

RIPON FORUM

CONTENTS	
Politics	1-6
Commentary	7-11
Duly Noted	11-12

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50 CENTS

POLITICS: REPORTS

TEXAS

DALLAS — When the Lone Star political networks announced their fall lineups in February, they revealed the same cast of characters and the same probable gubernatorial result as 1972.

A comparatively dull political season had been forecast for the Lone Star State as a result of the Republican Establishment's failure to recruit a star candidate to oppose their arch-enemy, former State Sen. Henry "Hank" Grover, in the GOP primary. State Rep. Ray Hutchinson of Dallas was the Establishment's best hope; when he backed out of the race, Grover was left with only two opponents: former Lubbock Mayor Jim Granberry, an orthodontist, and Fort Worth attorney Odell McBrayer. The party's big names — George Bush, Anne Armstrong, and John Connally — all have better things to do than challenge the state's lackluster and controversy-less governor, Dolph Briscoe.

Former State Rep. Frances "Sissy" Farenthold (D), chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus, does not have anything better to do, it seems. She decided against a run for state railroad commissioner and filed for governor at the very last minute. Farenthold lost a runoff to Briscoe in 1972 by about 200,000 votes; Briscoe went on to beat Grover in a surprisingly close election by only 100,000 votes. With more money and less antagonism from the state GOP leaders, the ultra-conservative Grover thought he would have won. By comparison with the brand of conservatism preached by Grover and Houston GOP leader Nancy Palm, the state leadership brand is a weak imitation. The party is now led by Jack Warner, who replaced Dr.

George Willeford as the GOP head in November. Willeford and the party executive director, Brad O'Leary, have been linked to the presidential aspirations of former Gov. Connally. Before he resigned, Willeford told the *Dallas Times Herald*, "Grover needs the party, but the party doesn't need Grover."

The third channel of Texas politics, La Raza Unida, will also field the same 1972 candidate: Ramsey Muniz, who received 7 percent of the vote when he last ran.

Texas Democratic liberals are no more enthusiastic about Gov. Briscoe than Republicans. The incumbent seems to view his office more as a status symbol than a public responsibility; his aides' attitude toward any new policy proposal is to question whether it is controversial. Preston Smith, Briscoe's hapless, inept predecessor, looks good by comparison with Briscoe. *Texas Observer* publisher Ronnie Dugger viewed the necessity of unseating Briscoe — and blocking the presidential/vice presidential ambitions of Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D) — as so imperative that in a recent issue of the Texas biweekly Dugger suggested that the election of a Republican such as Bush would be preferable. An independent candidacy by Farenthold had also been the subject of some speculation.

When Grover withdrew from the race in early March as a result of intra-party antagonism and the scarcity of campaign cash, Granberry became heir to the Republican nomination. He was already heir to GOP Establishment support. Since Farenthold's campaign was already limping and Texas law allows voters to vote in either party's primary, political observers predicted Briscoe's primary

margin would be boosted by Grover's withdrawal. (Ironically, Briscoe-backers could hardly harbor any male chauvinism against Farenthold since Janie Briscoe has often been rumored to be the power behind the governor's easy chair.) What had promised to be a relatively dull rerun of 1972 promises now to have an even more predictable outcome.

As Dr. Willeford has observed, it will be an uphill campaign against Briscoe because "he's got a record so bland that you can't really fight him."

For the first time this year, Republicans have fielded a complete team for state offices, but their chances of success are not overly bright. The GOP's best opportunity may be in the state's comptroller's race where the incumbent is retiring. A primary will be held for the Democratic nomination, and a Vietnam army hero is the Republican nominee. Former Army major James Nicholas Rowe was held captive by the Viet Cong for several years, but escaped before the war's conclusion.

VERMONT

MONTPELIER — For years, Sen. George D. Aiken (R) has made it a policy to feed the pigeons and squirrels on Capitol Hill before work each morning. Aiken was himself once described by Senate Majority leader Mike Mansfield as "neither a hawk nor a dove but a wise owl."

Aiken's administrative assistant, who is also his wife, would now like him to write a children's book about squirrels and pigeons; Aiken is retiring and his main concern is the development of a disease-free raspberry plant. Aiken's decision stirred up the political aviary in Vermont where a lot of politicians have other things on their minds besides raspberries.

U.S. Rep. Richard Mallary (R) announced almost immediately that he would seek Sen. Aiken's seat. So did Charles Ross, a member of the International Joint Commission and former Federal Power Commission member.

Mallary's attempt to move up means a switch in the ambitions of former Attorney General James Jeffords (R), who will now seek Mallary's seat instead of the Republican gubernatorial nomination. Jeffords' old nemesis, Gov. Deane Davis, who opposed Jeffords for governor in 1972, was considering a Senate run but has announced he will not run.

Lt. Gov. John S. Burgess (R) may also be reassessing his gubernatorial ambitions, but it is likely that he will stay in the gubernatorial race with House Speaker Walter Kennedy (R).

While Republicans were waiting for the word from Aiken, Democrats waited for the word from Gov. Thomas Salmon (D), who announced a week later that he would run for reelection, whether or not voters approve extending the governor's term from two to four years. The announcement opened a clear road for Chittenden County State's Attorney Patrick Leahy, who has announced his interest in the Senate nomination. The prospects for Mallary's election to the Senate appear bright.

Meanwhile, other Vermonters have been concerned with the state's bottle ban law. There has been pressure to repeal the mandatory deposit law for beverage bottles, particularly from beverage industry interests who financed a trip for members of the House Natural Resources Committee to visit a recycling plant in Elizabeth, N.J. Another lobby-sponsored trip stirred up even more controversy: a bus trip to Montreal for a hockey game. Tickets were supplied by a Montreal brewer.

Although the 15 legislative participants said that they would pay \$15 for their trip, State Rep. Richard Cleveland (R) was moved to introduce a House resolution that declared, "Forced busing across international borders is not necessary to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the citizens for this state . . . Such busing may be detrimental to the health, safety, and welfare of the members of the General Assembly." ■

NORTH CAROLINA

DURHAM — When U.S. Rep. Wilmer D. Mizell, every Republican's favorite to be the GOP candidate to succeed retiring Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D), withdrew from the race only two weeks before the filing deadline, the Republican Party went "scrambling" for a candidate. "Scrambling" was the appropriate word used by North Carolina Republican Chairman Thomas S. Bennett who declared that, if necessary, he would run to ensure that the Democrats did not win the seat by default.

Charles R. Jonas, Jr., the son and namesake of the former Charlotte congressman, resisted GOP pressures and declined to run. Then State Sen. Hamilton "Ham" C. Horton, Jr. announced, and U.S. Sen. Jesse Helms endorsed the candidacy of the joint legislative minority leader. Gov. James E. Holshouser, Jr., however, let it be known that, with Mizell out of the race, it would be good exposure for the eventual GOP candidate to have a primary contest.

Next, State Rep. William E. Stevens decided to run, and Horton decided to drop out. On the morning of Monday, February 25, before the noon filing deadline, Horton, borrowing Stevens' meeting room in a Raleigh hotel, announced he would not "permit the party to be torn apart." Minutes later, Stevens announced his candidacy.

Stevens, 52, the brother-in-law of U.S. Rep. James T. Broyhill, is a vice president of Broyhill Industries, a furniture manufacturer. Announcing his candidacy, Stevens declared, "the people are demanding morality and ethics in government. They will use this yardstick as a measure of the candidates competing for their votes. I am willing to be measured by this yardstick." Stevens faces three unknowns in the GOP primary in May, and one Republican official declared him to be a "shoo-in" for the nomination.

That, however, does not resolve all of Stevens' and Holshouser's problems, for the GOP needs to be united to win in November. The maneuvering for the nomination in the two weeks preceding the deadline reopened the wounds of the bitter contest for

state chairman last fall. At that time, Gov. Holshouser ousted the incumbent Frank Rouse with his own candidate Tom Bennett. Now the conservative wing believes Holshouser took another party prize away from them. "Ham [Horton] was doubled-crossed," declared Rouse. "From what I can surmise," said Thomas F. Ellis, who was Jesse Helms' campaign manager in 1972, "Ham wasn't dealt off the top of the deck." Conservatives are arguing that Holshouser encouraged Horton in a meeting before Horton announced, while Holshouser's aides are claiming that the state senator read too much into the discussion.

Already, there are indications that conservative Republicans in the legislature will punish the governor on some key legislative votes. The biggest issue of this session is the Medical School at East Carolina University, which many East Carolinians want expanded. Holshouser wants GOP legislators to support the University of North Carolina Board of Governors' decision against expansion. The day after he withdrew from the Senate race, however, Horton and nine other Republicans on the General Assembly's Joint Appropriations Committee voted with the majority for expansion. One of the Republicans who attended the meeting at which Horton decided to withdraw declared, "It was decided. We can't let them get away with this."

U.S. Rep. Broyhill has not escaped the conservatives' wrath either. A GOP state senator, Betty Ann Wilkie, drove a Democratic state senator, Jack Rhyne, to the office of the State Elections Board, in Frank Rouse's car, to file Rhyne's papers to challenge Broyhill for his 10th C.D. seat.

On the Democratic side there are ten candidates, with the three principles being: North Carolina Attorney General Robert Morgan; Henry Hall Wilson, former chairman of the Chicago Board of Trade; and former U.S. Rep. Nick Galifianakis, who lost to Jesse Helms in 1972. Morgan is considered the front-runner, and has been challenged by Republicans to resign his position to permit it to be filled by a full-time attorney general. Morgan has declined, but GOP candidate Stevens resigned from his House seat declaring, "I could not serve two masters at the same time." ■

NEW JERSEY

TRENTON — No matter what its failings, the New Jersey Republican Party has always been able to count on one tremendous asset: the New Jersey Democrats. Upon the election of Gov. Brendan Byrne as a "reform" Democrat with broad bipartisan support, some Republicans thought that New Jersey's Democratic Party might be cleaned up to the extent that it would no longer give voters a reason to be Republican. Based on the Byrne Administration's early record, these fears appear to be unfounded.

Brendan Byrne is not a Woodrow Wilson. Wilson, you may recall, won his national reputation by destroying the power of New Jersey's Democratic bosses. Byrne, in contrast, has handed the keys to the State House over to the big-county Democratic chairmen.

Byrne's first move after winning the gubernatorial nomination was to choose as his state chairman State Sen. James Dugan, a protégé of Hudson County Democratic Chairman Francis Fitzpatrick. Dugan and Fitzpatrick are among those veteran Hudson County Democrats who now call themselves reformers because they chose to break with Hudson's notorious Kenny machine after its top leadership was sent to jail.

Without even the pretense of democratic procedure, the Democratic county chairmen neatly carved up effective control of the State Legislature before it convened. Hudson received the Assembly majority leadership, and Dugan himself was given the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee (which must confirm nominees for attorney general, judge, and county prosecutor). The Senate presidency went to Frank Dodd, a lieutenant of Essex County Chairman Harry Lerner. Dodd has since gained national fame by attempting to buy gasoline for New Jersey from an indicted fuel broker.

Despite a Byrne pledge to appoint cabinet officers solely on the basis of merit, the most important posts went to persons to whom he owed political favors. Byrne's campaign manager, Richard Leone, was named state treasurer, and his chief fundraiser,

Allen Sagner, was tapped to be transportation commissioner. Key cabinet spots were found for Ann Klein and J. Edward Crabel, two Democratic gubernatorial contenders who eventually closed ranks behind Byrne. Crabel is now being investigated by a state grand jury looking into possible kickbacks by a construction company he headed when he was a state legislator. Passaic County Chairman Anthony Grossi, a career politician, was named chairman of the State Board of Public Utilities Commissioners. Dan Gaby, a maverick Democrat who had been promised the job of commissioner of Community Affairs, was denied the post after being blackballed by Hudson and Essex County leaders. (It seems that, among other things, he had once referred to Essex Chairman Lerner as a "hack.")

Despite the fact that the size of Byrne's landslide victory was due to Republican votes, his only Republican cabinet appointee was James Sheeran, a classmate of the governor who had headed "Republicans for Byrne" in 1973. The only other Republican to receive a position of prominence in the Byrne Administration has been Richard DeKorte, the able former Assembly majority leader, who provides a useful lightning rod for Byrne as the state's energy czar. On the other hand, Byrne forced the resignation of one of the few Democrats in the Cahill Administration, Richard Sullivan,



Brendan Byrne

the highly respected commissioner of environmental protection.

The power of the "Old Politics" wing of the Democratic Party was further demonstrated by State Chairman Dugan's brazen plan to reshuffle drastically most of the state's congressional districts in order to repay U.S. Rep. Peter Rodino (D) for his support of Byrne after the gubernatorial primary. Dugan's plan would split Newark to give Rodino a "white" district, create a new "black" seat as a plum for Essex County's Democrats, and put Republican U.S. Reps. William Widnall and Joseph Maraziti into a single, oddly-shaped district. Dugan was forced to delay the submission of this plan by the vocal complaints of all of North Jersey's incumbent Democratic congressmen (except Rodino) when they learned about the strange new districts that Dugan had designed for them ■

SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA — South Carolina Republicans may be able to see the light at the end of the tunnel if retired Gen. William Westmoreland makes the anticipated announcement that he will seek the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

The announcement will end months of speculation that Westmoreland would seek the gubernatorial nomination either as a Republican or as a Democrat. Westmoreland ruled out a Democratic run, however, and was receptive to a draft movement organized by James Henderson, the 1970 GOP candidate for lieutenant governor.

Although Westmoreland has sketchy political credentials — he has never registered or voted in the past — he has established himself as a statewide figure through his chairmanship of the Governor's Task Force on Economic Development.

Curiously, however, the state's business and establishment leaders reportedly are supporting the gubernatorial candidacies of U.S. Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn and Lt. Gov. Earle E. Morris, Jr., both Democrats. Both Republican and newspaper polls show Westmoreland has widespread grass-

root support among both Republicans and Democrats. A poll by the *Columbia State* newspaper showed that Westmoreland was by far the top candidate of South Carolina Republicans as well as nearly one-quarter of the Democrats.

Although Westmoreland would campaign as a nonpartisan Republican, his strongest backers include Republican officials who are hopeful that the general will have broad coattails.

Harry Dent, former White House political aide who now practices law in Columbia and is general counsel for the Republican National Committee, argues that the South Carolina GOP "is more the party of reform than the Democratic Party." Whereas the Democrats have run a closed shop in state government, a Westmoreland administration would be open to all South Carolinians of both parties and both races.

Dent cites the coalition of Republicans and blacks which has forced the state to consider single-member districts. The Justice Department has rejected a redistricting plan which called for multi-candidate districts (making it easier to elect white Democrats and harder to elect blacks and Republicans). There are now only 21 Republicans in the 124-member House of Representatives and three Republicans in the 46-member Senate.

Ironically, perhaps, opposition to Westmoreland in the GOP will come from the far right; State Sen. James B. Edwards will probably oppose Westmoreland on both ideological and organizational grounds. Westmoreland's membership in the Council on Foreign Relations is suspect, as are his tenuous ties to the GOP.

Possible runningmates for Westmoreland as lieutenant governor are State Rep. Carroll A. Campbell, a young Greenville businessman who compiled the largest legislative vote in the history of South Carolina, and Kenneth Powell, the retiring chairman of the South Carolina GOP. (A new chairman will be chosen at the party's March 16 convention.)

Republicans have been less successful in attracting candidates for the seats of retiring Democratic congressmen and of Sen. Fritz Hollings. Bobby Richardson, formerly of Yankee base-

ball fame, has decided not to run for the seat of U.S. Rep. Thomas S. Gettys. Dorn's seat is also still begging for Republican candidates. In the 1st C.D. seat now held by U.S. Rep. Mendel J. Davis, Republicans have a shot if State Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, Jr., (son of the seat's former occupant) decides to change parties and unseat the godson of the seat's former occupant. GOP hopes are fading, however, that that eventuality will come to pass. ■

WISCONSIN

MADISON — A lot of the problems of Wisconsin Republicans are attributable to the Democrats, especially Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D).

Sen. Nelson is up for re-election this year and is the clear favorite against his probable Republican opponent, State Sen. Thomas E. Petri, 33. But Nelson's aggravations for the GOP are more pervasive than the Senate race. For some time, Nelson has been blocking the appointment of U.S. Rep. Glenn R. Davis (R-9th C.D.) to fill a vacant federal judgeship which has been vacant since 1971.

The judicial limbo has stymied political decisions by other Wisconsin Republicans. Attorney General Robert Warren would also like to get the Eastern Wisconsin judicial appointment — if he could get it — but Davis obviously has first dibs and he is not getting out of line.

If Warren doesn't get the judicial appointment, then he would be the GOP's strongest candidate against Gov. Patrick Lucey (D). If Warren runs for re-election as attorney general, he will face stiff opposition, probably led by a Democratic field including House Majority Leader Anthony Earl (D). Party officials are now assuming that Warren will seek re-election.

Warren's and Davis's dilemmas affect State Sen. Robert Kasten, 31, who would like to run for either governor or Davis's seat, but is having difficulty making up his mind until the GOP bigwigs make their decisions. Even if Davis does open up his seat, Kasten would face primary opposition from State Rep. F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr.

(R), of Shorewood.

The only announced gubernatorial candidate is State Sen. James C. Devitt, a Greenfield Republican who is given little chance at the nomination. The choice of the party's conservative establishment may well be William Dyke, former mayor of Madison.

The GOP has other problems besides uphill battles against Nelson and Lucey. It is still \$400,000 in debt and having trouble raising money. The party was heavily in debt from previous elections, but GOP State Chairman David Sullivan says there has been "record response" to direct mail solicitation and the party debt has been reduced to "manageable proportions."

Furthermore, the GOP has to deal with Gov. Lucey's wife, who takes positions — such as telling off welfare demonstrators — that would be inexpedient for the governor to adopt. In fact, her actions are sometimes interpreted as part of the governor's "political" image. The State Senate, which now has a precarious 18-15 GOP majority, may go Democratic this year. The Assembly is already 62-37 Democratic.

U.S. Rep. Harold V. Froehlich (R) is in real trouble. The freshman Republican defeated Father Robert J. Cornell by only one percentage point in 1972. Cornell got closer to victory each of three times he made the congressional race. In 1974, Froehlich will have an added cross to bear. As a member of the House Judiciary Committee, he will have to decide whether to alienate supporters or opponents of President Nixon. Although Froehlich might be able to defeat Father Cornell again, he would have a tougher time if the Democratic candidate were Brown County District Attorney Donald Zuidmulder.

Petri, meanwhile, was described by Sullivan as "young, articulate, and smart," but with little chance of upsetting Nelson. Petri himself said to *Boston Globe* reporter Martin F. Nolan, "I'm telling people that Gaylord Nelson and I have scared everyone else out of the Senate race. Of course, that's like the mouse claiming that he and the lion have terrorized the beasts of the forest, so I'll be ready when the lion turns on the mouse." ■

•Margin Release

BOSTON — Interviews with newly-elected U.S. Rep. Robert Lagomarsino (R) of California are reminiscent of a "You Are There" documentary with the sole survivor of Custer's Last Stand:

Tell us, sir, how were you able to avoid the Watergate-tipped arrows?

Is it true, sir, that you disassociated yourself from the rest of the Custer's soldiers?

Do you think, sir, that Custer should be court-martialed for incompetence or dereliction of duty?

Were you able, sir, to reach any special accommodation with the enemy?

How do you account for the apathy, sir, of Custer's soldier?

Do you have any advice, sir, for other soldiers under Indian attack?

The only problem with the Custer's Last Stand analogy is that the Indians were not very successful in future battles. The Republican Party, with three straight losses and one small victory, has little reason to rejoice. After all, Custer is still giving orders with better chances for his own survival than for most of his soldiers.

The first Republican defeat was considered practically a moral victory for the GOP. After all, winner John Murtha (D) had hardly mentioned Custer in his campaign, and his victory over Republican Harry Fox was a surprisingly narrow one.

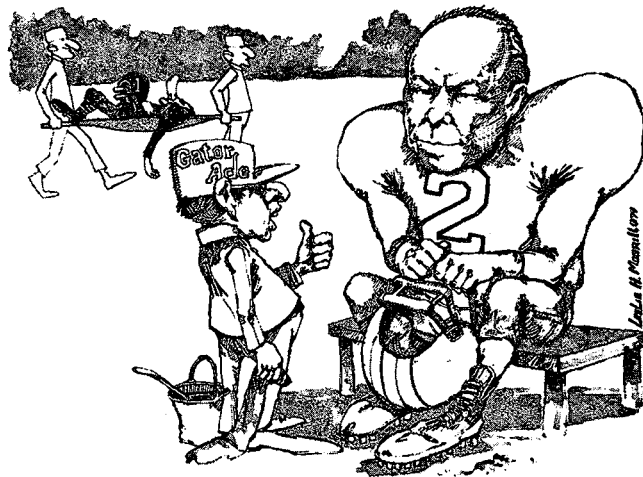
The upset of Republican Robert VanderLaan in Michigan's 5th C.D. shocked the Custer camp, however, since the winner, Richard VanderVeen, was widely regarded as a loser. Adding insult to injury, VanderVeen's campaign had been directed by a former Republican National Committee soldier, John Marttila, who quit the RNC to go into the campaign consulting field for Democrats. Since Grand Rapids is solid Republican country, Custer took the rap for this loss.

By the time the 1st C.D. election in Ohio was held, the Republicans were getting edgy. Their candidates had been good, the opposition had been mediocre, but still the GOP had lost two key battles. The party was fighting a slump, facing better opposition, but losing confidence in its leadership. Cincinnati City Councilman Willis Gradison would have

made an excellent congressman. Instead, City Councilman Thomas Luken will represent the Democrats. In advance of the defeat, Custer's lieutenant, Vice President Gerald Ford, tried to blame "Big Labor" for GOP woes. But the 1st C.D. was supposed to be a Republican fort. Demoralized Republican troops collapsed. A survey by Knight Newspapers indicated that the Democratic margin of victory came from independents who disapproved of President Nixon's performance. Luken had promised to "send a signal to Washington." Republicans across the country can read smoke signals as well as anyone.

It was therefore encouraging to beleaguered Republican troops when Lagomarsino defeated a divided Democratic field of seven candidates in California's 13th C.D. Even Custer mentioned it in a news conference as a hopeful sign.

But Custer has other problems — and so does the Republican Party. The court martial is approaching. Colonel Custer is in his tent, counseling victory while the troops fear a massacre. The soldiers can no longer pretend that Custer is not a problem. Be-moaning the coming disaster is, of course, no solution. The troops may need a new general. db



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POLITICS: PEOPLE

● The National Women's Political Caucus launched their "Win with Women" campaign February 13 with a press conference for 15 candidates. The four Republican women at the conference included **Barbara Gunderson**, former South Dakota GOP national committeewoman and current vice-chairwoman of the President's Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Personnel. She is seeking the Republican Senate nomination to oppose **George McGovern**. Other Republicans were **Carmen Chico**, a member of the anti-Daley/Singer slate at the 1972 Democratic National Convention who is now seeking the Republican nomination in Illinois' 24th State House district; **P.S. McDaniel**, chairman of the Alabama Women's Political Caucus now running for the 78th State House District; and **Carolyn Pollan**, vice-chairwoman of the Arkansas Republican Party who is also running for the legislature in that state.

● **Raymond Pritchett** was the scheduled speaker of the Saline County Republican Committee's Lincoln Day dinner, but the Arkansas fundraiser was canceled when it was revealed he had been appointed assistant campaign manager for Democratic Sen. **J. William Fulbright**. Speaking of Fulbright, it appears increasingly likely that he will be challenged by Gov. **Dale Bumpers** (D). On the stump in Arkansas, Fulbright's campaign style is a good match for Bumpers' smile, and he has hired Sen. **John McClellan's** 1972 campaign manager to run the 1974 Fulbright campaign. One Arkansas paper, the **Marked Tree Tribune**, editorially summed up a possible primary this way, "Fulbright's a bleep, Bumpers's a blah."

● U.S. Rep. **Lawrence Hogan** (R) appears set to seek the Republican nomination to oppose Maryland Gov. **Marvin Mandel** (D). Either Hogan or Republican National Committeewoman **Louise Gore**, the Republican candidate, will have an uphill battle against the entrenched Mandel, who will be challenged by Baltimore City Controller **Hyman Pressman** in the Democratic primary. Pressman will campaign on horseback, arguing that Mandel "will have to go pretty far to do me one better." The incumbent collected over \$900,000 for his campaign at a 1973 fundraiser. State Sen. **George Snyder**, who has written an uncomplimentary book about the Mandel Administration, may be another challenger.

● **Elreta M. Alexander**, a District Court judge from Greensboro, surprised Republican officials when, hours before the deadline, she filed her papers to be the GOP candidate for chief justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court. Judge Alexander, who in 1968 switched to the Republican Party and became the first black woman in the country to be elected a district court judge, will face **James Milford Newcomb** in the GOP primary. Newcomb is the first non-lawyer in this century to run for the North Carolina Supreme Court. The only Democratic candidate is Associate Supreme Court Justice **Susie Sharp**. Judge Alexander, 55, launched her campaign by arguing that Justice Sharp will be unable, if elected, to serve the full 8-year term as chief justice, since the Democratic candidate will turn 72, the mandatory retirement age, in July 1979.

● California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** has quashed reports that he will play a news reporter in the movie "The Klansman," starring **Richard Burton** and **Lee Marvin**. Rejecting any new movie parts, Reagan told journalists, "I think that all of you have cooperated in giving a very bright young public relations man the attention that he wanted."

● Some congressmen and senators make speeches to raise extra income. U.S. Rep. **Dan Kuykendall** (R-Tenn.) engages in marquetry (pictures created through combinations of vari-colored wood). Kuykendall's marquetry, which often feature western or nature themes, run as high as \$1,000 per work and take up to three months to complete. Meanwhile, Democrats in the Tennessee legislature have been up to their own craft. Democrats passed the "Elect Harold Ford to Congress Bill" which would have made it more difficult for Kuykendall to win election by placing more black voters in his district. Ford is a black Democratic legislator who intends to seek Kuykendall's seat; Kuykendall is making an extensive effort to lure black voters in his district.

● Former California Assembly Speaker **Jesse Unruh** (D) is seeking the Democratic nomination for the 45th Assembly District; the 1970 Democratic candidate for governor has nine opponents. **Abraham Ribicoff** is seeking the 22nd Senate District seat; the Beverly Hills man is a Republican.

● Vice President **Gerald Ford** is coming to Atlantic City, New Jersey March 24th to help erase U.S. Rep. **Charles Sandman's** gubernatorial campaign debt. Sandman has been outflanked, however, by the Republican State Committee which has invited Ford to speak in Millburn the same time night, thus siphoning off Republicans who might otherwise have contributed to Sandman's coffers.

● Former Sen. **Wayne Morse** (D) may be getting Senate fever again, this time to run against his replacement, Sen. **Robert W. Packwood**. The chief Democratic contender for Packwood's seat is State Senate president **Jason Boe**, 44, although State Sen. **Vernon Cook** has also announced. Portland mayor **Neil Goldschmidt**, 33, has removed himself from Senate speculation, and former U.S. Rep. **Robert Duncan**, who was defeated by Morse in the 1968 Senate primary, may seek the seat of retiring U.S. Rep. **Edith Green**. Democratic possibilities for the Green seat include **Gregory Wolfe**, president of Portland State College, **Lloyd Anderson**, and State Rep. **Wally Priestly**. The Oregon primary is May 28.

● The Vermont House has approved legislation authorizing police seizure of potmobiles. Under the bill, which was approved a vote of 103-28, police may seize any vehicle which they suspect was used by a person who meant to transport drugs. Gov. **Thomas Salmon** (D) indicated he would sign the bill: "I sense that the bill probably won't do much harm, and it probably won't do much good." It was under those exacting legislative standards and a tide of anti-drug sentiment that the bill was approved, despite the protest of civil libertarians. Under the bill, the car is assumed guilty of drug-trafficking and can be sold at auction by the police regardless of the disposition of any case against the alleged drug-trafficker.

COMMENTARY: POLITICS

The State of Repub- licans

by James S. Bowman
and Jamie L. Mullins

Kevin Phillips wrote in *The Emerging Republican Majority* that "the long-range meaning of the 1968 election rests on the Republican opportunity to fashion a majority among the 57 percent of the electorate which voted to eject the Democratic Party from national power." In 1972 President Nixon showed he could command a clear-cut majority of the American electorate. The Republican National Committee election report summarized the magnitude of the victory: "Aside from partisan Democrats (who still gave the President a record 33 percent support), blacks were the only major population group failing to give President Nixon majority backing."

The opinion of many pundits was that the 1972 landslide may have been more of a Democratic defeat than a Republican victory. The President's landslide did not uniformly benefit the party, as widespread ticket-splitting defeated many Republican congressional candidates and preserved a Democratic majority in Congress. In an attempt to ascertain the opinions of party leaders about the meaning of the 1972 election, a postal survey was sent to Republican state chairmen in November

and December of 1973. The questionnaire included items dealing with electoral trends, the effects of Watergate, the party's appeal, and party reform; responses were received from 35 of the chairmen.

Respondents were asked if they thought the Republican Party was becoming the majority party. The findings of the polls suggest that cautious optimism prevails among state party chairmen. Slightly over half of the respondents do see an emerging Republican majority. Although a large minority indicated that they were uncertain, only six flatly stated that there was no such movement in the electorate. The mood was perhaps best stated by a chairman from the East when he said, "Yes, but it has been delayed."

Some political leaders feel that this new electoral coalition apparently will be formed from the increase in independent voters that has taken place in recent years. The chairmen were asked: "Many polls have suggested that independent voters are increasing in number. If there is such a trend, do you feel it will benefit Republicans?" A vast majority of those responding indicated that this phenomenon will benefit the Republicans. This confidence would seem to be justified by Gallup surveys which show that many independents come from the ranks of the Democrats. One chairman from the South commented, "When an individual breaks the habit of voting a straight Democratic ticket and begins voting for the man, he usually will find the Republican more to his liking." A party official from the Midwest said that "we are historically out-registered by Democrats in urban centers. A movement to ticket-splitting or the true independent status will hurt Democrats more than Republicans on the sheer weight of the numbers involved." (In the last presidential election, 69 percent of the independents voted Republican.)

Most of the chairmen would like the GOP to broaden its appeal in order to insure the stability of the emerging coalition. They were asked, "What minority groups, if any, should the Republican Party try to appeal to more?" Twenty-two chairmen wanted their party to work harder to win support from "all" minority groups, without alienating those who already vote

Republican. One chairman from the Northwest replied that the GOP "must have some appeal to all groups including the hard-core Republicans." Another said, "No minority group should be excluded." Some chairmen specified "youth," "blue-collar workers," and various other groups. Only two leaders contended that no special effort to appeal to any group is called for. One official stated, "The Republican Party should not try to appeal to any particular minority groups, but should appeal to all who accept the Republican philosophy."

Most state party chairmen want to continue appealing to independents and Democrats, as well as to all minority groups which have not usually voted Republican. Some chairmen feel that specific reforms might help accomplish this goal; others believe that no changes are necessary. They were asked, "Do you feel that any reform is needed in the Republican Party? If so, what would you suggest?" The responses ranged from "none is called for" to "nothing of a significant nature," "don't know of any," and "no reform needed." One chairman from New England wrote (in apparent reference to Democratic reform problems), "The Republican Party needs very little reform if the Democratic Party chooses not to reform."

Yet, about half of the leaders wanted some kind of reform, such as stricter campaign control of financing and wider participation in party affairs. Others cited resolutions of the 1972 Convention as a step in the right direction. One leader from the Rocky Mountain region said, "At this time we must make an effort to open up the process to all people and strive to get them involved." Another official said, "We need to reform the attitudes of some Republicans to accept a wider spectrum of people." It was also emphasized that reform was needed in both parties, a defensiveness which probably stemmed from Watergate. A West Coast chairman wrote, "In both parties there is a constant need for reform — but Watergate should be considered a special case that neither party is responsible for."

Party leaders seem confident in the long-term future of the GOP. Eighteen were uncertain whether or not Watergate would hurt the party in 1974, nine felt it would *not* hurt

the GOP, and eight feared that it would. They seem more confident about 1976. Over half of the respondents predicted that Watergate will not hurt party prospects that year.

While the Democratic coalition is breaking down, the GOP is not going to become the new majority party simply by default. Although Republicans have won four of the last six presidential elections, registered Democrats

still outnumber Republicans, and Democrats control Congress as well as many state governments. Clearly the fortunes of both parties are still in a state of limbo. While the Democrats are no longer the majority party, the Republicans are not the true majority party either.

Most state chairmen see an emerging Republican majority based on disillusioned Democrats and independents,

yet they realize that they must broaden their appeal to include minority groups. Although they do not all perceive a need for specific reforms, many of the leaders would like to make the party more "open." If the Republican Party can respond decisively to Watergate, then Republicans may have an historic opportunity to capitalize on the disarray in the ranks of the Democrats. ■

COMMENTARY: POLITICS

Mavericks and Lincolns

by Dick Bebn

Liberals are supposed to be soul-searchers, and conservatives are supposed to be hard-nosed dogmatists. But some conservatives have been doing a lot of soul-searching these days, and some liberals look like stand-pat ideologues by comparison.

Even conservative heroes like Ronald Reagan seem to be getting scorched in the process. Reagan's speech to the 1974 Political Action Conference was notable for the unenthusiastic response it evoked from thoughtful conservatives. Apparently conservatives want more from their heroes than commercial announcements for General Electric.

Impeachment may turn out to be the conservative crucible this year. While President Nixon has charged into Dixie to rally Alabama loyalists, conservatives have begun to suggest that the President has outlived his usefulness.

Human Events publisher Thomas Kephart would like to see the President impeached, even if his conservative weekly has not taken that official position. An ACLU impeachment spokesman was invited to lunch with the *Human Events* crowd. Now that is détente!

National Review's Washington Editor, George F. Will, devoted a column in the *Washington Post* to why "political offenses" were impeachable in the eyes of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison. Wrote Will: "Obviously strict construction — the intent of the framers — does not serve the purpose of the current regime. But conservatives should not flinch. The cardinal tenet of conservatism never varies. It is fidelity to the republican liberty guaranteed by the Constitution that 'The Federalist' interprets so brilliantly."

Conservative columnist James J. Kilpatrick argued in *National Review* that impeachment isn't so awful, even though it is unlikely: "It is nonsense to suppose that the fate of the American Republic depends upon the fate of Richard Nixon. It is equally absurd to suggest that as Nixon goes, so goes the Republican Party . . . (if impeachment does come), 'the sun would come up in the morning, and the ladies' sodality would meet in the evening.'"

It is evident that to a growing number of Republican conservatives, the President is no longer useful. In short, the President is recyclable.

Although it would be hardly accurate to assume that conservatives have been bitten by the impeachment bug, the mortal nature of the White House incumbent is being discussed more openly.

The Steering Committee, for example, has come out of the congressional closet in which it has been hiding for a year. Led first by Ed Derwinski and then by Del Clawson, the 70-member group is now chaired by U.S. Rep. LaMar Baker. Its executive director is Edwin Feulner, Jr., an astute former aide to Melvin Laird whose last job was as administrative assistant

to U.S. Rep. Phil Crane, one of the group's leading lights. (The Feulner appointment came after a sharp internal struggle in the organization.)

Recently, the Steering Committee met with the President to discuss their disillusionment with his budget and other ideological deviations. Reportedly they were not pleased with the success of their mission.

Now that the President has effectively destroyed "loyalty" as a partisan virtue, the GOP conservatives are discussing abandoning the ship that the President torpedoed. Kevin Phillips suggests that there may be a move to form a new conservative party if the GOP destroys itself in this fall's elections. Ronald Reagan has suggested that there might be better political vehicles for conservatives than the GOP.

In the new conservative morality, U.S. Rep. John Ashbrook, 1972's lonely quixotic crusader, is the sainted prophet of 1974. The *National Review* crowd — whose Buckleys have never been particularly partisan to the GOP anyway when the Conservative label better served their interests — are talking about nationalizing their product.

The Steering Committee stresses its party loyalty. "We are not a rival or faction within the House Republican Conference. We're not a bunch of mavericks. We're team players," says Derwinski.

When you're in control, you can afford not to be mavericks. But now that conservatives are junking Nixon — because like a modern Lincoln Continental, he's run out of gas — it remains to be seen just how long they will wait until they conclude that party orthodoxy has its drawbacks and maybe, just maybe, the Buckleys have a better idea. ■

COMMENTARY: NATION

You Are What You See

by Ronald Lee Fleming

There is a correlation between the integrity of the environment and a sense of personal worth and identity. It is to conserve a "sense of place" that we propose a governmental and corporate policy change.

We are presently in danger of being overwhelmed by the encroachment of garish, self-advertising buildings, twirling signs, flapping pennants, harsh lights, and circus colors that are so often associated with corporate chain outlets such as gasoline stations, fast food stands, motels, supermarkets, and carwashes. We have allowed the environment to be cynically manipulated by a few dozen corporations which have visually raped it in the name of the free enterprise system.

Some may see the visual despoliation of the environment as a metaphor to basic cultural problems — the deterioration of a sense of community, a failure of civic responsibility, and fragmentation of governmental authority. There are, though, some things we can do to roll back the tide of visual pollution. In the following paragraphs we have identified some areas and policy positions which would define a "visual plank" in the larger environmentalist platform:

1. *Land-use planning.* We need a

concept of land-use planning and management which places increasing responsibility on state and regional planners for decision-making that has more than local impact. We specifically endorse a survey of "critical environmental areas" in the states. These areas as defined under this protective legislation have a particular manmade or natural quality which would be protected by statewide visual performance standards to ensure that any construction or development does not erode their character.

2. *Corporate policy.* A comprehensive effort by major corporations with multiple installations is needed to redesign existing prototypes so that they relate to the environment in terms of the use of materials, siting, signs, lighting, landscaping, and scale. We will support legislative and advocative action to encourage these actions: a) Immediately stop the use of temporary paper placards, flapping pennants, and flashing lights in areas which have scenic or historic quality. b) Landscape corporate facilities with plants and greenery indigenous to the area. Provide more than minimal or symbolic landscaping, which often results in the undesirable use of astroturf or plastic flowers. c) Use materials which harmonize with the fabric of an existing place. (This does not necessarily mean gasoline stations that parody colonial architecture.)

3. *Utilities.* We urge the increased use of underground public utility distribution wires and contend that the utility companies, not individual citizens, should bear the major costs of burying existing overhead wires with certain percentages of annual revenues. (California mandates 2 percent.) We further support strong environmental representation for state public utilities siting commissions, which will make binding decisions on the location of future power plants.

4. *Billboards and on-site sign controls.* For national action, we support amendments to the Federal Highway Beautification Act which would require the removal of billboards without compensation, in line with decisions in state courts (e.g., in Vermont). Amendments which would allow billboards along interstate highways with directional signing should be resisted, but directional signing on

corporate logos of services available at interchanges. These facilities should in turn be subjected to design review which would limit the use of towering, expensive signs. Definition of commercial and industrial areas along interstates where billboardage is allowed should be clear so that this designation is not abused. (At one point, South Dakota designated the entire length of its interstate system as "commercial and industrial" to help the billboard industry.) We urge that state boards define minimal standards for on-site signing with an amortization clause to ensure the removal of non-conforming signs within a reasonable period.

5. *Design review.* We support an amendment to state zoning enabling legislation which will allow cities and towns to authorize design review boards. The boards would consider the siting, scale, use of materials, and general appropriateness of all structures and signs to be constructed or renovated in areas designated by local governments. Clear right of eminent domain should be given to the cities and towns for acquisition of easements on building facades. This would enable them to conserve the visual character of historic or architecturally significant commercial areas which could never overcome the political hurdles of achieving historic district status.

We support the clarification of empowerment for state aesthetic regulations. This can include a clear mandate of a public purpose for preserving natural, scenic, historic, and aesthetic qualities of the environment. Such authority can be amended to state environmental bills of rights, state zoning enabling legislation, or land-use planning laws.

6. *Information facilities.* We encourage the development of information facilities for commercial and non-commercial use along major state highways as an alternative to billboards and on-site signing.

7. *Litter.* We support a ticket system for litter violations and endorse mandatory installation of litter containers. We urge legislation banning the future manufacture of nonreturnable bottles for beer and soft drinks and encourage a mandatory deposit system for these bottles to provide an added incentive for their collection. ■

COMMENTARY: WORLD

Maturity In Indo-American Relations

by Robert H. Donaldson

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has declared that 1973 was India's worst year since she achieved independence a quarter-century ago; 1974 promises to be even worse, in the opinion of most educated Indians. The prevailing mood of cynicism and pessimism reflects the enormity of this country's problems and the continuing inability of the politicians and bureaucrats to deliver on their promises.

"Abolish poverty" was the slogan of Mrs. Gandhi's Congress Party in the last election, but the overwhelming magnitude of that task makes Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty into a mere skirmish by comparison. The vast majority of Indians are agricultural laborers who — in spite of the "Green Revolution" — eke out a fragile existence entirely at the mercy of a good monsoon. The government's effort to effect a more equitable distribution of food through nationalization of the grain trade has foundered on the resistance of the country's "kulaks," many of whom are the rural mainstay of the Congress Party itself. In the towns and cities the government food shops are short of supplies, while prices on the thriving blackmarket are skyrocketing. Food shortages, inflation, and government corruption have spawned riots throughout the normally stable state of Gujarat in the west.

The use of army troops and the imposition of curfews failed to stem the violence, and "President's Rule" of the central government was finally imposed.

State elections are being conducted in India's largest and poorest state, Uttar Pradesh, which is itself just emerging from a year of President's Rule. Mrs. Gandhi is campaigning hard for the Congress Party in her home state. The government food stores in U.P. are relatively full, and new public works projects are being announced daily. Although the people seem to understand that the pork barrel will be emptier after the elections, the fragmented anti-Congress opposition parties inspire little popular trust either.

The unemployed millions who flock to India's large cities fare no better. They camp on the sidewalks of Calcutta or huddle in the mud-and-straw hovels of Old Delhi. A Westerner cannot walk ten steps outside his hotel without attracting a dozen beggars and hawkers. Even in Bombay, India's most cosmopolitan and westernized city, the opulent mansions and hotels of the rich are surrounded by the shanty towns of the poor. Gangs of the neo-fascist Shiv Sena organization and the newer "Red Panthers" have brought ethnic and linguistic violence to the streets of Bombay. When the ruling Congress sought an accommodation with Shiv Sena in the city's recent by-election, most of the electorate stayed home in protest, allowing the election of the Communist candidate.

Despite all, the country seems to lumber along with inertial force. Every few seconds there is a new Indian to feed, and this fact along with the rampant inflation offset the small annual increases in national production. But there is no mass starvation, violence is still the exception rather than the rule, and very few observers would seriously predict revolution or trends away from democracy and towards communism.

Indeed, despite the 1971 Indo-Soviet treaty, Leonid Brezhnev's recent visit, and the omnipresent Soviet propaganda, the Soviet Union seems to have made minimal impact on Indian society. In contrast, in spite of the recent chill in Indo-American relations, India's independent press has

far more coverage of the United States than of the Soviet Union. Postgraduate scholarships to American universities are more eagerly sought by Indian students, and American popular music and dances are the rage among the urbanized youth.

The vast amount of economic assistance and food aid given by the United States, together with the seemingly patronizing attitudes toward the "world's largest democracy" which accompanied it in the 1950's and 1960's, seemed to generate more mutual misunderstanding than real friendship between the two governments. The Nixon-Kissinger opening to China was as shocking to New Delhi as it was to Tokyo, and the subsequent "tilt" toward Pakistan and seeming alignment with Peking during the 1971 war in the subcontinent caused Washington's stock in New Delhi to plummet.

Yet the outcome of the war boosted India's confidence and lessened her sense of insecurity. Truncated Pakistan is still viewed with suspicion, especially as the potential instrument of hostile Chinese or Iranian designs. But the American refusal to rearm Pakistan has dimmed the perception of that threat in New Delhi and has facilitated a gradual process of reconciliation on the subcontinent. Secretary Kissinger's recent acknowledgement of India's predominance in South Asia was favorably received here, and there is evident pleasure that Kissinger has accepted an invitation to visit India in 1974.

Moreover, the recently-initiated agreement on the disposition of America's vast holdings of Indian rupees, generated by the PL-480 aid programs, has given substance to the mutually-expressed desire for a "more mature relationship." The agreement calls for the U.S. to retain sufficient rupees to finance its diplomatic, cultural, and technical operations in India for the foreseeable future while granting the bulk of the funds to the government of India to dispose of in its new Five-Year Plan for development. Congressional tightwads, led by Sen. Harry Byrd (Ind.-Va.) are seeking to torpedo the deal, which they view as an Administration "give-away." But by removing a major impediment to good relations, the agreement clear-

ly serves the interests of both countries. The skillful diplomacy of U.S. Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan and his State Department colleagues in fashioning this agreement deserves much credit.

However, the disposal of Washington's unusable rupees and the disavowal by the Nixon Administration of the past American role in supplying arms on the subcontinent will not in themselves ensure Indo-American friendship and mutual trust. Though Mrs. Gandhi is determined that India will not become a dependency of Moscow, and has thereby sought to normalize relations with Washington and Peking, she harbors deep suspicions of the Nixon-Kissinger dealings with the two communist capitals. These suspicions are founded on two contradictory yet coexisting themes about the American role in South Asia.

On the one hand, there is a fear that Washington, by arming Iran and scheming with Peking as well as by stepping up its own naval activity in the Indian Ocean, is raising the level of tension in India's neighborhood. Washington's failure to articulate a plausible explanation for its recent decision to upgrade naval facilities on Diego Garcia has fueled these suspicions.

Yet at the same time, India fears that it has been abandoned by the U.S. as the result of the formation of a Soviet-American "condominium" at the expense of smaller powers. According to this view, the division of the world into spheres of influence has

produced Washington's assent to withdraw in favor of Soviet hegemony in South Asia. Indeed, the prevailing policy during Ambassador Moynihan's tenure in New Delhi has been that nothing is offered to the Indian government until it first publicly requests it.

If an American program is criticized by Indian officials, it is quietly withdrawn. In this way, not only has the current official assistance program dwindled to the point where it now provides annually a level of only one mil per Indian, but many private American programs are being cut back as well. Thus, for example, there are now only 14 non-official Americans among Calcutta's population of eight million.

The fact that educated Indians criticize the U.S. for too much and too little involvement in India as well as for both competition and conspiracy with Moscow, with no seeming awareness of the contradiction, is a measure of the continuing distrust and ambivalence in the Indian mind about what role the United States should play in this area.

While Indians do not want a return to the days of active Soviet-American competition for their "hearts and minds," the days of patronizing programs and the attendant "strings" and "subversive agents" allegedly entailed in such a massive American presence, still they do not want to be ignored, either. Moynihan's policy is seen by some Indian observers as an open-ended extension of "benign neglect"

to international politics. They fear that in the process of making the U.S. presence less obtrusive, this policy may lead to a withering away of American interest in India as well. The same Indians who were once insulted by America's touting of India's "experiment with democracy" as the Asian alternative to China's communist path of development, now burn with resentment at the current American fascination with China.

In essence, India is demanding of the U.S. (and of the U.S.S.R.) that it no longer be regarded as a plaything — the coveted object of great-power rivalry now, only to be discarded later. India's massive problems should command the concern and cooperative assistance of the world's richer nations, not from a sense of charity but from a perception of their own self-interest in global development and stability.

The message which India is seeking to articulate is simply that a future world order cannot be constructed solely on the basis of the interest of the rich and powerful members of the great-power club. Rather, India seeks to participate in international politics not as an object but as a sovereign and independent actor commanding attention as it pursues its own interests. To the extent that the Nixon-Kissinger view of the world can accommodate such a valid claim, the relations between New Delhi and Washington can indeed become "mature." ■

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Dunn Says He Won't Oppose Brock in '76," by Tim Wyngaard. *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, February 13, 1974. Gov. Winfield Dunn has assured key Republican legislators in Tennessee that he will not oppose Sen. William E. Brock in a 1976 GOP primary, according to informed sources. Dunn, who cannot succeed himself in the statehouse this year, means it when he says he wants to run for the governorship again in 1978 and intends to stay in Tennessee — probably in a prominent business position — during the next four years, according to the reports. But Dunn's decision apparently has not lessened the gap between Dunn-Baker and Brock factions of the Tennessee party, and supporters have increasingly lined up behind candidates in this year's gubernatorial primary, while the party's three top elected officials remain officially neutral. Relations have improved, however, since 1972 when Sen. Howard Baker, Jr., called for a factional ceasefire. Without Dunn to battle, Brock will be in better shape for his 1976 campaign. He has been working hard to shore up voter support with his diligent concern for the state's difficulties.

● "Democrats: Pitfalls in Path of Pulling It Together." *Congressional Quarterly*, February 9, 1974. Democrats, according to CQ, will be wary about overt reliance on Watergate as an issue in 1974 elections. "While Watergate is a factor, it's only one of many," says Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss. "If we go to the public and yell 'Watergate,' then we don't deserve to win." As another Democrat says, "We see few benefits for Democrats to talk about it a lot . . . It's an anti-Washington feeling — everybody is somehow tainted, throw the bastards out." How quickly things change.

● "George Burditt: A Long, Long Shot," by Joel Weisman. *Chicago Sun-Times*, February 4, 1974. According to Weisman, former State Rep. George M. Burditt is not merely an underdog for Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III's seat; he is an "UNDERDOG." Says Weisman, "Perhaps if Burditt were not starting from so far behind, fair-minded pundits would be paying a lot more attention to him because he is refreshingly candid, bright, and competent and a candidate with excellent credentials right down to his Harvard pedigree. How many candidates would tell a reporter for instance: Campaigning? 'Well, I really haven't done any yet.' Positions? 'Haven't really taken any yet' Programs? 'None of those either right

now.' The economy? 'Well, they sure can't blame me for it. I wasn't even in public service when it went to hell' " Burditt has spent most of his time building a strong campaign organization; "I feel it's the only chance I have against Stevenson." The Republican challenger is meeting success in these organization efforts and, despite his underdog status, he will wage a tough campaign, particularly in the suburban Chicago areas where Stevenson was strong in 1970. As Weisman observes, "He's a more impressive speaker than Stevenson and just as sincere."

● "Letter From Oregon," by E.J. Kahn, Jr. The New Yorker, February 25, 1974. In a profile on Oregon Gov. Tom McCall (R), Kahn quotes the governor on one source of his outspoken image, "At the time Wally Hickel was fired, I had a news conference and said, 'I think you'll find there'll be others. The President is clearing his decks before going after a second term. Even the Vice President might be dropped, the way he's been running around the country carrying a knife under his shawl.' Well! There was a meeting of Republican governors at Sun Valley right after that, and Agnew was coming. Privately, most of the other governors felt the same way about him that I did, but they wouldn't say so. When Ted arrived, he took me aside and said, 'Tom, I'm just mad as hell at you,' and I said, 'Why, you've got no business going around polarizing the country.' Then he made a speech, and a reporter asked me what I thought of it, and I said, 'One rotten, bigoted little speech.' The next morning, the governors had a private meeting with Agnew, and in the middle of it somebody handed him a piece of yellow teletype paper. He looked at it, and his hand began to tremble, and then he looked at me and said, 'Tom, you couldn't have said this.' I asked him what the trouble was now, and he said, 'You're quoted here as saying I gave a rotten, bigoted little speech last night.' I said, 'I'm not positive I used the word 'little.'" The terrible thing was that none of the other governors laughed."

● "Ziegler Brightens in Gloom," by Martin F. Nolan. Boston Globe, February 24, 1974. According to Globe Washington Bureau Chief Nolan, there are three theories explaining the rise in Press Secretary Ronald L. Ziegler's star at the White House: (1) The father-son relationship, which Ziegler denies; (2) The "Raggedty Ann" theory ("the President needs somebody close to him, somebody from the old days"); and (3) The "King Timahoe surrogate" theory ("that Ziegler sits by the President faithfully and curls up in front of the fireplace and sleeps").

● "Political Numbers: No Watergate Landslide," by Alan Ehrenhalt. Washington Monthly, February 1974. "Although 1974 is unlikely to be a political watershed, there will be some turnover of congressional seats. And it is possible to hazard a guess about the characteristics of the most likely losers. Added together, the existing signs about turnout and financing point to defeat in 1974 for a certain kind of incumbent: the middle-of-the-roader, the one who has depended for years on a loosely defined sort of good-will, or on a machine he hasn't cranked up in years; the one whose supporters wake up election morning, watch the sun disappear behind a cloud, wonder what's in it for them, and find something better to do than vote," writes Congressional Quarterly reporter Ehrenhalt. He argues that congressional races are more personal than party contests. The victims of 1974 are likely to resemble former U.S. Representatives Samuel Friedel, George Fallon, and Philip Philbin, all of whom were defeated in primaries in 1970. "There are not many Phil Philbins left in Congress now for the zealous to pursue. A number of them were beaten in primaries in 1972, were forced out by redistricting after the last census, or took advantage of a generous new pension plan when it became available last year. But every Congress has its share of members who stand for nothing in particular, and they may be the ones we decide to punish in 1974," writes Ehrenhalt. "In many districts the candidates inflicting the punishment will be the ideologically committed of both parties." Ironically, it may be a bad year to have a low profile. What a difference a month makes.

● "State Viewed as Moving Back to One-Party System," by Brenda Blagg. Springdale (Arkansas) News, February 3, 1974. "Arkansas, which had flirted with two-partyism in the mid-to-late 1960's, may be reverting back to the one-party status, in which virtually all of the attention is focused on the Democratic primary," according to the Institute of Politics in Arkansas. Blagg says, the IOPA study concludes that the "general election, which had grown in importance while the Republican Party moved under the banner of former Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller, could be moving back to its former status when voters attached little importance to it." When Rockefeller was running for governor in the 1960's, voter turnout for the general election dwarfed the turnout for the Democratic primary; in 1972, without a Rockefeller on the ballot, the growth in turnout for the general election relative to the primary slowed. According to the IOPA, "Unless the Republicans can develop a strong challenge to one or more Democratic nominees in 1974, the turnout in the general election can be expected to drop off considerably, possibly winding up in the neighborhood of 45 percent of the eligible voters." Blagg cites a possible Senate primary between Gov. Dale Bumpers and Sen. J. William Fulbright as a possible new step toward the demise in effectiveness of the Arkansas GOP.

● "The Democrats' Dilemma: There is less to the Prospects Than Meets the Eye," by David S. Broder. The Atlantic, March 1974. "The most puzzling aspect of the Democratic Party today is its tendency to alternating fits of neurotic gloom and unjustified euphoria. With few exceptions, the party's leading figures are convinced that their enemies (always defined as Democrats of another faction) are about to succeed in cutting the party's throat just as it is ready — to mix the metaphor — to turn the corner toward victory. In any ten-minute conversation, you are likely to hear it affirmed that a Democrat is certain to succeed Richard Nixon in the White House in 1976 — except for the unfortunate likelihood of the Democratic Party's not surviving that long." According to Broder, the Democrats' problem is not that the differences between various party wings are so great — but that the perception of the differences is enormous. Unity and the lack thereof is not the only Democratic problem. The Democrats, also suffer from a plethora of uninspiring candidates. With Sen. Edward Kennedy a doubtful starter, the liberal-moderates will have to find another candidate like Sen. Walter Mondale. But Mondale isn't about to electrify the rank and file; he is more likely to put them to sleep. Sen. Henry Jackson is the smart money candidate of the moderate-conservatives, but he is not a model of inspiration either. Gov. George Wallace now knows something he did not know in 1972 — how to play the game; And he may end up with the marbles. Finally argues Broder, the Democrats need some policy cohesion. "Despite what many Democrats came to believe after the 1968 and 1972 conventions, the Democratic Party is still standing. What remains to be seen is whether it will stand for something."

● "Shifting Sands in the GOP," by Martin A. Linsky. Boston Globe, February 18, 1974. "The Republicans have simply never experienced the series of expensive, well-publicized, back-breaking national primaries which marked the Democratic nomination battles in 1968 and 1972." But, argues Linsky, 1976 may be different as the result of the Ripon Society suit challenging the convention delegate allocation formula. "... the new court-ordered delegate apportionment plan will itself probably increase the moderates' share of the convention from one third to at least forty percent. And with a convention much more equally divided between the two large blocs, the candidate who dominates the new binding primaries in states such as Michigan, Maryland, North Carolina and Tennessee could control the result ... What all this means is that a Connally or a Richardson, although lacking a strong national party base, could put together a campaign in the primaries that would upset the more established applecarts in the presidential sweepstakes ... (it) might be just the medicine that a Watergate-tired Republican Party will respond to in 1976."

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