

RIPON FORUM

VOL. VIII NO. 6
MARCH 15, 1972
25 CENTS

EDITORIAL

McCLOSKEY'S CHALLENGE

We regret Congressman McCloskey's decision to drop out of active contention in the presidential primaries, not the least because the two issues which spurred his candidacy — the Viet Nam war and truth in government — seldom have been more compelling than they are today.

The ITT scandal illustrates all too well the close, continuing and often invidious relationship between big business and big government. We will probably never know who is telling the truth, but the episode — replete with the confusing testimony of the Attorney General-designate, corporate executives, a former governor, a Federal judge, doctors and newspaper columnists — has further eroded the public faith in government.

Despite encouraging reports that the President's talks in China may facilitate a negotiated settlement, we cannot overlook the concurrent escalation of the air war. In the month of February the U.S. completed 40 "security reaction" strikes over North Viet Nam, more than the entire total for 1970. The number of strikes to date this year already exceeds last year's total. Furthermore, for the first time since bombing of the North began eight years ago, the U.S. Command has announced that

for "security reasons" it would no longer give out figures on the number of planes flying missions in the North. In our minds this escalation of the air war shrouded in official secrecy is no way to seek peace in Viet Nam.

We commend Congressman McCloskey for raising these vital issues when the party was all too silent. His decision to run for Congress, despite two conservative primary opponents, was not an easy one, but we feel he will have more impact on the issues he has raised as a Congressman than as a private citizen.

Now that Congressman McCloskey has withdrawn, the Administration will be tempted to forget too easily the rather amazing fact that a relatively unknown Congressman from California campaigning as a liberal among conservative Republicans can get 20 percent of the vote against an incumbent President. Clearly everything is not yet right with Republican progressives, despite the vast publicity for the Kissinger peace proposals and the China trip. The more the President moves right in the coming months to meet conservative opposition without answering the issues of the McCloskey challenge, the less likely he will run with a united party in November.

Is New Hampshire Turning Democratic?

The long-range significance of Tuesday's New Hampshire primary may be the dramatic upsurge in the size of the Democratic vote.

The state may be turning Democratic.

An analysis of the voting, though based upon incomplete and unofficial returns, shows that about 118,000 Republicans went to the polls Tuesday, an increase of about nine per cent from the 1968 turnout.

But the Democratic vote was close to 95,000 in a lackluster campaign, an increase of roughly 58 per cent from the 1968 balloting that forced President Johnson out of office.

Four years ago there were about 47,000 more Republicans than Democrats who cast ballots in the primary. The voting two days ago showed this gap has been reduced to about 23,000 voters.

What is even more eye-opening is where this vote went. It was predominantly liberal — that is, for left-of-center candidates. The two conservatives on the Democratic ballot, Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, D-Ark., and Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, together received less than 10 per cent of the Democratic vote.

In addition to the increased Democratic registration, the statistics suggest the bulk of the independent vote went Democratic. Under New Hampshire law, they now are registered Democrats at least until June when there will be an opportunity for them to switch registrations for the first time back to independent if they choose.

In the four years from 1968 to 1972, the Republicans picked up about 10,000 voters while the

Democrats drew about 35,000 voters. These are not registrations, but persons who cast their ballots.

Only about 45 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls Tuesday, about the same as in 1968.

The volume of the Democratic vote suggests there was a larger-scale disaffection with the policies of the Nixon administration than was reflected in the GOP vote for Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, R-Calif., the President's chief opponent here.

The independents apparently went heavily to the Democrats, particularly to Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., who was identified as an opponent of the Indochina war. He received 37 per cent of the Democratic vote.

The increase in the size of the Democratic vote not only could spell trouble for the Republicans, but also give the Democrats a clear shot at other public offices they previously have abdicated to the GOP.

The voting pattern suggests the Democrats could launch a strong race for the governorship next fall behind a moderate-to-liberal candidate. The voting also should be a source of comfort to Democratic Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre who is up for re-election this year.

The population of New Hampshire rose by about 50,000 persons in the four years between 1968 and 1972. Tuesday's balloting is a strong indication that most of these citizens lean to the Democrats.

With the state's population increasing at an accelerated rate, this should be a danger signal to the badly-split Republicans. — *Concord Monitor* (3-9-72)

Ripon Congressional Ratings

INTRODUCTION

The profile of the ideal voting record from the Ripon standpoint would be as follows: internationalist, and determined to bring about any early end to our ill-advised military involvement in Indochina; opposed to subsidies and import quotas to inefficient producers, and favoring the expansion of free market forces at home and abroad. The Ripon ideal would also include maximum equality of individual freedom and economic opportunity regardless of race, religion or sex.

Ripon strongly values measures that will increase the openness and accountability of governmental and quasi-governmental institutions. These could include reform or elimination of the Congressional seniority system, increased public disclosure of sources of campaign financing, and reduction of executive secrecy.

Fully aware of the inability of an overly bureaucratized government to respond to anything other than a few small, private interests, Ripon has given very high priority to moves that promise to reorganize effectively the delivery of government services.

Ripon has also evaluated proposals to insure that they will produce balanced growth while preserving or improving the environment both at home and abroad. An essential aspect of such an approach is a dramatic deceleration of the worldwide population boom.

The tabulated votes attempt to match these criteria central to the best traditions of the Republican Party and interests of the American public.

The top rungs of both the House and the Senate ratings are dominated by activist and predominantly younger Republicans. The House ratings run somewhat higher than the Senate ratings because of three lopsided civil liberties votes — the 18 year old vote amendment,

the equal rights amendment and the abolition of authority to set up detention camps found only in the House key votes.

Three Republican Congressmen, Mosher of Ohio, Frenzel of Minnesota, and McCloskey of California scored 100 percent in the House ratings. (McCloskey was also the highest scoring Presidential candidate.) They were followed closely by Conte of Massachusetts, Gude of Maryland, Morse of Massachusetts, Reid of New York, Reuss of Wisconsin, Whalen of Ohio, Biester of Pennsylvania, Esch of Michigan, and Robinson of New York, all at 94 percent, and Dellenback of Oregon at 93 percent. Of these Representatives all but Reuss are Republicans.

The Senator who scores highest in the Ripon ratings is Percy of Illinois with 96 percent (24 of 25), followed by Javits of New York, with 96 percent, (23 of 24), and Brooke of Massachusetts with 96 percent, (22 of 23). Case of New Jersey with 92 percent and Hatfield of Oregon with 83 percent are the next highest Republicans. The top scoring Senate Democrat is Bayh of Indiana.

Numerical ratings are only a very partial measure of a legislator's performance. They can give relatively little if any weight to the moral leadership role assumed by persons such as Senator Saxbe on the Bengali refugee issue, Senator Taft on the question of amnesty for American exiles, and Senator Ervin on individual liberties. Nor do they appraise performance in partisan terms.

Furthermore, the economic or other parochial interests of a Senator or Representative's constituency may necessitate certain votes at variance with what that legislator might view as the best public policy. A Representative from Seattle may have no real choice on the supersonic transport, for example. Altogether the ratings stand as a somewhat arbitrary and subjective yardstick to measure one aspect of legislative performance.

KEY

- V Record vote for Ripon position
- X Record vote against Ripon position
- O Absent, general pair, or unannounced
- (V) Paired for, announced for, or polled for Ripon position
- (X) Paired against, announced against or polled against Ripon position

Numbers of Roll Call Votes correspond to those in National Journal.

27. A motion to table a resolution changing Senate Rule XXIV to require the Senate to elect separately every committee chairman and ranking minority member. (Vote nay) The tabled resolution was sponsored by Sens. Harris and Mathias and was aimed at curbing the seniority system.

30. An amendment providing \$289 million for the further development of the supersonic transportation program. (Vote nay)

79. A resolution to disapprove the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1971 which consolidates the Peace Corps, VISTA and other volunteer programs into one agency called Action. (Vote nay) Ripon expressed some misgivings about this plan as originally proposed. Senator Percy did, however, secure substantial amendments designed to obtain the advantages of consolidation without eviscerating the activism of VISTA, the most controversial component. While the attitude of this Administration toward agencies directed at producing social change gives us continuing cause for concern, it is ultimately the leadership of the agencies and the atmosphere created by the White House that will determine their effectiveness. With proper White House support for the involved agencies, this reorganization can increase their effectiveness.

84. A conference report on a bill to extend the Appalachian regional development program and to authorize accelerated spending for public works in areas with high unemployment. (Vote nay) Senator Proxmire, an opponent of boondoggling, whether in defense or domestic spending, was the only Democrat to vote against this bill.

97. An amendment offered by Sens. McGovern and Hatfield to bar use of funds to keep U.S. forces in or over Indochina after Dec. 31, 1971. (Vote yea)

101. An amendment to the draft extension bill by Sen. Hatfield to direct the Defense Secretary to provide inducements aimed at creating an all-volunteer army. (Vote yea)

114. An amendment to the draft extension bill by Sen. Mansfield calling on the President to withdraw all U.S. troops from South Vietnam within nine months after the bill is enacted if the North Vietnamese release all prisoners of war. (Vote yea)

141. An amendment by Sen. Moss to delete from the fiscal 1972 Agriculture Department appropriations bill funds for the tobacco price support program. (Vote yea)

143. An amendment to the fiscal 1972 Agriculture Department appropriations bill offered by Sen. Bayh to limit farm subsidies in fiscal 1972 to \$20,000 per crop per farm. (Vote yea)

148. An amendment by Sen. Scott to increase from \$22,000,000 to \$27,620,000 the fiscal 1972 appropriations for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (Vote yea)

150. An amendment by Sen. Proxmire to strike from an appropriations bill funds for the Subversive Activities Control Board. (Vote yea)

185. A bill to authorize \$250 million in emergency loans to business enterprises, the whole amount intended to authorize a \$250 million loan guarantee for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. (Vote nay)

188. A motion to table an amendment to the campaign reform bill by Sen. Mathias extending coverage of the bill to persons who have announced they are seeking office but have not legally qualified as candidates. (Vote nay)

189. A motion to table an amendment to the campaign reform bill by Sen. Packwood to require that loans of \$10,000 or more to candidates be reported to the Federal Elections Commission. (Vote nay)

198. A motion to table an amendment by Sen. Packwood to require disclosure of any individual who acts as guarantor or surety for any extension of credit in connection with any debt incurred by a political committee in behalf of a candidate. (Vote nay)

260. D.C. Home Rule bill to provide for an elected mayor and city council for the District of Columbia. (Vote yea)

263. A bill to authorize appropriations of \$450 million per year in fiscal 1972 and 1973, for the U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank. (Vote yea)

301. An amendment by Sen. Packwood to increase the foreign economic aid authorization by \$125 million for worldwide population assistance programs. (Vote yea)

304. A bill to authorize \$1,144,000,000 in fiscal 1972 appropriations for foreign economic and humanitarian assistance programs. (Vote yea)

340. An amendment by Sen. Percy to delete from the revenue bill the section which would divert a percentage of alcohol tax revenues into the Highway Trust Fund. (Vote yea)

347. A motion to table an amendment by Sen. Javits that would require that the U.S. budget include an annual Treasury Department estimate of revenue losses due to tax deductions, credits, exemptions, preferential rates and other exclusions. (Vote nay)

372. An amendment to the revenue bill by Sen. Tower which would have provided a tax credit for exploration and development of domestic oil and gas reserves. (Vote nay)

374. An amendment by Sen. Cotton to the revenue bill to allow the President to impose quotas, licenses or tariffs on imports if he finds that they are disrupting domestic markets or adversely affecting the U.S. balance of payments. (Vote nay)

450. Confirmation of William Rehnquist as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. (Vote nay). Now that Mr. Rehnquist is Mr. Justice Rehnquist we can only hope that our forebodings will be proved to have been in error.

KEY TO HOUSE ROLL CALL VOTES

25. Vote to prohibit appropriations for development of a supersonic transport. (Vote yea)

27. A joint resolution proposing a constitutional amendment to lower the minimum voting age to 18 in all federal state, and local elections. (Vote yea)

38. An amendment by Rep. Whalen to the draft extension bill to change from two years to one year the extension of the President's induction authority. (Vote yea)

91. A bill to authorize appropriations for Civil Rights Commission programs and operations at an annual rate of \$4 million until Jan. 31, 1973, when the commission's authority expires. (Vote yea)

108. Resolution to disapprove President's Reorganization Plan No. 1 which consolidates the Peace Corps, VISTA, and other volunteer programs into one agency called Action (Vote nay) See discussion under Senate Roll Call Vote Number 79.

144. Nedzi-Whalen amendment to bar use of any funds authorized in the fiscal 1972 military procurement bill for military operations in or over South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos after Dec. 31, 1971, or after some other date during fiscal 1972 which the President might recommend to Congress. (Vote yea)

156. An amendment to strike from HR 1 the family assistance welfare section of the bill. (Vote nay)

159. On a recorded teller vote, vote on an amendment to reduce the limit on farm subsidy payments for any single producer from \$55,000 to \$20,000 per crop, excluding sugar and wool crops. (Vote yea)

178. A motion to table a resolution which would have directed the Secretary of State to furnish to the House, within 15 days, documents concerning U.S. operations in Laos. (Vote nay)

188. A motion to send back to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee a resolution the committee had recommended to cite for contempt of Congress the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. and CBS President Frank Stanton. (Vote yea)

227. A bill to authorize guarantees not to exceed \$250 million for emergency loans to business enterprises, the whole amount intended to authorize a \$250 million loan guarantee for the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. (Vote nay)

257. A bill to repeal the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. (Vote yea)

Agnew, Peabody Score in VP Races

CONCORD — John Mitchell's first major move since formally taking control of the Nixon reelection campaign was to intervene in the New Hampshire primary to help produce a massive write-in vote for Spiro T. Agnew. The Agnew vote, which totalled 47,000, is the largest write-in in the history of the New Hampshire primary. (Lodge received 33,000 for President in 1964 and Richard Nixon got 22,500 for vice president in 1956.)

The Vice President's total also is only a few points short of the 43 percent of the Democratic presidential total which former Massachusetts Governor Endicott Peabody received as an active VP candidate.

Mitchell called the moderate Republican Gov. Walter Peterson on Friday morning before the election. He requested gubernatorial endorsement and full use of the party machinery for Agnew.

Joining the endorsement were three of Peterson's four Councilors, both New Hampshire Congressmen and a list of more than 50 elected officials.

The endorsements were followed by a weekend mailing of sample Republican ballots to the State Party's computerized list of 160,000 registered Republicans. On Monday Manchester *Union Leader* publisher William Loeb contributed an editorial endorsement (his second), and on election day party stalwarts passed out Agnew pencils and leaflets at most polling places.

This all-out effort was a response to a low-key write-in campaign for Edward W. Brooke organized by

Manchester attorney John A. Graf, and former Ripon President Josiah Lee Auspitz. The campaign, which Brooke disavowed, polled 8,000 votes on an advertising budget of \$13,000 and a mailing of 2,500 letters.

Wilbur Mills received only 4,200 write-ins for an estimated quarter of a million dollar effort and a disavowed Kennedy write-in based on newspaper ads and a direct mailing to all Democrats got only 946 votes. Brooke also exceeded the 1968 total of the then Massachusetts Governor John Volpe, who campaigned actively for vice presidential write-ins.

The White House, as a quid pro quo, is now expected to support Peterson for renomination against all comers in this year's race. The

Governor's service to the White House can be measured by the fact that among Independent New Hampshire voters Agnew has a 56 percent unfavorable rating. These voters, who by a 4-1 margin took Democratic ballots in the primary, have been essential to Peterson's past electoral victories.

Nationally the Vice President's performance may serve to quiet public speculation that he may be dumped from the ticket. The private lesson is that if he is dumped the President wants to maintain an aura of total control and will fend off any effort to force his hand.

Meanwhile Governor Walter Peterson reassured staffers, state house reporters and friends that he personally had written in the name of Ed Brooke.

Ripon Suit Goes to Court

WASHINGTON — Argument on the merits of the Ripon Society's suit against the Republican National Committee delegate allocation formula was held on March 9 in the U.S. District Court here.

Prior to address of the substantive issues, Judge William B. Jones denied the RNC's motions to dismiss the Ripon Society as a plaintiff and to dismiss the National Republican Party as a defendant.

In addition, he denied the motions of the Republican parties of Delaware and Wyoming to intervene as defendants.

The substantive discussion primarily concerned the bonus dele-

gate section of the allocation rule. Robert M. Pennoyer of New York argued for Ripon. The RNC was represented by its general counsel, Fred C. Scribner of Maine.

A decision from Judge Jones is expected sometime in April.

At the invitation of Chairman William Cramer of Florida, Dan Swillinger, Ripon's Political Director, and Robert Amory, Washington counsel in the allocation suit, appeared before the RNC Rules Committee, to explain the suit.

Cramer said that the Rules Committee is carefully considering the allocation formula, and will meet twice more before the convention.

Political Calendar

Delegate Selection Dates

This Delegate Selection Calendar contains the key dates for the selection process. Some of these dates may change, due to legislative action or failure of states to redistrict prior to established filing dates. NC is an abbreviation for Republican National Convention. Delegate (capital D) refers to Delegates to the NC, while delegate (lower case d) refers to delegates to local or state conventions.

- **ALABAMA**
March 1, 1972 — Deadline for filing declaration of candidacy for delegate.
May 2, 1972 — Primary to select Delegates to NC.
- **ALASKA**
May 1, 1972 — Deadline for precinct meetings to select delegates to state convention.
May 12-15, 1972 — State convention to select Delegate to NC.
- **ARIZONA***
March 15 - April 9, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to state convention.
April 29, 1972 — State convention held to elect Delegates to NC.
*September 8, 1970 — The precinct committee

members who make up the Republican county conventions were elected.

April 26, 1972 — Time and place for holding precinct caucuses must be posted at county courthouses.

May 6, 1972 — Precinct caucuses to choose delegates to the county and Senatorial District conventions (between 2 - 9 p.m.).

May 13, 1972 — County and Senatorial District conventions to select delegates to the State conventions (between 2 - 9 p.m.).

June 13, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to the NC.

- **VERMONT**

April 20 - 30, 1972 (inclusive) — Town caucuses select delegate to the state convention.

May 20, 1972 — State convention to elect Delegates to NC.

- **WASHINGTON**

March 7, 1972 — Precinct caucuses to select delegates to county conventions.

April 15 - May 31, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to state convention.

June 30 - July 1, 1972 — State convention to select Congressional District and at-large Delegates to NC.

- **WYOMING**

Between March 1 - 15, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to the state convention.

May 12, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to NC.

● **GEORGIA**

- February 12, 1972 — Election district (precinct) mass meetings will be held.
March 4, 1972 — County conventions will be held to elect delegates to the Congressional District meetings.
March 18, 1972 — Congressional District meetings, will be held to elect district Delegates to NC.
April 21, 1972 — State Convention will be held to elect at-large Delegates to the NC.

● **KANSAS**

- February 28 - March 5, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to the State and Congressional District Conventions. (May be the same delegates to both.)
March 11, 1972 -- Second Congressional District convention to select Delegates to the NC.
March 18, 1972 — Fifth Congressional District convention to select Delegates to the NC.
March 25, 1972 — First Congressional District convention to select Delegates to NC.
April 15, 1972 — Third Congressional District convention to select Delegates to NC.
April 18, 1972 -- Fourth Congressional District convention to select Delegates to the NC.
April 29, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

● **KENTUCKY**

- April 8, 1972 — County mass conventions held to select delegates to the state and district conventions. The same delegates attend both.
April 27, 1972 — District conventions to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.
April 29, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

● **MAINE**

- February 1 - March 25, 1972 — Municipal caucuses to select delegates to the state convention.
April 28 - 29, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to NC.

● **MICHIGAN**

- March 24, 1972 — Deadline for filing nominating petition for candidate for delegate to the county convention.
May 16, 1972 — Delegate to the county convention are elected at the presidential primary election.
May 31, 1972 — Congressional district caucuses to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.
June 16 - 17, 1972 — State conventions to select at-large Delegates to NC.

● **MISSISSIPPI**

- April 22, 1972 — At 10:00 a.m. precinct caucuses will be held to select delegates to the county convention to be held the same day.
April 22, 1972 — At 3:00 p.m. the county convention will select delegates to the state convention.
May 20, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to NC.

● **MISSOURI**

- April 15, 1972 — Deadline for county, ward and township meetings to select delegates to Congressional District and state conventions.
May 3, 1972 — Deadline for Congressional District conventions to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.
May 27, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

● **MONTANA**

- April 27, 1972 — Deadline to file statement of intent to run for precinct committeeman or woman.
June 6, 1972 — Precinct primary to select precinct committeeman or woman to serve as delegate to county convention.
Between June 7 and June 27, 1972 — County conventions to elect delegates to state convention.
June 28 - 30, 1972 — State convention to elect Delegates to NC.

● **NEBRASKA**

- March 10, 1972 — Deadline for candidates for Delegates to NC to file for nomination and filing fee.
May 9, 1972 — Primary to elect Delegates to NC, all from Congressional Districts.

● **NEVADA**

- Between February 25 and March 10, 1972 — Precinct meetings to select delegates to the county convention.
Between March 15 and April 10, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to the state convention.
April 27 - 29, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to NC.

● **NEW MEXICO**

- June 12, 1972 — Ward or precinct conventions to select delegates to the county convention.
June 19, 1972 — County convention to select delegates to the state convention.
July 15 - 16, 1972 — State convention to select Delegates to the NC.

● **OKLAHOMA**

- April 3, 1972 — Precinct meeting to select delegates to the county convention.
April 15, 1972 — County convention to select delegates to the state and Congressional District conventions.
April 29, 1972 — Congressional District convention to select Delegates to the NC.
May 6, 1972 — Precinct caucuses to choose Delegates to NC.

● **RHODE ISLAND**

- March 1 - 10, 1972 — Candidates for at-large Delegate to NC must file declarations of candidacy. By March 15, 1972 — Nominating petitions forms should be obtained from the Secretary of State.
April 4, 1972 — Deadline for filing signed nomination papers for Delegate to NC.
May 23, 1972 — Primary election to elect at-large Delegates to NC.

● **SOUTH DAKOTA**

- February 7, 1972 — Earliest date on which signatures may be obtained on nominating petition for Delegate to NC.
April 21, 1972 — Last date to file nominating petitions.
June 6, 1972 — Primary election to select slate of at-large Delegates to NC.

● **TENNESSEE**

- By March 15, 1972 — County conventions to select delegates to Congressional District conventions and state convention.
By May 1, 1972 — Congressional District convention to select Congressional District Delegates to NC.
May 20, 1972 — State convention to select at-large Delegates to NC.

● **TEXAS**

- April 6, 1972 — Party rules must be filed with the Secretary of State.

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 thirteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14a Eliot Street Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid at Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1972 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$10 a year, \$5 for students, service-air mail, \$10 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

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RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 14a Eliot Street, Cambridge, Ma. 02138, Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.