independent family and a dependent one, with all the implications of that.

In addition, the basic principle that the more you earn the more you keep is present in the current proposal. It is not as high a rate as I would like or



others in the Administration would like but our problem here initially is to work ourselves out of our present predicament, in which, for example, you've got some 1 million 200 thousand people on welfare in the city of New York alone. It took us 35 years to reach this point and the "crisis" has lasted almost a decade. You can't get out of it in one day. FAP is an attempt to change directions.

Q: In the past one of the attractive aspects of FAP was the possibility that it would replace the multifarious welfare bureaucracy with a more efficient and automatic dispensation. Yet Richard Nathan, now moved to HEW to supervise the program, calls it the "Mount Everest" of public administration and says it will require 60,000 new federal employees. What's going on here?

A: First of all 60,000 employees reflects a program that would provide income maintenance for about 25 million people. In terms of the ratio of bureaucrats to recipients, this figure is enormously low. This is not a small program, sir. This is the most important piece of social legislation in 35 years. It's among the dozen or half dozen most important pieces of social legislation in our history. It cannot be administered without a large number of people just processing the applications. This is after all a country that runs from Massachusetts to Hawaii, Alaska to Puerto Rico, and even to Guam. You know, you have to have somebody in Guam doing it.

None the less it will be highly computerized and highly centralized because it does not need the kind of individual review, estimate and calculation that other systems require. None of these 60,000 people will be going around deciding whether Moynihan or Gilder deserves any money or how they have been spending their money. The only question is how much you can earn: What's the difference between what's coming to you and what you've been paid; it's a matter of applying a formula.

The real question is whether the massive system of social bureaucracy that exists today in very unproductive ways might now begin to decline. I don't know. Our hope would be that they will.

Q: The problem of income maintenance is to an important extent a question of priorities. The Congress seems ready to enact a relatively vast program of day care centers, ultimately comparable in cost to FAP. Do you regard this as an intelligent judgment of priorities? Do you think the problems of family breakdown in the ghetto you demonstrated in earlier writings will be alleviated by sending poor black children over six months of age to daycare centers while their mothers work?

A: I have been impressed by what seems to me the curious willingness to pass an enormous program for daycare which is a system predicated on work,

without any discernible resistance from people who went around vigorously protesting the relatively mild work provisions of FAP.

Q: But do you think it's desirable for many more welfare mothers to work? Do you think they can? Do you think these daycare provisions in fact will be widely used?

A: This is a question of incentives. I think it is desirable for mothers as well as fathers to be given the option of working; we'll see what they will in fact do with it. FAP, incidentally, contains very strong daycare provisions. The presumption is that people can best assess their own options, and that if opportunities for a decent range can be provided them they will make better decisions themselves than the government could make for them.

Q: We present elsewhere in this issue a Ripon prize essay urging as an alternative to FAP a national employment program at the minimum wage, suggestive of WPA, combined with national free daycare. The author maintains that unlike pure income maintenance programs, his Productive Assistance would use social workers currently bogged down in paper work to meet the basic motivational, employment and educational problems of the poor — to fill the "economic and emotional void" of income maintenance with a structure of assistance that specifically and systematically helps the poor to get appropriate jobs and to acquire employment records. Would not Family Assistance as currently conceived waste the existing resource of the large numbers of trained social workers? Would it miss an opportunity to give the poor help in becoming productive citizens? Is it not in fact deeply fallacious to say that what the poor chiefly need is money? Isn't it more accurate to say that what they need is the psychological, temperamental and educational capacity to earn it, plus more available and appropriate jobs?

What is your attitude toward such programs of public employment at the minimum wage?

A: First I think it is profoundly the case that what the poor most need is money — at least if it is dispensed in accord with the kind of social policy and programs with which Ripon and others have long been associated. This approach begins by asking not what the people need, but what is it that government can provide that the people need. What the people need is happiness. Do you want a happiness program that will give each person his appropriate daily supply of happiness? Poverty is defined as a low income level and the one thing government knows how to do is to redistribute income: to see that people have what is determined or asserted to be adequate levels.

Further, there is an awful lot of good social

science which says that income levels really do reflect levels of living. The more, the more, as David Reisman puts it. Once you get through an intermediate zone above subsistence, you can live more successfully and responsibly with higher income. You save and think about the future more and take care of yourself and the people in your charge.

The point about FAP is that it does not primarily respond to people who are unemployed or even — especially in the South — to people on welfare. In the South, where welfare levels are so low, FAP, in fact, will be enormously important (half the poor, remember, are in the South; it is useful to get *that* straight). FAP responds chiefly to the needs of the working poor, people who have jobs but just don't get enough income. The affected population is roughly tri-modal; there are three groups.

First there are people with very low incomes and full time jobs. There are many towns in the United States with people like this. They live on small farms or on Indian Reservations. They are eskimos living in North Alaska. They live in Guam, Louisiana, or the Mississippi Delta, where most of the people make very little.

Secondly, there are people who make decent enough incomes when they work but don't get a full year's employment. Migrant workers, for example, do not have high incomes, but if they got for 52 weeks what they make for 30, they would have a much easier time; but they only get 30 weeks. FAP would change the migrant labor situation overnight incidentally. And there are lots of people on low wages who do not get a full year's work.

Then, thirdly, there are people who have a full years work at a decent level of income but have too many children. For example, in Burlington, Vermont — a town I have written about — most of the poor are either aged or have large families. FAP would solve their problem. Of course, there will be shouting that this is pro-natalist — a program to fill up the country with Catholics or something — I don't know what.

In any event, these three groups of people, none of them chiefly welfare people, are the principal beneficiaries of FAP. You don't have to create jobs for them; they already have jobs.

Q: What about the kind of program Roos advocates, that seeks to create unlimited jobs at the minimum wage?

A: I don't think this meets the problem. The minimum wage is a minimum, though many people work below it. But even working at the minimum wage — \$1.60 an hour, \$64 a week, full time — means you're poor if you have children. A family of four is poor, a family of six is poorer. FAP is much better calibrated to the real incidence of poverty than you might think. It would get rid of the problem of

poverty among large families headed by a person with a job; in fact 60 percent of the poverty in this country would be wiped out over night. The crucial fact is that full time employment at the minimum wage is usually below the poverty level. You don't have to be excessively clever to figure out a thing like that.

Q: Roos would maintain that in that case the minimum wage should be raised.

A: The more we've raised the minimum wage the more we've increased youth unemployment. I don't assert that as something proven, but the relationship is alarming.

Q: But he would combine an increased minimum wage with the vast expansion and consolidation of federal employment and training — with social workers to adapt people to appropriate jobs.

A: To begin with, there are not in fact large numbers of trained social workers in this country. Most of the people now involved in welfare bureaucracies are not trained social workers; many are clerks, basically. There is no prospect that FAP would leave social workers with little to do. FAP would get the social work profession out of income distribution and into its real metier, which is social work: helping people with their adjustments and relations with the world they're in.

Beyond that, of course, the Federal government has been very much amiss in failing to create and maintain conditions of full employment and almost all our social programs will be distorted by that reality until we change it.

Q: What is the fundamental flaw of providing the jobs through make-work in the public sector?

A: Well it doesn't follow that there is a fundamental flaw, and don't use loaded words like "make work". A valid third of the economies of most industrial countries is in the public sector and presumably the jobs involved respond to some general agreement on a need. But these jobs are normally created by an incremental process. No industrial democracy I know has large numbers employed in order to keep them working, as against having them do work that the polity thinks needs doing: I have much more confidence in this latter incremental process.

Q: What do you think the Nixon Administration should be doing to promote FAP? How can we overcome the coalition of interests against it?

A: I'm not there. I had much to say on this subject when I was. I do note that the bill passed the House of Representatives handsomely and is once again in the Senate — with the outcome by no means settled one way or the other. I know the President and the Secretary of HEW (I spoke with him just today) are deeply involved in planning what to do. They are working hard to get it passed and expect to succeed. I hope they do.

RIPON PRIZE ESSAY

Productive Assistance: An Alternative

by Robert A. Roos



Everyone is unhappy with the welfare system. Taxpayers feel overburdened and see little or no return for their tax dollars spent. Many social workers feel that the system really does not permit them to do "social work" and that they are really only clerks with an auspicious title.

Recipients of public assistance suffer because their basic needs are not satisfied by the small grants received. For example, in my state of California, a mother and her two children, who are without any other income, receive a total of \$172.00 per month for all expenses.

The present system is a patchwork of stop gap measures piled upon an unplanned and poorly woven fabric of programs. Social welfare objectives are couched in glowing terms, such as: "to strengthen family life." However, the method by which such an admirable goal is to be achieved is not clearly defined, if indeed it exists within the present system.

Welfare: What Could Be Done Now

A comprehensive welfare system is difficult to manage whatever its structure. For such a program to work effectively, it must have clear objectives and be logically designed and managed; it must get to "where the problem is" and help recipients in a meaningful and practical way. If we start with the proposition that people have a right to a decent standard of living but that they must also meet certain responsibilities, the system must also be designed to help them meet these responsibilities.

Some people feel that the basic function of a welfare system should be income maintenance, providing needy persons with enough income to afford the essentials of life. However we define them, programs predicated solely on this premise might be the easiest to administer. Perhaps computers could be programmed to perform most of the task of issuing checks to recipients once their need and corresponding eligibility had been established.

None the less, it is my opinion that any such program would deal only with a portion of the problem. Rather, society should assume the role of maximizing the probability that every person will have adequate training and education to allow him or her to become a productive member of society. Productivity means different things to people, moreover. One cannot say that the work of an artist is of less value to society than the efforts of a skilled administrator or an engineer or a fireman.

A comprehensive social welfare system must provide income maintenance, motivation, training and help with problems of behavior and other social conditions that interfere with the realization of productive potential. Many individuals examined on welfare today lack positive feelings about their own competence and productive abilities. They have grown up in environments that induce and reinforce feelings of defeatism. Any comprehensive and effective social welfare system must in some way deal with this critical problem.

Motivation must be built into a welfare system as a goal as important as income maintenance. As Wayne Vasey has written:

The rapidity of events denies us the opportunity to stand still in social welfare. . . The social welfare of the future may be quite different from that of today. But its value to society will be increased if it is regarded as a positive factor in social and economic progress, not as a drag on the economy. An affirmative program of social welfare is an expression of the promise of a democracy to all its people, not just to those who are strong.

Such a reform program would seek to accomplish several general goals:

1. Provide a system where motivation is as important as income maintenance, and where income is sufficient for basic needs.
2. Provide a system with flat uniform grants and therefore reduced administrative costs, with elig-

- ibility determined by need, rather than by application of arbitrary categories and complicated requirements.
3. Provide a system that, by guaranteeing meaningful jobs to all capable recipients and eliminating the present unemployment problem, assures a substantial return or benefit to society for the tax funds expended.
 4. Provide a system tailored to individual needs, to maximize potential development through job training, education, productivity and self-respect, thereby enabling mobility into the private sector.
 5. Provide a system to improve the self image of recipients and strengthen their identity with the community, thereby reducing economically related social problems such as crime and juvenile delinquency.
 6. Provide a dynamic environment wherein recipient behavior can be observed and meaningful counseling undertaken to effectively deal with behavioral problems.
 7. Build in self regulating administrative mechanisms wherever possible, which would result in reduction of fraud and the over-all cost of public assistance.
 8. Provide better use of tax resources by providing services that society could not otherwise afford, including free day care centers for all children when this cannot otherwise be provided by their parents or guardians.
 9. Make child support payments from absent parents easier to collect by providing employment for those parents, otherwise sporadically employed or un-employable in the private sector.
 10. Provide a system that will effectively motivate those in need of public assistance to move into the private employment sector as quickly as it is reasonably possible for them to do so.

A Program of Reform

The system to be presented here is not totally new or unique. It was first used in the depression years under the Roosevelt administration but was subsequently changed and distorted. The basic notion is that of guaranteeing meaningful employment, compensated at the national minimum wage, to every person who is in need and is physically and mentally capable of some form of productive behavior.

The lessons of history, confirmed by the evidence immediately before me, show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of human spirit. It is inimical to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the traditions of America. Work must be found for ablebodied but destitute workers. The federal government must and shall quit this business of relief.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
State of the Union Message
to Congress, January 4, 1935

During the Roosevelt administration, the primary responsibility for relief was assumed by the Works Progress Administration (WPA). "One of the most striking features of this program was the attention paid to displaced artists, musicians, actors, and writers. Under the dynamic leadership of Harry Hopkins, it embarked upon a program of infinite variety."

Harry Hopkins was one of the most dynamic and colorful figures in the Roosevelt administration, and was one of the most famous social workers of American history. As Dexter Perkins wrote, in *The New Age of Franklin Roosevelt*:

Hopkins brought a very definite point of view to the problem of relief and one that was destined to be accepted by public opinion. He fervently opposed a mere dole; he believed that the unemployed should be given useful work to do.

The Works Progress Administration functioned

The 1970-71 Ripon Society Public Policy Prize

The following students were awarded prizes for outstanding papers in the area of foreign or domestic policy:

First Prize, \$1000

WELFARE: WHAT COULD BE DONE NOW

Robert A. Roos
law student, Loyola University
and social worker, Los Angeles, California

First Prize (Undergraduate), \$500

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING LEGISLATION FOR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Ruth L. Glushien
undergraduate, Radcliffe College

Second Prize (tie), \$250

OVERLOADING OUR CRIMINAL LAW

Peter V. Baugher
law student, Yale University

Second Prize (tie), \$250

AN AGENCY FOR POWER PLANT SITING

Barry M. Mitnick
Ph.D. candidate in political science,
University of Pennsylvania

JUDGES

Kenneth E. Boulding
Director, Institute of Behavioral Sciences,
University of Colorado at Boulder

Malcolm C. Moos
President, University of Minnesota

John Sherman Cooper
Republican Senator from Kentucky

Aaron Wildavsky
Dean of the Graduate School of Public Affairs,
University of California at Berkeley

up to be the beginning of World War II when it was eclipsed by a period of history in which there were more jobs than employees to fill them. Because of these tremendous changes in the economy, the original objectives and structures designed to handle the problems of relief were obscured.

I believe that providing meaningful employment for those capable of productive activity is still the best concept upon which to build a program of relief.

I propose a system to be called Productive Assistance (PA). Under PA all persons in need and capable of productive behavior, essentially regardless of the duration of their unemployment, would be grouped into one category. This group would include those who now receive unemployment insurance and public assistance benefits, excepting, of course, those now in the "disabled" categories. Unemployment insurance benefits as administered today would be abolished.

The category of Productive Assistance would include single persons as well as any individual, male or female, responsible for the support of others. A history of confinement in prison or a criminal record would not preclude eligibility. Emancipated minors, married or single, should also be eligible. Those minors without high school diplomas would first be encouraged, though perhaps not absolutely required, to complete their educations. Again, the basic eligibility requirement would be that of need, with the need of such minors presumed in the great majority of cases.

The basic plan would be to guarantee these individuals meaningful employment at the national minimum hourly wage for up to 40 hours per week. Employment would be in the public sector and income would be in terms of wages paid for the number of hours worked. They would receive their pay checks at the place of their employment and would be subject to all payroll taxes imposed on individuals in like employment in the private sector. Employment as mentioned above would be very flexible, taking individual skills, needs, strengths and weaknesses into consideration.

Social workers could be responsible for placing clients in particular public sector jobs after an evaluation of their education, experience, skills and past history. Additionally, these same social workers would be responsible for following the progress of clients in this program. Any necessary assistance would be given with problems such as absenteeism, tardiness, medical or other family difficulties. Social workers could also counsel clients about programs of training or education and eventual placement in the private employment sector.

The objectives here would be to adjust employment flexibly to abilities and needs. As an important benefit, PA would enable individuals to establish an

employment history. As an example, PA employment for a recently freed ex-convict, would not only permit him to receive education and training, but would establish an employment record which he could later use to secure employment in the private sector at a higher wage. The hope is that by affording immediate employment and wages to ex-convicts upon release, the "repeater cycle" would be broken. If this could be accomplished, a substantial reduction in the crime rate could be expected.

Emancipated minors without an employment history or adequate training would benefit in the same manner. So called "drop-outs" could find a meaningful alternative to unproductive lives. The training available would give them another chance, and the program could be expected to decrease the high rate of juvenile delinquency.

Today, many people feel that the high rate of crime and juvenile delinquency is one of our most critical social problems. I believe that the employment program suggested here would be very effective in reducing this social problem, thereby resulting in tremendous savings to society.

There are many jobs, especially in the service area, that could be built into the PA program and result in substantial benefit to society through the improvement of "social capital." This employment could be structured so that unskilled persons with minimum pre-employment training could very quickly perform useful functions at entry-level positions.

Among such PA jobs would be:

1. Guards at schools and other public facilities.
2. Assistants and staff at day care head start centers.
3. Helpers at public parks and playgrounds.
4. Gardening assistants at public parks and along freeways and on other public property.
5. Helpers in public and private hospitals (non-profit institutions.)
6. Helpers in general maintenance in public facilities.
7. Crossing guards at busy intersections for school children.
8. Workers to repair and build facilities in National and local parks and forests.

Other more specialized employment might include:

1. Individuals to supplement national programs such as VISTA, which concentrates on poverty areas.
2. Workers to police non-discrimination laws on a local level.
3. Inspectors to help police anti-pollution regulations on a community level.
4. Community action organizers.
5. Consumer protection and information service workers.
6. Big Brother and Sister programs workers.

Employment in the Arts:

Individuals with special artistic talents could be employed in such undertakings as organizing and participating in community theater and community art projects.

Instructors and teachers:

Those persons with special knowledge and skills could be used to instruct others in classroom situations or in on the job training.

Special Housing Programs:

PA employees might help tenants form organizations which would work for the improvement of landlord tenant relations and for improved housing. In certain specific cases, PA employees could be used to repair and improve inadequate housing where other means were not available.

This listing is not inclusive. Certainly many other meaningful types of employment could be found for PA program recipients.

Training and Educational Opportunities

All individuals in PA would be eligible for meaningful training, both educationally and vocationally. Comprehensive programs of this type could be an integral part of the PA program, which would enable individuals to function at increasingly higher levels of skill and responsibility.

Training would take several forms. Formal classroom experiences would be needed for some individuals, particularly those without High School diplomas. Others would be trained in trade type schools and shops. Still others would receive on-the-job training.

Individuals applying and accepted for training and educational programs would participate approximately 40 hours per week and would receive the same minimum wage and benefits as those otherwise employed under this program. Such a training system related to PA in this way would be another motivating force. Only those who demonstrated real interest and achievement would be allowed to participate, and others would be returned to the employment sector.

Under the proposed system, an individual who is looking for a job in the private employment sector would be allowed time off with pay to make specific appointments with potential employers. Such appointments would be set up in advance and the individual would be allowed a specific amount of time and could present his potential employer with a referral slip to be signed. Social workers or counselors from the State Employment Departments could help coordinate such referrals and appointments.

As mentioned, each recipient under PA would receive the national hourly minimum wage for up to 40 hours a week. The federal minimum wage should be used for a number of reasons. First, employees under PA, regardless of their state residence, should

receive the same wage to promote uniformity and prevent migration by recipients to states with higher benefit schedules. Secondly, the application of the National minimum wage would assure that employees in the public sector (PA), and those in the private sector, would both be subject to the same minimum. The national minimum wage is the best common denominator.

Some may argue that the federal minimum wage is not sufficient. If that is the case, then it is not sufficient for either the public or the private sector, and perhaps Congress should examine and reconsider it in terms of need. Whatever the decision, it should apply to all. If the minimum is not sufficient, it should be changed rather than wages be subsidized. Employers who are not paying their fair share through adequate wages should not be aided.

As indicated, any individual in need, not otherwise employed, and with assets and outside income below certain fixed levels, would be eligible. One individual out of a family of four would be able to work up to 40 hours per week at the national hourly minimum wage. For example, at current national hourly minimum wage (NHMW) of \$1.65, a monthly income of approximately \$284.00 would be realized. Today, by California standards, a family of four on public assistance receive from \$191.00 to \$221.00 per month for all expenses.

This paper proposes that the national hourly minimum wage, based on a 40 hour week for a family unit consisting of four members, be considered as the basic income dimension for those on Productive Assistance. Since there are approximately 173 working hours in every month, based on the 40 hour week, this income dimension will be denoted as 173 (NHMW) per family unit of four members.

A single individual could be allowed to work up to 40 hours per week also. Family units composed of from two to four persons, without outside income, could be allowed to have one member work up to 40 hours per week. Such a system would act as a disincentive to the occurrence of large families. There would be a compensating factor, however, related to the number of persons in the family. A single individual working 40 hours a week would not receive food stamps. However, family units of two or more could receive food stamps in direct proportion to the number of persons in the family unit.

Aid in "kind" — Food Stamps: Food stamps should be available to families with similar incomes, employed in the private sector. This policy recognizes that there are the same needs applicable to families in the private sector and food stamp availability would not be structured so as to prevent movement from the public sector into the private employment sector.

Food stamps have commonly been issued to recipients to permit them to purchase edible items; ex-

cept tobacco, alcohol and certain other products. Under PA they could be issued weekly with pay checks to the family units eligible. Food stamps could be issued in addition to pay received based on the national hourly minimum wage (NHMW).

Other family patterns: Children living with employed adults who are not legally responsible for their support would be eligible for assistance. The amount of monthly assistance per child could be computed by dividing the basic income dimension of 173 (NHMW) by the basic family unit size of four, $173 \text{ (NHMW)} / 4$, which today would equal approximately \$71.00. Dependent children receiving assistance under these conditions are usually said to be living with "non-needy payees," in that the adults receive the checks on behalf of the children.

The total income received by families on PA would be the wages paid under the program and the food stamp supplement based on the number of individuals in the family. Under the proposed program, there would be no additional or extra allowances for so-called "special needs," as there sometimes is under assistance today. However, the income to the family under the PA system would be substantially above that now received under the present system. If the flat grant described proved insufficient, perhaps Congress would then re-examine the national hourly minimum wage.

The basic pattern of benefits available under the proposed program would be three-fold. There would be income paid at the national minimum wage, for either employment or training. Secondly, there would be food stamps based on the number of persons in the family. And finally, there would be free day care for all children over 6 months old. This package would provide substantially more real benefits than are provided today.

Families at the same income level in the private employment sector would receive the same day care services and food stamps. However, their income would not in any other way be subsidized.

Adults and Dependent Children

Day Care: Working mothers and other employed single adults responsible for the care of the children, and without funds with which to pay for private day care facilities, would be allowed to enroll their children in free day care centers provided under PA. This care would be provided under the direction of social workers and by a staff of PA employees carefully screened and trained. This would be one of the types of employment offered recipients under the PA program. These centers would take children as young as six months of age. Any able-bodied head of a household, would be required as a condition of receipt of assistance, to be employed under PA. This would include women whose youngest child

was 6 months of age or over. A system such as this, which would require employment of the head of a household, male or female, would eliminate an inequity that exists in the present system and would eliminate discrimination based on sex.

The present head-start programs would be administered in these day care centers. There would be a wide range of recreational and educational activities for the youngsters, which would also include the present head-start program of preparing children for their entry into the formal education system.

The proposed day-care program would provide further advantages deriving from extended observation of the children's behavior by social workers. Social workers would be expected to gain insight into problems of individual youngsters and would be responsible for counseling their families.

For parents employed in the private sector and receiving wages substantially above the minimum wage, the same day care services could be made available to their children on a sliding fee schedule.

Absent Parents: A father who is absent from the home and whose whereabouts is known, and who is not otherwise employed, could be required under order of the District Attorney or the Courts to accept employment under PA so as to, in some degree, be responsible for the support of his children.

Such a system would be likely to act as an incentive for parents to stay together because of the need to share responsibility and because of the required employment on the part of either the father or mother to qualify the family for assistance. Unlike the scheme of public assistance today, the program thus would provide economic incentives that would work to hold the family unit together.

Today, mainly because of federal financing and contribution requirements for child support activities, administration is performed by welfare agencies seeking contributions from absent parents. Under my proposal child support activities would be subsidized by the Federal Government and turned over to District Attorneys' offices, which are better adapted than social workers to this law enforcement task.

Motivating, Self Regulating System

The proposed system overall would tend to have built in self regulating features. It could be reasonably assumed that persons seeking employment under PA at the minimum wage would be unlikely to have other employment opportunities or sufficient income to support themselves and their families during their time of need. The fact that an individual would work 40 hours a week would largely preclude other employment. Any additional part time employment need not necessarily be discouraged in that it might lead to full time employment in the private sector.

This program would also reduce welfare fraud

to very low levels in that all programs for the able-bodied would be merged under PA and individuals could not draw double benefits or benefits from two sources at the same time.

To receive training, individuals would first have to be enrolled in PA. Only those individuals showing real and continued interest and benefit would be permitted to participate in the training sector. Others would be returned to the public employment sector.

Requiring recipients to be employed 40 hours a week would direct action and thinking towards productive and useful activity. It would put them in the frame of mind of employees and wage earners rather than that of recipients of the public "dole." Work would be meaningful so that PA participants would have a sense of pride and accomplishment.

One of the most important self-regulating factors would be the effect of motivating PA employees to move into the private sector where higher wages are commonly paid. Economic experience suggests that individuals seek to maximize their economic income when they believe upward mobility is possible. Since those receiving PA would be working 40 hours a week, it would normally be expected that they would move to the private sector when they could receive more than the minimum wage for a 40 hour week. This particular factor would be expected to eventually reduce the over-all cost of welfare as life styles built on the welfare model would be greatly discouraged. As soon as participants in the PA system had established an employment history and received adequate training, they would be expected to move into the private employment sector, although this would not be an absolute requirement. If they should experience problems in the private sector, they could return to PA until they again found new opportunities. Some individuals, such as those only temporarily unemployed, would probably work under PA only a few weeks. Others, with less employment mobility, might stay in the program for a substantially longer period of time.

Additionally, the proposed program could be structured so that individuals very recently employed in the private sector could, after being terminated from that employment, draw PA benefits for a period of four weeks without directly taking part in the program. This would enable them to intensively seek re-employment during this grace period. However, if they were unable to find private employment during that period, they would then have to accept public employment under PA for their benefits to continue.

Financing and Administrative Responsibility

The entire PA program should be administered federally under the Department of Labor and locally under the state employment departments. In California, this would be the Department of Human Resources and Development. PA would include recip-

ients that today receive unemployment and public assistance benefits under such categories as Unemployment Insurance Benefits, Aid for Families with Dependent Children, and a number of other employment and educational programs. Consolidating all of these programs under one administration with clearly defined objectives and procedures, would undoubtedly result in substantial savings. More of the "welfare" tax dollar would be received by those in need and less would be expended for duplicate administrations.

While the proposed system would create some new problems in terms of reemploying large numbers of recipients, it would be far simpler and easier to administer than the present system.

Such a program, based on public employment at the national minimum wage, should logically be financed 100 percent by the federal government. Employer contributions that now assist in the financing of unemployment benefits could be used to help support PA. In addition, the federal taxes that now support public assistance would be used to support the program. I believe that the system outlined in this paper would not result in an upward inflationary pressure on the economy because it would be primarily a merger of existing programs and expenditures. And further, with the built in self regulating and motivating devices described, the over-all result would most likely be a substantial reduction in the cost of public welfare.

This system would show that society is concerned about helping the individual and providing him with a productive frame of reference and meaningful training. The proposal is in no way designed to punish people needing assistance, but rather is designed to provide direction, purpose, equality, motivation and self respect.

As has been suggested, this new system would be effective as an anti-poverty strategy because it would not be limited to just the problem of income maintenance. Poverty related problems of bitterness and frustration derive not merely from income deficiency, but from lack of a meaningful life, which is closely related to having a meaningful job. Such a job will have the greatest multiplier effect on changing a variety of poverty related characteristics that keep families in the poverty cycle. People develop their identity and their interests in life through working and through the organized relationships with others that work creates.

Assistance to The Disabled

The second category of public assistance suggested in this paper is that of Assistance to the Disabled (AD). This form of assistance would be given to those individuals unable to take part in the PA program due to either permanent or extended temporary disability. Such disabilities as blindness and old age would be covered as well as other disabling physical

and emotional conditions. Those individuals suffering long periods of recuperation from major surgery, illness or accident would be eligible.

Eligibility would be medically determined by a board of physicians under this program. Each such person would receive 75 percent of the national hourly minimum wage based on 173 hours per month or (.75) 173 (NHMW), which would equal approximately \$213.00 per month. Today in California, such persons receive approximately \$160.00 per month. The national minimum wage is used here so as to have a common denominator of cash benefits for all of the programs suggested in this paper. Food stamps could also be a part of the benefit package under this category.

AD would be composed of one all-inclusive disability category that would cover individuals now receiving aid in various categories of the present disability and public assistance programs. Since at present it is often alleged that only 3 percent of welfare recipients are "employable," one might expect the AD category to be large; under Productive Assistance, however, with its day care, training and counseling provisions, the proportion of employables should be enormously increased.

Since social security benefits overlap with this AD category, the federal government through the Social Security Administration would increase disability and old age coverage benefits so that they would cover real needs. Under this plan social security would eventually take over the major responsibility in the area of disability. To assist the Social Security Administration and prevent duplicate payments, social security identification systems should be strengthened by the use of cards renewed periodically and containing photographs and fingerprints of the holders.

The system of AD benefits could fill in the gaps for those not now under social security as presently constituted. Social security would eventually be expanded, however, to cover all permanently disabled persons, with those temporarily disabled perhaps still covered under AD. Vocational rehabilitation programs would be shifted to the PA program where the individual in question would be physically and emotionally competent to participate in training or employment.

Financing the AD Program

As suggested, the financing of aid to the disabled would eventually be carried by social security under the present concept of a social insurance fund paid into by employers and employees during their productive years. As for the proposed AD program, the Federal government should assume 100 percent financing, as it would eventually be almost totally replaced by the federal social security insurance coverage. AD should be administered on the local level by the Social Security Administration, as this would be

primarily a program of income maintenance, except for certain social aspects which could be administered by county welfare agencies.

General Assistance

The third and final category proposed in this paper is that of General Assistance (GA). This program would assist the relatively few individuals not covered under Productive Assistance (PA) or Aid to the Disabled (AD). One such group would be those not totally disabled but, nevertheless, unable to function in an organized and productive manner. These persons are sometimes referred to as the "socially unemployable." Another group that would be covered would be mothers whose youngest or only child is less than 6 months of age. Additionally, minors living under the care of "non-needy payees" would also come under this category. Protective and Placement services for minors would be provided by local social service agencies under GA. Other individuals who temporarily might not be eligible for PA or AD could probably qualify under GA.

GA would be financed jointly by the state and county governments on an equal basis. One of the major emphases of this program would be to assist the "socially unemployable" so that they could enter the PA program as soon as possible. Another goal would be to prepare mothers, who are able-bodied and the head of a household, but with a child less than six months old, for their eventual referral to the PA program. In this regard, social workers would perform intensive counseling with recipients under GA.

Elective Disability

As mentioned earlier, PA includes many built in incentives. However, there may be some individuals who for psychological or other reasons are unable to participate in an employment program. These same persons may be responsible for minor children and these children cannot be punished for the attitudes or the lack of stability of their parents. There may also be a few single adults that cannot participate in PA for one reason or another and for whom society may have to assume some responsibility. These persons might have problems such as alcoholism or severe neurotic disturbances.

An individual who appears unable to cooperate with the PA program or exhibits behavior patterns that are disruptive, and who still exhibits unacceptable behavior after every reasonable effort has been made to help him, may be placed in Elective Disability. This type of person may insist that he cannot participate in the PA program. In such cases, after evaluation and determination by the department, individuals might be allowed to file a petition for Elective Disability. This statement would indicate that the person filing is unable to cooperate with the PA program and is unable to hold employment at this time and

is to be considered a member of the Elective Disability group.

Such a declaration would be expected to greatly reduce any incidence of fraud that might occur with reference to the Elective Disability group. A person filing a statement of disability and collecting disability benefits under this program, and then found working, would be confronted with a strong presumption of willful fraud, difficult to overcome.

Fraud of public assistance monies would be treated the same as fraud of any other funds. The District Attorney's office would be responsible for directing investigations. Again, federal financing would be available to District Attorney's offices for this purpose, instead of it being the responsibility of welfare authorities, as it largely is today.

Individuals under this program would be eligible to receive a maximum of 75 percent of the national hourly minimum wage based on 173 hours per month or (.75) 173 (NHMW), which would equal approximately \$213.00 per month for a family of four or less. Single individuals would receive no food stamps. For family units of two or more, food stamps would be given in direct proportion to the number in the family. There would be no free day care for families on ED, as the unemployed parent would be expected to care for his or her children.

As indicated, individuals under Elective Disability would undergo intensive counseling. The system could be structured such that they would receive their assistance check weekly upon attending scheduled counseling appointments.

A fair hearing commission and regulations would be established for the entire program suggested in this paper. Persons not able to cooperate with the PA program and removed therefrom to the category of Elective Disability, would also be entitled to a Fair Hearing. This process must be expeditious to be effective.

Social Services

In my opinion, there is a definite need for social workers and social services. Each of the three categories suggested in the paper, PA, AD and GA would use the services of such workers. In the area of Productive Assistance, social workers would assist recipients with any personal problems that they might encounter relative to their employment.

In the category of Assistance to the Disabled, social workers would offer their services to individuals having difficulties coping with everyday problems as a result of their disabilities.

In the area of General Assistance, intensive social case work would be employed to help recipients deal with the problems and attitudes that prevent them from fulfilling productive roles.

Under the proposals presented, social workers

would relate to their clients in terms of the objectives of each of the various programs. They would also work with problems that the client felt were important. The contact between the social worker and client would be in the context of an action oriented setting. One of the main objectives here would be to get social workers involved in a dynamic setting with their clients, and to get the clients to become involved with their employment and their communities. Many authorities believe that the future of social work lies in the concept of action on the community level.

The Social Worker and the Community

To really be effective, social workers must become involved in the community and the community must become aware of and involved in the solution of its problems. Social services should be made available to the community at large on a sliding fee schedule. In this way social workers could be of real service to the larger community.

The role of the social worker in relation to public assistance would be to help his clients achieve their greatest potential and thereby add to the social stability of the entire community.

"The reasons (for poverty) are often more social than economic, more often subtle than simple... But merely responding with a "relief check" to complicated social or personal problems — such as ill health, faulty education, domestic discord, racial discrimination, or inadequate skills — is not likely to provide a lasting solution. Such a check must be supplemented, or in some cases made unnecessary, by positive services and solutions, offering the total resources of the community to meet the total needs of the family to help our less fortunate citizens help themselves.

John Kennedy
Special Message to Congress
February 1, 1962



Facing the Vietnam Issue II

by Senator Mark Hatfield

Recent election times in our country have always stimulated an imaginative search for new ways of not talking about the Vietnam war among those who have lacked a fundamental commitment to stopping the war. So it was, three years ago, when I was also asked to contribute a guest editorial on Vietnam to the Ripon FORUM. At that time, in October of 1968, I wrote ("Facing the Vietnam Issue"):

In 1964 the American people — trusting the campaign promises of the Democratic presidential candidate — thought they were voting for peace, only to have their trust betrayed. Candidates at all levels are again expecting voters to accept their post-election intentions on faith; and they deal with Vietnam in terms of assurances not to "sell out" our men in Vietnam and vague promises for "an honorable peace." This is not enough. In the democratic process voters should not be forced to go to the polls with their fingers crossed: they should not be forced to rely on blind faith that the man they vote for will share their views on the most important issue of the election. . . . The Paris peace talks should not become the skirts for timid men to hide behind.

Arbitrary Cutoff

As the war continued in 1969, pleas for its end were fended off by promises that the Paris talks would yield results as long as they were not jeopardized by such sceptical criticism and internal division. When asked, on September 26, 1969, about Senator Charles Goodell's proposal that all funds for the Vietnam war be cut off by the end of 1970, President Nixon replied:

. . . it is my conclusion that if the administration were to impose an arbitrary cutoff time, say the end of 1970, or the middle of 1971, for the complete withdrawal of American forces in Vietnam, that inevitably leads to perpetuating and continuing the war until that time and destroys any chance to reach the objective that I am trying to achieve, of ending the war before the end of 1970 or before the middle of 1971.

The Cambodian invasion of 1970, however, converted quiet doubters into outspoken sceptics. As the elections approached that Fall, Republican candidates hardly relished the thought of facing Vietnam as a campaign issue. But they were spared that trial by the Administration's "new initiative for peace" at the Paris talks, unveiled on October 7, 1970. It was a testimony to the forgetfulness of the American elec-

torate that the Paris peace talks once again became "the skirts for timid men to hide behind."

Now, with next year's election approaching, there is recurrent speculation that the war will be neutralized as an issue in the campaign. My paramount concern and disappointment, first expressed in my FORUM editorial three years ago, is that I have seen more of a commitment to ending the war as a political issue in America than to actually ending the war in Indochina.

My concern is vastly intensified when I realize that since October of 1968, well over 16,000 Americans have been killed in Indochina, 67,766 South Vietnamese soldiers have died, and 367,873 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong deaths have been reported. In addition, according to available figures there have been at least 157,547 civilian casualties in South Vietnam alone, an estimated 750,000 refugees have been created in South Vietnam, 1,500,000 refugees have been created in Cambodia, and close to 500,000 refugees in Laos, since that time.

Today the economy has suddenly captured the stage as the nation's over-riding issue. We tend to forget about the war in our search for a solution to our economic woes — which is like forgetting about germs in looking for a cure to disease.

The temptation to forget about the war is strong; after all, American casualties are dramatically reduced, and close to two-thirds of our troop strength will be withdrawn by December 1 of this year.

Never Ending

But wanting to forget about the war does not stop the war; in fact, it makes it easier to go on. It can become an innocuous, tolerable, "page 12" war that kills only 20 Americans every week, that wounds only another 200 each week, that costs only \$10-12 billion a year, that requires only 100,000 or 50,000 or 40,000 American troops — and never stops.

Those who live in Indochina cannot forget about the war. There has been little change in the overall intensity of the air war we have consistently waged in Southeast Asia; likewise, the suffering of the people in Indochina finds no relief. The toll of those who are victims of this war — who are killed, wounded, or made homeless — remains at a staggering level, particularly as the war has spread through Laos and Cambodia. In fact, the Senate's Subcommittee on Refugees estimates that the total number of war victims

actually *increased* in the first six months of this year compared to last.

On November 15 the Administration will make another major statement on Vietnam. In an attempt to defuse the war as an issue, the withdrawal of 100,000 troops or more could be announced, leaving 40,000-80,000 in Vietnam by next Spring. Furthermore, those remaining troops could all be volunteers, and none of them would have a "combat role." But such an option would point to neither an end of the war nor of our military involvement in it. (It should be remembered that the Laotian invasion last Spring involved no U.S. troops in the "combat role" on the ground in Laos. Yet, 151,837 sorties — individual missions by a single aircraft — were flown by U.S. planes and helicopters as an essential part of the operation.)

With such a course of action, some believe Americans will more readily worry about our pocketbooks than our foreign policy, particularly as more dark-skinned, and fewer light-skinned people give their lives in support of our policy and the version of one-man democracy that we now underwrite. But I disagree. I do not believe that the American conscience can be so easily and tragically numbed.

As long as the war goes on, and our equipment and bombs are killing Asians, I believe there will be resolute and widespread rejection of those policies. The concern of Americans over the war has increasing-

ly become a moral issue that will not be muted by gradual withdrawals and lowered U.S. casualties as long as Asians continue to suffer and die.

Furthermore, the Mansfield Amendment, stating that it is the policy of our country to withdraw totally from Indochina in six months time, has passed the Senate for the second time, and will be brought up again later this session of Congress. It is entirely possible that the House will approve such a measure this year; it has gotten closer each time there has been a vote. Then it would go to the President for his signature or veto. By signing it, he would give a Democratic Congress the right to claim credit for ending the war. By vetoing it, he would completely undermine his credibility with those who truly believe he will actually end the war.

The President can avoid the possibility of such a dilemma by announcing on November 15 a date certain for total withdrawal before the middle of next year, dependent only upon the release of our prisoners of war. That is the only option that holds the promise of an end to the fighting and killing in Indochina through the basic political accommodation that would result. That is the only option truly responsive to the moral travesty of the war's continuation. And, for that reason, it is also the prudent political option for the President to choose.

The only way to end the war as a political issue in 1972 is to end the war.

Political Notes

WASHINGTON D. C.: loyalty unserved

Those who think that loyalty to Richard M. Nixon is the key qualification for advancement in his Administration should observe carefully the fate of Stephen Hess. Hess, who originally served as a young White House aide under Eisenhower, has been close to Nixon since the 1960 campaign. He did not desert Nixon when he was at his lowest ebb after the California gubernatorial defeat and collaborated with Earl Mazo in a sympathetic biography that appeared in time for the 1968 primaries.

After working on the 1968 campaign pre-Miami, and continuing full-time during the transition, he was appointed Deputy Director of the Urban Affairs Council. The domestic policy reorganization of 1970 cost him this job, however, and he was given what was generally considered the thankless assignment of running the White House conference on youth. Focussing on long range problems rather than political rhetoric, the

conference mixed criticism of the Administration with praise on environmental and foreign policy questions. In other words, Hess did the best job that could be done without grossly manipulating the conference or the choice of delegates to favor the Administration (an effort that would have surely backfired). As it was the only criticism came from radical students and Human Events, a conservative weekly that has suspended support for the President.

Hess was then slated to become Director of the new National Foundation on the Humanities, a position for which he is suited by temperament, interest, service to the Administration and prolific writing on history and politics. Criticism came from academic circles charging that Hess is more a political journalist than a scholar, though the scholarship evident in his definitive study, *America's Political Dynasties from Adams to Kennedy* (Doubleday, 1966, 736 pp.), alone excels the entire annual product of many a history department. Hess conceded publicly, however, that academic opposition would not have sufficed to stop the appointment without the "crossfire" from the anti-Nixon right wing press, which seems to have a near Pavlovian hold on the presumably pro-Nixon chief of staff H.R. Haldeman.

During this entire period Hess has defended the Administration with trenchancy and verve in meetings with outside students and intellectuals. Perhaps he would do better if he "suspended" support.

NEW YORK: investigating attica

Although Attica has slipped from the headlines, investigators are tripping over one another in an effort to shed some light on the tragic prison riot. However, it appears that most enlightenment will come from three efforts. The first is that of John R. Dunne. Mr. Dunne, a Republican State Senator from Long Island, is Chairman of the Senate Committee on Crime and Correction, and in that capacity has long been an advocate of prison reform. Immediately after the Attica riot, Senator Dunne went on a tour of the state's prisons, reportedly despite heavy pressure from Senate Majority Leader Earl Brydges to lay off the touchy issue. Another investigation, by the state's Deputy Attorney General Robert E. Fisher, a recent Rockefeller appointee, is expected to yield criminal indictments. Fisher's investigation has been beclouded by the fact that the state trooper who led the assault was discovered to be part of the investigating team; the trooper was subsequently removed from that position. But the most significant fact-finding mission will be that initiated by the Governor himself. Governor Rockefeller asked the state's top judges, headed by Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals Stanley H. Fuld, to appoint an impartial citizens panel to investigate the prison uprising. The judges chose a nine-member group, to be chaired by civic leader and New York University Law School Dean, Robert B. McKay. The Governor also announced that the investigations of Attorney General Fisher and Dean McKay will be financed by a \$200,000 emergency appropriation.

CONNECTICUT: disagreement over reapportionment

In the final stage of a three step process, a panel of three state court judges has ordered a sweeping reapportionment of Connecticut's General Assembly,

immediately bringing wails of protest, mostly from the Democrats. Even the panel of judges broke up in disagreement, with the two Republicans, Supreme Court Justice John K. Thim of Hamden and Superior Court Justice George Saden of Bridgeport, voting for the plan and Democrat Superior Court Justice Leo Parskey filing a minority report.

The new plan, effective on October 1 for the next ten years, reduces the House membership from 177 to 151 and retains the 36 members of the Senate but with vastly changed district lines. From an overall look the plan seems to lean toward more Republicans in both House and Senate, reflecting population shifts from the Democratic-controlled big cities to the more Republican suburbs and small towns.

The most notable Senatorial changes occurred in the 5th district in West Hartford, the 33rd in Middletown, and the 22nd in Bridgeport, where normally Democratic areas were merged with adjoining Republican towns. In both Hartford and New Haven, city Senatorial districts were merged with parts of adjacent towns for the first time. All in all, the new plan will probably give the Republicans 16 Senate seats to 15 for the Democrats, with the remaining 5 too close to predict. The Republicans at present have a slight edge over the Democrats in the five close districts, but much would depend on the "top of the ticket" in the 1972 Presidential race and the 1974 Gubernatorial race.

The Democrats have controlled the General Assembly in Connecticut since the last reapportionment in 1965. Republicans have continually complained that the previous alignment in the Senate was unfair, since they have consistently gained a smaller percentage of seats than actual vote won. In 1970, for instance, the Republicans won 51 percent of the Senate vote but were still in the minority by 17 to 19.

No appeal procedure is provided for by the state Constitution after this last stage for reapportionment. (Earlier attempts by the General Assembly at large and an eight member bipartisan commission failed to reach an agreement.) Nothing, however, prevents the Democrats from seeking redress in state or federal court on the basis that the districts are not "compact" enough or that the "one-man, one-vote" principle has been violated. Democratic House Speaker, William Ratchford, is threatening some kind of court procedures.

State Spotlight

KANSAS: Trouble for Pearson and Dole

In Kansas these days, the state's Republicans are leaderless, unorganized, and overshadowed by a conservative governor and a headline-grabbing attorney general, both Democrats.

Consequently, it has been predicted that Governor Robert Docking will challenge and defeat Senator James Pearson next year, and that "supersheriff" Attorney General Vern Miller will outgun whom-ever stumbles into the gubernatorial race against him. There are even rumblings that popular Second District Congressman Bill Roy (the only Democrat in the delegation to Washington) will build up

enough steam to upset Senator Robert Dole in 1974.

But Senator Pearson, though in trouble, still has a lot going for him. His likely opponent, Governor Docking, is a conservative pragmatic enough to commission and follow numerous private polls. Docking's willingness to change his tack when a poll shows a variance between his position and the public's has become a liability instead of an asset. A biting editorial in the *Salina Journal*, for instance, led off with this sentence:

It is widely suspected that if Gov. Robert Docking's private political polls showed nudism with

55 percent popularity, the governor might search out the emperor's tailor to select his new clothes.

One of Docking's hottest current issues is putting a ceiling on property taxes, an issue difficult to translate into a race for the U.S. Senate. His three-term administration has left local school systems, universities and state services in poor financial health.

There is another current Kansas phenomenon, largely unnoticed outside the state, that links voter regard for Pearson with increasing embarrassment with Robert Dole. Dole's frequent, flippant political barbs, unleashed from his National Committee post, are contrasted to Pearson's "dignity" and "maturity." A statesmanlike image will help Pearson, but it may not be enough to reelect him.

The causes of Dole's declining home-state popularity among many of the local party faithful may be, in part, rooted in his personal political history. In 1964 Congressman Dole represented the thinly-populated western portion of the state, an area of cattle, oil, scattered towns, and little rainfall. His district was conservative, and he showed no hesitation in supporting Goldwater's bid for the Presidency. It was with some shock, therefore, that Dole woke up the morning after with the thinnest winning margin in the state. The anti-Goldwater vote came close to ending his career. Since that time, both as a congressman and later as a senator, Dole has taken some pains to mute his conservatism, especially during election years. Election to the Senate, and elevation to his RNC position have conspired to force more public attention on his thoughts,

words and deeds. Not facing an election this year, Dole seems to have forgotten his caution in a number of statements widely reported around Kansas, which were intended less for Kansans than for conservative or hard-lining Republicans throughout the country. His "sharp words and sarcasm," as the Topeka *Capital-Journal* put it in late August, represent "an approach that seems to alienate Kansas voters." If his 1974 challenger is Congressman Roy, a moderate Democrat making unusual strides toward establishing a first-term reputation (on health care issues), Dole may have to scramble to regain enough center ground to win.

Looking at 1972 presidential politics, Kansas is solid Nixon country today. Both Pearson and Dole, on their frequent trips home, wrap themselves in the Nixon colors, although they tend to stress different aspects of the Administration's program.

Kansan Alf Landon reflected state sentiment when he organized a letter of support for the President's new China policy. There is a general willingness to support Nixon in his economic efforts, although the support seems conditional upon success. The McCloskey campaign has stirred little excitement or notice.

The name of Kansas politics has always been "Republican." Next year, unless leadership is found on the state level, the name will change. The organizational failures of Republicans in 1970 and 1971 need not set a permanent pattern, but as yet no one has filled the gap in state party leadership.

If you ever wondered what happened to "we, the people," Walter J. Hickel has the answers.

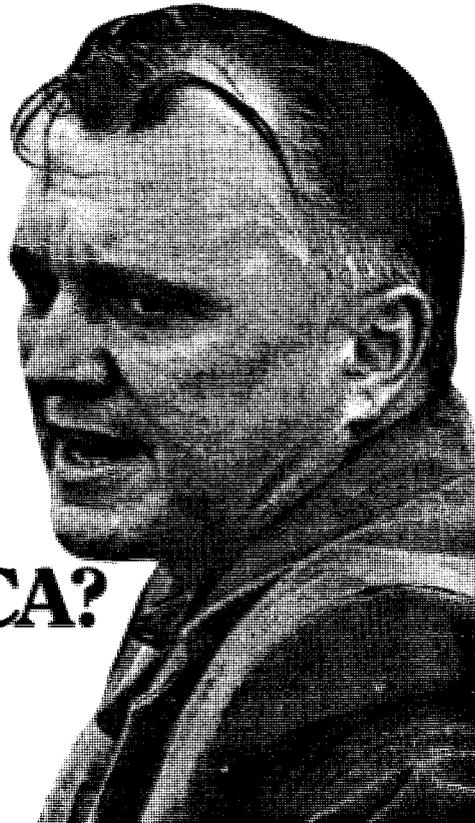
The former Secretary of the Interior, the author of the famous "Faithfully yours, Wally" letter, has written an equally provocative, informative, and engrossing new book. It is at once a fascinating inside story of the Nixon administration and an inspiring blueprint for saving the nation's ravaged environment.

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The Dynamics of a Convention Deadlock

In recent issues, as we reviewed the position and various possible strategies of each serious candidate for the Democratic nomination, ironically, it appeared that no given candidate had a better-than-even chance. Although some possibilities are certainly much stronger than others, the odds are against everybody, even though someone must win.

In a situation such as this, it is conceivable, though still not probable, that the eventual selection of a winner will result from negotiations taking place during one of the hourly summer rain squalls in Miami Beach. By way of concluding this series, then, we shall examine briefly a few relevant points about convention dynamics.

Several commentators have suggested recently that the electronic age has destroyed forever the legendary "deadlocked convention." Primaries, television coverage, the conclusions of commentators, media bandwagons, and vastly improved communications among party officials all are said to have prevented convention deadlocks for the last generation: no convention has lasted beyond three ballots since 1940.

The Time Factor

Media developments have clearly brought significant changes. The fundamental difference between the contemporary nominating process and the nominating process of a generation ago is the time factor — things start much earlier — and there is no doubt that the media has played an important role in extending the contest back 20 months or more before the actual nomination. Because so much now occurs before the convention meets, it is a natural conclusion that the role of the convention is simply to ratify the sum total of advance decisions. This conclusion has been reenforced not only by the fact that most modern conventions have been one-ballot affairs, but also by the recognition that some event or series of events antecedent to recent conventions was in fact conclusive: the primaries in 1960, the Goldwater delegate hunt and California primary in 1964, President Nixon's assiduous courting of party officials in the months and years before the 1968 convention.

Media played an important role in this lengthening of the time scale, both by giving increased significance to primaries and by providing delegate counts which had a self-fulfilling quality to them. But the major factor has been the strategy of the contestants: events prior to the convention became decisive because a candidate made them so. In 1960, Kennedy demonstrated to the Democratic establishment the

advantages of starting early; the Goldwater forces taught the Republican moderates the same lesson in 1964, although some of those moderates, anyway, seemed to have forgotten it by 1968 when President Nixon made it clear again.

In each of these cases, however, events before the convention were decisive because there was no real competition. If one candidate starts early and the rest wait virtually until the convention meets, the early bird may well be able to make pre-convention events decisive for his nomination. But with everybody starting early this advantage is lost. Events before the convention may cancel each other out, and the convention itself may once again be decisive.

In 1968, after all, events prior to the Democratic convention seemed to have little impact upon its ultimate decision: it nominated the major candidate who entered last, shunned primaries, and was not the choice (if polls are to be believed) of the rank and file. He was eminently the choice of the *convention* and the result of the pressures from various quarters upon the convention at the time. That his nomination was predictable almost two months in advance does not detract from this observation.

Although the lengthening of the time scale and the advent of modern media do not by themselves preclude a multi-ballot convention, there are several factors which have always worked strongly against this possibility.

103 Ballots

The great marathon conventions of American history took place under the 2/3 rule which existed in the Democratic party alone from the 1850s until 1936. The record was 103 ballots in 1924 when the deadly combination of liquor and religion created such animosity that delegates refused to abandon their candidates until the situation had become patently absurd to all and two weeks of New York living expenses produced a strong incentive to wind up affairs. Under a 2/3 rule it is very easy to deadlock a convention between two candidates — all number two has to do is get a bit more than a third of the vote and hold on. With a simple majority, however, it is impossible to deadlock a convention between two candidates. Intense pressure therefore is placed upon the lesser candidates and favorite sons to jump one way or the other. Most recent presidential nominating contests have been bi-polar, and hence have lasted only one ballot.

Historically, several open or multi-ballot conven-

tions have occurred under the simple majority rule, but only two could qualify for the designation of "deadlock" — the conventions of 1880 (35 ballots) and 1920 (10 ballots) — where for a number of ballots the totals of the leading contenders remained virtually unchanged and completely new candidates had to be introduced to the situation for a resolution of the deadlock.

Mathematically the strongest tendency towards a deadlock occurs when there are three candidates, each with a strong personal following. Number one is most reluctant to give up because there is always the feeling that with a deal or two he might go over the top. Number two is most reluctant to give up because, perceiving the difficulties of number one, he has hopes that the collapse of number one's candidacy will give him sufficient votes to win. Number three is most reluctant to give up because the longer number one and two fight it out, the better are his chances of being a compromise. All three are reluctant to deal for the Vice-Presidency or whatever because all still perceive the possibility of the top prize.

When the number of major contenders goes beyond three, however, the tendency to deadlock diminishes as numbers four and five realistically regard their chances as slim — certainly slimmer than number three in a three-way contest, and they are much more susceptible to pressures to give up. In such a circumstance it is considerably easier for number one to line up with number three or number four or both — or, alternatively, for number two to make similar arrangements.

Deadlock in 1972?

Deadlock is, of course, not simply the product of a mathematical configuration, but the result of hard support for the three or more candidates party to the stalemate. It is this lack of hard support among the current contenders which makes a genuine deadlock most unlikely in 1972, even though the magic number of three might easily be realized. What may well happen is a multi-ballot convention with a great deal of fluidity. Several successive candidates may come close to the prize without achieving it, until one finally succeeds in creating a winning coalition — or, more accurately, until a winning coalition is created for a candidate. For with such fluidity the candidates themselves will have less and less to say about the result and the power brokers in the Big Nine States will have more and more. If the convention goes beyond five ballots, Richard Daley will have far more delegates at his disposal than Ed Muskie, who might "tie up" but could not "deliver" a sizable block of votes.

At this stage, we do not even know who will still be in the running at convention time, but let us assume that Muskie is still the "front-runner." He



has won narrowly in California, but lost a number of other primaries and has some wide-spread support among the party professionals — in all, about 1,000 votes. Let us assume further that Kennedy is not terminally out of the race, but has not waged a primary campaign, is holding about 600 votes, and is biding his time. Let us assume that Lindsay and Jackson have done well enough in the primaries to keep their candidacies alive — 250 votes for Lindsay and 400 votes for Jackson. Let us also assume that there is some Humphrey strength in the Midwest union strongholds — 300 votes, and another 450 or so scattered amongst favorite sons and lesser hopefuls.

The first move in this scenario would be up to Muskie — an effort to obtain another 500 votes by pressuring the various also-rans: Do you deal with Jackson for the vice-presidency? If he refuses do you attempt to steal his Southern support by pointing to Kennedy's position? What can you offer Lindsay's supporters that Kennedy can't? How many favorite sons will be amenable to cabinet posts? Why didn't the Founding Fathers create more than one vice presidency?

Then a second ballot. Muskie up a hundred votes from a few favorite sons and lesser candidates — clearly no victory without a major defection. If only Jackson didn't think that he might be nominated himself

A third ballot: decisive for Muskie — without serious additions it would be clear to all that Muskie has failed and the process would be set in reverse. In the history of American presidential nominating conventions, only one candidate whose vote total has dropped significantly at any point in the balloting has ever gone on to win. (Of course in the days when multi-

ballot conventions were frequent the knowledge of this fact had a self-fulfilling quality to it.) There is no intrinsic reason why Muskie, faltering on the third or fourth ballot, could not emerge as a compromise candidate on the eleventh, but the psychology is all against it. Once a man's vote total begins to fall, the aura of defeat surrounds him; once a man has not been found acceptable to a majority of delegates it is difficult to re-introduce him to consideration.

The ball would then pass to Kennedy's court and he, together with the other candidates would descend piranha-like upon the carcass of the Muskie candidacy to capture as much of the fall-out as possible. Where the Muskie delegates would go depends, of course, upon where they came from to begin with. His Southern support would probably go to Jackson, and his Northeastern delegates to Kennedy (although he might hold onto these the longest, thereby diluting the impact of their defection). His support elsewhere, largely from party regulars, might well go to Kennedy. But the prospect of a genuinely open convention would impel the regulars and power brokers to consider such things as electability; and Kennedy has consistently done poorly against President Nixon in the polls.

Kennedy Comes Close

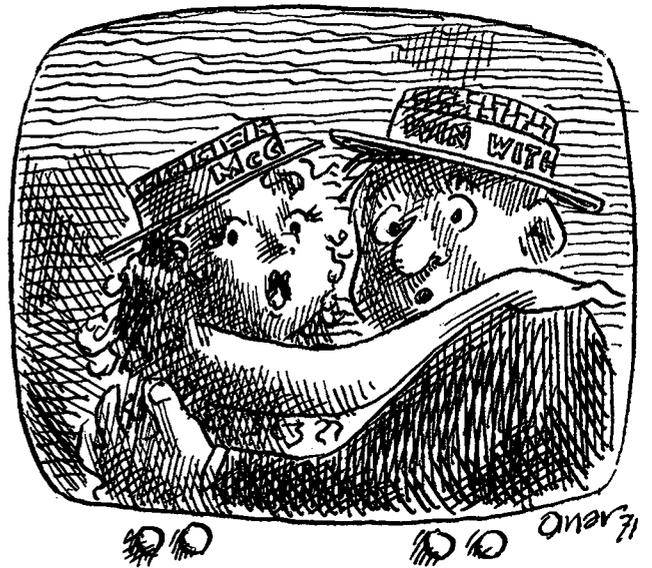
Kennedy would have to move fast. He, too, would have about three ballots to achieve a victory. Depending upon the frequency of balloting, that gives him about a day. Kennedys are supposed to move fast and achieve quickly; much of their support comes from an aura of invincibility. Delay in Muskie's Northeastern defections, Muskie's retention of California as a bargaining counter (and his refusal to release it to Kennedy), hesitations on the part of the regulars over Kennedy's electability, some desire on the part of the favorite sons and lesser candidates to prolong for their own advantage what would by then seem to be an increasingly interesting convention, all such reservations could block the Kennedy nomination and set his vote totals in reverse on the seventh or eighth ballot. At that point the convention would completely lose focus.

The course of the convention from then on would be the result of so many decisions interacting with each other that we cannot continue a linear analysis even of possibilities. In general, however, Humphrey would have an excellent shot at the prize and Jackson would have a fair chance.

What about a genuine dark horse? One comes to mind: young Stevenson. The mayor of Chicago, who at this point in the balloting would have much authority, has recently been mentioning Stevenson as an excellent choice for vice president. Stevenson on the ballot would provide for Daley that sense of vindication, redemption, and even lasting significance which

he must claim for what will probably be his last decisive intervention on the national scene. In the midst of all the Lindsays, Harrises, Jacksons, and so forth, it may occur to Daley to turn to his own favorite son for the first position, and Stevenson is not without assets. He is a liberal, but because he has received so little publicity he suffers very little conservative animosity. He is a Midwesterner in an election where the Midwest will be a most crucial area and where Illinois will be a most pivotal state. He bears not only a famous name, but a striking resemblance to the bestower of that name. His non-entry into the fray will probably earn him very few enemies by convention time, and the power brokers may well realize that his lack of national media exposure is a tremendous asset, not a liability. In 1968, after following candidates around for a year, the press corps was so tired of the same old faces that Agnew and Muskie got the fresh coverage because they were *unknown*. Stevenson, emerging as the upset victor of a multi-ballot convention, would receive press coverage that even an incumbent President would find hard to match, and his low profile over the cool medium of television might be a refreshing contrast to the Kennedys, Lindsays, Harrises, and so forth.

The odds against such an outcome are, of course, very great indeed, but if the convention meets without a pre-determined choice and Kennedy for one reason or another does not emerge, the result may well be very interesting. *CLIFFORD BROWN*



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14a ELIOT STREET

NEW OFFICERS

Paul Anderson, 32, of Chicago has been elected Chairman of the Board, replacing Michael Brewer. Paul received his BA from Notre Dame in 1959 in electrical engineering and an MA from Carnegie Mellon in business administration. He is currently vice president of Booz, Allen & Hamilton, Inc., management consultants. He was a White House Fellow in 1968-69, assigned to the Office of Science and Technology and also to Pat Moynihan and Don Rumsfeld. He has managed two campaigns for State Senate in Chicago, where he is a precinct chairman.

Patricia A. Goldman, 29, of Washington, D.C. has been elected Chairman of the National Executive Committee. She spent three years as director of manpower for the D.C. chapter and chairman of Ripon's seventh annual dinner in Washington in 1969. She is a 1964 graduate of Goucher in economics. She has worked on the Hill on the Joint Economic Committee and ad hoc subcommittee on poverty of the Education and Labor Committee. She spent three years as director of manpower programs for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. She is currently legislative counsel for the National League of Cities-Conference of Mayors and is working with the Women's Political Caucus.

Richard Beeman, who was announced on this page in September as an at-large member of the NGB, has been elected Ripon Policy Chairman, replacing Chris Beal.

• Three Ripon study groups in **Memphis, Nashville** and **New Jersey** were admitted to provisional chapter status at the National Executive Committee meeting in Cambridge October 16.

• The Chicago chapter has elected new officers. They are: **Bruce D. Fraser**, president and National Executive Committee member; **Paul Kimball, Jr.**, vice president; **Jared Kaplan**, vice president; **Thomas Russell**, treasurer; and **Mary Anderson**, secretary. **Gene L. Armstrong** and **Jared Kaplan** were chosen as members of the National Governing Board.

Bruce Fraser is an associate in the corporate finance department of William Blair and Company, investment bankers, after completing his M.B.A. from Northwestern University earlier this year. Previously, he was connected with Governor Ogilvie's office in Chicago and was research assistant to the Senate Republican Policy Committee.

• The provisional Minnesota Ripon Chapter was granted permanent status last month, and an Issues Conference sponsored by the Minnesota group attracted some eighty conferees for an intensive weekend session at the Hudson House in Hudson, Wisconsin, October 1 and 2.

Announcement of the permanent status was made by National President **Howard Gillette** at an airport news conference at which selection of the Minnesota NGB members was also announced. The new NGB members are Chapter President **John Cairns**, who at last notice was still on top of a "coalition" government as President of the Minneapolis City Council; **Ron Speed**, former Minnesota CR Chairman and a prime mover in the Minnesota GOP's efforts to bring young people into a broadened party structure; and **Kati Sasseville**, a second year law student at the University of Minnesota and mother of six.

The other Minnesota chapter officers are **John Stout**, first vice president; **Elayne Hansen**, secretary; **Ennis Robertson**, treasurer; and **Will Bracken**, **Dan Willius**, **Paul Anderson**, **Dean Lapham**, **Jerry Weisberg**, **James S. Lane III**, **Connie Dillingham**, **Walter Rostenstein**, **Mike Lamb**, **Russell Brown**, **Michael O'Laughlin**, members of the board of directors.

The Hudson House Conference posed the problem of decision-making within the political process, examining the issues of health delivery systems, education, and housing, in terms of the relative roles of the private and public sectors. Each issue was handled with a panel discussion of experts in the field, followed by small group discussions. The Conference was aimed at gaining insights into the nature of the social problems, rather than at "solving problems;" but the presence of a large number of young and progressive political "influentials" suggest that the Conference will be having an effect in Minnesota policies for some time to come.

Third District Congressman **Bill Frenzel** and State GOP Chairman **Dave Krogsong** each addressed the group as did Minn. Sec. of State **Arlen Erdahl**, prompting the **Minneapolis Tribune** to note the "responsive chord" among Minnesota Republicans for Ripon "progressivism."

• Ripon-NY held an informal evening get-together with Congressman **Pete McCloskey** on October 20, and a luncheon the next day with former NYC mayor **Robert F. Wagner**.

• Ripon Vice President **Howard Reiter** debated **J. Laurence McCarty**, Treasurer of the American Conservative Union, the evening of September 16. Appearing before the Republican Club in Chelmsford, Mass., Reiter defended the proposition, "The Republican Party Makes Sense," and McCarty pushed his new Massachusetts Conservative Party. Since the Chelmsford Republican Club did not disband at the close of the debate, we can infer that Reiter carried the day.

LETTERS

YAF OBJECTS

Dear Sirs:

While disagreeing with your organization on philosophical grounds I have always held the Ripon Society in respect for its ability to harness the intellectual effort necessary for the constructive solution of current political and societal problems. But I find the current newsletter Sept. 15 and its article on the YAF Convention an example of neanderthal partisan attack.

As an organization which can be considered only minimally within the Republican Party, the Ripon Society's reporter has taken it upon himself to write YAF out of the party. A strange phenomenon indeed since YAF has never been and never desired to be classified as a Republican organization. The purpose for the original meeting in Sharon eleven years ago was to create a broad-based, non-partisan conservative youth organization. Over the years we have remained consistent with that decision, supporting conservatives and finding most of the articulate and serious conservative candidates within the Republican Party.

Mention was given to the speech by Senator Robert Byrd, but not a word about the speeches by Senator James L. Buckley, Senator John Tower, Governor Ronald Reagan, Congressman William Archer, Congressman Philip Crane, State Senator Robert E. Bauman, or Los Angeles Councilman Arthur Snyder — all elected Republican office-holders. Any delegate to the convention would take issue with your claim that Senator Byrd's speech generated more enthusiasm than any other. What about the keynote speech by William F. Buckley, Jr.?

The appropriation of up to \$750,000 was not solely to assist Vice President Agnew but for the support of conservative candidates for all federal offices, including the office of President of the United States.

WAYNE J. THORBURN

National Treasurer

Young Americans for Freedom

Ed Note: Although we are grateful for this tribute from YAF, which we acknowledge "has never been and never desired to be classified as a Republican organization," we fail to understand how the Ripon Society, which is Republican in name, declaration and ideology as its very raison d'etre, "can be considered only minimally within the Republican Party."

MCCLOSKEY COVERAGE

Dear Sirs:

Please devote more space in your publication to the greatest hope in the GOP: Congressman **Pete McCloskey!**
JERRY E. COOK
Fresno, Calif.

BLUE MONDAY

Dear Sirs:

I have just finished reading the October 15th Newsletter and unless I am mistaken neither I nor Monday are anywhere mentioned.

I demand an explanation.

JOHN D. LOFTON, JR.
Editor, Monday
Washington, D.C.

Ed Note: **Dum Spiro Spero.**

CALIFORNIA CORNER



On the 1972 GOP Primary

The make up of the 96-man California Republican delegation, which will be of vital importance to progressives who want to exert pressure on the platform or the vice presidency, may well be decided by maneuvering this year among Governor Ronald Reagan, Congressman Paul N. ("Pete") McCloskey, and the Administration.

Twice Governor Reagan, currently at his nadir in statewide popularity polls, has vetoed legislation that would have given California an Oregon-style open primary. The present law allows either pledged or unpledged delegations, but signature requirements make wide organizational support essential for getting on the ballot.

Since California is Congressman McCloskey's home state, however, he should have no trouble qualifying a delegation. McCloskey's best chance would seem to be an unpledged group, which would not repel war opponents who doubt McCloskey's Presidential credentials.

McCloskey also may be helped by the 18-year-old voters whom he has been recruiting for the party but who tend to be anti-Nixon because of high unemployment among young persons and resentment over the war.

Moreover, many hawks, such as California Congressman John Rousselot, now believe that a half-hearted war with little public support hurts the country's global defense posture more than it helps. If McCloskey can make even minor inroads into the substantial reservoir of conservative anti-Nixon sentiment, it would reverse the narrow margins that have decided recent California GOP primaries.

For example, Goldwater's 51-49 percent victory over Nelson Rockefeller in the 1964 California primary was decisive in Goldwater's nomination, and the closeness of the division between the California GOP's moderate and conservative wings was illustrated again in 1968 when Max Rafferty took the Republican nomination away from Republican Senate Whip Tom Kuchel by another 51-49 percent margin.

California's 1968 convention votes went to Reagan when his only opposition, an unpledged moderate slate, lost its place on the ballot. Rockefeller's sudden withdrawal and his decision to form a "stop Nixon"

alliance with Reagan fatally undermined the petition effort, and several thousand signatures were ruled invalid for technical reasons. Even so, a Mervin Field poll taken just before the Free Delegation was ruled ineligible by the Supreme Court showed it leading Reagan's favorite son group 47-42 percent.

For the first time in 12 years there will be no statewide race in California in 1972. Without a strong McCloskey effort in the presidential primary, many moderate Republicans may stay home, seriously damaging the nomination chances of centrist Republicans in the newly reapportioned legislative districts. Especially important are the five new California Congressional seats. A strong moderate showing in 1972 would help 1974 efforts to return California Republicanism to its traditional moderate posture.

In 1974 Democratic Senator Alan Cranston will be up for reelection. The strongest Republican candidate would probably be GOP moderate Controller Houston Flournoy, who gained his current post by defeating Cranston in 1966, or Robert Finch, who might run for Governor instead. The most probable conservative aspirant is Governor Reagan, who has firmly committed himself not to seek a third term. The contest to succeed Reagan is also shaping up as a moderate-conservative primary race. Attorney General Evelle Younger, who won the GOP nomination for his current post by winning 50 percent of the 1970 primary vote against three more conservative challengers, would probably run against the conservative choice: Ed Reinecke, who was appointed to the Lieutenant Governor's post after Finch joined the Nixon cabinet.

Since bitter primary battles contributed to the replacement of California's two Republican Senators by Democrats in 1968 and 1970, McCloskey has been pressured by the California GOP to pass up a challenge to Reagan's pro-Nixon delegation in the California primary. Few moderates are anxious to support a challenge that would leave them open to blame for a Nixon defeat in California in 1972.

Efforts to prevent opponents of Nixon's policies from making their case in the Republican primary, however, seem unlikely to dispose them to support the GOP ticket in November. On the other hand, a strong showing for McCloskey in the California primary would encourage Nixon to share Vietnam policy-making with Congress and perhaps thereby relieve himself of an issue which can only hurt him, unless the war is convincingly over when he runs.

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