

Republican National Convention Issue

RIPON FORUM

AUGUST, 1972

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ONE DOLLAR

RIPON SOCIETY PROPOSALS FOR RESOLUTIONS and RULES



Party Reform

Articles by Robert Finch, George Tbyss and Daniel Smillinger

Also:

- Tanya Melich on Media
- John McClaughry on Expanded Ownership

LETTERS

Dear Sir:

I read with interest a recent editorial of the Ripon FORUM that identified Joseph M. Crosby as "Nixon's State Campaign Chairman".

There is no question in my mind that Joe Crosby, who is a fine man, would make a fine campaign chairman for the President, but the fact is, he isn't. The chairman of the President's campaign in California is Governor Ronald Regan. Mr. Crosby has no official position in the campaign.

Also, to set straight the record, John Ashbrook received less than 10 percent of the GOP vote in the June primary.

You will be happy to know that the Nixon campaign in California has not written off the youth vote. In fact we are making a vigorous effort to register young people and to make them aware of the President's record which is the most pro-young-people in the history of the Republic: Draft reform, the 18-year-old vote, the move towards an all-volunteer army, the environmental protection efforts, the all-out fight against drug abuse, to name a few.

We are looking forward to the Ripon Society's all-out support of the President this fall.

LYN NOFZIGER
Executive Director
California Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

EDITOR'S NOTE: According to the Congressional Quarterly, nearly complete returns showed Ashbrook with 9.9 percent of the Republican vote.

Correction: The vice chairwoman of the Texas Democratic State Convention was Eddie Bernice Johnson, not Barbara Jordan as reported in the July FORUM and newsletter. Ms. Johnson is a state legislative candidate from Dallas.

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Pagination Note to Convention Readers: Issues of the August, 1972 issue of the FORUM which will be distributed at the GOP National Convention will contain the Special Election '72 Supplement from the July FORUM. Because of the differing page sequences, the supplement is numbered pages 13 to 36.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC.

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In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

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Editor: George Gilder

Dick Behn, Political Editor

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, Howard Reiter.

Circulation Dept.: Judith H. Behn.

Art: Leslie Morrill, David Omar White.

Correspondents

Deryl Howard, North Carolina
William K. Woods, Ohio
Henri Pell Junod, Ohio
Stephen Jones, Oklahoma
Eric R. Blackledge, Oregon
Richard Ober, Jr., Pennsylvania
Donato Andre D'Andrea, R. I.
Bruce M. Selya, Rhode Island
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EDITORIAL

Towards Amnesty And Moderation

The war in Vietnam has gone on too long. For Republicans, the moment of judgment has arrived — judgment on our 1968 platform pledge to “urgently dedicate our efforts toward restoration of peace both at home and abroad” and our candidate’s pledge to “end the war and win the peace.” We hope reports that a negotiated settlement is imminent are correct and our pledge will be redeemed.

In the meantime, we face another challenge in the years ahead. If we are to succeed as the party which ended the war, we ought to dedicate ourselves also to healing the wounds left by the longest and most divisive conflict in American history. We must commit ourselves to aid the millions of civilian casualties on both sides of the Vietnam conflict and to restore the land from the devastating ecological effects of prolonged war. At home we should grant conditional amnesty to the thousands of young people who refused, by conscience, to participate in the war.

We believe many Republicans have jumped unwisely to the conclusion that amnesty is a radical position. On the contrary, to close the door now on certain forms of amnesty is both to contradict claims that we care about reconciliation and to run against the tide of history.

George Washington set the precedent for a succession of executive pardonings when in 1795 he forgave those who had taken part in the Whiskey Rebellion of the previous summer. As the first American President explained in a message to Congress:

Though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional power with which I am vested, yet my personal feeling is to mingle in the operations of Government every degree of moderation and tenderness which the national justice, dignity, and safety may permit.

President Abraham Lincoln was known for the generosity of his Civil War amnesty proclamations. Presidents Adams (Pennsylvania insurrectionists), Jefferson (deserters), Madison (deserters), Jackson (deserters), Harrison (Mormons), Cleveland (Mormons), and Teddy Roosevelt (Phillipine rebels), also authored amnesty proclamations. In 1924 Calvin Coolidge pardoned more than 100 men who had deserted since the World War I Armistice, and nine years later, Franklin Roosevelt amnestied 1500 violators of World War I espionage and draft laws. President Truman authorized a broad amnesty plan, covering both World War II and the Korean War.

At present, it is estimated that 70,000 young men have fled the country in order to avoid prosecution for draft evasion. An additional 35,000 GI’s are being sought for desertion. Over 300 men are now serving sentences for Selective Service offenses, with yet another 3900 currently awaiting trial. Without intending any

disservice to those who served in Vietnam, let alone their comrades who were wounded or killed there, we believe compassion is in order for these continuing casualties of the Indochina conflict.

A non-vindictive course is called for, not only by the evidence of government miscalculation and deceit revealed in the Pentagon Papers, but further by the gross inequities in the Selective Service system which have permitted many men legally to evade the draft — through exploitation of its statutory loopholes and administrative weaknesses. Moreover, the Supreme Court ruled in *Welsb v. United States*, that one could be a conscientious objector without believing in a Supreme Being, a change which greatly broadened the CO classification. But this liberalized reinterpretation of the war was unavailable to those men drafted during the period 1964-1970. Unlike some of their younger brothers, these draftees had the choice of fighting in Vietnam, sitting in jail, or heading for Canada.

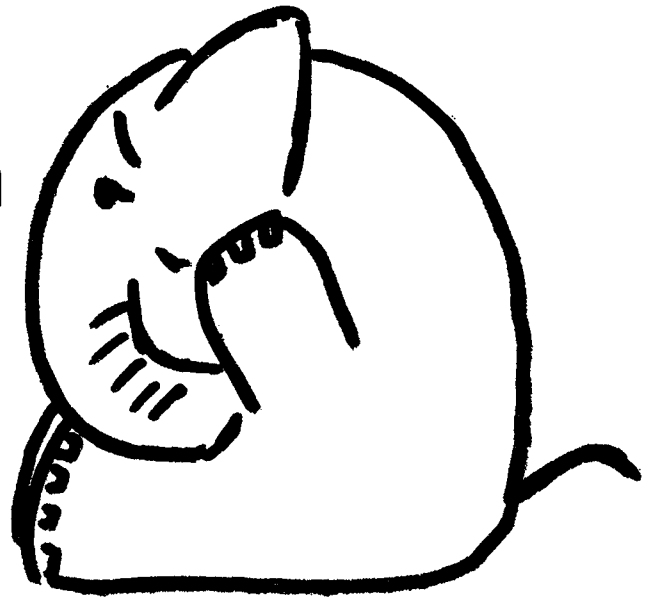
The Ripon Society urges the Republican National Convention to draft a comprehensive plan for easing the aftermath of U.S. participation in the Vietnam War. At a minimum this plan should provide for assuring the financial security of children whose fathers have been killed in Indochina, and a reassessment and augmentation of veterans’ benefits (especially with regard to medical care, job training, and educational stipends.) Such an approach should be completed by a two-level amnesty program.

This program first would grant all Selective Service law violators and armed forces deserters automatic immunity from prosecution if they agreed to perform two years of compensating national service in the military, or in federal, state or nongovernmental public interest employment (time spent in the armed forces would be credited to deserters). Secondly, it would authorize a civilian review board to lessen or remit — on a case by case basis — legal liabilities of draft offenders, deserters, and all other men similarly jeopardized (including war criminals). The review board will consider cases where national security and preservation of internal order were not threatened, and where the personal hardship endured by a particular violator seems to justify leniency.

Such an amnesty proposal is both generous and prudent. It acts to shorten at least one portion of the lamentable legacy of this country’s intervention in Southeast Asia. As Senator Robert Taft Jr. (R-Ohio) said recently about those who have illegally resisted the Vietnam draft, “It would be a great mistake for us forever to foreclose these young men . . . from participating in American life.” That is a thoroughly American sentiment. And it is the attitude which underlies that sentiment — Washington’s principle of “moderation and tenderness” — which must guide us in picking up the pieces after Vietnam.

1968

The Republican Platform Legacy



by Howard F. Gillette, Jr.

The 1968 GOP Platform was fashioned at a time when the nomination of Richard Nixon was imminent but not yet assured. Chaired by late conservative Sen. Everett Dirksen, the Committee on Resolutions achieved a balance among its vice chairmen between progressives Walter Hickel, Charles Goodell and Hugh Scott and conservatives Roman Hruska, Louis Nunn and Congressman John Rhodes. (Rhodes chairs this year's committee.) Because of the balance between party factions represented on the committee, the 1968 platform serves as an important barometer to the party today.

The broad outline of the platform meshes well with the Nixon administration policies to date. Great emphasis is placed on decentralization of government services, particularly through revenue sharing, government reorganization and a faith in the private and independent sectors to help solve these problems — as against exclusive reliance on government action. The section on national defense specifically repudiates the concept of parity in the arms race saying, "We have frittered away superior military capabilities, enabling the Soviets to narrow their defense gap, in some areas to outstrip us, and to move to cancel our lead entirely by the early seventies." At the same time the foreign policy section foreshadows the Moscow summit by pledging to "seek an end to the arms race through international agreement. . . ."

The language of the Vietnam section is dovish, but it conforms in detail to the Nixon policy. It blames

the Johnson administration for overreliance on American ground forces and for paying inadequate attention to "the political framework on which a successful outcome ultimately depends." It promises a strategy of progressive de-Americanization and pledges "a program for peace — neither peace at any price nor a camouflaged surrender of legitimate U.S. or allied interests — but a positive program that will offer a fair and equitable settlement to all, based on the principle of self-determination, our national interests and the cause of long-range world peace."

The Republican platform pledges of 1968 have proved to be not mere rhetoric but working guidelines for much of the Nixon administration. Promises to reform the postal service and to set up a new "Efficiency Commission" to root out unnecessary and overlapping government functions have been met. The President also kept the platform's pledge to support the 18-year-old vote and a volunteer army. Like the platform, President Nixon has followed the dictum that "our best hope for enduring peace lies in comprehensive international cooperation," as he has carried his diplomacy personally to Eastern and Western Europe and to the Far East. The Administration has begun to encourage, as promised in the platform, more emphasis on multinational agencies, as the vehicle, and technical assistance, as the means, for foreign aid.

Howard F. Gillette Jr. is national president of the Ripon Society.

The Ripon Society Platform Proposals

In the following pages, we present platform proposals on several issues which we believe are of special importance to the Republican party this year. Expanded ownership elaborates a theme of the party's founders, embodied in the Homestead Act; and the other subjects — women, Indians, youth, working people and criminals — afford the possibility of expanding the dimensions of opportunity and democracy among groups which have often been denied the just benefits of citizenship. In expanding ownership, democracy and opportunity we can also make possible the extension of the Republican party into growing new constituencies. Although these issues are not the most urgent we face as a nation in this election year, they bear a symbolic importance — and they have suffered a common neglect — that makes them worthy of a special attention here.

The text was prepared by Ripon President Howard F. Gillette, Jr. with the assistance of Ripon members Peter Baugher, Richard Beeman, Patricia A. Goldman, Shawn Grogan, Barbara Kilberg, and Claude Williams.

Five weeks ago the Democrats concluded their convention in Miami with the charges that the GOP was the defender of the *status quo* while Democrats represented the party of change. On the surface they seemed to stake a valid claim, offering two relative newcomers to national politics on their ticket after receiving the nomination from the broadest-based convention in recent history.

But a close look at the record reveals that the Republicans rightfully carry the mantle of change in this election. At the state and national levels Republicans are offering new models for government unheard of by the defenders of the now worn-out New Deal coalition. Revenue-sharing, welfare reform and government reorganization, all policies advocated by the Ripon Society in the 1960's, offer a fresh perspective in government badly lacking in previous administrations. The President's trips to the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe, combined with subsequent programs of trade and negotiation, have provided the most concrete evidence that the Cold War is thawing.

The Republican party hardly defends the *status quo* any more than its opposition. Yet we would fool ourselves, if we thought anything but the foundations for what President Nixon called a "second American revolution" have been laid. It is the task of the Republican platform committee not only to embrace the initiatives taken in Washington over the last three years but to project as well a program of reform for the 1970's which can gain the confidence and support of the great majority of the American people.

The Ripon Society is proud of the fact that so many of its policy proposals have been embraced by the

Nixon Administration. If we have had a function and a role to play, we have seen it fulfilled in the translation of new policy ideas into political reality.

We cannot conceal our concern, however, that much of this new direction for America has been clouded by contradictory political claims and rhetoric. Republicans cannot consistently support decentralization and enhancement of a free market economy while at the same time running to the financial rescue of mismanaged corporations. Republicans cannot at the same time enshrine individualism while writing into their welfare proposals authoritarian work requirements and disincentives to work. Republicans cannot claim to offer equal opportunity for all while embracing programs which would compromise the greatest single party legacy to American history, the 14th Amendment.

Too often Republicans appear to appeal to people's fears and prejudices rather than to their aspirations and mutual self-interest. The founding fathers of our party faced a similar dilemma in attempting to forge a new majority in the 1850's. In opposing the Democrats, they found themselves attacking immigrants and their life styles on the one hand and the Southern slave aristocracy on the other hand. Republicans thrived as a party and as a national political force only after they embraced programs of opportunity — the Homestead Act, land-grant colleges, the high tariff and emancipation.

Of course Republicans of the 1970's oppose the Democrats. But along with the rhetoric of partisan politics we need programs equivalent to the Homestead Act and the early civil rights legislation which first made the G.O.P. the party of the majority.

Youth:

It is often forgotten that the United States was founded by the young. Among the "Founding Fathers" who signed the Declaration of Independence, twenty were under age 40, nine under age 35, and four under 30. Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the document itself, was 33.

A majority of citizens in the early Republic were under age 30, the last period until our own in which this was true. Largely immigrants, they had consciously broken the past's stratifications. One, Michel de Crevecoeur, announced, "The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions."

The 18-year-old now has the vote. Along with the vote should come the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. We urge the Republican Party, as we urged the President in September, 1969, to establish a Commission on the Age of Legal Majority which would consider proposals for legislation granting "adult" rights uniformly at age 18, and suggest areas of age-discrimination in the federal government which can be eliminated by new laws or executive order.

We believe the Republican party, if it is truly the "party of the open door," must open itself more formally to the ideas of youth. We propose establishment of a President's Youth Advisory Council, made up of young people 18-30, to advise the President on the effect of national policies on the young, to prepare recommendations for Presidential action, to communicate the President's view to youth and youth's views to the President.

We believe the idealism and energy of youth can be tapped better than it now is in the volunteer sector, and consequently we propose federal endorsement of a National Foundation for Youth Service, to act as a clearing house for private and public youth service projects and the grant service fellowships to those youth who otherwise could not afford to take a service job.

Because education is such an important part of any young person's life, we urge full support to provide the best possible education to all children on equal terms, without regard

to race, religion, sex or the wealth of their parents. Specifically, we urge Re-publicans:

1) to endorse the principle, first enunciated by the California Supreme Court in *Serrano V. Priest*, that the quality of a child's education may not be made to depend on the wealth of his parents. Through the resources available to the federal government, the Administration should assist the states in voluntarily restructuring their school finance systems to the end that every child will receive an education commensurate with his needs.

2) to support full implementation of the Administration initiatives on Higher Education and Desegregation Assistance Act and to back the ruling of the Supreme Court that busing is one legitimate means of achieving desegregation.

3) to give highest priority to the goal of making college and professional training available to all students regardless of family income.

4) to support Administration efforts to redress the denial of equal educational opportunities to Spanish-surnamed and other students on the basis of their cultural and linguistic differences. The scope of these efforts ought to be extended to the even more difficult problem of providing equal educational opportunities to American Indian children, many of whom are still segregated in inferior schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Native Americans

Our government and people have been all too slow to recognize the vast contribution to and special position of the First Americans. As President Nixon said in his ground-breaking July 8, 1970 message on Indian policy, "The story of the Indian in America is something more than the record of the white man's frequent aggression, broken agreements, intermittent remorse and prolonged failure. It is a record also of endurance, of survival, of adaptation and creativity in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It is a record of overwhelming contribution to this country — to its art and culture, to its strength and spirit, to its sense of history, and its sense of purpose . . . It is long past time that Indian policies of the Federal government begin to recognize and build upon the cap-

acities and insights of the Indian people."

The Ripon Society fully endorses the major policy proposals of that message:

1. To fully repudiate any possibility of termination of the trust relationship between the federal government and the Indian people. As President Nixon has affirmed, the federal government's trusteeship responsibility is the result of solemn and historic obligations and treaties which have been entered into by the U.S. government with the Indian people. The Congress must specifically repudiate the whole philosophy of termination, as the President has done.

2. To encourage self-determination through of the right of Indian communities to voluntarily control and operate federal programs.

3. To establish an Indian Trust Counsel Authority with power to provide and guarantee independent legal counsel to Indian tribes and communities in land and water disputes.

4. To establish in the Department of the Interior the position of Assistant Secretary for Indian Policy to elevate this subject within the Administration.

In addition to the policy of the President's message, Ripon strongly endorses the following proposals of the American Indian Caucus: the implementation of which we believe necessary for the federal government to fulfill its trust responsibility:

1. That every governmental agency commit the necessary funds to improve the quality of life of all Indian people, regardless of where they reside, to the highest standard of the rest of the country in the areas of health, housing, education, welfare, business and job opportunities.

2. That the President and Congress support passage of the Menominee Restoration Act which would reverse the disastrous effects of termination upon the Menominee Tribe, that would ensure the Tribe its rights as a trust people and that would be the first concrete action in support of the President's expressed repudiation of termination as a policy.

3. That the government take strong and immediate action to halt the

numerous violations of Indian treaty rights, especially those involving fishing, hunting, land and water.

4. That the federal government recognize that the trust responsibility follows Native Americans, regardless of where they happen to reside.

5. That the federal government support the allocation of federal surplus land to American Indians on a first priority basis.

Working People

We believe the Republican party ought to pay more attention to the special needs of the working people of this country, especially in the fields of health, employment opportunity and pension aid.

The National Safety Council estimates that more than 14,000 employees are killed each year in job-related accidents; more than 2.2 million employees are disabled and approximately 400,000 are known to suffer job-related illnesses.

We applaud the passage of the Williams-Steiger Occupational Safety and Health Act and the President's stated commitment to its vigorous enforcement. But we sadly note that the Administration's oral commitment and its actual performance have not been of equal vigor.

Between July 1971 and January 1972, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration of the Department of Labor, reported assessing \$1,003,250 in fines for some 42,942 violations. This average at only \$68 per employer. Fewer than 500 inspector positions are budgeted for fiscal 1973; yet there are nearly 5 million establishments covered under the Act employing some 60 million employees. Of the \$67.5 million budgeted to the Labor Department to fill its investigative and enforcement role, nearly half is allocated to state agencies. Yet the States appear to lack any vision or urgency regarding occupational injury and disease. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health of HEW is budgeted only \$28.3 million and no authorization has been provided for training occupational health personnel, although the Act calls for such training.

We urge the Administration to take seriously its earlier pronouncements on

occupational safety and health, and fully and staff the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; more strenuous enforcement, including higher fines for violators, are necessary. In addition, we recommend an increased budget of from \$15-\$20 million for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

We believe that every American worker is entitled to an adequate retirement income. The Social Security system is designed to provide a floor for retirees; private pension plans are important supplements for social security benefits. Approximately 40 million employees are presently covered by private pension plans, with projected assets of \$200 billion by 1980.

Unfortunately, many pension programs have been less than secure investments for employee retirement. Business failures, mergers and acquisitions have cost many employees their pension rights. Runaway plans, inadequate funding and poor plan management have also taken their toll upon those least able to pay. We favor new legislation which would provide for improved reporting, disclosure and publication requirements; stronger enforcement procedures are needed; new fiduciary and investment standards are called for.

Civil Rights

The Administration's finest accomplishments in the area of Civil Rights have been in the equal employment opportunity field.

We applauded the creation of an employment section in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and we commend that division's vigorous enforcement of the "pattern and practice" provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

We congratulate the Congress on the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. For the first time since its creation, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has enforcement powers. We are sorry to note that the Administration lobbied against the "cease and desist" authority which was included in the original proposal. But we find the legislation as enacted to be a major step forward in the continuing battle for equal employment opportunity.

The Administration deserves high merits for the development of the concept of affirmative action with regard to the hiring and upgrading of minority and female employees by federal contractors.

When the Nixon Administration took office in 1969, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) in the Department of Labor, responsible for monitoring and coordinating the Government's equal employment program among federal contractors, was a 25-person operation, able to call upon only 300 compliance officers in all of government. Today, the OFCC staff numbers nearly 100, with 1500 compliance officers among the agencies. The Philadelphia Plan has proven successful, not only in terms of the increased numbers of minorities now participating in the construction trades in Philadelphia, but because the legal framework upon which the requirement of goals and timetables for minority and female hire is based, has been successfully tested both in practice and in the courts.

Revised Order No. 4, issued on December 4, 1971, requires non-construction federal contractors to review their workforces for underutilization of minorities and women and to institute results-oriented procedures, including the use of goals and timetables, to correct the underutilization found. We approve of this order.

Both the EEOC and the OFCC have issued comprehensive sex and testing guidelines which have been upheld by the courts. The number of compliance reviews conducted by the OFCC has soared above the 30,000 mark. Unique remedies challenging the seniority practices of major corporations and unions have been instituted and novel forums, such as regulatory agencies, have been utilized to further equal employment opportunity.

We cannot fail to note the significant backlog of cases stalled in the EEOC administrative process and the dearth of contractor debarments secured by the OFCC. Much remains to be done towards increasing the effective coordination among the various civil rights agencies. OFCC, in particular, has been unable to develop a workable mechanism for monitoring the activities of the many compliance and con-

tracting agencies. We are pleased to see the creation of a multi-agency coordinating body established by the 1972 Act and we are hopeful that improved coordination of efforts will result. We oppose merger of the OFCC into the EEOC, and are confident that these agencies can perform their respective functions without unnecessary overlap and duplication of effort.

Criminals

Our party has gathered the reputation as a tough law and order party. We believe Republican concern ought to go beyond the prosecution and conviction of known criminals to efforts at rehabilitation.

America's prison system, like the current welfare morass, accomplishes only a minimum of the purposes assigned to it while costing the taxpayer untold billions of dollars. While the average prisoner and his family cost the taxpayer as much as \$10,000 a year to support — and juveniles in state reform schools cost more — the results of these expenditures is too often not rehabilitation but embittered individuals whose probability of further criminal activity may be as high as 70 to 80 percent. Correctional costs amount to \$1 billion a year for prisons while juvenile crime costs \$4 billion a year. Clearly no simple palliatives are sufficient to meet a crisis which all too frequently explodes in the morning headlines.

America's pluralistic society deserves a more worthy alternative to the oppressive institutions which now serve to propagate crime rather than deter it. Republicans have always preferred locally-based, locally-run programs which can be more effective because they are more receptive to community needs, initiatives and diversity. No set of American institutions is as blatant an example of the anti-productive results of unwieldy bureaucracies than America's prisons. No institutions are in such immediate need of decentralization and reform.

The Ripon Society believes, in reducing the number of persons sent to jail. Legal and social standards need to be re-examined for "victimless" crimes, illegal acts by which the offender affects only himself — gambling, alcoholism, drugs, and prostitution. While the country is overwhelmed with

crimes against innocent persons, it spends billions of dollars and millions of man-hours pursuing people who only do things to themselves.

Instead of building new prisons, at an estimated cost of \$22,000 per inmate just for construction, we believe that more emphasis should be placed on parole, with the added protection of review and appeal from decisions made by parole boards. California, under the leadership of Governor Ronald Reagan, has already instituted a program to allow the equivalent of 15,000 criminals, who would ordinarily have spent time in prison, to live in their communities. Instead of spending \$6,500 a year to maintain each prisoner in an institution, it spent \$4,000 to help him keep out of trouble at home.

We must help released prisoners make a successful transition to a satisfying and rewarding life in society. Halfway houses can help them make this adjustment and a revolving loan plan would help them through their immediate financial problems.

From a practical standpoint, there are always likely to be offenders who, because of their offenses (e.g. gross cruelty, sexual crimes, molestation), will have to remain imprisoned if only because the community would not accept their release. And, in some cases involving multiple offenses or serious persistent recidivism, institutionalism may offer the only effective protection for society. For these persons, we favor reforms inside prison — greater openness, better counselling, more recreation and living space and elimination of all forms of torture and harassment. But, as the President's Crime Commission reported, "For the large bulk of offenders . . . institutional commitments cause more problems than they solve." Prisons are relied on too heavily. We believe, above all, the goal of prison reform ought to be social, not physical, making every effort to encourage prisoners to return to a full and productive role in society.

To this end we propose:

1) Increased opportunities for technical and college training such as provided in the Lorton Project between the Federal Lorton Reformatory in the District of Columbia and Federal City

College. Criminal offenders must be trained for productive employment rather than more skillful lawlessness.

2) Expanded use of contracted services for community-based rehabilitation rather than the extension of existing bureaucracies which tend to be sluggish and unimaginative.

3) Increased funding for the Legal Enforcement and Assistance Administration for community-based follow-up programs for adult offenders, for community juvenile delinquency prevention programs, and establishment of group homes for wayward youths. We support efforts to close reform schools which lump youths whose offenses may range from truancy to murder. Massachusetts, for instance, has taken the lead in closing three state reform schools and one of three county reform schools.

4) Extension of prison and college-based programs to train offenders for inner-city and professional careers which make use of the first-hand knowledge of many minority group residents for inner city conditions. Project Start, operated in cooperation with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Lorton Reformatory, provides a model for such a program.

5) Shifts in prison industries and industrial training from such irrelevant job placements as the manufacture of license plates to meaningful occupational training for skilled industries. The federal government, particularly, has an opportunity to extend apprenticeship training to minority group men and women whose entrance into skilled occupations is often blocked.

6) Upgrading prison pay scales so that inmate wages approximate more closely civilian wages. Under such a system, inmate wages would be taxable and inmates could contribute to the support of their families — support which is now too often the burden of the nation's welfare system.

7) Repeal of state and federal laws restricting the scale of prison-made articles. Instead, prison authorities should cooperate more closely with private enterprise in the planning of prison industrial programs and prisoner employment placement programs.

8) Implementation of a "Philadel-

phia Plan" for federal and state prisons to insure that an affirmative plan by the government be introduced requiring unions to accept incarcerated prisoners as members and to provide these prisoners with necessary trades and skills.

9) Legislative provisions, following the example of the District of Columbia, for nullification of criminal records for ex-offenders.

10) Extended but discriminate use of educational furloughs, weekend passes and conjugal visits to contribute to the continuing development of normal social relationships by offenders.

11) Special treatment facilities for the socio-pathic offender with emphasis on treatment rather than custody.

A national commission on penal reform should be formed to oversee the modernization of America's outdated penal system.

Since the task of corrections is to make the community safe, then we feel the best means to this end is giving the offender a stake in the community by making a productive, taxpaying and self-respecting individual of him.

Women

The American woman is no minority, yet she has suffered the effect of widescale legal, social and economic discrimination. We believe the Republican party ought to take affirmative action to eliminate those conditions.

Republicans should unequivocally commit themselves to the advancement of women as full participants in our society. Women, who make up a little over half of our population occupy very few leadership positions in politics, business or labor unions. Women are thus usually ignored or excluded from decision-making, even on issues whose impact is largely upon females.

Millions of American women today are asking that they be able to determine their own destinies. They are demanding the right to decide each individual, concerning careers, marriage, life styles, and control over their reproductive potential.

To merit the continued support of American women, the Republican party should first open up opportunities for females within party activities, mandating, in particular, equal representation by sex in delegate selection and on convention committees. Cer-

tainly there is long standing precedent for such action in the current practice of electing both a national committeeman and national committeewoman.

Besides rooting out the sexual discrimination within its own ranks, the Republican Party has a chance to expand the opportunities available to American women. Republicans across the country can and should commit themselves to the rapid ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, which has received the strong support of President Nixon. The Equal Rights Amendment would reverse discriminatory legal presumptions and strike down a host of laws which have both overtly and covertly circumscribed the questions of utmost importance to range of choices open to women. The amendment would symbolize our commitment to the principle of non-discrimination according to sex, and help root out much of the discrimination now grounded in social custom.

It is the position of the Ripon Society, shared, we believe, by a majority of American women, that each woman, in accordance with her conscience, has the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion. We believe that every woman has the right to control her own reproductive and sexual life.

The Republican Party and the Nixon Administration should support the growth of a system of child development centers that will enrich the potential of children in their formative years while freeing their mothers, from all income levels, to work if they so choose. Certainly, a working mother's day-care expenses should be just as deductible as a businessman's entertainment expenses. The present tax provisions of the Revenue Act of 1971 allowing up to \$4,800 a year in deductions for household help and/or outside day care, is a positive step in this direction. However, that does not directly address the need for many more day care centers than presently exist. The Republican Party should give active consideration to the establishment of an investment tax credit for the construction, renovation, and/or equipping of facilities for child care programs. This, combined with a tax deduction, would encourage a diversity of child development programs

across the country and assure that these programs are responsive to parents.

Ripon further believes that the following action must be taken in the area of civil rights for women. Priorities should be given to:

1. Elimination of discrimination against women in public education.

2. Elimination of discrimination against women by all employers receiving federal contracts.

3. Elimination of discrimination against women in labor unions.

Furthermore, legislation should be amended to extend the jurisdiction of the Civil Rights Commission to include denial of civil rights on the basis of sex. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act should be amended to prohibit discrimination against women in federally-assisted programs.

We believe also in full economic rights for women including:

1. Elimination of all tax inequities that affect women and children, such as higher taxes for single men and women.

2. Amendment of the Social Security Act to provide equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives, widows, women heads of households and their children.

3. Extension of temporary disability benefits to cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage, abortion and recovery.

4. Extension of equal pay, minimum wage, overtime and unemployment insurance to cover all workers.

5. Equal treatment for women in obtaining credit, mortgages, and insurance in starting businesses and elimination of all legal economic discrimination against women.

The Nixon Administration has, especially in the last year, begun to make great strides in recruiting women into leadership positions in both the executive branch of the Federal government and into the Federal regulatory commissions. The Republican Party should commend this activity and urge both the Nixon Administration and Republican governors and mayors to build on this record. In particular, it is imperative that women be appointed to positions on the Cabinet, as agency heads, and to vacancies on the Supreme Court.

Expanded Ownership

A Ripon Theme for the 1970s

by John McClaughry



For a major new theme of Republican domestic policy for 1972 and beyond the Ripon Society turns to one of the oldest of our party's commitments: to the expansion of the ownership of real private property among our nation's citizens. The analysis and recommendations below are adapted from a major study done under the direction of John McClaughry for the Sabre Foundation. Copies of an approximately 60,000 word 108 page abridgment of his massive report are available from the Ripon Society, for \$2 each.

The men who founded the United States — John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison in particular — believed that a widespread distribution of property ownership was essential to the establishment of republican self-government and the preservation of individual liberty.

Today the idea of a private property base for free government and a free society is increasingly called into question. Three general views of public policy exist on this crucial issue.

1. Those who find the concentration of ownership and economic power desirable, as Alexander Hamilton once did, and oppose any public policy which would alter the status quo.

2. Those who, in the name of "the people," advocate increased government control of economic power, or even government ownership of the "means of production."

3. Those, as yet few, who believe that free government and individual liberty must continue to be based on the widespread ownership of genuine private pro-

perty, and who thus favor a public policy of expanding ownership opportunities to achieve that objective, while at the same time forestalling demands for government controls and socialization.

My recommendations for expanding the ownership of property to those who have little or none of it, are squarely based on this third public policy position. I deal with the ownership both of productive wealth and of consumer wealth, i.e., homes. It is recognized that these are quite different kinds of property, but no attempt to assign differing weights has been made.

Men like Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Webster, and Lincoln viewed a widespread distribution of property ownership not as a goal in itself, but as a means of achieving other goals of great importance. If every man could have a fair chance to acquire and enjoy the ownership of some form of property, these early leaders believed, certain clear benefits would accrue to the individual and to his society:

Individual Opportunity—The opportunity to acquire the ownership of property will motivate an

individual to employ his best efforts to increase his productive skills. It will give him an incentive to industry, thrift and foresight. As he begins to succeed, he will grow in self-respect, personal dignity and independence.

Respect for Law and Order—The ownership of property breeds respect for the law that protects the rights of private property. Those who own property are least likely to condone the destruction of property and other lawless behavior.

Responsible Democracy—Those who own property, and are thus subject to taxation by government, are more likely to be active and responsible citizens than those who have nothing. They are most likely to resist the demagogic appeals for political redistribution of the wealth of others, and to insist upon prudence and good management in public affairs. In addition, the widespread ownership of property would ensure a perpetual diffusion of political power, essential to the preservation of liberty.

Economic Advancement—Expanding the ownership of property means that the benefits of property ownership, such as income, capital appreciation, and collateral value, will become available to more people, including especially those of presently low incomes and employability.

Economic Education—In acquiring property ownership an individual comes to understand the workings of the American free enterprise system, and how he can take part in it to improve his lot.

Patriotism—Property owners will be the first to rise in defense of a nation in which they have a genuine stake, and which preserves their opportunity to acquire and secure property ownership.

Though some of these beliefs may today give rise to skepticism, in an America vastly different from the 18th Century, they nonetheless lay behind a prolonged series of landmark legislative acts to encourage the independent ownership of homes, farms, and various forms of business enterprises. These have included the abolition of primogeniture and entail in the new states of the Union, the Preemption and Homestead Acts of the 19th Century, the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the National Housing Act and the Bankhead Jones Farm Tenant Act of the Thirties, the Small Business Act of 1953, the special impact provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act (1966), and numerous tax measures ranging from the deductibility of home mortgage interest payments, to favorable treatment for profit sharing trusts, to the Self-Employed Retirement Plan Act. These statutes have embodied the vision of the Founding Fathers of a nation of owners and proprietors.

Throughout this long period, of course, what was initially conceived of as private property—the home, the farm, the forge, the schooner and village store—has given way in importance to the large corporations and financial institutions. Since, as Berle and Means have shown, ownership in these large enterprises carries few

if any of the personal and moral connotations initially associated with private property, it would appear that the role of private property ownership in society—as historically conceived—may be declining in importance.

As Charles Reich has pointed out, civil liberties and the Bill of Rights depend on the existence of private property under the personal and effective control of many owners; otherwise, the nation can only move toward the “public interest state” in which property will be regulated and controlled in the interest of the supposed majority, while individual liberty becomes not an inherent and defensible human right, but a privilege bestowed—or withdrawn—by the government of the moment.

For this reason alone—the basic concern of all those who place a high value upon individual liberty and a free society—some way must be found to reinstate the Private Property State—a nation characterized by a widespread distribution of genuine property ownership, under the effective control and direction of responsible individuals.

The present American economy, so distended by giant corporations and financial institutions, can hardly be said to resemble a Private Property State. These large economic aggregations are only nominally controlled by individual shareholders; indeed, putative individual interests are often represented only by a financial intermediary such as a pension fund or mutual fund. They are managed in large part by professional managers and technocrats with little or no genuine ownership stake. They too often prosper not through the economy of productive scale, but through external savings in purchasing, distribution, and financing. They are rarely the source of real technological innovation and creativity. They all too often have the effect whether intended or not, of restricting commerce and trade, and of forcing the genuine private property owner—the small merchant, farmer, manufacturer, or service concern—up against the economic wall. The scale of their organization has called forth massive organizations of labor and expansions of governmental power, developments frequently inimical to individual liberty.

For forty years, since the heyday of the Liberty League, Americans have been told to identify the great corporations of the nation with the cherished concept of “private property.” Unfortunately, they exhibit very little of what was historically conceived as private property. Worse yet, those who would take over the large corporations and financial institutions in the name of “the people” have cultivated a disdain for the idea of private property based upon this association.

Restoring private property does not mean protecting “private enterprise”, i.e., General Motors and U.S. Steel, against all attack. It most emphatically does not mean socializing large corporations in the name of “the people,” a step which could only have grave consequences for American liberty. What restoring private property really means, in its broadest sense, is to use the power of government to create the conditions, principally through tax policy, which will facilitate the effec-

tive decentralization of huge monolithic economic aggregations, restore genuinely free market competition, diminish restraints of trade, provide the opportunity for a reduction of Big Government, and enable the great majority of the citizens of America to once again acquire a share of the productive wealth of their country under their own effective control.

The rather limited proposals presented here, all fitting within the present framework of the present economic system, constitute useful and perhaps essential first steps towards the achievement of this goal of our founding fathers.

A National Policy of Expanded Ownership

RECOMMENDATION 1.

The President of the United States should declare a national policy of Expanded Ownership: that every American family of working age should have a realistic opportunity to acquire the ownership and control of some meaningful form of property in a growing national economy. Unlike the 18th Century, when property meant only a freehold farm, property now includes homes, farms, cooperative or condominium apartments, individual business enterprises, shares in corporations, memberships in cooperative enterprises, vested interests in a profit sharing or retirement plan, and savings and insurance equities which either have an economic, collateral, equity or use value in objective economic terms, or which are subjectively viewed by the owner as having a symbolic value equivalent to that historically associated with private property.

Improving Present Federal Programs

RECOMMENDATION 2.

In announcing a national policy for Expanded Ownership, the President should declare his Administration's support for a large number of improvements in existing Federal programs for home and family farm ownership, small business, cooperatives, community development corporations, profit sharing, and pension plans. This declaration should be accompanied by the recommendation of the necessary legislation to Congress, and the issuance of directives within the Executive branch as needed.

Continuing Economic Research

• While the concentration of wealth in the top one percent of the population has apparently declined since 1890, as of 1962 that one percent owned about 28 percent of all the individually owned wealth of the nation. This concentration does not seem to be declining appreciably. When the ownership of residences is subtracted from the figures, it is clear that the top one percent own and control an even greater percentage of *productive wealth*.

RECOMMENDATION 3.

A clear picture of the trends in the national distribution of wealth is essential to the wise development and implementation of an Expanded Ownership pol-

icy. To obtain this picture in detail, on a regular basis, should be a function of government. Congress should enact legislation requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to publish, no less than quadrennially, a Report on the Ownership of Wealth, based on data already available to the Internal Revenue Service (though not fully utilized) and new data produced by contracted studies.

Behavioral Research

• The supposed behavioral results from expanding ownership generally lack any clear-cut empirical justification, although anecdotal evidence abounds. The only clear evidence, in fact, is data showing that home owners take better care of their dwellings than tenants. Very few empirical investigations have been undertaken with the express purpose of testing hypotheses about the relationship of property ownership to thrift, job turnover, economic advancement, alcoholism, anomie, and other behavioral phenomena.

RECOMMENDATION 4.

The President should direct the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to sponsor a behavioral research program to clarify the relationships between the acquisition and continued ownership of property and assorted behavioral outputs.

A Reawakened Understanding

• The idea of an expanded distribution of property ownership does not seem to be a currently salient one to the bulk of the American people, although interviews with white suburbanites, white urban ethnic group members, urban blacks, and Mexican-Americans have produced very interesting divergences in viewpoint. Hilaire Belloc foresaw this condition in 1936 when he wrote:

. . . You will not get well divided property in any form, whether in land or anything else, unless there is some desire present in the community for its acquirement. There must be some spark left in the embers if you are to coax them again into flame; you cannot compel people to become economically free if they do not desire economic freedom; if they have so completely lost the instinct for it that they confuse the reception of a secure revenue with freedom.

Since the Thirties the emphasis seems to have shifted from economic freedom — through ownership of productive property — to economic security: the certainty of a steady income stream from a job or, more recently, from an assured government transfer payment.

There seems to be, on the basis of admittedly scant evidence, several exceptions to this general finding of low salience. Minority group members, particularly blacks, seem to have the most heightened awareness of the role of private property in society, feeling that they have been systematically excluded from the ownership of any significant amount of property and from the exercise of the corresponding social and political power.

White urban ethnic group respondents, while accepting the value of private property in the abstract, tended to see it more as a burden than as an asset, mainly due to neighborhood deterioration, racial problems, job uncertainty, high property taxes, and Federally-sponsored redevelopment programs.

Among students and intellectuals, there seems to be a growing interest in the debilitating effects of large concentrations of power and property, an attitude that now seems to transcend the limited group of Socialists who have argued this point for years.

It could be concluded that those who inwardly believe in the importance of private property seem least aware of ownership as a public policy issue; while those who feel excluded from property ownership, or who are aggrieved by what they feel are abuses of property ownership, seem most concerned about the issue. This aggrieved group includes a strong element favoring collective control and ownership. If expanded ownership is to become a pillar of national policy, an understanding of its importance to the future of the nation must be regenerated among the American people.

RECOMMENDATION 5.

Adoption by the President of a national policy of Expanded Ownership will naturally promote a sharply increased and enriched national dialogue on this issue. In addition, journalists, editorial writers, political theorists, economists, business and professional leaders, and their publications and institutions should offer contributions to developing national thought in this area. When this national dialogue has reached a large number of informed citizens, the President should consider holding a White House Conference on Expanded Ownership. The forthcoming national Bicentennial offers a useful framework for such a conference.

New Programs

- While it is difficult, even perilous, to recommend that new departures be adopted and enacted exactly as outlined, the following recommendations are stated without qualification. It is recognized, of course, that further study may reveal difficulties and improvements.

Capital Formation Plan

RECOMMENDATION 6.

Congress should enact legislation to implement a Capital Formation plan, principally through amendments to the Internal Revenue Code, to encourage the financing of corporate growth through new equity issues, and to make it attractive for corporations to sell these issues to intermediary institutions serving as investment pools for low and middle income families.

Profit Sharing Trusts

RECOMMENDATION 7.

Congress should amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide more favorable treatment of profit sharing

trusts, namely, by doubling the percentage of covered compensation (to 30%) that an employer may contribute tax free to a trust, by the liberalization of regulations that presently discourage a profit sharing trust from acquiring stock in the employer corporation, and by permitting such trusts to make annual distributions to workers of dividends received on their shares in the trust.

Pension and Retirement Plans

RECOMMENDATION 8.

Congress should amend the Internal Revenue Code to increase worker equity value in pension and retirement plans by progressing toward greater vesting and portability, by establishing procedures for using vested equity for collateral purposes, by allowing a worker to make tax deductible contributions to his own pension account, and by making the benefits of H.R. 10 retirement plans available to employees of companies which have no equivalent plan.

The Kelso Models

RECOMMENDATION 9.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in cooperation with the Council of Economic Advisers and the Federal Reserve Board, should undertake or commission a major study of the economic implications of the "Second Income Plan" advanced by Louis O. Kelso, and a careful examination of the workings of portions of such plan already put into operation.

Estate and Gift Taxes

RECOMMENDATION 10.

Congress should enact legislation completely revising the principle of estate and gift taxation, by combining the two present taxes on the transfer of wealth into one integrated tax based not on the size of the estate or gift, but on the sizes of the individual bequests and the net worth of the recipient.

Home Ownership for Lower Income Families

RECOMMENDATION 11.

The Turnkey IV program for home ownership now under development at the Department of Housing and Urban Development should be speedily implemented, with adequate provision for assistance to new homebuyers; by the end of fiscal year 1974 at least 15 percent of public housing units coming under contract should be through this program.

National Development Partnership

RECOMMENDATION 12.

The President should inspire the formation of a National Development Partnership to undertake the redevelopment of inner city areas in such a way that the residents of those areas can enjoy a share of the profits from the redevelopment process and the eventual ownership of the land in their own neighborhoods: simultaneous with the beginning of this

organization process, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with OEO and its Opportunity Funding Corporation, should launch a pilot project in a major U.S. city, using present statutory authority and available appropriations. In addition, Congress should amend section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 to direct the Secretary to:

"... (3) Require, in consultation with the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and other appropriate officials, that to the greatest extent feasible the people of the area to be redeveloped or renewed shall have the opportunity to acquire ownership of the resulting properties and a share of the profit stream resulting from the new property values created."

Home Ownership Equity Insurance

RECOMMENDATION 13.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development should, by the end of fiscal year 1972, transmit to Congress its recommendations for new legislation to insure low and middle income home owners against losing their home ownership equity through death, disability, and involuntary unemployment, as required by Congress in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, but never performed.

Community Corporation Act

RECOMMENDATION 14.

The President should ask Congress to enact the broad system of support for community development corporations, including Federal chartering, community development credit institutions, technical assistance and tax provisions, contained in the draft Community Corporation Act.

Additional Research and Development

RECOMMENDATION 15.

The appropriate agencies of the Federal government should support research and development in additional program areas, such as: Cable Television, Land Banks, New Towns, Plant Rescue, Defense Conversion, Recreational Industries, and an Equity Mutual Fund, with a view toward adapting ongoing programs to the principle of expanded ownership.

Presidential Commission on Expanded Ownership

• Expanding ownership is a major policy theme susceptible to many and varied forms of implementation. How this implementation may affect the structure of society, how it may produce changes in the underlying assumptions about participation, self-government, individual motivation, leisure, price stability and a host of other items, should be the subject of long and continuing study by a small, highly qualified, prestigious commission.

RECOMMENDATION 16.

The President should request legislation by Congress establishing a Commission on Expanded Ownership, to be composed of not more than fifteen truly creative social and economic thinkers from varied backgrounds. These persons should be named for their inherent ability and interest in the area, and not for political considerations or to afford recognition of interest groups. The Commission should have extensive research staff and a budget under its own control, by Congressional appropriation. The tasks of the Commission should include a) a continuing assessment of the role of private property ownership in American society, and ways in which the historical functions of private property can be performed; b) sponsorship of research on the distribution of wealth, structure of the economy, behavioral studies, economic implications of expanded ownership plans, and related questions; c) the formulation of new plans and methods for expanding ownership opportunities, within the private property framework; d) the sponsorship of activities, such as hearings and conferences, designed to promote the discussion of national goals in this area. In particular, the Commission should sponsor a detailed field investigation of the expanded ownership devices now in operation or proposed in other countries of the world.

CONCLUSION

The Founding Fathers of America based their constitutional and political theories on the importance of widespread private property ownership. The Nation has changed drastically since the agrarian 18th Century, but the underlying principle of private property ownership continues to be central to the preservation of individual liberty, a free society, and republican self-government.

New circumstances demand new applications of proven principles. New ways must be found to broaden the ownership and control of genuine private property if a society based on that premise is to continue to exist. The failure to restore the Private Property State can only lead, as present conditions go uncorrected, to gradual political encroachment on property in the name of "the people," resulting eventually in a super Welfare State, where all may be economically secure, but none will be economically, or socially, or politically, free.

This unhappy termination of the American dream is not inevitable. But unless genuine private property ownership and control among the great majority of the people can be restored and strengthened, further motion in that direction appears certain. Perhaps some substitute can be found for private property as a guarantor of individual liberty and economic freedom. But until such a substitute is brought forward, an effective national policy for restoring a widespread distribution of genuine private property ownership remains a national priority of the first magnitude.

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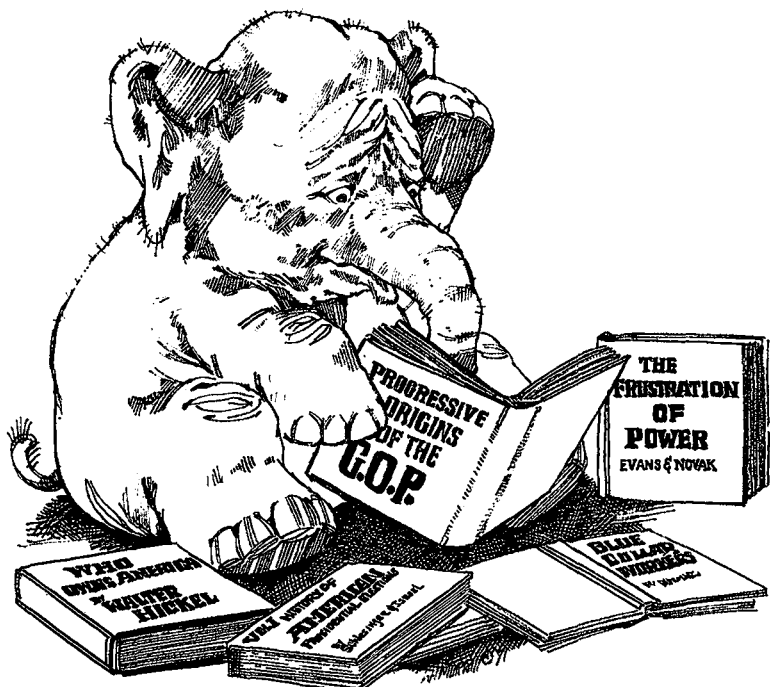
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Monitoring the TV Media

by Tanya Melich

Television anchormen and floor reporters failed to cover the Democratic National Convention, one of the most interesting in television history, in a manner that would enhance the public's understanding of the nominating process. Their failures are a public disservice. They have a responsibility to do better.

They did not report exactly or lucidly on how the nomination was won. Their coverage, with the exception of Tom Pettit (NBC), Dan Rather (CBS), Roger Mudd (CBS) and Howard K. Smith (ABC), indicated little understanding of how the convention works, how it relates to the political process as a whole, and of the real meaning of the ritual of speeches and floor maneuverings.

A prototype of what was wrong came in the fight to seat the South Carolina delegation, the first major contest between the McGovern and anti-McGovern groups. The action would originate on the floor and all the reporters had to do was be alert when it occurred. They were not alert when half-way through the first roll call, strong McGovern delegations began switching their "yes" to "no" votes and the McGovern strategy unfolded.

John Chancellor (NBC) spent this crucial period discussing what might happen later in the evening and commenting that the McGovern people must have sent wrong signals to their supporters. The NBC floor reporters were no better. They were conducting interviews with "stars" about what might happen later in the evening. None were interviewing, or even pursuing (at least as far as the television audi-

ence was concerned) the candidate's floor managers. The worst oversight was their failure to spot immediately that Frank King, head of the Ohio delegation and one of the major Humphrey supporters, was purposely stalling for time.

The CBS performance equalled NBC's. Walter Cronkite (CBS) also joked about the confusion in the McGovern ranks. He failed to recognize the truth until after the completion of the roll-call, when a McGovern staff member told him that the whole ploy had been part of the strategy. Cronkite even then gave the impression he was not sure he believed it. His floor reporters did not pick up the development until Cronkite tipped them off. ABC News ignored the story. Later, when it was no longer timely, Howard K. Smith explained what had happened, although his presentation gave the viewer the feeling that he, too, was not sure it was the McGovern strategy.

The problem was that no one seemed to have followed or to understand the importance of the parliamentary maneuverings. Their ignorance is difficult to understand since the strategy had been analyzed in great detail in the *New York Times* a few days previously. Instead of systematically analyzing the floor, the floor reporters and anchormen seemed to be aimlessly interviewing and talking about any subject that came to their attention. The anchormen who should have acted as guides and arbiters for the floor reporters gave no direction and very little perspective.

Mike Wallace's (CBS) interviews were particularly offensive,

and often irrelevant. He seemed always to be looking for information about a plot from those who were "names" rather than using his "third-degree" talent on those who were the convention activists.

Then there were the shy reporters who upon interviewing floor managers and the active politicians did not know how to probe and follow through when they were lied to. For example, Frank Reynolds (ABC) seemed unable to articulate why Frank King of Ohio kept saying he just could not get his delegation together when the delegation kept passing on roll calls. Tom Pettit (NBC) had the same problem when he did not pursue Pierre Salinger's obvious lie that he did not know what had happened on the South Carolina vote.

In fairness to the floor reporters, they may have found out what had happened, and then not appeared on the air because the booth producers are responsible equally with the anchormen for the lack of news analysis.

There was too much trivia, often justified as "human interest" stories. The networks have claimed that convention business was dull and viewers would not watch it without such diversions.

When a viewer takes the trouble to watch the convention for more than a brief time, however, it is because he is interested in it. He wants to hear the roll calls, the speeches and the parliamentary interchanges, all of these indicators

Tanya Melich is a former coordinator of the ABC-News election research unit.

of the tone and direction of opinion within the convention, and, in the case of the speeches, of the particular viewpoint of the speaker. He does not need to be entertained by cute stories, such as CBS's reporting of the convention's medical facilities during the middle of the nominating speeches on Wednesday night.

All three networks ignored most of the nominating speeches or presented only parts of them. Those speaking for Shirley Chisholm and Henry Jackson received almost no coverage.

One of the most annoying practices was the one of interruption — by the anchormen, the reporters, the booth. Walter Cronkite was the worst offender. Time after time he interrupted roll calls and speeches to add some *non-sequitur* or to analyze something he had seen. His constant talking was particularly annoying during the parliamentary maneuverings after the South Carolina vote and during the vote to determine the seating of the Illinois delegation. It was impossible to ascertain what the votes from individual states were on many of these roll calls.

One of the major secondary stories of the convention was the impact of the women's movement. Yet the women were rarely taken seriously. David Brinkley (NBC) and John Chancellor (NBC) constantly made reference to "those women on the floor" without explaining what those women were doing. Despite the South Carolina vote, the Chisholm candidacy, the abortion issue and the "Sissy" Farenthold (defeated Democratic gubernatorial aspirant from Texas) candidacy, no anchorman analyzed how the actions of the women's bloc were affecting the convention. Walter Cronkite and Mike Wallace were a true anti-feminist team. They made many patronizing remarks about women but their most blatant slurs came when they claimed not

to be able to understand Gloria Steinem's explanation of the women's vote on the South Carolina seating issue. Instead of probing so they could elicit a clearer answer, both jokingly passed over the matter as one more quirk of the "weaker sex." ABC again just ignored the story.

Reporting on the youth and black delegations was not much better. Blacks, outside the well-known, were ignored. The young were not, although most of the network's dialogue centered around descriptions of how they looked or how "they now wanted to work within the system." The patronization, particularly by John Chancellor and Walter Cronkite, of the young delegates was as embarrassing in its varieties as they had been toward the women. As with the women, the networks did minimal analysis of the impact of the youth and black caucuses upon the convention's decisions. They were biased in favor of the young and ignored the older delegates and most of the anti-McGovern staffs. While reporting of the candidates themselves seemed fair, it was biased for McGovern's staff, making it difficult to learn much about the actions of the main figures leading the anti-McGovern movement.

Recommendations

Several improvements could be made in TV coverage:

1 - The anchormen could consciously set an intelligent tone and theoretical framework for the coverage by providing an explanation of the stakes at hand-dealing not only with the selection of the nominee and with the issues he represents, but also with what coalition he is trying to join or construct and how his actions and statements relate to the larger currents in American life. This backgrounder by the anchormen could be developed with the reporters and the producers and agreed upon prior to the convention's opening as the theoretical

ground rules for reporting the convention.

The nature of the convention makes it impossible for the anchorman to present this framework only once to the audience and expect all viewers to see it. Rather it must be continuously repeated in varying contexts by both anchormen and reporters.

2 - The problem of bias in journalism is as old as the profession and will always be with us; however, a greater understanding of both sides' positions and an understanding by the reporters of their own biases could make for more objective reporting. The anchorman can aid this process — one network anchorman already does this — by questioning the reporters on the air when their comments become too biased. Good background research can help here, for often biased reporting is caused by a failure of the reporters to understand the positions of the other side or sides.

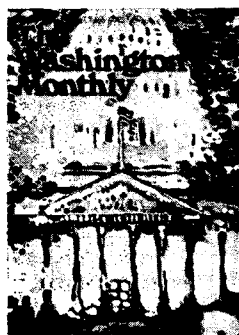
3 - Better substance comes from better research and from reporters taking the time to assimilate this research to enhance their own investigations.

4 - To improve the reporting of the formal convention business, there should be little or no interrupting of roll-calls, there should be a clear explanation of what the roll-call means, there should be announcements of totals of all roll-calls and an analyses of the inter-relationship of these roll-calls to the general picture. Reporters and anchormen should become familiar with parliamentary procedure.

The sophistication of the American public has increased through its understanding the convention system, and the networks have less reason for interrupting the actual business of the convention to provide "color". Anchormen and the booth director should establish some guidelines as to when speeches will be aired and under what circumstances they will be interrupted or not shown at all.

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commented, but Time says it's "must reading at the White house," and that's good enough for us.)

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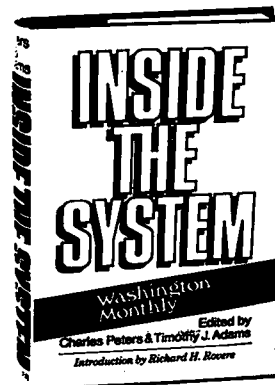
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POLITICAL BROKERS

Edited by Judith G. Smith
Published by Liveright, \$6.95

In June 1970, the *National Journal* printed an article on the Ripon Society which stated that Ripon proved "that an organization can make an impact in Washington without a large membership, a lot of money or even a prestigious roster of names on a letterhead."

Later, the *National Journal*, the weekly publication of the Washington-based Center for Political Research, combined reports on ten such organizations into a book titled *Political Brokers: People, Organizations, Money and Power*.

As the chart below indicates, Ripon is financially a poor cousin of many of the organizations which the *National Journal* investigated for the book. The organizations run the spectrum of ideology, influence and membership. They are united solely on their hopes to influence both the votes of the electorate and the policy of the government.

Political Brokers is not scintillating reading. It is a solid, balanced and economical analysis of the who, the how, the money, the supporters, the history and the goals of these ten political influence groups. It includes such features as background sketches of organization leaders, group ratings of legislators and reports on political contributions.

Although the nature of the material and analysis lends itself to quick dating, the book does offer some insights into: the influence of the John Birch Society on Americans for Constitutional Action; the frustration of Americans for Democratic Action in searching for an active constituency in the 1970's, and the efforts of the Republican National Congressional Committee to finance the "broad range of Republicans" rather than only the conservative variety.

As a who's who, what's what and how's how of American politics, *Political Brokers* deserves to be read. But more than that, it's a valuable reference for identifying the players in America's political games.

DICK BEHN

The Ripon Society is the lowest budget organization included in **POLITICAL BROKERS**. Listed below are: the ten organizations (in the order they appear in the book); their expenditures for 1970 (the figure most easy to compare; data for 1971 was not included) and comments.

ORGANIZATION	EXPENDITURES for 1970 and COMMENTS
Americans for Democratic Action, ADA	\$341,000
Americans for Constitutional Action, ACA	\$188,875
American Medical Political Action Committee, AMPAC	\$693,413 — "However, AMPAC officials say that for every dollar spent by AMPAC, an estimated \$4 is raised at the state and local levels."
Committee on Political Education, COPE of AFL-CIO	\$637,340 — This is what COPE gave to state and local political action groups. However, there are references to \$1 million in campaign contributions and \$1 million in national office operations.
Business-Industry Political Action Committee, BIPAC	\$539,157
National Committee for an Effective Congress	\$832,619 — This is the amount raised by NCEC for candidates and may not be part of its own operating budget.
National Republican Congressional Committee	\$3,200,000 — Of this budget, \$439,700 was for staff salaries.
The Ripon Society	\$115,670
Democratic National Committee, DNC	\$1,617,592 — This figure is from the records of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. POLITICAL BROKERS only lists the expenditures for the first 8 months of 1971, \$1,124,343.
Common Cause	\$2,800,000 — This is for the first year of operation: September 1970 to September 1971.

Special Ripon Book Club Price: \$4.50. Available from Ripon Society, 14A Eliot St., Cambridge, Mass., 02138.

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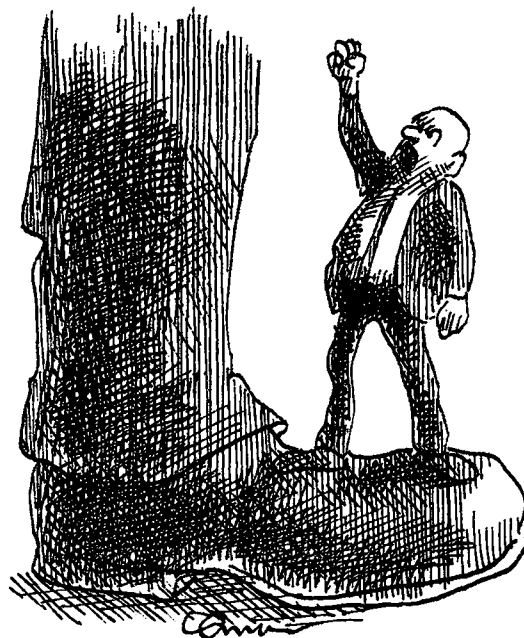
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To DO or Not to DO

by Daniel J. Swillinger



The 1972 National Convention will provide Republicans with their best — and perhaps last — opportunity to open up the party before it is overwhelmed at the polls by the pro-Democratic votes of under-35, issue-oriented voters.

In dedicating the new Republican National Committee building in January 1971, President Nixon called on all Republicans to be the "party of the open door." It was the most public recognition the President has made that new voters were being lost to the Democrats. The President recognized that the GOP must open up its membership and cease being the party of the unblack, the unpoor, and particularly the unyoung.

Republicans concerned with the party's future are going to Miami Beach committed to the idea that the party must open up through the allocation, selection and representation of Republican convention delegates.

Since 1948 the Republican Party has used essentially the same formula for determining how many delegates each state receives. The formula, Rule 30 of the 1968 Convention Rules, grants each state four at-large delegates, two delegates for each Congressional District casting at least 12,500 votes for the GOP presidential or congressional candidate, and six bonus delegates to each state which carries for the Presidential candidate, or elects a governor, senator or a majority of the congressional delegation.

Partly because of the uniform number of at-large delegates, but more importantly because of the bonus

delegate provision, the less populous states are grossly overrepresented. As an example, eight states which contain 49 percent of the population and gave the President 52 percent of his popular vote in 1968 will have only 37 percent of the delegates in Miami Beach.

After discussing the unconstitutional aspects of the bonus system with lawyers, and with the assurance of GOP National Chairman Bob Dole that the Republican National Committee (RNC) could not change the formula, Ripon filed suit on November 8, 1971. On April 28, 1972, the District Court in Washington declared the bonus portion unconstitutional. (See detailed story, page 28.)

The convention must act on the allocation formula since party rules prohibit any group except the convention from changing the formula. A fair formula will shift the balance of power in future conventions to the large swing states, particularly California, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and Illinois. A greater number of delegates will generate greater interest among Republican activists for campaign fundraising work. The quality of the new allocation formula should be a clear indication of whether Republicans realize the importance of the swing states, or whether they will ignore reality and continue to give disproportionate Convention strength to the less populous states.

Daniel J. Swillinger is national political director of the Ripon Society and has been active in party reform efforts.

The process by which delegates to the convention are selected, and their representation by age, sex and race on the delegations, received the full glare of popular attention in both the Democratic pre-convention and convention activities. Only since the Democratic Convention has the most meager attention been focused on the Republican reform committee — which has been in operation just as long as its Democratic counterpart and which issued its report fully a year ago. The Delegates and Organizations (DO) Committee of the Republican National Committee was appointed by then National Chairman Rogers C. B. Morton as directed by Rule No. 29 adopted by the 1968 Convention. (See box, page 22, for Rule No. 29.)

Ablly chaired by the national committeewoman from Missouri, Mrs. Rosemary Ginn, the committee's 16 members began work in early 1969, first on questions of procedure at the National Conventions, and then on the broad and crucial questions of how to make the delegate selection process more open, and how to increase representation of the now underrepresented women, minority group members and young people.

On July 23, 1971 the DO Committee presented its report to the mid-year meeting of the RNC in Denver. The report contained ten recommendations: two (1 and 10) are exhortatory in nature, five (2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) recommend changes in selection procedures;

and three (7, 8 and 9) attempt to provide for more representative delegations. See box page 22, for the text of the recommendations.)

To date, there has been relatively little conflict over recommendations 2 through 6. With rare exceptions, state party rules rather than statutes are affected, and few states would have to make substantial changes.

Recommendations 7, 8 and 9 have generated the most controversy, among state party leaders, RNC members, congressmen and senators. No. 7 is the only recommendation which attempts to increase minority group representation. The main disagreements, however, come from Republicans who question whether the loss of convention committee seats is a sufficient deterrent to non-compliance and whether it is fair to the small states.

At the 1968 Convention, where the rule called for each delegation to have one man and one woman on each of the four committees, three delegations had no women and 11 others, including New Jersey, had fewer than four women. Loss of committee seats doesn't appear to have a significant impact.

At the 1972 Convention, 20 of the 54 delegations have fewer than 16 members, meaning that they could not have full representation on the convention's four committees even if they wanted to comply. In

DO Committee Recommendations

The Delegates and Organizations (DO) Committee was set up in accordance with Rule 29 of the 1968 Republican National Convention:

"The Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint a Committee of the Republican National Committee to review and study the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention and the relationship between the Republican National Committee, Republican State Committees, and other Republican organizations, and implementation of the provisions of Rule 32 which provides that participation in a Republican primary, caucus, any meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates for a County or State or National Convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of race, religion, color or national origin, and said Committee shall report with recommendations to the next Republican National Convention."

The DO Committee made the following recommendations:

1. It is recommended that in those States where delegates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings should be open meetings and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.

2. To increase participation by all Republicans in the delegate selection processes, it is recommended that those States using the convention method consider a system whereby district conventions are held on a different community than where the State Convention is held.

3. It is recommended that alternate delegates, who are an important and essential part of each State delegation, be elected in the same manner and under the same rules as delegates.

4. It is recommended that no delegates or alternate delegates shall be required to pay an assessment as a condition of serving as a delegate or alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention.

5. It is recommended that there shall be no proxies

at a convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican National Convention. If alternate delegates to a convention are selected, the alternate delegate shall vote in the absence of the delegate, and no delegate shall cast more than a single vote and his alternate shall cast no more than a single vote in the absence of the delegate.

6. It is recommended that there shall be no automatic delegates at any level of the delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of Party position or elected office.

7. It is recommended that Rule 14(a) of the Rules adopted at the 1968 Republican Convention be amended to read as follows: The Delegates from each State, elected shall select from the delegation their members of the Resolutions, Credentials, Rules and Order of Business and Permanent Organization Committees of the National Convention, one man and one woman, **one Delegate under the age of 25, and one Delegate who is a member of a minority ethnic group for a total of 4 members** for each committee, and shall file notice of such selection with the Secretary of the National Committee; provided, however, that no Delegate may serve on more than one Committee of the National Convention. Alternates may not serve as members of Convention Committees.

8. It is recommended that each State endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.

9. It is recommended that each State include in its delegation to the Republican National Convention delegates under 25 years of age in numerical equity to their voting strength within the State.

10. It is recommended that the Republican National Committee assist the States in their efforts to inform all citizens how they may participate in delegate selection procedures and it is further recommended that the Republican National Committee in cooperation with the States shall prepare instructive material on delegate selection methods and make it available to all.

addition, there is some sentiment for adding a seat for senior citizens, which would mean five delegates from each delegation on each committee, raising the committee size to 250. It seems unlikely that Recommendation 7 will survive in its present form.

Recommendations 8 and 9 are drawing criticism because they attempt to ensure adequate representation of women and young people. Some party leaders are opposed on the grounds that the national party should not dictate the makeup of state delegations — except by very broad language. Others are opposed because the recommendations set quotas. Other critics feel that Recommendation 8 does not go far enough and that women should comprise 50 percent of the delegates.

Those who argue that no rules are needed point to the fact that women will comprise about 30 percent of the GOP delegates, compared to 40 percent under the Democratic mandates. Some states did make conscientious efforts to encourage women to seek delegate slots. But in far too many states the percentage of women delegates is more a reflection of a directive from the White House and the RNC to present a good image than it is an indication that women are approaching parity with men in party affairs.

In a contested selection process many of these women would have been blocked from participation, as in the past. Young people and minority group members might be represented even more disproportionately at a contested convention. While women are up from 17 percent in 1968 to 30 percent this year, young people are up from 1 percent to 10 percent, blacks from 2 percent to 4 percent, and Chicanos from less than 1 percent to 2 percent. But many are token delegates to balance delegations and will be absent again in 1976 when there are delegation battles.

Congressional Efforts

Belatedly, but with great energy, several GOP senators and congressmen have become involved in drafting language for new rules, using the DO report as a takeoff point for more precise language, or for language covering areas not touched on by DO recommendations. They hope to reach a consensus and present testimony to the Rules Committee. The congressional interest has also caused party leaders to recognize the fact that many party members view the delegate selection process as a key to the party's future.

Those delegates, party leaders, officeholders, and activists who want the convention to take affirmative action to open up the party now constitute a minority. They must contend with opponents who say that the McGovern nomination was a direct result of Democratic party reforms, even though it seems clear that he was nominated because he was the only major candidate to take the reforms seriously. There were many women and blacks and young people who sup-

ported Humphrey; they just didn't win enough convention and primary votes.

The minority who favor change must contend with the advocates of the *status quo*, who feel they don't need the support of the new voters to win elections. If these advocates prevail, the party will have lost the opportunity, without the pressures of nomination politics, to put itself in the best possible structural and procedural condition for the inevitable nomination battle in 1976.

The fight for reform is not an ideological one. It is not a fight for control of the party. It is a fight by those deeply concerned about the future of the party to bring about the changes necessary for the GOP to compete for 50.1 percent of the votes in an increasingly sophisticated, educated and independent electorate.

Duly Noted

Editor's Note: This begins a regular column devoted to notes on news books, recent articles and other published material which we feel FORUM readers may find interesting. We welcome suggestions from FORUM readers for inclusion in this column.

Directory of Campaign Resource Materials: compiled by Arthur Bushkin and Jack Sweeney. Distributed by the National Committee for an Effective Congress, 201 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 114, Washington, D.C. 20002. June, 1972. No price information available. "A one-stop shopping guide to important and often overlooked resources available to Congressional candidates."

Reducing Crime and Assuring Justice: compiled by the research and policy committee of the highly respected Committee for Economic Development, 477 Madison Ave., New York, New York, 10022. June, 1972. \$1.50 The nonpartisan business group calls for legislation against handgun ownership; higher funding levels for correctional programs; legalization of private, unorganized gambling; and elimination of criminal penalties for the use of marijuana. Like most CED publications, it's progressive in tone and content.

The Brooke Report: Sen. Edward Brooke's (R-Mass.) July newsletter to constituents is devoted almost entirely to foreign policy, indicating that the Bay State Senator may be moving to fill part of the gap in foreign leadership among Wednesday Group Republicans being vacated by Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.)

"Can the Democrats Win? No," by Kevin P. Phillips. *World* (Norman Cousins' new magazine). August 1, 1972. "The new Democratic elite is well to the left of the Archie Bunkers of America, and therein lies the coming upheaval that should make the 1968 to 1972 period one of America's watersheds — as well as a time of resounding Presidential victories."

"The Coming Nixon Victory," by Clark MacGregor. *Saturday Review* (Norman Cousins' old magazine). July 29, 1972. "There is the historical fact that a large portion of voters dissatisfied with their party's nominee nevertheless returns to the fold on election day."

Party Reform and Party Responsibility

by Robert H. Finch

The much-remarked and much-analyzed malaise which afflicts this country today is more than just a combination of adolescent *Weltschmerz* and media hype. It is based upon a very real and very widespread frustration with the nature and structure of American political institutions. People want to make a difference; but they feel that government is indifferent. They want to feel that their voice is heard; but they feel that government isn't listening. They want to participate and they want to count; but they feel isolated and ignored.

It is on this kind of frustration that strategists are basing Sen. George McGovern's campaign. And it is this kind of frustration which accounts for whatever popularity his campaign has achieved.

I believe that despite the publicity the Democrats' attempts to deal with this have achieved, we Republicans have, in fact, set about addressing it in a far more meaningful and practical way.

What we seek in America are responsible, responsive, and accountable political parties which reflect and represent the attitudes and feelings of their members. National politics during the last two decades have, however, moved in a very different and virtually opposite direction.

Since the first Eisenhower Administration, the trend has been to saddle the President with a hostile Congress and the result has been what David Broder has dubbed "government by fits and starts." In his seminal book, *The Party's Over*, Broder points out that in only four of the 26 elections from 1900 until 1952, did the party opposing the President hold a majority of either house of Congress. But in five of the ten elections since 1952, the voters have sent opposition majorities to *both* houses of Congress. In fact, President Nixon was the first President since Zachary Taylor actually to begin his first term with both the Senate and the House of Representatives controlled by the opposition party.

This situation has inevitably led to stalemate and frustration. The White House hits its head against the brick wall of Congress, and the Congress is placed in the unhappy and unwholesome position of voting down many of the same proposals which persuaded the voters to send the President to the White House.

If it is going to work, our American system needs two responsible national political parties, with leaders who are accountable to the party and the nation.

Elections should be fought and the issues should be defined so that at least for the first two years of President's term, he has a Congress of his own party. Whether this is looked on as giving him the power to exercise his electoral mandate or giving him enough rope to hang himself, the logic of democracy demands

that the President the people choose should be able to put the things he stands for to the test of enacting them into law. Ever since the 1968 campaign, President Nixon has labored mightily to make government more workable and accountable. In his 1971 State of the Union message, he laid it on the line to the Congress: "Let's face it. Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels. They will not — and they should not — continue to tolerate the gap between promise and performance in government."

The President's three major proposals in the area of revenue sharing, welfare reform, and government reorganization, have been precisely aimed at getting power back to the people whence it comes and where it best belongs. But time after time during the past four years, a Democratic Congress, full of members who purport to be concerned with these same problems, has been forced into the partisan position of thwarting this administration's proposals. As critical an observer as James Reston remarked, in the *New York Times*:

For more than a year now, (President Nixon) has sent to Capitol Hill one innovative policy after another; on welfare reform, revenue-sharing reform, government reform, postal reform, manpower reform, social security reform, reform of the grants-in-aid program, and many others. It is not necessary to agree with his proposals in order to concede that taken together they add up a serious and impressive effort to transform the domestic laws of the nation . . . and that they deserve a more serious and coherent response than they have got so far from the Democratic Party and the Democratic majority in the Federal Congress. What the Democrats are doing now is merely sniping at the President's programs, and often saying some damn silly things in the process.

Democratic Reform

After the 1968 Convention, both the Democrats and the Republicans recognized the necessity to take into account the demographic and social changes which had been taking place in America during the preceding decade and both anticipated that the composition of their 1972 presidential conventions would be adjusted to reflect those changes. In fact, the basic theme of this adjustment was the recognition of the need for newly responsible political parties.

The Democrats appointed the McGovern-Fraser

Robert H. Finch is Counsellor to the President and formerly was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and Lieutenant Governor of California.

Commission which met for more than a year before handing down a guideline for delegate-selection: that "affirmative steps to encourage the participation" of blacks, Chicanos, women and young people be taken and that delegations to the 1972 conventions be urged to reflect these minorities in "reasonable relationship to their presence in the population."

In theory, the McGovern-Fraser reforms talked about "urging" rather than "requiring" and of "reasonable relationships" rather than "numerical quotas." In fact, however, the very reforms which were meant to create a more unified and responsible party, were manipulated and exploited by one highly successful electoral strategy. Instead of making the Democratic Party more unified and responsive, the McGovern-Fraser reforms turned it into divided, disciplined tool of a particular candidacy. Senator McGovern and his staff seemed to be the only people who fully understood these reforms and took them seriously, so it is not just coincidental that the winning candidacy was his own.

The unseemly disputes at Miami and the bitter disruption still being played out in the Democratic Party across the country have been caused by this sudden ascendance of new groups whose interests and inclinations are quite different from the present and traditional structure of the national Democratic Party.

The national Democratic organization is still based and run by, as it has been for the past four decades, the old FDR coalition of big labor, farmers, academic intellectuals and the big city party voting blocs. The new McGovern coalition is built upon liberal and radical activists, the political and social science intellectual and academic establishment, and various militant minority groups. The important point is that this is nothing more or less than a new electoral coalition, a new collection of voting blocs, serving a very definable and discernible set of interests.

We should admire its discipline and learn from its success, but we should not be taken in by its claims of being a whole "new politics" in America. Quite the contrary, for those of us who had hoped that the 1972 campaign might be waged upon a new sense of party responsibility and accountability, there is both point and poignancy to Art Buchwald's recent column about the new mythical organization which is being set up called "Democrats for McGovern."

Obsession with mechanics or numerics of delegate selection ends up putting the procedural cart before the structural horse. I would submit that it is the breakdown of the theory and practice of party responsibility and accountability that has led to the unprecedented and unsettling scale of disenchantment with and dropping-out of politics that we have been discussing.

A former member of President Johnson's staff described how actual application of the McGovern reforms has exploited rather than remedied this situation: "utilizing the gap between the theory of full popular participation in proliferating primaries and open-precinct caucuses, and the reality of the voters' tradi-

tional massive nonparticipation in party processes, the authors of the party's reforms paved the way for its domination by dedicated, organized, and highly motivated political minorities. They have simultaneously devastated the influence of the parties' leadership and elected officials."

Nor is other testimony lacking. Haynes Johnson, reported the results of a special survey of Democratic delegates at Miami in the *Washington Post*, and concluded that "whatever else is new in America politics this year, the old ingredients of money and education and class still dominated the process." And Tom Wick-er admitted, albeit with tentative approval, that "it is essentially true that blacks, women, and the young had preferred positions at Miami Beach."

Republican Reform

The Republican Party's Delegates and Organizations Committee, which was also set up after the 1968 convention and aimed at increasing participation in the primary, caucus, delegate, and convention process has proposed some procedural guidelines for our party. Quantitatively, some of them even go beyond the McGovern-Fraser "reforms." Quantitatively, however, they have good sense to eschew the inherently anti-Democratic quotas which delivered the Democratic Party over to the skillful and disciplined manipulation of McGovern strategists.

In the strongest and most unmistakable language, the DO Committee has recommended selecting alternates in the same manner as delegates, forbidding proxy voting, removing fees and assessments on delegates to the national convention and abolishing automatic delegates at any level of the delegate selection process. Further, the DO Committee recommended that each state delegation include "equal representation of men and women" and "delegates under 25 in equity to their voting strength within the state."

In other words, instead of the DO Committee tail wagging the convention dog, DO has made its recommendations and the reasons for them clear beyond a preadventure. Now it will be up to the delegates "in convention assembled," to the planners of the campaign for the President's election and ultimately to the party itself in the years between 1972 and 1974 and between 1974 and 1976, to show how deeply they understand and appreciate these changes and reforms and how determined they are to make the Republican Party a responsible, responsive and accountable vehicle for effecting them.

Education and affluence have made Americans aware of the rights they possess or interested in acquiring the rights which belong to them. New voices, many still anguished, all of them concerned, are speaking up, and are demanding to be heard. Politically, they may seem naive and impractical, strident and self-righteous, but they are there. They are Americans. And now they are voting. Any national party which does not take them into account will be failing in its representative function. Any national party which does not seek to deserve and enlist their interests and support must ultimately wither and die.

Reforming the National Committee

by George Thyss

Why should the Republican party want to improve its party structure? The major weaknesses in the present Republican National Committee are:

1. The make-up of the committee is based solely on geography and not on population or Republican votes.
2. The responsibilities of the committee and members are not clear.

With the advent of television and greater voter independence, the party must be flexible, modern and aggressive to be effective. Without some basic changes the Republican Party (like the Democrat Party as well) risks its very existence. We might end up with multiple parties or with increased independent candidacies; individuals running with little responsibility to or help from a party.

My major recommendation to hold a special convention in 1974. One of the major pieces of business of this convention would be to revise the rules for governing the RNC. Other activities could include further modernizing convention procedure and a rally for the 1974 and 1976 elections. I'd hope that a resolution would be offered and passed at the Miami Beach convention at the end of this month instructing the Republican National Chairman to call such a convention.

The prime question to be determined is what should be the goals of the National Committee?

- Should it be a loose federation of states?
- Should it be simply a communications vehicle?
- Should it be a method to communicate from national to state organizations. Should it merely run the national convention and help elect a president?

We must determine the central thrust so the structural revisions may fall easily into place.

To me, the test of a party is its ability to present a program, to help its candidates win and to implement its program. To do this the party has two difficult tasks — both a clarifying and unifying role. Therefore, I'd like to see the major RNC goals include:

1. Coordinate and implement the issue positions and policies of the total party.
2. Responsibility for election of all partisan positions.

To achieve these two major goals the committee must have, in addition to party representation, representatives from the governors, mayors, Congress and state legislatures. The committee must be structured in such a way that its responsibility is defined and management is possible.

The major recommendations for rules revisions would be:

1. Define the role of the RNC, including its relationship with the President, the leadership of the Congress, Governors, and the state parties. The party would have the responsibility of formulating and implementing issue positions be-

tween conventions and would be the major vehicle for election management.

2. Revise membership of RNC so that it comes closer to a one man, one vote body. Today the smallest states and the largest states have three representatives. If the RNC is to be given more power, the representation should be fairer to the areas where there are more votes. One method might be to apportion the RNC on the basis of one representative per five congressional districts or fraction thereof. Under this arrangement the smallest states would have one representative and California and New York would have nine. The membership would be chosen by the states, one of whom must be the state chairman.
3. Make the rules of the RNC more flexible. The RNC is governed by rules adopted at the national convention. Presently, procedures can only be changed every four years and this must be done by the convention. The convention should establish basic guidelines for the RNC and allow the committee to have its own by-laws.
4. Elected officials should be on the National Committee. Included should be the top two governors, senators and congressmen, by virtue of the positions they hold. The relationship between the party and the elected officials is one of the most important, but most difficult, problems in politics. This is true at the local, state and national levels. The party must have a reciprocal relationship with major officeholders. If either group ignores the other, both suffer. If elected officials are on the RNC, they will be a part of, but not completely dominate, the decision-making.
5. Within the RNC there should be an issue or policy coordinating council that could speak for the party on issues. It would be a method to amend the platform between conventions. This council would include both elected officials and party officials. The coordinating council could also contain other key leaders such as past Presidents or presidential candidates. The relationship between the party and the elected officials on the development and implementation of issue positions is a touchy subject. The healthiest and most productive solution is to have cooperation without domination by either group. It is a mistake for the party through the convention or other means to adopt policies and demand the candidate run

George Thyss is a former Minnesota State Republican Chairman.

his campaign on these positions. Positions must be developed jointly.

6. *Clarify the responsibility of the members.* The state chairman, shall be recognized as the person responsible for carrying out the political objectives within that state. The positions of National Committeeman (NCM) and National Committeewoman (NCW) should be abolished unless the state wishes to continue the position. Presently the national committee members tend to be considerably more affluent than most Republican workers and other leaders because in many states it is a financial sacrifice to serve on the RNC. The members also tend to be considerably older than average. The RNC executive committee should be elected by the RNC and may include individuals who are not members of the RNC. If elected, they would become members of the committee. The executive committee could include elected officials, as long as there are more non-office holders on the executive committee.

7. The National Committee should have the power of *budget approval*, not the Finance Committee. Under the present system the fund raisers review the budget. This should be a function of the political leaders.

These major changes would mean the party would have a clear focus on its objectives, responsibility would be clear but flexible, and the RNC would have the capacity to be a central force on the major issues.

With such changes the party would start to make important decisions. It is also possible that issue formulation might be more a part of the committee's work. The President's State of the Union Message in 1970 spelled out a specific, progressive program which hasn't up to now made much progress in Congress. It is possible that the RNC, if structured with muscle, could and should have become a force to adopt and implement the program.

Several other changes that should be considered include:

1. The state-selected members of the RNC should automatically become members of the RNC at the time they are elected. The recommended timing would be within six months after the presidential election.

Under the present arrangement the NCM and NCW must be nominated by the states just prior to the national convention and then the convention must ratify the committee members. We recommend a change in timing and that neither the convention, nor the RNC, should have to ratify the election of the representatives from the states.

2. The RNC chairman and the executive committee should be elected at a specific time for a specific term.

The responsibility for the election of the chairman should be clarified. At the present time the election of a chairman is the role of the RNC, and probably its major responsibility, but when the President is a Republican it is assumed that the President will name the chairman. The RNC still goes through a ritual of pretending to name the chairman. If the Pres-

ident should name the chairman, the RNC rules should so state.

3. The assistant chairman should not be appointed by the chairman. Either the President should appoint or the RNC should elect. The role of the assistant chairman should not be to be in charge of "women-type events" as the present tradition dictates. The assistant chairman should be a true assistant and should carry commensurate responsibilities.

The above thoughts may not be the correct answers or the only changes needed, but they are worth discussion and consideration. I'm more convinced that there is need for change more than I am that these specific ideas should be adopted. The present system has many problems including the vagueness of its goals and objectives, its unrepresentative and unmanageable nature, its inflexibility and impotence. These weaknesses must be faced and should be remedied.

The Republican Party is still a minority party and so needs every possible assistance to assure election victories. We believe these weaknesses must be addressed or the GOP hopes for a majority status are measurably lessened.

These recommendations are not based on the success or failure of the 1972 presidential election. Win or lose, the party should have a more effective vehicle.

What should be done now?

Two things. 1) Be sure that the 1972 National Convention empowers *and requests* the RNC to call a special convention in 1974 and 2) start discussions on the role, weaknesses, and possible changes in the Republican National Committee.

14a ELIOT STREET

● New York Ripon member **Richard Rahn** has been appointed research director for four Republican congressional candidates in the New York City area. Rahn will head the combined research effort of Congressman **Peter Peyser** and congressional aspirants **Jane Plenkens Langley** (running against Congressman **Edward Koch**), **Joseph Vergari** (against Congressman **Ogden Reid**) and **Joseph H. Boyd** (against **Otis G. Pike**). Another Ripon member, **Werner Kuhn**, is also involved in Ms. Langley's campaign. Two Ripon members, **Berna Gorenstein** and **Tanya Melich** are involved in **Joyce Ahrens** campaign for an East Side seat on the State Assembly. Nearby, **Glenn Gerstell** is managing **William J. Diamond's** campaign for another State Assembly seat from the East Side.

● DETROIT-ANN ARBOR: The Michigan chapter heard Judge **Peter B. Spivak**, judge for the Common Pleas Court of Detroit, speak on President Nixon's foreign policy at a July 12 meeting. The chapter also sponsored a fundraising reception July 25 for **Mike Renner**, a candidate for the State House of Representatives. Renner is a young Ann Arbor attorney and Ripon member.

● Texas Ripon member **John Carlson** is an alternate on the Texas Delegation to GOP National Convention.

● Judy Lumb has joined the NGP as an at-large member from Atlanta, Ga. Attorney **Thomas M. Russell**, of the Chicago legal firm of **Leibman, Williams, Bennett, Baird, and Minow** replaces **Bruce Fraser** as an NGB representative from the Chicago Chapter. Pittsburgh's new NGB representative is **Bruce Guenther**, the chapter's research director. Guenther is a research assistant at the University of Pittsburgh and is active in local environmental groups and a recent unsuccessful candidate for the GOP nomination for state representative in the 23rd district.

● Ms. **Karen Brewster**, a member of the Detroit-Ann Arbor Chapter, has been appointed chairwoman of the Michigan Nixonettes.

Ripon Society and Party Reform

On April 28, 1972 the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia declared unconstitutional the formula used to apportion National Convention delegates among the states.

The decision was the result of a suit brought by the Ripon Society and 10 individual plaintiffs against the National Republican Party and the Republican National Committee challenging the constitutionality of a formula which over-represented the less populous states at the expense of the more populous states.

At the 1972 Convention, for example, eight states which have 49 percent of the population and which cast 52 percent of Richard Nixon's popular vote in 1968 will have only 37 percent of the delegates. Or, 37 states which cast only 34 percent of Nixon's popular vote will have over 50 percent of the 1972 delegates.

After consultation with its counsel, Ripon's National Executive Committee adopted a resolution on October 15, 1971 authorizing filing the suit, pending talks with Republican leaders. After discussions with party and elected officials — including National Chairman Bob Dole, who assured Ripon that only the Convention itself could change the rules — the suit was commenced on November 8, 1971.

The complaint particularly attacked the GOP bonus delegate provision, which gives six bonus delegates to any state which carries for the GOP candidate for President, Governor, Senator or a majority of the Congressional seats, regardless of the population of the state or its demonstrated Republican voting strength. It is this provision which the Court struck down. The formula results in a situation where each delegate from Illinois would represent 37,496 Republicans (defined on the basis of the 1968 Presidential vote) while each delegate from Alaska would represent 3,133 Republicans, a discrepancy of 12-1.

In addition to seeking the unconstitutionality ruling, the original complaint also asked for an injunction to prevent the RNC from holding the 1972 Convention until the formula issue had been resolved, since if the formula was declared unfair, the Convention would be operating with an unconstitutional apportionment.

However, in early December, immediately before the RNC meeting which was to issue the official Call of the Convention, the plaintiffs and defendants agreed that, in return for Ripon agreeing to withdraw its request for an injunction affecting the 1972 Convention, the RNC would expedite the proceedings to assure a decision well before the Convention. Oral argument was held on March 9, 1972 before Federal Judge William B. Jones in Washington, with Judge Jones issuing his opinion some seven weeks later.

The court struck down the bonus delegate provision as violative of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, and enjoined the 1972 Convention from adopting a formula "which would

allocate a uniform number of bonus delegates to qualifying states, with no relation to the state's electoral votes, Republican votes cast, or some combination of those factors." The court pointed out that as a result of the bonus system, both Alaska and California received six additional delegates for being carried by Nixon — thus doubling Alaska's delegation but only increasing California's by 6.7 percent.

In its opinion, the court said, "The present bonus system rewards states which have *in the past* consistently produced Republican victories by giving them greater influence in nominating candidates and determining party policy at the National Convention. The present bonus system, however, does not provide a corresponding incentive to the larger states to produce consistent Republican victories, despite the proportionately greater number of electoral college votes and elective offices that such victories would bring within the Republican camp."

The court went on to say that a bonus system based on the electoral college vote, or Republican votes, or some combination of these factors, "would have greater rationality both in terms of the decisions of the courts . . . and the very policies which defendants [the Republican Party] wish to promote by awarding bonus delegates."

As a result of the decision, the Convention will have to develop a new formula. Ripon has proposed to the Rules Committee of the RNC a series of formulas based on the principle that delegates should be apportioned on the basis of population and Republican voting strength in approximately equal proportions.

Other formulas have been submitted by RNC members, state chairmen and the DO Committee acting informally. Some proposals contain the slightest possible change in the present formula — just enough to seemingly make them fit the court's decision — while others chart new courses to take into account, for example, victories by Republican Governors and Senators.

There is also strong sentiment, from large and small states, for a larger convention, both to assure that any new formula will not cause a reduction in the absolute number of delegates for the smaller states, and to make it easier for all states to open up their delegations to more women, youth and minority group members.

Virtually any plan emerging from the RNC Rules Committee and the Convention Rules Committee deliberations which takes into account population and GOP voting strength will be a substantially fairer formula. If the plan balances population and voting strength, and builds in a strong incentive by granting additional delegates for votes cast, the apportionment will not only realistically reflect Republican strengths, but will help in the quest for Republican victories by, for the first time, providing real incentive for all state party organizations.