

Know Nothingism: A Hundred Years Out of Date

RIPON FORUM

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ONE DOLLAR



1973 Election Analysis:

The White House Did It

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•Margin Release

CHARLESTOWN — Having dispaired of any other remedy to their predicament, 300 Bostonians sought to destroy the evidence. That was 200 years ago.

There was little question about the events of December 16, 1773. Most witnesses were in general agreement about the details, but British Attorney General Thurlow and Solicitor General Wedderburn were stymied in their attempt to identify the perpetrators and charge them with high treason.

Although the events known as the Boston Tea Party were seen more appropriately as high jinx by some Boston residents, they were also construed as the basis for a constitutional crisis. In order to aid the beleaguered East India Company, on May 10, 1773, Parliament had passed legislation which eliminated the domestic tea tax but retained the import tax for the American colonies.

As rebellious radicalism, the American colonists took exception to this discrimination. Officially, Bostonians vented their displeasure at Boston Town Meetings. Unofficially, protests were led by Sons of Liberty and the Sons of Liberty's most militant faction, the Loyal Nine. It is the Loyal Nine which is credited with the planning of the Boston Tea Party. Boston's erstwhile tax collector, Samuel Adams, was certainly involved in the planning and is generally credited with the dastardly deed. (It may be of interest to modern Tories and McGovernites, that Adams, who disapproved of Benjamin Franklin's political naivete and amorous liaisons, had his own version of the \$1,000 income supplement. Adams, who was no more efficient as tax collector than he was as a businessman, neglected to press tax claims against impoverished citizens.)

Unlike the contemporary Milk Lobby, the Sons of Liberty were relatively open — and slightly cruder — in their attempts to influence the British. The operating arm of the Sons of Liberty in Boston would gladden the conspiratorial minds of H.R. Haldeman and Charles Colson; even in colonial days, public disdain could be mustered for what the Tories called "mob-ility." Several years before the Boston Tea Party, for instance, the Mackintosh gang destroyed the house of the royalist lieutenant governor, Thomas Hutchinson. The actions of Ebenezer Mackintosh's gang of "chickens," consisting primarily of South End waterfront toughs, who sharpened their political instincts in brawls with North End waterfront toughs, were widely deplored. It is understandable, then, that in the days leading up to the Boston Tea Party, Governor Hutchinson took refuge in his country home in Milton. Haldeman and Colson would have understood Hutchinson's chagrin in learning that "men of property," as well as riff-raff, attended the Boston Town Meetings which led up to the Boston Tea Party. "Nobody suspected (the townspeople) would suffer the tea to be destroyed, there being so many men of property active at these meetings," wrote Hutchinson later.

The Loyal Nine, however, were careful to cover their tracks. Although there is no evidence that the "Indians" were adorned with feathers, most participants in the Tea Party were sufficiently disguised as to preclude recognition. Disguises, which consisted primarily of old clothes and facial makeup, were probably "ill-fitting," but E. Howard Hunt would have understood the exigencies of such situations. They had no fear of the fourth estate, but there is evidence that Benjamin Edes,

printer of the Boston *Gazette*, was one of the principal planners of the affair. The *Gazette* printed a full report of the incident, but the names of the participants have never been revealed with any more certainty than, say, the reliability of the Watergate tapes. About 300 men and boys participated in the destruction of 340 chests of tea from three British ships worth in excess of \$75,000. But only one man was arrested: "a barber named Eckley, who had evidently yielded to an occupational tendency to talk too much." (See *The Night The Revolution Began*, by Wesley S. Griswold, Stephen Greene Press, 1972.) However, in an obvious case of obstruction of justice, the Boston sheriff released Eckley rather than satisfy the primitive appetites of the "mob-ility," who suggested tarring and feathering might result if the sheriff persisted in jailing Eckley.

Governor Hutchinson, the customs officials, and the British navy felt compelled to prevent any solution to the tea controversy which did not include the unloading and payment of customs duty on the tea. The Sons of Liberty had been opposed to any solution which allowed the tea to be unloaded or taxed. Both sides saw the issue as a legal and constitutional crisis. The Tea Party was the outcome of their irreconcilability.

On his side of the Atlantic, King George III, even then rumored to be mentally distraught, told an audience that, "I'd as lief fight the Bostonians as the French." The British misreading of the public mind led to the Boston Port Bill, closing the Boston Harbor until restitution for damages was made.

And so, armed with a royal mandate and a disconcerting misinterpretation of the American mood, the British government decided to tough it out. The British were ill-advised. db

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EDITORIAL

"I KNOW NOTHING"

On the surface, the 1973 elections indicate no clear political trends. Republicans were not rejected *en masse* for their accumulated Watergate sins — although in New Jersey and Minneapolis, for example, there *was* a massive rejection of the GOP. Incumbents were not evicted *en masse* as a result of Watergate-inspired cynicism — but low voter turnout in many states is indicative of the public's accumulated ennui with political shenanigans.

The elections did signal that dissatisfaction with politicians was particularly acute among Republican voters and that resultant low Republican voter turnout can spell Republican disaster. The startling upsets of Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter and Comptroller Tom Gola are only the most obvious cases of this Republican malaise. (See Politics: Reports.)

The Specter/Gola defeats demonstrate another Republican handicap in 1973: organizational failure. The Democratic machine turned out the vote in Philadelphia while Republicans slept. U.S. Rep. Charles Sandman's New Jersey campaign was an organizational disaster. So was State Sen. John Marchi's mayoralty campaign in New York. Prominent Republicans stayed home rather than be associated with predicted disasters; it was not a year to invite or expect Republican stalwarts to charge across state lines rallying the faithful. Republicans were busy in Washington reviving the motto of Millard Fillmore's old party, "I know nothing."

President Nixon has been no more successful than Fillmore in popularizing "I know nothing" as a successful political slogan. The life expectancy of the White House Know-Nothings may be equivalent to the Millard Fillmore variety. The moral is quite simple: Know-Nothingism is a bankrupt political concept. A political party must stand for principles, not denials. The Republican Party's origin was partly a reaction to the political situation which led to the creation of the Know-Nothings. Its current predicament is directly attributable to the leadership failures of the White House.

The cure for Know-Nothingism is neither simple nor easy. The cure is the reaffirmation of transcendent Republican values and dedication to progressive solutions to national problems. Republicans must stand for ideals more attractive than the sleazy White House manipulations and slick deceptions which the public connects with the GOP.

As Abraham Lincoln supposedly once said, "If you call a tail a leg, how many legs has a dog? Five? No; calling a tail a leg don't make it a leg." The 1973 elections indicated that although the White House may not be able to tell dog tails from legs, the public surely can.

The 1973 elections were not only a forecast of the public's disillusionment with the GOP; they were also indicative of the "Southern Strategy's" flawed prophesy. Sandman's gubernatorial defeat was a crushing lesson to the New Jersey Republican Party. Right-wing ideology combined with Gov. William T. Cahill's massive political problems delivered the Republican nomination to Sandman, but they could not deliver an election. Though Sandman's stands corresponded with those taken

by a majority of the electorate, his image corresponded too closely with the public stereotype of a politician. In the debacle that followed the Sandman campaign, Republicans all across the state were swamped by the Democrats. The race has been regarded by conservatives across the nation as a political bellwether. Conservative campaign architect F. Clifton White, best known for his success with Sen. Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, was the principal Sandman strategist for the Sandman defeat. Among the South Jersey congressman's ardent supporters were the Young Americans for Freedom, the American Conservative Union's *Battle Line*, the *National Review*, and the Rev. Carl McIntyre. The Sandman strategy was the pursuit of the "peripheral urban ethnic," who proved peripheral only to the Republican ticket.

The only other gubernatorial campaign was in Virginia, where two one-time Democrats faced each other in what was billed as another "realignment" election. Former Gov. Mills Godwin, nee Democrat, now Republican, won election to a second, nonconsecutive term by narrowly defeating Lieutenant Gov. Henry Howell, a Democrat-turned-independent. Prior to the election, Virginia Republican Chairman Richard D. Obenshain wrote in *National Review*, "If (the Virginia voters) elect Mills Godwin . . . the political realignment of the South will be dramatically advanced. If he loses, though, to Independent Henry Howell, Virginia will become a major beachhead for the radical Democratic invasion of Southern politics."

No such major upheaval in fact occurred. The voters indeed elected Godwin, and the Republican Party lost five seats in the House of Delegates. The voters elected the conservative Godwin with 51 percent. They also elected moderate State Sen. John Dalton (R) as lieutenant governor by a 3-2 margin and elected a Democratic moderate as attorney general by a 2-1 margin. If anything is clear in Virginia politics, it is that the parties have not drastically realigned themselves; the logical candidates for governor in 1977 are now two moderates. In fact it would seem that neither party has found the middle in Virginia politics, leaving the electorate largely in a state of flux. The politicians may be realigning, but the electorate shows little sign of similar inclinations.

While bond issues and referenda in general were relatively successful this year, three such statewide votes backed by possible Republican presidential candidates were notably unsuccessful. Gov. Ronald Reagan's tax reform initiative in California was sharply rebuffed by the state's voters. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's transportation bond issue in New York was defeated by the strong negative vote cast by suburban New York City residents. And Gov. Daniel Evans' own tax reform measure was ignominiously rejected in Washington, just as a tax referendum of Gov. Tom McCall has been crushed in neighboring Oregon earlier this year. As Kevin Phillips described the California situation in his newspaper column, "Reagan had the easier pitch: cut taxes, curb spending, and limit future taxing power all in the same package!" But the voters weren't buying the pitch, despite a massive Reagan-backed campaign to pass "Proposition 1." Even when it came to saving money, voters were mistrustful this year.

With Gallup polls showing the GOP at its lowest ebb in polling history, the time has come for a new call to excellence. Progressive Republicans have a responsibility to make that summons. ■

Editorial Board COMMENTARY

Getting A Handle on Slurbs

by *Ralph Thayer*

Paul Ylivasaker, presently dean of the Graduate School of Education at Harvard and one of the most knowledgeable urban thinkers, has drawn attention to a problem of mounting proportions — the suburban future. He notes:

Consider the savings involved for inner city residents if they could live near their jobs in the suburbs or by suburban residents if they lived near their jobs downtown. There are two streams of traffic: the car pools of suburbanites going to the city and those of inner city dwellers going on expressways to suburban jobs. You are all too familiar with this phenomenon and the relation between it and the energy crisis. Job-linked housing and urban growth policy would save a lot of gasoline.¹

The apparently worsening fuel shortage and the need to reduce sharply

the amount of fuel and time consumed in overly extravagant commuter practices adds one more compelling factor to the push to open up our suburbs to more realistic settlement patterns. Pressure groups such as Paul Davidoff and Neil Gold of the Suburban Action Institute have been actively working against exclusionary suburban jurisdiction.² It is increasingly evident that suburban areas are opening and that the country will be aided in the process.

But, as the pressures mount to open suburbs, government needs to examine possible developmental or redevelopment strategies. Opening of the borders is a step — not the end. Many suburbs have discovered, to their great shock, that the full spectrum of urban ills can swamp them very rapidly. The term "slurb" (suburban slum) has been coined to describe the condition. In reaction, citizens groups across the country have voiced increasing support for an end to *all* further growth. As expressed in the Rockefeller Brothers Fund's Report of the Task Force on Land Use and Urban Growth:

In a growing number of states and localities, citizens are expressing their unhappiness with what traditional development has done, is doing, or is threatening to do... The evidence in many communities seems to offer only two choices: bad development or no development.³

At the same time, a renewed interest in inner city investment catering to rising incomes and under-serviced city markets is more a national trend.⁴ There is a very real possibility — in many areas an actuality — of lower income residents being squeezed out of the city to nearby and run-down suburban areas. From those locations, their isolation will be as complete as it is now in inner city slum areas — if not worse, given the absence of mass transit. Additionally, the sleazy construction of much of the hurriedly built post-war housing guarantees deteriorating and unsuitable living conditions in many areas. Too many suburban developments, particularly of the multi-family variety, will be exceptionally fortunate to outlast the life of their mortgages. Suburban redevelopment or renewal may be the most critical "urban issue" of the late 1970's

and beyond. Preparations for the onset of this problem are seriously deficient.

What aggravates this situation is that it is almost taboo for decision-makers — particularly those who must face the voters — to describe the worsening condition in suburbia in accurate terms. Voter reaction is widely prophesized to be a mass move to eradicate the messenger announcing the bad news. Local officials, with federal revenue-sharing funds, are now expected to take the federal government off the hook by solving their "own" problems. But, as the Rockefeller report and others point out, the local response is increasingly to attempt to place a very strict limitation on *any* growth in that particular jurisdiction. The hottest topic in land controls at present is devising ingenious schemes to "stagger" or "phase" local growth in a manner acceptable to the courts. Hopefully, the issuance of the American Law Institute's Model Land Development Code next spring will be the catalyst for a badly needed growth policy while filtering out exclusionary schemes of dubious validity.



How to focus attention on the suburbs in such a way as to highlight the problem and motivate officials to act while avoiding the attribution of blame to "the city" or "those people," is very delicate and will undoubtedly be the final act performed by an urban martyr. It is unrealistic to ask localities threatened by urban blight to respond by giving up powers of local control (e.g. zoning) to a regional government. A person drowning does not release the rope until the boat is at hand. Regional coordinating mechanisms with real powers to raise funds and enforce areawide policy are the ultimate answer, but a long road lies ahead. The financial cost of waiting for the suburbs to accept area controls ultimately will be high. ■

1. Quoted in the *H.U.D. Challenge*, November 1973, p. 28.

2. See, for example: Suburban Action Institute, *Open or Closed Suburbs: Corporate Location and the Urban Crisis* (1970), White Plains, N.Y.

3. *The Use of Land*, (Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 1973) p. 179.

4. As an example: *Business Week*, November 10, 1973 (Marketing Section).

Coastal Zoning Laws

by Andrew Knox

"What's a nice guy like you doing in a place like this?" Paraphrased, the question is "Why is a Ph.D. industrial chemist sponsoring tough environmental legislation?" The answer is that I believe a technically trained person can bring a unique viewpoint to environmental problems, particularly to the continuing search for the optimum balance between a healthy economy and a clean environment. I also am convinced that we must be resourceful and innovative in our long-range planning. For example, why try to solve the energy supply problem by merely extrapolating existing data on energy uses, oil supplies, and an expanding population? These problems are complex and can only be solved by the constructive cooperation of citizens, industry, and government. This philosophical disposition to plan before acting led me to be sponsor of the Delaware Coastal Zone Act, which prohibits refineries and heavy industry (with the potential to pollute) from building on our Delaware coastline. Superports and bulk product transfer facilities are also banned.

The Delaware Coastal Zone Act is just one of our tools for coastal zone

management. Such management necessitates (1) developing understanding of the coastal zone as a system, (2) using this knowledge to recreate a dynamic plan for its best use, and (3) implementing and enforcing that plan. In 1970, then-Gov. Russell W. Peterson (R) appointed a task force to develop the understanding and make recommendations. At that time there were strong pressures for development, there was no long-range master plan, and there were inadequate management tools. Peterson charged the committee with the preparation of policy guidelines and key recommendations for the management and conduct of marine and coastal affairs for the State of Delaware. The plan's goals were the preservation and improvement of the quality of life and the marine and coastal environment; promotion of the orderly growth of commerce, industry, and employment compatible with the environment; and an increase in the opportunities for education and research in marine and coastal affairs. The task force had broad representation and expertise. Included were environmentalists, industrial personnel, concerned citizens, and others. The task force came up with the following recommendations:

- Define the coastal zone;
- Develop a contingency plan for the prevention and cleanup of major spills;
- Do not approve any deep water port or offshore island;
- Encourage new "clean" industry and discourage incompatible development;
- Encourage recreation and tourism;
- Enact legislation for adequate land and water use controls;
- Acquire more public lands;
- Increase the funding for research and education; and
- Establish coastal zone management in the executive branch.

In early 1971 the governor proposed the Coastal Zone Act which covered the most critical and imminent threats. Quoting from part of the Act the purpose is:

It is hereby determined that the coastal areas of Delaware are the most critical areas for the future of the State in terms of the quality of life in the State. It is, therefore, the declared public policy of

the State of Delaware to control the location, extent and type of industrial development in Delaware's coastal areas Specifically, this chapter seeks to prohibit entirely the construction of new heavy industry in its coastal areas. . . . Therefore, control of industrial development other than that of heavy industry in the Coastal Zone of Delaware through a permit system at the State level is called for . . . prohibition against bulk product transfer facilities in the Coastal Zone is deemed imperative.

The legislation was introduced and enacted in June, 1971, with many public responses heavily affecting the final form of the legislation. The keys to the enactment of this landmark legislation were strong leadership and solid public support. Citizen participation was absolutely essential, and once again we saw what can be accomplished in our democratic process when people devote the time and energy to an important objective. Many problems needed to be overcome; the most critical were: definition of the coastal zone; convincing the public that this was not a state-wide zoning bill; maintaining authority for local government; assurance of future public participation in the permit process and appeals to the Coastal Zone Industrial Board; condemnation consistent with Delaware law.

This act was a vital element in coastal zone management but state authority has been strengthened by wetlands protection and beach preservation laws, and the Delaware Environmental Protection Act. The protection authority is demonstrated in the schematic diagram (p. 7). Activities requiring a permit are listed in the various segments of the coastal zone. While protection is broad, some key elements are still not covered. They include new housing tracts, high rise apartments, and condominiums.

The history of the Coastal Zone Act has been positive thus far. It has not been anti-industry, and overall the law is working and allowing industry to proceed with development plans. Although the act has not yet been tested in the courts, the legislation has a strong legal foundation. It was carefully written; it is now generally accepted that individual states have the

right to decide about their own environment; only a relatively small area of the state is restricted; and in one case the Superior Court upheld expansion of generating capacity. Statements from the Interior Department, the Corps of Engineers, and the President's Office have indicated federal government support. The overall effect on natural resources and people has been excellent, particularly young people. Delaware has been pleased to work with other states, specifically with New Jersey to develop its coastal zone,

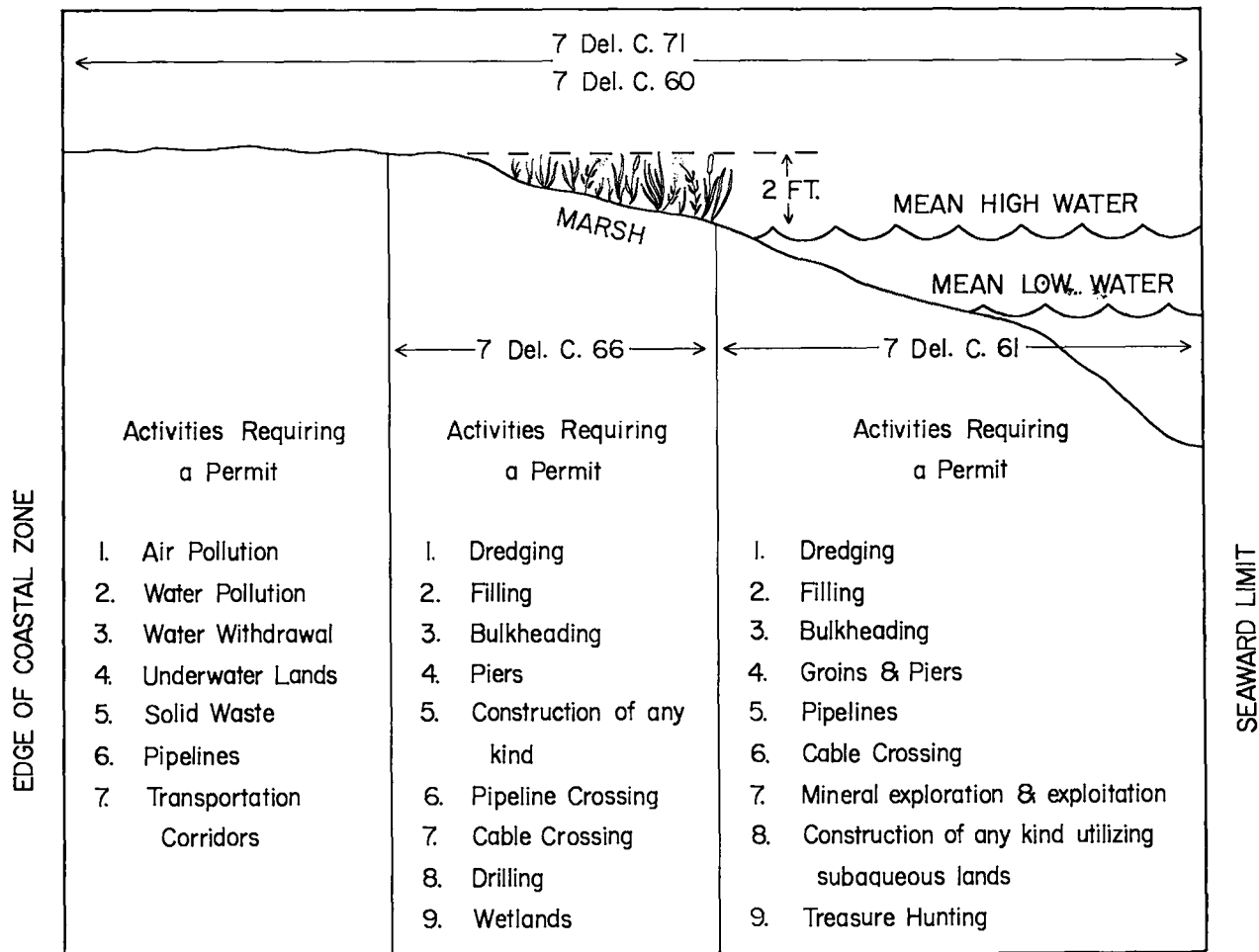
and California refers to the "Delaware Example."

We feel that we have made considerable progress, but the pressures for development are terrific. It is absolutely essential that we continue to manage the future rather than lose our heritage by default. We have an active program covering a wide variety of areas. First, the Coastal Zone Act is being strengthened through public hearings on the total plan for industrial development and the definition of heavy industry. Proposed or planned

legislation includes a Coastal Zone Management Act, control of littering and oil spills, off-shore drilling and docking facilities for supertankers. Coordination is needed with the Federal Coastal Zone Management Act and federal proposals for statewide land use plans. Determinations must be made on authority to regulate the area from the coastline out to the continental shelf.

The problems are complex, but the stakes are so high that success is imperative. ■

SCHEMATIC VIEW OF
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AUTHORITY IN DELAWARE COASTAL ZONE



POLITICS: REPORTS

KENTUCKY

LEXINGTON — Kentucky Republicans took it on the chin on November 6 as voters in the Blue Grass commonwealth continued to deal the GOP another in a straight line of electoral defeats. In elections for state legislative and local offices, Democrats added to their already hefty margins.

Republicans lost two Senate seats and eight House seats, reducing GOP strength in the General Assembly to a low almost unmatched in Kentucky political history. Senate make-up for the 1974 session is now 29-9 Democratic and 81-19 in the House. Democratic Gov. Wendell Ford will probably have more trouble from splits within his own party than he will from the Republicans.

The most important local races were in Louisville-Jefferson County and Lexington-Fayette County. Contests for mayor, county judge, and other local offices in Louisville are decided by partisan ballot, whereas Lexington voters were choosing the first officers of the community's new metropolitan form of government by nonpartisan votes.

Republicans controlled the city hall and courthouse in Louisville from 1961 to 1969, but were narrowly defeated for the posts in the 1969 elections. With hopes of regaining the important Louisville offices, Republicans ran an incompetent, underfinanced campaign that resulted in the biggest Democratic landslide in the history of Jefferson County. Liberal Democrat Dr. Harvey Sloane rode a wave of votes into city hall over Republican C. J. Hyde, a conservative former Democrat. County Judge Todd Hollenbach easily withstood the challenge from Commonwealth's Attorney Edwin Schroering, boosting the ambitious young lawyer toward a 1974 race for the U. S. Senate seat of Republican Marlow Cook.

In Lexington, where Municipal Court Judge James Amato was originally declared mayor of the new metro government, a polling machine error now indicates that incumbent Lexington city Mayor Foster Pettit has the lead by 54 votes. The election outcome is now being challenged in Fayette Cir-

cuit Court, so Lexington-Fayette may not have a mayor for several months. In that case, the mayor's duties and responsibilities will be taken over during the interim by the vice mayor, a councilman so designated by the Metro Council.

Republicans now must again look towards a bleak political future. Republican Sen. Marlow Cook's seat is in danger, and there have been consistent rumors that the Louisville attorney would not seek re-election, choosing instead to accept a lucrative post in business. If that is the case, and considering the recent strength of Wendell Ford's Democratic machine, the Republican seat may be in serious jeopardy. In addition to Cook's Senate seat, U.S. Rep. Gene Snyder of the 4th District is also in difficulty. A strong Democratic candidate will probably be fielded to topple the five-term conservative from suburban Louisville.

Rumbles of dissatisfaction against the inept leadership of state and Louisville Republican leaders are now being heard. A number of prominent Republicans in Jefferson County are expected to seek the removal of county chairman Mitch McConnell and county organization director Jack Will. Statewide, the holdover followers of former Gov. Louie Nunn continue to control the state central committee and the headquarters staff. Their failure,



Ronald Reagan

however, to assist candidates or to contest over 40 percent of the legislative seats may well lead to their ouster by unhappy defeated candidates and county leaders. Nunn is blamed by many for the party's failure to keep his office Republican in 1971, and the Lexington attorney was roundly defeated for the U. S. Senate in 1972.

"Nunn's bunch must go," a county party leader declared with a mixture of disgust and anger. "Larry VanHoose (state party executive director and former Nunn assistant) did virtually nothing for our candidates. They're all up there for Nunn and not for the party. Either they go or we keep losing, and we can't afford no more of that." Nunn's people, however, have shown an ability to keep control of the party for six years, and there is little sign of other leaders to contest for control of the Kentucky GOP.

In the face of recrimination and defeat, Kentucky Republicans now must look dismally to 1974 as well as the 1975 races for governor, General Assembly, and other state offices. Democrats are in the saddle and riding high in Kentucky. ■

CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO — In the words of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, it was a "stinging personal rebuff" to Gov. Ronald Reagan (R-Calif.).

In the words of *National Review*, which might be expected to be more biased, it was "a disaster, the moral of which may be: 'Thou shalt not propose five-thousand-word constitutional amendments.'"

Gov. Reagan's Proposition 1, a complicated tax reform initiative, won only 44 percent of the statewide vote, thus drying some of the bloom on Reagan's presidential flower. The passage of the tax reduction scheme had been widely viewed as the probable topic of Reagan speeches on the fried chicken circuit after the governor leaves office in 1975.

Reagan had campaigned heavily for the initiative, which would have limited the level of personal income taxes in the state and in fact have rolled back the tax level. Opposition to the constitutional amendment was led

by Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti (D), an eager gubernatorial candidate. Voters, who turned out in light numbers, may have been swayed by Moretti's arguments that the amendment would shift tax reliance to the property tax and reduce state services. The complexity of the amendment may also have deterred voters exercising a bit of Watergate-inspired skepticism about politicians.

Reagan reacted philosophically to the defeat: "Naturally, I wish we could have won, but I do not regret the attempt we made. I look upon this campaign as the first step in alerting the people to the incredible rate of government growth."

Even Moretti agreed with observers who feel that Reagan's presidential ambitions have not been badly sabotaged by the defeat. In the opinion of these observers, Reagan simply missed a golden opportunity. Said Moretti: "If he had won it, he would have been a hero to Republican conservatives; now he's a martyr to these same people." Two other Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls, State Sen. George Moscone and Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown, Jr., were less cautious. They saw a big setback for the governor. (Moretti is already promising a Democratic tax initiative next year.)

The most ascerbic comments on Proposition 1 came from ultra-conservative State Sen. H. L. Richardson (R), who called Reagan's effort "one of the most grossly mismanaged campaigns in history. The governor assigned some of his top pygmies to it. Their only good characteristics were mixing a drink, and he gave them responsibility for running a campaign."

According to Richardson, "If the governor tries to use the same people to run for President, he'll be lucky to find a plane ticket to where the convention is."

"How can trying to reduce the people's taxes be a political defeat? The effort was timely, worthwhile, and important," rationalized Gov. Reagan after his non-victory.

The proposal's defeat also had a silver lining in the eyes of State Sen. Mervyn Dymally (D), who quipped: "That election cost the taxpayers \$25 million, but if its results help convince Ronald Reagan not to run for

higher office, then it was money well spent." ■

NEW JERSEY

SOUTH ORANGE — This year's rout of the Republican Party in New Jersey was staggering — even by the standards of the Garden State, which more often than not elects its statewide officials by landslide margins.

Democrat Brendan Byrne's colossal 68 percent winning margin over U.S. Rep. Charles Sandman assured the utter decimation of the GOP at all levels. Republicans won only 14 of 80 Assembly seats and only 10 of the 40 seats in the Senate. The new party alignment is a dramatic reversal of the 1969 gubernatorial election when 59 Republican assemblymen and 31 senators were elected on the coattails of moderate Republican Gov. William T. Cahill.

Sandman was rejected in every county except his native Cape May, thus enabling Democrats to score stunning local upsets in the most solid Republican bastions. The wealthy suburban Bergen County, traditionally *the* banner Republican area in the state, will now send the state's largest Democratic delegation to Trenton.

Even before the election, Sandman and his campaign manager, F. Clifton White, were busy compiling excuses for Sandman's humiliating defeat. Among their enumerated culprits were Watergate, tightfisted Republican fatcats, unenthusiastic GOP officials, a hostile news media, the neutrality of Sen. Clifford P. Case, and the lukewarm support of Gov. Cahill (who spent October in Switzerland).

Conspicuously absent from this catalogue of campaign sins was Sandman's own strategy. Because Byrne had been forced into fairly liberal positions in the Democratic primary on volatile issues such as the state income tax, abortion, and capital punishment; the Sandman strategy was designed to stake out clearly conservative positions on these same issues. The South Jersey congressman's polls showed support for his positions by substantial majorities of the electorate, especially by the "peripheral urban ethnics" (this year's

euphemism for the backlash/hardhat/white ethnic voters).

Sandman thought he could force Byrne to alienate either the Democratic liberals or conservatives on these issues. Byrne moved smoothly to the right with enough skill to defuse Sandman's charges of inconsistency and enough tact to thwart sniping from the left wing of his own party.

Meanwhile, Byrne, with the help of David Garth's media blitz, was emphasizing his own record as an incorruptible county prosecutor and judge — and assailing Sandman as an extremist.

Sandman's polls were correct: the electorate was indeed concerned about rising taxes, busing, crime, and the erosion of local autonomy. But New Jersey's swing voters were not merely casting a protest vote; they were selecting the best candidate for governor. In the end, Sandman's demagogic, simplistic, and negative approach to the campaign drove away large numbers of voters who shared his concerns.

Inevitably, pressure has built to replace Republican State Chairman John Spoltore, who was installed in the post after Sandman's victory over Cahill last spring. Although there have been numerous demands for Spoltore's removal (including one from the Ripon's New Jersey Chapter), there is still a fair chance that Spoltore and his aides will hang onto their titles. Party bylaws provide that the state chairman's term expires in 1977, and there is no formal provision for his removal. Furthermore, the price of Spoltore's resignation would probably include the GOP's assumption of Sandman's enormous campaign debt, estimated to be between \$300,000 and \$400,000.

That's a high price to pay for the right to command the smoldering ruins of New Jersey's GOP. ■

NEW YORK

NEW YORK — New York State Republicans are fortunate that 1973 was an off-year election: since fewer elected offices were contested this year, there were fewer Republicans to be defeated.

As expected, Democrats made a solid sweep in municipal elections in New

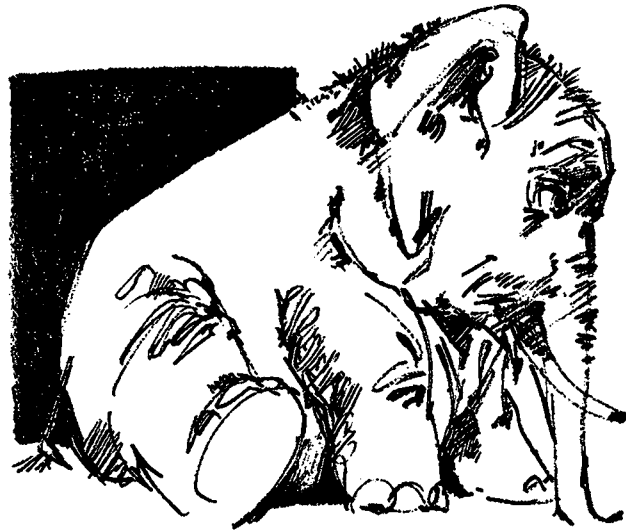
York City. Democratic City Comptroller Abraham D. Beame, 67, was elected mayor with over 57 percent of the vote, defeating Republican State Sen. John Marchi, Liberal State Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal, and Conservative U.S. Rep. Mario Biaggi. The campaign was incredibly dull — only 1.7 million people (or 46 percent of the registered voters) came to the polls November 6, which was the lowest turnout for a mayoral election since 1929. The campaign, and expectations of the incoming Beame administration, revived a reputed Dorothy Parker quip: when informed that Calvin Coolidge had died, she had queried, "But how can you tell?"

Beame, who ran against Mayor John V. Lindsay in 1965, and who resumed (as a result of the 1969 elections) his former post of city comptroller, will become the city's first Jewish mayor. In contrast to the past eight dynamic Lindsay years, the Beame team will provide solid management but colorless and uninnovative government, much like the 1957-70 administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner (D), under whom Beame was budget director.

Marchi's campaign never got off the ground. It was taken over by members of Sen. James Buckley's staff (the conservative senator's press secretary, Leonard Saffir, was Marchi's campaign director) and adopted a harsh, one-issue law-and-order stand. In addition, or more accurately as a result, it suffered severe organizational and financial problems.

The city comptroller spot was won by an aggressive and wealthy liberal Democrat, State Sen. Harrison J. Goldin. Goldin defeated one of the few remaining Republicans in the Lindsay cabinet, Finance Administrator Richard Lewisohn. Lewisohn — who had an excellent record in city government, and was backed by the *New York Times* — never had much chance in the massive Democratic victory.

Well-known civil rights Attorney Paul O'Dwyer (brother of the late Mayor William O'Dwyer), will become the president of the City Council. Goldin and O'Dwyer won with 63 and 60 percent of the votes, respectively. The 43-member City Council and the five borough presidencies remain solidly Democratic.



Just to the north of the city, in Westchester County, a liberal Democrat was elected to the \$51,000-a-year position of county executive, following a 16-year reign by Republican Edwin G. Michaelian, who did not seek re-election. Alfred DeBello, the mayor of Yonkers, narrowly defeated the colorless and conservative Republican nominee, County Clerk Edward N. Vetrano. Republicans won other posts in the county, however.

DeBello was succeeded by Republican Angelo Martinelli. The new GOP mayor of the state's fourth largest city was elected by a hefty 17,000 vote margin while the Yonkers City Council went Republican, 7-5.

To the east of the city on Long Island, Republicans won handily in Nassau County, as Ralph G. Caso was re-elected as county executive with a margin of 90,000 votes. Further east, Democrats made significant inroads in traditionally Republican Suffolk County, which is the home base of Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea.

In Rockland County, Democrats made Watergate the main issue, and it worked. They were helped by the indictments of the three top county Republicans. The 14-4 Republican-Democratic distribution in the County Legislature was exactly reversed by the voters on election day. Incumbent Democratic mayors were returned to office as expected in Albany, Syracuse, and Buffalo, while a Republican incumbent retained hold on the Binghamton city hall.

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller suffered a blow with the defeat of his \$3.5 billion transportation bond issue. The

proposition won in New York City (where the bond issue would have held the bus and subway fare steady at 35¢), but succumbed to an overwhelming "no" vote upstate. The "eternal governor" did score a triumph with the election of his candidate for chief judge of the Court of Appeals. In the only statewide candidate race, Republican-Liberal Charles D. Breitler defeated a wealthy Democratic negligence lawyer, Jacob Fuchsberg, by 320,000 votes after a hotly contested campaign. Unlike his snub of the Marchi campaign, Rockefeller put money and effort in the Breitler operation: the campaign manager was Fioravante G. Perrotta, the governor's campaign chief in the city in 1970. Breitler, who had the unqualified support of every major bar association and newspaper in the state, is an associate judge of the Court of Appeals. With Breitler's elevation, Rockefeller now has opportunities to appoint two Republicans to fill vacant seats on the court; the recent resignation of a Democratic judge opened up a second spot.

In six special elections necessitated by the resignations of state legislators elevated to other posts, Democrats won three, but in only one case was a Republican supplanted. In the Assembly, Republicans will have an 82-68 edge, while the Senate will be even more propitiously aligned, 37-23.

Whether or not Rockefeller runs for re-election next year (thus guaranteeing some money and life in the GOP campaign), Empire State Republicans have a difficult task in front of them to recoup losses suffered this November. ■

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA — The political ax fell in Philadelphia on November 6 as Republicans were annihilated at the polls by the local Democratic Party organization.

Despite their greater name recognition among voters, their incumbency, their endorsement by several local media institutions, their skillful and intensive media use, and their endorsement by supposedly popular and theoretically Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo, Republican District Attorney Arlen Specter and Comptroller Tom Gola lost to unknown Democratic party regulars Emmett Fitzpatrick and William Klenk by almost 30,000 votes out of 430,000 cast.

All other GOP candidates on the ballot, including 39 local judges, were similarly overwhelmed. It was clearly a Democratic committeeman's race, and voters simply pulled the big party lever — ignoring traditional endorsements, advertising, and most significantly, the endorsement of a special, non-partisan Philadelphia group, Good Judges for Philadelphia. GJP issued a special sample ballot that crossed party lines to select 39 judges that they felt were especially qualified. The only Republican judges who survived the Democratic deluge were those who cross-filed in the spring primary so they could run on both tickets.

This was an election to disprove the theories of Joe McGinniss, Roger Ailes, and Marshall McLuhan. It was won by old-fashioned, old-style committeemen who knew how and where to deliver the vote. A random sample of center-city polling places failed to turn up a single campaigning Republican, though their Democratic counterparts were out in number. One can only speculate that apathy, overconfidence, or an active dislike of the party ticket were responsible for such a poor turnout. As the ticket had faced no active primary opposition, it would seem that traditional GOP apathy was stretched to even greater lassitude by optimistic pre-election polls.

Although all of the Republicans went down together, District Attorney Specter, who was the 1972 state chair-

man of the Pennsylvania Committee to re-elect the President, lost to his Democratic opponent by a margin 4,000 votes larger than the deficit encountered by running mate Gola. There was clearly a Specter non-voting faction.

Specter had refused to deny his gubernatorial aspirations for next fall. His top aide was accused of violating the Philadelphia equivalent of the "Hatch Act" by accompanying Specter to state CREP activities. Finally, the Republican DA had failed to launch a significant attack on his opponent. Now, Specter obviously must reassess his political plans in light of what must be seen as a humiliating defeat. Still, reliable staffers in Specter's office steadfastly refuse to rule out Harrisburg as the new Specter residence.

Frank Rizzo, whose endorsements went completely unnoticed, found that the Democratic City Committee was still the real boss in Philadelphia. One of Rizzo's special judicial targets, in fact, led the Democratic judicial ticket. Rizzo, having lost the "great lie-detector test" to City Chairman Peter Camiel and further injured by his CREP alliance, must dramatically reassess his chances of unseating Democratic Gov. Milton Shapp next fall.

Only in those Philadelphia suburban counties where Republicans are still in the overwhelming majority did the party retain any strength. Even here significant inroads were made in several local elections, especially in Bucks and Montgomery Counties. The election shows a noticeable trend away from last fall's Republican sweep of the Delaware Valley.

Republicans were obviously badly beaten. An empathetic pilgrimage to the Little Big Horn may be in order for most of the party regulars. ■

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE — Incumbent mayors in Washington's four largest cities were re-elected while a tax reform referendum on the statewide ballot lost by a 4-1 margin, despite an impressive array of political sponsors.

In Seattle, Mayor Wes Uhlman (D), who finished second in the non-

partisan primary, finished first in the general election when City Council President Liem Tuai (R) failed to attract the alienated voter. In a race which contrasted sharply with the personal attacks and counter-attacks of the Seattle mayoralty, King County executive John Spellman (R), defeated Democratic challenger Mike Lowry in a low-key, issues-oriented campaign. The non-partisan Seattle City Council will be dominated by progressives as a result of the election, and the King County Council will retain a 5-4 Republican majority.

Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) visited the state in the closing days of the campaign, originally to speak at a "Retire the Debt" GOP-fundraising dinner which was cancelled because of "Watergate fallout." Instead, Percy visited the campaigns of black Republican Michael Ross, who unsuccessfully sought a Seattle city council post, and Bob Santos, an Asian Republican running for the State Senate in one of the state's most un-Republican districts. Santos and Ross lost but the message was not. The leader of the Seattle Urban League commented after the election that the interest in minority candidates demonstrated by Sen. Percy and Gov. Daniel Evans (R) effectively demonstrated that the GOP is open to minorities.

Meanwhile an Evans-backed referendum to impose a graduated net income tax, eliminate the sales tax on food and drugs, and lower the property tax, was resoundingly defeated. The shaky funding of local school systems was the prime impetus for the measure, but voters rejected it and every other statewide proposal on the ballot with the exception of vanity license plates. ■

GEORGIA

ATLANTA — In an overwhelming rejection of incumbent Mayor Sam Massell's racial campaign tactics, Atlantans elected black Maynard Jackson as mayor in October and white liberal Wyche Fowler as president of the City Council.

In both races there was a choice between a white and a black candidate, and in both the winners pulled substantial majorities (59 percent for

Jackson, 64 percent for Fowler) indicating a large swing vote in the population.

Mayor-elect Maynard Jackson summarized the impact of the election in his victory statement: "This is a resounding affirmation of the principle of unity and of brotherhood that helped make Atlanta truly a city too busy to hate, and we are that city."

Mayor Massell's biggest liability was the scandalous associations of his brother with known organized crime figures and attendant charges of pay-offs. Rising crime rates were also targeted by Massell's opponents. Jackson meanwhile benefited from his reputation as a vice mayor of fairness and intelligence.

The role of the media in the campaign was perplexing. In an editorial before the first election which read like an endorsement of white liberal Charles Weltner, the *Atlanta Constitution* endorsed State Sen. Leroy Johnson. The purpose of the endorsement appeared to be to cut into Jackson's vote sufficiently to get Weltner into an election runoff. Throughout the campaign, the *Constitution's* coverage of Jackson was either non-existent or uncomplimentary. Coverage was so unfair that it prompted a group led by Lonnie King, an NAACP lawyer, to file an anti-trust suit against Cox Broadcasting Corporation, which owns the *Atlanta Constitution*, the *Atlanta Journal*, and the major radio and television stations, WSB and WSB-TV, for its media monopoly.

Before the runoff, the *Constitution* weakly endorsed Jackson on the basis of Massell's "divisive tactics" and Jackson's opportunity "to grow once elected." Massell concluded his runoff campaign with racist innuendoes. Billboards and newspaper ads carried the slogan, "Atlanta's too young to die." Massell tried to scare out a heavy white vote by referring to the Atlanta which would develop if Jackson and Hosea Williams, a black candidate for City Council president, were elected.

Atlanta's population is about evenly divided between blacks and whites. The new City Council is also split evenly; the school board now has a 5-4 black majority.

As U.S. Rep. Andrew Young (D)

observed after the election, the voters apparently looked at the abilities and not the skin color of the candidates. ■

MINNESOTA

MINNEAPOLIS — Municipal elections in Minneapolis were almost an unmitigated disaster for local Republicans.

Prior to the election, Republicans held a 7-6 edge in the City Council. After the election, the Republican minority was as large as the independent minority; each had one vote. All Republican incumbents seeking reelection lost. The party's only successful candidate was Walter Rockenstein, a 30-year-old lawyer (and Ripon Society member) who sought the seat vacated by mayoralty candidate Mrs. Gladys Brooks. Only three years ago, the GOP had a 10-3 margin on the City Council.

The Republicans were also blamed by Mayor Charles Stenvig, a burglary detective-turned-politician, for his own loss. Stenvig, an independent, ran against liberal Democrat Albert Hofstede and progressive Republican Councilwoman Brooks. Hofstede won. Stenvig, until the last moments of the campaign, had been widely favored for reelection. Mrs. Brooks, who received only 10.5 percent of the vote, may well have kept enough Republicans from Stenvig's column to elect Hofstede. The former chairman of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council, who received 46 percent of the vote, in turn picked up most of the hard-core, anti-Stenvig support.

Stenvig had been elected in 1969 with the pledge, "I'll take the handcuffs off our police officers and allow them to do the job they were hired to do by protecting the lives and property of the responsible, law-abiding citizens from the hoodlums and criminal elements that are so evident in our city today." In that election, he won 72 percent of the vote. Commenting on his defeat, Stenvig said, "You win some and you lose some, and I guess the vote proves you can still buy elections with cash, ink, and a discriminatory new election law in Minnesota." Stenvig will now return to the police department. ■

VIRGINIA

RICHMOND — Virginia's Republicans may have celebrated a Pyrrhic victory on November 6 as they congratulated themselves on electing a Republican governor and lieutenant governor.

The lopsided win by the attractive incumbent Democrat attorney general sets him up as a strong gubernatorial contender in 1977, and the net loss of five seats in the House of Delegates not only hurts Republican legislative programs but also bodes ill for next year's congressional elections.

In what was billed as the clearest ideological choice ever presented to Virginia's voters, conservative former Byrd Democrat Gov. (1966 to 1970) Mills Godwin, this year's Republican candidate, narrowly defeated another former Democrat, populist Henry Howell, who first ran as an independent in 1971 when he was elected lieutenant governor. Howell chose to do so again this year, although with the strong, but unofficial support of the Democrat party's liberal leadership. Godwin's margin of 14,700 votes gave him just 50.7 percent of the votes cast to Howell's 49.3 percent.

The closest parallel to this year's gubernatorial race is last year's U.S. Senate race when conservative Republican U.S. Rep. William Scott defeated the incumbent moderate-liberal Democrat, William Spong. In order to win, Howell needed to better Spong's vote by 3.9 percentage points. As it turned out, Howell improved the Spong statewide results by 3.2 percent.

In most of the state, Howell ran 3 to 5 percent better than Spong, and even better than that in the old-line Republican stronghold of Southwest Virginia. However, in the Richmond area and in the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, Howell ran behind Spong's percentage.

Although Howell blew an early lead because of the surprisingly inept campaign he ran, it was his relatively poor showing in Richmond and Northern Virginia that actually cost him the election. Why did he fare so badly in these two areas? In one word — bus-ing.

Howell initially latched onto a popular issue — repeal of the sales tax on food and non-prescription drugs. Godwin, who was governor at the time the sales tax was initiated, continually called on Howell to demonstrate how he would make up the \$100 million in annual lost revenues. Howell finally put forth a weak proposal that relied on anticipated surpluses and the repression of future spending increases. Instead of shifting to other issues, Howell continued to bang away on the sales tax.

Godwin, realizing that Howell was vulnerable on the busing issue, hit him hard on it late in the campaign. Howell had proposed in a 1972 radio broadcast that it might be necessary to cross-bus school children between Washington and its northern Virginia suburbs. Richmonders were also still wrought up over the issue, even though the U.S. Supreme Court last spring upheld, in a 4-4 vote, the reversal of a District Court decision that would have required busing between Richmond and its two suburban counties.

Thus, the busing issue (which is no longer really an issue) was the effective issue to use against Howell. On election day itself, busing surfaced again when NBC Today Show host Frank McGee reported that Howell favored busing. Although the remark was quickly retracted at Howell's insistence, damage was done, possibly enough to have cost Howell the election.

Republican State Sen. John Dalton handily won the lieutenant governorship with 54 percent of the vote in a three-way race with aristocratic Democrat State Sen. Harry Michael and liberal independent Flora Crater.

Dalton, 41, the son of a two-time Republican gubernatorial candidate of the 1950's, is now a prime contender for the 1977 Republican gubernatorial nod. His strongest support lies with the old-line Republicans who put the present moderate Republican governor, Linwood Holton, into office. However, he should be acceptable to the newer, more conservative Republicans who paved the way for Godwin's conversion to Republicanism.

Incumbent Democrat Attorney General Andrew Miller, 40, garnered a landslide 71 percent of the vote in winning over a last-minute conserva-

tive Republican nominee, Pat Echols. Miller's strong showing, however, is partially the result of his opponent's weak, negative campaign.

Miller is probably the only person who can rebuild a party that, shattered by a liberal takeover last year, drove large numbers of conservatives out of the party and into independent limbo. Miller denies any gubernatorial ambitions and was recently reported as interested, instead, in taking on Sen. Scott in 1978.

The Republicans began the House of Delegates race with 25 members; in addition, two former Democrats ran as Republicans this year. One GOP incumbent did not seek re-election and seven were beaten. One new seat will give the Republicans a reduced 20-man delegation instead of the predicted Republican gains and possible Republican-independent control of the House.

Three of the losing Republicans were fierce conservatives running in districts where Godwin ran well. Godwin's candidacy obviously did not help these men, nor for that matter, many other Republicans running for the House. Five of the losing Republicans were from central city districts, leaving just one urban Republican delegate. These seats will be particularly hard to recover in future years.

A big question facing House members is their working relationships with Godwin, who, during his prior term as governor, said that one Republican in the House was one too many. Thirty-four Democrats and independents in the new House served during Godwin's last term. Naturally, he will feel most comfortable in dealing with them, particularly since they head up all the House committees. The Republicans will seek to work with Godwin, since he was elected with Republican support, but it may be an uneasy and fruitless relationship for the GOP.

Virginia's seven-member Republican congressional delegation may be unsettled by the election returns because they showed weak Republican support at the local level. U.S. Representatives Robert W. Daniel, Jr. (4th C.D.) and Stanford E. Parris (8th C.D.) are reported to be in serious trouble. Also facing tough re-election battles are Caldwell Butler (6th C.D.), Kenneth Robinson (7th C.D.), and William C. Wampler (9th C.D.). ■

CONNECTICUT

NEW HAVEN — Municipal elections in Connecticut are supposed to reflect only municipal issues, according to state tradition.

Republicans can perhaps take some solace in that rationale because the GOP had a net loss of 22 towns after this fall's local contests. All the big cities of the state with the exception of New Haven have had Republican mayors sometime, in recent years, but after November 7, Republicans could claim dominance in only Bridgeport.

Until the election of Mayor Nicholas Panuzio (R) in 1971 by nine votes, Bridgeport was the state's strongest Democratic enclave. Democratic dissension in the city, however, has turned Bridgeport into the GOP's only urban bridgehead and turned Mayor Panuzio into a probable choice for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor in 1974. Panuzio won re-election by 2,000 votes.

Elsewhere in the state, it was a Republican disaster. Stamford's Republican mayor, Julius Wilensky, was narrowly ousted, and Democrats retained control of Waterbury, New Haven, Norwalk, and New Britain.

The biggest GOP disaster was in Hartford, where Democratic Mayor George Athanson was re-elected by nearly a 4-1 margin. In the wake of her defeat, Republican candidate Madelyn Neumann, a former president of the local board of education, blamed her loss on party disunity, no money, Watergate, and lack of state Republican support from the state GOP organization. "We had absolutely no assistance from the state Republican organization," said Mrs. Neumann. "We didn't even receive as much as a note from Gov. Meskill, saying he's glad I'm running on the team. There wasn't even this kind of moral support. It was as though I didn't exist."

Far worse as a barometer of local Republican support may be the losses of traditional Republican suburban towns of Hartford and Fairfield counties. With senatorial and gubernatorial elections coming up next year, it was a disturbing indicator of Republican lethargy and Watergate-inspired cynicism. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Persistent reports of the impending departure of Labor Secretary **Peter Brennan** are apparently unfounded. Despite pre-appointment publicity and the enmity of AFL-CIO President **George Meany**, Brennan's tenure at the Labor Department has been successful. Brennan may not have removed the Democratic ring from blue collars, but progress on the equal opportunity front, particularly against sex discrimination, has been made. Brennan's political skills have been complemented by the managerial talents of Under Secretary **Richard Schubert**, who shares Brennan's gift for blunt expression.

● U.S. Rep. **John B. Anderson** (R-Ill.) has officially announced he will not seek Sen. **Adlai E. Stevenson III's** Senate seat next year. Anderson made the announcement after a statewide poll he authorized showed that 46 percent of the voters considered Watergate to be the top national issue.

● Florida State Rep. **Ander Crenshaw** (R) has introduced a bill which would not allow profanity in public places. According to Crenshaw, a son-in-law of former Gov. **Claude Kirk** (R), "Right now, Florida has no law against the use of profanity and that's tragic." The Crenshaw bill would make it illegal to use profane, derisive, offensive, or annoying language in a way which might lead to violence.

● A bi-racial slate of seven Republican women faced an all-white slate of seven Democratic men for the Asheville (North Carolina) City Council this fall. The women were defeated by a 3-1 margin but claim that they have not been daunted and will try again.

● The Republicans' dismal showing in Minnesota this year may encourage a congressional run by State Sen. **Hubert Humphrey III** (D). Humphrey's potential target: U.S. Rep. **Bill Frenzel** (R).

● North Carolina State Sen. **Charles H. Taylor** has survived another effort to oust him as Republican minority leader. Taylor, 32, who was allied with Governor **James E. Holshouser, Jr.** in the recent battle over the post of GOP state chairman, is considered "too liberal" by Sen. **J. Reid Poovey**, leader of the move to replace Taylor. With the North Carolina legislature in recess, the Republicans have met only informally recently (in September and November). On neither occasion, however, despite public threats to do so, was the motion to replace Taylor actually offered. Another effort could still be made before the General Assembly convenes in January, but members of both factions agree that the original motivation for an ouster was the conservatives' desire to demonstrate some strength in the battle over the state chairmanship. A majority of the 15 Republican senators supported the incumbent, **Frank A. Rouse**, in that contest, while Taylor endorsed **Thomas S. Bennett**, Holshouser's candidate and the new chairman. With that issue now resolved, the move to oust Taylor may die.

● U.S. Rep. **Alan Steelman's** Dallas congressional district has been significantly altered by redistricting in Texas. Steelman lost 30 affluent Republican precincts and gained a number of Democratic black and Mexican-American wards in the shift. Steelman strategists are still confident that he can win his new district, but expect a rough campaign. Four possible Dem-

ocratic challengers to Steelman include former State Sen. **Mike McKool**; **John Sartain**, campaign manager for 1972 Democratic senatorial candidate "Barefoot" **Sanders**; Democratic County Chairman **Earl Luna**; and Dallas Mayor **Wes Wise**.

● Outgoing New Jersey Gov. **William Cahill** will resume his law practice and teach part-time at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs when he leaves office Jan. 15.

● HEW Secretary **Caspar W. Weinberger** appears to be out of the running for the California governorship next year. Weinberger's conditions — no bloody primary and solid financial backing — were not met by Republican Party chieftains.

● There's a long list of possible Republican candidates for lieutenant governor in California next year: Former ACTION Director **Joseph Blatchford**; former HEW Undersecretary **John Veneman**; **H.D. Timm Williams**, former California Indian affairs official; State Sen. **John L. Harmer**; Assemblyman **Floyd Wakefield**; and **Ben Fernandez**, a business consultant from Encino.

● Former Attorney General **Elliot Richardson**, out of a job, has turned down possible employment in two states. He has deflated a draft movement for Sen. **Adlai Stevenson III's** Senate seat in Illinois and said he will not run for "cousin Sarge's" gubernatorial seat in Massachusetts. (That post is held by Republican Gov. **Francis Sargent**.)

● The race for the Connecticut Democratic gubernatorial nomination next year shapes up as a four-way contest. Almost certain to make the race are Dr. **Homer Babbidge**, former president of the University of Connecticut; **Frank N. Zullo**, former mayor of Norwalk; and Attorney General **Robert K. Killian**. There is less certainty about the political plans of the public opinion poll leader, U.S. Rep. **Ella Grasso**. Mrs. Grasso is a popular former secretary of state. If a fight develops for the nomination, it will be the first such Democratic contest in the state since 1946.

● The Michigan Democratic gubernatorial contest now appears to be a three-way race. Former Detroit Mayor **Jerome P. Cavanagh** began his campaign in January, and Detroit attorney **Sander Levin** has recently begun gearing up his own effort. Although House Minority Leader **Bobby Crim** won't announce his candidacy until next year, he too will seek the post now held by Republican Gov. **William Milliken**. Crim's campaign efforts are now masked by a "Draft Crim for Governor Committee"; his backers range from the leader of the state's powerful Wallace faction to **Neil Staebler**, a former Democratic state chairman.

● California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** (R) is stepping up his presidential politicking. According to Reagan political aide **Robert Walker**, his boss will be spending up to a week per month on the campaign trail in the East in upcoming months.

● Opening an executive session of the Memphis City Council, Councilman **A. D. Alissandratos** prayed, "Lord, make our words soft and tender — we may have to eat them tomorrow."

● Sen. **George D. Aiken**'s (R-Vt.) support of President Nixon may be endangering his prospects for reelection without significant opposition. Democratic Gov. **Thomas P. Salmon** had virtually endorsed Aiken in August. Vermont Democrats may field a strong candidate as a result of Nixon's support for the dismissal of Special Watergate Prosecutor **Archibald Cox**.

The Site Tax

The property tax is under siege. The primary basis of the attacks is the inherent inequity resulting from the use of local property taxes to support school expenditures — and the resultant hardships imposed on small business and low-income families in high tax-rate communities. In 1973 an estimated \$44 billion in state and local property taxes will be collected, accounting for about one-quarter of the tax revenues of states and municipalities. In this article, FORUM Contributing Editor Richard W. Rabn proposes a basic reform in the property tax system which should reduce many of the existing inequalities and which would encourage urban redevelopment without reducing the total property tax receipts. Dr. Rabn is managing director of the Ripon Society; he formerly was associate professor of management at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute. This article is adapted from a New York Ripon Society policy proposal entitled, "The Site Tax: A Preferable Alternative to the Existing Property Tax" (Copyright 1972), by Rabn and Richard S. Scanlan, with the assistance of Dr. William Vickery of Columbia University.

by Richard W. Rabn

A basic tenet of tax policy is that its structure must be equitable. The basic equity does not exist in the present real property tax used by counties and municipalities in the United States. Even when honestly and efficiently administered, the property tax allows land speculators to acquire unearned profits, thus encouraging suburban sprawl, and aggravating urban decay and waste.

There is evidence of property taxation in ancient Athens, where a system evolved that taxed land, houses, and personal belongings. A similar system of taxation was adopted by ancient Rome, and was continued in parts of Europe from the fall of Rome to the present. By 1800, a property tax limited to land — or to land and buildings — had become nearly universal in Europe. In part, this reflected the physiocratic concept that land was the ultimate source of all economic surplus. More practically, land and land improvements then constituted the predominant form of basic wealth; personal and other forms of wealth were a relatively small part of the total sum. From this structure, the American system of taxation evolved in the nine-

teenth century; it was a general property tax, imposed by states and municipalities and often including a tax on personal property.

Many critics of that tax system arose; the most important was Henry George. He expounded his theory of land taxation in a long series of writings, the most famous of which was *Progress and Poverty*. His followers argued that the land tax would eliminate the need for other forms of taxation; thus they referred to it as a "single tax." A full application of the "single tax" would in theory reduce the price of all land nearly to zero; the annual rental yielded by the land would yield just enough to pay the tax. In practice, a profit margin would have to be left to the landlords as incentive for good management and to avoid reversion of land to government ownership.

To a great extent, the typical American form of property taxation violates Henry George's principles. The system is largely based on the valuation of both land and buildings, usually at the same rate on both forms of property. This causes the rate of tax to vary from one jurisdic-

tion to another, according to the presence of industrial and commercial property in the area, and the fiscal needs of local government.

If the level of expenditures of the locality and the degree of its reliance on property taxes as a source of revenue is given, the lower the value of the locality's tax base, the higher its property tax rate will be. The tax base can be low because the locality is not a wealthy one or because of the limited size of the tax base due to its narrow statutory definition. In some cases the problem is aggravated by narrow statutory definitions that provide for large exempt property classes (i.e., charitable institutions, churches, public housing, government property) or because of the difficulty in determining where the property is located (e.g., railroad cars, patent rights, etc.).

An attractive and preferable alternative to the current property tax is the site tax or land tax. A site tax is an *ad valorem* tax; the assessment is an estimate of the market value the land would have if it had no improvement on it. Such an *ad valorem* tax on site value may be considered a fixed tax since site value is largely independent of the improvements that exist on the site itself. Since such a tax is fixed independently of the levels of replacement or operating outlays on a given structure, it can be construed as a constant element of fixed cost or as a constant absolute deduction from gross rent. Therefore, the tax is free from deterrent or distorting impact on the use of the site. In order to fully understand the advantages of the site tax, one must first understand the nature and disadvantages of the present property tax system in the United States.

Real property taxation is the principal source of local tax revenues in the United States, accounting for 80 to 90 percent of the tax revenues of local government and for approximately 14 percent of all tax revenues collected in the nation. The principal components of the real property tax are land and its permanent fixtures. Presently, improvements carry approximately two-thirds of the property tax load while land carries only one-third.

The property tax is often considered to be regressive, particularly with respect to the improvements on property since the relative impact of tax payments declines as the taxpayer's income rises. Federal income tax deductibility of state-local taxes makes the regressivity even greater.

For example, a couple living on a retirement income or a person working for low wages will often find their property taxes rising (due to inflated property values and higher tax rates) while their income remains constant; hence, a larger and larger percentage of their income is allocated to pay property taxes. On the other hand, people with growing businesses or professions often find that their incomes are growing more rapidly than property taxes (they also receive much higher income tax deductions); therefore, a smaller percentage of their income is allocated to pay property taxes.

The reasons for the inequitable nature of this tax are numerous. It appears that tax assessors tend to value higher-priced real estate at lower figures, relative to market value, than is the case with cheaper homes. Assessors thus avoid litigation, since the poor are less prone to protest over-assessment and cannot afford to engage in litigation. These

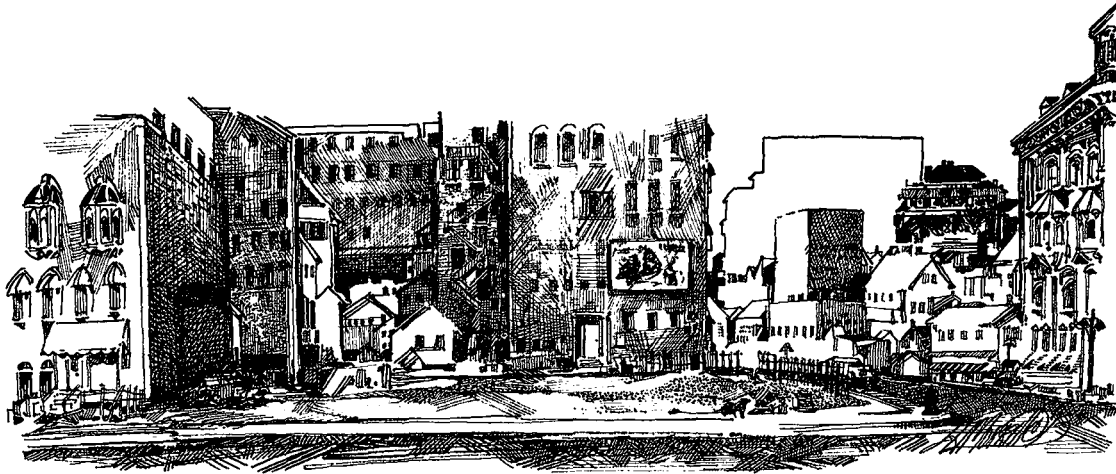
assessors are often poorly paid, inadequately supervised, and ill-trained. Their assessments are often erratic and unfair. The system is not removed from political influence. In at least two states, assessors were recently accused of under-assessment in return for campaign contributions. About one-third of the property is tax exempt by reason of being owned by governmental, religious, educational, or charitable organizations. Often such property is used for commercial activity competing with taxpaying enterprise and yields profits for the exempt organizations which are not used to provide services to the poor.

The present property tax system is a principal cause of urban decay. Heavy taxation of improvements in the central city has resulted in massive underutilization of land that commands high locational rents and has encouraged inner city deterioration. Heavy taxes on improvements and the tendency to assess land in terms of current use rather than on the basis of full potential market value promotes suburban sprawl by encouraging "leap-frogging." Leap-frogging occurs when a developer passes by underdeveloped land near a city because it is being held for future capital gains by speculators and instead develops inexpensive land at a greater distance from the city center. This results in unsightly urban sprawl and the misallocation of resources by increasing commutation distances and attendant costs.

"The property tax is often considered to be regressive, particularly with respect to the improvements on property since the relative impact of tax payments declines as the taxpayer's income rises."

Under a site tax, if taxes are correspondingly removed from improvements, improvement would not *per se* increase the owner's tax bill, and owners of land ripe for improvement would be less likely to leave land vacant to allow it to be used for purposes that produce less than the highest returns. Such a tax system would result in the removal of structures producing relatively low rents (e.g., tenements, marginal and inefficient factories, and warehouses) from the central city. Landowners would have powerful economic incentives to replace such low rent structures with high rent structures such as office buildings, high profit retail establishments, or high quality apartments, thus reversing the process of central city decay. The increased profitability of structures in fringe areas due to a decrease in the property tax, will provide incentives for landlords to upgrade or enlarge their structures or increase available space, thus causing rent levels to decline because of competitive moves by other landlords whose taxes would also have been reduced.

An inequality in the current property tax is a result of the high concentration of urban land ownership. This concentration often results in windfall gains to relatively few people. Profits from rising land values are often derived from owner-speculator, rather than owner-occupier, investments that appreciate in large part because of government sponsored capital improvements such as new highways, bridges and airports, as well as from the influence of pri-



vate improvements on nearby property. If land taxes were high enough, such unearned gains induced by government investment could be more easily recovered by the community for social purposes. For instance, in New York City, Staten Island landowners benefited privately from many-fold increases in land values as a result of the publicly-financed construction of the Verrazano Narrows Bridge. A site tax system would have recovered some of this increased value for the community's operating funds, because the land would have been taxed more heavily on its new inflated value.

Taxation should not merely be viewed as a method for raising revenue, but also as a means of promoting public welfare and growth. At the very least, it should not be a negative incentive against community betterment. The existing property tax penalizes and discourages investments in improvements and rewards land speculators by making the net cost of holding underutilized or vacant valuable land unrealistically low. The site tax, on the other hand, would remove barriers that keep landowners from using their land in the optimum way. Taxing land rather than buildings will increase the effective land supply by reducing artificial land scarcity resulting from speculative land holding and will result in an eventual lowering of unit space rents.

Critics of the site value tax often base their objections on the problems of obtaining adequate revenues from the site tax, on difficulties in the appraisal of land values,

"A site tax is an *ad valorem* tax; the assessment is an estimate of the market value the land would have, had it no improvement on it."

and on the hardships of changing from the present property tax base to a site tax base.

The adequacy of revenue problem will be no greater with a site tax than it is with the present property tax. Any property has a limit to which it can be taxed and still be relatively profitable. A property owner who is utilizing the potential of his land relatively profitably and who is unlikely to be planning major changes in his land

use, will be indifferent whether his land or the buildings on his land are being taxed — as long as the total amount he has to pay is the same. Actually, fully-utilized land will be required to provide fewer tax dollars under the site tax than it would under the current property tax system as long as no change in total property tax revenues is required. Conversely, a parcel of land that is not being utilized to its full potential will have a relatively higher tax placed on it under the site tax system, thus encouraging fuller utilization of the parcel of land. The additional revenues brought in from the higher taxation of the presently underutilized land could be used to reduce the burden on optimally-utilized sites.

The practicality of land value taxation rests, of course, on whether or not land values can be properly appraised. Some economists opposed to the site tax have argued that appraising the value of any parcel of land is subjective unless the market value of that parcel of land is determined through actual sale. It is agreed that the valuation tools now in existence are not perfect, but it is also true under our present property tax system that the land and buildings are usually valued separately. In those cases where buildings are depreciated for income tax purposes, the value of the land component is always appraised separately from the building component of the property. In reality the appraisal of land values separately from those of the improvements on the land is not really much more difficult than that of appraising the entire property, since the same types of techniques are largely used (e.g., monitoring the recent sale price of similar parcels of land in similar nearby locations, etc.) to measure the value of both components of the property. Landowners would continue to have the same rights of appeal and court review under a site tax system as they now have when they disagree with a tax assessor's evaluation. Taxpayers will find it easier to contest discriminatory assessments since the adjacent properties will usually have closely comparable land values even when the value of the improvements differ markedly.

The actual implementation of the site tax would not create excessive hardships, as long as the transition from the present property tax is spaced over a number of years. For instance, if the changeover was evenly spaced over a period of ten years, present owners of underutilized land would have sufficient time either to upgrade the utilization

of their properties or to sell their land. The mechanics of switchover are reasonably straightforward; the ratio of the value of land to the improvements on the land for the entire tax area would have to be initially determined. Once this ratio is determined, the percentage incremental decrease for the building component of the property tax and percentage incremental increase in the land component of the property tax (that would be required to fully switch the tax burden during the stipulated changeover period) could be easily calculated in order to generate equivalent tax revenue. Obviously, as with a change in any system, some individual hardships will result. However, protective provisions could be placed in the transitional legislation in order to limit the extent of any resulting hardships.

“The actual implementation of the site tax would not create excessive hardships, as long as the transition from the present property tax is spaced over a number of years.”

Land situated on busy ports, land having a high value attributed to other natural enhancement features, land improved by private, public, or charitable funds, or land adjoining or in close proximity to any of the foregoing should be valued in a manner which reasonably reflects these natural, aesthetic, or man-made characteristics.

A phase-in system over a number of years would ensure that there would be no confiscation or assessments that would be tantamount to condemnation without just compensation. Where taxpayers have made *bona fide* investments in land, their reasonable expectations for modest profits should not be thwarted by an abrupt increase in site taxes.

Situations will arise under a site tax system where farm land or open space within urban areas may face sizable increases in taxes, thus forcing their owners to develop the property (e.g., housing or industrial development) or sell it to developers. This problem can be easily handled by zoning such land for agricultural or recreational uses. If the land is zoned only for a low level of use, its market value will reflect its use potential. This will, in turn, re-

sult in a low tax assessment. Many suburban communities are now in the process of zoning undeveloped land in order to create or preserve green belts. The site tax form of property taxation is wholly compatible with green belt plans.

The imposition of the site tax in a locality would be desirable even if neighboring localities did not shift to the site tax system. The first community to have the site tax would have relatively lower taxes on fully utilized real property than neighboring non-site tax communities. This should result in an additional advantage to the site-tax community, since it would be financially more advantageous for developers and builders to utilize unutilized property in the site-tax community than in neighboring non-site tax communities.

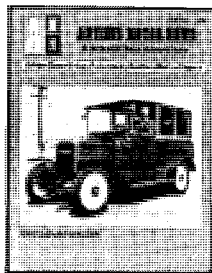
Ideally, to obtain all of the benefits on the site tax, it would be desirable for an entire metropolitan area or an entire state to adopt the site tax. In fact, the imposition of a statewide site tax would be a most desirable means of replacing local property taxes, particularly those local property taxes used to support local schools.

A statewide site tax would produce substantial revenues which could be used to help the state take over the financing of all public schools within the state. Such a site tax would solve the problem of unequal local tax bases and would also provide all of the previously mentioned advantages of the site tax.

In summary, it is argued that a site tax is distinctly preferable to the present property tax system common to most local governments in the United States in that the site tax will result in: a decline in land prices due to capitalization of land taxes; an economic penalty on the underutilized land which results in slums and helps to create suburban sprawl; and a more uniform, equitable, and progressive tax system which encourages urban investment and renewal and tends to reduce land speculation. Where even limited site taxation has been imposed in this country (Pittsburgh and Southfield, Michigan), it has been largely successful. In Sydney, Australia, and Johannesburg, South Africa, the beneficial effects of site value taxation have largely already been proven.

The American taxpayer has been burdened with the inequities of the present property tax far too long. The time for change is now. ■

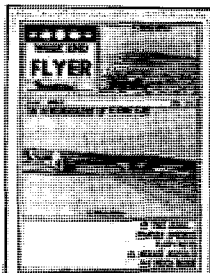




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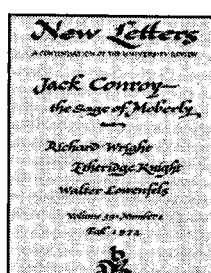
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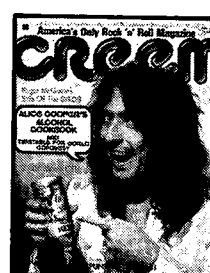
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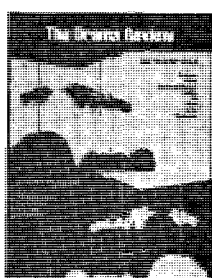
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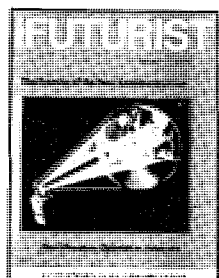
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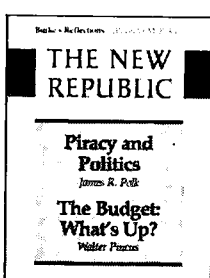
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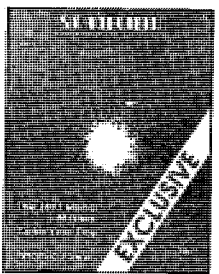


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BOOK REVIEW

The Body Politic

SEXUAL SUICIDE

By George F. Gilder

Quadrangle, 1973, 308 pages, \$7.95

by Jane Brown Gillette

George Gilder, a former editor of the FORUM, has proposed a scheme to save America from what he calls sexual suicide, society's destruction by its misuse of sexuality. Gilder insists on a return to the nuclear family with the father as provider and the mother as nurturer; and in order to create an air of inevitability, he builds his ideal on a foundation of biological sexual differences. According to Gilder, women have untroubled identities because they have clear sexual identities; they know from the workings of their bodies that sex is for the production of children, that children require long-term nurture, and that they as mothers must provide for the nurturing future. Thus, by the act, indeed the very possibility of childbirth, women are tied to the future with a clear idea of necessary goals.

Men, on the other hand, have no such knowledge from their bodies. Their participation in the future, in the creation of children, is undefined by womb and breast. Ejaculation does not tie them to their progeny, and hence they have no given roles in life. Unless society creates masculine roles comparable to childbirth and breast-feeding, men "go bad." They rape, kill, plunder, and oppress women, whom they envy, fear, and hate; in sum, they become a threat to society. Thus, according to Gilder, "the crucial process of civilization is the subordination of male sexual impulses and psychology to long-term horizons of female biology."

Gilder believes this is best accomplished in modern society by reinforcing the traditional male role as provider for the family and encouraging masculine ritual efforts to see themselves as different, special, and important male beings. Gilder recognizes the socially-created male role as a lie, but a lie necessary to hold society together.

Therefore, he attacks feminists because, unsatisfied with their ultimate power of childbirth, they undermine this necessary lie by pointing out socially destructive truths. Feminists know they can do the same work men do in modern society; they know that they're just as smart and that society discriminates against their equal abilities. Gilder agrees, but argues that the feminists don't understand that they benefit from male discrimination. By insisting on equality and sameness, feminists undermine their own ultimate power over men, who, if they are to submit to the long-range goals of women, must feel different, special, and therefore necessary.

In view of his special ideal of the nuclear family with strictly differentiated sex roles, Gilder understandably prefers family allowances and higher male salaries with female unemployment to day-care and job equality, which would weaken the male role as provider and the female role as nurturer. Critical readers will find flaws in these political arguments, just as they will doubt the psychological sexual traits Gilder infers from biological fact. Indeed, Gilder provokes argument on every page, in part because he is truly thought-provoking, in larger part because he is short on evidence. For example, he never substantiates his bizarre views on homosexuality or, crucial to his central thesis, his opinion that our society is in danger of sexual suicide. Although he mentions that the United States is approaching zero population growth and pooh-poohs fears of overpopulation, he never discusses these problems and in fact provides only one partial statistic: in the Radcliffe class of 1963, 400 parents have produced 224 children, hardly conclusive data for people in their early thirties. In light of this lack of evidence, *Sexual Suicide* can be pleasurablely debated whenever two people of opposing prejudices meet.

Nevertheless, in spite of its controversial tone, *Sexual Suicide* is a comfortable, enjoyable book to read because of Gilder's poetic idealization of the nuclear family with specialized roles and his belief that all of our ills can be cured by a strict return to this sexual pattern. We are taken back to our childhood when not only was "Father" ideally a provider and "Mother" a nurturer, but when, in Henry Adams' phrase, "God was a father and nature a mother." This dream is all the more appealing because it has been, after all, the great dream of the white Anglo-Saxon middle classes for hundreds of years. Gilder's strength throughout the book is that he believes society is held together by such ideals — by symbolism, poetry, and dreams — as much as by functional activity. Gilder's weakness is that he forgets that dreams and ideals must always be re-created if they are to retain their vitality. Poetry is by necessity a continuous activity, and the symbols of preindustrial society don't always answer for the technological state. By insisting on strict differentiation of provider and nurturer, Gilder only insists on returning to a set of vitiated symbols that have often proven unbelievable. The man has not been a reliable provider in capitalistic countries, and many of the feminists whom Gilder scorns as affluent graduate students are more pointedly the daughters of people who suffered through the Depression. As for mothers as sole and necessary nurturers, if one considers how soon nurture becomes early childhood education in our society,

one can recognize that men are already nurturers, even without breasts.

Gilder, however, insists that these two roles should be strictly maintained, even if they're less true than they used to be. He scorns the moderate feminists' attempts to transform male-female roles and create a mythology based on equality. These moderates seem more dangerous than radicals to Gilder because their reforms frequently lack logical consistency, but by rejecting their partial but ameliorative reforms, he may be hastening the doom of males. If men are actually incapable of changing with the times and become dangerous when faced with the fact of equality, it may be necessary to resort to one unmentionable but thoroughly consistent solution, a selective program of male infanticide and female cloning. As Ripon Republicans should realize, moderation may not be logical, but it has other virtues.

The major flaw in Gilder's scheme, which makes it inapplicable to real conditions, may well be his major assumption: "when sex is devalued, propagandized, and deformed, as at present, the quality of our lives declines and our social fabric deteriorates." Thus he sees all social problems as symptoms of a sexual illness, whereas it seems likely that sexual problems are only one symptom of a more pervasive disease: an inability to live with the loss of a transcendent meaning in human life. Since the nineteenth century, an increasing number of people have suffered the absence of "one God, one law, one element, — and one far-off divine event — to which the whole creation moves." In more recent years people have also begun to doubt two other major *raison d'être's*, the goals of nationalism and a high standard of living for all mankind. Thus, when Gilder asserts that women control "the ultimate motives and rewards of our existence," i.e., children, he has accepted a tremendously shortened future and a reduced goal. No longer is the family a means for instilling transcendent values, for preparing the adult to establish a relation to the higher goals of God, country, and humanity. It *is* the ultimate goal.

While it may be true that the only reward for existence is existence and the only purpose of man is to reproduce himself, many people still have trouble living in this limited range. In fact, the only ways some people can live in the moment, in the now, are by indulging in sex, violence, drugs, or playing at politics, pastimes that prove destructive or reinforce feelings that life is meaningless. By contrast, the successes of the Muslims and the Eastern sects with ghetto blacks and affluent youth may not be due to their insistence on monogamy and morality, as Gilder suggests, but because they offer their members a meaningful world view and a viable eschatology. Since many people, particularly in affluent, well-educated groups, don't have long-range world views any more, what they need are constructive ways of living in the moment, whether this involves arts, crafts, or social participation. What they don't need is a strict symbolic framework that brings even more pressure to bear on the only long-range goal left, human reproduction. Life has to be made livable in the moment, before people want to live or give life to others. If life doesn't seem worth living, people will want to commit suicide, sexually or otherwise.



Certainly, no one expects George Gilder to come up with a transcendent meaning for human life, or even small day-to-day reasons for living, but if he believes in the real possibility of sexual suicide, he should try to understand why some people want to die. Treating one symptom of an illness instead of searching for the ultimate cause can be useless, if not dangerous, and much of Gilder's advice is about as effective as telling a person who repeatedly attempts suicide that if he doesn't stop doing these silly things, he's going to kill himself. ■

DULY NOTED: BOOKS

● **Reading, How To**, by Herbert Kohl. (E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1973, 224 pages, \$5.95) **Reading, How To** is a humanistic answer to inhuman schools in the tradition of Herbert Kohl's **The Open Classroom**. Kohl's views on reading are eclectic. He refuses to neatly channel students in a programmed reading course which will theoretically produce a reader — assuming, of course, the kid is not warped. At one point in the book, he writes emphatically that, "this IS NOT A SYSTEM." Kohl says in his preface, "There is no reading problem. There are problem teachers and problem schools. Most people who fail to learn how to read in our society are victims of a fiercely competitive system of training that requires failure." Kohl's system is noncompetitive, nonelitist. It stresses natural inquisitiveness and child-centered values. Essentially, Kohl has assembled a book of self-tested ideas upon which a teacher may draw to assist in a child's natural reading development. The way Kohl tells it, it is not that hard. Reviewed by Dick Behn.

● **A World Elsewhere**, by James Chace. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973, 108 pages, \$5.95) James Chace concisely discusses the constructive use of a modernized balance-of-power theory. He identifies important factors in a rapidly emerging world order, characterized by extensive flux, and the post-war roots of out-moded residual aspects of recent U.S. policy. The author envisions eventual development of a pentagonal balance-of-power between the United States, Russia, China, Europe, and Japan. A dynamic equilibrium based on "global access and influence for the great powers" is proposed, rather than the classical balance theory, as a means for establishing a sufficiently flexible international stability for nation-states to deal effectively with growing transnational problems and forces. The author exhibits an understanding of the problem in implementing such a balance in a "statist" world of powerfully, albeit sporadically, resurgent neo-nationalistic forces. More thorough discussion of the increasing challenge of multinational corporations to the nation-state system of international relations is warranted. The analysis of Nixon foreign policy as a triangular embryo of the author's balance-of-power theory is thought-provoking. Any discussion of adapting these policy trends to a pentagonal system is highly speculative, and, while mentioning noteworthy points, Chace wisely avoids dwelling with them. Development of such a system depends largely on heretofore rare maturity and rationality in a community of nation-states. Reviewed by Stephen Nelson.

● **No Neutral Ground**, by Joel Carlson. (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1973, 382 Pages, \$8.95) Joel Carlson cogently demonstrates the rapid and virtually complete demise of objective or independent judicial processes in the Republic of South Africa. By examining a series of highly controversial cases in which he participated as defense counsel, the author illustrates how the Afrikaner commitment to the preservation of white supremacy has consistently overridden commonplace Western legal norms. In his view, the complex network of parliamentary acts and administrative regulations, including *ex post facto* legislation, severely limit the ability of the courts to protect the basic human rights of black and white South African citizens. What residual discretion remains is frequently compromised by political appointees who dispense justice in accordance with the dictates of white convenience. Similarly, the flagrant use of torture to extract confessions may restrict courtroom activity to the rote sentencing of self-proclaimed criminals or to legitimizing the decisions of black prisoners to "volunteer" for a period of compulsory farm labor in lieu of facing trial. Carlson's experiences suggest that legal victories won by liberal lawyers against the South African state are usually Pyrrhic. Defendants, financially and psychologically exhausted by long detention and extensive litigation, may find themselves rearrested on some new pretext. More comprehensive legislation is swiftly enacted to close any newly apparent legal loopholes. At best a few persons have had the assault on their liberties temporarily mitigated while black South Africans generally continue to face the same network of repressive legislation. In addition, the thinning ranks of courageous lawyers like Carlson are subjected to constant harassment by the security police and to the omnipresent spectre of detention or banning under the omnibus security laws. The author's belief that he could accomplish little more in South Africa and his ultimate decision to work against the system from exile in the United States seem well justified. Nevertheless, one must wonder whether the revolution which he expects to occur in South Africa is any more likely to succeed in bringing real change than the small, if frustrating, daily increments of resistance by those who continue to work within the country. In any event, Carlson's eloquent portrayal of African human beings inexorably trapped in a Kafkaesque legal nightmare by brutal men committed to white supremacy should give pause to those American policymakers who assume that "dialogue" and "communication" can produce a change of heart in so fanatical a regime. To Americans preoccupied with Watergate, a look at Carlson's portrayal of justice in South Africa would provide a grim reminder to what may happen when men allow their lust for power to override their commitment to individual rights and constitutional guarantees of due process of law. Reviewed by Richard Weisfelder.

LETTERS

Speaking of Sports

Bebe Rebozo and the other businessmen-owners of the current Administration announced a three-way deal today that sends President Nixon to the Washington Redskins. The trade — that involves the Administration, the Redskins, and the American Broadcasting Company — transforms quarterback Billy Kilmer into the anchor-man of the Monday night football telecasts and makes Howard Cosell the President of the United States.

This move squelches all further talk of a Nixon resignation or impeachment, and it breathes new life into Washington football and politics. It is rumored that the Administration owners used considerable leftover CREEP money to engineer Nixon's move from the Oval Office to the Redskins' locker-room. On the other hand, Redskins' officials finally agreed that they needed a quarterback like Nixon who could execute tricky fakes and sneak plays.

Howard Cosell's "tell it like it is" style is just what the Administration's management wants to eradicate the Watergate image. Cosell, who had previously talked about running for the Senate, expressed delight with his sudden placement at the top of the government. "Since the maelstrom that is American politics needs the kind of leadership that I can offer," declared the colorful sportscaster, "I was pleased as punch to learn of the trade. Don't be surprised to see 'Dandy' Don Meredith and Frank Gifford taking active roles in my Administration."

Billy Kilmer was unavailable for questioning concerning his elevation from the playing field to the broadcast booth, but President Nixon held a hastily arranged press conference at Key Biscayne. "It gradually became apparent to me," said Nixon, "that the great goals that I established for my second term were achieved, and that I could devote more and more of my time to my first love, Monday morning quarterbacking. I realize that the great Silent Majority wants me to 'tough it out' in Key Biscayne, San Clemente and the White House, but I refuse to further subject my family to the vicious rhetorical clipping and red-dogging of the networks and the eastern press. Gentlemen," concluded the President, "you won't have Richard Nixon to kick around anymore, because I know precisely when to Punt With Honor."

WILLIAM K. WOODS
Wilmington, Ohio

Frog Power

I take strong exception to William K. Woods' review of *The Presidency in Flux*. In it he says "In order to preserve democratic institutions, some fairy godmother must turn our prince-president back into an ordinary frog."

In the first place, there is absolutely no evidence that President Nixon ever was a frog.

But beyond that, Woods is unclear about whether, having been turned into a frog, Nixon would continue to serve as President. The Constitution makes no provision for a frog serving as President, and in any case it would require a rather major adjustment by most Americans. This is not to imply that having a frog as President would not be a good idea, but it certainly deserves considerable study before we leap into it.

Assuming Nixon turned into a frog, and does not continue to serve as President, other more serious problems arise. We must not lose sight of the fact that, according to the polls, there are about 70 million American adults who are eager to stick it to Nixon. Turn Nixon into a frog, and this horde will go berserk, splashing through ponds and swamps in the hope of bagging the former President. Bumper tags reading "Impeach the President" would be altered to "Impale the President." The harm this could do to frogdom can scarcely be estimated, nor long endured.

No, turning President Nixon into a frog will not solve our problems. If Woods fails to think things through more carefully, he could start an awful lot of trouble.

NESTLE J. FROBISH
Chairman
Worldwide Fairplay for
Frogs Committee
Lyndonville, Vermont

Impeachment

It was with no little anxiety that I detected in the November FORUM a softening of the Ripon Society's call for the impeachment of the President. Ripon president Ron Speed's statement suggests that the Society advocates impeachment proceedings only as a vehicle for achieving accommodation between the branches of government.

I remain convinced (see FORUM, August 15) that the long-term good of the country requires that the President leave office immediately. Each passing week with its new crisis confirms the validity of the arguments I made then.

It took a monumental national trauma to awaken the Society to its obligation of leadership in the call for the President's removal. Such caution is understandable in a Society which rightly advocates moderation in matters of public policy. Having made its decision, however, the Society would be abdicating its leadership by backing down, absent significant new evidence of the desirability of the President's continuing in office. I trust Ripon will not buckle under.

ROBERT STEWART
FORUM Editorial Board
Watertown, Massachusetts

14a ELIOT STREET

● Memphis Chapter president **Linda Miller** has been elected to the Shelby County Republican Steering Committee. Ms. Miller was elected by a vote of 343-330. Memphis chapter member **Mary Robinson** was recently appointed to the Memphis Industrial Development Board.

● **John E. Cederberg** was recently elected assistant treasurer of the Ripon Society. Cederberg is a certified public accountant in Maryland and works in Washington, D.C.

● NGB member **Edward Goldberg** has been named coordinator of chapter activities. Goldberg associate dean of faculties at CUNY's Manhattan Community College, will be charged with the distribution of an inter-chapter newsletter and development of a chapter operations manual.

● The New York Chapter held two meetings in November. The speaker at the November 8 meeting was **Lee Goodwin**, acting commissioner of the New York State Division of Housing and Community Renewal; she spoke on trends in housing legislation. Dr. **Robert Goheen**, former president of Princeton University and now head of the Council on Foundations, was the chapter's speaker November 28.

● **Gerald Ford's** Alexandria neighbor, **Max N. Richburg**, is Ripon's new legal counsel in Washington. Richburg is a lawyer with the Proprietary Association and is also licensed to practice pharmacy.

● **Josiah Lee Auspitz**, former president of Ripon, served on the board of advisers to the Libertarian Task Force, a group of college students who spent the summer compiling a "fiscal rating" of the U.S. Senate. The task force rated each senator on his spending of the taxpayer's money. The two "biggest spenders" were Sen. **John Pastore** (D-R.I.) and Sen. **Hubert Humphrey** (D-Minn.), while Sen. **William V. Roth** (R-Del.) was lowest on the list. However, Republican senators generally considered economically conservative — **Barry Goldwater** of Arizona, **Peter Dominick** of Colorado, and **Roman Hruska** of Nebraska, ranked as bigger spenders than 50 percent of their colleagues. The task force did not place value judgments on the merits of the legislation and the votes analyzed.

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DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Reshuffling the deck in Dallas,"** by Dave McNeely. *Texas Observer*, November 16, 1973. Court-ordered congressional redistricting in Texas could cost freshman U.S. Rep. Dale Milford (D-24th) his seat. Liberal lawyer Martin Frost moved his residence in anticipation of the court redistricting and is already mounting a door-to-door registration plan. Frost is determined to portray former television weatherman Milford as a conservative who campaigns as a moderate. Another possible Dallas-area victim in next year's congressional elections is U.S. Rep. James Collins (R-3rd), who may be mortally damaged by his office kickback scandals.

● **"The Case Against Impeachment,"** October 21, 1973; **"Time to Impeach Nixon,"** November 8, 1973, and **"GOP Interests Served by Impeachment,"** November 11, 1973, all by James J. Kilpatrick, syndicated by *The Washington Star-News*. Since he debated U.S. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey (R-Calif.) at Marshall University in Huntington, West Virginia in October, columnist James Kilpatrick has completely reversed his position on impeachment. Kilpatrick argues that Nixon's "one chance to salvage his administration . . . now lies in submitting his conduct to the formal judgment of the Senate." Further, Kilpatrick now argues the impeachment route for "the good of the Republican Party." "For Republicans, as a party, to resist such a disposition [of Nixon's fate through a Senate vote on impeachment] is to enhance the image of a party unwilling to have the charges of Presidential corruption proved or disproved. If party leaders are concerned about that image, they had better stop mumbling about resignation, which resolves nothing, and get behind impeachment instead."

● **"1974 won't be an easy year for GOP,"** by Wayne Lee. *Hutchinson (Kansas) News*, November 11, 1973. Kansas Democratic State Chairman Norbert Dreiling has put Republicans on notice that the state's four Republicans "better get off their posteriors because they aren't going to walk through the 1974 election." Potential opponents to U.S. Rep. Keith Sebelius (R) include Dodge City attorney Don Smith, himself an ex-Republican. Possible Democratic candidates for U.S. Rep. Garner Shriver's 4th C.D. include Sedgwick County Attorney Keith Sanborn and State Sen. Bert Chaney, a college professor. State Sen. Frank Gaines will challenge U.S. Rep. Joe Skubitz in the 5th C.D., but Democrats have yet to produce a candidate to oppose U.S. Rep. Larry Winn, in the 3rd C.D. Democrats tried and failed to recruit Republican State Sen. Norman Gaar to the Democratic standard. Democrats hope that strong winning races for governor and senator next year will pull in their congressional nominees. Kansans are experienced ticket-splitters, however.

● **"Support for Reagan Grows in South,"** by Lou Cannon. *Washington Post*, November 18, 1973. "After addressing an overflow fund-raising dinner of the Mississippi Republican Party (in Jackson, Mississippi), where (Gov. Ronald) Reagan was introduced by 1972 Senate nominee Gil Carmichael as the next GOP presidential nominee, the California governor flew on to Greenville for a closed-door meeting with 10 Southern Republican Party state chairmen," writes Cannon. Reagan is pursuing the nomination much more actively than he did in 1968. But, according to Cannon, "What is going to hurt Reagan, in the view of some Southern politicians, is his apparent lack of any political organization. Reagan's present 'Southern solicitation' is being directed by 51-year-old former advertising director Bob Walker, Reagan's chief political operative." Commenting on Walker's inexperience, one Mississippi Republican told Cannon, "People here are sophisticated enough to look at a man's organization as well as the man himself. This is particularly true after Watergate."

● **"Politics in Florida: Both Parties Watch Gurney for Next Move,"** by John McDermott. *Miami Herald*, November 11, 1973. Sen. Edward "Gurney, under fire for confessed actions of his aides in collecting funds from favor-seeking builders, is giving no indication whatsoever that he might not seek re-election. In fact, his activities

— making numerous public appearances around Florida — have reflected a man running for office." However, according to *Herald* political writer McDermott, there is widespread speculation that Gurney won't run — thereby depriving the Democrats of their big issue — "Gurney himself." The likely successor to Gurney in the GOP race would be his former law partner, U.S. Rep. Louis Frey, Jr. McDermott postulates that Gurney's retirement would also propel Attorney General Robert Shevin (D) into the senatorial contest.

● **"DFL builds a fountain of youth, uses it to flood state, city offices,"** by Bernie Shellum. *Minneapolis Star*, November 11, 1973. Commenting on the success of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in this year's off-year elections, Shellum observes: "For the 29-year-old DFL, now dominant at every level of government in Minnesota, the formula for rejuvenation is: Recruit young people for party politics, train them in campaigns and government jobs, push them into the field as candidates and rely on those who have made their way up through the ranks from the precinct level." That formula, according to Shellum, has resulted in Democratic control of the legislature, the governorship and the municipal governments in St. Paul and Minneapolis. By contrast, the Republicans are both short on office-holders and potential office-holders. So far, the only announced candidate for governor is businessman Jim Hill, 40, who unsuccessfully sought the GOP Senate nomination in 1972. Another possibility is former Wayzata mayor Wheelock Whitney, 47, who also is a former unsuccessful Senate candidate. Four other potential candidates mentioned by Shellum are Republican National Committeeman Rudy Boschwitz, former Lieutenant Gov. James Goetz, State Sen. J. Robert Stassen and State Rep. Ernest Lindstrom.

● **"Blacks are Slaves to Democratic Party,"** by George Anthony Moore. *Cleveland Press*, November 9, 1973. Significantly, this column was introduced into the *Congressional Record* by U.S. Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio). Moore criticizes black voter support for the Democratic candidate in the Cleveland mayoralty election, arguing that Republican Mayor Ralph Perk deserved the support of black voters. Moore argues that party labels ought to be "incidental" to black voters. "I don't feel that any member of a minority group can be wedded to either the Democratic or Republican Party, nor even a third party if you choose, since periodically there is talk about such. The key is the candidate and where his head is on certain vital issues."

● **"Push for Reagan: A Maverick Tarheel Is the Prime Mover,"** by Frank Van Der Linden. *Nashville Banner*, November 5, 1973. "North Carolina's maverick new senator, Jesse Helms, talked politics with Ronald Reagan the other day at the California governor's home," writes Van Der Linden. "As a result of their 2½-hour luncheon chat, Helms is enthusiastically backing Reagan for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination, and sees the former motion-picture actor as a winner." Helms originally favored an Agnew-Reagan ticket and now favors Reagan over former Treasury Secretary John Connally, of whom he says, "I think Connally has shot his wad." "Reagan, Connally and Helms have one feature in common: they are all former Democrats," writes Van Der Linden.

● **"The Runaway Presidency,"** by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 1973. "The expansion and abuse of presidential power constitute the underlying issue, the issue that Watergate has raised to surface, dramatized, and made politically accessible," argues Schlesinger who believes that "Watergate is potentially the best thing to have happened to the presidency in a long time." As a cure for "the imperial presidency," Schlesinger does not advocate that the Congress enact legislation to constrain the President and shift the balance of power; rather both branches of government should adopt the "supreme neutral principle, as vital in domestic policy as in foreign policy, . . . that all great decisions of the government must be shared decisions." Schlesinger concludes by noting that, "Corruption appears to visit the White House in fifty-year cycles." When Kevin Phillips was developing his theory of how the recurring cycles of American politics would inevitably produce a conservative Republican majority, he should have told John Mitchell about that cycle too.