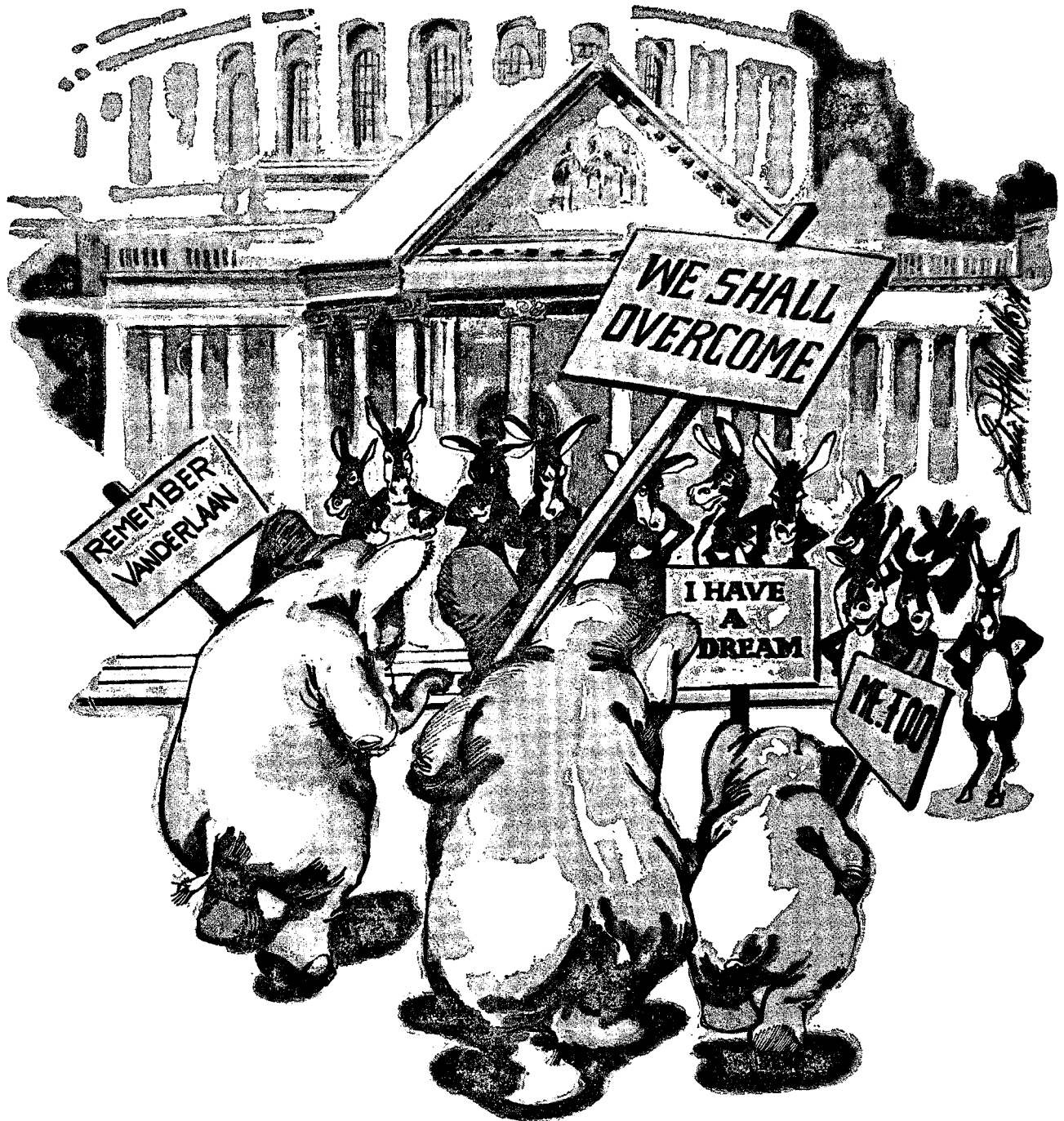


RIPON FORUM

APRIL 1, 1974

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ONE DOLLAR



“All Politicians are Equal, but... Some Politicians are More Equal than Others.”

CONTRIBUTOR NOTES

John Anderson ("The Cost of Controls," p. 4-5) is chairman of the House Republican Conference. Ralph Thayer ("The Search for the Perfect Policy," p. 6) is a member of the FORUM Editorial Board and director of the Urban Studies Institute of the University of New Orleans. Thomas A. Sargent ("Anglo-American Relations," p. 7-9) is a FORUM contributing editor who is presently director of Ball State University's London Center. Charles Percy ("Responding to Watergate," p. 9) is the senior senator from Illinois who has been openly and honestly exploring the presidential waters

for some months. The rest of the magazine is pretty self-explanatory so we won't go into it, but maybe you've been noticing some changes in the FORUM in recent months and wondering about them. Well, the FORUM is again moving to a new format. In May, you will be receiving the new Ripon QUARTERLY, devoted to an in-depth exploration of policy and political issues. The FORUM will continue to appear semi-monthly as a newsmagazine. All for the low price of \$15 (\$7.50 for poor college types). Well, more about this new arrangement later, because we're already late. db.

● MARGIN RELEASE

BREED'S HILL — Leggie was recaptured the other day. Both he and John Mitchell were on the inside pages of the *New York Times*. It's not like the old days when Leggie and John shared the front page.

The headlines for both this time were smaller. For Leggie, the caption was, "Youth Who Escaped 20 Times is Seized." Leggie, my erstwhile friend the juvenile delinquent (who is no longer a juvenile but still rather delinquent), had escaped the previous week from juvenile court. It was all my fault, I guess. Of those 20 escapes, two were from me. I guess you could call them numbers 17 and 19.

Leggie was in juvenile court for transfer to an adult correctional facility. He had already been in prison, been released to my custody, evaded my eternal vigilance, and been recaptured a week later. That was back in December. (See earlier FORUMs for earlier gory details about the strange career of Leggie.)

The state tried to pin a charge of escape from an adult institution on Leggie, and when that didn't wash, they laundered the charges in juvenile court. There, Leggie was sent back to prison. I wasn't present, but I can just imagine how those three guards felt as Leggie jumped out the court window. Leggie can be as elusive as Howard Hughes some days.

The headline in the *New York Times* read, "Boy, 16, With Record of Escapes Poses Problem for Connecticut."

Leggie's next capture was also in the reclusive Howard Hughes' tradition. He was hiding in a closet in a barrel under some clothes. Said a police spokesman, "He's a half pint, but he's wiry and a fighter, and he fought every inch of the way."

That's Leggie; he likes to tough things out. I don't think Leggie would resign either. It would be a matter of pride ... regardless of the evidence.

It's like my friend Truck said when he read of Leggie's capture. Truck has known Leggie since they first met when they were six (Leggie had just stolen a bike). Truck used to live in the apartment in which Leggie was apprehended, so he is familiar with the layout.

Said Truck on reflection, "I knew that barrel was up to no good."

In other news today, Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski ... db



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EDITORIAL

MEMO TO THE RNC

President Nixon is a Republican. The Republican Party nominated him three times for the presidency. CREEP did not nominate him; the GOP did. The President's elevation to his current office is a Republican responsibility just as much as the President is ultimately accountable for his subordinates.

Repeatedly, the President has said he has a responsibility to preserve the office of the presidency. So does the Republican Party, which also has a responsibility to preserve the GOP. The party would like to forget the President and the President has indirectly suggested that the GOP forget him, advising Republican leaders in Chicago that the GOP should concentrate on "local issues" this fall. But the Republican Party cannot pretend that the President is a distant, third cousin, twice removed whom the GOP met briefly on his way to the White House. True, the Republican Party was not involved in Watergate, but that's like the landlord saying, "I didn't do it," when the tenant calls to say the basement is flooded.

In the past, party leaders preached long and hard that voters would not blame the Republican Party for Watergate. A Gallup Poll of party leaders shows many still believe that Watergate will not be the paramount issue this fall — despite three straight congressional defeats in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Ohio. More recently, party leaders have shunned television interview shows rather than confront additional questions on Watergate. Insensitivity, however, is no more constructive than denial of complicity.

The Republican Party is in such desperate shape that it can no longer afford the luxury of politics-as-usual. Unless it charts a new course, the Republican Party is going to be decimated in November. The GOP must be able to say something more constructive this fall than, "Not me. And anyway, the Democrats do it too." As the "Party of the Open Door," the GOP has been a failure. Republicans have been going out, not in the door. It is time the party looked inside the door, saw the mess, and started housecleaning. The voters see the mess in Washington, but someone has to take the lead in the cleaning up.

U.S. Rep. Pierre "Pete" du Pont has seen the mess too, and he told a recent Republican meeting in Wilmington, Delaware:

"There must be a Republican response to the crisis in confidence, and to Watergate — both on the national level and here in Delaware. We, as a party, have to take firm, effective, clear action so that when the man on the street asks himself, 'who has done something about crooked politics?' the first answer that comes to his mind is the Republican Party. In other words, it is going to take *positive* action to save our party and our country — not just an apology, denial, etc. of Watergate, and a plea to get it over with and 'Let's get on with running the country.' The Republican Party in Delaware and nationally cannot duck the issue; after Michigan, the Democrats are going to cram it right down our throats."

Vice President Ford has backed away from some of his more strident comments in recent speeches and seems to realize that the future of the party and Presi-

dent Nixon are divisible. The Republican National Committee now has a responsibility to act at its April meeting, as Congressman du Pont says, to "give the Democrats and independents a reason for voting Republican." The following proposals should be considered by the RNC:

1. If the President is not going to provide all necessary documents to the House Judiciary Committee, then the RNC should call for his resignation.

2. The RNC should call on Republican candidates to limit the size of individual campaign contributions. The voters need tangible evidence that Republicans are not being bought and sold in 1974. Several Republican incumbents have already announced they will limit contributions to a maximum of \$100. Such self-limitations will obviously be tough on candidates raising "start-up" money for direct mail solicitations. The RNC, therefore, should examine the feasibility of a revolving loan fund which would make available short-term loans to Republican candidates in order that they may begin "start-up" operations without large cash contributions.

3. The RNC's policy of emphasizing small giver contributions to finance its operations should be Republican policy. Last year, according to RNC finance director Robert Odell, the RNC raised 83 percent of its \$5.4 million revenue from contributions of \$100 or less. The average contribution was about \$22. The RNC should direct Republicans to place similar emphasis on their own fundraising. Voting Republicans who seek to avoid future Watergates will have to be reminded that small contributions are the dues the Republicans must pay for civic virtue.

4. The RNC should direct every Republican candidate to make full disclosure of campaign contributions.

5. The RNC should issue campaign guidelines to party candidates which stress issues over public relations. The 1974 Republican campaign must be substantive, not slick. The party will have to eschew slogans and 30-second TV spots in favor of debates and position papers. The RNC should urge top party leaders like Howard Baker, John Connally, Gerald Ford, Charles Percy, Nelson Rockefeller, Elliot Richardson, and William Ruckelshaus to diverge from the usual round of speeches and press conferences in favor of more extended, in-depth conferences with local party officials in which they use their expertise to help local candidates develop Republican solutions to the nation's problems.

6. The Republican National Committee should urge Republican candidates to account for expenditures made by the offices they hold. There should be no public confusion about the use of discretionary funds available to congressmen, governors, and other officeholders. In addition, congressmen should make public accountings of private "newsletter" funds used to publish constituent reports and pay for other office expenditures.

7. Finally, the Republican National Committee should urge Republican candidates to run "accountability" campaigns. Candidates should explain to voters what they expect to reasonably accomplish in office and request voters to evaluate them on these goals at the end of their terms.

It is about time the Republican Party took responsibility for President Nixon and the governmental responsibilities that its candidates seek. The GOP must be accountable; it should be the first to acknowledge that it is. ■

COMMENTARY: NATION

The Cost Of Controls

by John Anderson

After nearly three years of the nation's first peace-time experiment with wage and price controls, the time has come for a fundamental reassessment. Although it was originally justified as a purely "emergency" measure to deal with the unique economic conditions of the summer of 1971 ("stagflation"), we have since gone through almost an entire business cycle, so that conditions today are diametrically opposite to those which prevailed three years ago. If we cannot wean the economy from controls now — at the most opportune point in the economic cycle we may never do so.

With inflation rates still raging at historic levels, the chances that the Economic Stabilization Act will be allowed to expire on April 30 are not very good. Nothing would suit the Democrats better during the coming congressional election period than to renew control authority and then blame the Administration for not using it or for failing to use it effectively. But beyond that, a significant portion of Congress apparently still believes that the benefits or potential of controls outweigh their economic costs and inconvenience. I strongly dispute that proposition and believe that unless the erroneous and confused assumptions underlying it are soundly discredited, the drift toward permanent controls may well become irreversible.

To be sure, advocates find very little in the inflation track record of the

last three years to bolster their confidence in controls. In the year previous to the original freeze in August of 1971, the consumer price index rose 4.5 percent. Since then it has averaged a 6.5 percent annual rate of increase, and in the last six months the rate has been nearly 10 percent.

This evidence is rarely considered conclusive. The argument is repeatedly made that in the absence of controls the inflation rate would have been much worse, and that if the Administration would have used available control authority in a more stringent and evenhanded manner, the results would have been far better.

Though the first proposition is obviously difficult either to confirm or refute, attempts have been made to gauge the impact of controls via sophisticated econometric models. These attempts consistently show either no impact at all or only a very marginal reduction in the rate of wage or price increase from what otherwise might have been the case. The Wharton School model, for example, indicates that the inflation rate would have been 10.5 percent in the second half of 1973 rather than the 9.5 percent actually registered. While a one percentage point reduction is perhaps of some slight comfort if considered alone, when weighed against the supply distortions that controls impose on the economy, it seems a rather dubious gain at best.

The usual response is that the stabilization program has not been stringent enough, as demonstrated by the sharp upward climb of prices after last year's switch from the rather tough regulations of Phase II to the more relaxed requirements of Phase III. While it is true that the Consumer Price Index rate of increase jumped dramatically from 3.6 percent during Phase II to 8.3 percent during the six months of Phase III, changes in the control program probably had very little to do with this development.

Specifically, nearly two-thirds of the CPI increase during Phase III was accounted for by commodities which were either *exempt* from *both* phases or for which the rules did *not* change. Moreover, those commodities (other than fuels) on which controls were significantly relaxed during Phase III

made even less of a proportionate contribution to the overall rise in the first half of 1973 than they did during Phase II.

The fundamental truth is that our current inflationary difficulties stem primarily from excess demand, supply shortages, and world-wide commodity inflation — phenomena which controls are helpless to combat and in most cases only make worse. Thus, nearly 70 percent of the wholesale price rise last year was accounted for by the dramatic increases in food prices (up 27 percent) and the quantum jump in fuel and energy prices (up 65 percent). Similarly, international fiber prices rose by 21 percent, metals by 87 percent, and the *Economist* index of all world commodities by 46 percent.

There are numerous reasons for this international commodity price inflation, including the oil embargo, the unusual simultaneous peaking of all major industrial economies during 1973, the dollar devaluation, and an apparent general flight of speculators from currencies to goods. But whatever the reasons, it is obvious that



domestic price controls cannot insulate the American consumer's pocketbook from these forces. To pretend that they can, will only create public expectations that cannot be fulfilled and will serve to obscure the real harm inflicted on the economy by such efforts. And despite the too frequent cries of "wolf" by reflexive champions of a market in the past, substantial evidence is now accumulating that control-induced distortions are becoming a serious problem.

In the context of international shortages and commodity inflation, price controls function much like a catapult, driving domestic production into international markets in pursuit

of more favorable returns. Even prior to the Arab embargo, for example, the plastic industry in the U.S. was on the verge of breakdown because extraordinary volumes of petrochemical feedstocks were being absorbed by world markets where prices had risen to three to four times the controlled U.S. level. The annual rate of plastic feedstock exports increased from \$100 million during January and February to \$900 million during October and November, thereby sharply curtailing supplies available to U.S. manufacturers in 1973.

Fertilizer exhibited a similar pattern. Ammonia exports rose 54 percent in the first half of 1973 over their 1972 level, and overall fertilizer exports rose from 4.5 million tons in 1972 to nearly 7 million tons before controls were lifted last fall.

In this case, the artificially-induced shortages contain a double lesson. The domestic/export price differential accounted for much of the shortage, but insufficient availability of natural gas needed for fertilizer production was also an important contributing factor. The latter, of course, is a direct result of longstanding Federal Power Commission regulation of well-head prices at artificially low levels. Moreover, the resulting fertilizer shortage will mean lower farm production and still higher food prices during the coming year. Thus, control-produced shortages may both feed upon and compound one another as they work through the production process.

The most spectacular example, however, is that of copper scrap exports which skyrocketed during the July price freeze to more than 400 percent of their 1972 rate. In this case, the Cost of Living Council reacted quickly, exempting copper scrap on July 19, and within a month exports had returned to their previous levels. But however vigilant control authorities may attempt to be, the U.S. economy cannot be shielded from international economic trends without resort to autarchic trade policies — a prescription for serious international economic and political disorder.

These examples both underscore the impotence of controls in the face of excess demand, and suggest, as in the case of fertilizer, that the "downstream" effects on consuming sectors

may only exaggerate the original shortage. The current scarcity of reinforcing bars used in construction provides a further illustration. In this case, shortages were induced by production disincentives resulting from frozen profit margins rather than an export/domestic price differential, but the effect is similar. According to the industry trade association, maintenance of controls will produce a 600,000 ton reduction in 1974 production and consequently the cancellation or postponement of nearly \$10 billion worth of non-residential construction. This obviously implies significant unemployment, but more importantly, it augurs the prospect of serious interference with expansion of industrial capacity.

A similar "downstream" impact is being felt in the nation's petroleum producing areas. Although incentives for new exploration and drilling have never been better, a combination of high export prices, cost increases, and frozen profit margins mean that production of pipe casing and other tubular goods needed for oil drilling has remained stagnant or even declined. Shortages have consequently become so severe that there are now lead-times of nearly one year on new orders; prices for used oilfield materials have skyrocketed. Meanwhile, the urgently needed expansion of domestic petroleum production is being significantly delayed.

If these effects were limited to only a few sectors of the economy, a judicious program of exemptions could probably alleviate the worst shortages. In fact, the disappearance of low-profit products is widespread; it includes paper and pulp, textiles and apparel, chemicals, and lumber and wood products, to cite the most prominent examples. In all of these cases, distortions of the product line mix mean that users are getting less physical volume for more dollars, the classic source of inflationary pressures.

A termination of the stabilization program is not a politically palatable prospect. The public wants action, any action, to halt the spiraling cost of living, and will be little comforted by theoretical explanations suggesting that the most direct solution may not be the most productive. Yet, unless Congress is willing to take some

of the political heat, we may soon create far worse economic problems than the present ones.

There is perhaps no better example of the hazards of heavy handed intervention than the current dilemma regarding the mandatory petroleum allocation program hastily adopted by Congress last October. One section of that measure requires all refiners with supplies of crude oil above the national average to offer, at a set price, their surpluses to those with supplies below the national average.

The primary result, however, has been an overall reduction in crude oil supplies because majors with the ability to buy higher-priced oil on the international market must now turn around and sell it at a loss. There has also been a reduction in the supply of products like diesel and jet fuel, due to the fact that many of the smaller refineries benefitting from the allocation program do not have the capacity to produce these products at the same rate as those which have been forced to sell their surpluses.

During the coming year, the predominate share of inflation will again be attributable to severe supply problems in the raw materials, energy, and food sectors. The first category is largely immune to controls because a large share of domestic consumption is imported. Similarly, the disastrous results of last summer's prize freeze ought to be enough proof that any new attempt to control farm and food prices will only exacerbate shortages and inflation. The renewed beef price surge during the first three months of 1974 is a direct result of the decline in livestock production touched off last summer. While there may be some case for maintenance of upper-ceiling-type controls on the petroleum sector due to the embargo, such loose controls will probably have very little impact on the overall rate of inflation.

Thus, we are now in an economic climate in which continuation of general controls can do little good but, if prolonged, may cause tremendous harm. In light of this, a decision this month by Congress to extend full control authority for another year can only signal the triumph of political expediency over economic rationality. Hopefully, that unhappy prospect will be avoided. ■

COMMENTARY: NATION

Search For The Perfect Policy

by *Ralph E. Thayer*

Several years ago, in a graduate seminar, the subject of "advocacy reporting" was debated. While most participants adamantly spoke out against "advocacy reporting," preferring instead objective and unbiased reporting, an older student who held down an important operational job in the Johnson Administration made a very telling point. He said that, "without advocacy reporting, nobody would ever get anything done."

The nation is now at a point where our efforts to better the domestic situation consist as much of responding to negative expositions in the urban press as they do in concretely addressing the problems facing us. Erroneous or slanted information is not the problem. In fact, many cities have developed a core of young and talented urban reporters who are perfectly capable of understanding and fairly reporting on urban activities.

The difficulty is that every new policy is subject to scathing criticism even before it has a chance to operate. Never before has the nation had so many talented and eloquent critics. It is not surprising that we face a virtual dearth of promising urban policies. It is almost as if we feel betrayed by the domestic results of the 1960's and are unwilling to be taken in once again.

We are faced now with a multitude of reasons why any given program cannot or would not ever work, and

we have no real ability to build a consensus behind any urban policy. While we know more now than ever before about the nature of our urban ills, our programs seem only to be able to consistently shift the locus of responsibility from one level to another while citing the wisdom of every notable forefather from Jefferson to Kennedy to justify the constant movement.

Somehow a switch in attitude must be initiated. "Advocacy reporting" in favor of policies must become fashionable even if this involves a conscious muting of criticisms. Rather than imbuing every reporter with the idea that any given program contains within its depths the seeds of a momentous scandal or has been launched as pure folly, we need to accept some flaws as naturally concomitant with doing business in what might well be the most complex and sensitive environment possible in which to operate. Fear can make us a nation of policy clerks constantly checking our ledgers but never seeing daylight.

No worthy reporter would publicize a large story until his facts had been checked and he was more than reasonably sure that his story was fair and accurate. If our urban population were better situated, we might well afford the luxury of undiminished criticism of possible policies, since an error could make some worse off who were not previously in bad straits. But, while great psychic benefit doubtless adheres to those who smother risky but promising proposals by their criticism, nothing is done for those citizens who were the intended beneficiaries of the policy.

The replacement for the "poverty bureaucracy" of the 1960's is the

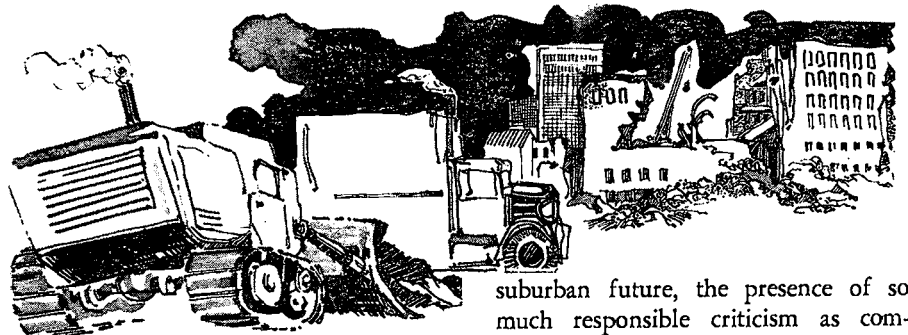
blamed, even before the action is taken.

All this sounds very rational and laudable until we see that, given the constraints of our system (such as unwillingness to integrate on a regional basis or abolish obsolete government units), the results always seem to end up the same: some poor or nearly poor are negatively affected by a policy that benefits other poor. Knowing our weaknesses in advance (when in doubt, challenge a model on its assumptions or its data), reporters shred our calculations and martyr the decision-maker who is willing to embark on any suggested path. A mediocre policy will often work if supported by a consensus; only the perfect one will survive apathy or wide opposition. The search for the perfect policy continues.

Thus, America faces a critical decade in which policy analysts search for the perfect policy and reporters seek to be the first to sniff out the imperfections known to exist (whether these be qualities associated with the policy or the policy-maker). While we need great surges of creative energy just to keep the cities running smoothly, we find funds available to study such petty items as the location of fire stations. At least that bit of locational incrementalism is relatively safe from criticism (assuming the chosen architect has other than dubious credentials for the job).

On the urban scene, I see little hope for any of the proposed programs this year because we seem to produce critics in far greater numbers than we encourage those who can get the machinery running.

As I continue to watch cities decay and read gloomy predictions of the



emerging group of policy analysts who painstakingly document the consequences of any possible action. We know in fair detail who will be hurt, how, to what extent, and who will be

suburban future, the presence of so much responsible criticism as compared to our ability to positively face the worsening urban condition becomes more ominous. When and if we do find the perfect policy, we had best hope that it is self-executing. ■

COMMENTARY: WORLD

Anglo- American Relations

by *Thomas A. Sargent*

LONDON — Historically, Britain's recent change of government would mean little to the generally easy flow of Anglo-American relationships. But in fact the election punctuates a period of change in the relations between America and Britain which has been continuing for some time — namely, the replacement of the Anglo-American "special relationship" with the far less relaxed Euro-American connection.

When the National Union of Mine-workers fought Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath to a standstill over the government's Stage 3 anti-inflation policy, Heath saw no alternative but to turn to the electorate for a new mandate. The Conservatives, therefore, fought the recent general election on the issue of who governs Britain — the elected government of the day or a private interest group? The government also "went to the country," so they said, in order to obtain a new five-year mandate for "firm but fair" policies which were needed to get Britain out of the admitted economic mess into which the country had fallen. The Conservatives insisted that the country's major problems — a high rate of inflation, enormous balance of payments deficit, low growth rate, and continuous industrial strife — were not the fault of the Tory government but were largely due to factors beyond the control of any government.

The Tories pointed to the rise in world commodity prices, the 1973

quadrupling of the price of oil, and the miners' overtime ban-strike as principal reasons for the nation's difficulties. The government could do little about commodities or oil, the Tories declared, but they could stop the inflationary wage increases demanded by the trade unions. "Give us strong government to make decisions for the next five years," they said.

The Labor opposition did not have the same view and refused to allow the election to be fought entirely on the Tory issue as to who governs Britain. They ran their campaign around four principal points: (1) control inflation by controlling prices (but not wages), partly by a food subsidy program; (2) end the industrial strife caused by Tory policies of union confrontation; (3) establish a fairer, more just and equal society by such measures as nationalizing certain key industries (including the extracting and transportation of the North Sea gas and oil resources) and helping the poor by paying higher pensions and social benefits (to be paid for partly by large cuts in defense expenditures); and (4) renegotiate the terms of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community (and at the end of the renegotiation put the entire matter of entry before the British people in a special referendum).

This program, and the Labor Election Manifesto in which it was outlined, was the product of Labor's move to the left after its defeat in the 1970 general election. That defeat discredited Labor "middle-ism", which was blamed for the apathy of Labor voters who stayed away from the polls in sufficient numbers to permit Edward Heath to win the election. The answer to how to get more votes was to give the voters more socialist policies, and the 1974 manifesto reflected that decision.

At the same time, Labor tried to cover its bets during the recent campaign by attracting middle-of-the-road voters through the use of moderate and "right-wing" Labor Party leaders like Roy Jenkins who preached the party's message. The manifesto was socialist. The campaign was moderate.

The Liberals, offering more candidates to the voters than at any other time since 1950, presented themselves as the party of moderation between the

extremes of the other two parties.

In one sense the results of the election were inconclusive. No party won a majority of seats in the House of Commons. With 316 votes necessary for an absolute majority (the new House will have 635 members, but the speaker and the three deputy speakers are not counted for voting purposes), the Conservatives will have 296, down from their former number of 323; Labor has 301, up from 287; the Liberals have 14, up from 11; and the rest, 24, are made up of Scottish Nationalists, Welsh Nationalists, United Ulster Unionists and Ulster Labor, and two independent Labor MP's.

Moreover, in addition to the allocation of seats, the results were confused because the Tories won a higher percentage of the popular vote than Labor (38.1 percent against 37.2 percent), and the Liberals won only 2 percent of the seats with over 19 percent of the votes.

Prime Minister Heath tried to form a coalition with the Liberals, promising them a seat in the Cabinet and more autonomy for Scotland and Wales. But the Liberals, many of whom see themselves as the radical alternative to the Conservatives, would not permit their leader, Jeremy Thorpe, to compromise. So Heath resigned, and the Queen asked Wilson, the leader of the party with the largest number of seats in the Commons, to form a new government.

There is, of course, another view which stresses that the election results were more conclusive than the figures indicate. Certainly Edward Heath and the Conservatives were given a slap in the face by the voters because of the terms on which the party had fought the election. The British voter indicated rather plainly that he did not want to engage in a protracted struggle with the unions. By the same token, the voters seemed to tell Labor that they were not interested in any wild-eyed radical schemes for socializing the nation.

As Conservative MP Nicholas Ridley said on television after the election, "What the electorate has told all three parties is to go away and think it all out again and come back with another election in six to nine months." But for now, the nation has a new, minority Labor Government.

What will it mean to the United States?

First of all, Prime Minister Wilson insists that he is running a *Labor* government. And his Cabinet appointments seem to bear him out. He has named men to his Cabinet as if he had a majority of 100; there have been only a few concessions to the right wing of the party and even fewer to those other elements in the House of Commons on which he will inevitably depend for votes.

Wilson did not appoint the moderate, pro-European Roy Jenkins to the vital post of chancellor of the exchequer, as some predicted, but rather to the domestically important Home Office. The Treasury instead went to Denis Healey, former defense secretary, who recently has been stressing the need for higher taxes, particularly among the wealthy, to pay for Labor's social programs and who will have the unenviable task of negotiating foreign loans to cover Britain's balance of payments deficit.

Michael Foot, a man of somewhat radical views, has been named employment secretary, and will be the one who deals with the trade unions. Some observers feel he will do well because he has the necessary credentials and good relations with the unions to bring some order out of the current chaos among unions, business, and government.

James Callaghan, former chancellor of the exchequer and home secretary, has been appointed secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth relations. Callaghan will be responsible for dealing with the Common Market and for carrying out the Labor Election Manifesto promise to renegotiate the terms of Britain's entry into the EEC.

There are at least three areas in the Labor Election Manifesto which have immediate relevance to the United States: First, the manifesto pledges that Labor will renegotiate the terms of British entry into Europe to be followed by a national referendum on the results of the negotiations. Wilson repeated this pledge during the campaign, and Callaghan, the new foreign secretary, gives every indication of pursuing this objective. He will probably decline to allow Britain to carry out certain already agreed policies regarding the market, thereby forcing the other members into new negotiations. What the results of those talks will be, given the present disarray in the EEC, are anyone's guess.

Second, the manifesto calls for the "nationalization" of all North Sea gas and oil (which in one sense has already been done, since the resources are "owned" by Britain) and for ensuring "that the operation of getting



and distributing [the oil and gas] is under full government control with majority public participation." In the campaign Wilson promised "a fair return" for those companies providing technological know-how in the exploitation of the resources, but only in the context of a minority position by the companies.

Such arrangements might be achieved through a national oil company which would be empowered to determine the price of oil to the consumer and control oil company profits. Many of the companies which have the largest concessions in the North Sea are American, and therefore this matter will be of importance to the United States. Eric Varley, 41, a member of the National Union of Mineworkers, is the new secretary of state for energy who will be handling the North Sea problem.

Third, the manifesto urges a reduction in defense expenditures, support for NATO but only in the context of the gradual elimination of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and British participation "in the multilateral disarmament negotiations, and . . . the removal of American Polaris bases from Great Britain." Unlike the first and second points of the manifesto, mentioned earlier, this was not one of the major campaign issues frequently talked about by Wilson. It may, therefore, be low on the priority list of the Labor government. Moreover, the new secretary of state for defense, Roy Mason, is a moderate with substantial experience in government and is unlikely to push for the execution of the manifesto proposals.

There are two schools of thought concerning what Wilson will do. Some Conservatives and Liberals insist, on the one hand, that he will have to be more cautious and moderate if he is to avoid defeat in the House of Commons and a new general election. On the other hand, many Labor MP's (and not just the left-wing ones) insist that Wilson will put forward Labor policies and run a Labor government and

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The crucial case is the Common Market negotiations. Labor should have little difficulty in beginning the dialogue with the EEC, which will inevitably go on for some months. But the crunch will come when the government attempts to get through any legislation for a referendum or a change in Britain's status with the market. The majority of Conservatives and Liberals are opposed to Labor on this issue and will work against the government.

Moreover, such negotiations with the EEC will add to the already strained internal relations and virtually preclude any meaningful improvement in the atmosphere between Europe and the United States. Anglo-EEC talks will be bound to affect the progress of a solution to the energy problem, the European Security Conference, the development of NATO strategies, international monetary reform, trade talks, troop reductions in Europe, and the implementation of the European-American declarations of principles. If Britain's Labor government pursues its manifesto and campaign pledges pertaining to the EEC, the United States is going to have to grit its teeth and bear some disarray and confusion in its relations with Europe.

In addition, if the Labor government decides to go ahead with its campaign proposals for North Sea oil and gas, reduction of defense expenditures, and removal of American Polaris bases in Scotland, then relations between the two countries will become decidedly chillier. Both countries will need healthy doses of understanding of the other's perspective, point of view, and — most important — domestic political needs.

A minority Labor government — needing to placate its right, left, and center — will have difficulty enough surviving without harassment from Washington. Discreet diplomacy will accomplish a great deal more in the months ahead for Anglo-American relations than ill-advised demands for unity and consultation. ■

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COMMENTARY: POLITICS

Responding To Watergate

by Charles Percy

Almost every day we hear of the damage to and even demise of the Republican Party. I fear that the party is being prematurely mourned across the land. Certainly Republicans are in for a difficult year, but it will not necessarily be a fatal one.

Millions of Republicans have every right to be proud of our heritage and every reason to react negatively to Watergate. Yet our Republican roots are stronger than this current setback. Our task now is to prove to the American people that Watergate is not synonymous with the Republican Party.

As Republicans, we will be making a serious and costly mistake if we become apologists for the obvious offenses which Watergate has come to symbolize. The ordeal of Watergate continues, not because a few extreme partisans are bent on stretching it out, but because the Watergate series of illegal and unprincipled acts continues to unfold — acts which are far removed from the traditional values, principles, and beliefs of the Republican Party.

Because those involved were carrying a Republican banner, it is especially incumbent upon us to formulate a response to Watergate which will help preclude such a national trauma from repeating itself. As Republicans we must:

1. Devise and enact long-overdue reforms in the areas of campaign financing and public disclosure by officeholders. The large, covert sums of cash that seem to be at the root of most political scandals must be eliminated.

2. Stress again our primary commitment to the rule of law. All

law-breakers, be they muggers on the street, burglars at the Democratic National Committee, or those who sent them there, must be dealt with justly but firmly.

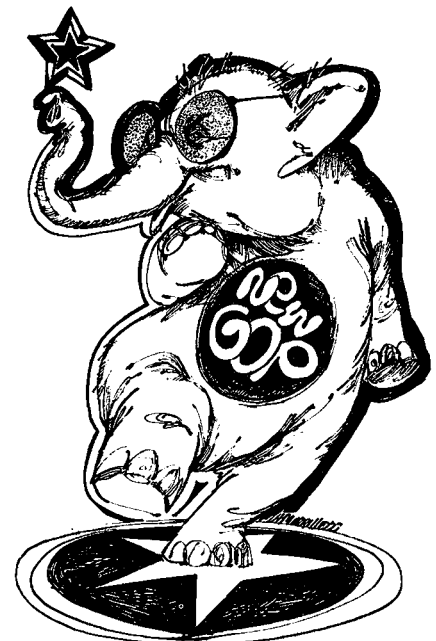
3. Make clear that to Republicans "national security" means a strong defense to protect the nation from potential attack, not a catch-all to cloak illegal activities or to shield those who may have flaunted the law.

4. Reaffirm our party's profound wariness of Big Brother intervention in our daily lives, whether it comes in the form of wire-tapping our phones or permitting Army intelligence to keep files on private citizens.

5. Seek an end to the kind of duplicity and secrecy in government which helped produce first Vietnam and then Watergate. It is time that government began to entrust the people with the truth.

If we do nothing but wring our hands over the burden of Watergate in an election year, Republicans will lose elections from Bangor to San Diego. But if we meet the challenge and define a constructive Republican response to Watergate — if we give that response substance by actively supporting open government, campaign reform, the rule of law, and respect for individual rights — then the Republican Party can regain the respect and support of the American people.

Let the Republican answer to Watergate be to improve politics and government for the benefit of our people and our nation. ■



POLITICS: REPORTS

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON — The Massachusetts GOP, which recently has looked less like the party of Lincoln than the party of Rip Van Winkle, is being shaken awake by the prospects of its first gubernatorial primary in 24 years.

Gov. Francis Sargent (R) has dropped from a lofty perch (so that he once was rated more popular than Sen. Edward Kennedy (D)), but he is still relatively popular with voters. Sargent lacks, however, the base of any single bloc to call his own, even within his own party. His former commissioner of commerce and development, Carroll Sheehan, announced against Sargent in March and will make damaging, if not lethal, inroads with Republicans. (Sargent's standing within the party was demonstrated in March when he was publicly booed at a Republican meeting where Vice President Gerald Ford spoke.)

Between now and November, Sargent faces three critical junctures which will largely determine the election outcome.

June 1 is one. The Republicans will hold an informal but meaningful convention which Sargent will enter in much the same way that Muskie went into the 1972 New Hampshire primary. Unless he takes two-thirds or more of the delegates, the whole story will be the Sheehan "victory." A poor Sargent showing would send his campaign into a tailspin.

June 25 is the second critical date. By then, Republican Peter Fuller must have gathered the 37,500 signatures necessary to enter the governor's race as an independent. If Fuller, now without any political organization, can collect that many signatures, he will be formidable. If he cannot, then Sargent can breathe a little more easily.

The third date is the September 10 primary; the key question again will be the quality of Sargent's performance. How much damage will Sheehan, Fuller, and Democrats Michael Dukakis and Robert Quinn have done by that

time? A close call in the primary will set a pessimistic mood for the campaign in October and November. If Sargent looks crippled, it will be all the easier for Fuller to pick up Sheehan's votes, a few of his own, and undoubtedly quite a few from the losing Democratic side. In 1970, those votes belonged to Sargent. They could easily add up to the 250,000 by which a much more popular Sargent defeated Boston Mayor Kevin White.

Why are Sheehan and Fuller running? Sheehan met with a few members of Ripon in March and essentially said that the governor has not been a very good Republican nor a very good governor. The message hit the target. Sargent has done little for the party. Until last year, no Republican sat in his high command. He has all but ignored Republican efforts to build legislative strength.

As a governor, he has presided at a time when the state's economy has visibly eroded. Yet the economy has not appeared to be a high gubernatorial priority. He fell heir to an ambitious reorganization of state government begun by his predecessor, John Volpe. By all rights, "Reorg" should have been his meal ticket to re-election by improving delivery of state services, reducing waste, and initiating spending controls.

But Sargent's reorganization falls short of its potential, mostly because the heart of the plan, a program management and budgeting system, was axed by the governor's own staff to fend off a legislative squeeze-play over funding.

Sheehan wants to portray himself as the friend of the economy as well as the social and fiscal conservative. Unlike Sargent, he is anti-gun control and pro-death penalty. He comes down hard on an important local issue, state aid to cities and towns. Sargent hasn't delivered promised aid to relieve the property tax, and he has signed bills that impose extra costs on local budgets without providing state support. Homeowners are becoming upset. With a near-perfect campaign, Sheehan could conceivably

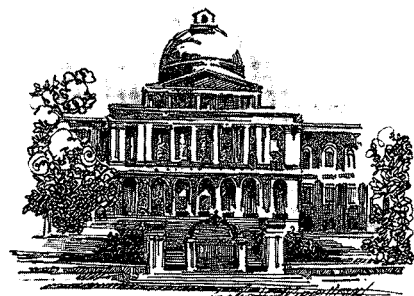
be the Republican candidate.

Fuller is a lot like Sheehan on the issues. He has more personal assets — including a personal fortune — and more visibility. The son of a former governor, he is the kind of honest Yankee that the state has always swooned over. His huge Cadillac dealership has given him advertising exposure, and he is well known on the sports pages as owner of the Kentucky Derby winner, Dancer's Image, and as trainer of the former local boxer, Tom McNeely, who once fought for the world heavyweight title.

Like Sheehan, Fuller's best chance is to contribute to Sargent's demise, but, if Sheehan were to come within an eyelash of winning the primary, and if liberal former State Rep. Michael Dukakis were the Democratic candidate, a large number of conservative votes would find only Fuller for comfort.

After all the negatives are acknowledged, one cannot deny the Sargent mystique. It is a combination of total honesty, rugged bearing, a lack of snobby sophistication, a horse laugh, and a genuine sense of humor. Add up all the rational arguments, but when the governor begins to turn it on . . .

Meanwhile, anti-Sargent GOP State Chairman Otto Wahlrab has resigned and been replaced by William Barnstead, a Boston businessman. The conservative new chairman is closer to Sargent than his predecessor, who spent two years bucking the governor. But

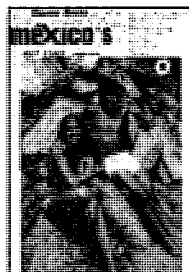


he too will have a strong independent streak.

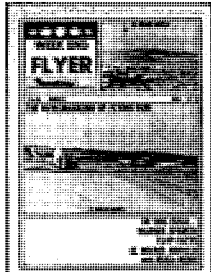
Sidelight: Massachusetts State Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill III (D) is seeking the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. O'Neill, son of House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., is the favorite for the nomination. ■



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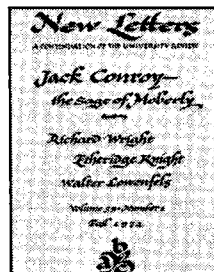
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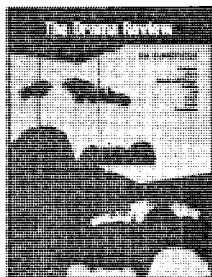
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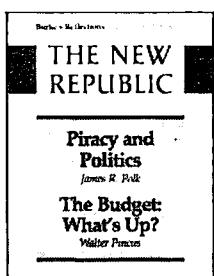
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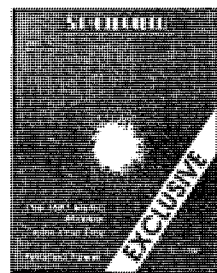


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1973 RIPON RATINGS

Last year, in a statement accompanying the release of the 1972 Ripon Ratings, the Ripon FORUM (May 1973) said:

The end of the U.S. involvement in Indochinese warfare would seem likely to unite in a working coalition both anti-war Republican progressives and other moderate Republicans who through conviction or through party loyalty to a Republican President continued to support Administration politics. Republican progressives, who have often felt like a beleaguered minority within a minority in Congress, are likely to find their ranks swelled as moderate Republicans with similar views feel free to identify with them. In addition, it is likely that the Watergate scandal and the related activities that are working mightily to discredit the Nixon Administration may create a stampede of many regular Republican congressmen to manifest their independence from the Nixon Administration and to identify on a number of issues with congressional progressive Republicans. At the moment, the suggestion of such a trend is largely conjecture, yet it may be possible to validate this occurrence in about a year from now when the Ripon Ratings for this year's congressional session have been prepared.

This year, the 1973 Ripon Ratings suggest that the trends predicted a year ago have developed among Republicans in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. These trends have resulted in a fairly broadly-based and yet philosophically coherent working coalition of congressional Republicans.

Republican progressives have for many years been in a pivotal swing-vote position; yet in the 1973 congressional session, they have appeared for the first time capable of developing an approach that will significantly shape the Republican congressional strategy. In the Senate this trend is markedly evident; 32 of 43 Republicans drew scores of 50 percent or above in the 1973 Ripon Ratings. Only 25 of 57 Senate Democrats scored 50 or above. Republicans averaged 62 percent; Democrats averaged 48 percent.

In the House the party differences in the ratings were not so divergent, reflecting perhaps the somewhat weaker position of Republican progressives in this body. Yet here, an interesting trend with significant portents was first noticeable: Republican House members from southern states did relatively better than their Democratic colleagues from the same region. Republicans from the 11 states of the former Confederacy compiled an average score of 43 percent as compared to 34 percent for southern Democrats. The nationwide House averages by party were 58 percent for Republicans and 51 percent for Democrats. Since the South is likely to be a significant area for further Republican gains in the coming decade, this indication of a more broadly-based southern Republicanism is a welcome development for progressive Republicans. The philosophical divergence is particularly evident on economic issues on which traditionalist southern Democrats cling to protectionist and anti-competitive approaches, while many southern Republi-

cans together with northern party progressives support free market-oriented approaches.

Some relatively surprising names were at the top of this year's Ripon Ratings. While Charles Mathias of Maryland and Charles Percy of Illinois scored 100 percent in 1973, so did Robert Taft, Jr., of Ohio. Other high-ranking senators were Robert Packwood of Oregon (88); William Roth of Delaware and Robert Stafford of Vermont (83); J. Glenn Beall of Maryland, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Jacob Javits of New York, Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania, and Edward Brooke of Massachusetts (82). Pell, the only Democrat to join over 13 Senate Republicans with a rating over 80 percent, did well because he consistently joined Republican progressives and conservatives in supporting a free market approach toward agricultural production. Interestingly, James Buckley of New York finished with a 73-percent rating largely because he made common cause with the younger Republican progressives such as Taft, Percy, and Mathias on such free market issues as farm subsidies and wage and price controls.

Scoring 100 percent in the House were John Delenback of Oregon, Alphonzo Bell and Paul McCloskey of California, Garry Brown of Michigan, Silvio Conte of Massachusetts, John Erlenborn of Illinois, William Frenzel of Minnesota, Stewart McKinney of Connecticut, Henry Smith of New York, and Charles Whalen of Ohio. Also scoring high at 93 were Edward Biester of Pennsylvania, John Culver of Iowa, Paul Findley and Thomas Railsback of Illinois, Edwin Forsythe and Peter Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Donald Fraser of Minnesota, Frank Horton of New York, Richard Mallary of Vermont, Charles Mosher and J.W. Stanton of Ohio, and William Steiger of Wisconsin. At 92 were William Broomfield, Marvin Esch and Philip Ruppe of Michigan, Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts, Robert McClory of Illinois, and William Widnall of New Jersey.

Votes were selected for inclusion in the determination of the Ripon Ratings if they met one or more of the following criteria:

- a) Expansion or preservation of civil liberties and individual autonomy against encroachment by government and by powerful quasi-governmental institutions such as corporations and labor unions.
- b) Attainment of equality of opportunity for Americans regardless of race, nationality, religious belief or sex.
- c) Devolution of governmental powers to governments closest to and most accountable to the individual citizen and privatization of policy execution as opposed to bureaucratization.
- d) Maintenance of sound fiscal policies in both the domestic and international economy and consistent opposition to wasteful spending.
- e) Resistance to excess concentration of governmental powers in a single entity and a parallel insistence upon candor and openness throughout governmental and quasi-governmental institutions.
- f) Internationalism in foreign policy and consequent development of multilateral approaches as opposed

to interventionism or isolationism.

- g) Preservation and improvement of the environment and development of policies concerning population growth and natural resource consumption that will insure the possibility of a decent existence to future generations of Americans and foreign nationals.
- h) Reliance upon and expansion of free market mechanisms and consequent opposition to producer subsidies, unnecessary regulatory mechanisms, and protectionist international trade policies.

Economic issues have loomed especially large in the test votes used to compile the 1973 Ripon Ratings. This is in recognition of the bankruptcy of the wage and price

control system and other rigged market approaches which have only served to generate shortages and exacerbate inflation. While the Nixon Administration has never deeply believed in the economic politics it was pursuing, congressional Democrats have responded with astonishing economic illiteracy to control failures with such approaches as rollbacks, freezes, and other disastrous solutions. Sadly, the present serious inflation may produce a strong increase in economic demagoguery to the long-term detriment of the American economy. To avert this, articulate Republican progressives and conservatives must begin to inform the public of the dangers of the King Canute approaches advocated by so many Democratic liberals.

SENATE VOTE KEY

- 30 — An amendment by Sen. William V. Roth (R-Del.) to open to the public all committee meetings, including legislative mark-up sessions, unless a recorded vote determined otherwise. Vote YEA. D-21 right, 25 wrong; R-17 right, 22 wrong.
- 37 — An amendment by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) encouraging cities to develop and improve mass transportation by allowing them to earmark up to \$850 million from the Highway Trust Fund for these purposes. Vote YEA. D-26 right, 25 wrong; R-23 right, 19 wrong.
- 55 — An amendment by Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) to freeze prices, rents, wages, salaries, interest rates and dividends for six months following final passage of the bill. Vote NAY. D-12 right, 36 wrong; R-39 right; 0 wrong.
- 73 — A substitute amendment by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) to freeze prices, rents, wages, salaries, interest rates, and dividends for 180 days from enactment of the bill, to an amendment offered by Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) to the meat and poultry inspection bill to roll back farm prices to the April 2, 1973 level. Vote NAY. D-5 right, 36 wrong; R-34 right, 1 wrong.
- 172 — An amendment to the agricultural bill by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) to provide for reserves of food and food grains. Vote NAY. D-29 right; 23 wrong; R-39 right, 2 wrong.
- 176 — An amendment by Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons.-N.Y.) to provide a transition period at the end of which direct supplementary payments to farmers would be terminated. Vote YEA. D-3 right, 50 wrong; R-11 right; 30 wrong.
- 177 — An amendment by Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) to delete provisions prohibiting the importation of dairy food in quantities exceeding 2 percent of the total, preceding year's annual consumption. Vote YEA. D-9 right, 45 wrong; R-14 right, 26 wrong.
- 184 — An amendment by Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) limiting subsidy payments to \$20,000 per individual producer for the 1974-1978 crops. Vote YEA. D-25 right, 20 wrong; R-20 right, 17 wrong.
- 187 — An amendment by Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-Md.), to terminate the national acreage allotment program at the end of the 1973 crop year. Vote YEA. D-4 right, 46 wrong; R-13 right, 24 wrong.
- 273 — A District of Columbia home-rule bill sponsored by Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) providing for an elected mayor and 11-member city council for the District of Columbia. Vote YEA. D-41 right, 7 wrong; R-28 right, 10 wrong.
- 376 — A motion by Sen. J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) to recommit to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the bill creating the Board for International Broadcasting and providing for continued federal support for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Vote NAY. D-33 right, 17 wrong; R-36 right, 0 wrong.

- 453 — A bill sponsored by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) to authorize \$1.2 billion in funds for foreign aid in fiscal 1974. Vote YEA. D-29 right, 25 wrong; R-25 right, 17 wrong.
- 478 — Vote on a joint resolution to limit the President's authority to commit U.S. armed forces without a declaration of war, specific statutory authorization, or a national emergency created by an attack upon the United States, its territories, possessions, or forces. President Nixon vetoed this legislation October 24, 1973; therefore a two-thirds majority was necessary to override. Vote YEA. D-50 right, 3 wrong; R-25 right, 15 wrong.
- 482 — An amendment to the National Energy Emergency Act by Sen. Floyd K. Haskell (D-Col.) to require the President to implement gasoline rationing no later than Jan. 15, 1974. Vote NAY. D-12 right, 38 wrong; R-36 right, 2 wrong.
- 487 — A motion by Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, Jr. (D-La.), to table an amendment by Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons.-N.Y.) to repeal the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970 which authorized wage-price controls. Vote NAY. D-4 right, 44 wrong; R-22 right, 16 wrong.
- 493 — A motion by Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) to table an amendment to the National Energy Emergency Act by Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.) to limit public transportation of school children to the school nearest their homes in order to conserve fuel. Vote YEA. D-34 right, 16 wrong; R-14 right, 23 wrong.
- 530 — A motion by Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) to table amendment to the Social Security Bill by Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.) to direct the President to require elementary and secondary students to attend the appropriate school nearest their residency. Vote YEA. D-32 right, 19 wrong; R-16 right, 21 wrong.

HOUSE VOTE KEY

- 10 — A resolution setting up a select committee composed of 10 members to be appointed by the speaker of the House, the number and optimum size of the committee, and the committee's facilities; authorizing \$1.5 million for this purpose. Vote YEA. D-166 right, 32 wrong; R-116 right, 59 wrong.
- 27 — A resolution authorizing members and staff of the House Banking and Currency Committee to travel for investigation and studies. A classic junket vote. Vote NAY. D-14 right, 204 wrong; R-117 right, 0 wrong.
- 61 — A motion by U.S. Rep. H.R. Gross (R-Iowa) to recommit the Peace Corps authorization bill to the House Foreign Affairs Committee with instructions to report the bill back with a reduced authorization of \$60 million for Fiscal 1974. Vote NAY. D-148 right, 49 wrong; R-90 right, 83 wrong.

HOUSE DEMOCRATS

HOUSE RATINGS

Representative	States	%	Tally
Abzug, N.Y.	10	27	61
Alagna, Wash.	10	27	61
Aldabbe, N.Y.	10	27	61
Albert, Ohio	10	27	61
Alexander, Ark.	10	27	61
Anderson, Calif.	10	27	61
Andrews, N.C.	10	27	61
Anunzio, Ill.	10	27	61
Ashley, Ohio	10	27	61
Audis, Va.	10	27	61
Badillo, N.Y.	10	27	61
Barrett, Pa.	10	27	61
Barnett, Pa.	10	27	61
Bergland, Minn.	10	27	61
Bentley, Ala.	10	27	61
Blaggi, N.Y.	10	27	61
Bligham, N.Y.	10	27	61
Blount, Minn.	10	27	61
Boggs, La.	10	27	61
Boland, Mass.	10	27	61
Bolling, Mo.	10	27	61
Bowen, Miss.	10	27	61
Brademas, Ind.	10	27	61
Brasco, N.Y.	10	27	61
Brazier, La.	10	27	61
Brock, N.Y.	10	27	61
Buckley, Pa.	10	27	61
Bunker, Calif.	10	27	61
Burke, Mass.	10	27	61
Burke, Calif.	10	27	61
Burke, Calif.	10	27	61
Byron, Md.	10	27	61
Casey, N.Y.	10	27	61
Casey, Ohio	10	27	61
Casey, Tex.	10	27	61
Chapman, Fla.	10	27	61
Chisholm, N.Y.	10	27	61
Clark, Pa.	10	27	61
Clay, Pa.	10	27	61
Collins, Ill.	10	27	61
Coyner, Mich.	10	27	61
Corman, Calif.	10	27	61
Cotler, Conn.	10	27	61
Cramer, Iowa	10	27	61
Daniel, (W.C. Dan) Va.	10	27	61
Daniels, N.Y.	10	27	61
Danielson, Calif.	10	27	61
Davis, Ga.	10	27	61
Davis, S.C.	10	27	61
de la Garza, Tex.	10	27	61
Delaney, N.Y.	10	27	61
DeLoach, Calif.	10	27	61
Denholm, S.D.	10	27	61
Dent, Pa.	10	27	61
Diggs, Mich.	10	27	61
Dirksen, Ill.	10	27	61
Dorn, S.C.	10	27	61
Downing, Va.	10	27	61
Drummond, Mass.	10	27	61
Dulski, N.Y.	10	27	61
Eckhardt, Tex.	10	27	61
Edwards, Calif.	10	27	61
Ellberg, Pa.	10	27	61
Evans, Colo.	10	27	61
Felix, Tenn.	10	27	61
Fascell, Fla.	10	27	61
"Abe" Tex.	10	27	61
Felt, Pa.	10	27	61
Felt, Wash.	10	27	61
Ford, W. Mich.	10	27	61
Forness, N.C.	10	27	61
Fraser, Minn.	10	27	61
Fulson, Tenn.	10	27	61
Fugate, Fla.	10	27	61
Gaydos, Pa.	10	27	61
Gale, S.C.	10	27	61
Gale, S.C.	10	27	61
Gibbons, Fla.	10	27	61
Glin, Ga.	10	27	61
Gonzales, Tex.	10	27	61
Gonsky, Conn.	10	27	61
Gray, Ill.	10	27	61
Green, Ore.	10	27	61
Green, Pa.	10	27	61
Griffith, Mich.	10	27	61
Gumther, Fla.	10	27	61
Haley, Pa.	10	27	61
Hamilton, Ind.	10	27	61
Hanley, N.Y.	10	27	61
Hansen, Calif.	10	27	61
Hansen, Wash.	10	27	61
Harrington, Mass.	10	27	61
Hastings, Calif.	10	27	61
Hays, Ohio	10	27	61
Hecht, La.	10	27	61
Hecht, W. Va.	10	27	61
Heldman, N.Y.	10	27	61
Helm, Wash.	10	27	61
Hollifield, Calif.	10	27	61
Holtzman, N.Y.	10	27	61
Howard, N.J.	10	27	61
Hughes, Mo.	10	27	61
Ingham, Mo.	10	27	61
Jarman, Ohio	10	27	61
Johston, Calif.	10	27	61
Jones, Tenn.	10	27	61
Jones, N.C.	10	27	61
Jones, Ohio	10	27	61
Jordan, Tex.	10	27	61
Keith, Minn.	10	27	61

Representative	States	%	Tally
Kastenmeier, Wis.	10	27	61
Kasten, Tex.	10	27	61
Kilgus, Ill.	10	27	61
Kilpatrick, Ill.	10	27	61
Koch, N.Y.	10	27	61
Kroger, Mo.	10	27	61
Landrum, Ga.	10	27	61
Leahy, Calif.	10	27	61
Lehman, Fla.	10	27	61
Lifton, Mo.	10	27	61
Long, Md.	10	27	61
Long, La.	10	27	61
MacDonald, Mass.	10	27	61
Madden, Ind.	10	27	61
Mahon, Tex.	10	27	61
Mann, Mo.	10	27	61
Mathis, Ga.	10	27	61
Matsumura, Hawaii	10	27	61
Mazouzi, Ky.	10	27	61
McCarthy, N.Y.	10	27	61
McCormack, Wash.	10	27	61
McFall, Calif.	10	27	61
McKay, Utah	10	27	61
McSpadden, Okla.	10	27	61
Meads, Wash.	10	27	61
Meeker, Mont.	10	27	61
McGee, Ill.	10	27	61
Meeks, Iowa	10	27	61
Millard, Tex.	10	27	61
Miller, Ark.	10	27	61
Minick, Hawaii	10	27	61
Minshall, Mo.	10	27	61
Moakley, Mass.	10	27	61
Mohrman, W. Va.	10	27	61
Montgomery, Miss.	10	27	61
Moynihan, Pa.	10	27	61
Murphy, Pa.	10	27	61
Moss, Calif.	10	27	61
Murphy, N.Y.	10	27	61
Murphy, Ill.	10	27	61
Nash, Ky.	10	27	61
Nelson, Tex.	10	27	61
Nichols, Ala.	10	27	61
Nix, Pa.	10	27	61
Obey, Wis.	10	27	61
O'Hara, Mich.	10	27	61
O'Neill, Mass.	10	27	61
Owens, S. Dak.	10	27	61
Panama, La.	10	27	61
Panetta, Calif.	10	27	61
Patten, N.J.	10	27	61
Pepper, Fla.	10	27	61
Perkins, Ky.	10	27	61
Picard, Tex.	10	27	61
Pike, N.Y.	10	27	61
Poague, Tex.	10	27	61
Poff, N.Y.	10	27	61
Proyer, S. Dak.	10	27	61
Price, Ill.	10	27	61
Randall, Mo.	10	27	61
Ranger, N.Y.	10	27	61
Rarick, La.	10	27	61
Rice, Calif.	10	27	61
Reid, N.Y.	10	27	61
Ress, Wis.	10	27	61
Riggs, Mo. #	10	27	61
Roberts, Tex.	10	27	61
Rodino, N.J.	10	27	61
Roe, N.J.	10	27	61
Rogers, Fla.	10	27	61
Rosen, N.Y.	10	27	61
Rosenblat, N.Y.	10	27	61
Rostenkowski, Ill.	10	27	61
Roos, Ind.	10	27	61
Roy, Kan.	10	27	61
Roybal, Calif.	10	27	61
Rumsey, N.M.	10	27	61
Ryan, Calif.	10	27	61
St. Germain, N.J.	10	27	61
Sarbanes, Md.	10	27	61
Satterfield, Va.	10	27	61
Schroeder, Colo.	10	27	61
Schroeder, Ohio	10	27	61
Shapiro, Ill.	10	27	61
Shipe, Fla.	10	27	61
Slack, Calif.	10	27	61
Slack, W. Va.	10	27	61
Smith, Iowa	10	27	61
Staggers, W. Va.	10	27	61
Stanton, N.Y.	10	27	61
Stark, Calif.	10	27	61
Starnes, Ohio	10	27	61
Stephens, Ga.	10	27	61
Stokes, Ohio	10	27	61
Stratton, N.Y.	10	27	61
Stubblefield, Ky.	10	27	61
Stromberg, Ga.	10	27	61
Strom, Mass.	10	27	61
Sullivan, Mo.	10	27	61
Symington, Mo.	10	27	61
Taylor, N.C.	10	27	61
Teaney, Tex.	10	27	61
Thompson, N.J.	10	27	61
Thornton, Ark.	10	27	61
Thornum, La.	10	27	61
Tidwell, Ark.	10	27	61
Ullman, Ore.	10	27	61
Van Deventer, Calif.	10	27	61
Vandell, Ohio	10	27	61
Vigore, Pa.	10	27	61
Waggoner, La.	10	27	61
Walsh, Calif.	10	27	61
Walters, Tex.	10	27	61
Whitten, Miss.	10	27	61
Wilson, C. Calif.	10	27	61
Wilson, Tex.	10	27	61
Wolfe, N.Y.	10	27	61
Wright, Tex.	10	27	61
Yates, Ill.	10	27	61
Yatron, Pa.	10	27	61
Young, A. Ga.	10	27	61
Young, Tex.	10	27	61
Zachary, Wis.	10	27	61

HOUSE REPUBLICANS

HOUSE RATINGS

Representatives	States	7	10	27	61	88	98	98	110	118	145	224	268	280	289	452	512	Tally	Representatives	States	20	10	27	61	88	98	98	110	116	145	224	258	280	289	452	512	Tally
Abdnor, S.D.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9/74	Landgrabe, Ind.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	5/74		
Anderson, Ill.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	11/13	Latta, Ohio		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/13		
Andrew, N.D.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/13	
Archer, Tex.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/14		
Arnold, Ill.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/14	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Aronson, Colo.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Ashbrook, Ohio		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Balfanz, Fla.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Baker, Tenn.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Bauman, Md.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Beard, Tenn.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Bell, Calif.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Bleser, Pa.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Blackburn, Ga.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Brady, Ind.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Broomfield, Mich.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Brotzman, Colo.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Brown, Ohio		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Brown, Mich.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Broyhill, N.C.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Broyhill, Pa.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Buchanan, Ala.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Burgener, Calif.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Burke, Fla.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Burlier, Va.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Camp, Okla.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Carver, Ky.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Cederberg, Mich.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Chamberlain, Mich.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Claiborne, Ohio		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Claiborne, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Claiborne, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Claiborne, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		
Claiborne, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13	Leah, N.Y.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	8/13		

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) brought down the house when he addressed a recent fundraising dinner in New York City for Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.). Percy told the audience that only a fundraising dinner for Javits could attract persons from such a broad ideological range. In fact, said Percy, he could think of only one other time when so many viewpoints were represented in one room: when Nelson Rockefeller dined alone. The former New York governor reportedly blushed.

● Speeches before the Bull Elephant Club, an organization of Republicans congressional aides, are normally off-the-record. But when Gov. Ronald Reagan (R) addressed the organization recently, one gubernatorial remark was widely quoted. Reagan was queried about the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst. The California governor said he felt persons accepting the ransom food were "aiding and abetting" the kidnapers. Reagan went on to suggest that it would be nice if an "epidemic of botulism" affected the food in question. According to a Reagan spokesman, the remark was supposed to be a joke, but not even the Bull Moose Elephant Club was infatuated by Reagan's ill-timed sense of comedy. Reagan's remarks are reminiscent of some of the equally unpresidential gaffes made by the former Vice President Spiro Agnew. Certainly the nation treasures its sense of humor, but presidential aspirants might be wise to remember that the White House is not a tent stop on the vaudeville circuit. Note: Belle Elephants have for some time been annoyed with their exclusion from the Bull Elephant Club, but it has remained a male bastion, unlike the White House gym — where top female aides may now work on pedal control and other exercises.

● Robert T. Monagan, the former speaker of the California Assembly who is now assistant secretary of the Department of Transportation, has decided not to run for the post of California state treasurer being vacated by Ivy Baker Priest. Monagan, who has been in Washington for only a year has decided to remain at his congressional liaison post.

● Judge James E. Holshouser, Sr., father of North Carolina's Gov. James E. Holshouser, Jr., is running for a seat in the General Assembly from Watauga County.

● Court rulings barring S. I. Hayakawa from seeking the Republican nomination to oppose California Sen. Alan Cranston (D) leave State Sen. H.C. Richardson, an arch-conservative, as the top choice of California Republicans, according to Mervin D. Field's California Poll. Hayakawa, however, was far out front of Richardson and former state Health and Welfare Director Earl Brian both as a possible Republican nominee and as an opponent to Cranston. The former president of San Francisco State College held Cranston to 52-39 percent in the poll, which was taken before James E. Johnson, a black conservative who is a former assistant secretary of the navy, entered the Senate race. Hayakawa was barred from the primary because he delayed too long in switching his party registration from

Democrat to Republican. An earlier Feld poll showed Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke leading Controller Houston I. Flournoy, 52-22 percent, for the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

● James S. Graham, a 26-year-old California Republican, has filed a suit challenging California's winner-take-all primary. Attorney Graham's suit against Secretary of State Edmund G. Brown, Jr., and the Republican State Central Committee cites Sen. George McGovern's 43.5 percent win in 1972 when the South Dakotan was awarded the entire state delegation. The Democratic National Committee recently agreed to ban winner-take-all primaries. That move may have serious consequences for the GOP if legislatures move to accommodate this Democratic policy and thereby change the structure of Republican presidential primaries as well. Similar legislation has been introduced in the California legislature.

● If Republicans attending Lincoln Day dinners in February detected a theme similar to the one President Nixon struck at the Lincoln Memorial February 12, they can probably trace the source to the Republican National Committee. Despite George Bush's efforts to separate the party from Watergate, his committee's materials for Lincoln Day speakers linked the two Republican Presidents: "What happens if we look back a hundred years plus a decade? There was also another Republican President, one with a stovepipe hat and gaunt stature. In looking back, we do so in shame, for here, too, was a President subjected to the most vitriolic and savage attacks. Think of the worst epithets — they were used against Abraham Lincoln. But this giant among American Presidents never wavered for a moment in the job he was elected to do: save the nation . . . It will be the same with Richard Nixon. Despite the abuse, the attempts to discredit, the lampooning, his critics will be proved wrong. For all they are doing is shaming America . . ." One Republican who refused to wrap Nixon in the Lincoln mantle was Washington's King County prosecutor Christopher Bayley, who pointed out at a Lincoln Day Dinner that "the justification for an unprecedented concentration of executive power that allowed Watergate to happen is not as persuasive as the justification for Abraham Lincoln's exercise of executive prerogative in the 1860's." The secret politics of Watergate, Bayley contended, ran counter to the public proposals of the Nixon Administration to decentralize government power. He urged Republicans to denounce such excesses of government and return to the Whig principles of limited government on which Lincoln built his presidency.

● Kansas Republicans have been considerably embarrassed by the actions of a Tennessee political analyst they hired to research the administration of retiring Gov. Robert Docking. Although the analyst, the Rev. Wayne Poucher, was supposed to stick his nose into possible corruption in the Docking administration, he offered instead to act as a "double agent" for Docking in order to embarrass the Republicans. According to the Kansas Democrats, Poucher offered to tape an interview with Docking, then doctor the tape he gave Republicans to embarrass Docking while keeping the original tape for Docking to refute any subsequent Republican charges and embarrass the GOP. Republicans denied any wrongdoing and so did Poucher but the curious controversy could hardly buttress public confidence in politicians of either party.

LETTERS

Health Care

In his State of the Union message President Nixon brought up the subject of health care. With his usual lowly bow to the Lords of the American Medical Association, Nixon commented we should be sure doctors work for the benefit of the patient and not for the government.

For several years now the Nixon family itself has enjoyed the benefits of socialized medicine paid for by the taxpayer. The President's physician is a doctor in the U. S. Navy. He works for the government. If the Nixon family needs hospitalization, it has access to government owned and operated hospitals where the doctors all work for the government. Has anyone heard the President complain of inadequate medical care in all these many years? Has anyone heard of his insisting on substituting the supposed benefits of private enterprise medicine for the socialized medicine with which he is provided?

A few days after the President's speech, his Secretary of the Interior, Rogers C. B. Morton, became ill with an inflamed optic nerve. Did Morton rush to a private physician or to a hospital where he could enjoy the alleged benefits of private medical practice? Certainly not. Instead he went to the Bethesda Naval Hospital, a government installation where the doctors work for the government.

The last time Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona was hospitalized, he went to Walter Reed Hospital. This hospital is a government owned and operated medical facility of the U. S. Army. Its doctors work for the government. The senator had the hospital compute the cost of the services provided for him and chose to pay for them.

We already have a system of socialized medicine in the United States, but it is a system from which the average citizen gains no benefit. A select group of privileged office-holders has opened the doorway to the public till and has provided for itself the benefits of socialized medicine at the taxpayers' expense. The only thing the American form of socialized medicine offers the rest of us are hypocritical homilies from these same privileged politicians on the supposed benefits of private medical care. If private medical care is so superior, why don't they choose to use it?

RUSSELL E. WARNER
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Under the Fiscal Chestnut Tree

In this day of Watergate and other diversions, one hesitates to write of conspiracies. It appears, however, that there is a conspiracy afoot (or awash or ahoof or what-have-you) on C Street N.E. in our nation's capital to keep abreast of the non-inflation which the President and his multitude of Good Humor boys assure us is under control. Now, mind you, I have nothing against inflation *per se*; it's as American as honesty in government. A little judicious inflation is good for the Puritan Ethic; it encourages us all to work a little harder just to stay a half-step ahead of our creditors, who have to work a little harder to stay ahead of *their* creditors, who have to work a little harder, etc., etc. Inflation is good for the Captains of Industry; without it they couldn't raise their prices 25 percent to insure their investors of a 15 percent return on their stocks. Inflation is good for the unions; after all, without *that* to fall back on, their arguments for a 30 percent increase in wages to meet a 10 percent rise in the cost of living wouldn't hold water. Apparently the only people who don't profit directly from inflation are the poor and the elderly, but since they don't vote, I don't see why we should worry.

Well, as usual, I seem to have digressed from my topic, which is "The Conspiracy on C Street." Somewhere I read that Republicans are supposed to be fiscal conservatives (unless you happen to be a progressive Republican, in which case you might as well be a Democrat). Now a pattern begins to emerge; a fiscal conservative is one who aims to guard his treasury from the depredations of radical agitators (or in the common parlance, "radages"). Certainly no right-thinking Republican of any stripe could disagree with so worthy a goal as this.

As we all know, the ever-cautious Republican is reluctant to spend hard-earned dollars on those less deserving than himself, if for no other reason than from fear of encouraging the Bread-and-Circus Syndrome (see Schafly, Phyllis: *Pass the Poverty, Please*, for a more careful study of this dangerous malady). If our Republican is reluctant to spend that dollar, it must of necessity follow that he is also reluctant to raise the dollar through taxes.

Having established the fact that any "True Republican" balks at raising the taxes of *all* the people, one wonders why he would be so ill-advised as to raise the taxes only of his fellow Republicans. This deed is particularly reprehensible as it comes without notice and with no explanation (even Barry Goldwater couldn't object to a 67 percent jump in taxes if the tax collector gave him a logical reason for the increase).

Tea was tossed into Boston Harbor for less than this, and as modern-day Minutepersons we ought to be prepared to rise up in protest. Remember the ditty from the Revolution, entitled "Chester":

Let Tyrants shake their Iron rod,
And slav-ry clank her galling chains,
We fear them not, we trust in God
New England's God forever reigns.

New England's God was a fiscal conservative; let us bear this in mind as we assemble on C Street, N.E., to demand an end to "Taxation by misrepresentation." Death to Tyrants!

RICHARD L. CLEVELAND
State Representative
Northfield, Vermont

Editor's Note: Apparently, State Rep. Cleveland does not approve of the price increase in the FORUM. Personally, I am not quite ecstatic about the idea either, but Cleveland's protests seem a bit hypocritical from a representative of Vermont, which had the temerity to erect the Bennington Monument to commemorate a Revolutionary War battle which was actually fought in Hoosick Falls, New York. Moreover, the good burghers of Vermont extort 50¢ per gullible tourist to ascend that edifice — and even then, one only gets halfway to the obelisk's summit. By contrast, the Bunker Hill Monument (which at least is in the right state and the right hill) only charges 10¢ for the privilege of ascending to the very top of the monument. Since the two monuments are approximately equal in height, it might be added that rugged Bostonians still walk to the top of their monument while Vermont tourists are escorted by elevator. db

The New Right

In their conceptualizing of "The Old Right versus the New Right," Clifford Brown and John Elwood shed some interesting light on the current political situation. However, to relate these political data to the emergence of a new political ideology, and to discover and compare two artificial ideological categories, may be nothing more than an interesting intellectual exercise devoid of true political significance. One does not have to agree entirely with Daniel Boorstin to view skeptically the impact of political thought on reality.

There seem to be three comments worth making about the Brown-Elwood analysis. First, it really tells us nothing new. Louis Brandeis warned us about the threat of bigness to our economic life. Adolph Berle and Gardner Means detected America's shift from capitalism to corporatism after the depression. John Kenneth Galbraith was the informant in the sixties, and many other authors — Jerry Cohen, Morton Mintz, John Blair, Ralph Nader, and Mark Green — have analyzed the growth of corporatism in the seventies. Moreover, a high official of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce recently stated that our current economic system closely resembles the fascist model. Though some of this corporate giantism has been the unwitting byproduct of Democratic policies, it is not surprising to learn that the true beneficiaries have been Republican businessmen, apparently members of the "New Right."

Secondly, the detection of a deep split between the Old Right and the New Right may be an interesting observation, but it lacks political significance. If a real political scrap were going on, it might be worth the country's attention. As it is, however, one may ask, "Where is the Old Right?" and receive a shrug of the shoulder as the most credible answer. Surely there are still some Old Right thinkers around who are available to provide

fodder for meaningless debates. But a serious political force? Hardly. It is the people of New Right thinking who are the only conservative political force to be reckoned with.

If "there are still many businessmen who believe in a laissez-faire capitalistic economy," let's have some names. Or is it even possible empirically to test this observation, when those businessmen who mouth the laissez-faire rhetoric may only be propagating a Platonic myth to shroud their own behavior?

To realize that some New Left thinkers are enunciating Old Right thought may also be an interesting irony. However, it may be one of those ironies so common in political theory as to no longer be ironic, much less important.

A third comment worth making about the Brown-Elwood analysis is that it over-emphasizes the importance of ideology to current political reality. Even if there were a few political figures in the corporate or government world who could fit the Old Right mold, how could we be sure that ideology was motivating their actions? Moreover, isn't the value of the New Right label somewhat mitigated when we discover that virtually all powerful political elements are part of the New Right? Might it not be wise to divest this majority faction of ideological motivation, and simply label it the "Establishment" — an entity simply motivated by the maintenance and enrichment of its own power?

Without much apparent ideological motivation in existence, perhaps Brown and Elwood should not persist in analyzing which values conservatives are trying to preserve, whether they be freedom, security, or the balance of power and decentralization. I suspect most politicians have instinctual attitudes underlying those values. Therefore, it might be preferable to use the sociological definition of "conservative" as "resistant to change" rather than rely on political theory for our signals. Utilizing this definition, it is easy to realize how the Old Rightist of yesterday can be the New Rightist of today. Resistance to change will preserve a status quo always favorable to the existing power base.

JOHN HOLCOMB
Director of Urban Affairs
Public Affairs Council
Washington, D.C.

Murder

In the article, "Vengeance and Vomit," (January 15 FORUM), James Manahan omitted some facts regarding murder in this country.

Murders have gone up 56 percent per 100,000 inhabitants from 1960 to 1970, and the number of offenses has increased 76 percent. During the 10-year period, 1960-69, 561 police officers met death at the hands of felons. Of the 741 known offenders involved in these murders, 75 percent had prior criminal arrests and 54 percent of these offenders had been previously charged for a violent crime. One-fourth of the murderers were on probation when they killed the police officer and 19, or 3 percent, had previously been convicted of a murder.

Manahan's statement that "there is virtually no evidence that the death penalty serves as a deterrent at all" must be challenged, because the failures of the death penalty as a deterrent can be measured, not the successes. How do you measure the successes? The books are full of crimes where the defendant used a toy gun or unloaded gun, or where the defendant stopped short of killing. The reason is that he did not want the chair or gas chamber. These facts are conveniently omitted by Manahan from his "bleeding heart" narration.

The news media have been permitted to observe executions, and facts regarding them have been published in many states. I have been sitting in the courtroom weekly, monthly, and yearly since 1947, and before that had reported many military courts-martial. My heart has long since ceased to bleed for the hard-core criminals.

Twenty-three states have reinstated the death penalty. California voters, by a 2-1 majority, indicated that they wanted it reinstated. This is one arena where the liberals are going to lose.

ROY E. VOELKER
Court Reporter
Oskaloosa, Iowa

14a ELIOT STREET

● At the Chicago Ripon annual meeting in February, the following new officers were elected: **Robert L. Friedlander**, president, **Harry E. Estell**, vice president, and **Paul C. Kimball**, secretary and treasurer.

● February 13, at the first in a series of monthly issues luncheons sponsored by the Boston-Cambridge Chapter, **John Verani**, Consumer Affairs secretary, spoke on the energy crisis and the effect of the oil crisis on Massachusetts.

● At a recent meeting of the Nashville Ripon Chapter, **Ron Reitdorf**, executive director of the Tennessee Republican Party, discussed the prospects for Republicans in this year's elections. Reitdorf characterized some of the Republican legislative candidates as "dogs" that even his pet canine could have defeated. However, he does feel that GOP has no fears on the gubernatorial race.

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DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Senate 'Anti-Ashe' Bill May Elect New Member,"** by William Bennett. *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, February 17, 1974. Tennessee State Rep. Victor Ashe (R-Knoxville) has irritated some of his legislative colleagues with his allegedly abrasive tactics. So when it was rumored that Ashe was considering a challenge to Republican State Sen. Brown Ayres, Senate legislators decided to revise constitutional requirements a little to block the election of anyone who is not yet 30 years old by election day. Under the past vague constitutional requirement, Ashe would be 30 next January and thus eligible to run and serve. Ayres himself did not participate in the anti-Ashe maneuver; he "reportedly was somewhat apprehensive when he learned that bit of business was afoot, because Ashe is an indefatigable campaigner, a door-to-door specialist who, should he put his might to it, might possibly vend sand dunes in the Sahara." The proposed legislation was logically tagged the "Victor Ashe Birthday Bill."

● **"Is Resignation the Answer to Watergate?"** *Human Events*, March 16, 1974. "It is not critical at this juncture," say the editors of *Human Events*, "whether or not the President is being unfairly dogged by liberal enemies (he is) or even whether or not he is guilty (we don't know, but there are many who would agree with Jeffrey Hart, who, in a recent column favoring Nixon's resignation, wrote: '... I would support Nixon against McGovern if Nixon were running from Sing Sing'). What is critical is whether Nixon's continuation in office will bring the Left what it desperately desires: the destruction of the Republican Party and a veto-proof Congress that will control the destiny of this Republic. We are not saying that Watergate will necessarily produce the disaster envisioned by many Republican professionals — though the signs are not particularly good at the moment — but the problem must be faced by serious Republican law-makers who value the GOP philosophy. And if they find in the affirmative they must then do what is necessary so the Republican Party and its 1972 mandate will still be viable entities after November of this year."

● **"Many Congressmen Set Up 'Newsletter' Funds as a Means of Raising Extra Expense Money,"** by Dan Thomasson and Carl West. *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, February 7, 1974. "Scores of House members are amassing so-called 'newsletter' funds to defray costs of political and official business without having to account publicly for the money's sources or expenditures. The practice is similar to the widely publicized \$18,000 fund put together in 1952 by wealthy backers of then-Sen. Richard M. Nixon," writes Scripps-Howard reporters Thomasson and West. "Whatever the fund's form or name, the chief reason for raising the money remains publication of the congressman's newsletter which can run as high as \$5,000 a printing. But a survey by Scripps-Howard Newspapers revealed the funds also are used for a variety of other expenses including food, liquor, newspaper subscriptions, travel for congressmen and their staffs, telephones, charitable donations, club dues, radio and TV tape recordings, postage, and even picture framing." The reporters cite one Democratic source who estimated that 40-50 percent of the House now have such funds and 60 percent will have them in the next year or so.

● **"Wallace: Looking to '76..."** by Clayton Fritchey. *Washington Post*, March 13, 1976. Fritchey contends that Gov. George C. Wallace is aiming for the 1976 Democratic vice presidential nomination and that Sen. Henry Jackson, if nominated, is willing to accommodate the Alabama maverick with the number two spot. Wallace, in the eyes of Fritchey, is fuzzing his image toward the Democratic center more than the Democratic center is moving toward him, but still Wallace would be an anathema to the bulk of the party. "... no disinterested Democratic leader that I know of, nor any national political writer, believes Wallace has a chance of winning the 1976 nomination. There is a simple but definitive reason: His nomination would kill the party as it has been constituted since the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal more than 40 years ago." Fritchey point out that

part of Wallace's appeal results from the fact that "he has never had a definable program, but he is master of double talk..." Curiously, Wallace is more an advocate of a set of feelings than set of programs.

● **"Washington Report from Your Congressman,"** by Barber B. Conable, Jr. March 6, 1974. Criticizing the hypocrisy of congressmen who advocated oil price roll-backs knowing the impracticality of such action, U.S. Rep. Barber Conable (R-N.Y.) writes, "The rollback is not a large one. It will save a few cents a gallon at the outset. If the embargo ends soon, it will be wiped out quickly thereafter by the higher prices we will have to pay for the foreign oil which will command an increasing share of our market. And worse, we will have to pay whatever the foreigners want to charge us for their oil because we have discouraged rather than encouraged an increase in our domestic production. The government can spend the taxpayers' money on research, and it should, but the new techniques and new energy sources the research makes possible would be more expensive to apply and nobody will use them unless they have some prospect of getting back their investment through adequate prices. There it is, unpleasant as it sounds: higher prices are a necessity if we are ever going to balance supply and demand again and emerge from the shadow of Arab blackmail. FORUM Editor's Note: In the vast wasteland of congressional newsletters, Conable's missives stand out as monuments to erudition at variance with the usual political pabulum.

● **"Dodging Campaign Reform,"** by David S. Broder. *The Washington Post*, March 13, 1974. Analyzing President Nixon's proposed campaign reforms, Broder was brief and unusually blunt: "They are a sham." Broder is critical because Nixon raised the "red herring" of taxation without representation" to argue against public financing of campaigns, and because he failed to deal realistically with proposals that would eliminate the role that "cause" groups (such as the American Conservative Union and the National Committee for an Effective Congress) play in raising campaign funds from small contributors. Broder has long argued that "the pending public finance proposals deserve and need much more searching scrutiny — for their effects on the whole political system — than Congress has given them." He is disturbed that the President "not only missed the opportunity, he distorted the debate — as he has done so often by employing cheap rhetoric on Watergate issues instead of dealing with the serious substance of the question." Concludes Broder, "It is hard not to think that the Nixon campaign reform proposals are simply a mischief-making device for obstructing legislation or justifying a veto."

● **"Lack of Primary Battles Hurting GOP,"** by Cornelius Dalton. *Boston Sunday Advertiser-Herald-American*, February 24, 1974. "There is nothing wrong with the Republican Party in Massachusetts that a few good brawls can't cure. That admittedly is putting the problem too simply. But there isn't any doubt that the lack of contests in Republican primaries has been a significant factor in the steady decline in Republican enrollment in the state. Some Republicans are upset because Carroll Sheehan, former state commissioner of commerce and development, plans to challenge Frank Sargent for the party's nomination for governor." Dalton argues that party primaries will stir up interest in the GOP, a quality which the party badly needs. "Voting in the Republican primary is sometimes like voting in Russia — none of the candidates has an opponent."

● **"Why Are They Quitting: House Dropouts,"** by Paul R. Wieck. *New Republic*, March 23, 1974. House retirements this year may surpass the record of 46 set in 1952 and 1972. Already, 38 congresspersons have decided to quit, including many ranking members. Wieck argues that bitterness with the workload, the harassment, and the frustrations contribute to the decisions of ranking members to bow out. Notes Wieck: "When this year's primaries get under way, the involuntary retirement rate may go higher as voters, annoyed by Watergate, shortages, and inflation, strike out — wisely or blindly. If that happens, Washington will see a lot of young fresh faces, something (U.S. Rep. Howard Robison) thinks is all to the good. And for the select group who are high up but are leaving voluntarily there's a reward: 'Ever since I decided to retire,' Robison says, 'people couldn't be nicer to me if I'd died.'"