

RIPON FORUM

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ONE DOLLAR

The Evils of Centralization ...



And How to Restore an Integrated Federalism

- **Why Decentralize?**
- **Con-Cons and Republicans**
- **Reorganizing State Government**
- **OEO and Regionalization**

Patricia M. Lines
Charles W. Dunn
Russell W. Peterson
Howard Gillette, Jr.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Is the Administration suffering from the King Canute syndrome?; a boost for Common Cause; and adieu Walter J. Hickel. —3

POLITICAL NOTES

Reports on presidential trial heats; the Traitorous Eight and the Goodell precedent; a detailed analysis of the election disaster in Illinois — the worst Republican showing since 1936; plus notes on Iowa, Kentucky, California and Oregon. —4

WASHINGTON VIEWPOINT

Howard Gillette, Jr. recounts the attempted politicalization of OEO and its legal Services Program; regionalization has at least temporarily been defeated and Lenzner and Jones vindicated, but the program still is in danger of losing its independence of action. —9

CON-CONS AND REPUBLICANS

On December 15, voters in Illinois approved by an overwhelming margin a new state constitution. Charles W. Dunn finds the 1970 document an improvement over its 1870 predecessor, but warns that open constitutional conventions are hit-or-miss affairs, hardly the ideal method for achieving meaningful reform of state and local government. Constructive Republicans, who are interested in better and more responsive and not just "less" government, should add Mr. Dunn's proposals for structural reform to their arsenal of "new federalism" programs. —10

WHY DECENTRALIZE?

Patricia M. Lines makes the case for strengthening small, local, community - oriented governments — for redistributing political power in the nation. Americans need this redistribution for freedom, for a sense of community and for stability. Members of the GOP, the traditional party of government by the people, should update their traditions and become "Urban Jeffersonians," and ally themselves with those urging "power to the people."

(Miss Lines would like to inform FORUM readers that a more detailed text with footnotes can be made available to anyone willing to pay xerox and mailing costs.) —15

GUEST EDITORIAL — REORGANIZING STATE GOVERNMENT

Governor Russell W. Peterson of Delaware gives some nuts and bolts advice on the advantages of a cabinet versus a commission form of government. —23

THE BALANCE SHEET — FOLEY'S LAW REVISITED

MIT economics professor Duncan Foley reexamines the relationship between unemployment and the number of Republicans elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in light of the 1970 elections. —24

REPORT ON A WORKER — STUDENT PROJECT

Can a "hardhat" find the least common ground with with a "radiclib" student? During the GM strike the Alliance for Labor Action sponsored a number of worker-student confrontations. Carl Wagner reports that these sessions punctured a lot of stereotypes and proved that a student-labor alliance is not so impossible as the media might make us think. —25

PUBLICATIONS PAGE

—26

14A ELIOT STREET

—27

MAKE YOUR OWN AGNEW SPEECH

—28

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EDITORIAL

THE KING CANUTE SYNDROME

In the weeks after the election, the task fell to Robert Finch to refute the nattering nabobs of negativism in the party and the press.

Mr. Finch pooh-poohed critics who dwelt on electoral danger signals in Illinois, California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, Florida, Wisconsin, and Ohio as suffering from a "Chicken Little syndrome." In the new House of Representatives, he said, the President would have "ideological control with yardage to spare;" in the Senate he would have a "working majority." Moreover, the President himself in a post-election meeting with his Cabinet and staff had assured all doubters that by 1972 the war would be over, inflation checked and prosperity assured. "The Republican Party," Mr. Finch reported on the highest authority, "will run on the Peace and Prosperity Issues."

If the White House's critics — and they now appear to include professional Republican campaign consultants, state chairmen, governors and national committeemen — suffer from a Chicken Little syndrome, it would appear that the White House suffers from a King Canute syndrome, from a belief that merely by uttering words the President can order basic realities to disappear. Unfortunately, on questions of peace and prosperity, there exist decision-makers who are beyond even the control of the White House.

The North Vietnamese are not going to give up their plan to dominate Indochina merely to aid Mr. Nixon's reelection chances. And nothing Mr. Nixon says can alter the basically unsatisfactory situation of the economy, in which improvements in unemployment must be purchased at the cost of higher inflation, balance of payments difficulties and a lessening of international confidence in a over-valued dollar.

The economy and the war, however unsatisfactory, are not themselves sufficient to defeat Mr. Nixon. Only he can do that, by exuding pollyannaish statements that will be used against him later. The President seems increasingly out of touch with realities in the large industrial states that he needs for reelection, increasingly remote from the country's thirst for a unifying national vision.

COMMON CAUSE

The kind of vision that Republicans should be giving to the American people is exemplified in Common Cause, John Gardner's new citizen lobby. Gardner, a registered Republican, has written persuasively of the need to reform the institutions of American government, to restore confidence in

ourselves and our traditions, and to find decentralizing devices to tap the creative energies of the American people.

The articles in this issue of the FORUM — on decentralization, constitutional conventions and reorganization of state government — reflect the spirit of institutional craftsmanship that Gardner has come to represent.

Common Cause is not, as some have maintained, a nascent third party or a Gardner-for-President operation; it is simply a movement to lobby for reform issues in the same way that oil companies lobby for their various tax and import shelters and right-wing groups lobby for turning the clock back. It will probably surpass a membership of 200,000 and a budget of \$2 million this year. In its first weeks of operation it proved useful to the Nixon administration in getting a number of previously hostile Democratic Senators to support the President's welfare reform.

Members of the Ripon Society have already been active in helping to launch Common Cause (2100 M St., N.W. Washington, D.C.). For Republicans who want to reform American government and their party, membership in Common Cause is a good investment.

WALTER J. HICKEL

The President's firing of Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel was understandable as far it went; while Hickel has done a superb job in his post, he forgot to check his conscience at the door. There was accordingly an erosion of confidence between him and the President which gave Mr. Nixon every right to fire him.

What is less excusable, however, was the abrupt dismissal of a number of other high Interior officials, notably Dr. Leslie L. Glasgow, Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife, Parks, and Marine. Moreover, the decision to halt Mr. Hickel's ban of billboards on Federal highways, embargo on whale imports, and oil leakage policy, suggest that when the President said that the time to act on the environment was "literally now or never," he had decided to opt for never.

Mr. Hickel's successor, Representative Rogers C. B. Morton of Maryland, carries great personal energy and a spotty voting record on environmental issues with him to the Interior Department. If anything, the Hickel appointment suggests the fallibility of prejudging nominees, and we wish Mr. Morton success in his first task — to convince ecologists that the Administration has not coupled the Hickel firing with a retreat on saving the environment.

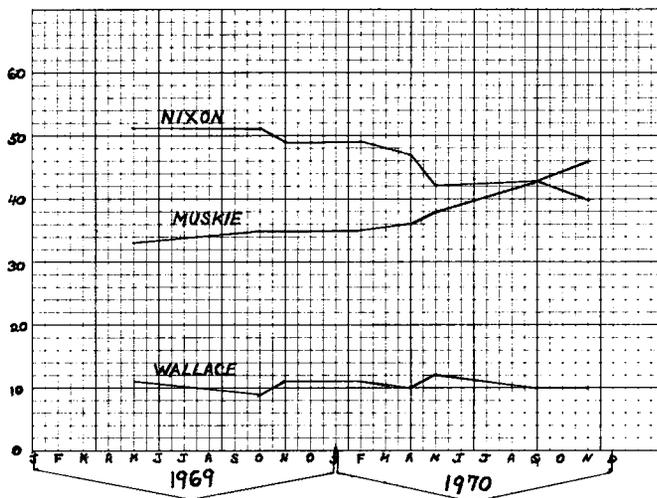
Political Notes

THE NATION: presidential popularity, purges and primaries

For those who believe that Edmund Muskie's rise as a strong presidential contender to Richard Nixon has been meteoric — and will plunge quickly, once exposed, as George Romney did, the Louis Harris poll of November 30th provides a different picture. Since Nixon became President, Muskie has been slowly and steadily gaining on Nixon until the Senator from Maine finally moved ahead of the President in Harris' November trial heat. Displaying the Harris data graphically is certainly worth the proverbial thousand words.

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS

(as reported by the Harris poll of November 30, 1970)



Date	Nixon %	Muskie %	Wallace %
May 1969	51	33	11
Oct. 1969	51	35	9
Nov. 1969	49	35	11
Feb. 1970	49	35	11
April 1970	47	36	10
May 1970	42	38	12
Sept. 1970	43	43	10
Nov. 1970	40	46	10

* * *

Four of the "Traitorous Eight" are up for reelection in 1972 and it will be significant to see how the White House responds to their candidacies. Of further interest is whether the collection of moderate GOP Senators will be able to band together to insure that Chotiner, Dent and Colson can't go around organizing and supporting primary challenges from the right.

In Massachusetts, Ed Brooke is probably immune from White House meddling. This past summer the

Boston Globe poll showed Brooke with a higher favorability rating than either popular GOP Governor Francis W. Sargent or Senator Edward Kennedy, both of whom just won reelection by substantial margins. Brooke can ride out any primary challenge — even one coordinated from the White House — and still have enough left to defeat both a Democratic challenger and a candidate from the rumored Massachusetts conservative party in November.

Senators Clifford Case of New Jersey and Charles Percy of Illinois do not have it as easy, however. Though both are popular with the electorate at large, they could be vulnerable in the GOP primary to a right-wing candidate, particularly one supported by the White House. Indeed, in Illinois, Congressman Philip Crane could easily challenge Percy and — given the precedent in New York this past autumn — benevolent neutrality by the White House would quickly be interpreted as preference for Crane.

Yet both Illinois and New Jersey are important battleground states that Nixon won in 1968 and which he will need to carry in 1972. In both states the GOP ticket will appeal to elements of the electorate currently beyond the President's reach if progressive incumbent Senators are also on the ballot. Thus the President's self-interest of broadening his base would be best served by suppressing any primary challenge to either Percy or Case.

Remaining is Mark Hatfield, of Oregon, a state Nixon carried in 1968, though the White House might decide that Oregon's six electoral votes can be written off — or at least risked in an effort to keep other renegade Republican Senators in line. An attempt to purge Hatfield (while ensuring Percy, Case and Brooke no primary opposition), could splinter moderate Republican ranks. Surely Percy would be hard put to come to Hatfield's aid if he knew it would only result in primary opposition back home in Illinois.

Republican progressives have never developed an adequate response to the divide-and-conquer technique. The question is whether they have learned anything from the purging of Charles Goodell. What the White House does about the candidacies of Brooke, Case, Percy and Hatfield — and how their Wednesday Club colleagues in the Senate respond — will illuminate significantly the strength of the liberal wing of the Republican party.

* * *

The Republican National Committee is receiving a surprising number of letters complaining about the firing of former Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel. More significant is the fact that a large proportion of the letters also indicate concern with the rather inconsiderate and undiplomatic method used to fire Hickel's aides. Obviously, the heavy-handed techniques have not helped to improve the White House's image.

ILLINOIS: anatomy of a landslide

Illinois, like Gaul, is divided into three parts — Chicago, with 31 percent of the population and 29 percent of the voters; suburban Cook and five surrounding counties with 33 percent of the voters and population; and downstate Illinois with 36 percent of the population and 38 percent of the voters. Based on the six post-war presidential elections, with adjustments

for population shifts, the state is about 52.3 percent Republican. Very roughly, Republicans usually, come out with about 35 percent of the vote in Chicago, 64 percent in the suburbs and 55 percent downstate.

In 1970, the big losers who dragged down the whole ticket were Ralph Smith, Ray Page and Joe Woods. Smith lost not only Chicago by an unprecedented amount (73.3 to 26.7 percent) but downstate Illinois and suburban Cook County — the only Republican to lose either this year. No Republican, even Goldwater, ever lost suburban Cook County, and he is the only one ever to lose downstate. The next big loser, Ray Page, State Superintendent of Public Education, is well known downstate and was considered a shoo-in, even by the Democrats. Their candidate was a young professor named Michael Bakalis, who had never run for office.

But Page was accused of slush funds in his office, irregular if not dishonest purchasing procedures, and improper use of state funds for "politicking." He lost by a resounding 474,000 votes. (Smith lost by 545,000.) The other big loser was Joe Woods. With a huge campaign fund he ran a dismal last among Cook County Republican candidates and lost by 475,000.

As a result of the election, Illinois is the most closely divided major state in the country. Each party controls one Senator, 12 Congressmen and four state offices; the Democrats got a tie in the state Senate (with a Democratic Lieutenant Governor to break it) and a majority of the state Supreme Court. Every Republican state-wide and Cook county candidate lost. At the county level, the hard line mentioned in the November FORUM had a curious reverse effect: 28 Republican sheriffs lost, the biggest-ever turnover of county offices. In McHenry county a Democrat elected sheriff became the first so chosen since 1864.

Right-wing Republicans did badly. Six Chicago state senators who are vociferous opponents of civil rights legislation were all defeated by margins ranging from four to 16 thousand votes. Robert Friedlander, a moderate Republican running for state senator on the Near South Side of Chicago ran 18,000 votes ahead of Smith and Woods, but lost by 2,000. Philip Crane, an ultraconservative Congressman from the North Shore district, the highest income district in the country, won with 55 percent of the vote. His predecessor, Donald Rumsfeld, got over 70 percent in his last two races. And Phyllis Schlafly, author of Goldwater's bible, *A Choice, Not An Echo*, lost in the 23rd district almost as badly as Smith.

Some other aspects of the election are worth noting. Knee-jerk ethnic voting seemed less of a factor than in previous elections, though Stevenson's landslide made it difficult to isolate any single factor. For example, Richard Elrod, who squaked through to win the Sheriff's office by 10,000 votes, ran last on the Democratic ticket in Jewish precincts as elsewhere. Polish and Italian candidates also failed to pace their tickets by much on their own ethnic turf. Another development was an indication of a big increase in split tickets in Cook County. One can roughly measure split ticket voting by calculating the difference in plurality between the big Republican winner (in 1970 this was Carey who lost by 10,000 votes) against the big Democratic winner (in this case, Stevenson, whose plurality was 533,000 votes). If Stevenson won by 533,000, it follows that his opponent lost by the same margin. So the difference between the two Republicans is 523,000

or 28.7 percent of the votes cast. The same calculation, with roughly the same total vote, gives figures of only 15 percent in 1962 and 19 percent in 1966.

It is very difficult to assess the effect of the numerous trips President Nixon and Vice President Agnew made to Illinois. The *Sun-Times* poll showed a precipitous drop for Smith during the last week-end of the campaign, after two weeks of small gains. To give an idea of the landslide that occurred in spite of (or perhaps because of) their intervention, the author checked every county (102 of them), 30 suburban townships and all 50 Chicago wards against the Percy and Dirksen Senate votes, Stevenson's own 1966 vote and the Humphrey-Nixon vote. Even in Wallace precincts — he carried a few in Chicago — Smith ran badly, faring little better than Nixon in 1968. He ran worst (relative to Percy) in Negro precincts and high income white precincts like New Trier township, where he was the first Republican loser of all time (Percy carried it 3-1). The only county where Smith did significantly better than Nixon and Rowe (Stevenson's opponent) was Alexander. This county had the highest Wallace vote, the highest percent on welfare, and probably the worst race relations in the country. Cairo, the only town, is the scene of almost daily warfare between blacks and whites.

Another aspect which was measured roughly, is the effect of the Daley machine on the outcome. There was a differential of only 2.2 percent between the *Sun-Times* poll and actual result — or 49,000 votes — less than one-tenth Smith's losing margin. Outside of a few wards which are very heterogeneous and fluctuated widely both ways, the ward results were remarkably accurate except in seven. These seven were white, machine wards, all bordering the black belt and into which Negroes are moving. Here, Stevenson got 69 percent in the poll and 83.6 percent in the election. (These wards are 1, 14, 22, 25, 26, 31, 32). The Negro vote was 94 or 95 percent for Stevenson in both the poll and the election. In contrast Percy got 34 percent of the Negro vote in the poll and only 18 percent in the elections (when the machine flexed its muscles Percy's city-wide total was down 5.5 percent from the poll). The hard-core Smith Negro vote represented less than one-third of Percy's.

The Republicans got one big break during the campaign, but didn't capitalize on it. P. J. Cullerton, the Democratic assessor, running at the top of the county ticket for his fourth term, was accused by the *Chicago Daily News* of widespread favoritism and impropriety in office. The articles brought out a pattern of particularly low assessments for the politically well-connected and four huge developers (Arthur Rubloff, Jerrold Wexler, Charles Swibel, and John Mack) who were all "Real Estate Men For Cullerton."

Cullerton also peddled stock in a high-risk, 3.5 million dollar development to businessmen dependent on his office. Cullerton was dropped from being listed on the top of the ticket and might have been defeated except for help from the *Chicago Tribune*. The *Tribune* said of his opponent, Benjamin Adamowski, "A renegade Democrat and an opportunist whose record over the years (as State's Attorney, etc.) has been spotty to say the least."

The *Tribune* had this comment on the election: "The Republican Party has suffered its greatest defeat since the Roosevelt years of the Great Depression. Voters want ideas, not canned commercials." (To its

credit WGN-TV owned by the Tribune refused any political broadcasts less than five minutes.)

An example of the sort of commercials accepted by the other stations was this gem for Joe Woods:

A picture of an abandoned car with rats running through it flashes on the TV screen. "Look at that George, another abandoned car. Yeah, they're a real health hazard. Kids play in them and rats breed in them. You'd think somebody'd do somethin' about them. Well it's the County Board's job!" Now the Cook County Sheriff strides onto camera and says, "I'm Joe Woods. Elect me president of the County Board and I'll do somethin' about abandoned cars." (It turns out that derelict cars were the Sheriff's job.)

This commercial for Republican Joe Woods (and many more for former U.S. Senator Ralph Smith) were principally paid for by W. Clement Stone, whose family's net worth is estimated (by him) at \$400 million.

The primary reasons for the Republican debacle were weak candidates who headed the ticket and the campaign of smear and innuendo they waged. Woods, Page, Smith and Adamowski were all old, tired faces after decades in public life, in contrast to Bakalis and Stevenson, the stars of the Democratic sweep. The one new face on the Republican county slate, Bernard Carey, candidate for sheriff, had nothing going for him except qualifications. The 10,000 margin he lost by was so small that the normal amount of fraud the machine practices may well have altered the result.

The basic lesson in all this was well put by one Republican candidate, who ran far ahead of his ticket but lost. In a letter thanking his supporters he said, "The lesson is that people don't want to be conned for a vote, that silly rhetoric is no substitute for honest presentation, and that the election of good candidates is a party's first obligation to the people of their state and to the members of their party!"

IOWA: no change, but nuances

The November elections brought no change in the Iowa congressional delegation, still 5-2 Republican, or in state offices, all Republican, and the state legislature remained overwhelmingly Republican (Senate 38-12; House 63-37), but the margin of victory in some cases caused comment. Two Ripon-endorsed candidates had the narrowest victories. Governor Robert Ray won by 35,000 votes (of 800,000 cast) against former Lieutenant Governor Robert Fulton, with the American Independent candidate, Robert Dille, getting 19,000 votes and a place for his party on the 1972 ballot. Congressman Fred Schwengel of the First District (Southeast Iowa) won over Democrat Ed Mezvinsky by a mere nothing — 700 votes out of 120,000 cast, with an American Independent candidate getting over 1,000 votes. In addition, as reported in the *New York Times* December 9, Democrats ran better than 1968 in six of Iowa's seven congressional races.

The Governor's contest revolved primarily around taxes. Ray maintained he had held the line and had fulfilled his pledge of no tax increase; Fulton argued that this had caused local property taxes to soar and the state had done nothing to alleviate that. Both were right. Dille argued that state taxes (and state services)

should be halved, an argument that convinced 2.3 percent of the voters, presumably the same ones who gave Wallace his 2 percent of the Iowa vote in 1968. Ray suffered from the general malaise of the economy, especially the farm economy, which hurt the GOP everywhere in the Midwest, plus the fact that national emphasis on the social issue turned people away from the Republican party. Ray's reputation for liberalism may have disenchanted some conservative Republicans; this is exemplified in his handling of Iowa's only summer rock festival. Ray flew there and said to the crowd he hoped they would have a good time, which they did, and wouldn't break the law, which they didn't, although marijuana laws were not enforced. This came at a time when the Governor's Attorney General, Richard Turner, was moving heaven and statutes to get the festival banned, and it came just after his Secretary of Agriculture, L. B. Liddy, had just slapped a hippie-type found loitering in the State House. Of such are party factions made.

The Republicans presented a team approach and a team campaign, but this had its strains and stresses. The Attorney General tried a week before the election to get college students banned from voting in their college towns — a measure of dubious legality which the Governor felt he had to oppose. Lieutenant Governor Roger Jepsen let his gubernatorial ambitions for 1972 show through the facade of party unity, as did Congressman William Scherle of the Seventh District (Southwest Iowa), who was uncovering radiclubs in HEW right up to election day, and who was publicly disgruntled over Ray's support for the Nixon welfare reform. Rumor has it that both Scherle and Jepsen, both conservatives, would like to try for the governorship in 1972, even if Ray does not step down. (Everyone wants to run against Harold Hughes in 1974).

Fulton, on the other hand, had by far the most money and the most publicity of the Democratic state candidates, and had no intra-party bickering behind his back. The other Democratic candidates lost by an average of 80,000 votes, a respectable showing for Democrats in Iowa. Turner and Liddy did less well than the other GOP candidates.

In the First District Schwengel attributed his lackluster showing to the national Republican emphasis on crime and violence, and felt that the inference that it was the fault of the so-called "radiclib" congressmen was unfair, since people knew that these congressmen weren't radicals. Schwengel felt the President should have emphasized the programs the Democratic Congress had not acted on.

Vice-President Agnew made one appearance in Iowa, in Cedar Rapids on October 22nd, to support the candidacy of Cole McMartin in the Second District, at a time when polls surprisingly showed McMartin gaining on incumbent John Culver. The effect, however, was to galvanize support for Culver, who swept to his biggest victory with 60 percent of the vote and a 30,000 vote plurality of 140,000 cast. The epitaph on the Silent Majority was given by McMartin who was quoted after the election as saying that Agnew's visit had certainly broken voter apathy — but his campaign would have been better off had they stayed apathetic.

Jack Warren, Republican State Chairman until 1969, also cited Agnew's visit as a debit for the Republicans. Like Schwengel, Warren felt that the voters simply knew that John Culver wasn't a radical and

they wouldn't buy that stuff. Warren felt that Culver blunted Agnew's charge by quoting the Congressional Record to show that he had supported Nixon programs more often than several conservative Iowa congressmen. A final note — a poll of Iowa college students taken by the Des Moines Register in November showed that 37 percent approved of Nixon's performance as President, 50 percent disapproved, and 13 percent had no opinion. Agnew was disliked even more.

CALIFORNIA: what Reagan's up against

The Democratic Party in the California state legislature has not been well organized or unified during the last two years of GOP control. Their November victory was expected to spark a bitter fight in the Assembly for the job of Speaker.

The fight never materialized. On November 25 the Democrats united behind Robert Moretti, a 34-year-old member from Los Angeles. Mr. Moretti will replace Robert Monagan of Tracy, a moderate and well-liked Republican.

As a result of the unification of the Assembly Democrats, Mr. Moretti has so far avoided factional squabbles and will lead a united party in parrying with Governor Reagan. As Speaker Mr. Moretti will appoint all committee chairmen, determine the make-up of the various committees, and along with the powerful Rules Committee, will determine to which committee all introduced legislation will be sent for study. Needless to say, his position is the most powerful one in the Assembly; it is potentially the second most powerful political position in the state. (It is interesting to note that Mr. Moretti was first elected when he was 28 and has been a political protege of Jesse Unruh.)

The Senate too, went to the Democrats. The previous 21 to 19 GOP majority is now a 19 to 21 Democratic majority. However the situation is more complicated than that in the Assembly.

Senator George Danielson, a Democrat from the 27th Senatorial District, was elected to the House of Representatives in the 29th Congressional District. When the new Congress convenes, Governor Reagan will accept Danielson's resignation and will have 30 days to call a special election.

The election will then be held within 90 days after the Governor's call. It thus may be sometime in March or April before the Senate is ready to do serious business or at least before the majority party will be determined. Meanwhile the conflict between a GOP Governor and a Democratic Assembly may be prolonged until the Senate finally determines who its new leadership will be.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Thomas Carrell, Democrat from the 22nd Senatorial District has been bed-ridden and might not be able to participate in Senate business. The latest word is that he will be well enough to assume the functions of his office in January.

Assuming Carrell will be present, the Senate will contain 20 Democrats and 19 Republicans. Since the Republicans have won 18 of 18 special elections since 1960, it conceivable that the Senate will end in a 20-20 tie. Because of the nature of the California

Senate, with its north-south, urban-rural, old guard-new guard splits, it is difficult to predict the outcome when the party split is as close as it is. It is possible that the GOP could retain the position of President Pro Tem., the highest legislative leadership position. Were this to happen, it would probably result from a victory of old-guard Republicans and assorted old-guard and new-guard Democrats.

The composition of the legislature is extremely important this year since the districts will be reapportioned for the next ten years. The new census figures, the stabilized growth patterns in certain parts of the state, and recent United States Supreme Court decisions will complicate the reapportionment. In addition, there are now 5 new Congressional seats which the dominant party will try to award to itself. Governor Reagan has already made it known that he will use his ultimate veto power if the new districts appear grossly unfair. However, if the legislature cannot override such a veto, certain Democrats have said that they would take the matter to court.

* * *

As mentioned last month other state executive officers won by larger majorities than did Governor Reagan, with the exception of Evelle Younger. It is believed that Younger won because of the 2.8 percent of the votes that went to the Peace and Freedom Party candidate instead of to the Democratic candidate O'Brien.

It is significant to note that Houston Flournoy won his race by an unprecedented 1,300,000 votes. He is someone to watch for a possible U.S. Senate bid in 1972.

KENTUCKY: a right turn spells disaster

One of the best examples of the failure of the Nixon conservative strategy in the 1970 elections can be found in the contest for Congressman in the Third District of Kentucky.

The Third is an urban district composed of the city of Louisville and several southwestern suburbs. Since its creation in 1966, the district has been represented in Congress by William O. Cowger, a Republican and former mayor of Louisville from 1961 to 1965. During his four years in Congress, Cowger has compiled a generally moderate voting record.

As mayor of Louisville during the early '60s, Cowger and his associate in the Court House, now U.S. Senator Marlow Cook, formed a new alliance of east side Republican business and professional leaders and west end blacks which ruled the city and county government until the Democratic sweep of 1969. The Cowger-Cook city-county administrations were highly efficient and progressive, bringing Louisville and Jefferson County out of economic recession and citizen depression.

Cowger and Cook brought into government, and the local Republican Party, numerous young moderates, black and white, who helped to make local government service exciting and meaningful. For the first time in decades, the west end blacks started to vote Republican.

In 1965 Cowger retired as mayor and looked toward the Congressional election of 1966. The 1965 election in Louisville and Jefferson County saw a com-

plete Republican sweep of almost every office, including most of the 24 state legislative seats. Cowger was replaced in office by his chosen successor, Aldermanic President Kenneth A. Schmied. Cook was returned to office as County Judge by a fantastic 64 percent of the vote.

Cowger won election to Congress in 1966 and 1968 by healthy margins. Cook was elected to the Senate in 1968, thus leaving local GOP affairs in the hands of others. The effects were disastrous. In 1969 the Democrats won virtually every city, county, and legislative office, reversing the GOP sweep four years before. Young people and blacks gravitated to the new young Democrats who had successfully wrested control of the party from the traditional hacks who lost to Cowger and Cook. After the 1969 election, the GOP organization fell apart.

Entering the 1970 campaign, Cowger at first appeared to be a solid favorite for re-election. However, the Democrats under Mayor Frank Burke and County Judge Todd Hollenbach began to build a new organization similar to that constructed eight years before by the GOP.

Cowger won the May primary with ease; the Democrats nominated a young liberal, state Senator Romano "Ron" Mazzoli. At first dismissed as a rank amateur, Mazzoli began to surprise observers with his organizational and campaign abilities. In response, Cowger switched from his previous moderate stance to a more conservative, Agnew-like attack.

Mazzoli's anti-war stand was the target of Cowger's first blows. Then came the Nixon-Agnew rhetoric about permissiveness, campus disorders, and the like. As Cowger attacked, Mazzoli went after the Republicans on the politics of the economy. Behind the campaign smoke and thunder however, the Republican organization was still prone after its defeat the year before, while the Democrats were working hard to construct a functioning precinct organization across the city.

Cowger helped to alienate more of his usual moderate and black supporters by bringing Spiro Agnew into the district for an afternoon of rhetoric and cold food at the Brown Hotel. Into October and towards the election, the Cowger campaign went straight downhill.

On election night, the results were fascinating. In the closest Congressional race since 1960, Mazzoli beat Cowger by approximately 200 votes out of over 100,000 cast. A breakdown by ward in the city showed the failure of Cowger's conservative strategy. The Congressman had aimed his attacks at the state Senator's liberal record, hoping to turn working-class Democrats into 1970 Republicans.

As elsewhere, the GOP strategy was a bust. South-side wards gave Cowger approximately the same percentage of votes in this blue collar area as 1968. Blacks in the west and central wards voted more heavily for Democrat Mazzoli, as Cowger expected. But the greatest surprise was in the three generally Republican eastern wards.

Cowger received a margin in 1968 in the east wards of better than 13,000 votes. In 1970 his margin sunk to about 3,000. Independents and Republicans in

the east side swung to Mazzoli, apparently disgusted with Cowger's change from urban moderate to black-lash conservative. The eastern part of Louisville — the Highlands, Crescent Hill, and Saint Matthews — is the high-income, high-educational-level section of the city. Usually the GOP carries wards 1, 2, and 3 with relative ease.

Even after two straight defeats, the Jefferson County Republican Party has not learned its lesson. Undemocratic, elderly, and conservative, the leaders of the Louisville party are more influenced by the wishes of conservative Governor Louie Nunn in Frankfort than by the demands for new faces by party workers and Republicans at large.

The 1970 election should have taught the Louisville Republicans two lessons: conservatism, especially of the Agnew type, doesn't work, even in the southern city of Louisville. Secondly, a closed and conservative GOP organization cannot bring about victory. It is probable that these lessons fell on deaf ears in Louisville, Frankfort, and Washington.

OREGON: divided houses

Republican Governor Tom McCall's 58 to 42 percent victory gives him a base from which to run for Mark Hatfield's Senate seat in 1972 should he choose to do so. Hatfield has hinted that he might not run for re-election because of family responsibilities. Hatfield would also probably face a hard campaign if he did run because of the many conservatives he has alienated. McCall, however, has expressed a desire to return to television broadcasting and might not be interested in a six-year commitment.

* * *

Control of the State Legislature, particularly important because of the need to reapportion the Congressional and Legislative districts to conform to the "one man-one vote" dictum, will remain unevenly divided. Republicans will control the House by a 34 to 26 margin — a drop of four seats which resulted in large measure from the failure of several popular incumbents to run for another term.

Although the Democrats hold a 16 to 14 majority in the state Senate, it appears at this time that they may again fail to gain effective control. Several conservative Democrats have voted with the Republicans in recent sessions. Three veteran Republicans and one conservative Democrat failed in re-election bids. Republican gains in other districts, however, left the remaining conservative Democrats Potts and Boivin with the margin of control. As of this writing, they seem likely to vote to maintain the coalition, making Potts the state's first three-term Senate President.

The political trend in Oregon seems to be neither anti-status quo nor shifting to the right. Conservatives have shown a strong resurgence in party activity, and have gained control of the party structure in many areas. If their influence increases to the point of predominance, it could noticeably diminish Republican chances of continued political success.



Washington Viewpoint

Politicizing

OEO

The President is housecleaning. He is putting together the team at the White House and in the Cabinet he hopes to run with for re-election in 1972. Housecleaning at mid-term is standard procedure. In the last few weeks, however, the President has brought his own brand of the politics of polarization home to the Capital.

No one could be too surprised about Walter Hickel's demise, particularly after he publicly dared the President to fire him. Hilary Sandoval's dismissal as Small Business Administrator made political sense. The White House could tolerate Sandoval's incompetence as an administrator (Ripon FORUM, July, 1969), but when he failed to deliver the Mexican-American vote in his home state of Texas this fall, his fate was sealed.

Beneath the surface the President's politics is not so simple as it seems. Hickel's replacement, Rogers Morton, reportedly embraced the Interior job as the reward he desired most for having served as Nixon's floor manager at the Miami convention. But he leaves the Republican National Committee only after being unable to work with White House political operatives during the campaign. Morton, Vice-Chairman Elly Peterson, and presumably Jim Allison, the team of moderates Nixon chose to head the committee after his election, will now all leave after being continually undercut in their job by old-line conservatives in the White House.

In this light the firing of Terry Lenzner, director of the Legal Services Program in the Office of Economic Opportunity, and deputy director Frank Jones assumes a particularly disturbing quality. Lenzner's dismissal culminated months of debate over administration of the Legal Services Program, which supports 2000 attorneys working out of 850 neighborhood offices in 265 communities.

As director of the Washington office, Lenzner argued, with the full support of a 28-member national advisory committee, against regionalizing his program's administration. Such a move, they claimed, would subject poverty lawyers to political pressures that would threaten their professional independence.

On November 15, five days before he fired Lenzner, OEO director Donald Rumsfeld announced his decision not to regionalize, apparently in line with the recommendations both of Lenzner and the National Advisory Committee. In a letter to regional directors dated November 14, Rumsfeld noted, how-

ever, that "while program control will be retained by Legal Services *staff*, such control will increasingly shift from the headquarters to the regional level, i.e., from the national Office of Legal Services to the Regional Legal Services Division." While promising to retain direction of the program in Washington, Rumsfeld outlined a new set of procedures, never shown to Lenzner in advance, giving the regional offices expanded power to intervene in decision-making, in Rumsfeld's words, "at every major stage in the process."

Lenzner complained that Rumsfeld had opened up the program to political obstructionism, in violation of recommendations handed him November 6 by the National Advisory Committee. On Friday, November 20, these complaints reached the local press while Lenzner was attending a meeting in New York. That night Rumsfeld fired his director, saying he could "no longer have confidence" in Lenzner's management of the \$61 million program.

Later OEO press briefings accused Lenzner of several specific violations of confidence within OEO. In a memorandum to the Cabinet and White House staff, Herb Klein denied that regionalization was the cause for the dismissals, stating emphatically that LSP's goal — to get necessary legal services to the poor — would remain unchanged.

In fact, under the new guidelines, without Lenzner to monitor programs in conjunction with the National Advisory Committee, the entire program has been opened up to possible political interference.

The appointment of Frank Carlucci, presently Director of Operations, to succeed Rumsfeld, only underscored the threats to an independent legal services program. Carlucci had escalated his personal drive to promote decentralization ever since June when Lenzner succeeded in withdrawing OEO's legal services division from Chicago's community action program. That program, chaired by Mayor Daley, had in its contract a provision barring any suits against the city. Carlucci drafted the first plan to decentralize legal services and he reportedly played a major role in drafting Rumsfeld's new guidelines.

As we went to press, OEO dropped its controversial guidelines, but the future of the Legal Services Program remains very much in doubt.

— please turn to page 22

Con-Cons and Republicans

Illinois has had six constitutional conventions, the most recent of which was held from December 1969 through September 1970. The existing constitution of Illinois was drafted in 1870. The first constitutional convention was held in 1818, when Illinois was admitted to the Union. Proposed constitutions drafted by conventions in 1848, 1862 and 1920 were rejected by the voters.

The majority of the states in the nation wrote new constitutions between 1850 and 1900. Most of these documents are lengthy and encumbered with restrictive provisions which have prevented state and local governments from solving twentieth century problems.

For years, Republicans from both conservative and liberal backgrounds have called for improvements in state and local government. In 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower said that we must "cast away the agents of centralization who would destroy the vitality of state and local government by assigning all powers to the federal government."

In 1968, Richard M. Nixon said: "One reason people are shouting so loudly today is that it's far from where they are to where the power is."

From Ronald Reagan to Nelson Rockefeller, Republicans are on record in support of state and local government reforms.

John W. Gardner recently said in his book, *Recovery of Confidence*, that: "It is astonishing that this

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society, which creates such extraordinarily efficient organizations to serve certain of its purposes, such as space exploration and merchandising, tolerates an incredible slovenliness in the structure by which it governs itself."

On November 5, 1968, the State of Illinois voted to hold a constitutional convention by the largest margin of victory ever given any candidate or proposition in the state's history.

On December 15, 1970, voters in Illinois accepted by an overwhelming margin a proposed Constitution drafted by that Convention. Two additional structural referenda — proposing single member districts, and merit selection of judges, were narrowly rejected.

Although a better document than the 1870 constitution, the 1970 constitution should not be viewed as a final step; it does not contain the far-reaching structural reforms needed in state and local government. Its weaknesses as well as its strengths should be instructive to Republicans in other states which need reform.

What happened to the voters' mandate for reform? What are the lessons for Republicans?

ILLINOIS' NEW CONSTITUTION

The 1970 Constitution: A Brief Analysis

The Executive. Most states suffer under the burden of too many state-wide elected officials, most of whom perform only ministerial, as distinguished from policy-making, functions. The 1970 Illinois constitution reduces the number of state-wide officials from eight to six. Other states might consider further reductions.

The Legislature. The average state legislature has too many members. Illinois is no exception. The Illinois House of Representatives has 177 members — fifth largest in the nation. Only Pennsylvania among the large urban states has a larger lower House. The proposed 1970 constitution actually increases legislative membership by adding one more senator.

For 100 years, Illinois has been the only state to have a system of cumulative voting and three-member districts for the State House of Representatives. The cumulative voting system allows a voter to spread three votes among three candidates in three possible ways: one vote for each of three candidates; one and one-half votes for two candidates; or three votes for one candidate.

Not only does this system confuse the voters,

it also breeds lack of competition. For example, in the 1970 general election, 93 of 177 candidates for the Illinois House of Representatives ran without competition, and 1970 is not an unusual year. In both 1960 and 1962, 96 candidates ran without opposition.

Despite these and other indictments of the cumulative voting system, the best proponents of reform could do at the convention was get single-member districts submitted separately to the voters outside the main constitutional document. Odds were stacked against adoption of the single-member district reform since it was not part of the main document.

Judiciary. Judicial reformers in Illinois proposed at the convention a merit system for appointments to the judicial bench. Advocates of the status quo proposed retention of the traditional political process of electing judges through party primaries and general elections.

As with the single-member district reform, the merit system was submitted separately to the voters.

RESTRICTIVE REVENUE

Revenue. Like most states, Illinois has a generally restrictive revenue system. Rather than making the revenue system more flexible, the proposed 1970 constitution in some ways actually makes it more restrictive: by forbidding a graduated income tax; by limiting the non-graduated income tax to an 8 to 5 ratio between corporations and individuals; and by allowing state debt to be incurred only if three-fifths of both houses of the state legislature or a majority of the voters in a state-wide referendum vote to incur debt.

Local Government. Pulverized local government has, perhaps, contributed more to ineffectual urban government than any other single cause. With nearly 6,500 units of local government in Illinois — about 2,000 more than in any other state — local government needs structural reform. The 1970 Illinois constitution at least "sets the stage" for local government reform.

Structurally, local governments would be allowed discretion in reforming their own structures and in cooperating with other units of local government. In fiscal and regulatory policies, a rather broad grant of "home rule" would allow certain indebtedness and regulatory powers which local governments presently must seek from the state legislature.

Bill of Rights. The civil libertarian would probably be very satisfied with the bill of rights, especially the broad provisions against discrimination.

Environment. The most imaginative provision in the new constitution declares that each individual has a right to a healthful environment and that an individual may have standing in court (1) to estab-

lish that a party is infringing on this right and (2) to seek relief.

Constitutional Amendments.

The 1970 constitution has a less restrictive provision for amending the constitution which will probably allow future constitutional reform to be more easily achieved.

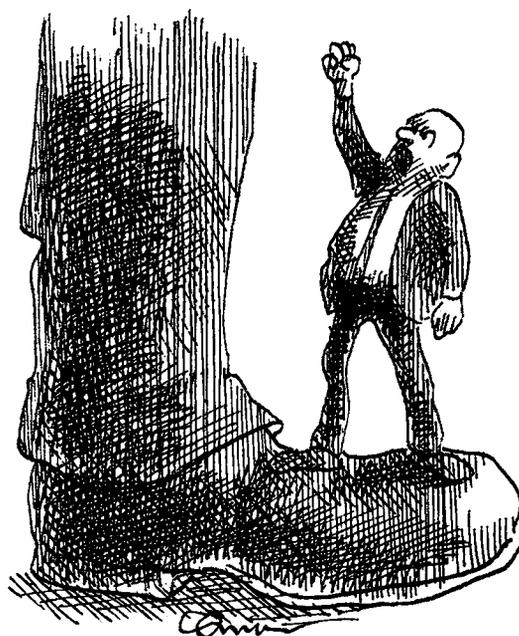
A PARTIAL ANSWER

The word "average" aptly describes the 1970 constitution. It tailors and refines the 100 year old constitution of 21,500 words through language modernization and piecemeal reforms. But the new constitution (at a mere 16,000 words) does not face squarely the issue of structural reform of state and local government. A better document? Yes. A document completely relevant to a modern, urban society? No.

Constitutional reform in the states can generally be achieved in one of five ways: (1) through simple amendment of the existing constitution; (2) through evasion of existing constitutional provisions by, for example, a different court interpretation of a provision; (3) through federal government decisions and policies, e.g. U.S. Supreme Court redistricting decisions; (4) through a constitutional convention limited in scope to certain segments of a constitution; and (5) through an open constitutional convention unlimited in its power to change the constitution.

While an open constitutional convention has the greatest potential for reform in the shortest amount of time, it also has more pitfalls than other methods of reform.

Since World War II, only one large urban state, Michigan, has succeeded in reforming its constitution



through an open constitutional convention. Open conventions in New York and Maryland failed at the polls. Limited conventions, on the other hand, have succeeded in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Connecticut. Although 'spotty,' these data at least suggest that the all-or-nothing approach of open constitutional conventions often results in no reform at all, or as in the case of Illinois, in only partial reforms. Other states may profit from an analysis of open constitutional conventions.

Problems of Open Constitutional Conventions

Rapid technological changes have revolutionized our socio-economic fabric. But the "fall-out" of this progress has often created tensions and fears which resist change, especially change of society's institutions.

So, a gap exists between our technological progress and our social and governmental progress.

Nineteenth century governmental structures cannot cope with the changes generated by technological progress. This is especially true in state and local government where lengthy and restrictive state constitutions have frozen in governmental structures suited only for a rural, agrarian, slow-moving society.

Society's arteries seem to harden as more change is pumped into the system. The entrenched in society resist anything which threatens their power while others who might benefit from change often do not understand its nature or value. Local government officials fight to protect their prerogatives. The general public lacks the understanding which would cause them to fight for a reduction in the number of locally elected officials and in the number of local governments.

MORE GIVES LESS

A shibboleth pervades the people's thinking that the more elected officials one has the closer government is to the people when, in reality, the opposite is true. Accountability and responsibility are more difficult to pinpoint when there are numerous local governments and locally elected officials.

Until a broad base of public support exists for reform of state and local governmental structures, its advocates will have to rest content with limited and incremental change. The Great Depression was the "underwriter" for broad and sweeping structural and policy changes in our federal government. No comparable "underwriter" exists today for state and local governmental reform.

An open constitutional convention with its potential for massive, universal changes simply unleashes tensions and fears among the people who are not prepared and, indeed, usually do not understand the changes being discussed and proposed.

Nature of Open Constitutional Conventions

Media and the Convention. Although the Fed-

eral Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia wrote an entirely new constitution, it did so in a closed atmosphere with no news media present. Today, the news media's ability to transmit instantaneously happenings to the people possesses ominous consequences.

The issue of an income tax limitation from the Illinois convention illustrates the problem.

Writing an income tax limitation into the fundamental law of the state is not generally considered to be good public policy. But it may be good politics.

Constitutionally fixed fiscal policies, though sometimes popular, often cost the state and the taxpayers more in the long-run.

For example, during the past 100 years, Illinois has had a \$250,000 debt limitation in the constitution. This unrealistic debt limitation caused the state to evade it and then to pay higher interest on any debt incurred above the \$250,000 limitation, because the "full faith and credit" of the state was not behind the additional debt.

PUBLIC MISCONCEPTIONS

Traditionally, constitutional conventions are organized so that following committee deliberations, any committee proposal must be debated, opened to amendment, and voted upon three separate times on the convention floor. This means a convention can change its mind. A decision made during "first reading" can be reversed on "second" or "third readings".

Supporters of an income tax limitations successfully achieved a limitation on "first reading" — the public generally responding with approval. The convention reversed itself on "second reading" — causing the public to be unsure about what was happening. And a third vote on "third reading" cemented the convention's decision on "second reading".

The common front page headline around the state following "second" and "third readings" was: "Convention Rejects Tax Limitation."

The misconceptions created in the public's mind are obvious. It is not difficult to understand why many citizens think there is presently an income tax limitation in Illinois and that the constitution abolishes that limitation. In actual fact, the constitution has a more restrictive and regressive revenue article, in many respects, than the existing constitution.

Misplaced Issue Priorities. Proper issue priorities may also be lost in the lengthy process of an open convention. For example, whether the constitution should make "branch banking" easier would normally not be ranked with or even near the method for choosing members of the state legislature in an order of public interest priorities.

On "first" and "second readings" of the convention, supporters of the single-member district reform for the Illinois House of Representatives were success-

ful. On "third reading", however, some members of their slim single-member district reform majority were offered what they wanted on the "branch banking" issue if they would change their votes on the single-member district reform. In their personal orders of priorities, "branch banking" was more important. As a result, those interested in reforming the method of selecting members of the Illinois House of Representatives had to be satisfied with a proposal for separate submission rather than including single-member districts in the main constitutional document.

WHAT GETS COMPROMISED

Open conventions raise so many issues to be compromised that reform may not be achieved in key areas because of compromises in non-key areas. Conventions often prevent a focus on salient issues as they should be discussed and resolved.

Pet Peeve Issues. A constitution, supposedly the repository of the most basic and fundamental law, should be void of hortatory phrases and meaningless constitutional sermons. A convention allows promoters of pet peeves, however, to place them in the constitution.

In the 1970 Illinois Bill of Rights, folk libel would be unconstitutional. Irish, Polish, German, Italian and Dutch jokes would theoretically be prohibited. Hours were wasted in debating this provisions — hours which could have more wisely been spent debating meaningful structural reforms.

Legislative Politics. Perhaps the greatest risk in a constitutional convention is allowing it to become just another legislative body. Constitutional conventions are expected to have a higher level of debate and parliamentary procedure than the average legislative body.

Illinois took great pains to avoid a politically oriented "legislative" convention. Delegates were elected on a non-partisan basis, and members of the legislature were discouraged from being candidates. And only two members of the legislature were elected.

Despite the best of efforts and intentions, traditional "rough-and-tumble" Illinois politics became the politics of the convention.

Schizophrenic Republican Thinking. For years, Republicans have advocated a shift of governmental power from Washington to the states and local governments. A constitutional convention vividly shows the irony, the paradox and the hypocrisy in some Republican thinking on this subject.

What some Republicans want when they speak of governmental reform and shift of governmental power is really "less" government, not government which is more effective and responsive to the people. These Republicans cannot be counted upon to form constructive coalitions for reform in constitutional con-

ventions. Indeed, in the Illinois Convention, their voting patterns were much like those of the Chicago Democratic organization which often voted against reform. Constructive Republicans, both conservative and liberal, generally formed their coalitions with Democrats who were independent of the "Daley" organization.

Several months elapsed in the convention before the constructive Republicans and independent Democrats perceived their mutual interests, and then it was almost too late. Building constructive coalitions in a legislature is difficult at best, but in a constitutional convention, the problems are compounded by the uniqueness of the event. People are new to each other, and the time required to cement friendships and constructive coalitions can prove detrimental, if not fatal.

Convention Price Tags. Preparing for and holding a constitutional convention is expensive. The combined operational cost, just for holding the conventions in Maryland, Illinois and New York was approximately \$11 million.

The traditional American reverence for constitutional conventions has, perhaps, led us to become too enamored with the value of conventions. Certainly the pitfalls of a constitutional convention and the nature of today's society may cause the risks of a convention to outweigh the prospects for successful reform.

THE NEW FEDERALISM

The Republican Dilemma

It could be that the Republican emphasis on restructuring federal programs through the "new federalism" will be largely ineffectual in reaching the goal of a balanced federal system. The reason rests not in what Republicans have proposed, but rather in what is not being done to reform state and local governmental structures.

The two major keys to the Republican Party's "new federalism" — revenue sharing and bloc grants — rather than curing the plague of too many ineffectual local governments may serve only to prolong their existence with financial proprs.

If a constitutional convention is not the best vehicle to accomplish structural reform, then what is? What should Republicans do to add structural reform of state and local government to their arsenal of "new federalism" proposals?

A Program for Republican Action

The centrifugal force of federalism has both a blessing and a curse. Its blessing is the diversity it breeds; its curse is the lack of unity and cohesion it allows.

Our nation's highly complex domestic problems require a cohesive and unified attack if they are to be solved. The diversity of our federal system often defies such an attack.

The centrifugal force which creates dispersion and diversity of state and local governmental structures needs to be balanced with a counter force which creates cohesion and unity. Only an "integrated federalism" where this balance is achieved will allow our complex domestic problems to be solved.

As the major symbol of the federal system's viability, the President could do more than anyone else to create the counter-force for an "integrated federalism" through state and local governmental reform. Presidential action to create a counter-force for an "integrated federalism" sounds a bit bold. But is it?

IDEA GENERATOR

Presidential Action

Presidential commissions and White House conferences have not only generated many new ideas on a variety of subjects, but they have more importantly publicized critical problems facing our society. These forums act as levers to generate ideas and to publicize problems — two essential ingredients to the revitalization of the federal system.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, established at the behest of the Eisenhower administration, has generated many new ideas about the federal system's structure. The Advisory Commission and other similar organizations lack, however, the capacity to saturate public thinking on the issue of institutional reform. A Presidential commission or White House conference would generate an instantaneous focus on the critical needs of our "disintegrated federalism."

The educational force alone would be worth the effort of having either a White House Conference or Commission. A cross-section of the best thinkers in the field together with rank-and-file state and local officials would be brought together to exchange ideas about how our federal system can be integrated. The problems of a "disintegrated federalism" would be put in national perspective, and a compelling national case for structural reform of state and local governments could be made.

The benefit to Republicans would be obvious. The party of reform would be leading the way in generating a concern for structural reform of the federal system in a way not too unlike the concerns of Teddy Roosevelt and the Progressive Era.

Gubernatorial Action

Besides a national perspective on structural reform, also needed is a state-wide perspective which Governors can logically provide.

Often Governors become involved in campaigns for constitutional conventions or for specific constitutional amendments. These efforts are generally sporadic and frequently without proper planning. There are two ways whereby Governors can make constitutional

reform more consistent as well as provide better planning.

Either by statute or through use of executive powers, Governors could establish Constitutional Review Commissions or Governors Conferences on Constitutional Reform. Both approaches could be limited in scope or broadened as the situation necessitated. The Commission approach has already been used with some success, but usually more for convention planning purposes.

The primary advantage of these two approaches is that greater control can be achieved in determining the acceptability of alternative constitutional reforms (amendments). Involvement of the proper cross-section of citizens and organizations would allow compromises to be reached in a forum not so volatile and unpredictable as a convention.

A constitutional convention, due to its own unpredictability, is generally not conducive to use of modern research techniques such as systems analysis and simulation. These and other techniques would allow more precise measurements to determine the acceptability of alternative constitutional reforms. Wasted effort and unnecessary expense on amendments without any prospect for passage could be kept at a minimum.

OUT OF POLITICS

Concentrating constitutional reform efforts in a commission or conference has other advantages such as lessening the fear that party politics would undermine the cause of constitutional reform and also by allowing constitutional amendments to be drafted in a less time-consuming and less expensive manner.

Incremental Change

For the present, constitutional reform of state and local governmental structures should be concerned with only incremental change. The massive changes which might come through conventions have enormous risks, given the nature of today's society and the nature of a convention itself.

Although the cause of structural reform at the state and local level is great, there is no massive public support to "underwrite" anything more than incremental changes. The President, more than anyone else, could spur along the cause of reform. Without a huge national or state concern for reform, however, Governors should concentrate their efforts on incremental reforms drafted by Constitutional Review Commissions or Governors Conferences.

The watchword through it all, as W. Brook Graves (Senior Specialist, Library of Congress) once said, must be "patience": "The advocate of constitutional reform should be endowed with the patience of Job and the sense of time of a geologist."

CHARLES W. DUNN

Why Decentralize?

As everything around him has gotten bigger, the individual has gotten smaller by comparison. He's been lost in the mass of things . . .

The machinery of government seems increasingly remote, increasingly incapable of meeting his needs when action is needed. The community itself begins to appear less relevant, and its standards and restraints become less effective.

Power has been flowing to Washington for a third of a century, and now it's time to start it flowing back — to the states, to the communities, and most important, to the people.

— RICHARD M. NIXON

Since the Emancipation Proclamation, if there is any single historical principle guiding the Republican party, it is this: government should be as close to the people as possible, and excess concentration of powers should be resisted as a danger to the liberty of the people. Thus the party "of the people" — the GOP — has traditionally preferred to meet social ills with individual action, and where that is inadequate, with governmental action at the lowest possible level. Variations on this theme appear in Republican party platforms throughout its history — it may take the form of advocacy of states rights, individual rights, "individualism," "peoples rights," "local self-government," "maximum reliance on subordinate levels of government," "voluntarism," or "decentralization of power."

Opposition to concentrations of power sounds like a negative philosophy. In the past 50 years, Republican "action" towards this goal has often been negative. But there is also a positive version: the

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The author would like to thank John McClaughry, a modern Jeffersonian, for his helpful comments and penetrating questions.

nation needs to strengthen local government in small cities and towns and to create community-oriented governments in large cities. This is only one part of the whole picture regarding redistribution of power, but it has far-reaching implications.

The basic idea is essentially Jeffersonian, but it should not be arbitrarily limited to an agricultural economy. The essence of Jefferson's plan for sound government provided for a well-ordered hierarchy among governments, with each performing those functions that suited it best. The system provided at least one tier of government — a small and immediate local government — where an individual "feels that he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year but every day."

We are still searching for a design of government that can maximize the opportunity for an ordinary individual to come forward and influence his immediate environment through the political process. This principle, which, as enunciated by the President, calls for a reversal of the trends towards greater concentrations of power, should also require the creation of new, community-sized governments within large cities. In either case, the fundamental goal is to make government small enough to permit popular self-determination. Thus, local governments should be small enough to give individuals informal access to information and to the policy makers. In large cities, populous states and the federal government, where a relatively small number of officials controls policy for a large population, such an intimate relationship between man and state has become a relic of the past. With this in mind, this essay will set forth the major philosophical reasons why this should be cause for alarm, and why Republicans should back "decentralization" — that is, why they should continue to search for a system of government which per-

mits active and genuine participation by ordinary people in the political process.

Why Decentralize?

1. For Freedom. Although the Anglo-American democratic tradition has proved amazingly durable, even its staunchest supporters have occasionally displayed moments of pessimism. John Adams, Walter Lippman, William Hocking and Lord Bryce all observed that the potential for crowd mentality was an ever-present danger to democracies. John Dewey decried irrelevant considerations in voting, sloganism, the inability of the individual to keep well-informed on national issues or to formulate his opinions on these issues in a rational and competent manner.

IRRATIONAL RULE

Such men were appalled at the behavior and opinions of the "mass man" — the irrational offspring of mass media, national TV, national, centralized powers and the pollsters. This individual often permits the media, a centralized political party, a giant labor union, or some other strongly centralized and powerful group to preempt individual decision-making. To be sure, there may be possible adjustments that might minimize these dangers in large governments, but these cannot be adequately discussed here. For the purposes of this study, the point to observe is this: the malady, the "mass" mind, does not appear in a cohesive community. It is a phenomenon found almost exclusively in larger jurisdictions. Walter Lippman, for example, in his most pessimistic book, *The Public Philosophy*, never once considered the political behavior of the common man in his own community. Dewey did, on the other hand, and found the salvation of democracy in small local governments. "Democracy must begin at home," Dewey declared, "and its home is the neighborly community." Likewise, Lord Bryce, on completing his monumental survey of modern democracies, concluded simply, "Smaller areas are better than large areas, because in the former men can know one another, learn to trust one another, reach a sound judgment on the affairs that directly concern them, fix responsibility and enforce it."

The point is well made. Certain essentials are found only at a community level. Only here can there be a personal relationship between the governors and the governed. Here the intermediaries — the mass media — are only a secondary channel of information flowing back and forth between the electorate and the elected. Here the scale permits men to engage actively in the dialectic give and take that is so vital to sound decision-making. And here every man can hear the local demagogues debate one another; only on a small scale can every man sift the facts and enter directly into the debate and the opinion-making and decision-making process.

It is no small coincidence that the 1933 legisla-

tion in Germany paved the way for authoritarianism by first annulling local government — by abolishing the sovereignty of the states and substituting Reich regents for state presidents. Nor is it surprising that the first French Republic, where the local governments were new and unaccustomed to self-government, proved so unstable. The revolutionary government had abolished the local provinces and created arbitrary departments within France, dampening the natural development of home rule. In contrast, in America and in Switzerland, the local governments existed in democratic form before the republic emerged, and became the building blocks of the new republic.

It is true that even in a small community, popular rule can become mob rule. Most often, however, the interpersonal relationships among the actors works to mollify vigilante action. One can only conclude with Jefferson, "that the evils flowing from the duperies of the people are less injurious than those from the egoism of their agents." In other words, it is easier to turn overly-centralized power into tyranny than it is to subvert decentralized popular control into mob action of any comparable consequence. Thus, decentralization also offers a constructive alternative to both the repression advocated by the extremists on the right and the anarchy advocated by the extremists on the left.

EVILS OF CENTRALIZATION

The centralization of democratic institutions threatens the liberty and welfare of the people in other ways as well. As governmental operations grow in scope, the distance between individuals and decision-makers also grows, and communications between them falter. First, the individual citizen in a centralized democracy becomes increasingly powerless while a technocracy — located within the large centralized bureaucracies — assumes control over most public policies affecting his life. The average man lacks the technical knowledge to make positive decisions about all but the simplest issues and the central bureaucracy manages to keep the data to itself. Secondly, the ordinary man casts his vote in a national election, but thereafter, he does not communicate his individual will to his duly elected representative, except through "public opinion."

To win voter approval, the politician campaigns on cliches and emotion-laden slogans: "power to the people," "no busing," "black power," or "white power." A leader is elected not for his well-thought-out programs, but for his ability to hit upon the right slogans and project the right image. In the end, leadership is mediocre and public opinion dominates emotional issues while the technical nuts and bolts of government fall under the influence of special interest groups and bureaucrats. Even if concerned with issues, there is little an individual citizen can do to make

his vote effective in promoting or defeating any single governmental act. Worse, the vote for a candidate may be irrelevant to the issue-oriented voter, for he has no choice in the selection of nominees — an act executed behind closed doors in legendary smoke-filled rooms. Finally, the individual with an informed opinion may be able to resist the impact of mass advertising, but he has no power to persuade the remainder of the electorate to his point of view. He simply cannot compete with national TV.

CAN'T DO ATTITUDE

2. For an Impact on People. Undoubtedly the structure of the body politic has a profound influence on the basic attitudes and culture of the people living within the system. In a survey of Watts residents after the 1965 riots, when asked who would have to do something about the problem, residents responded, in order of frequency, the police, the mayor, the federal government, the whites, the governor, Negroes and whites together, "they" (that ubiquitous group), and finally, the respondents themselves. The thought that the people should take the initiative came last. The results would be the same in any typical urban community — white or black — where people have been deprived of the right to participate in the problem-solving process.

Decentralists expect a different response from a self-governed community. They expect a "can do" attitude, a willingness to attack problems. When responsibility falls on the shoulders of those who stand to suffer most from neglect of duty, it is less likely that they will shrug it off. Moreover, the small-scale political arena is less formidable — one does not need to possess the tenacity of a Ralph Nader to attempt and succeed at a local reform movement. In short, decentralization makes citizen participation more likely.

Education is the most important byproduct of this participation. Learning is not limited to classrooms, and when one is young. The streets, the back alleys, the coffee houses, and the public forum can all serve educational purposes, albeit some will be more constructive than others. Especially in impoverished, culturally deprived communities, development of strong and genuine citizen participation can lead people into a greater awareness of their own problems, and broader issues as well. They become more cognizant of the weapons available to attack such problems. Finally, they become motivated to master the skills needed to work effectively in this arena.

These educational results are not easily measured on an objective scale. Rarely has anyone even attempted such a measurement. In one available test, however, active involvement and responsibility for youths in a tutorial program produced a dramatic change in the reading test scores of the young tutors. In this experiment, New York City's Mobilization for Youth

rejected the paternalistic notion that only teachers could teach, and hired youths — good and poor readers alike — to tutor younger children. At the end of a seven-month period, the younger children showed a modest improvement, whether tutored by good or poor readers. But a remarkable change appeared in the reading test scores of the tutors themselves. The poor readers advanced, on the average, three and a half years in the seven-month period.

Such a result suggests that responsibility has powerful educational value. Such effects make community organization in poverty areas a "social work" tool. A program is justified not just for what it will do to physical problems facing people, but for what it can do to the attitudes and development of the people involved.

3. For a Sense of Community. A much-worn phrase in the oratory of the decentralists is "a sense of community." But it should not be underrated. This quality, insofar as it is capable of definition, exists where a group of people come together to live in an intricately woven fabric of rich and meaningful interpersonal bonds. It exists where people join together, either formally or informally, in the performance of a broad scope of public duties and functions relating to their life and environment. The community structure gives its members a sense of belonging, a sense of place, an identity. It serves not only its present constituency, but future members as well. It provides a context for the otherwise fragmentary and specialized roles that every individual assumes in the modern world.

ASSESSING THE LOSSES

A community cannot be expected to survive if it has no purpose or function. Municipal consolidation, school consolidation, central districts, special districts and similar centralizing measures of the last half-century must ultimately destroy the small community. Even without a formal dissolution of its political boundaries, the gradual erosion of political power in small towns and rural areas destroys community spirit and contributes to the decay. These consolidation efforts have usually been advocated as "progressive." Indeed, they may permit some efficiency in some governmental functions — redistribution of tax resources, increased specialization in service output, and administrative efficiency, for example. However, there may be corresponding inefficiencies and hidden costs in the greater size. The loss of community can be a severe loss to humanity.

To begin, as the small community declines, many things which can give a man an identity and a sense of place and purpose slip away. A common man's genius is not normally recognized beyond the circle of his community. Centralization and its concomitant specialization leave little room for the cabinet maker,

the craftsman, the country fiddler, the hometown Thespian, the local sheriff, the school master, the familiar magistrate, the town wit, and the town fool; it replaces them all with factories, mass-produced art and music, Hollywood spectaculars, a police force of a thousand strangers, a bureaucratic government, and politicians known only by their images projected through their public relations experts.

At the same time, man is losing any meaningful role he may have had as a citizen. The state has given him a number; he is relegated to filing the appropriate papers at the appropriate times, and, on election day, to pressing little levers in a booth. Of course at all times he must abide by the rules set somewhere beyond his own experience. He sees government and politics as something removed, distant, and for other people. This is exactly what politics is for most big city residents. The average man will never meet the man who decides his fate. The decision maker is literally removed, to city hall, the statehouse, or the nation's capitol.

DEMODERNIZATION

Renewed emphasis on community could reverse current centralizing trends and bring people together in meaningful nuclear groups. The populace would be richer in its culture, in its ties to the past, and most important of all, in personal bonds between neighbors. These are the things that make a community. By bringing people together, self-government can be a catalyst to spur their development.

4. To Restore Community Sanctions. These are the spiritual reasons why action to rebuild communities is necessary. There are practical, concrete reasons as well. In these days of almost hysterical concern over a breakdown in "law and order," one should observe the relationship between crime and the decline of the community. The cohesive community doubtless can do much to hold antisocial behavior in check. Social sanctions, concern for one's reputation, personal bonds — all are more effective deterrents to criminal behavior than one more policeman on the corner. Indeed, in small towns and rural America, where political and social integration seems to be higher than elsewhere in the nation, the major crime rates are the lowest.

Of course, the high crime rate in the city is probably partially due to a large population of the poor and underprivileged. But similar proportions of poor people living together in small communities do not begin to show the crime patterns of their city cousins. For example, the chief of police of Lawnside, New Jersey, a poor all-black town of 2500 people, reports that there is virtually no crime there, save the occasional rowdiness and disorderly behavior of "out-of-towners" who come in on weekends. The social

patterns in this town seem to resemble small towns everywhere — they do not at all mirror the pattern of a similar racial and economic population in a big city. In urban neighborhoods which have experienced a strong community movement such as the area served by Mobilization for Youth in Manhattan or the East Columbus Citizens Organization, a favorable impact on crime rates has been reported, but the relationship has not been scientifically evaluated. Of course, the crime index is only one crude measure of the good effects of a sense of community. It would seem, on balance, that developing a sense of community is a desirable goal in and of itself.

5. For Flexible Strength in Government — the Politics of Dissent.

I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical . . . this truth should render honest republican governors so mild in their punishments of rebellions as not to discourage them too much.

— Thomas Jefferson.

Lord Bryce, the tireless student of modern democracies, found that the most decentralized nation, the nation where small local governments were the most important part of the entire system — Switzerland — was also the most stable at all levels of government. His observations are still valid today. Conversely, in the United States, after a generation of governmental centralization, civil disorder has become commonplace.

POWERLESSNESS AND RIOTS

The subject of civil disturbance has been much studied lately, but without careful examination of the relationship between political powerlessness and riots. For example, the Kerner Commission, and the various state groups reporting on the ghetto riots of the last half of the sixties all assumed, without providing proof, that conditions of poverty and prejudice caused riots. (This was before students started rioting in earnest.) These studies did not look at the political system itself, but focused on how the same old system could be patched up to improve the delivery of government services in poor areas.

This approach is well-intentioned, but it leaves several questions unanswered. Why aren't the poor always rioting? Why did the students take it up? Why did it occur in the late sixties? Why did it happen when the economic differences between white and black were narrowing? Why were the worst ghetto riots often in areas where the black was "upwardly mobile?" Why are middle and upper class blacks sympathetic, if not supportive? Why are there not fewer riots where the city, state, or federal govern-

ment has provided generous anti-poverty programs? What's all the talk about revolution? The obvious answer is that the disturbances should first be considered as political phenomena, before they are treated solely as a product of poverty.

The ones most likely to protest are those who most frequently are denied the opportunity of participating in the democratic process. It is certainly obvious that if one wished to organize a little rebellion now and then, the best recruit today would be either a black or a youth — representatives of the most disenfranchised groups in our population.

SHUT IT DOWN

Why do people take to the streets? All but one of the ghetto riots began with some police-community incident that mushroomed into rocks, clubs, and bullets warfare, complete with the usual wartime pillagers and looters. The students, generally more organized, often have spokesmen, and "demands," before they move into more formal stages of insurrection. Yet there seems to be a common thread: these people have had exasperating experiences with the government (or university administration) which wields considerable power over their daily lives. When the exercise of this power is found oppressive, the black or the student may first seek constructive channels for redress, but these have evaporated. It is futile to try. The bureaucracy running their lives presents a chain of command in which power and responsibility is so removed that no one can be sure who is responsible, and the only sure way to reach the "powers that be" is to attack everywhere.

Assuming that civil disturbances are symptoms of discontent with the governmental process, the important question, then, is not how to *control* them, but how to restore the peaceful *constructive* channels of dissent that are *supposed* to exist in a democracy.

There are too few people making important decisions for the discontented. The system is too centralized. The city government, or the university, have treated the blacks, or the students, as subjects to be cared for, disciplined, directed, controlled. The situation is so bad that the most militant groups claim that they would prefer to tear down the existing institutions rather than improve or replace them.

WORK WITHIN THE SYSTEM

Decentralization, as defined here, might provide a constructive outlet for the more restless, powerless people. It could provide these groups with an opportunity to attack their immediate problems in an orderly, responsible manner. It gives them clearer targets, the locally elected leaders, and an excellent weapon — the ability to vote for another candidate, or to sponsor a candidate. The necessity for government by demonstrations, peaceful or otherwise, would

fade and the country might once again work towards realizing the full potential of a federal democratic system. Rather than alienating minorities, or younger citizens, the government would benefit from their energy, their ideas, and their active participation within the system.

The Changing American Scene — the Eclipse of the Individual

Assuming that strong local governments are essential to a healthy democracy, what is the prognosis for America today? It is true that over half of the population lives within local governmental jurisdictions of less than 50,000 — rural areas or smaller cities. But almost one tenth of the entire population now lives in cities of over 1,000,000, and almost one fifth lives in cities over 500,000. In these large cities there is no effective "local" government. Contact with officials, with political processes, and with democratic notions is a difficult thing for all but the city elite. The individual feels severed from the sources of power. To combat this, in the largest cities, administrators have organized a vast array of community bodies in order to better serve the people, but few of these come close to providing the intimate contact between man and man, and man and politics that should exist at this level of government. In the city, government is a alien power, and politics is a dirty word. Politicians are a class unto themselves, to be held in suspicion. Participatory democracy has become a fading memory, except in a few quaint small towns and rural states.

TREND TO BIGNESS

For people living in cities, and to some extent, for people living in declining communities elsewhere, local government does not exist, or it no longer serves them as individuals. These people face great aggregations of power without the opportunity to participate at the ground floor of the national power structure. The effect is aggravated because not only governments, but almost all of the major institutions in the nation have become increasingly centralized, while the individual has lost power and authority within their structures. Fewer and fewer people own and control the income-producing capital of the nation. Union mergers have left a diminished number of labor leaders to serve as the collective voice of a much expanded body of workers. In the academic world, the large universities grow larger, and students more numerous, but the policy-making group has not expanded. Even the church seems to be controlled by national organizations rather than local congregations. Government bureaucracies have, of course, assumed a life of their own. They can manipulate and negotiate with the other major groups in the policy-making process to preserve their own position in the system, all without reference to the citizens they purportedly serve.

The real individual is eclipsed by the abstract mass man as these institutions grow more centralized. In the public sector, the reduced influence of the individual citizen may be demonstrated in many ways. The ratio of elected officials to citizens, for example, tells something about a single person's chances of ever becoming an elected official, having personal contact with elected officials, influencing them directly, or individually communicating a need to them. In 1787, the Constitution of the United States mandated that a congressman would represent 30,000 people. In 1970, a congressman represented 469,000 people. The chances for direct contact with a congressional representative have been reduced by more than ten.

The same has occurred in state and local governments. Town meetings, which permitted every townsman to come and vote on important issues, exist only in a few regions of New England. Today a majority of Americans look to big city government as their most immediate direct political contact. But here a handful of elected officials make decisions for millions of people, or in the case of New York City, about twice the number of people in the United States when the first Congress convened. Population has increased steadily while the governmental structure has either remained unchanged or has become more centralized.

BALLOONING BUDGET

To further reduce the effectiveness of a single voter, the largest, most centralized levels of government have expanded most rapidly. This, too, can be roughly measured. In the early twentieth century local governments in the aggregate were spending more than combined state and national governments. Federal spending did not overtake local spending until the early 1920's. Today the federal government spends over twice as much as state and local governments combined. The role of all levels of government, measured by relative purchasing power, has grown. Total government spending, once a imperceptible part of the gross national product, now accounts for 30 percent of it and over two thirds of this is controlled by the federal government (over 20 percent of the GNP).

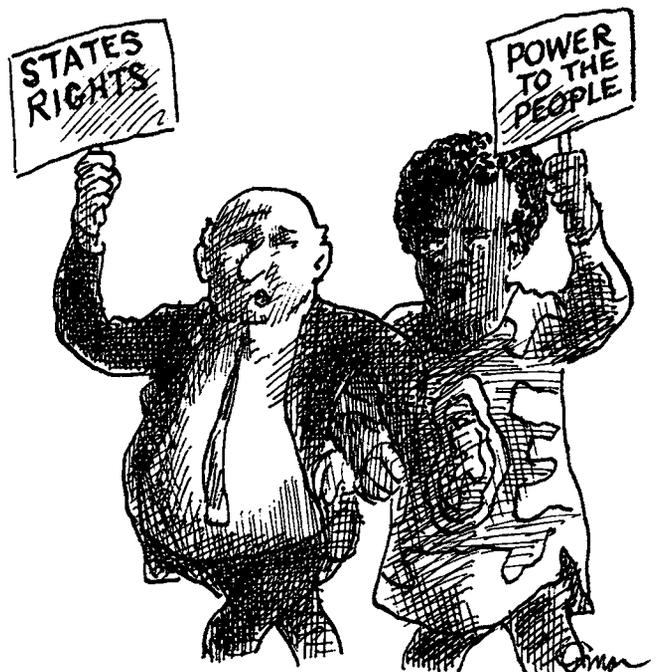
No one can say at which point the trend towards increased centralization will destroy a free people. Therefore, men who value their freedom will be ever watchful that power and responsibility is never entrusted to the care of a few. Even now, the gradual centralization of the last fifty or sixty years has altered the concept of the American idea. Especially in large cities, the individual citizen has no immediate contact with government.

A New Republican Policy

The traditional Republican concern for govern-

ment at the level closest to the people should make thinking Republicans become Urban Jeffersonians. But in recent years, Republicans have applied the "government of the people" principle only to urge more responsibility for state governments, as was the case in the proposed "Opportunity Crusade" — a poverty program alternative sponsored by House Republicans; in President Nixon's 1969 manpower program, where he directed the Department of Labor to reassign primary responsibility for federal manpower programs to state governments; and the 1968 Omnibus Crime Control Act, in which Republicans sought to require state management of crime control programs. This may have been appropriate in the past, for small rural states, where state government continues to be close and responsive to a vast majority of the people. State governments are small enough to permit citizen control and participation only in Alaska, Idaho, Maine, Montana, Nevada, North and South Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming, where no city is larger than 75,000, but state programs have an entirely different effect in New York, Illinois, Michigan or California. Here there are cities which hold double the population of the entire United States at the time of Jefferson; big city government is no counterpart to Jefferson's concept of a small "ward" government.

Too few Republicans have equated their own preferences for state's rights with the demand for community control in Harlem. Yet, population is a determining factor in an individual citizen's opportunity to become involved, or know someone involved, in the manipulation of political power. A program controlled by the state of Idaho or Vermont, or the



community in Harlem would offer comparable self-determination for the people living in these respective areas. Or, to take another example, one autonomous school district in Harlem would be comparable to a state-wide school system in Vermont — where the citizens are resisting *regional* consolidation.

Although the growth of the economy and the population has affected the relationship of state and city governments to the individual, Republicans have not adjusted their philosophy to account for the change. It should be the task of Republicans, the historical defenders of "government by the people," to rehabilitate and modernize that concept for the circumstances of today. In other words, the party ought to reinterpret its philosophy to deal with changed conditions, and state the philosophy in terms that are comprehensible to everyone. Now is the time to start: throughout the nation, a growing fear of "big government" is coloring citizen response to national politics. The average citizen feels that things are getting out of hand. Young people feel there are no opportunities for them to assume a meaningful role in society. Minorities desire — and some demand — the opportunity to control their own destinies. Decentralization of political power should have universal appeal, except to those firmly entrenched in the centralized bureaucracies of the nation, for it strengthens the role of the individual and provides a chance for each to influence governmental decisions, at least at the local level.

The decentralization principle holds out a special promise for racial minorities. These groups now live in increasing numbers in large cities, where the smallest effective political unit, city government, has a population in the millions. Here, discrimination, poor education and lack of experience in government affairs effectively disenfranchise the urban poor. This *de facto* disenfranchisement leaves them vulnerable to gross manipulation by the power structure, and they know it.

POWER, NOT HANDOUTS

To be sure, some minority leaders continue to see their needs in terms of welfare and jobs within the establishment, but a vigorous and growing segment has become concerned with power. The whole movement for community control in black and Puerto Rican areas of large cities, and the Indian occupation of Alcatraz, are manifestations of the new thinking. Here are the natural allies of the new Republican.

The creation of community governments would give racial groups control at the community level, although they are a minority city-wide. For many blacks, Puerto Ricans and other minorities, direct contact with government would become a real possibility for the first time. Obviously, the concept is extremely popular

among most inner-city minority populations. Today these people can act only as a pressure group, and in coalition with others, because the body politic is usually large.

Black leaders, for example, are aware of this aspect of the centralization-decentralization alternative. Metropolitan consolidation, frequently advocated as a way to shore up the revenue base of the city, would probably be opposed by many black leaders. To them, consolidation (a form of centralization) will dilute the black vote just as it is about to become a majority. For example, resistance to merger of St. Louis and St. Louis county, a plan rejected overwhelmingly by Missouri voters in November, in 1962, was due in part to political considerations by local leaders who feared they would lose their power base. Black leaders, especially, feared a dilution of their political power both in St. Louis and in Miami, where a consolidation move was successful. Conversely, one wonders why consolidation is suddenly so popular among whites in Gary or Hartford — when it was given a cold shoulder just a few years before. Metropolitan consolidation and centralization is a good way to squelch the nascent political power of racial minorities.

URBAN JEFFERSONIANS

In suburbia and in rural areas — where most Republicans live — people have resisted consolidation as much if not more than city blacks. This may be due in part to racism, or to fear of higher taxes, but conceivably the suburbanite or the small town denizen also instinctively desires to keep the size of his local government manageable. Consolidation is resisted as vigorously in racially homogeneous areas, such as Vermont, Delaware, Iowa or Washington.

In conclusion, it seems time to turn the slogan "states rights" into the slogan "community rights." In fact, forward-looking Republicans have begun to adapt Jefferson's scheme for government to urban areas. In large cities, where immediate and intimate contact with government is difficult, they are urging organization of community and neighborhood political units capable of exercising genuine, well-defined governmental powers vis-à-vis local matters. Backers range from Charles Goodell and several House Republicans who opposed the Green Amendment (to transfer control over the community action program from communities to city governments), to Slade Gorton, Attorney General and Lud Kramer, Secretary of State of Washington, who separately called for community districts with specific governmental powers in Washington's large cities, to John Sears, Republican mayoral candidate in Boston, who adopted a neighborhood-by-neighborhood approach to his city.

Republicans with an eye to the future should

constantly seek to find new ideas and new programs that will promote individual action, self-determination and a wide dispersal of power among the people. This is the direction most befitting the party's history and tradition.

In the 1968 campaign, President Nixon promised to organize a new Hoover commission, but this time, to give it a mandate to develop a strategy for restoring governmental powers to local governments. If this mandate is carried out without also examining ways of creating community-sized governments where they no longer exist, the Republicans will have failed the millions of Americans who live in these areas. Of course the process is slow and often difficult, but a national policy could take shape. More importantly, much can be done at the state and local level to create genuine community governments. Time will tell if Republicans are able to respond adequately to the changing conditions of an urban America.

The non-existence of a genuine community within the nation's large cities, and the gradual decline of community power elsewhere pose serious threats to liberty, to individual initiative and development, to human and personal conduct of government affairs, and to the security and stability of the nation. Of course, no one would seriously advocate complete balkanization of the nation into thousands of small local governments, but there is a place for communities within the federal system. Political decentralization in the city would go far in reviving community spirit and individual action where people are now largely apathetic and alienated. But it must be done in a way that enhances community development: it must recognize existing communities in the large city (Harlem, the Bronx Park community, Hyde Park) and it must give the community meaningful and relevant powers and functions. Of course not every city function can be decentralized, but there are many vitally important areas — education, recreation, youth programs, law enforcement, to name a few — where a smaller community can adequately serve in an important capacity. In fact, some of the most severe and pressing problems of today are essentially community-level problems — mental health, delinquency, ignorance, apathy, unrest.

In this article, I have not focused exclusively on decentralization as it affects racial minorities, or the poor. This is contrary to most of the prevailing rhetoric advocating decentralization, but it is done with a purpose. The basic goals of political decentralization are not limited to any racial or economic groups; they should apply to all. Nor have I discussed the potential of decentralization for increasing efficiency and responsiveness in government, for I believe that that issue is debateable and depends on the function to be decentralized, the government structure and the citizens themselves. Nor have I discussed

the desegregation-decentralization conflict. Finally, I have not discussed the many federal and local efforts to encourage citizen participation in various programs. These are all complex issues, and must await treatment in separate papers. The point to be made here is simply this: we need a decentralized power structure — for freedom, for a sense of community and for stability. That should be sufficient justification for a major effort in seeking out and implementing plans that can redistribute political power in the nation.

— PATRICIA LINES

Washington Viewpoint — from page 9

The Senate upheld the President's veto of the campaign broadcast reform bill, only after Republican Leader Hugh Scott promised to draw up legislation encompassing "complete campaign reform" himself. Throughout the week leading up to the vote Administration forces suffered from the lack of a reform substitute for the bill, which had easily passed both houses of Congress. Without Scott's last-minute promises, the President's veto would surely have been overridden.

Senator Scott has offered no substitute since the vote on November 23, although he has assigned two staff members to the problem. The only proposal to emerge since the vote has come from Congressman John Anderson, chairman of the House Republican Conference.

Anderson announced his plan before checking with the White House, which was initially cool to the proposal. His bill would not only impose stricter spending limitations than the bill just vetoed, but would also provide public financing through Treasury funds of some campaign activities not paid for by private contributions, including two free mailings for every major party candidate to each voter in his district.

Initial reaction on the Hill among supporters of campaign finance reforms favored Anderson's proposals to allow a 50 percent income tax credit for political contributions up to \$50 a year and to establish an independent agency to monitor and enforce the new laws and regulations. The bill appears to suffer, however, from placing too many restrictions on campaign activity, objectives early supporters of the just-vetoed measure have found unrealistic.

* * *

An ad hoc group of four (Saxbe, Schweiker, Hughes and Cranston) have offered a series of worthy reforms for the next Congress which would put Senate business on a much more orderly basis. Setting specific times for business during the day and during the week, the proposals seek to reduce absenteeism and speed up business on the floor. Senator Saxbe's unhappiness over sloppy Senate procedures has already received considerable publicity, and it can be expected he will take a major role in seeking support for the new proposals.

HOWARD GILLETTE, JR.

Reorganizing State Government

One of the biggest obstacles to progress in state government today is an organizational structure that has built-in delays in decision-making.

The Commission form of government is such an organization. It has many autonomous and semi-autonomous groups made up of lay people, most of whom have full-time responsibilities outside government.

These groups meet infrequently — perhaps once a month — and make decisions by vote of a majority — if a majority is present. To reach a decision on even a small problem, especially if it involves more than one organization, can easily take months.

And so at a time when this nation is facing problems of increasing intensity and complexity, a time when quick decisions are needed to prevent problems from log-jamming, most state and local governments are saddled with a governmental structure hopelessly inadequate to meet the demands placed upon it.

LET WASHINGTON DO IT

I am convinced that this is one of the prime reasons for this nation's lack of progress in solving problems, and one of the prime reasons why the federal government in past years has taken over more and more responsibility from the state and local governments.

The hard fact is that the federal government has taken over by default. The decision-making lag at the local government level has created a vacuum in getting action and results, and the people have turned to the federal government not out of choice, but out of necessity.

But the federal government is not the one that

THE AUTHOR

Russell W. Peterson was elected governor of the state of Delaware in 1968. Prior to that he was an executive with du Pont.

should be doing the job. It is too large, too far removed from the local problems to be efficiently responsive to local needs. The mayor or the governor knows his problems much better than someone sitting in Washington.

What is the answer?

I doubt if there is "one answer," but there can be no doubt that we must start by reorganizing state and local government so they are more responsive to the people and their problems.

FROM COMMISSION TO CABINET

In Delaware, we have reorganized our government from a commission form with approximately 140 commissions and agencies to a cabinet structure with 10 secretaries, all of whom are responsible to and serve at the pleasure of the governor.

The change has been amazing. Today, the governor of Delaware can gather around one table all of the decision-makers in the Executive Branch of State Government. These people are full-time employees of the people of Delaware, working 12 or more hours a day. Their prime interest and responsibility is with the people.

Now, most key decisions can be made by discussions between two people — decisions that under the commission form of government took months.

Full-time employees. Expertise. Quick decisions. Action. This is what is needed in state government today. This is what the cabinet structure provides.

And for the decision-makers, it also provides more pressure. There is no longer the luxury of referring a problem to a commission or agency. The buck stops where the responsibility is — first in the cabinet secretary's lap, and then on the governor's desk. As the people become more aware of that, the pressure will grow.

So be it. No governor worth his salt would have it any other way.

Foley's Law Revisited

In April 1970 I wrote a column in the FORUM commenting on the outlook for the economy and the likely effect of the economic situation on the November election. I used a graph to plot the number of Republicans elected to the House since 1950 against the non-seasonally adjusted unemployment rate in October of the corresponding years. This graph is reproduced below with correct unemployment rates for 1966 and 1968; in April I used seasonally adjusted figures for those two years. The line represents the "best fit" for all years except 1964; it differs slightly from the one printed in April because of the correction mentioned above.

In April I wrote that "... [a] prudent judgment would be that the unemployment rate in October will be 4.5 percent with a substantial chance of it being higher." I also suggested that "there may be some reduction in [inflation] noticeable by October, but this is likely to be small. The Administration may ... reach a peak of unemployment in October with just as much inflation as ever."

This projection turned out to be qualitatively correct. Unemployment in October was 5.1 percent, higher than I had guessed, and unfortunately not at a peak but almost certainly heading higher. The Administration was not in a position to argue convincingly that inflation had slowed. These two facts were a major issue in the campaign.

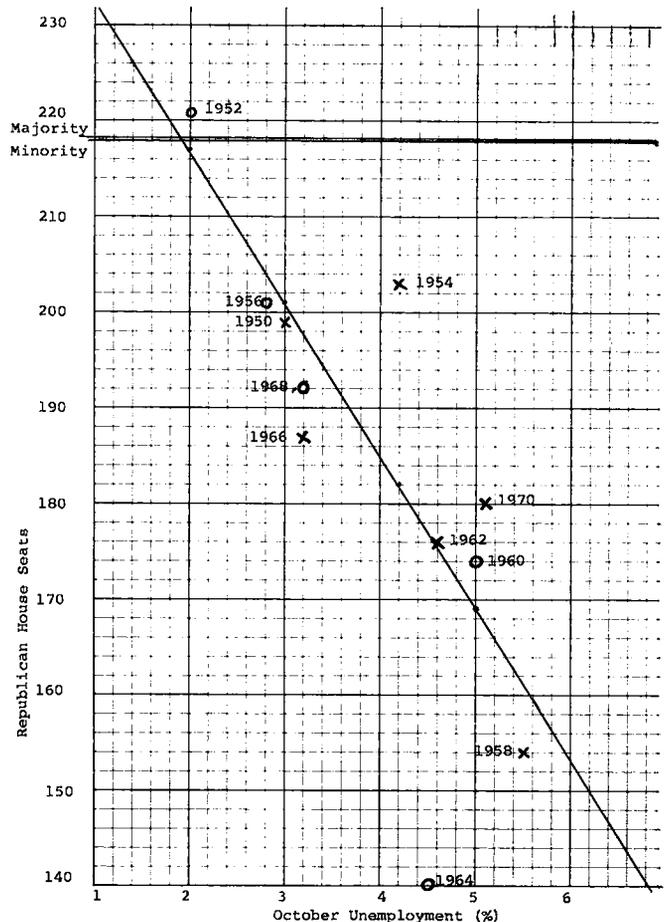
With this October unemployment rate the "best fit" line predicts 167 House seats for Republicans. They actually won 180. This puts 1970 13 seats off the line. This is a fairly large deviation, since only 1964 and 1954 lie further from the prediction. But it is not so large as to suggest that the true relationship between unemployment and Republican House seats has shifted drastically in 1970. The 1970 election was similar to the 1954 election in the size of the deviation from the "best fit" line. There were other similarities, too: a Republican President had removed an unpopular war as a political issue, a mild recession was in progress, and the Vice-President ran a campaign emphasizing fear and patriotism.

* * *

William Chapman of the *Washington Post* reported on November 15 that, "a survey of 47 districts with heavy unemployment showed that in two out of three cases, the Democratic share of the [1970] vote rose significantly above the 1968 level. In most cases, the increase was far greater than the national trend."

Chapman concluded that: "The electoral trend was not nearly so severe as in 1958 when the economic recession produced enormous Republican losses. One of their analyses found that of the 49 House districts which switched from Republican to Democrat in 1958, 38 contained areas of 'substantial labor surplus' around election time."

Year	October Un-employment (not seasonally adjusted)	Republican House seats	Predicted	Difference
1950	3.0	199	201	-2
1952	2.0	221	217	+4
1954	4.2	203	182	+21
1956	2.8	201	204	-3
1958	5.5	154	161	-7
1960	5.0	174	169	+5
1962	4.6	176	175	+1
1964	4.5	140	177	-37
1966	3.2	187	198	-11
1968	3.2	192	198	-6
1970	5.1	180	167	+13



Report on a Worker-Student Project

A good deal has been said about working people in the past few months, and most often those speaking have done so with scant knowledge and little concern for what the working people in this country actually care for, worry about or aspire to. In fact, most pronouncements have been made with calculated political agendas and with only token concern for the resolution of the problems which make the life of the working man so oppressive and dehumanizing. Hence a new vocabulary, pitting "hard hats" against "radicals," emerged as the election closed in.

This is not to suggest, of course, an absence of animosity between students and workers but simply to state that "hard hat" and "radical" are catchall phrases created by politicians and the media to exploit certain moods. Recently even some movies such as "Joe" have emerged to support this syndrome.

ALA ACTION

During the UAW's strike against the General Motors Corporation the Alliance for Labor Action set out to challenge this syndrome.

The strike support project was one educational strategy in the larger effort to create understanding between workers and students. Of the tactics used — food drives, services, picketing — the "Auto Workers' Day" was by far the most successful. A Day's schedule included leafletting, literature booths, speakers, films, and most important, workers speaking in university classrooms. During the strike, workers spoke to approximately 8,500 students in 250 classes at 33 colleges and universities. The following is a characteristic description from two area coordinators:

It was beautiful to see awkward, nervous strangers evolve into a dynamic, friendly group in the course of a single day. The remarkable experience of holding your own against tough questions and winning the bulk of the students to you — this has to rank as a substantial achievement.

Professors generally agreed to allot only half the class to the auto workers' discussion, but in nearly every case the discussion was so lively that it continued for the full hour (for two hours in several cases). Students could see that the workers were putting more feeling and commitment into that one hour of class time than a faculty member normally puts into a month of lectures. We were discovering that the sympathy of the vast majority

of American students for the underdog extends to auto workers. We have built up a sense of sympathy for workers' struggles where it did not exist before and given it rudimentary form. Most of the fears that we gave credence to before the undertaking have been proven groundless.

Classroom speakers were recruited deliberately from the rank and file to minimize pointless ideological debates with students. The workers went into classes as working men and women and they talked about themselves and their jobs. Working conditions were a shock to most students. A woman in Indiana caused a stir by describing the dirt, the foul air, and a man who had fallen into an open scrap metal pit. The woman herself had received a permanent back injury caused by grease on the floor. A man described how he taped his sleeves and collar to keep out the thick foundry dust. In California, a student accused the union of making preposterous local demands; the worker pointed out that in his plant a principal issue was a \$60 refrigerator for the lunches of workers who are two miles from the nearest restaurant. He added that it's only in the last ten years that workers have won the right to leave the assembly line to go to the toilet. A student in Baltimore asked casually: "Have you saved up a lot of money for the strike?" The worker was astounded: "Lady, this isn't Generous Motors."

STICKS AND STONES . . .

These are important, small personal revelations. Surprisingly, there was little hostility over "hardhat"/"peacenik" images. Unlike "kike" and "nigger," which are dense with the emotion of hundreds of years of oppressive cruelty and create real barriers, "hardhat" and "peacenik" have no basis in personal contact. They are media-made. Consequently, in the classrooms, they served as little more than gimmicks to start a dialogue that then continued without them. Students were surprised to hear workers reject the dumb muscleman hardhat image as an insult and a smear against working people.

The divisions and misunderstandings between the trade union movement and the student population are great. A very conscious and substantial effort must be made by each if we are to become sensitive to one another. I think we started down that road with the student support projects. Much was learned that will be followed up and, hopefully, will have a lasting effect.

THE AUTHOR

Carl R. Wagner works with the Alliance for Labor Action.

—CARL R. WAGNER

14a ELIOT STREET

RIPON'S ELECTION ANALYSIS

The press coverage of Ripon's analysis of the 1970 campaign and election returns netted more clippings and front-page coverage than any other Ripon release in years. The original story was written for the *Washington Post* by **Josiah Lee Auspitz** and appeared on the front page of the *Post's* "Outlook" section November 8. This full story was also printed in the *Denver Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Rochester (New York) Democrat & Chronicle*, the *Watertown (New York) Times*, the *Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*, the *Madison (Wisconsin) Times*, the *Milwaukee Journal* and elsewhere.

On Friday November 6 **Lee** and **Howard Gillette** held a press conference in Washington, D.C. to explain Ripon's conclusions about November 3. This resulted in Ripon's "by-lined" article being complemented by a series of news stories across the nation. In addition, the *Suddeutsche Zeitung*, *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and the *International Herald Tribune* published stories on the Society's commentary. The article for **UPI** by correspondent **Ed Rogers** appeared in 27 newspapers and was on the front page of six. The **AP** story by **John Beckler** appeared in 89 papers and was on the front page of 25.

● The Philadelphia chapter has elected new officers. They are: **Robert J. Moss**, president; **Herbert Hutton**, vice president; **Shelton Davis**, secretary; **Ross Crawford**, treasurer; **William Horton**, finance chairman; **James Bushy**, political chairman; and **Ken Kaiserman**, membership chairman.

● The New York chapter has chosen two new members of its executive committee. **Anne Sinistore** has replaced **Pam Carson** as membership chairman, and **Richard Rahn** has taken over as the chairman of the community affairs committee.

● **Theodore S. Curtis, Jr.**, who served on the Ripon board while at Harvard Law School, was elected to the Maine state House of Representative this November. Ted represents Orono, which is near Bangor. In addition, he is an active if darkhorse candidate for chairman of the Maine Republican State Committee.

● During the past several months, the Cambridge chapter has had numerous interesting guests. **George Gilder**, a fellow of the Kennedy Institute of Politics, spoke on "Nixon, Agnew, and the Future for Republican Radiclib Senators." **Lee Auspitz**, political consultant **Art Klebanoff**, and others presented an analysis of the election campaign, outlining the effects of the Agnew strategy. Harvard Professor **David Reisman**, of *The Lonely Crowd* fame, joined the group for an informal luncheon and discussed the Nixon administration's problem of attracting and keeping talented people. Members of the group have also participated in **Howard Reiter's** Kennedy Institute seminars with **Samuel Lubell**, **Kevin Phillips**, and **Jim Allison** and **Dick Curry** of the Republican National Committee.

Chapter president **Robert Davidson** arranged for several members to appear on *Catch 44*, a one-half hour talk show on **WGBX**, channel 44 in Boston. The discussion was moderated by **Howard Reiter** and included **Richard Gross**, **Craig Stewart**, **George Gilder** and **Terry Barnett**.

● **Lyndon A.S. (Tuck) Wilson**, president of the Portland chapter, attended the Republican Governors Conference at Sun Valley December 12-16. He will report to FORUM readers in the February issue.

ROSE-COLORED HISTORY

President Nixon has shown an uncanny ability to look at the bright side of events. Every time he is faced with apparent setbacks — the failure to find Communist headquarters in Cambodia, the 1970 elections, the recent commando raid — he finds a way to come out ahead. It is intriguing to consider how different American history would read if other leaders had possessed Mr. Nixon's unique abilities. For example:

Richmond, April 9, 1865 — President Davis today acknowledged the news from Appomattox with a rebel yell, and told his people, "At last, we have located the central headquarters for the Union Army!" Pressed by reporters, Davis conceded that Confederate forces had located the headquarters when they arrived to surrender

Topeka, November 10, 1936 — Governor Alfred M. Landon held a news conference today, beginning with the assertion that "I don't understand why President Roosevelt has still refused to concede. This isn't a victory statement, because I will stand on ceremony and wait for his formal concession."

Landon continued, "My victories in Maine and Vermont demonstrate to the Republican Party where our truest supporters are, a base we can build on. It has been a great ideological victory, because never before has a Governor of Kansas running against an incumbent President done as well as I have."

An aide to Landon distributed charts to reporters showing that the Republican vote in twenty-seven precincts across the country had actually risen since 1932. "This demonstrates that the Lithuanian-American vote is trending Republican," he explained. "This will have significant consequences in 1940."

Other aides were distributing bumper-stickers bearing the legend, "17 Million Americans Can't Be Wrong." . . .

Washington, April 20, 1961 — President Kennedy accepted congratulations from his staff and representatives of the State Department today for the Bay of Pigs incursion.

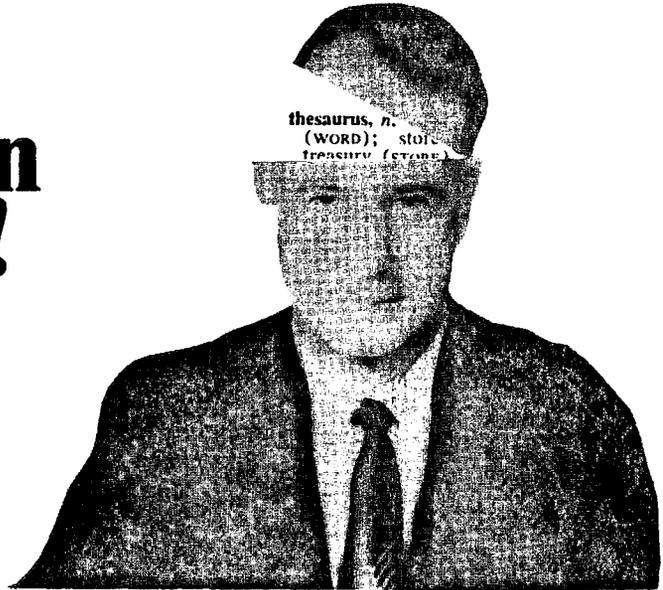
"This brilliant tactical exercise has demonstrated Cuban capabilities, on both sides," he explained. "We now know what we're up against, and can get this country moving again on the issue of Cuba."

Presidential aide Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., told reporters, "The President told me I can begin to compile notes for a book about his administration. He said, 'The Pentagon and the CIA will have their accounts, claiming the credit for the incursion, so I want our side of the story told.'" . . .

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My friends, we have been addled by abracadabra too long. The time has come to
abashed by ambages
boggled by blether
burked by bibble-babble
balked by blarney
checkmated by chaffer
chafed by chitchat
cozened by crepitation
defused by dissertations
dunched by descant
euchred by expatiation
foozled by fustian
feruled by fiddle-faddle
geilded by gibbering
gammoned by gabble
hamstrung by hurly-burly
hocked by hubbub
immured by macrology
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joggled by jawmusic
jaded by jibber-jabber
kaboshed by kaffeeklatschery
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numbed by nasalizations
nonplussed by natterings
occluded by oratundity
planet-stricken by pleonasms
pinfolded by persiflage
purlinded by prevarication
pinioned by palaver
raked by rhinofalia
risolled by raillery
scotched by strepitation
slaked by surplusage
stickled by snuffle
sapped by stridulation
tethered by tumidity
trepanned by twattle
unstrung by undulation
vexed by ventilation
voodooed by viragos
wimpled by whiffle
astRICT the alembic argle-barglers of acrimony
adze the anile agitprops of anti-warism
buffet the bangled bubukles of Bolshevism
baste the brummagem banshees of burnbabydom
buttonhole the balmy bards of bamboozlery
cuff the crapulous cankers of chaos
chastise the cheeseparing chitterlings of chicanery
clobber the churlish chuff-cats of corruption
castigate the caterwauling capons of catastrophe
cudgel the clammy charlatans of coprophemia
cumber the cachetic clodpates of conspiracy
drub the daffy dilettantes of defeat
decolate the deboshed debutants of doom
eposculate the epizootic embryos of expedience
extirpate the edentulous ecdysiasts of evil
flambé the feckless fourflushers of fakery
flagellate the froward fiends of fescinninity
garotte the gassy gorgons of give-up-ism
gratinate the gibbous gibbons of gloom
grangerize the glib gaffers of Galbraithery
guillotine the grubby goblins of godlessness
hoist the hypocritical hussars of hedonism
harry the hircine he-biddies of hysteria
hobble the hirsute hooligans of hebétude
incarcerate the inspissated ignoramuses of isolationism
indent the ichtyolatrousimps of insipience
jar the jaded jackanapes of journalism
knout the knee-jerk knaves of know-it-all-ism
kick the kow-towing kooks of kids-stuffery
lapidate the lungeous larvae of lubricity
marinate the maladroit mummuffins of madness
maul the malefic mugwumps of melancholy
mulct the muzzy moochers of me-too-ism
notch the nappy nitwits of naïveté
net the noxious numbskulls of narcosis
ostracize the ostrobogulous oafs of obliquity
oppugnaté the omphaloskeptic outlaws of objection
percuss the pocky prima donnas of parasitism
pummel the parlous pilly-grubs of paralysis
pillory the potentent pelf-lickers of petulance
pen the picayune pizzles of pelmanism
pestle the pug-ugly pupae of purulence
quirt the quilted quislings of querulousness
rack the ragtag robots of radicalism
roast the rampaging rhyparographs of revolution
sauté the scabrous sodomites of salacity
strappado the scrofulous sahibs of sabotage
stymie the shaggy squawks of sanctimony
scourge the squiffy sirens of surrender
slog the skulking scobberlotchers of sibilation
skewer the sapidless stooges of scurrility
trammel the teratoid termagants of turpitude
truncheon the tatterdemalion toddlers of tomfoolery
thwart the thringing throops of thuggery
urticate the ululating urchins of un-Americanism
vaporize the viperous vuzpegs of vilification
wallop the wet-slobbering whelks of witlessness
x the xiphosaurian xiphoids of xenophilia
yerk the yodeling yawpers of yes-man-ery
zone the zany zombies of zealotry.

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