

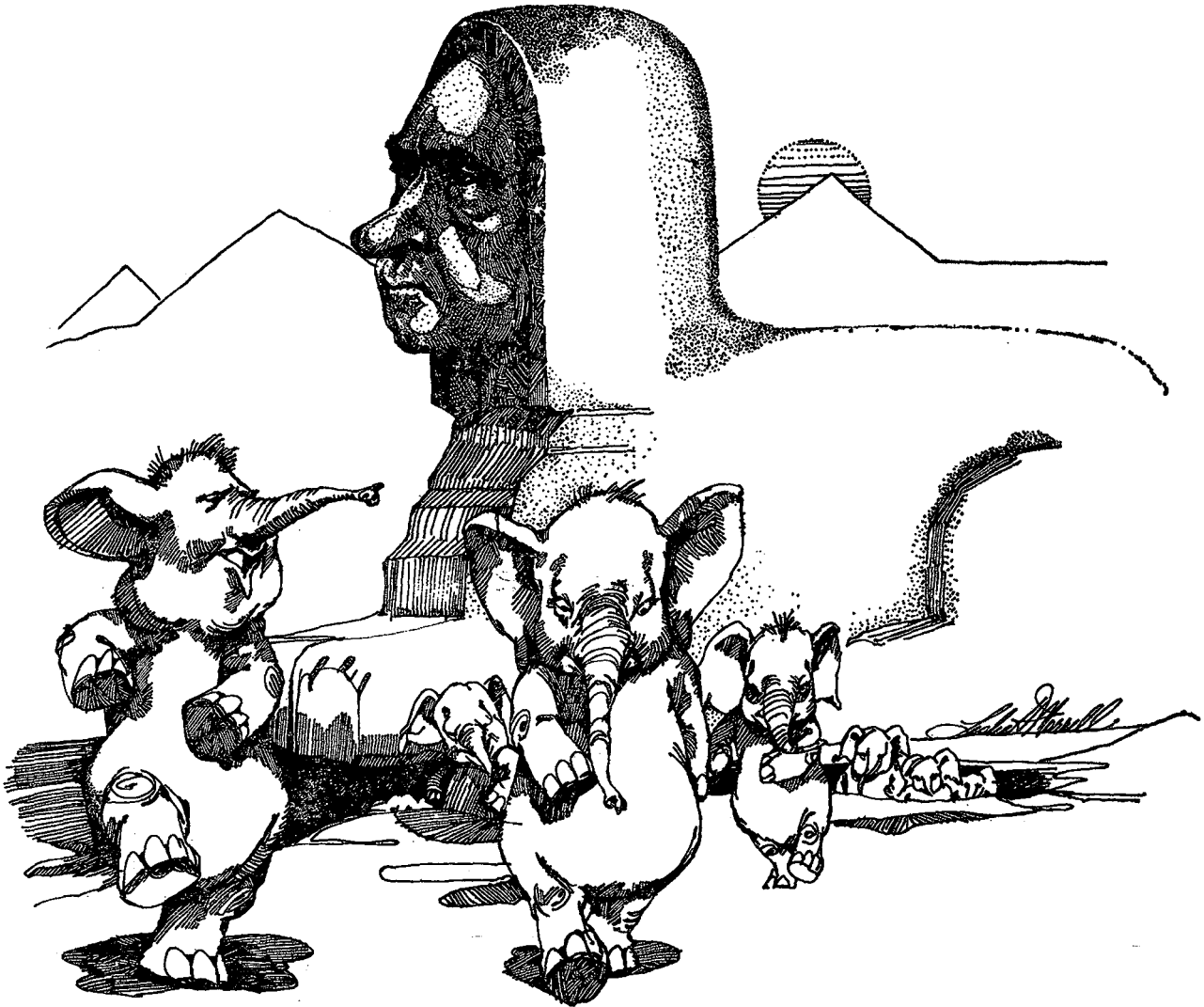
RIPON FORUM

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JUNE 1, 1974

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50 CENTS



**"IF WE FIND JERRY, MAYBE HE'LL
LEAD US TO THE PROMISED LAND"**

POLITICS: REPORTS

RULE 29

"For the first time in my life, I agree with the Ripon Society," said Mississippi GOP State Chairman Clarke Reed on April 27 before Subcommittee Four (on delegate selection of the Republican Party's Rule 29 Committee).

Reed was commenting on testimony presented by Josiah Lee Auspitz, former president of the Ripon Society. Auspitz had told the committee that rules promulgated by the Democratic National Committee were threatening to prompt significant changes in state laws which would upset Republican delegate selection procedures. Said Auspitz:

"This poses four kinds of problems for us as Republicans. First, where Democratic rules are in conflict with ours or with state law, there is a problem of legality. Second, where Democratic rules have the effect of using the delegate selection process to promote their own partisan interests, this poses a problem of Republican political strategy. Third, where their rules are badly drawn and encourage sloppy state legislation, and a frivolous presidential selection process, this poses a problem of general public policy. Fourth, since these preceding three problems call for a decisive Republican response, there is a procedural problem: By what agency can the GOP respond to the Democratic rules in between conventions?"

Auspitz was particularly critical of a Democratic rule restricting participation in the delegate selection process to "Democratic voters." "Its effect is to move state parties toward formal

two-party statewide registration and thus to lock into the Democratic Party a long-term national majority. In addition to this effect between the parties, the effect within the Democratic Party is to throw off balance the Wallace forces which in the North are heavily dependent on blue-collar independents."

To counter this trend, said Auspitz, "The GOP should oppose provisions designed to restrict voter participation in the primaries or to lock in a given faction and lock others out. It should welcome and recruit Democrats and independents into its ranks regardless of their social status, and it should press for state laws which enable it to do so. This is not merely in the current Republican interest, but in the interest of a vigorous two-party system. Parties ought to have to earn the support of their adherents. If they are responsive to their constituents, they will not need lock-in rules to maintain a captive audience."

Auspitz also pointed out that Democratic rules called for proportional representation of voter choices receiving more than 15 percent of the primary vote. This low percentage will eliminate "the role of the delegate selection process in paring down the list of serious (presidential) contenders to two or three." The result may well be the increased probability of a brokered convention.

Subsequent to Auspitz's testimony, the FORUM has found that changes in the election laws of states like Washington, Oregon, Massachusetts, Texas, and Michigan to institute statewide two-party registration (such as

Pennsylvania has now) would shift a large block of independent professional and managerial voters into Democratic primaries. Such legislation would formalize the anti-Watergate sentiments of independent voters and be a disaster for the GOP. The Mississippi GOP has already successfully blocked such legislation.

One Auspitz statement drew an annoyed response from Ray Bliss, the subcommittee chairman. Auspitz's reference to "fears of state party leadership that an increase in Republican strength will upset control of party machinery" prompted Bliss to reply that such statements were not based on fact. Indeed, said Bliss, such "bad publicity" statements had "always irritated him about Ripon."

In their testimony before Subcommittee Four, three representatives of the National Women's Political Caucus (Vice Chairs Bobbie Greene Kilberg and Audrey Colom and Treasurer Betsy Griffith Deardourff) noted that voters "are turned off by the image of the party and sense that only white, middle-aged, middle-class males are really welcome. Each of us in this hearing was probably at the 1972 convention, and we can all recall the majority composition of that delegate body. It was white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and male, which — while perhaps secure to some in its homogeneity — is not what present nor future election victories are made of. Why must we — who are women, Black, Spanish-surnamed American, native American, Asian American, ethnic-American, young or old — fight to get in the front door?" They complained that when the NWPC attempted to get a member appointed to the Rule 29 Committee, "The feeling was conveyed to us by some that we were not sufficiently a part of the party hierarchy, that somehow we

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were not 'reliable,' and that we might even be 'radical.'"

The NWPC representatives pointed out that they have never "asked for quotas and we are not asking for quotas now. We are asking that good faith and affirmative efforts be made to provide women and other under-represented groups with an equal chance to participate and compete in the party process." The NWPC presented a model affirmative action plan which would stress "educational" efforts to involve minorities in the delegate selection process.

The need for a better distribution of information on delegate selection was also stressed by Pittsburgh GOP City Committeewoman Eithne Hartnett and Common Cause official Thomas J. Mader. Said Mader, "Too often the local, state, or national party officials are the only ones who know and understand the delegate selection process. For active participation in the party, it is important that all Republicans, all citizens, are provided the necessary information about how one can become a delegate."

At the conclusion of the subcommittee meeting, Mary Louise Smith, co-chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Carla Coray, Hawaii GOP state chairman, were assigned the task of defining "endeavor" in Rule 32c: "Each state shall endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention." Such a definition would be a key element in a potential challenge to a state delegation based on Rule 32. ■

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Sen. Norris Cotton (R) is retiring this year, but the other old names will be active in Republican primaries this year: Nixon, Thomson, Wyman, Powell, etc.

It will, however, be State Senate President David Nixon (R) challenging Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R), rather than the traditional New Hampshire primary between Thomson and former Gov. Walter Peterson. The progressive Peterson, who defeated Thomson in 1970 but lost to the maverick book publisher in 1972, instead

sought and won the presidency of this year's state constitutional convention, which convened May 8.

The "issue" in the gubernatorial campaign is bound to be Thomson and his foot-in-mouth approach to the governorship. In a *Boston Globe* poll which asked voters to assess the possible performance of prospective gubernatorial candidates, 41 percent of those interviewed said Thomson would be "below average/very poor." Thomson did considerably worse than U.S. Rep. James O. Cleveland (R) in a hypothetical gubernatorial race against Manchester Mayor Sylvio DuPuis, a popular Democratic moderate. Cleveland, however, is expected to again seek re-election to his 2nd C.D. seat.

Thomson's tempests have raged throughout his gubernatorial term. They have included opposition to a gay student organization at the University of New Hampshire, investigation of tax returns of political opponents, advocacy of a coastal oil refinery to be built by Aristotle Onassis, opposition to a federal grant for a state legal aid program, a niggardly attitude toward improving scandalous facilities at the state mental hospital, and spurious attacks on welfare cheating.

In the eyes of the *Union-Leader*, however, Thomson can do no wrong. In a May 15 editorial, publisher Loeb warned, "In the coming campaign in New Hampshire, you are going to see every dirty false accusation made against Gov. Thomson that (journalists) can think of in their filthy little minds."

Loeb, whose own journalistic cleanliness has often been questioned, railed against the media as "mad with power, and like anyone with uncontrolled power, they apparently have no morals or restraint as to how to use that power." Loeb cautioned that the media was out to do the same job on Thomson as it did on Nixon, who, by the way, is a "very poor President" in Loeb's eyes.

Meanwhile David Nixon has called on Thomson to support the GOP ticket regardless of who wins the September primary.

Whether Nixon wins or loses, Democrats have a good shot at victory in November, especially if DuPuis enters

the race. Already announced for the Democratic nomination are State Senate Vice President Harry V. Spanos, a liberal Democratic representative from a Republican district, State Rep. Hugh J. Gallen, a former Democratic state chairman who is now a Democratic national committeeman, and former State Sen. Richard Leonard.

The cast of candidates for the Senate seat being vacated by Cotton appears more certain. Earlier this year it appeared that Cotton might reconsider his retirement decision at the behest of party leaders who wanted to avert a clash over his successor. Cotton did not change his mind, however, and U.S. Rep. Louis Wyman (R) has a one-on-one clash with former Gov. Wesley Powell, a perennial candidate who enjoys the blessings of *Union-Leader* publisher William Loeb. Loeb did not want Cotton to retire, partly because he detests Wyman (despite Wyman's conservative bent). The 1st C.D. congressman should have little trouble defeating Powell, despite the *Union-Leader's* diatribes. Powell was the unsuccessful 1972 Republican nominee against Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre. An aide to the Senate Appropriations Committee resigned to run for Cotton's seat but later dropped out.

So far, the Democratic candidates to succeed Cotton have been uninspiring. Dartmouth College Professor Lawrence Radway has chosen to walk around the state to promote his candidacy. Radway, a former state representative, will be opposed by former Insurance Commissioner John Durkin and Nashua engineer Carmen Chico. Manchester Mayor DuPuis is also a possible candidate for either the Senate or Wyman's House seat.

The two most prominent Republican choices for Wyman's job are both members of the Governor's Council: conservative John Bridges, son of former Sen. Styles Bridges, and moderate Robert Whalen. A former GSA official, Dave Banks, is also entered in the race. Announced Democratic candidates include Sylvia Chaplain, chairperson of the New Hampshire Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and former Manchester City Prosecutor Norman D'Amours. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● The block of progressive Republicans in the Senate may be strengthened if State Sen. Terry Miller (R-Alaska) replaces Sen. Mike Gravel (D). Gravel is probably the most vulnerable Democrat up for re-election. The number of conservative Republicans in the Senate, however, is almost sure to drop this year as a result of retirements and projected defeats.

● The vote in the House Democratic Caucus to refer the Bolling plan for House reorganization to the caucus's own reform committee almost certainly dooms the reform package this year. The anti-reform vote came on a secret ballot, allowing many Democratic members to cloak their views on the subject in anonymity. Nevertheless, the opposition to the Bolling plan was a curious coalition of House moguls such as Wayne Hays of Ohio and Wilbur Mills of Arkansas with fire-brand liberals such as Philip Burton of California and Frank Thompson of New Jersey as well as an assortment of lobbies which covered the political spectrum. The vote demonstrated the Democrats' inordinate willingness to sacrifice productivity to the protection of power bases. If the reform vote was not doomed by the unwillingness (until the last minute) of House Speaker Carl Albert to use his muscle to support the Bolling plan, then it was certainly killed by the secret ballot. The Bolling plan, which would have reorganized committee jurisdiction and provided for Republican minority committee staffing, was endorsed by the House Republican Policy Committee.

● Montana's 1st C.D., which is Democratic, is represented by a Republican: U.S. Rep. Richard G. Shoup. The 2nd C.D., which is normally Republican, is represented by a Democrat: U.S. Rep. John Melcher. Both may be vulnerable this year. Former U.S. Rep. Arnold Olsen (D), 57, is again trying to oust Shoup, but he must face a primary against two younger Democrats, aged 26 and 32. Ironically, despite his narrow margins against Olsen in the past two elections, Shoup might face a tougher race against the younger Democrats. In the 1st C.D., two Republicans, 26-year-old Sam Kitzenberg and State Sen. John McDonald, have filed against Melcher. As teetotalers, they may be able to take subtle advantage of Melcher's arrest last year on a drunk driving charge. The young Kitzenberg has portrayed himself in a Lincoln mold — perhaps to contrast himself with McDonald's relatively recent conversion to the Republican Party. McDonald's rural recognition allows him the edge, particularly in a race against Melcher, whose veterinarian background has been useful in corraling rural votes. The election may be important if Sen. Mike Mansfield (D) decides to step down in 1976 at the age of 73. In that case, Melcher might well face Gov. Thomas Judge (D) in a Senate primary with the winner contesting Attorney General Robert Woodahl (R) in the general election.

● Ohio Democrats lost no time kissing and making up after John Glenn defeated Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D) in the Ohio Senate primary. Unquestionably, Metzenbaum would have been an easier campaign target for the GOP nominee, Cleveland Mayor Ralph

Perk. Glenn will do relatively well in rural and other Republican areas which Perk could have taken for granted in a race against Metzenbaum. Former Gov. John J. Rhodes will have an even harder time against incumbent Gov. John J. Gilligan. Unknown primary opponents of both Rhodes and Perk chalked up about one third of the votes against their better-known opponents, a poor November omen for the nominees. The Republicans should still have a good opportunity to retain two congressional seats from which GOP incumbents are retiring. State Rep. Thomas N. Kindness will be the Republican candidate for U.S. Rep. Walter Powell's 8th C.D. post, and State Rep. George Mastics won the GOP nomination for U.S. Rep. William Minshall's seat from the 23rd C.D.

● Unless Vermont Republicans develop a sudden affinity for an unknown, House Speaker Walter "Peanut" Kennedy will be the Republican candidate against Gov. Thomas Salmon (D) this year. Kennedy's only opponent for the nomination is Westford farmer Harry Montague; other anticipated opponents have not materialized. Former Gov. Deane Davis (R) has reconsidered his earlier decision to endorse a primary candidate; GOP leaders' intervention in the 1972 primary was a contributing factor in Salmon's victory that year.

● Two Kentucky Republicans have created a mini-uproar in that state's politics by asserting that a "very prominent Kentucky Democrat" contacted them in early March and urged them to form a GOP gubernatorial ticket in 1975. The purpose: to block Lt. Gov. Julian Carroll, a Democrat, from winning election through a coalition of Republicans and anti-Carroll Democrats. The two Republicans, State Reps. Larry Hopkins and Raymond Overstreet, were urged by the mystery man to run for governor and lieutenant governor, respectively. Former Democratic State Chairman J. R. Miller, a political foe of Carroll, has denied that he was the mystery man.

● A recent poll conducted for the Orlando Sentinel Star showed 38 percent of the Republicans questioned favoring the renomination of Sen. Edward Gurney (R-Fla.), while 22 percent preferred U.S. Rep. Lou Frey and 21 percent Public Service Commissioner Paul Hawkins. The rest were undecided. The poll, taken before Gurney's early May indictment on failure to report over \$100,000 in campaign contributions, showed him trailing five announced Democratic candidates for his seat. Other Republicans are also now showing interest in Gurney's seat, including three Republican state legislators: State Sen. David McClain of Tampa, State Rep. R. Eugene Tubbs of Merritt Island, and State Sen. Russell Sykes of West Palm Beach. Like President Nixon, Gurney has had troubles with the press. He and newsmen engaged in a shoving and pushing contest when Gurney attended a tourism conference in Orlando shortly after the state indictment. Commenting on her son's misdemeanor indictment, Gurney's 88-year-old mother said (in Waterville, Maine where she lives): "He's a northerner, and the southerners don't like him in their business. I never wanted him to be a politician. They're a pretty rotten crowd, and I expected that something like this would happen. Politics will always be like that." Gurney's indictment was eventually dismissed.

COMMENTARY: POLITICS

Spare The Rod And Spoil The Party

by Peter Berg

Last November for the first time, more voters identified themselves as independents than as either Democrats or Republicans (according to a study based on what people said they were, rather than on misleading registration figures). America's two-party system has never been weaker.

For the GOP, state parties face an uncertain and gloomy future as they convene to endorse candidates and platforms for the fall elections. Overcoming Watergate is their chore — a thankless one — but it can be done if party leaders and activists adhere to three simple disciplines in the coming months.

These disciplines involve (1) undertaking only programs with a high likelihood of success, (2) restricting party attention to major issues, and (3) marshaling all organizational resources behind candidates who will make the maximum use of them.

Discipline 1: Likelihood of success. State parties must throw out the

"Grand Plan" in favor of one that will be successful and speedy. Grand plans only work with a million dollars, 25 full-time staffers, and an ample quota of time. In Massachusetts, the GOP State Committee has a healthy debt, employs two people, and has a critical election in five months. More imperative than a Grand Plan are one or two successful programs, no matter how modest, which will inject party members with a little hope and enthusiasm. Modest plans are more likely to be successful, and success is contagious.

Volunteers who participate in one successful program probably will work on another. For example, the Massachusetts GOP Platform Committee for this June's convention embarked on statewide hearings more than a year ago. The results may be controversial and are certainly modest, but the GOP will adopt a platform which has excited participating volunteers like Ripon members Robert Stewart and Martha Reardon.

In comparison, the failure of the ambitious statewide Legislative Unity Walk this spring left a residue of despair. The necessary volunteer enthusiasm for door-to-door canvassing simply could not be realized.

Discipline 2: Major Problem areas only. State parties across the country are vainly tearing themselves apart over issues such as abortion, busing, gun control, the death penalty, welfare fraud, marijuana, and pornography. Bitter intra-party fighting continues despite the impossibility of partisan consensus on these issues and the growing public impatience with leaders who use them as a smokescreen to obscure more serious social issues.

Parties are in disfavor because they have avoided commitment to major social problems. Unemployment as high as 12 percent persists in several Massachusetts cities and if it were reduced, benefits (over and above employment) would be felt in the areas of crime prevention, welfare, alcoholism, and racial equality. Similarly, state spending has not been controlled with a resulting loss of private-sector jobs, lower quality of state services, and additional hardships for inflation-plagued taxpayers. Yet, neither Massachusetts political party has indicated more than a token interest in curing either un-

employment or spending problems.

Consequently, the public no longer looks for help from political parties. Many Republicans feverishly backed a bitter campaign in 1972 to defeat a graduated income tax. Although they won the referendum, they won nothing for the party. The same party leaders ignored two Republican governors' plans to reorganize state government to make it more effective and efficient. They lost the issue and an opportunity to demonstrate their party's competence to a doubting public.

Discipline 3: Organize for candidates where resources count most. Chances are that the efforts of one volunteer will have more impact on the outcome of a state legislative race than the same effort in a statewide contest. Moreover, party strength is determined by the number of its lower-level office holders. Thus, if a state party finds itself outnumbered in the legislature, that is where the thrust of its presumably finite resources should be directed. The Arkansas GOP has slowly learned this painful lesson in its post-Rockefeller era. Similarly in Massachusetts, agreement finally seems to exist on the critical importance of legislative races. This development in large part is due to House Minority Leader Frank Hatch, who in 1972 organized a program to assist House candidates in "winnable" seats. The plans were modest, well-conceived and successful within their intended scope, thereby creating enthusiasm for the same program this year. The fault for the GOP's 1972 loss of seats was not Hatch's, but that of the state GOP organizations (other than the Women's Federation and Ripon) that decided to let Hatch's "supplementary" funding, research, and campaign consultant serve the entire slate of candidates.

1974, of necessity, will be a building year for the entire Republican Party. After the 1972 championship and the ensuing disastrous political season, little more can be expected. Getting the GOP team back in shape will take discipline if the morale and enthusiasm of party workers is to be lifted. Simultaneously, the "three disciplines" will help rebuild the party's image in the minds of voters who have abandoned the GOP as a "losing" team. ■

COMMENTARY: CONGRESS

An Exercise Program For Congress

by Jacob Javits

As the presidential figure grows in grandeur, the congressional presence diminishes even in its vision of itself. The Republic takes on the trappings of empire, and the senators pay court to the great elected Caesar. It is time to temper the drama; it is time for the interaction of equals.

I propose that a series of measures be considered as an overall legislative design to make Congress do the work it is obligated to do and to assure that the executive branch is responsive to its constitutional obligations and also to the restrictions imposed on it by that Constitution. I propose that Congress reestablish itself as a truly coordinate branch of the United States government.

Before this session of Congress adjourns, I shall introduce with other senators legislation designed to assure the reform of national institutions: a National Institutions Act to assure that Congress takes the initiative in establishing the legislative needs of the country; that the President and his agents are encouraged to see to their constitutional obligations "that the laws be faithfully executed;" and that executive accountability for that execution

of the laws is rendered into reality. I propose:

(1) that the President of the United States shall report annually to Congress on the steps he has taken to implement laws and resolutions passed by Congress during its last session; that he and the heads of the executive departments — the secretaries of the Cabinet — shall respond to questions proffered by a Joint Select Committee chosen by both houses of the Congress.

(1) That the President of the United of Representatives reply on behalf of Congress, in an equivalent joint session, to the President's State of the Union message with a congressional State of the Union message; that such reply be based on a congressional resolution that is to include a congressional assessment of legislative priorities and a statement of intent as to the manner in which Congress will deal with those priorities; that such reply include congressional recommendations to the President as to which action he might take to deal with the specific national agenda recommended by Congress.

(3) That Congress shall vote itself "satisfied" or "unsatisfied" with regard to executive action in implementing the laws passed by Congress, that a vote of "unsatisfied" shall be accompanied by a resolution directing such steps as are necessary to comply with congressional design.

(4) That Congress establish by law legislative liaison oversight offices within each congressional committee to serve as a continuing link with the executive department or offices over which the committee has legislative oversight, analogous to the liaison offices of the respective government departments with the Congress. These new offices will implement congressional intent as to legislation passed by Congress and will serve as the relevant committee's arm in its efforts to see that such legislation is effectively transmuted into functioning law and regulation.

(5) That each house of Congress strengthen its rules so as to require a complete disclosure of the financial assets and liabilities of each member and candidate for membership in the Congress as well as income tax in-

formation relevant to the public business. In addition, the same disclosure rules should apply to the President and Vice President and candidates for those offices; that each house clarify its rules on the use of material affecting national security; that Congress itself enact legislation to define with precision the term "national security" and set standards for the classification and declassification of government documents.

(6) That Congress strengthen the Freedom of Information Act to encourage a more complete disclosure and *dissemination* of all information relating to government activity that is not circumscribed by new guidelines embracing precisely defined consideration of national security.

(7) That Congress prohibit the use of electronic surveillance, prohibit *all* wiretaps without court order; that Congress protect the right of privacy, so cherished by Americans, which has recently been threatened by the increased use of computers, data banks, and the exchange of confidential information within the government.

I am fully aware that these proposals are far-reaching and controversial. They comprise the very essentials of the way we govern ourselves; but I believe that now is the time to concern ourselves with essentials.

Some will note the element of risk: that the ultimate effect of these measures will be determined only by long application. I believe that we are about to celebrate two hundred years of risk-taking on behalf of great achievement and that the strengthening of the republic is worthy of risk.

Others will contend that these proposals appear to shift the balance of governmental power from the presidency to the Congress. I believe, however, that these measures only restore the constitutional process to that state in which they were intended to function, and that if we are to survive and prosper as a republic, Congress must reassume its role as a coequal branch of government. By reforming our institutions today we shall save them tomorrow.

In his recent book, *The Anguish of Change*, public opinion analyst Loui Harris wrote that "the public is far more sophisticated, far more concerned, and far more advanced, than the

leadership believed." Harris said that although "there were those who admitted no flaws in the system . . . the shape of the future deeply concerned and would be shaped by the 85 percent who wanted desperately to find orderly change. The changes they wanted were not always clearly spelled out. It was always easier to say what was wrong than how to right it. People were convinced, however, that change could be found."

I believe that Lou Harris is right about the sophistication and the concern of the American people, and I believe that the American people are right about the need for orderly change. Let us begin to make those changes in the way we govern ourselves. Let us begin to build for the future—now. ■

CONTRIBUTORS

Peter Berg ("Spare the Rod and Spoil the Party") is president of the Boston-Cambridge Chapter. The article by Sen. Jacob Javits ("An Exercise Program for Congress") is excerpted from a speech he delivered April 27 to a conference sponsored by the New York Ripon Chapter.



DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Tax Aid to the Poor — Reconsidered," by Richard P. Nathan. *Wall Street Journal*, April 24, 1974. ". . . regardless of politics, an NIT (Negative Income Tax) is the wrong social policy in 1974 for anyone sincerely interested in helping the poor," argues Nathan, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who was an active proponent of the ill-fated Family Assistance Plan. One reason, says Nathan, is because the federal food stamp program is "the single most important welfare change in America since the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935. Food stamps today provide more aid to working poor families than they would have received had President Nixon's Family Assistance Plan been enacted in 1972 when it died in the 92nd Congress." On top of the political difficulties of enacting an NIT at this time, argues Nathan, an "incremental strategy" of attacking welfare problems would probably be more productive. Such a strategy would include expanded unemployment insurance, national AFDC benefit levels, and more jobs for unemployed heads of families.

● "Dunn Refuses To Sign Paper To Ax ERA." *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, May 3, 1974. It doesn't affect the outcome, but Gov. Winfield Dunn has refused to sign a resolution withdrawing the Tennessee Legislature's ratification of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment for women. An aide indicated Thursday the governor would have vetoed the rescission measure if he could. Two years ago, Dunn signed Tennessee's resolution to ratify the proposed 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. He returned the 1974 resolution to rescind the ratification unsigned to Secretary of State Joe C. Carr. Although Nebraska has also rescinded approval of the ERA Amendment, the actions of the two states are of questionable legality. Approval of five more states is still required to ratify the Amendment.

● "Dem List Rates Who's Naughty And Nice," by Fred Hillman. *Newark Star-Ledger*, May 5, 1974. "New Jersey Democrats apparently are determined to make President Nixon the central issue in their campaign to unseat Republican congressional incumbents this year, whatever the status of the President may be by November. To that end, the Democratic State Committee is in the final stages of preparing a detailed, first-of-its-kind research package on the Nixon record for Democratic candidates who will be running against the six incumbent congressmen in New Jersey — Hunt, Sandman, Forsythe, Widnall, Rinaldo, and Maraziti. Put simply, the thrust of the package is to wed those incumbents as tightly as they can be with Nixon policies over the past eight years — not so much on the question of Watergate but on the old standby 'bread-and-butter' issues the Democrats feel are still their strongest suit this year."

● "The New Federalism: Can the States Be Trusted?" by Daniel J. Elazar. *The Public Interest*, Spring, 1974. Reviewing criticism of the New Federalism and renewed local self-government, Elazar concludes, "It is not a question of whether the federal government shall abdicate its role in domestic policy; that would be as impossible as it is undesirable. The growing demand of Americans today is rather that the federal role be adjusted to accommodate the goal of local self-determination . . . I do not doubt, that, some places, greater local responsibility for making and administering public policy will engender results that liberals and persons whose concern for a particular program is unmodified by other interests will find disagreeable. In other places, the result will be just as disturbing to conservatives and to those whose opposition to particular programs is untempered by any other interests. This is the price of democracy . . . Today there is no justification for thinking that the states and localities, either in principle or in practice, are less able to do the job than the federal government. In fact, there is some reason to believe that, even with their weaknesses, they will prove better able to restore public confidence in America's political institutions."

BUST THE TRUST

BOSTON — When the FORUM first published the "Bust the Candidate Trust Poll," it may have omitted one name — Elliot Richardson's — which should have been included on the original list of Trust members (which included Howard Baker, Jr., John Connally, Gerald Ford, Charles Percy, Ronald Reagan, and Nelson Rockefeller). After the results were tabulated for the first round of balloting in the poll, former Attorney General Richardson clearly led with 60 ballots from 100 voters.

The purpose of the poll, however, was to encourage consideration of Republican presidential possibilities who have been ignored in most national media analysis. Perhaps more important than the individual vote tallies were the number of names submitted by FORUM readers. Over 80 names were suggested (see below). It is significant that readers concentrated on politicians; there were few votes for prominent businessmen or intellectuals. Only two women — White House Counselor Anne Armstrong (2) and U.S. Rep. Margaret Heckler (1)—received votes. High tallying Republicans included Illinois U.S. Rep. John Anderson (27); Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke (28); Washington Gov. Daniel Evans (19); Oregon Sen. Mark Hatfield (21); Oregon Gov. Tom McCall (22); Maryland Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (23); California U.S. Rep. Pete McCloskey (17); and former Environmental Protection Administrator William Ruckelshaus (10). Since "Breaking Up the Candidate Monopoly" was published in the February FORUM, additional articles on the idea have been published by the *Christian Science Monitor's* Roscoe Drummond, the *Wall Street Journal's* Allan Otten, and *Nation Magazine*.

- 1 Robert O. Anderson, chairman of ARCO
- 1 U.S. Rep. John Ashbrook (Ohio)
- 1 State Sen. Peter Behr (California)
- 4 Gov. Christopher "Kit" Bond (Missouri)
- 2 Kingman Brewster, president of Yale
- 1 Sen. Bill Brock (Tennessee)
- 5 Sen. James Buckley (New York)
- 2 George Bush, RNC chairman
- 1 Gov. Carlos Camacho (Guam)
- 3 Sen. Clifford Case (New Jersey)
- 1 U.S. Rep. Barber Conable (New York)
- 2 U.S. Rep. Silvio Conte (Massachusetts)
- 1 Walter Cronkite, CBS anchorman
- 1 Atty. Gen. John Danforth (Missouri)
- 1 Sen. Bob Dole (Kansas)
- 5 Gov. Winfield Dunn (Tennessee)
- 1 William Eberle, presidential trade adviser
- 3 State Controller Houston Flournoy (California)
- 1 Henry Ford, chairman of Ford
- 3 U.S. Rep. William Frenzel (Minnesota)
- 1 Charles Goodell, former New York senator
- 1 Sen. Robert Griffin (Michigan)
- 2 U.S. Rep. John Heinz III (Pennsylvania)
- 4 Walter Hickel, former secretary of the interior
- 1 Gov. James Holshouser (North Carolina)
- 8 Linwood Holton, former Virginia governor
- 5 Sen. Jacob Javits (New York)
- 1 U.S. Rep. Jack Kemp (New York)
- 2 Secretary of State Henry Kissinger

- 1 Edward Land, founder of Polaroid
- 1 George C. Lodge, Harvard Business School Professor
- 1 Clarence Long unidentified
- 1 John Love, former Colorado governor
- 3 Mayor Richard Lugar (Indianapolis)
- 1 Malcolm McLane, former mayor of Concord, New Hampshire
- 1 U.S. Rep. Richard Mallary (Vermont)
- 2 Gov. Thomas Meskill (Connecticut)
- 1 J. Irwin Miller, industrialist
- 8 Gov. William Milliken (Michigan)
- 1 Rogers C. B. Morton (Interior Secretary)
- 1 Ralph Nader, all-purpose consumer-person
- 2 Richard Ogilvie, former Illinois governor
- 8 Sen. Robert Packwood (Oregon)
- 2 Robert Pennoyer, New York lawyer
- 1 Russell Petersen, former commerce secretary
- 2 Russell Peterson, chairman, Council on Environmental Quality
- 2 U.S. Rep. Albert Quie (Minnesota)
- 2 U.S. Rep. Thomas Railsback (Illinois)
- 1 U.S. Rep. John J. Rhodes (Arizona)
- 5 Gov. Robert Ray (Iowa)
- 1 David Rockefeller, chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank
- 2 Gov. Francis Sargent (Massachusetts)
- 1 Attorney General William Saxbe
- 1 George Schultz, former secretary of treasury
- 1 Robert Simpson, chairman of Consumer Product Safety Commission
- 6 Sen. Richard Schweiker (Pennsylvania)
- 3 William Scranton, former governor of Pennsylvania
- 1 Perry Swisher, former Pocatello, Idaho city councilman
- 1 Sen. Robert Taft (Ohio)
- 2 U.S. Atty. James Thompson (Illinois)
- 2 Gov. Meldrim Thomson (New Hampshire)
- 2 Sen. Strom Thurmond (South Carolina)
- 3 U.S. Atty. Richard Thornburgh (Pennsylvania)
- 2 Sen. John Tower (Texas)
- 2 Russell Train, administrator Environmental Protection
- 5 Sen. Lowell Weicker (Connecticut)
- 1 U.S. Rep. Charles Whalen (Ohio)
- 1 U.S. Rep. William Whitehurst (Virginia)
- 1 U.S. Rep. Edward Young (South Carolina)

•MARGIN RELEASE

BREED'S HILL — Recently, the brother of Leggie, my former friend the juvenile delinquent, made the newspapers. Not the *New York Times* yet, but since Leggie's brother is only 14, he still has time to develop his brother's precocious notoriety.

Leggie's brother, who shall be called "Smiley" since his smile occupies fully one-half his face, had been apprehended by the local police and charged with auto theft. It is sort of a family tradition. Anyway, Smiley was duly incarcerated in the local juvenile detention center (from which at gunpoint, you may remember, Leggie was once charged with rescuing his girlfriend).

And so, Smiley escaped. The local newspaper heralded his exploit as indicative of the growth of a sibling custom.

Well, Leggie never approved of mischief by members of his family and wrote his brother from prison: "Man, when I heard you escaped, I was tempted to break out of here and beat your (expletive deleted)."

Smiley was skeptical. "(Expletive deleted). If he knew how to break out of there, he'd be out by now."

And so the President keeps telling us that he's going to get Watergate behind us. He doesn't approve of the country wallowing in Watergate. It is hard to escape the notion, however, that, "If he knew how to break out of there, he'd be out by now." db

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