WASHINGTON, D.C. — Sarcastic to the end, Republican National Chairman Bob Dole turned over the party's reins to George H. W. Bush on January 19 at a meeting of the Republican National Committee.

The day before, Dole had told Republican state chairmen that in his meeting with President Nixon at Camp David prior to his resignation, he "had a nice chat with the President while the other fellows went out to get the rope."

His remarks at the RNC meeting were almost as cutting. Said Dole, "I've friends in Massachusetts, which is more than Nixon can say."

Dole's verbal barbs doubtlessly went unappreciated at the White House, where the Senator's humor was never held in high regard.

Meanwhile, Bush made two appointments which may be indicative of his intentions to take strong control of the RNC. He appointed Donald Kilkenny "Pat" Wilson as national finance chairman to succeed Maurice H. Stans and Congressman William A. Steiger as head of a "Rule 29" committee which is to find ways to broaden the party's base.

Wilson is chairman of the Cherokee Insurance Company in Nashville, Tennessee, and was a heavy contributor to the campaigns of President Nixon and Sen. Bill Brock (R-Tn.). The conservative Wilson was made co-chairman of the RNC finance committee in 1971 and was active in the 1972 campaign of Sen. Howard Baker, Jr. (R-Tn.).

The 53-year-old Wilson has said that he considers presidential talk about Brock "premature" and that regardless of Brock's intentions, he will not become embroiled in an "intraparty struggle."

Since both Wilson and Steiger are friends of Sen. Brock, it is unlikely that either appointment was greeted with enthusiasm by Vice President Agnew. Both, however, are reported to be friends of Bush. In accepting his new post, Bush told the RNC that he expected to be ideologically neutral in pre-1976 Republican politics. "I do not intend to be some kind of ideological spokesman for all Republicans. It is our party that believes in federalism and it is our party that must welcome diversity," said Bush.

In an interview with the Washington Post's Lou Cannon, Bush stressed that he would not be a White House puppet in his new role. "We are going to have a sizable budget and we are going to spend money recruiting attractive, articulate candidates and in doing the nuts-and-bolts work necessary to assist them," said Bush, who added that, "the White House is simply not going to control the budget."

The appointment of the 34-year-old Steiger, who was active on the losing side of the delegate-apportionment fight at Miami, did not please Mississippi Republican Chairman Clarke Reed who cornered Steiger after the meeting. Reed had a few words as well for the Ripon Society's suit challenging the delegate-allocation formula adopted at the convention. He criticized Ripon by suggesting that one does not sue members of one's own family.

In Between the Candidates

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Reading between the lines of newspaper accounts about possible Republican presidential aspirants is a frustrating experience, particularly if there is nothing between the lines. Take a sampling of recent news stories:

Environmental Protection Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus told a group of reporters that President Nixon told him that former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, not Vice President Agnew, will be the Republican standard-bearer in 1976.

Asked about that story at his news conference on January 31, President Nixon said that he would be "out of my mind if I were to be endorsing anybody for the presidency at the present time ..." He suggested that he might give reporters a list of possible candidates after the 1974 elections and make his own selection after the 1976 primaries. Interestingly, the President said, "I assume that several governors might be interested."

The previous week, New York State Chairman Richard M. Rosenbaum told a reporter that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller would make a good presidential candidate, despite the Governor's age. A spokesman for Rosenbaum said later that a press report about Rosenbaum expressing disapproval of Vice President Agnew's friendship with Frank Sinatra was inaccurate.

And then another possible candidate, Sen. Edward W. Brooke, said he doubted if Connally or Rockefeller could get the nomination.

Said Brooke on Rockefeller: "It's too late for that. I love Nelson but to a great degree this has been the cause of some of our moderate plight. He's been starting and stopping, and here we are."

Said Brooke on Connally: "I just don't think a converted Democrat is going to get the Republican nomination."

Said Brooke about himself: "Moderate Republicans have to keep their options open for 1976 so that Vice President Agnew does not receive the nomination by default."

And finally, another reporter revealed that at the Republican Governors Conference in December, Sen. Robert Dole had been asked in a "background session" whether Agnew was competent to be President. There was a pregnant pause; then Dole said: "John Connally is competent to be President."

All of which means that in between the candidates you can see 1976.
The Budget

It is one of the sometimes lamentable legacies of American government that unsuccessful public policies are seldom scrapped. Whatever its other deficiencies, President Nixon's budget message shows admirable candor and courage in its admission of federal failures. However, it would be highly regrettable if a few healthy babies like the OEO Community Action Agencies get thrown out with the rest of the dirty, bureaucratic waters.

Some general observations about the President's proposals can be made. First, by implementing his New Federalism program and enacting general (and, hopefully, special) revenue-sharing, President Nixon has shifted the nation's social conscience from the federal to the state and local levels. The federal government originally assumed the burden of innovative social programs because state/local governments were too sluggish, too poor, and/or too insensitive. For the New Federalism to work, these governments must now learn to take the initiative.

Second, President Nixon's abandonment of federal direction for such programs as manpower, housing, and urban redevelopment, should not be interpreted as a blanket rejection of the need for government initiatives in these areas. Federal intervention in these areas has frequently proven to be inefficient and unworkable. But money will still be needed to solve these problems even if the federal bureaucracy is not. Congress must move swiftly on special revenue-sharing; the federal income tax remains the nation's most progressive tax base and state governments cannot be expected to abruptly pick up the full tab for federally-funded programs.

Nevertheless, the President's proposals deserve better than simple "knee-jerk" reactions from outraged liberals. For example, urban school systems have long played silly accounting and planning games with money derived from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Though the Title I expenditures undoubtedly did aid disadvantaged students, they unquestionably can now be better utilized if local school systems have the opportunity to direct their rational usage free from the artificial constraints of federal grants-seeking.

One necessary implication of the President's proposals is that Congress must seek new, more independent resources with which to evaluate the effectiveness of federal expenditures. The President has a whole new offensive program. The Congress better put its huddle in order.

The Ex-War

The cease-fire in Vietnam is a relief and a belated credit to the negotiating of Henry Kissinger and his boss. It also has an odd way of reminding Americans of the tragedy of America's Indochina involvement. But more than the regurgitation of past recriminations, America needs to take positive steps to heal some old wounds and prevent the recurrence of past blunders.

First, we believe the nation has a moral obligation to aid in the economic redevelopment of Indochina. As a sign of our hopes for a new era in Southeast Asia, aid should best be funneled through an international agency. Such aid would be costly, but far less precious than the blood that has been spilled in the past. Kissinger's trip to Hanoi offers a hopeful portent for American policy.

Second, we suggest that the United States, acting in concert with other permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, move to admit North and South Vietnam along with North and South Korea and East and West Germany to the United Nations. The admission of the two Germanies is already anticipated this year. The admission to the UN of the two Vietnams and the two Koreas would be a logical next step in President Nixon's diplomatic efforts. It would affirm that the Great Powers are willing to link up several areas of past conflict in furthering the new climate of restraint that President Nixon hopes will bring a generation of peace.

Third, the time has come for a national evaluation of amnesty legislation for violators of the country's selective service laws. The FORUM has explored the amnesty issue in the past (see August 1972 FORUM), and made proposals for a comprehensive plan for such amnesty. It is time for implementation of the principles of "moderation and tenderness" which President George Washington first enunciated when he began the American amnesty tradition. President Nixon would do well to pay more attention to that tradition.

And finally, we hope that Congress will give very serious consideration to the investigation of presidential emergency powers being chaired by Senators Charles Mathias (R-Md.) and Frank Church (D-Idaho). One of the most important lessons of Vietnam may be that the collective deliberations of Congress may be needed to restrain the impulsiveness of a supposedly omniscient President.
Corrections to appoint his own candidate to the post.

Among the Republican possibilities to oppose Hall are Denzil D. Garrison, former State Senate minority leader, and State Sen. James M. Inhofe, a Tulsa insurance executive. Both conservatives, Garrison would have more difficulty raising the necessary funds than the wealthy Inhofe. Two other possible candidates include James V. Smith, the former one-term Congressman who is the administrator of the Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and Bud Wilkinson, the former University of Oklahoma football coach who lost a 1964 Senate race to Fred Harris. Wilkinson resigned last year as national committeeman and more recently resigned his job as a White House staff consultant.

FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE — The participants in the 1974 political dramas in the Sunshine State remain offstage at the moment, but the cast of possible actors seems ample to fill the available positions.

Former Gov. Claude Kirk (R) has announced his on-again, off-again availability for the Republican gubernatorial nomination to oppose Gov. Reubin Askew, the man who defeated Kirk in 1970. Although Askew's political popularity was hurt last year by his calm, rational stand on school busing, his partisan ratings have been recouped somewhat since then. After announcing that he would seek the gubernatorial nod, however, Kirk has switched his public sights to the U.S. Senate. If he means to pursue the 1974 senatorial nomination, that would place him in opposition to his former ally, Sen. Edward Gurney.

Gurney, meanwhile, has moved to placate his own differences with Kirk's old foe, former Congressman William Cramer (R). Cramer sought the senatorial nomination in 1970 and won it despite Kirk's interjection of Judge G. Harold Carswell into the Republican primary race. Cramer later lost to Sen. Lawton Chiles (D) in the general election and has moved his residence from St. Petersburg to Dade County (Miami). Cramer has not made many indications of his future political plans, but has been deeply involved as a counsel in the Republican National Committee's battle with the Ripon Society over the 1976 convention delegate-allocation formula. (Cramer is the GOP national committeeman.)

Although Kirk's antics as governor were sometimes circus-like, he retains the loyalty of many rank-and-file Republicans, if not those of Cramer and GOP State Chairman Tommy Thomas.

Another possibility for the gubernatorial race is State Sen. Jerry Thomas, a Jupiter banker who was originally elected as a Democrat, but recently joined the ranks of the GOP. Congressman Lou Frey may well have his hat perched and ready to throw into either ring, but as yet his hat remains hidden.

Sen. Gurney would probably be difficult to beat in either a primary or a general election. One possible exception might be Democratic Lieutenant Gov. Tom Adams, who retains the state's most effective political machine and public relations record. If Adams runs for the Senate and puts his machine behind Askew, as well, 1974 might be a difficult year for the GOP.

ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK — Republicans in Arkansas have postponed until April a decision on a new state chairman in order to provide the GOP with time to determine "(in) what direction we are going to go."

The 1972 election left the statewide GOP in dismal shape, with only one representative in each house of the legislature and no statewide offices.

When Neal Sox Johnson, the party's executive director, left for Washington to join the Farmers Home Administration, he was succeeded by Ken Coon, the GOP's unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor in 1972. As usual, the GOP state office has financial trouble just keeping itself open.

Three potential candidates have meanwhile lined up to succeed Charles T. Bernard as state chairman. The top possibilities are State Sen. Jim Caldwell, a dynamic but relatively cautious moderate, and Bob K. Scott, a former state revenue commissioner, has devoted substantial resources of time to the counsel post, actively suing and threatening to sue the Democratic state government. The third candidate is Everett Ham, Jr., a longtime aide to former Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller (R), who was elected party vice-chairman after unsuccessfully seeking the chairmanship two years ago.

The party faces two possible strategy decisions: first, the perennial question of whether it should devote more energy to local races and less to statewide contests and, second, whether it should attempt to re-attract the black voters who had supported Gov. Rockefeller but have recently switched back to the Democrats.

One ray of hope for the Arkansas GOP is the vulnerable seat of Sen. J. William Fulbright, who is up for re-election in 1974, and viewed as the state's top "beatable" Democrat. The ideal situation for Republicans would be a narrow defeat for Gov. Dale Bumpers (D) in a Senate primary against Fulbright. There is wide speculation that the popular Bumpers might attempt a Senate run against Fulbright. Both share northwest Arkansas as their political home.

Among the possible contenders for a Republican Senate nomination in 1974 would be Bernard; 1972 Senate candidate Wayne Babbitt; and former State Rep. George Nowotny, Jr., who organized the Arkansas Nixon campaign last year.

At the moment, however, Arkansas Republicans have little to run on besides hope.
indicative of White House tokenism.

However, despite indications that the White House is not listening, a number of black Republicans have gone ahead with plans to create a new national Republican organization. The group was organized soon after the November election and met on Thursday, January 18, with Republican National Chairman George Bush.

At the meeting attended by 100 Republicans, Dr. Charles Hurst, the very able president of Malcolm X College in Chicago, was named chairman of an organizing committee. Floyd B. McKissick, former director of the Congress of Racial Equality and developer of the still-undeveloped Soul City in North Carolina, was appointed chairman of an issues committee.

Key movers in the meeting were former Administration officials like Brown and HUD's Samuel Jackson.

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NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER—The New Hampshire Republican State Committee met in Concord on January 31 and delivered a stinging rebuff to the party's elected officials.


Gosselin, a moderate from Center Barnstead, resigned his job early this year to seek the chairmanship. He defeated Wageman by a vote of 161-95. His fresh face and willingness to respond to local party workers may have been Gosselin's keys to victory. Wageman had allegedly been slated for the office because, unlike other possible candidates, he was felt unlikely to seek high public office — thereby threatening the incumbents.

Moderates in the party won seven of the nine party offices at stake, further sifting the party hierarchy.

Former Gov. Walter Peterson did not attend the meeting and endorsed neither candidate, but the presence of the man whom Thomson defeated in a GOP primary last September was strongly felt. The vote was considered a direct slap at the conservative Thomson who was openly scorned at several points in the meeting.

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NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY — The White House seems to be continuing its pro-activity to run interference in New York State's Senate politics and Republican moderates fear a 1974 instant replay of the 1970 blitz of former Sen. Charles Goodell.

At the home of the nation's number one football fan, there are continuing indications that Congressman Jack Kemp of Buffalo may be favored for Senate stardom. (Kemp is a former pro quarterback.) The morning after the Vietnam cease-fire was announced, the White House called to discuss congressional "Leaders" to further discuss the issue. Oddly enough, Congressman John Anderson, chairman of the House Republican Conference, was absent, and Kemp, a second-term Congressman with no rank but a lot of ambition, was present along with Congressmen Gerald Ford and Leslie Arends.

Although Anderson has not publicly opposed the President's war policies, there have been private indications of his past displeasure.

Back in New York, Kemp has attracted the ire of at least one key Republican. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller took the unusual step of publicly taking Kemp to task last fall for one of Kemp's campaign statements.

The New York Times has reported that New York City Mayor John Lindsay has not ruled out a Senate run against his former political mentor, Sen. Jacob Javits (R).

Sen. Javits is already gearing up his campaign. His Buffalo office has been beefed up and he has opened a new office in Albany to tend to constituent needs. Jud Sommer has been named to run the new offices.

Sidelight: When the Republicans were meeting to establish new Senate rules, New York Sen. James Buckley tried to pull a fast one. He suggested that Senators be forced to lose their seniority as ranking committee members when they reach age 70. Javits will be 70 in 1974.

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OKLAHOMA

OKLAHOMA CITY — Sen. Henry Bellmon and State GOP Chairman Clarence Warner have publicly bandaged the rift between them which dated back to last summer.

At that time, Bellmon had been critical of Warner's leadership in recruiting attractive Republican candidates. He said GOP aspirants had to put together their own organizations because Warner had not organized party workers "you could really trust to run your campaign."

(Republicans lost one of their two congressional seats while picking up one State Senate seat and five State House seats. However, 13 Senate seats and a far larger number of House seats went Democratic by default; the Republicans ran no candidates and thus Republicans are far outnumbered in both houses.)

Warner, in turn, had harsh words for Bellmon, questioning his knowledge of Oklahoma politics and attributing the criticism to Bellmon's pique at the defeat of Dorothy Stanislaus by Mrs. Grace Boulton for national committeewoman.

Warner is expected to seek re-election to a third term as party chairman at a state GOP convention on February 24. Bellmon has promised not to oppose Warner's election. The incumbent chairman apparently also has the support of newly-elected Sen. Dewey Bartlett who praised Warner's campaign efforts in a post-election statement.

Former Gov. Bellmon will be up for re-election to his Senate seat in 1974. Republicans may also have a strong shot in 1974 at the gubernatorial seat which Bartlett lost to Gov. David Hall. Hall's image has been tarnished by a number of events including a tax increase and the hiring of a corrections department official on a Friday and his firing on a Monday (after Hall pressured the Board of
POLITICS: REPORTS

PENNSYLVANIA

PITTSBURGH — Having elected two consecutive moderate Republican governors, William Scranton and Raymond P. Shafer, the GOP hit disaster in 1970 when Raymond J. Broderick was swamped in one of the biggest upsets in Pennsylvania history.

It seems like a good sign for Republican moderates that most of the candidates mentioned for the Republican nomination for governor in 1974 are on the progressive side of the party. These include: Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter, Pittsburgh Congressman H. John Heinz III, Finance Chairman Andrew "Drew" Lewis, Speaker of the House Kenneth Lee, and perhaps former Gov. William Scranton. Of these, Heinz, Lee and Lewis are interested; Lee disavows any interest; and Scranton has indicated in the past his unwillingness to run for further public office.

Of all these candidates, Scranton would have the best chance of defeating Gov. Milton J. Shapp. The former governor's popularity in this state is probably higher than that of any Pennsylvania Republican of the last 20 years.

Specter enjoys the distinction of being the top Republican office holder in Pennsylvania County and has a good base from which to seek a higher office. Having first won his office in 1965, and subsequently having been re-elected in 1969 with a large majority, Specter's office will expire by the 1973 election. This poses a problem for him because in order to maintain his political base he must run for re-election while facing probable charges that he does not intend to serve out his full four year term.

Specter sees the question of whether he can run in 1974 as not "where he goes" but "what is his timetable in getting there?" Every­one sees him as the next leading Republican in the state. He is still young and if he runs for governor in 1974, he may be in an awkward position in 1976 if Hugh Scott decides not to run for re-election. However, indications from Specter's recent political activities are that he is seriously feeling out the gubernatorial waters.

Drew Lewis, the Pennsylvania finance committee chairman, has taken a different route to becoming a top gubernatorial prospect. Having never held a public office, Lewis has pulled the Republican Party out of the debt that it has been in for the last ten years. He is president of Snelling & Snelling, a nationwide personnel agency, and has been a close friend of Sen. Richard Schweiker; he managed Schweiker's 1968 Senate campaign. His major problem is his minimal name recognition in the state. Although allied with Sen. Schweiker, he seems a bit more conservative than the other possible moderate candidates.

The fourth candidate, Speaker Lee, disavows any interest in seeking the office himself. He has been quoted in one Philadelphia newspaper as saying that in a primary between John Heinz and Arlen Specter, Heinz would "destroy" Specter.

The final possible aspirant is more a phenomenon of the media than of real politics in Pennsylvania. Frank Rizzo, present Mayor of Philadelphia, has said a few times that he wants to run against Gov. Shapp and that he may have to do it as a Republican. Although the party machinery in Pennsylvania makes such an eventuality unlikely, it is possible, of course, that Rizzo could enter a primary and win it.

Despite the fact that Specter served as head of the Nixon re-election campaign in 1972, Rizzo seemed to reap the credit (perhaps illogically) for the President's victory. It seemed that every time the President or the Vice President came to Pennsylvania, they were seen with Mayor Rizzo — not with Arlen Specter. Other than the President, it is doubtful if Rizzo has many fans outside of the immediate Philadelphia area.

BLACKS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The outlook for blacks in the second Nixon Administration is dismal.

The tenor of the Administration's attitude toward blacks was revealed by the appointment of Stan Scott, former White House press aide, as a special assistant to the President. Scott's qualifications for the job previously held by Robert J. Brown, another black, were limited and, like the appointment of Mrs. Anne Armstrong as a counselor to the President, the selection is
Under the leadership of two black lawyers, Republicans in Washington, D.C. have organized the Capital City Republican Club as a means of reviving the local Republican organization. The group's two executive directors are Winfred Mundle and Willie Leftwich, who was the D.C. chairman of the Committee to Elect the President. For a start, they got 3000 people to attend a post-inauguration breakfast. Their objective is to attract both black and white Republicans who are interested in replacing the local variety of Post Office Republicanism.

On February 3, California Republicans elected San Diego banker Gordon C. Luce to succeed Putnam Livermore as state GOP chairman. The new 47-year-old chairman has been active in Nixon, Reagan and Goldwater campaigns in California and has been the state executive director of business and transportation. Under California state law, the party chairmanship must alternate every two years between a representative of northern and southern California.

Jean McKee has recently taken over the responsibilities of administrative assistant for Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.). Ms. McKee joined Javits's staff in March of 1967 and is now one of four female "AA's" in the Senate on the Republican side of the aisle.

One Man — One Precinct Department: Kenneth Fogel of Moore, Oklahoma had an Oklahoma City precinct all to himself in the November general election. He was the only registered voter in the precinct established by the last session of the state legislature. But Fogel did not even live in the district; he just worked at a furniture store there. To accommodate Fogel, a special voting machine was set up in a nearby precinct.

Both Republican and Democratic nominees for the seat of the late Congressman Nick Begich (D-Alaska) are attempting to outdo each other with promises from congressional leaders that, if elected, they will be named to a seat on the House Interior Committee. Emil Notti, who was Alaska Democratic chairman before his nomination, has been promised an Interior seat by House Speaker Carl Albert. Republican State Sen. Don Young has extracted a promise from House Minority Leader Gerald Ford that he will not only be named to the Interior slot, but to a post on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. The issue has special significance since Sen. Mike Gravel (D-Alaska) recently was the object of criticism for his decision to exchange a seat on the Senate Interior Committee for one on the Senate Finance Committee, leaving the state without vital representation on the interior committees of either house.

Add Gov. William G. Milliken (R-Mich.) to the list of Republicans seeking shield laws to protect newsmen's sources. Speaking before the Michigan Press Association Convention on January 26, Gov. Milliken said, "Far from limiting press freedom, I believe very deeply that we should extend it. I believe every effort should be made to facilitate the operation of a free press, that the door of government should not just be left slightly ajar but opened completely — that free access to legitimate information should be a rule for every governmental official." He said he would recommend state legislation at a later date.

As President Nixon told Americans to "ask not just what government will do for me, what I can do for myself," one group of Washingtonians was apparently doing just that. Although blacks constitute 70 percent of the city's population, they were noticeably absent from the crowds which gathered in downtown Washington for the President's inauguration. Presumably having learned that the Nixon Administration intends to do very little for them, they have already decided to see what they can do for themselves.

Congressman Edwin B. Forsythe (R-N.J.) has decided that the House Internal Security Committee should be abolished. Congressman Forsythe has a dim opinion of the files the committee keeps on some members of Congress and their activities. The abolition of the old House Un-American Activities Committee would be a fitting sequel to President Nixon's decision to abolish the Subversive Activities Control Board, which must rank with the White House Office of Telecommunications as one of the government's most dispensable agencies.

Twelve moderate Republican Congressmen have called for the normalization of United States relations with Cuba. In a position paper issued on January 29, the group said that Premier Fidel Castro has indicated a new attitude toward the United States by agreeing to negotiate a hijacking pact. The Congressmen feel that it is a contradiction for the U.S. to "strive for friendship with Russia while concurrently condemning Cuba for harboring a Soviet presence." The Congressmen involved were Alphonzo Bell (Calif.), Edward G. Biester (Pa.), John R. Dellenback (Ore.), Marvin Esch (Mich.), Bill Frenzel (Minn.), Orval Hansen (Idaho), H. John Heinz III (Pa.), Frank Horton (N.Y.), Paul N. McCloskey (Calif.), Stewart McKinney (Conn.), Charles S. Mosher (Ohio), and Charles Whalen (Ohio).