

RIPON

FORUM

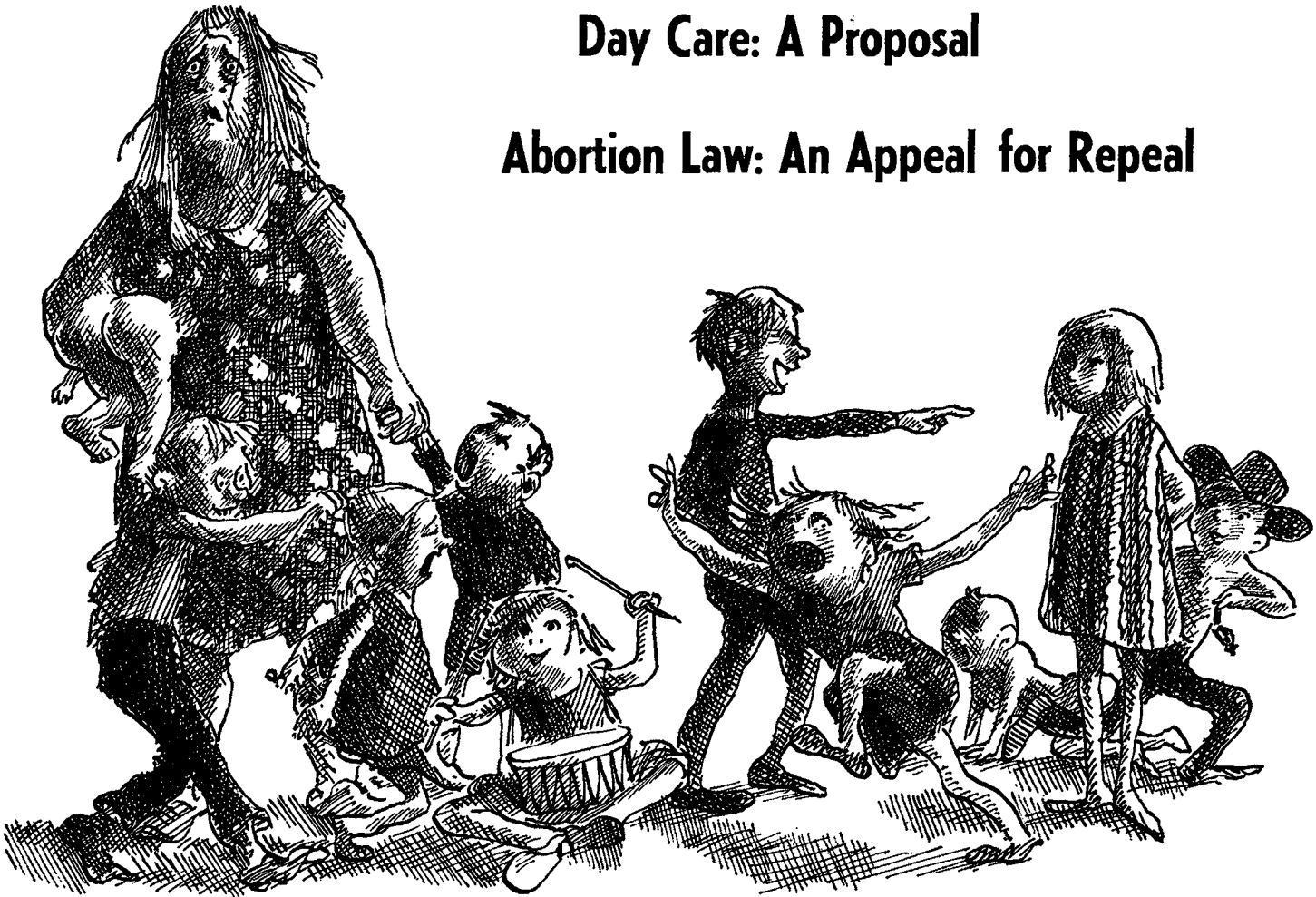
MAY, 1970

VOL. VI, No. 5

ONE DOLLAR

Day Care: A Proposal

Abortion Law: An Appeal for Repeal



Also This Month:

- **Roger Fisher: Television and the Yesable Proposition**
- **Briefing Papers on GOP Reform, Black Republicans**
- **Political Notes on Shea Bill, Watson Candidacy, El Paso Politics and more**

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TELEVISION AND THE YESABLE PROPOSITION

Professor Roger Fisher, of "The Advocates" and Harvard Law School, combines the intellectually delicious concept of the yesable proposition with a discussion of TV. TV seems to offer very little of reality to its viewers, either soothing one with easy answers (Mission: Impossible solves its problems in 60 minutes, most seltzer ads cut it to 60 seconds), or knotting one's brain with documentaries on well-nigh insoluble problems (the environment or the urban crisis). Professor Fisher pleads for "a piece of the answer," and tells how TV can help solve problems as well as treating you as an adult. —14

DAY CARE: A PROPOSAL

A specific, precise program, detailing organization and funding, that focuses on the development of the child into a more productive adult. Barbara Mooney and members of the Hartford chapter see day care as a combination of education, income redistribution, family counseling, child-Medicare and summer camp. It would, in fact, if put into operation nationwide, strengthen the individual child, the family and American society. —18

ABORTION LAW: AN APPEAL FOR REPEAL

Back to focusing on the mother, this article proposes repeal (not reform) of all laws relating to abortion except those governing the practice of medicine generally. Abortion has become a perpetual hot-potato, tossed from the medical profession to the church, from the courts to the legislature. In a matter of individual conscience, the individual should decide, and may have a constitutional right to do so. The Reverend G. Clyde Dodder describes the legal, moral and historical considerations that have led him to this point of view. —20

THE REFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

These briefing papers, by Charles McWhorter, Frederick Rohlfing, Frank Morris, Roy Williams and Michael Smith, were written as discussion stimulators for the Airlie House Conference on "Needed: A Republicanism for the 1980's." They cover party philosophy, institutional reform, involving new constituencies (by two black authors) and how "New Politics" has evolved since the 1968 campaign. The authors are all Republicans and have the best interests of the party at heart; yet their messages speak with urgency for the necessity of change. We hope some will note and heed. —23

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THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in eleven cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of sub-chapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work. The Society offers the following options for annual contribution: Contributor \$25 or more; Sustainer \$100 or more; Founder \$1000 or more. Inquiries about membership and chapter organization should be addressed to the National Executive Director.

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EDITORIAL POINTS

FOR A GOP SENATE

When Senator Harry Byrd Jr. of Virginia left the Democratic Party a few weeks ago, he said that the reason he was not joining the Republicans was that they were too liberal for him. If the Ripon ratings (FORUM, March, 1970) are any indication, leadership of the Senate will pass into more liberal hands if the Republicans win control in November.

Given the Senators who are retiring, as well as probable preferences of those faced with the choice of more than one chairmanship, present Democratic and potential Republican committee chairmen, with their Ripon ratings, are:

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Present Chairman</i>	<i>Republican Potential</i>
Aeronautics & Space	Anderson (56)	Curtis (31)
Agriculture	Ellender (31)	Miller (48)
*Appropriations	Russell (22)	Young [N.D.] (29)
*Armed Services	Stennis (15)	Smith [Me.] (41)
Banking & Currency	Sparkman (24)	Tower (29)
Commerce	Magnuson (55)	Cotton (25)
District of Columbia	Tydings (76)	Prouty (50)
*Finance	Long (32)	Bennett (41)
*Foreign Relations	Fulbright (60)	Aiken (82)
Govt. Operations	McClellan (7)	Percy (86)
Interior	Jackson (55)	Allott (31)
*Judiciary	Eastland (9)	Hruska (28)
*Labor & Welfare	Yarborough (58)	Javits (85)
Post Office	McGee (48)	Fong (42)
Public Works	Randolph (45)	Cooper (95)
Rules & Administration	Jordan [N.C.] (15)	Thurmond (21) Scott (75)

In the Ripon ratings, present committee chairmen obtain an average score of 38; their GOP counterparts receive an average of 48.

As for the top six committees (asterisked), Democrats average 33, Republicans 51. The ADA also rates the six Republicans higher than their

Democratic counterparts; the ACA and AFL-CIO rate the Republicans lower.

Therefore a credible argument can be made that on balance, the Senate would be led by more progressives than at present if the Republicans are in control. This gives progressive Republicans all the more reason to concentrate on delivering a GOP majority in the Senate this year.

* * *

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING

The Democrats' much advertised \$9 million campaign debt and the wailing of Lawrence O'Brien that the Party will have no money to run a presidential slate in 1972 contrasts sharply with the millions flowing into GOP treasuries. Some think this means certain Republican victories this fall. But the \$9 million (which included the Robert F. Kennedy debt from the 1968 primary campaigns) is not owed to anyone who is demanding it. There are no creditors at the door asking that all new funds be used to amortize the debt. The \$9 million thus does not stop the Democrats from financing current campaigns and much of it will quietly be forgotten by the large companies to which it is owed. Publicizing the debt does, however, reinforce the popular image, useful to Democrats in times of unemployment, that the Democrats are a party of the little people, while the Republicans represent heartless businessmen. The Republican Party is indeed doing well in fundraising, for much the same reasons that the President's Clubs did well under Johnson and Kennedy. Any business dependent on good relations with the Executive Branch must give disproportionately to Republicans this year. But this is not likely to be a permanent phenomenon. Nor is it likely to assure GOP victories in Congressional races

this November. The economy, the war and the growing violence in American cities are more likely to be salient issues.

* * *

AGNEW AS A LIABILITY

Spiro T. Agnew's popularity is thought to guarantee the GOP gains in the Senate. Mr. Agnew's campaign help will certainly be valued in a number of states, but if the Party gains Senate seats it will be because the Democratic incumbents who are up this year are especially numerous and vulnerable, since they won election in 1964 and 1958, years that were abnormally bad for the Republicans.

Mr. Agnew's intense following with some groups is unfortunately matched by strongly unfavorable poll ratings with others. In this respect he is like the Barry Goldwater of 1964 and the Ronald Reagan of 1968, whose constituencies he has moved to pre-empt. He has now replaced Reagan as the Party's best fundraiser and its most colorful conservative rhetorician. For this very reason, he is the embodiment of a revolving door strategy encouraging conservative Democrats to join the Party and liberal Republicans to leave it. He will be useful to the party in those Southern states where the Wallace vote coming in the revolving door outnumbers of the liberal vote going out. Christopher W. Beal calculated the liberal and conservative swing votes in September, 1968, on the basis of detailed state polls and predicted that the Mitchell campaign strategy would lead to a dramatic erosion of Nixon's margin over Humphrey in six of the seven largest Northern states. This erosion occurred, and though Nixon had been leading Humphrey in all seven states, he finally won only four, and these by margins whose narrowness surprised the Nixon staff, who did not understand the revolving-door mechanism.

Mr. Agnew's raised voice, then, does not represent all of Middle America. It represents an established Republican faction and its attempts to bid for "conservative" Democratic support at the expense of substantial liberal Republican and Independent backing. It is because he did *not* represent this faction in August, 1968, that Mr. Agnew seemed sufficiently neutral so that Mr. Nixon could put him on the ticket without offending either wing of his party. This is the reason that Mr. Agnew has described his present commitment to "positive polarization" as a "political risk." If the "conservative" strategy is discredited Mr. Agnew is discredited with it, but Mr. Nixon can still change course.

NIXON'S BEST COURSE

The word "conservative" is in quotation marks because the revolving door strategy is neither Republican nor conservative in any legitimate sense.

It aims, as Kevin Phillips has made clear, at combining the 1968 Wallace vote with the Nixon vote. But, George Wallace, as the *National Review* used to argue, is not a real conservative. He is an authoritarian populist; his constituency will not support the libertarianism, the free-market thinking and lowered voices which have characterized the traditional conservatism of the Republican Party. This kind of conservatism is a philosophy whose time has come and many of Mr. Nixon's programs advance it. In May, 1968, Mr. Nixon described the coalition that would rally around this philosophy. It was, he said, a "new alignment" combining Republicans, "New Liberals," "the new South," "black militants," and the "quiet Americans" (a less sullen group than the "silent majority"). This is the new libertarian, reform coalition that will support a prudent internationalism, disengagement from Vietnam, volunteer army, welfare reform, new federalism, environmental programs, better management of the Federal bureaucracy, and even a voucher system in education.

But Mr. Nixon's new alignment is very different from the "positive polarization" that is now being tested for him. Instead of the New South of Linwood Holton he will get the Old South of Harry Byrd. Instead of more New Liberals like Moynihan, he will get imitators of the old ones, who seek to manipulate pork barrel and special interest legislation for short-term political advantage. Instead of new black, militant Republicans like Art Fletcher and James Farmer, he will get a violent black community totally alienated from the GOP. Instead of "quiet Americans" he will get bitter ones who are united not by faith in the country but by shared frustrations which will turn them to the most artful demagogue.

Because the polarizing strategy is based on fear rather than hope, it may seem more tough and realistic. But in fact its projected constituents can be more easily stolen away by old Democratic loyalties in time of growing unemployment. The surest path for the GOP is to play on its image as the party of assimilation into the moderate middle class — north and south. Eisenhower's public personality reinforced this appeal in the 1950's. But Eisenhower, who aimed at setting a moral tone for the country, did not conceive of himself as an activist, reform President; for what he was trying to do, he did not need to build a Republican party that would add institutional force to his personal coalition. Mr. Nixon's view of the Presidency, on the other hand, demands that he take a responsible partisan role in the coming elections — that, in effect, he replace Mr. Agnew in the public eye as the figure most closely identified with the Republican Party.

He also should take steps to make his own strategy of a "new alignment" a viable option. At the moment, he has consigned development of political strategy to devotees of the "conservative" coalition. When he has asked for memo's analyzing election data he has also gone to this group, as most recently in a secret memo on the Virginia elections prepared for him by Kevin W. Phillips. He ought to diversify his access to analysis and also to encourage other members of his Cabinet to assume a more prominent political role. There is, for example, Mr. Laird, who has spoken in the past for a libertarian conservatism and Messrs. Romney, Finch and Volpe who have used progressive Republican programs to win the trust of liberals and independents and minority groups.

Above all, Mr. Nixon must avoid the trap of allowing himself to become overly identified with polarizing rhetoric that appeals to groups who will vote for the Democrats anyway as a result of the unemployment issue in November. Even with the best of luck, Republicans should not expect great gains in 1970. But with the revolving-door strategy in operation, they can expect to lose their present initiative to the Democrats. Mr. Nixon's statement identifying himself with the Southern strategy after the Carswell defeat was a step in the wrong direction.

* * *

A CALL TO EXCELLENCE

"We make no plea for the packing of the Supreme Court with partisans of any school of thought. What we desire is men who understand and will fearlessly apply the dictates of essential justice. They should be jurists of distinction, whose ruling show that they are able to recognize the larger claims of those rights that are distinctively human."

—From an editorial read into the Congressional Record after the defeat of Judge John J. Parker in 1930.

The Carswell defeat really was in the best interests of the Administration and the Party, as well as the country. President Nixon should now have a truer reading of the mood of the nation and of what will be tolerated and what will not. It was not only a rebuke, it was a "call to excellence," to remind Nixon that he promised to appoint outstanding men to the Court and other offices.

Also, it should be noted that the rejection represented far more widespread dissatisfaction than the

vote would indicate. Several Republicans in the Senate who voted in favor did so out of loyalty to the President, not because they liked the appointment.

The tally on the Carswell votes:

Republicans who voted for confirmation of Carswell on Wednesday, April 8.

Aiken of Vermont	Hruska of Nebraska
Allott of Colorado	Jordan of Idaho
Baker of Tennessee	Miller of Iowa
Bellmon of Oklahoma	Murphy of California
Boggs of Delaware	Pearson of Kansas
Cooper of Kentucky	Saxbe of Ohio
Cotton of New Hampshire	Scott of Pennsylvania
Curtis of Nebraska	Smith of Illinois
Dole of Kansas	Stevens of Alaska
Dominick of Colorado	Thurmond of So. Carolina
Fannin of Arizona	Tower of Texas
Goldwater of Arizona	Williams of Delaware
Griffin of Michigan	Young of North Dakota
Gurney of Florida	Bennett of Utah (paired for)
Hansen of Wyoming	

Republicans voting against confirmation.

Brooke of Massachusetts	Mathias of Maryland
Case of New Jersey	Packwood of Oregon
Cook of Kentucky	Percy of Illinois
Fong of Hawaii	Prouty of Vermont
Goodell of New York	Schweiker of Pennsylvania
Hatfield of Oregon	Smith of Maine
Javits of New York	

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS TWICE

A story by Laurence Stern in the *Washington Post* April 22 quoted "a Cambodian battalion commander" as saying: "Tell Washington we could use 200,000 American troops and after two years we could handle the situation by ourselves, like the South Vietnamese."

Two columnists, Joseph Alsop and Robert Novak, seemed to favor the dispatch of substantial U.S. aid. Alsop: "The opportunity offered by the big change in Cambodia is almost too good to be true, in fact . . . it can slip away for good if the hawing and wavering in Washington continues." Novak spoke of a "genuine outpouring of national patriotism" against the Viet Cong, and concluded that, "Such clear national sentiment is of little use against superior military might. Cambodia, finding itself pitifully devoid of allies, is at Hanoi's mercy. That Washington should permit this when the stakes are so large is remarkable and deserves discussion in a subsequent column."

Political Notes

MASSACHUSETTS: testing the war's constitutionality

A new chapter was added to the saga of politics and strange bedfellows in Massachusetts when the Democratic legislature passed and Republican Governor Francis Sargent signed legislation ostensibly giving Massachusetts residents the right to resist being sent into combat in an area where Congress has not yet declared war.

The bill was filed by a heretofore obscure freshman Democratic State Representative from suburban Newton, H. James Shea. Shea filed the bill by request — a special procedure which indicates to fellow-legislators that the member is not really in support of the bill, but has sponsored it out of obligation to its draftsmen. In this case its draftsmen were Reverend John Wells, a lawyer-minister who had been active in the October 15th moratorium activities, and Stephen Worth, a professor at Northeastern University.

Shea was advised by the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, where the bill was referred, that the committee could not take it seriously, but would give the sponsors all the time they wanted to present testimony at a public hearing scheduled at the end of February.

Worth and Wells used the hearing to take the bill out of the morass of the more than 7,000 proposals filed before the Massachusetts legislature for 1970. They arranged for a full day's hearing featuring heavy legal documentation on the constitutionality of the bill and pointing to a test of the constitutionality of the war before the United States Supreme Court as its goal.

The most prominent spokesman was former Senator Ernest Gruening, whose presence guaranteed substantial press coverage. At about the time of the hearing, Shea himself forgot any reservations he had earlier and assumed active leadership of the effort.

The path of the bill was inextricably involved with an attempt by the League of Women Voters, the Governor and assorted reform groups to cut the size of the legislature from 240 to 160 members. Representative Shea, having been elected on a pledge to vote for the cut, voted against, and won the admiration of the House Speaker, an aggressive young Democrat named David Bartley. Speaker Bartley's tactics in defeating the House cut proposal led to much outrage among the largest bloc of swing voters in the state — the educated suburban liberals. Shea's switch gave him leverage with Bartley and with Senate President and gubernatorial aspirant Maurice Donohue.

The Democratic leadership saw that the obscure bill about Vietnam could be the vehicle to win back or mollify this alienated group and put the Governor

on the spot at the same time. With an avalanche of publicity and all these incentives the bill received majorities from both parties in both branches and quickly found its way to the Governor's desk.

Governor Francis Sargent then gave this drama its suspense. No one knew what his action would be, and all knew that whatever action he took would cause much controversy. Sargent is seeking reelection in a state where Democrats outnumber Republicans and Independents combined. He is a Republican Governor in a state which does not fit into the alleged Southern strategy — it is written off by Phillips. Sargent could sign the bill and enrage the conservatives within his party, and, possibly draw greater retaliation from the White House, or veto it and enrage the liberal swing voters, a group with which he has had remarkable success.

The bill itself is of questionable value. Legal scholars are divided both on its constitutionality and on its possibility of testing the war's constitutionality in the Supreme Court. Its backers said it would show disenchanted youth that the system works. Its detractors called it "a cruel hoax," and said it would be rejected by the system.

Governor Sargent did sign the bill, but cautioned as to its probable lack of impact. He stated that he put it into law because it represented a hope; that he would be remiss in his duties as Governor of the citizens of Massachusetts if he did not pursue all avenues toward ending the war in Vietnam.

The political implications are not clear. The Governor has had problems with the party regulars ever since he assumed office in January, 1969, but there is evidence that he communicated with the White House and violated no orders from that source. The bill directs itself to the failure of Congressional action as much as Presidential policy, but still will be described by Sargent's detractors as a rebuke to Richard Nixon. Most important, it probably makes it impossible for Sargent's gubernatorial opponent this fall to tie him to the problems of the Nixon administration in a state where the President received only 33 percent of the vote in 1968.



TEXAS: bulldogging the establishment

The most fascinating GOP congressional primary in the nation is taking place in El Paso, Texas. It pits Jesus R. Provencio, endorsed by party regulars, quoted as saying "My country — right or wrong," against John Karr, a McCarthyite Democrat turned Republican, West Point graduate and W.W. II fighter pilot, who now runs his own investment and banking equipment business.

In the 16th District of Texas, the local Republican party machinery is quite firmly in the grip of the Goldwaterites. There once was a Republican Congressman from the district, Ed Foreman, now Congressman from New Mexico. This, however, was when a couple of highly conservative West Texas towns were in the district, namely, Midland and Odessa (oil). For the last three terms Richard C. White has been the Democratic incumbent. He is hawkish, conventional and seems to have impeccable connections with the Republican establishment. White is being opposed in the primary by Raymond Telles. Telles was once mayor of El Paso—the first Mexican-American ever to be elected mayor of so sizeable a city. In 1960 he delivered Los Angeles for John F. Kennedy and was rewarded with an ambassadorship to Costa Rica. He continued under Johnson, and later became chairman of the U.S.-Mexican Border Commission, which came unfunded, so he came back to run for Congress.

As the primary filing deadline drew near, it became clear that the local Republicans did not intend to run anyone against White. They preferred to vote in the Democratic primary against Telles (registered Independents can vote in either primary). They were sure if White did get renominated he would easily crush any opposition they could put up.

Friday, January 30, Karr went to Alan Rash, El Paso County interim Chairman, and told him he was thinking of filing. On the 31st, Karr went ahead, despite discouragement from Rash. He filed by mail for the eleven counties outside El Paso by February 1.

Karr's filing prompted the El Paso Republican Executive Committee to come up with a candidate on Monday, February 2 — the filing deadline was that day at 6:00 P.M. Provencio was able to file only in El Paso County. By Monday it was too late to file by mail and impossible in Euclidian time and space to reach the other County Chairmen in the district with a filing. This gave rise to the question of the legality of Provencio's candidacy.

The Texas Election Code (Article 13.12) states that the application to be placed on the ballot for nomi-

nation for a Congressional office "shall be filed with the County Chairmen of each county included wholly or partially within the district." However, Karr's request that Provencio be ruled off the primary ballot was refused by the El Paso County Republican chairman, Mr. Rash. Rash replied that Provencio was certified as a candidate in El Paso and that the executive committee could not rule further on the legality of the code. Karr is considering filing suit to determine the matter.

It does seem grossly detrimental to the 15 percent of the district's population who live outside El Paso, as they will be unaware of a contest and tend to ignore the Republican primary. There are a number of races on the Democratic ballot which are of intense interest to Karr's natural constituency. These include Ralph Yarborough's opponent, and several liberal state legislators who have tough races in the primary with no Republican filed at all, so that it's all or nothing in the Democratic primary. The hard-core Republicans will vote for Provencio who is the "approved" as well as more conservative candidate.

It appears now that White will win the Democratic primary. The large Mexican-American registration might then be persuaded to switch and vote for Karr in the general election. Also, the local COPE (AFL-CIO) has endorsed Telles and might endorse Karr if Telles loses. In other words, against a conservative Democrat, Karr might have a chance to mobilize new constituencies to the Republican party and win. Provencio, opposing White, would be simply a me-too candidate.

Karr joined the Republican party because, ". . . the Democratic party has demonstrated its inability to respond to the needs of the people. It has ruled this state for a hundred years. It is time for a change." Karr may not be philosophically one hundred percent in line with the local Republican establishment, but he may be very much in line with what a majority of the 16th District voters would like to send to Congress.

The National Republican Party, if it wishes to control Congress and expand in the South, should encourage newcomers like Karr instead of running last-minute candidates who echo the conservative Democratic line.

S. CAROLINA: Watson will test the southern strategy

The Republican Party of South Carolina held its biennial convention in Columbia on March 21 and voted to nominate candidates by the convention method rather than by party primary. The vote was 346 to 71. The convention then went on to nominate Representative Albert Watson for Governor by acclamation.

The party primary had been supported by rival gubernatorial candidate Arthur Ravenel, Jr., 43, a

Charleston realtor, former State Representative (1953-1959) and GOP fundraiser. Ravenel, a progressive and a racial moderate, became a Republican in 1959 because he thought the GOP could better serve as a vehicle for change in the South.

Watson, who was nominated by Senator Strom Thurmond, was elected to Congress in 1962 and 1964 as a Democrat. He and Representative John Bell Williams were stripped of their seniority the following year, as a result of their supporting Barry Goldwater for President. Watson resigned, joined the GOP and was reelected. Thurmond has said of Watson, ". . . the ACA rates him from 94 to 100 percent. The ADA . . . rates him zero. I think that's a good recommendation."

Back in January Ravenel had announced his candidacy — stipulating that he would not run unless there was a primary. In mid-January, at a press conference at GOP headquarters in Columbia, the Draft Watson for Governor Committee was unveiled. At its head was South Carolina National Committeeman J. Drake Edens. He and Ray Harris, South Carolina State Chairman, agreed that a primary was out of the question for 1970.

The committee included:

1. J. Drake Edens of Columbia — Edens was state chairman during the 1964 Goldwater campaign and announced S.C.'s vote at the convention putting Barry over the top. He pre-dates Thurmond and Watson as a member of the Republican Party.

2. Dr. James B. Edwards — Conservative Charleston County Chairman. In 1968, Edwards announced his candidacy for Congress in order to have a conservative in the race in case Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, the white-maned chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, was defeated in the Democratic Primary by a liberal Negro candidate. When Rivers won, Edwards withdrew. It was Dr. Edwards who, at the 1968 convention, introduced a resolution calling on the chairman to plan for a Republican primary in 1970. The resolution easily passed. A statewide poll showed that 84 percent of the state's Republicans want a primary.

3. State Rep. Mac Patterson of Greenville County — He took himself out of the race for the GOP nomination for Lt. Governor to take part in the Watson movement. Patterson has introduced a bill in the S.C. General Assembly to repeal the compulsory education statute (requiring compulsory school attendance) in an effort to circumvent the Supreme Court's directive. He is strong in Greenville County and survived the 1968 state-wide defeat.

4. Sen. Gilbert McMillan of Aiken County — the only announced candidate for the GOP nomination for Lt. Governor (as of January 15).

5. John LaFitte and Ken Powell, both of Columbia — Both are young and pragmatic. Both ran for the state House in 1966 and lost. LaFitte ran again

in 1968 and lost while Powell had the same results with a race for the state Senate. Powell is an attorney and LaFitte a real estate man.

6. Mrs. Joyce Gilliam — Lexington County (Watson's home) Chairwoman. She is a newcomer to any leadership position.

7. Mrs. Ruth Glover of Charleston — Bircher, militant segregationist.

Watson finally made the long-awaited announcement on February 13. In the intervening month, following the U.S. Supreme Court order to completely desegregate the schools of Darlington and Greenville counties, Watson publicly denounced Democratic Governor Robert MacNair's refusal to follow the lead of Governors Maddox and Kirk in their efforts to avoid or delay similar orders in their states. Watson said that if he were Governor, he would file suit to vacate the order based on the provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which forbids compulsory busing.

Another incident pointed toward a probable Watson candidacy. Lester Bates, the Mayor of Columbia and a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor, withdrew from the primary. Bates claimed that his health (arthritis) forced his withdrawal. But rumor has it that he was pressured out of the race by his old friend and former employee Albert Watson. The Mayor has been a heavy financial backer of Watson who met privately with him shortly before his decision not to run. Lester Bates ran unsuccessfully for Governor in 1950 and 1954, and it is well known that acquiring that office has been a life-long dream. Bates was considered a strong candidate.

Bates' withdrawal left the field open for Lieutenant Governor John West, a moderate in the MacNair mold. He will face Watson in November.

After Watson's nomination, Jim Henderson was chosen as the party's candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Henderson is a Greenville advertising executive — head of the South's largest firm — which he founded. He defeated State Senator Gilbert McMillan by the margin of 338 to 68.

State Senator Floyd Spence of Lexington County was picked to run for the 2nd District seat now held by Watson (who, as a Democrat, defeated Spence for that same seat in 1962).

After his defeat, Ravenel said that he would support the nominees but that they would have to work twice as hard without a primary. He said that he would be back in two years to try for the primary again — and also did not rule out the possibility of running for Governor in 1974. It looks like there will be a primary — perhaps as early as 1972. The Columbia State, reporting on the convention, quoted Senator Thurmond as saying, "I hope very soon . . . we will move to a primary system. I have always favored the primary."

The Watson candidacy is a blow to the moderate

wing of the Republican Party. Ravenel and other moderates can only hope future primaries will defeat the now-triumphant Thurmond-Goldwaterites. In the meantime, while Watson appeals to the Wallace voter, many dissatisfied moderates will desert the GOP to vote for West. (Edens is drafting a letter to all members of the College Young Republicans begging them not to leave the Party.)

In 1968, Nixon won 38 percent of the vote (contrasted with Thurmond's 60 percent victory in 1966), Wallace 32 percent and Humphrey 30 percent. Given defections in Republican ranks, the normal Democratic proclivities of the Wallace vote, combined with a likely increase in black voter registration, Watson may have a more difficult test than he expects.

N. CAROLINA: the moderates hang in there

The North Carolina Republican State Convention, held on the 20th and 21st of March, showed that the moderate and moderately conservative "Old Guard" faction is still holding the balance of power in the state party. One symptom of this is the re-election of Jim Holshouser to a third two-year term as State Chairman (without opposition). Holshouser, a 35-year-old attorney, is an all-but-announced candidate for the 1972 GOP gubernatorial nomination.

There are, however, some rumblings about the future possibility of stiff opposition to Holshouser and the "Old Guard" which he leads. Such opposition would come from the "Gardner" faction of the party: the young Turks, a faction composed of ultraconservatives, segregationists, ex-Conservative Democrats, Neo-Dixiecrats, and opportunists. While this group may be characterized as strongly pro-Reagan, pro-Thurmond, etc., it should not be inferred that its style is that of the "red-neck". It does make a strong pitch to the rural segregationist vote and finds much of its strength in areas which went for Wallace in 1968; the leadership of the faction is grounded in highly ambitious, urbane, and successful young politico-entrepreneurs whose political operations are replete with "electronics, polls, jets, psychology, personality projection, and 'Madison Avenue.'" Thus, in its appearance it is more Reagan-Goldwater than Wallace-Thurmond, more upper-middleclass than lower-middle or lower, and more Conservative than conservative. However, as I have mentioned, it continues to find great support in the rural lower-middleclass.

None of the above should suggest that the Old Guard is "liberal" in any significant sense. It is very much at home with Nixon. In fact, Jack Childs of the Raleigh News and Observer writes that Holshouser

is "sort of colorless, sort of ultra-efficient, a practical, sober man like the 'New Nixon.'" In the 1968 GOP Miami Convention the Holshouser faction was largely pro-Nixon, while the Gardner delegates bolted for Reagan. But the Old Guard is more inclined to work with blacks and certain types of liberals; it could (just possibly) form a nucleus for a progressive North Carolina GOP. On the other hand, the Gardner wing would be the foundation for any North Carolina GOP of the Phillips-Mitchell-Dent "Southern Strategy" mold.

Gardner's only dent in the convention was the unseating of Mrs. Helen Verbyla as vice chairman. Her eight-year tenure came to an end with the election of Mrs. Grace Roher. The News and Observer says that "the nomination of Mrs. Roher gave the delegates who like Jim Gardner . . . a chance to blow off some steam against the 'ins.'"

In addition, the 1970 campaign platform calls on the legislature to let the people vote on the question of lowering the voting age from 21 to 18, and calls for a system of direct aid to any needy student who attends any N.C. college or university, whether public or private.

NEW YORK: what is a new democrat?

Words of welcome are in order to a new publication established on the Ripon model. It is The New Democrat, published monthly in New York City (1636 Third Avenue, for \$10, \$5 to students). Its purpose: "stimulating fresh thinking in the Democratic Party. It will provide individuals with a platform to enunciate ideas, with an arena to voice discontents, and with a bullhorn to attack old politics."

The Editor, Stephen Schlesinger, a former McGovern aide, consulted with Ripon, among others, before setting up shop. His first 8-page issue, published in April 1970, has a lead editorial on "Repression in the Democratic Party," lamenting the fact that the "conservative, anti-new politics, business-as-usual forces have seized the party." They haven't seized it, of course; they have simply held onto it since Chicago, when Mayor Daley, George Meany and Lyndon Johnson nominated a loser. And the odds now are on their continuing to keep control whether under a Muskie or Humphrey candidacy.

To rescue their Party, The New Democrat proposes a "New Liberalism," a discussion of which occupies much of the first issue. Grier Raggio, the publisher of the newsletter, describes this doctrine in not very ringing terms. It comes out as a compromise between New Deal liberalism and the Vietnam protest movement, all personified in the last three months in the life of Robert F. Kennedy. There is in this much with which Ripon FORUM readers will agree — an endorsement of the negative

income tax, of multilateral foreign aid, of libertarianism (though this word is never used), of increased community and individual control. But there still remain tell-tale odors of unbounded trust in government bureaucracy, of the inability to use market systems to achieve social objectives, the obtuseness to many "conservative" criticisms.

Perhaps this will be remedied in time. But until the backwash of the New Deal is over, we shall urge young people to become Ripon Republicans and not New Democrats. And we shall promote a doctrine which is not easily branded liberal, radical or conservative but which combines some of the best elements of all schools of thought. No point denying it: we are moderates, with a "radical" analysis of what is wrong in society, "liberal" impulses about the rights of the disadvantaged, and a "conservative" sense of traditional values.

But let us not emphasize our differences. Welcome to the fray, New Democrats. Both parties have enough wrong with them so that the two of us together are not yet equal to the fight.

CONNECTICUT: the fraying of Bailey's leash

The leash on Connecticut politics which has been held for 16 years by the apparatus of former Democratic National Chairman John Bailey is showing signs of strain. The frayed coalition of suburban liberals and ethnic conservatives that give Democratic candidates an automatic 70,000-plus majority in this state is being eyed by voters suspicious of high promise and low performance. In January, popular, affable Governor John Dempsey (D.) took a long look at the future his administration had helped to create and called it quits. He bequeathed to his political heirs the problems of a strife-torn Democratic legislature and a state financial crisis. He left the problem of a growing welfare burden — about 65% of the 86,000 welfare recipients in Connecticut are children without a father. He left the problem of the increasingly impoverished, increasingly black urban centers — in Hartford this year, 62% of the entering school population is black. He left the problem of widespread hard drug use and avoided the noisy battles between the new ecologists on one hand and the State Highway Department on the other. He resigned, in fact, from the complexities of modern civilization.

Even in disarray, the Democrats managed to field a strong gubernatorial candidate in "Mim" (Emilio Q.) Daddario, Congressman from the 1st District (Hartford). Daddario has not only received widespread support from party regulars but also from the main branch of the CCD (Caucus for Concerned Democrats), the Mc-

Carthy-Robert Kennedy holdovers who forsee a possible linkage with their Senatorial candidate, the Reverend Joseph Duffey, also of Hartford and frequently accompanied by former McCarthy backer, Paul Newman. Duffey last year wore three hats, as CCD leader, chief of the aging ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) and head of the now dormant Center for Urban Studies at the Hartford Seminary. His organization is already splintering into another liberal offshoot, the Alliance for '70, based in New Haven, which favors Secretary of State Ella Grasso or former New Haven Mayor Dick Lee for the Senate.

Other more seasoned Democratic campaigners for Thomas Dodd's Senate seat include Dodd himself, State Senate Majority Leader Edward Marcus who has New Haven backing, and wealthy Stamford businessman (Textron) Alphonse Donahue, a liberal, who, with 12 children, stresses his "concern for the other fellow." Though the national party is in financial hot water, most local Democratic candidates appear to be well-heeled and their Senate nomination promises to be a free-for-all.

Republicans, sensing a conservative mood in the air — Wallace had more than an emotional impact in Democratic labor ranks here — have just come up with a series of polls showing Tom Meskill, 6th District Congressman, as the best answer to Daddario. Although the polls were hastily taken and insufficient in scope, Meskill, in declaring his candidacy for Governor on February 24, admitted their influence. Actually, as the only Republican Congressmen from Connecticut, Meskill and freshman Lowell Weicker Jr. (4th District: New York City suburbs including Greenwich-Fairfield) have long sought to put together a team that would capture Connecticut. One of the problems they face is the uninspiring way in which the GOP has handled both candidate and issue exposure: the same format, the same menus, the same head table year after year. Earlier this year, both Meskill and Weicker protested to no avail the early GOP choice of dates for the State Convention which will give the Democrats the last hurrah in convention publicity.

Meskill, a conscientious representative, votes the conservative line but declares himself a "moderate." He is not without sturdy opposition from another moderate, State Senate Minority Leader Wallace Barnes, who has already attacked Meskill's lack of knowledge of state problems. Barnes, a Bristol businessman and a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Williams and Yale Law School, has a young and dedicated staff but he is handicapped by the Farmington stereotype, well-to-do and a bit remote. Meskill's home district, although geographically large (covering the entire northwest quadrant of the state), is oriented toward the smaller towns and Barnes' recognition that Connecticut is an essentially urban state should stand him in good stead. A primary for the GOP gubernatorial nomination may be

in the offing, not an altogether unhappy prospect considering the fruitful results for the Republicans in the New Jersey and Virginia primaries.

However, Malcolm Baldrige Jr. former GOP state Finance Chairman and a Waterbury industrialist, has removed himself from the gubernatorial challenge to back Meskill, as has Clark Hull of Danbury.

A GOP primary for the governor's seat looks less and less likely as former gubernatorial candidates fall in line behind Thomas Meskill. At a fund-raising dinner on April 4 at which Meskill was guest of honor in Hartford, both Malcolm Baldrige Jr. former state GOP Finance Chairman and an undeclared candidate for Dempsey's seat; and Clark Hull, a Danbury lawyer, and a declared candidate for Governor, threw their support to Meskill. Baldrige arranged the fund-raising dinner and Hull acted as toast-master. Governor Cahill of N.J., a friend of Meskill's, spoke briefly. The evening represented a display of party harmony that did not reflect the turbulent undercurrents of personal ambitions. Lowell Weicker Jr., a GOP Senate candidate, sat at the head table. Another strong and very able Senate candidate, Ted Etherington, was in the audience and shared GOP applause equally with Weicker.

The remarkable six-candidate GOP Senate race, which on February 26 included Weicker, has already fielded State Senator John Lupton, an articulate conservative; former Congressman Abner Sibal, a moderate; Farmington attorney Palmer McGee, a liberal; a black candidate from Greenwich, Berenice Napper; and from the groves of academe, an attractive newcomer, Edward (Ted) Etherington, who has just resigned as President of Wesleyan. Etherington, former President of the American Stock Exchange, is relatively unknown outside Middletown but he is being backed by Edwin May Jr. of Wethersfield, former state GOP Chairman, and himself the Senate candidate overwhelmed by Abe Ribicoff (D.) in 1968.

Weicker is difficult to classify and would recognize the fallacy of trying to jam each candidate into a convenient pigeonhole labeled conservative or liberal. A one-time Goldwater booster, Weicker has been an independent and progressive Congressman. He has had an almost pro-Administration voting record but has been anti-ABM, pro-innovative urban housing, and did not go along with Nixon's veto of the HEW appropriations. Such a record may yield him issue-oriented voters on both sides of the political fence in this increasingly sophisticated state.

With Meskill and Weicker committed to the top spots, a whole host of interesting possibilities appear for the Congressional races. The Republican party has a strong stable of intelligent, younger candidates. State House Minority Leader, young Stewart McKinney, would like a go at Weicker's 4th District although he may conflict

with experienced attorney Abner Sibal, if the Senatorial race narrows. In the 6th District vacated by Meskill, Malcolm Baldrige, Jr., reorganizer of Scovill Brass and a champion roper, has time, talent, and money for a Congressional run, a charmer of a wife, and a celebrated sister, Tish Baldrige Hollensteiner, who was the former Mrs. Kennedy's social secretary in the White House. Moreover, Baldrige is highly respected in the black urban community as well as in financial circles. His Republican opposition, if he makes the run (which now appears unlikely), would come from Mayor Paul Manafort of New Britain, a conservative stronghold, and Richard Kilbourn, a moderate, of the WBIS radio station in Bristol.

In the 3rd District (the New Haven area), Democratic incumbent Congressman Robert Giaimo, could be in serious trouble denying press reports of links with Mafia-types and of influence-peddling. Here, young Paul Capra, a former admissions officer at Yale, who almost overcame the nearly 5-to-1 Democratic registration as the GOP candidate for mayor of New Haven this past November, would be an outstanding candidate, but has indicated a reluctance to run. Two Republicans, State Senator Lucy Hammer, and a young Albertus Magnus College professor, Larry DiNardis, are eyeing the 3rd District seat.

In the 2nd District (most of the state east of Hartford), 31-year-old Robert Steele, son of a popular Connecticut radio announcer, and Peter Cashman are vying for the GOP nod against entrenched Democrat incumbent William St. Onge. Bob Steele now appears to have a major edge over Peter Cashman and Cashman is "re-considering." (The 2nd District is also home base for local Ripon President Nicholas Norton of Westchester. Although not in this year's race, Norton might be a future candidate for the party there.)

In the 5th District (west of New Haven and along the New York border), young financier Dan Lufkin of Newtown is quietly making himself known through "Action Now" programs, but it is in the big 1st District (Hartford) that tension rises. Half a dozen Democrats have already leaped at the bait Daddario has left, and another half-dozen are surfacing. The GOP has a proven vote-getter in Ann (Antonina) Uccello, Republican Mayor of Democratic Hartford. Uccello is reportedly upset because the GOP did not consider her for the Senate race. Despite the fact that Vice-President Agnew phoned her last week to urge her to run for Congress, she has not made up her mind. Another GOP possibility for the 1st District is Nicholas Lenge of West Hartford, former State House Minority Leader and an undeclared candidate for GOP Governor's seat. Thus, on the Congressional level, long dominated by lack-luster Democrats, the Republican future in Connecticut looks considerably brighter.

KENTUCKY: giving out free rides

Late in 1969, it appeared to most political observers in Kentucky that the state Republican Party would make a concerted effort to challenge at least 2 of the 4 Democratic members of the seven-man congressional delegation. Since there will be no state-wide elections in Kentucky this year, it was speculated that the Republican State Central Committee and the administration of Governor Louie Nunn would concentrate on winning at least one more seat in Congress.

As the filing deadline passed on April 1, however, it was clear that the state GOP planned no special effort for the congressional elections in 1970. Only the three incumbent Republicans will mount serious campaigns in their respective districts. Two Democrats have no Republican opposition, and the other two will be faced with minimal problems.

GOP Congressmen M. Gene Snyder of the 4th District (Louisville suburbs) and Tim Lee Carter of the 5th (southern and southeastern Kentucky) should have no problems in defeating their Democratic challengers. Congressman William Cowger of Louisville's 3rd District will face either Democratic state Senator Romano Mazzoli or state Representative Tom Ray. Mazzoli, a young liberal, would be the toughest opponent for Cowger, who defeated Ray in 1968 by over 10,000 votes.

Democratic incumbents Frank Stubblefield of western Kentucky's 1st District and William Natcher of the west central 2nd will have no Republican opponents. John C. Watts of the 6th District (Bluegrass counties) and Carl Perkins of the mountainous 7th will face unknown and underfinanced Republicans.

Both the 2nd and the 6th Districts have shown growing Republican tendencies since 1965, on the state and national level. Most observers considered them vulnerable to well-financed GOP campaigns. In the 2nd, either former state Representative George Greer of Owensboro or young state Representative Walter A. Baker of Glasgow had been expected to seek the seat. Without financing and support from the Governor, neither chose to run.

A similar situation occurred in the rapidly growing 6th, which includes Lexington and its surrounding Bluegrass counties. There the GOP appeared to have found a winning candidate in Larry Hopkins, a young progressive from Lexington. Hopkins had been offered support from labor, the black communities, and certain liberal Democratic groups, but not from the Governor or the state party. Because of personal reasons, Hopkins decided not to be a sacrificial goat for an uninterested and unhelpful Republican leadership.

Governor Nunn has been blamed by many Republicans for refusing to assist qualified GOP candidates in 1970. Nunn claims to be a close political associate of President Nixon, yet he offered no help to candidates for the Congress who could make Nixon's life a lot easier on Capitol Hill.

The Governor, who cannot succeed himself in 1971, apparently wishes to conserve his funds so that he may hand-pick a successor next year. By doing so, he has alienated many members of his own Party. By refusing to help build the GOP organization, he has also injured the chances of any Republican to win in 1971.

WASHINGTON: several pats on the back

While much attention is given to progressive Republican candidates during their campaigns, often we fail to note the effective work they do in office. With this tendency in mind, it is interesting to review the records of two Ripon-endorsed office holders in Washington State, Governor Daniel J. Evans and Secretary of State A. Ludlow Kramer.

Governor Evans has received much notice for the work that he has done to revitalize state government. He has reasserted the state's role in attacking problems of the urban areas, the environment, and the rigor mortis of governmental bureaucracy.

Less noted is the work done by Secretary Kramer, elected at the age of 32, who has established himself as an innovative leader, while serving as chairman of organizations that are implementing the lay-citizen involvement concept, i.e., the Governor's Urban Affairs Council, the Washington State Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Civil Disorder, the Electoral Reform Council, the Governor's Commission on Youth Involvement, the Governor's Festival of the Arts, and the Constitutional Revision Committee.

During the last session, these two leaders, in combination with strong support from new citizen groups, helped pass far-reaching environmental legislation — creation of a Department of Ecology, thermal power plants siting act, surface mining act, an open space bill which is based on "tax on present use", an oil discharge bill that places liability and penalties upon offenders, and bills strengthening air and water pollution control statutes.

Secretary of State Lud Kramer personally led a successful drive to place a 19-year-old vote constitutional amendment on the ballot next fall. Attempts have been made to lower the age of voting in the State of Washington since 1899, including every legislative session in the last 28 years. This time, Secretary Kramer mobilized forces and developed strategies months

prior to the legislative session in order to fully utilize all supporting political leaders, interest groups, and most important, young people.

The 19-year-old vote campaign in Washington State hopes to avoid the pitfalls that occurred in Ohio, New Jersey and other states by combining the grind-it-out precinct politics of the old school with the new politics, the use of media, polls, issues development, wide-scale citizen involvement and such.

The leadership provided in the State of Washington by Governor Evans, Secretary Kramer and Attorney General Slade Gorton has brought about the major reorganization of some of our state departments, a major revision of our tax system to include a flat-rate income tax (if the voters ratify the constitutional amendment next fall), a comprehensive change in the relationship between state and local government to more effectively handle urban problems, and significant changes to allow for the involvement of young people in the state's political and economic systems.

D. C.: yr progressives criticize "destructive neglect"

The Young Republican's annual Leadership Training School held in Washington in March received this year unexpected criticism for lacking progressive representation. A group of YR's from many parts of the country, calling themselves the Concerned Republican Caucus, said that the atmosphere of the training conference had been "directed toward the repression of the progressive heritage of the Republican Party." Their statement was presented to President Nixon at a White House reception for attendees at the School on March 13. They said that:

As a group of concerned Young Republicans in attendance at the 1970 Leadership Training School, we feel that there exists a policy of destructive neglect toward the progressive element of the party. We feel it is unfortunate that the atmosphere of this conference has been directed toward the repression of the progressive heritage of the Republican Party with its accent on images rather than issues, rhetoric rather than action, and a neglect of those minorities in America that the Republican Party should seek to serve. We feel that full advantage has not been taken of the excellent opportunity to expose all elements of our party to diverse viewpoints on contemporary issues. There should be a conscious effort made to involve the young, the poor, and the black in the political process. A more realistic attitude should be taken toward the drug problem in America. There should be a redirecting of our priorities from the wars in Vietnam and Laos to the urban crisis facing our nation.

NORTH DAKOTA: Nixon-endorsee wins senate nod

President Nixon finally won confirmation for one of his choices for high office when the North Dakota Republican Convention endorsed Congressman Thomas S. Kleppe for the U.S. Senate.

Kleppe won the endorsement April 11 for the seat held by Democratic Senator Quentin N. Burdick, defeating his only opponent, State Senate Majority Leader George Longmire, by a 584-221 count. The only surprising element in the result was that Longmire polled better than a fourth of the vote against the President's hand-picked candidate.

Kleppe had announced his intention February 17 to seek a third term as 2nd District Congressman but he changed his mind and entered the Senate race March 25 after a White House pow-wow with Nixon. During the interim, five candidates had jumped into the senatorial contest; all but Longmire subsequently withdrew.

Republican National Chairman Rogers C. B. Morton addressed the state party convention, saying "In looking over the entire country, North Dakota just has to be a prime target for picking up a Senate seat. From top to bottom, this is one of the strongest Republican states in the country. We have got to win here."

However, it will take more than a boxcar of dollars and campaign appearances by Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, as promised by Nixon, to elect Kleppe, a conservative on all issues except farm subsidies.

Kleppe is confronted with some bitterness in party ranks caused by the White House's power tactics. Indeed, when Longmire conceded defeat at the convention, he gave an angry speech about being "elbowed" out of the Senate endorsement.

Kleppe apparently will face no serious opposition in the September 1 primary, but he will have an uphill race against Burdick in the November 3 general election. Burdick beat him in 1964 by 40,000 votes out of 260,000 cast and a professional poll taken late last year showed the Democratic Senator leading Kleppe by a 55-28 percent margin.

The GOP convention endorsed a young (37), up-and-coming politician, State Public Service Commissioner Richard A. Elkin, for Kleppe's congressional seat. Elkin must get past Robert P. McCarney, a popular maverick, in the primary. McCarney upset the endorsed GOP gubernatorial candidate in the 1968 primary.

Congressman Mark Andrews was endorsed unanimously for re-election in the 1st district. He is the only sure bet on the GOP ticket this year.

Television and the Yesable Proposition

I am a visitor to television this year from the world of politics and political science, where I have spent most of my time. I thought you would like to hear about some of our problems in that strange land. I got involved by criticizing a television program that had appeared on a local educational station, WGBH in Boston. I was then asked what I would do if I were running it. To make a long story short, I put up rather than shut up, designed a program, and was then told there might be \$3,000,000 for public television if I would work on it. Since then I have been rapidly discovering what it is like to spend \$10,000 a day in 300 days, putting on public television.

GLIDING LIKE A ROCK

Our television problems may not sound like your problems, but it is easy to ignore someone else's problem, even when it is closer to you than you might think. I remember once in war-time when we were test flying a B-17 over Gander. We had a flying fortress doing weather reconnaissance. We had lost an engine a few days earlier. The engine had been replaced and the pilot had taken the plane up empty with just the crew on board to see how the new engine was working. He feathered three engines at once to see if we could fly on the one new engine — quite a startling experience in a flying fortress, on one engine. It worked fine, we were empty and light; and then, just for a frolic, he feathered the fourth engine — never having seen a plane flying with no engines going, and planning to have it that way for just a few seconds. It was an even more startling experience. We were at about 13,000 feet, and gliding something like a rock. Everything was very quiet. And then he pushed the button to unfeather the propeller. At *that* point he remembered that in order to change the pitch on the propeller, we had to have power. The

THE AUTHOR

Roger Fisher is a Professor at the Harvard Law School and author of the recently published book, International Conflict for Beginners. He was a lawyer in Washington at Covington and Burling in the early 1950's, and from 1956 to 1958, was an assistant to the Solicitor General, Mr. Rankin. From 1958 to the present, he has been at Harvard. He is on leave of absence for this year to run the television program, "The Advocates" which won one of this year's Peabody Awards for excellence in broadcasting. The speech from which this article was taken was given March 14 at the Airlie House Conference on "Republicanism for the 1980's."

co-pilot burst out laughing and said to him, "Boy, oh boy, have *you* got a problem!"

Well, our television problems are *your* problems. Television is a terrifically powerful tool. Early in March, the President in his education message said that the average high school graduate today on leaving high school has spent 11,000 hours in classrooms and 15,000 hours watching television. A rough calculation is 1000 hours a year, 3 hours a day, day in and day out for every man, woman and child.

That is a pretty powerful tool. We have, however, put the television industry in control of this tool to see that it is well used. It is as though in a school we had a blackboard. We have been dealing with problems without a blackboard. Suddenly we have a new fancy blackboard. "Gee, it's an important tool — blackboards can do a great deal for us. Let's put a blackboard committee in charge of the blackboard to make sure it is really used."

But soon the blackboard committee sees its problem as keeping the blackboard in constant, animated use, using colored chalk. The job is to get something on and off the board every 30 minutes or every 60 minutes, and to try to get as many people as possible looking at it at all times. Such lively distraction does not necessarily help the class get on with its problems.

THIS IS A RECORDING

To take another analogy, it is as though the telephone company decided that their objective was not to help other people communicate but rather was to keep all phones in maximum use. It is as though they decided what was said over all telephones. Your phone would be ringing all the time with recordings telling you what the weather was, interspersed with commercials. Television, like a telephone, is a communication device. It's a tool that can do things if somebody wants to do something with it. But 90% of commercial television is devoted to a very simple task — attracting the maximum audience without diverting them from the commercials or offending the FCC.



To producers, television is like an enormous dragon. The problem of the television business is to feed the dragon. The dragon eats up an hour's programming every hour. Clump, clump, clump! We rush around trying to feed it things that will keep it happy for the hour. Keep it going.

That was my criticism of television when I came up with the program, "The Advocates," which now appears every Sunday night on your local public television station. It is produced every other week from opposite sides of the country. We produce it at WGBH in Boston one Sunday, and at KCET in Los Angeles the next.

MISSION IMPOSSIBLE

The program has a purpose. I believe we ought to use television for something. I want to get people politically involved. I thought the way to get them involved was to reverse the typical TV documentary. There, as you know, we deal with big situations like "public power." One hour will deal with nuclear reactors, competition between public and private power, the problems of storm damage, and the black-out of 1965. Next week's program will deal with "death" or "old age." Essentially, each hour is organized around a set of enormous problems, defined in a way which makes them insoluble.

Sometimes we academics sit around a table and talk. Each implicitly says to the other, "I can make the problem more complicated than you can." If we are discussing Vietnam someone will say, "Well, unless you've lived in a Buddhist village, you really don't understand these things. It's a very complicated social process." Someone else will say, "You're forgetting the historical, cultural, economic and linguistic aspects." A third will say, "If you haven't read Mao in the original, you can't possibly discuss the situation."

Such views are essentially depressing comments by guides on the bus we're all riding. They look out the back window and explain how depressing the scenery really is. One guide says, "Notice how brown and desiccated it is." Another says, "Ah, but it's really rocky over here." "Yes, but it's getting worse," retorts the first. "Yes, I see it's getting worse," he is answered. And the litany continues. We tend to organize our comments or analysis on big trends such as "the Environment." And then someone else will say, "Oh, it's not just the environment — it's the whole quality of life." And another, "Yes, but it's getting worse at an accelerating rate." And finally, "Well, think of the population problem." And so it goes.

DEPRESSING DOCUMENTARIES

Now, it does not surprise me that rather than depressing documentaries most of the public prefers "Mission Impossible" or "The Bold Ones." There on every program they solve the problem in 30 minutes

or 60 minutes (interrupted by commercials which solve headaches in 60 seconds). Television fiction provides quick answers — easy — no work, no thought. The public gets turned off from reality, or at least that reality which is simply a lot of depressing news organized in an insoluble fashion.

On "The Advocates" we look at a big trouble, whether it is pollution, environment, crime or law and order, in terms of a choice. We get somebody on the program — somebody like Secretary Hickel — and we say, "Should the Department of the Interior stop off-shore oil drilling." Another program was on oil — "Should the United States continue restrictions on foreign oil imports?" Essentially we look forward. We look to an operational choice; we look to a real question. We get someone there who can make a difference, and we have advocates put to him the pros and cons of making that decision.

I recall that when arguing cases for the Solicitor General I never said, "May it please the Court, this question is just too complicated for you to understand." I came and said, "May it please the Court, it's true that this case has been in litigation for 16 years, and that the record now stands at 7000 pages. But the case turns on two points. In the next 30 minutes I will convince you that you know enough to decide it." That approach organizes the material, and it is the way decisions are really made. Nobody reads through that 7000-page record to decide the case. Nobody produces a decision on Vietnam by telling what it is like to live in a Buddhist village. A man with a decision to make wants an organized presentation. If trained judges and public officials need to have their choices organized and simply presented, the public is entitled to at least as much help.

"THE ADVOCATES" GETS RESULTS

"The Advocates" has had some success with this approach. We invite the audience, if they care to do it, to write in and we pass results of the mail on to the men on the program. In response to the program so far, we have received some 60,000 letters. For example, we had Dick Stewart, New York Insurance Commissioner, hear the question, "Should your state abolish fault liability for auto insurance?" About six or eight weeks later he came back on the program to announce that he was recommending that New York abolish the fault system.

A word on our mail response. A lot of these are short notes simply voting on the question. But there were a surprising number of people who said, "My God, I'm being treated as an adult." They had to think, work at a problem, and then see what they were going to do about it. It's reassuring; I'm kind of a pessimist about the world these days, but there is some cause for optimism in the response we have been getting from the people.

EXPERTS A LA CHICKEN LITTLE

As for the experts — my experience has been one devastating revelation of the lack of constructive thinking on all our problems. Take a problem like mental institutions. I learned that there are now three times as many people in this country behind locked doors in mental institutions as there are in all the jails and prisons combined. Three times as many people confined behind locked doors on grounds of mental illness as there are in all our jails and prisons! What should we do about this problem? It's a tough problem. We went to the people concerned with it, and they said, "It's very complicated and it's getting worse. It's part of the whole quality of life. It reflects the increasing pace, the increasing frustrations, all the problems of modern life, the home, the break-up of the family, etc." We said "Yes, but so what? Who is supposed to do what tomorrow morning?" "Well, that's very difficult. But that's not the problem; the problem is — is it getting worse or not; and it is!"

Well, we finally picked a question: "Should involuntary confinement on the grounds of mental illness be abolished?" That is, unless someone had committed a criminal act, should we open the doors and let everyone who wanted to walk out? We got David Vail, the Director of Mental Health from Minnesota, to come and hear the arguments from experts on both sides. Dr. Vail heard the arguments; he sent for the reprints of testimony by Dr. Szasz, Alan Dershowitz and others who were on the program. He got a tape of the program, showed it to his staff, and in February he recommended to the Governor of Minnesota that involuntary confinement on the grounds of mental illness be abolished in Minnesota; he is now devoting himself to trying to bring about that reform.

That is great. But in a way it is shocking. Dr. Vail had thought about the problem before, but perhaps never in terms of radical measures. Others concerned with problems are often not trying to fix them; they are not even working at it.

LOBBYING FOR HAPPINESS

Perhaps the most discouraging example is a national association of women. Last August when the grant came through for this program and I was madly dashing around, I was approached by the president, I think, or one of the officers who asked if I would do a topic on economic discrimination against women. It was just terrible, she said. I said that I knew it was: "I can pick up a Radcliffe girl for the same price I have to pay for a high school drop-out on the set, and this is really a terrible discrimination! I am glad to have you here because I have been worrying about this problem. Now, tell me, what's your 'yesable' proposition. What is it you women are lobbying for?" She said, "An end to discrimination."

"Yes, yes," said I, "but that's like happiness; but what decision do you want? If I give you a blank piece of paper — there's a set of quotation marks and then there are about three or four lines, then there are some close quotes and then there's a blank at the bottom to be signed. Now, if you had your 'druthers,' as Li'l Abner would say, and the one person in this country whom you would most like to sign that would sign it, and the words you would most like him to say were filled in between those quotes, who would it be and what would he say? Would it be the personnel director at General Motors, would it be the President, would it be the president of the telephone company, would it be the Director of Civil Service — who do you want to do what?"

"Well," she said, "employment discrimination should be outlawed." It is outlawed in most places. She explained that she would like it to be stopped. I persisted. "Who do you want to do what?" She said she wanted to think about that and that she would write me a letter after consulting with her group.

Three or four months later I got a letter:

"Dear Mr. Fisher: You won't believe this. We can't think of anything! Could you or some of your staff come to New York and help us work out what we are trying to do?"

I don't mean to pick on the women because they are no worse than anyone else.

FUZZY THINKING

We called the Council on Environment. We said, "All right, you've just been appointed. Here we are. What are the big proposals you would like debated?"

"Well, it's really too big a problem to focus on in that way."

"Do you want people to pick up bottle caps? Let's get whatever it is you want to happen. Just give me something!" *Nothing.*

We have spent probably the equivalent of one or two men's time for a month, and we have not yet found a good action proposal on the environmental question, which is considered the major American problem. Who's supposed to do what? We have defined the problem in such big terms that it is now unmanageable. We are all sitting around looking out of the back of the bus commenting on it.

We are all familiar with the cartoon character walking around in flowing robes saying that the world is coming to an end. We laugh. The joke is a little bit bitter. We are not quite sure whether it is funny because it's not true or because it is true. And, now the scholars, the experts and the politicians come around and they say that the world is coming to an end. Not being satisfied with that simple slogan, they say that they are going to add something to that. But all they add is a footnote. "Notice the pollution of Lake Erie." "Notice the rate of increase in the population in India." So what? So what do we do about it?

I have a shorthand phrase that describes the essential element of the approach to problem-solving I have been trying to describe. I call it the "yesable proposition." It is that potential solution you propose that a person with power can say yes to. The key to the approach for thinking through problems is to ask yourself who ought to say yes to what.

MAKE IT YOUR JOB

As I say, I am pessimistic. I think we are in a boat and the boat is sinking. The true realists are probably the hippies, who say, "Eat, drink and be merry." That may be right. There is a commercial on television in New England, in which a man on board a sinking ship orders another Narragansett Beer. That may be the realistic way of dealing with our problems. But, those of us who do not have our feet on the ground, those of us who are romantics would like to bet on a long shot. We might not all go down the drain. For those of us who feel that way, it's more fun to try than to have a Narragansett. But we have our work cut out for us. John Kennedy's famous words were, "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." I disagree. I would say, "Ask not what you can do for your country, but work it out for yourself and start doing it."

There is a terrible feeling that everything is somebody else's problem. It's Lyndon Johnson's war. It's President Nixon's war. I never heard a congressman say, "This is our war. We are financing that war, and let's see what we can do."

In public television I say, "Look, we are the loud-speaker system on a sinking ship. Shouldn't we help somebody tell somebody what to do? They say, "Well, yes, but we're providing a balanced program of music and ballet. Saving the world is not our job."

It is very easy to say it is somebody else's job. On that B-17 we were flying around, the flight engineer — a smart young buck sergeant — crawled through the bomb-bay to the back of the plane where we had a hand-starting generator that we were supposed to use if we came down at some base that did not have any electricity. By pulling a rope as you do on an outboard engine, he finally got the thing going. After a few moments we had enough electricity on the plane to unfeather a propeller. It was a small task. It wasn't that sergeant's job particularly; it wasn't anybody's job. He figured out something specific to do and he did it.

... AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE

In politics it is usually tougher than that. We have to exert influence. We cannot start these engines ourselves. Most social problems must be solved by getting somebody else to do something. We can't just do it is an engineering operation. You can't go out and pick up all the bottle caps. Getting someone to do

something is a matter of exerting influence. It requires getting him or them to make a decision. It is my firm conviction that influence is most easily accomplished if you can confront somebody, not with a problem, but with a piece of the answer — at least, a possible piece of a potential answer.

I have heard enough problems. I want some suggested answers.

These do not come easily. It is not clear what the answer is to the environment, population, or crime; But it is clear to me that if we try to deal with a problem all in one lump, we make a mistake. When we talk about "the crime problem," we confuse disorganized crime with political violence, with the heroin addict seeking money for his habit, and with the Mafia operations: we try to deal with "crime." It's easy to talk about things all at once only when you call them a problem. When you ask what is a piece of the answer, there is no one piece of the answer that takes care of a whole problem. It is awfully hard work to come up with even a reasonably sized piece of an answer.

PLEASE FEED THE DRAGON

Now, here is the problem for you. Television is an opportunity. Here is a great hungry dragon looking for programs. For example, the Ford Foundation, on one floor, has people concerned with social problems — with education for high school kids, with heroin, drugs, Headstart programs, etc. On another floor of the building they have people wondering how to fill up all those hours of public television.

Everyone of you has community television, and commercial television. Ask yourself how can we use these tools to help solve some of our problems. Should we broadcast a heroin clinic every Wednesday afternoon at 4:00 P.M. from which the people can begin to learn about that problem? Let's try and look at what people are doing. Harriet Yarmolinsky, working with the Headstart program, spent two days last week going up to New Hampshire to talk to twenty people to explain the program to them, and then come back. Meanwhile, we at Channel 2 in Boston were worrying how to fill up the schedule with things worth putting on.

Certainly with a little ingenuity, with a little combination of television expertise and concern for the problem, we could broadcast a piece of an answer. Television can suggest. And we can come up with some proposals, not only proposals on general problems, but proposals for actual television programs. Don't come to your television station with a problem. They are just as overwhelmed with problems as you are. Come to them, I suggest, with a YESABLE proposition.

Thank you.

(Much applause)

Day Care: A Proposal

I. The Dimensions of the Problem

Our present system of welfare encourages human frustration, a vast rise in illegitimacy and family irresponsibility in ghetto areas, and new generations of helpless, angry, and unskilled Americans. New proposals, such as a Bureau of Income Maintenance, for redistributing the nation's wealth in order to blunt the threat of poverty are adult-oriented. We prefer to make the child the focus of our concern.

One recent study suggests that "As many as one-fourth, or perhaps even one-third, of the country's future citizens are growing up in the grey shadows of serious deprivation," involving, in numbers, 17 to 23 million children. In December, 1968, in Connecticut, of 86,179 persons receiving some kind of state welfare aid, 54,092 children under age 18 were receiving ADC, and 18,429 adults, AFDC. Thus, about 84 percent of our state welfare recipients are children or adults caring for those children. All projections for the future suggest that this ratio will soar. Although the total day care we propose could eventually be available to all families, in order to increase life options for citizens of all classes and economic levels, we insist that its immediate thrust should be compensatory. Alternatively, day care should be linked to a fee structure inversely proportional to the parent's ability to pay. It is the child of poverty who needs a Bill of Rights, whether he be a product of the city ghetto, the marginal mining town, or the migrant family. Our proposed system of day care will free mothers who want to work, encourage fathers to remain in the family unit, and urge family participation in, and local community responsibility for, the development of the child. Above all, our proposal seeks to liberate a future generation from the fetters of ill health, ignorance, and prejudice, and to develop responsible, productive citizens.

II. Day Care: A Proposal

A rise in day care has in the past occurred during times of national crisis. In other countries, forms of day care resulted from the need to add women to the national work force or to implement national policy.

THE AUTHOR

Mrs. Barbara Mooney is one of the founders of the Hartford chapter. She would like to thank the following and other members of the Hartford chapter for their help on this research paper: Linda and William McKinney, Isaac Russell, Halcyon Hirschthal, Norma Schatz and Edward Cohen.

While our proposal will free women to enter the work force on a voluntary basis, it is geared to the development of the individual child.

We define day care as follows: a full-day, full-year program, involving before and after school supervision, training, and care, plus meals when necessary, beginning at 18 months and ending at age 14. The basic thrust of the program would be toward intellectual cognitive development with such important ancillary benefits as nutritional training, early identification of physical and emotional problems, and early total family involvement.

We recommend the beginning age of 18 months for the following reasons:

- 1) Early language development and learning is a key to successful adult development.
- 2) The whole family is involved early in the child's development. In Joseph Randazzo's pilot program, Saturday School for Toddlers, from 18 months to 3 years of age, parents must accompany their children for once-a-week training and exploration of the child's needs. A requirement that both the mother and the father must attend certain classes with their young children would help maintain a sense of family responsibility. We recommend such parental involvement at least until age 3.
- 3) Preventive care: early identification of physical and emotional problems offers a far greater chance of correction. Because a food program is part of our proposal, the child will not suffer physical and mental damage due to nutritional deficiencies. Bruno Bettelheim suggests that the food be served at school and that small groups of children and teachers eat together in order to make meals a social experience.

- 4) Some psychiatrists question whether infants under 18 months of age should spend much time away from their mothers. Such investigators do not wish to see babies processed like hot dogs, and insist that during the first important months of existence, the poverty mother must be retrained to enjoy and play with her child if he is to develop intellectually. Such a program lies beyond the scope of this paper, although other mothers, freed by a day care program, would be a source of help. In the long run, the day care we propose will develop better parents for future generations, responsive to the need to limit family size and to take part in the education of their children.

We recommend the top age of 14 years for the following reasons:

- 1) By that age the child will have been exposed to a continuous, integrated learning experience. One of the criticisms of Head Start was that it was only

a half-day program with no follow-up facilities.

2) We recommend that high schools institute accredited training-aide programs in their curriculum. The 14-18-year-olds who take such courses will be equipped to help as paid aides in day care programs in their own communities. We should draw on the idealism and resources of our teen-agers, many of whom can be prepared to care for younger children under master teacher supervision. Such involvement may require an amendment to the Child Labor Laws or some form of community service credit not in conflict with those laws.

III. Day Care: Organization

Federal level:

1) We recommend that the major planner for this program be the newly formed Office of Child Development under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and that this office coordinate such child-oriented programs as Medicaid, Title XIX, Welfare, AFDC and ADC, Education, and the Federal Child and Parent Center into a master day care program.

2) We suggest that this Office institute both pilot day care projects as outlined in this paper within the public school system, and study and publicize such local efforts as are now in operation under Boards of Education. Progress in education-oriented programs under local community control should be encouraged and reviewed, as for example, in SAND's Everywhere School in Hartford. This ghetto area school plan calls for total education of the community: four small decentralized schools, recreation, health, arts, and information complexes, a neighborhood workshop, "visiting in" plans for business and social bureaus, "visiting out" plans, or environmental extensions to acquaint SAND residents with all the facets of Greater Hartford. A private school in the nearby countryside, Westledge, will offer advice, outdoor education, and research facilities to SAND. This twin school concept seems to have great merit.

3) Legislation was introduced in Congress in April, 1969, by John S. Monagan, 5th District, Connecticut, to give Secretary Finch the authority to set up minimum standards of poverty and uniform eligibility requirements to prevent those inequities between states that encourage migration to urban ghettos. Such reorganization is a must if, as suggested later in this paper, ADC funds are to be channeled into day care instead of going to minimal custodial service.

State level:

1) We recommend the investigation of the recently created Department of Community Affairs as Connecticut coordinator for day care in Connecticut.

2) The Connecticut Republican Platform for 1968 went on record for a "State Council on Human

Services, to coordinate the rehabilitation, education, treatment, and job-training services for Connecticut's needy people." Our day care proposal meshes with the intent of this platform.

IV. Day Care: Funding

If pilot projects promise some measure of success, the vast portion of funds now in HEW for ADC and AFDC could be gradually transferred to the Office of Child Development. Our aim is not to rob Welfare of funds for the aged, the blind, the disabled, but to redistribute that proportion of federal funds that affect day care children. President Nixon is in favor of amending Public Law 90-248, the 1967 Amendments to the Social Security Acts, to provide a 75 percent federal reimbursement to the state for all monies invested in the cost of child care for AFDC recipients who wish to work, or train for work, without any cut-off date.

Federal funds for day care could be drawn from such a wide variety of sources within governmental departments that the need for an impartial state coordinator is evident. We suggest investigating the need for two Connecticut ombudsmen; one a lawyer to interpret federal regulations; the other, an educator to interpret policy; and both to represent state day care concerns in Washington.

In Connecticut, the projected welfare budget for the next biennium is \$438.15 million, and that of education, \$674.43 million, totalling \$1 billion, 112.58 million, the bulk of which would be available for the day care we envision. ADC payments in Connecticut average \$233 per month as against a national average of \$166, emphasizing again the need to set national standards. Because our proposal for day care involves the total day, including meals when needed, the bulk of such ADC payments, as well as per-pupil grants from the State Department of Education would be available. The cost of full-year, all-day compensatory care in Hartford, intellectually oriented, has been estimated at \$2,400 per year, per day care applicant. If the price seems high, the cost of supporting a future, unskilled, dependent generation is even higher, both in terms of money and in terms of human loss.

V. Day Care: A Summation

A national commitment to the day care proposal in this paper is not Utopian. The proposal is probably more palatable politically than any other form of income redistribution. Whatever his political bent, an American who denies the needs of children, denies the future. Our proposal seeks to educate responsible income producers for that future. Although geared at first to compensatory education, ideally our program could be available to all American families and their children as a matter of choice.

— BARBARA MOONEY

Abortion Laws: An Appeal for Repeal

In a recent Massachusetts pre-trial hearing of an alleged abortionist, the judge refused to hear testimony by religious witnesses from a broad spectrum of faiths and denominations. The judge ruled that philosophical, religious, and ethical principles were irrelevant to the case. As the hearing unfolded, the prosecutor attempted to extract from expert scientific witnesses some definition of when life began; they almost uniformly replied that the answer lay in the realm of theology and metaphysics — quite beyond their competence.

That exchange is typical of the hot-potato system of dealing with a social problem that has become increasingly visible in the past few years. Legislators have tried to pass it on to the medical profession; the doctors have handed it quickly to the church; the church has thrust it at the courts; and the courts have tossed it right back to the legislators.

COP-OUT SYSTEM

Caught in this cop-out system are a million or more women per year who have chosen to secure illegal abortions. One is reminded of the recent news note from a British newspaper that reported, "There is now a twelve month waiting period for abortions at St. X's Hospital."

It is quite obvious that neither the quota systems of hospitals nor the legal prohibitions of government have prevented women from terminating pregnancies. Rather, they have been forced into a dark and dangerous underground where they risk their lives and future child-bearing possibilities, often at the hands of unlicensed, non-medical personnel.

The irony is that the termination of a pregnancy, when performed by a qualified physician in sterile surroundings, is little more complicated than a tonsillectomy; and, statistically is about five times safer (when done in the first trimester) than carrying a pregnancy to full term. The two most common means of interrupting a pregnancy, the D & C (dilatation and curettage) and vacuum aspiration, are routine medical procedures requiring, usually, a maximum of half an hour on an operating table. They can even be done, though most physicians oppose the idea, on an out-patient basis. A woman coming into a clinic in the morning could be discharged the same afternoon — with little likelihood of damage or complications.

The major point is that, as things now stand, no safe, legal treatment of any kind is available to thou-

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sands of women experiencing an unwanted pregnancy. Society has tacitly agreed to treat these women as more deserving of condemnation than of assistance.

This rather moralistic view might be defended more vigorously if the women who seek abortions did not have among them large numbers of married women age thirty-five and over who have already borne children and do not wish to add to their families and women who have taken birth control precautions but experienced a contraceptive failure.

The more fundamental question implicit in the abortion issue is whether or not a woman has any right to self-determination in reproduction. Our laws are made by legislatures overwhelmingly populated by males. Religious doctrines relating to the subject have been formulated by a variety of hierarchies — almost all of them male-dominated. Among women (and not just the organized Women's Liberation groups, either) there is a growing opinion (sometimes resentfully expressed) that they deserve the right to make decisions about matters so intimately woven into their identity and destiny.

A woman experiencing an unwanted pregnancy often feels trapped, isolated, even suicidal. A letter received recently by a clergyman from a woman who had had a nervous breakdown five years previously and who was now facing a serious lung operation read like this:

I need some help. I think I am pregnant. I am 42 and single and hold a very responsible position with the state. I cannot go through with this. . . . Please tell me if I can get an abortion. . . .

NO ALTERNATIVE

It is a commentary on life in these United States in 1970 that a woman in such a desperate state of mind would be seeking medical assistance from a clergyman. But the reasons are obvious — the conventional avenues are closed.

Increasing numbers of women are coming to clergymen in our large urban centers for counseling with regard to unwanted pregnancies. In a single week last month one minister saw thirty-five women and his is not an isolated experience. Women consider a variety of options as they go through the counseling process. Marriage is one. Keeping the child or adopting it out are two others. Suicide is not an uncommon alternative. And finally, there is abortion.

Each alternative has its difficulties. The question becomes, which decision will minimize the human anguish involved, rather than, which decision is satisfactory in all respects.

In recent years, most Protestant denominations have been moving in the direction of the women with regard to their official resolutions on the abortion issue. Some, for example the Unitarian-Universalist Association, have called for outright repeal of the laws governing abortion, and returning the decision to a matter between a patient and her doctor. The pressure for repeal has grown among church and other concerned groups because of the disappointing results accruing from even some of the successful legislative reform efforts. There has been a gradual realization that halfway, compromise measures in a matter of such pressing personal importance are a type of game-playing that mocks human anguish. Repeal of abortion laws can never *force* individuals to act contrary to conscience or religious scruples, and that is the crucial insight for those religious denominations which were formerly satisfied that they had taken a stand while preserving their ecumenical image.

FAILURE OF REFORM

Experience demonstrated that such calculated efforts were less than effective. In some states where reform has been tried, there has been an actual decrease in the number of therapeutic interruptions performed in some hospitals as a result of the stringent limitations included as "safeguards" in the statute.

Additional discontent has come from the strict definition of what constitutes a "justified" abortion. Rape, incest, potential suicide of the mother, and fetal injury from rubella are the items generally included in reform bills. But there are many who feel that economic and vocational factors should not be excluded, and the most crucial matter of all — whether the woman really wants to be a mother — has never been thought worthy of mention in any of the reform bills.

This, despite the fact that numerous studies have shown definite correlation between delinquency in children and the degree to which they were a welcome addition to the family. There are also correlations between the "wanted-ness" of a child and the child abuse syndrome.

Studies by Dr. Charles Westoff of Princeton University's Office of Population Research indicate that unwanted births accounted for 35 to 45 percent of the United States population growth in recent years. Translated into people, this means between 750,000 and a million unwanted babies every year! The incidence of unwanted births is much higher among the poor and near-poor, and the reasons are obvious.

It seems reasonable to conclude that abortion is a subject in which the states have tended to over-regulate their citizens, interfering in the private decisions of individuals. The cumulative effect has been to make pregnancy a punishment and parenthood compulsory.

If one returns to the religious and ethical questions which underlie the issue, one of the first to be

considered is usually phrased, "When does human life begin?"

Dr. Garrett Hardin, professor of Biology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, put it eloquently: "Life is passed on from one cell to another and from one organism to another, and, in fact it never, in our experience, begins. Spermatozoa is alive; the egg is alive; the zygote that results from it is alive . . . as far back as you go, all the cells and organisms are alive, until practically three billion years ago, when scientists believe life begins."

THE CHAIN OF LIFE

The tracing of the chain of life, then, is not particularly helpful in dealing with the question of interrupting unwanted pregnancies. Instead one should consider when fetal life becomes viable — that is, capable of sustaining its existence outside the womb. And the answer to that is somewhere between the twentieth and the twenty-eighth weeks of pregnancy. This coincides with the period more commonly labeled as "quickening." After that, we have a being which can justifiably be called human.

There has been a rather broad acceptance by most branches of the Judeo-Christian tradition that abortion prior to the time of viability could be condoned ethically. The moral decisions have tended to be made on contextual grounds; i.e., considering the total conditions affecting all of the parties involved. The fetus in the first trimester, despite some eloquent arguments defending its legal rights prior to birth, has usually been viewed as subordinate to the human beings already born. This was even true in the Roman Catholic Church prior to 1869, except for a three-year period in the sixteenth century. The general practice over the centuries until that time had been that abortion was permissible up to forty days past conception for a male fetus, and eighty days for a female fetus. Obviously, the rather primitive state of medical technology made sex determination difficult and mistakes understandable, thus stretching the rule's boundary lines.

RENAISSANCE EXCESSES

The exception mentioned above occurred between 1588 and 1591, when Pope Sixtus V forbade abortion as punishment for women for what he considered the sexual sin of intercourse. His action has been interpreted as an "obsessive determination to cleanse the church from Renaissance excesses," the worst of which was human sexuality. In any case, his successor, Gregory XIV, rescinded the rule and revoked all penalties imposed and returned the church to its previous practice of a forty-eighty day acceptable termination.

Pope Pius IX re-instituted the ban on abortion in 1869, decreeing that all abortion, from the moment of conception on, was murder and against the laws of Nature. Some commentators have felt that the decree was not unrelated to the declining birthrate in France

as a result of the development of effective methods of contraception. The European wars of the 19th century provided a vested interest on the part of Emperors, and the church they defended, in maintaining a high level of population growth. One cannot help but ponder the complex set of factors that produced the papal decree.

In any case, illegal abortion was still practiced, even as it is today. And church authorities have not yet succeeded in imposing theological proclamations upon people who are determined to choose another path.

It is interesting to note that one clergyman in reporting the results of a single week of counseling women who had unwanted pregnancies, indicated that sixteen out of eighteen who were actively seeking an abortion were Roman Catholic in background, and at least one had been referred by a sympathetic priest. That report, however, must be balanced against a more extensive sample of some 461 women seeking counseling on unwanted pregnancies. Of the latter group, 154, or 37 percent, were Roman Catholic — and probably represent a more accurate statistic for consideration.

COMPULSORY PARENTHOOD

It is clear that to a great many persons, regardless of religion, abortion is an abhorrent option. It seems only reasonable that there should never be a time when abortion would be made compulsory. What is at issue is whether the opposite condition should prevail. That is, for a woman to whom abortion is neither abhorrent nor unethical, must pregnancy and parenthood be compulsory? More and more people, especially women, are insisting that the answer is no.

The moral objection to abortion, especially among those who have had little direct contact with persons seeking one, rests on a fear that termination of a pregnancy might be a casual decision, based on whim or irresponsibility. Clergymen, psychiatrists, social workers, and others who deal regularly with the problem can testify that this is rarely the case. The interruption of a pregnancy is a heavy decision, carrying with it an intricate pattern of guilt, fear, shame, despair, and contradiction. Even for those to whom a legal hospital abortion is available, the feelings are intense and sometimes recurrent. The complexity of the emotions, however, does not prevent the decision for termination being made. Thus, the question remains, what are the adequate grounds?

Rabbi David Feldman, whose book *Birth Control in Jewish Law*, is probably the most exhaustive study of the subject ever made, has unearthed some interesting conclusions out of his tradition. For example, the ultimate emphasis in Jewish Law is on the mother. It is the woman's pain and anguish that determines her

right to an abortion. As Rabbi Feldman puts it, "The fetus is unknown, future, potential, part of 'the secrets of God'; the mother is known, present, alive, and asking for compassion."

IN JEWISH LAW

Feldman quotes Chief Rabbi Ben Zion Uziel in summary: "It is clear that abortion is not permitted without reason. That would be destructive and frustrating of the possibility of life. But for a *reason*, even if it is a *slim* reason . . . then we have precedent and authority to permit it."

That viewpoint gathers credibility as time goes on and the problem of unwanted pregnancies intensifies. Lines of responsibility are being drawn all the time, demarcating those areas in which the state has vital interest and exercises primary control, and those where the individual expresses a similar sovereignty. The number of states in which some kind of legislative change has been attempted or proposed, the number of cases in which the courts have been asked to render decisions, and the testimony of the various public opinion polls in recent years, all reveal a growing conviction that the decision for parenthood is one which should rest with those who will be immediately involved over the next twenty years — the prospective parents, and especially the mother.

The decision on the part of government to remove itself from regulating this difficult area would not prevent individuals from holding and practicing their private convictions with regard to abortion and family size. It would, on the other hand, free countless women to secure competent, reliable, safe, medical terminations. And, it would remove the additional burden of considering the seeking of relief outside the law.

NOT IN THE PUBLIC REALM

The times are right for repeal of all abortion laws, except for those statutes which generally govern the practice of medicine. Such a step will remove at least one oppressive aspect of life in this 20th century. A number of states, e.g., Hawaii, Maryland, and New York, have already made moves in this direction.

The Massachusetts legislature turned down in the current session by an overwhelming vote a repeal measure comparable to the Hawaiian bill, but omitting the three-month residency clause. By a much closer vote it also rejected an effort to create a study commission on the issue. It is obvious to those who have been working on the problem for some time, however, that the public mood has shifted, and that repeal is, indeed, the order of the day. But the final signal indicating that law is following public opinion must wait to be hoisted until abortion has been removed from Massachusetts' quaint and archaic statutes governing "lewd and lascivious behavior."

— G. CLYDE DODDER

Briefing Papers on the Reform of the Republican Party

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*These papers were prepared by the authors for the Airlie House Conference on "A Republicanism for the 1980's." They were used to stimulate controversy in various discussion groups.*  
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GOP Party Reform: A Centrist View

Charles K. McWhorter was an aide to Richard Nixon in the 1968 campaign. He is currently with A.T. & T. A graduate of Harvard Law School, Mr. McWhorter has been active in GOP politics for twenty-five years. He served from 1955-1957 as chairman of the Young Republican National Federation.

Since political parties are human institutions, there must be periodic and thorough review of existing party structure, leadership, and program to make certain that there are no unnecessary barriers or weaknesses which prevent the party from utilizing its full resources. Our two-party system places a great responsibility on each of the two national parties to provide competitive politics at all levels of government. There is a high degree of interreaction and interdependence among the various levels of each political party and this fact must be taken into account by all concerned.

The viability of a competitive political system requires that both parties avoid slipping into a doctrinaire position which would preclude broad-based support. A flexible centrist approach provides the best assurance that a party can maintain a broad support. To do this, however, there must be constant effort to make certain that a party is responsive to both current and long-range voter needs. Whether a party operates through conventions, primaries, party caucus, or other type of machinery, there must be constant leadership effort to make sure that all those who do wish to participate in party activity are not only encouraged to do so, but have a realistic method through which to participate. More important than any particular type of party machinery is an attitude on the part of the leadership of the party which genuinely welcomes broad participation and diversity of viewpoints. There must be recognition that reasonable men can disagree about important issues; that no faction or doctrine has a monopoly of truth or virtue; that a party needs the best input available from all parts of the spectrum it represents.

When communications media emphasize national politics it is frequently difficult for state and local party

leaders to gain adequate appreciation of their respective problems. Again, a centrist approach is best suited toward minimizing the difficulties faced by state and local divisions of a national party when decisions are made with respect to national candidates and issues. It is not surprising that the Republican leadership in Mississippi strongly favored the nomination of Barry Goldwater in 1964 since his nomination was best calculated to assist Mississippi GOP candidates. Likewise and for the same reason, supporters of Governor Rockefeller in 1964 in states like Connecticut believed that he would be the candidate who would best help their situation. There are many problems in reaching a consensus on national candidates through a convention procedure. While most of the party leaders taking part in these conventions have a pretty good idea of the impact of various Presidential candidates on the state and local tickets in their home area, there are relatively few people who have really developed sufficient expertise and objectivity to combine the present Electoral College requirements and interrelated impact on Senate, Congressional, state and local races. Certainly no computer could provide adequate judgment. It seems clear, however, that whoever the nominee may be for President, it is important that his personal campaign and his approach to issues take a middle-of-the-road situation, or at least avoid an ideologically doctrinaire approach. This recognizes that most Americans are not doctrinaire in their approach to either candidates or politics. It also recognizes that each party has to cover a wide political spectrum.

Because a system can never be made perfect is no excuse for not trying to make it better. Party reform cannot exist in a vacuum. Rearrangement of party procedures is no guarantee that there will be a happy ending. More important than any procedural change is the development of an attitude by party leaders which reflects political tolerance and understanding and a genuine concern and awareness of the importance of being able to provide meaningful choices, both for leadership and programs, to the voters at all levels of our political system.

Should Political Parties Reform Themselves? If so, by what Means?

Frederick W. Roblfing has been a member of the Hawaii State Senate since 1966. A graduate of Yale University and George Washington Law School, he has been an attorney in private practice and active in the GOP for 15 years. He served in the Hawaii House of Representatives from 1959-1965. He was Hawaii GOP Platform Chairman in 1968 and attended the National Convention as a Delegate.

The answer to the first question is an unqualified yes.

One does not have to look hard for examples of how our formalistic politics are coming apart at the seams — e.g. the 1968 conventions, "switch hitter" Lindsay and the George Wallace movement. Vietnam and racial polarization are the most significant elements in this breakdown. Yet these developments are obvious surface manifestations of major underlying shifts within the voting population and a decomposition of the control of the electoral process by the major political parties.

Fundamental to development of reform under these circumstances is an understanding of the historical processes that have led to the current situation. The transition from an agriculturally based small-town society to the industrial-urban-mass of today gives us the first clue. Many specifics too detailed for this paper can be developed to explain how party loyalty has been broken down: e.g., since Populist days the direct primary placed greater emphasis on candidates over parties and dissipated opposition potential away from the minority party; and then there was the fantastic growth of mass communications — radio, TV and the "image" packaging of candidates. Every year there are more "independents," particularly among the young and the college-trained. Ticket-splitting and loosening of party loyalty by former devotees are also spreading.

While all of this has been going on the parties have retained their mystic "pigeonholes" — precinct, district, county, state and national committees. Continually they have saddled impossible tasks on their outdated formalistic organizations. The apportionment of State Convention delegates between areas in my state of Hawaii, for example (in both parties), rewards the geographic areas that showed the best vote for the major standard-bearer of the party in the last election. This screens out the participation of a variety of community elements whose activities are in the mainstream of society. So the geographic representation of convention delegates results in parties less relevant to the needs of the day.

Inherent in progressive reform is a recognition

that recent history will not be changed by mere organizational reshuffling. We must recognize the facts of the situation and then deal with it. Thus, I believe we must recognize that a popular individual campaigner can "package an image" and win office irrespective of his party affiliation. The growing number of independents, young ones in particular, are looking to individual candidates and the issues they develop. Should not the parties then concentrate on a proven successful approach? Why not concentrate on candidate recruitment, on candidate assistance through research, speech preparation, speech training and on the integration of candidate efforts into "teams" representing the party? The formation of the National Republican Coordinating Committee and the Task Force approach was a beginning in the area of issues and research. State parties which have followed this lead are moving in the right direction. Official representation by community, business, labor and youth groups on issue task forces would help. Platforms should not be viewed as immutable documents and these task forces can be the means of staying up to date. The key is to develop trained professional staffs at party headquarters with adequate research and data processing equipment to service candidates. Centralized services of this type are far more meaningful to the candidate in the era of mass communications than the antiquated "precinct organization."

This does not mean that the entire organizational structure should be abolished, but it most certainly should be reformed. At the grass roots level, the designation of basic organization units (now the precincts) by the party should not automatically be dictated by the whims of election officialdom. Rather, they should be tailored to whatever is a viable geographic area for the pertinent party building block. There is no point in perpetuating "dead precincts" just because this type of organization has been traditional. Moreover, election of delegates to state and (particularly) national conventions should be surrounded with formalistic procedures that provide greater opportunity for influence by the community at large. Candidates for delegate to the National Conventions should be required to file nomination papers with the appropriate public officials. County caucuses should require formal notice. Where party choice is already a matter of public record, all who chose party ballots in the primary election should be permitted to vote for national delegates whether they are card-carrying party members or not. The National Committee is itself the ultimate anachronism and should either be abolished or actually assigned a ceremonial capacity — a sort of Republican/Democratic House of Lords.

Both parties should look to major reform of their

subsidiary associate groups, the YR's and YD's and women's organizations. These organizations more times than not comprise a single ideological, racial or social homogeneous "club" where dissenting views are quickly stifled. New charters to these organizations should be issued requiring public notice of meetings and requiring geographic, economic, social, and ethnic diversity on their governing bodies before official sanction is given and maintained.

All of America's institutions must be relevant to the times or they will be either destroyed or fade into oblivion. If the parties are not reformed soon, the pressure for social improvement will increasingly take place in the streets of America rather than be exercised within our democratic political processes. In this light, the answer would be affirmative even if the question were: *Must* the political parties reform themselves?

Is the Republican Party Hostile to Blacks?

Frank L. Morris is presently a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a consultant at Urban Systems Research and Engineering, Inc. He was campaign manager for State Representative George Johnson who represents Roxbury, the Boston black community. Mr. Morris has previously served with AID and the Department of State and HUD.

Is the Republican Party hostile to blacks? Of course. A more pertinent question might be how could anyone think otherwise. Could any of Nixon's policies give comfort to black Americans who have always questioned the basic commitment of Republicans to the Civil Rights struggle. The Philadelphia Plan and occasional black appointments scarcely begin to balance the overwhelming negative impression of the Administration in this vital area.

Unfortunately, many Republicans refuse to accept the tragic but inescapable fact that unless the tide is turned immediately, black Americans will have been systematically excluded from their party. The "Grand Old Party" will become in actuality what it already is in appearance — a party of racial separation. For no matter how responsible local organizations and candidates may be, it must be remembered that in 1970, the Nixon Administration is the Republican Party, and if present trends continue, it will be impossible for those few blacks remaining to continue in the party.

Those who believe this is a wild exaggeration of the problem have simply not talked to any black people — and this is crucial! The performance of the Republican Party in the area of Civil Rights must be judged by blacks and other minorities and not by the very architects of the Southern strategy.

What makes the entire situation more regrettable is that even prior to the present Administration, the relationship of the Republican Party to black America was tenuous. When one analyzes the basic ingredi-

ent of party organization, the facts become very clear.

The fact that there were only 16 black delegates out of more than 1300 attending the Republican National Convention in 1968 seems to be a prima facie statement of the National Republican Party. Unfortunately, the racial breakdown of State Central Committee lists throughout the country reveals similar racial imbalance.

It may be very difficult for Republicans to get a large percentage of the black vote in the near future, but certainly this is not the case with organization. The solution is simple — ask people to become involved.

Liberal Republicans argue that Republican philosophy is really consistent with the wishes of the black community; conservatives argue that blacks are welcome, as long as the basic Republican philosophy is not compromised. Both are wrong. A political party's philosophy should be a growing body of documents capable of responding to the new challenges of our country. What needs to be done is quite simple. Admit the problem, and then recruit blacks who can help mould the Republican message into one that can begin to answer some of the problems facing black America. None of the sacred shibboleths will be lost in the process, and besides, what could be more basic than equal opportunity and equal justice?

The conduct of the campaign is equally important. In recent years Republicans have made only the most token gestures toward the black community, and have been more concerned about not alienating their white constituencies than really conducting a legitimate campaign. Ignoring the black community may be a formula for political victory, but it is also a prescription for national disaster.

The classic example of this sort of abuse was the continued use of the words "law and order" during the 1968 Presidential election even after polls had clearly determined that the phrase has racial connotations to overwhelming majorities of black and white Americans. (Any experienced politician knows what great reliance

is placed on contemporary polling techniques.) Thus, law and order had a special cruel irony for black America. As users of the phrase were quick to point out, crime really is at its worst in the black community. The blacks were effectively disenfranchised from a discussion of this issue because of the racist implications of the phrase.

To be sure, local Republican candidates occasionally do very well with the black vote, but that is precisely the point. When the black community hears a relevant Republican, it will respond. Therefore, the occasional triumph should not be viewed as a sign of hope, but as the best indicator of the problem.

By choosing to do nothing, or by ignoring the present trends of the Administration, those Republicans concerned about racial equality will allow the issue of race to remain in the political arena with all

of the tragic and dire consequences this entails for our country. One of the most fundamental ethical and moral tenets of this nation is that all men are brothers, yet somehow the Republican Party, either through its philosophy or conduct, has managed to exclude black Americans from its membership. This fact by itself is a shameful indictment of the current state of the party. Something is drastically wrong and the Republican Party must respond before it is engulfed by a steadily worsening situation. The responsibility for this change rests with the party leaders and not with those who have been excluded. If the concepts of racial equality cannot be achieved inside one of America's two political parties, what hope can there be for the rest of the nation? Black Americans have proven their willingness to work for the benefit of their community through the Republican Party. Can the Republican Party do any less?

Should There Be a Black America?

Roy L. Williams is Executive Aide to Governor William Milliken of Michigan. He is a candidate for an M.A. degree in urban planning from Wayne State University. He was director of Community Services of the Detroit Urban League and participated in the 1969 mayoralty campaign in New Haven as a consultant on minorities.

Should there be a Black America? There already is a Black America. One that has offered its people less than citizenship or dignity. That Black America is and will continue to change. But blacks and whites have not always agreed on what will replace it.

This conference has been asked to consider the fact that "a growing cadre of militants feel alienated from white America and like it that way." I ask you to consider instead the fact that for more than a century, white America has dangled the promise of freedom, dignity, and citizenship in front of blacks and that we now have simply decided that the promise was a lie which was never meant to be kept. We are not pleased to be alienated. We are happy that white America's bare-faced lie has been thoroughly exposed.

And now the white Republican leaders of the future ask if they should change their political goals. Should they stop working to achieve that dream? I

must say in response that we have observed your actions, and it is these, not your goals, that must change. Your actions have been those of the coercer and oppressor. Your actions have effectively denied Black America its dignity and its freedom.

You stated goals are beautiful. They are the "American dream." But your actions are more accurately described by Malcolm X — your actions are the "American nightmare."

Work toward the American dream. But understand that your past actions have not made you trustworthy and therefore blacks must think in terms of black control of Black America. We must also consider exercising our money power, educational power and voting power to our own advantage.

Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, once explained it in the following way: "Two elephants can bargain with each other over who is going to have how many peanuts. But there is no way possible for a groundhog to bargain with an elephant." Blacks can no longer be groundhogs.

Work toward one America. It's a beautiful dream which can only materialize if there is a more equitable distribution of social, economic and political power.

If you, as Republican leaders of the future, are truly ready to work for a better and united America, I promise that Black America will not respond with "benign neglect."

— please turn to page 28

14a ELIOT STREET

SARGENT CHOOSES LINSKY

Governor Francis Sargent of Massachusetts has chosen Ripon Board member and State Representative Martin A. Linsky of Brookline to be his running mate this November. Linsky, one of the founders of the Boston chapter of Ripon, has been a frequent contributor to the FORUM. His wife Helen worked part-time as Ripon's first secretary.

Also vying for the nomination as Lieutenant Governor is State Senator John M. Quinlan of Norwood, also a dues-paying Ripon member.

- Bill Rogers has taken over as Ripon Research Director and head of the Campaign Research Consortium. Bill is a MIT graduate and was a Peace Corps Volunteer in the former Eastern Region of Nigeria. Before joining Ripon, he was Research Director for the American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive where he edited the newsletter, "Current News from and about Biafra."

- Approximately 100 Cambridge and Boston Ripon Society members and their guests gathered at the Harvard Faculty Club for the joint annual dinner of the two chapters.

Josiah Spaulding, candidate for the U.S. Senate and former State Republican Chairman spoke out against the congressional seniority system, and proposed a number of reforms including a mandatory retirement age, a strong code of ethics, and strict disclosure of income. He charged that Sen. Edward Kennedy is tied up in the "old politics" by his position in the Democratic leadership, and is committed to the Senate "establishment" which stands to lose by congressional reform. Spaulding praised a number of President Nixon's programs (such as the welfare proposals) as forward looking and much needed. He placed urban problems at the top of his order of priorities, and concluded that he would fight and beat Kennedy on the issues.

The Cambridge Chapter held a business meeting after Spaulding's address, and outgoing President Sam Sherer delivered the Annual Report. The chapter then held the election of officers for the 1970-71 year, and the following selections were made:

President, Robert Davidson; Vice President, David Relf; Secretary, Will Moffat; Treasurer, Rhea Kemble; Executive Committee Members, Joel Greene, Harris Hartz, and David Schraeder.

- Ripon National Treasurer Robert L. Beal has been named vice president of development for Beacon Construction Company. Bob will head a newly-created department and will continue to coordinate planning, financing, leasing and management of Beacon's multi-million dollar development ventures.

- Ripon's 1968 election analysis, *The Lessons of Victory*, was given a most favorable review in *The Key Reporter*, Phi Beta Kappa's quarterly newsletter. Reviewer Lawrence H. Chamberlain praised LOV as both "interesting and provocative," and "refreshingly candid."

LETTERS

CARSWELL'S REVERSALS

Dear Sir:

I read the analysis of Carswell's reversal record in the Congressional Record. As an attorney I have serious doubts that a reversal record is an adequate "objective" parameter of a judge's ability. Although not the present case, a judge in the forefront of legal change would probably have an equally bad reversal rate, viz, the many dissents of the first Justice Harlan, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, which became the basis of later majority opinions. I, therefore, find such an oversimplification masquerading as scientific, objective grading of a judge's performance to present a dangerous precedent, despite the disclaimers to the contrary. However, I noted that the Governing Board of the Philadelphia Bar Association cited the analysis as one of the documents it reviewed before passing a resolution opposing the Carswell nomination. Personally, I think that Senator Hruska's paean to mediocrity may well result in the nomination's defeat, and justifiably so.

Richard F. Ober, Jr.
Philadelphia, Pa.

RATING THE RATINGS

Dear Sir:

I can understand why the Ripon Society as a Republican research and policy organization "does not put much stock in ration Congressional voting records." Yet, the March issue of the Ripon FORUM does just this, stating positions on 29 recent votes and reporting scores based on the percentage agreement with Ripon positions for the 43 Republican and 57 Democratic members of the Senate.

The results are interesting, but Ripon's only partisan interpretation is "that several Republicans score higher than any Democrat and that many Democrats score lower than any Republican." Your scores warrant further attention.

Simple computation shows that the average score for Republicans is 54.0 and for Democrats 50.6 — hardly a startling difference. If the 22 senators from the states of the Confederacy are excluded, then the average Republican score rises slightly to 56.6, while the average Democratic score jumps to 62.0.

But there is a better interpretation. Twenty-one states have one Republican and one Democratic senator. Each of the senators represents a similar constituency, and therefore differences in voting may be presumed to represent differences in ideology. In 16 of these states Democrats have higher scores, and only in 5 do Republicans conform more to Ripon's position than do their opposition-party colleagues.

In establishing its issue positions, Ripon has taken for its norm "values that are central to the traditions (and the rhetoric) of the Republican Party." If that is indeed the case, some Democrats are behaving more like Republicans than Republicans. This must be a disconcerting realization for the Ripon Society.

Alan Rosenthal
Rutgers University

Ed. Note: Ripon expects the differences between the two parties to increase in 1970 when President Nixon's program determines the key votes in such areas as welfare, administrative reform, and a volunteer army. But if it doesn't, we shall of course continue to report the votes as they fall.

This month's editorial on Ripon ratings of Senate committee chairmen shows that though the differences between the parties are not enormous, they get bigger among committee chairmen. The Southerners whom Mr. Rosenthal would like to forget happen to run the Democratic Party in the Senate.

A PROTEST

Dear Sir:

Unexpected demands for space and editorial deadlines can wreak havoc with any journal. I must, nevertheless, register my dismay over the published form of the article I prepared for your April issue.

At several places important qualifying statements were deleted without my knowledge, as were the footnotes and a key point about the similarities between Japan in the '30's and the United States during the past five years. . . . Extensive supplementary material to buttress my arguments about Vietnam and the Far Right was eliminated.

Most frustrating, however was the change in the title. From my point of view, "authoritarianism" is presently a problem in the United States. The article was entitled "American Totalitarianism?" in order to emphasize a longer-term threat to which various basic social trends contribute.

Authoritarian repression is acceptable to many Republicans — and Democrats. Yet it cannot purchase social stability. Over the next ten to twenty years powerful technological, economic, military, demographic, ecological, and generational factors will be pushing the United States toward a centralized dictatorship harmful to silent whites and the rich as well as to the currently "disadvantaged." Only by recognizing our vulnerability to this most un-American of dangers can we hope to salvage our freedom.

William D. Phelan, Jr.
Cambridge, Mass.

Michael C. Smith is an aide to Senator Charles Goodell. He is on leave from Yale Law School.

Is there a New Politics? Probably not. Although there is certainly no shortage of New Politicians — distinguishable from Old Politicians chiefly by matters of tone and style.

First, it should be noted that the term "New Politics" has been blessed with such a saturation hype (both from the media and from politicians) that it has become associated with an almost infinite variety of meanings. Thus, precise definition is impossible; but for the purposes of this memo, we shall attempt to articulate a series of general (and perhaps to some conferees, inflammatory) principles which may at least make its meaning arguable.

Politics is a process — a means to an end. And that end is power. Each person or group that engages in politics for the purpose of gaining power presumably does so with a somewhat benign (apologies to Pat Moynihan) intent, mixed with a natural dose of understandable self-interest.

In this context, the New Politics can be seen simply as a new way of gaining power in the political system, employed largely by those who perceive themselves as being denied such power under the "old" way.

In theory, it has both a style and a substance component. Substantive issues generally associated with the New Politics include the war, poverty, racism, urban blight, "ordering of priorities," and more recently, repression and ecological survival.

The style component (including both rhetoric and procedure) has consisted mainly of a stress on "participatory democracy," an army of youthful volunteers, storefronts and door-to-door canvassing, an opening up of party structures to give access to hitherto excluded constituencies, and in general "taking the issues (cited, *supra*) to the people."

Its design, or strategy, has been to build a new coalition based on young activists, intellectuals, blacks and other ethnic minorities, and the educated suburbs (political shorthand requires that we pretend that such terms have meaning); or perhaps more generally, "frontlash" Republicans and Independents and the more progressive elements of what is left of the old FDR coalition.

The trouble is, it didn't work. And the reason it didn't work goes to the heart of the basic dilemma facing America's institutions, not the least important of which are political.

It is the contention of this memorandum that the New Politics had a fairly short life span as a force

for real change; that it went into battle against reality and lost; and that it survives today chiefly in the minds of those in whose political interest it is to wrap themselves in its mythology.

The New Politics can be said to have begun in mid-1967 as a gleam in the eye of Allard Lowenstein, Curtis Gans, Harold Ickes, and a handful of others who had the temerity to believe that President Johnson could be toppled by a direct appeal to "the people." And they were right — sort of.

It flourished in New Hampshire in March, 1968, and seemed to gain momentum in the few months that followed — urged on by a fascination in the media that made it seem almost the edge of a revolution.

But the assassination of Robert Kennedy, the closed conventions in both Miami and Chicago (the Democrats, to their credit, at least put up a struggle on the convention floor), and the "police riot" in the streets of Chicago, all served to restore the sense of impotence and helplessness for which the New Politics had been conceived as an antidote.

Faced with two Presidential candidates who were both perceived as antithetical to the New Politics, Eugene McCarthy's eventual endorsement of Hubert Humphrey may well have represented at least a symbolic confirmation that the New Politics had failed to alter in any substantial way the basic power relationships in American society.

It may be argued that the events of 1968 were a valuable first step in a process whereby the New Politics may yet produce substantial change. But the experience of that torturous year and subsequent events would seem to suggest otherwise.

Perhaps the most important (if unappreciated) lesson of 1968 is that it is probably impossible to "take over" one of the major political parties without building into the victorious coalition so many unseemly elements that genuine internal structural change to redistribute real power becomes impractical.

This leads to the fundamental internal inconsistency of the concept of the "New Politics": The New Politics can't really be politics (a means of gaining power) unless it embraces so much of the Old Politics that it is no longer New.

And so we are left with the New Politicians — those refugees of the New Politics who may realize that the deck is stacked, but who have decided to play the game anyhow. Bright, young, toughened by harsh battles, and facile with both the rhetoric and the technique of their recent experience, they can probably be counted on to leave a progressive and enlightened mark on our political dialogue.

But let none of us pretend that if they ever finally get the deal, they are going to ask for a new deck.