Ralph Nader's latest muckraker, *Who Runs Congress?*, is getting the usual share of headlines for a Nader project, heightened, of course, by the political season.

Though not intended as a partisan project, according to Nader, the release of the book a month before the election has inevitable political overtones. The book is the first release of the Congress Project on which Ralph Nader and his battery of associates, sometimes numbering 1000, have been working for a year and a half. *Who Runs Congress?* was actually written by three of Nader's close associates—Mark Green, James Fallows, and David Zwick—with an introduction by Nader.

Bantam publishers advertised the book, the cover of which portrays the Capitol dome going up in flames, as "eye-opening and urgent." To the experienced political observer *Who Runs Congress?* will be a big yawn. The "eye-openers" include such startling revelations as:

- Congress is run by elderly committee chairmen;
- Congress has largely lost control of the legislative process to the President;
- Very few citizens know the name of their congressman; and
- Lobbyists, spending millions of dollars a year, frequently influence the outcome of legislation.

To the average reader of the daily news, the information they purchase will be old. Most of the "scandal" in the book is as old as the committee chairmen against whom Nader rails. The reader is treated to a rehash of stories of errors and misrepresentations and the failure of Nader to do anything about them, are the latest sick jokes on Capitol Hill. They signal the need for readers of the profiles to view them in a critical light.

— Congressman Clarence "Bud" Brown (R-Ohio) took to the *Congressional Record* to explain an error which will appear in his profile and which is included in the book. As Congressman Brown explains it, he is cited as currently owning a radio station in his home town while at the same time serving on the communications subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Brown pointed out that he purchased the station in 1965, before his election to Congress. It was not until a year later that he was assigned to the Commerce Committee and still later to the subcommittee. Brown pointed out that he decided to sell the station but FCC regulations prohibit the sale of a station for three years after its inception. As soon as the three-year limitation expired, Brown sold the station in 1970. The Nader profile is two years out of date.

— Congressman Charles A. Mosher (R-Ohio) found a variety of errors and other cases of misrepresentation in his profile. In the chapter on staff, his administrative assistant is simply dismissed with the statement that she is an ex-airline stewardess. The administrative assistant was last a stewardess in the early 1940's. She has years of experience on Capitol Hill, including service as an assistant to three members of Congress and several committees. The implications of the profile and the facts differ.

— Congressman Pierre du Pont (R-Del.), reviewing his profile, found errors that necessitated a three-page letter. Errors included statements that the Congressman often opposed public works bills, when he was voted for all of the four public works bills considered in the 92nd Congress. The changes were sent to Nader by registered mail, and the letter was twice refused, necessitating the Congressman to personally visit one of the project directors to hand-deliver the letter.
Politics: Profile

WASHINGTON, D.C. — McGovern-watching is a partisan activity not confined to the surreptitious snooping of politicians. The Nieman Foundation's newsletter for professionals in the media has its own admission some of the trivia are explained by citing examples of some of the trivia. A stronger case against this abuse would be made by indicating the enormous cost to the taxpayer of printing the trivia.

It has to be said, however, that some of the real problems, so many examples of willful misuse of office are cited that the reader is apt to conclude that "all politicians are crooks."

And, indeed, those who have worked in Washington, and with the Congress, are well aware that Congress has at least the same percentage of "crooks" in its body as in any similar random sampling of the general population. The pity is that at a time when Americans are cynical enough about government, the book fails to give a honest balance and perspective by pointing out that there are a significant number of hardworking and honest members of Congress. The legendary liberals, heroes and interesting civil rights members may even feel that the Congress get their deserved mention — Paul N. McCloskey, Donald Riegel, Bella Abzug — but nowhere are mentioned the John Andersons, the Barbere Conables, the Gilbert Gudits, and the Bill Frenzels.

Nader has expressed the hope that the Congress Project study will arouse Americans sufficiently to demand that the public interest be served by Congress. In the preface, Congress Project director Robert Fellmeth states "the abnegation and abuse of the powers places responsibility for correction with the one group capable of guaranteeing their proper exercise, the citizenry itself."

One would presume that, since by the book's own admission some of the present problems have been around for more than a century, then the citizenry is either happy with the set of circumstances or just doesn't give a damn. Actually, the problem is that the citizenry is not a single group as Fellmeth and, presumably, Nader would have us believe. The citizenry is the sum total of the lobbyists, the businessmen, the labor unionists, and the constituents who aren't getting their Social Security payments. The Secretary of the Interior is the citizen who is the people who are causing the Congressmen to divert their attention to the non-legislative activities that the book finds troubling. Rather than inspiring the citizenry to demand a halt to these practices, it is likely that the Nader book will inspire the citizenry to realize that they are not already hounding his Congressmen for more personal service to get on the phone to do so.

In fact, the best chapter of the book is "Taking on Congress: A Primer for the Citizen," written by Edward D. Failor, Jr. In readable fashion, the chapter presents step-by-step advice for individual or collective lobbying attacks.

It is valuable that Congress has been the focus of reformist attention. Some good is bound to come from the Congress Project if only because a few congressional cages will be rattled. Whether the desired objective will be achieved, however, is highly questionable. Much will depend on the caliber and quality of the sections of the study yet to be published.

—PATRICIA GOLDMAN
• Rumors circulated in Washington after the Republican National Convention that Congressman Jack Kemp's (R-N.Y.) activities as a sponsor for the Tower-Kemp campaign, and as a Republican congressional delegate allocation formula expert, were combined by two ambitions: a desire to challenge Sen. Jacob Javits for delegate allocation in the New York congressional delegation, Kemp was sharply rebuked for his impertinence as a first-term Congressman. He has subsequently dropped his leadership ambitions.

• F. Clifton White is back in Republican presidential politics. White, director of Volunteers for Nixon-Kemp in 1960 and the chief architect of the 1964 Goldwater campaign, has been named consultant to Clark MacGregor, CRP campaign director. White, who is president of his own political consulting firm, is also president of the American Association of Political Consultants with the support of Joe Napolitan (the Democratic equivalent of White). He joins AIP director of Volunteers for Nixon-Kemp White, director of Volunteers for Nixon-Kemp of the New York Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party.

• Another former Goldwater aide, John Grenier, has been appointed "special counselor" to the Alabama CRP. Grenier, a White member of the old Young Republican Syndicate, was executive director of Volunteers for Nixon in the 1960s. As an RNC during the Goldwater campaign, and ran for the Senate in Alabama in 1966. When the rumors reached top Republican leaders in Washington, Grenier said, "I wish I could have quit."

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• Responding quickly to Sargent Shriver's asperations on pro football linemen as "thick," the Committee to Re-elect the President prepared radio transcripts from White, who has criticized players protesting their exclusion from training, marxist economic theory, and libertine ideas on drugs and sex. Oh, where did we go wrong?

• Attorney Edward Hidalgo, former special assistant to the director of the U.S. Information Agency, has been appointed chairman of the new Spanish-Speaking Corporation. The commission is to submit its product to the voters next year.

• In New York Sen. Clifford P. Case recently appointed Leslie Blu, a 72-year-old attorney, to be his campaign manager. Though Case's opponent, former Congressman Paul Krebs, was once a CIA officer in New Jersey, Case has received the endorsement of the state AFL-CIO. Krebs announced a "walking tour" of the state but it turned out to be a drive-in walking tour. Krebs drives into a town... then walks around. Case's lead is considered insurmountable.

• Patrice, Miss. Mayor Charles Evers has unexpectedly kind words for President Nixon lately. He praised some of the Administration's efforts in the field of housing and construction industry hiring, criticized the War in Vietnam and the Nixon stand on bus改革创新. He said President Nixon has pledged, if elected, not to enforce any cross-town regulations. There are indications Dole may resign after the election.

• A new RNC chairman, the conservative California Republican group, was executive director of the Republican Syndicate, was executive director of the Republican Syndicate, was executive director of the Republican Syndicate. The commission is to submit its product to the voters next year.

• In Massachusetts to aid Republican congressional candidate Howard Miller, who's running against Congressman Louise Day Hicks (D).

• Sen. William B. Sargent's September 13th press conference in Washington was notable for its candor in an election year — even from a Senator noted for his candor. Saxbe, who called the press conference primarily to criticize the Senate-passed version of the revenue-sharing bill, was also critical of the track record of both Nixon and McGovern. He said President Nixon's pledge not to raise taxes was not "altogether honest" and McGovern's proposals were "a fraud on the American people." Saxbe, who referred repeatedly to the "bunk" being cited by politicians this year, said, "I think the basic question that comes before us today is the ability to govern ourselves in this country. If we think that we can put out this kind of crap (the revenue-sharing bill) to the people and that they are going to buy it and like it — I just tremble at the thought of what is going to happen in years to come."
The Republicans are in trouble. Admittedly, the re-election of President Nixon is accepted as a foregone conclusion by everyone except George McGovern, but the state of the Republican Party is considerably dimmed by an examination of other races.

Republican governors in Illinois, Delaware, and Washington are in trouble because of their politically courageous stances on state taxing. The Republican governor of New Hampshire was defeated in a September 12 primary because of just such a stand. Other Republicans are waging strong gubernatorial battles against Democratic-held state houses in North Dakota, Missouri, and Rhode Island, but with the exception of Herbert DeSimone in Rhode Island, the races are close.

Republicans repeatedly speak of winning control of the Senate. However, Republican seats left vacant in Idaho, Kentucky and South Dakota are in jeopardy and the re-election of Senators Robert Griffin (Michigan), Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon), Howard Baker, Jr. (Tennessee) and John Tower (Texas) is not yet assured. The Republicans need to pick up five extra seats this year to win Senate control. They have possible openings in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, and Virginia but in most of these races the Democrats lead. A net GOP gain of three seats would be an accomplishment.

Republican prospects in the House are even more dismal. With the President predicted to win a landslide victory, optimistic suggestions of Republican gains usually stop at 20-25, not the 39 needed for control. With 57 incumbents retiring voluntarily or involuntarily, the GOP would seem to have its best opportunity in years for a House take-over. But a take-over is almost outside the realm of possibility. Of the 55 congressional candidates who lack an opponent in November, 44 are Democrats and all but 16 of the 55 are from the South. (The “southern strategy” has curious overtones when congressional seats continue to go Democratic by default and when the Vice President refuses to endorse a Republican senatorial candidate in Mississippi over Sen. James O. Eastland (D)).

The cooperation of the Committee to Re-elect the President could help many candidates, but thus far it has too often been given reluctantly, if at all. Congressman William S. Mailliard (R), for instance, is in a tight re-election campaign in his San Francisco district. Yet, CRP operatives initially refused to have their precinct workers carry Mailliard literature and only grudgingly agreed to aid the Mailliard operation.

The pity is that President Nixon seems unwilling to end nearly 20 years of Democratic congressional control. He has waged, through his presence and non-presence, a patriotic campaign for the preservation of his office. He has not sought a Republican Congress which might be more amenable to his policy proposals. He has not sought a Republican Congress whose committee chairmen would in many instances be more progressive than the current Southern incumbents.

Instead, the American public has been witness to a curious paradox. While the President works easily toward a predicted election triumph, ignoring the rest of the GOP ticket, Republicans across the country are scrabbling to clutch at his coattails and simultaneously pin the McGovern tail on the opposition donkey. “Four more years” has assumed an ironic meaning, for it now appears to mean four more years of Democratic congressional control — as well as four more years of a Republican presidency.

But the failure of the President to energize his party is only one of the failures of this election campaign. The strident rhetoric and bumbling operation of the McGovern campaign has been matched by an ominous silence on the issues at the White House and the spectacle of nefarious deeds by staff members at the Committee to Re-elect the President. The reports of the Watergate break-in and its related investigations have been highly unsettling, but the reports of the American electorate's complacency in accepting such purported political espionage are still more unsettling. That is perhaps the worst commentary on the state of politics: that our expectations could have fallen so low. The silence at the White House has not been comforting. Presidential Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler recently found more than a dozen ways to say “no comment” to questions on the subject. The President's silence has not been confined to allegations of political misconduct, however. He has been unwilling to take the initiative in discussing the issues and priorities on which his second term would be based. That, too, is lamentable.

Is it any wonder that the American people are bored? The caliber of political discussion this year has not been high. The caliber of political operation has been lower. Whatever the margins of a Nixon landslide, the caliber of politics is on a downside.

The order of publication of the magazine and newsletter will once again be reversed in November. The November 1 newsletter will be printed in time to bring readers last-minute campaign coverage. The November FORUM magazine will be printed after the election in order to provide a speedy analysis of the November 7 election results. Remember to mail the Reader Survey forms from the October FORUM as soon as possible.

SEN. HATFIELD TO SPEAK

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oregon) will address the Tenth Anniversary Dinner of the Ripon Society in Boston on Saturday evening, December 9.