

RIPON FORUM

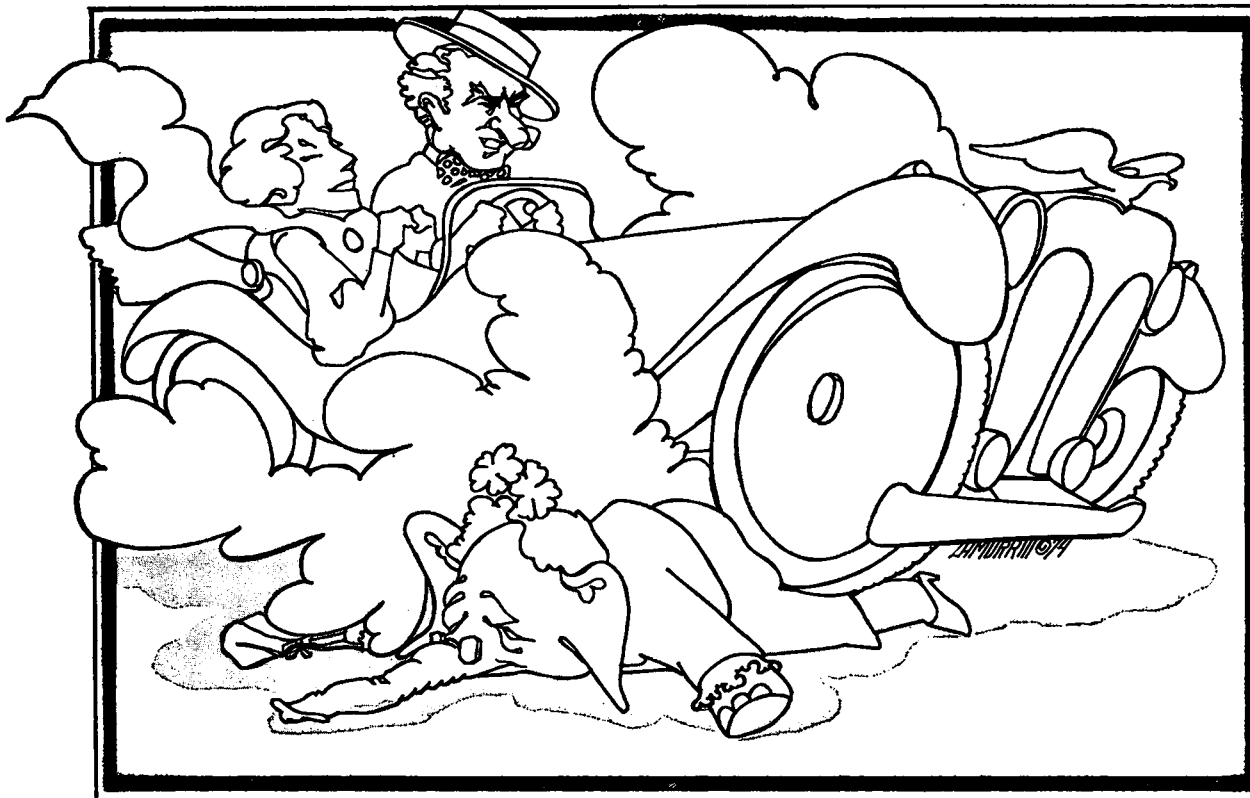
CONTENTS

Politics	1-7
Commentary	8-11
Duly Noted	11-12

MAY 1, 1974

Vol. X, No. 9

50 CENTS



"HIT and RUN"

POLITICS: REPORTS

MICHIGAN

LANSING — Neither Watergate nor current economic conditions appear to have hurt Republican Gov. William Milliken's prospects for reelection this November. A private poll commissioned by Republicans shows 73 percent of those interviewed approve of how Milliken is handling his job. This is a 9-percent hike in the approval rating from a May 1973 poll.

Milliken's latest poll, composed of 800 personal interviews by Market Opinion Research, Inc. of Detroit, said 17 percent of the registered voters disapproved of the job Milliken is do-

ing. The earlier May poll showed 32 percent disapproval. The poll also indicated that Watergate has not had any substantial impact on the governor; 81 percent said Watergate would not affect their vote. An additional telephone survey conducted by party volunteers in several highly Democratic precincts in the Detroit area shows Milliken currently running ahead of Sander Levin, the leading Democratic candidate.

Indicative of Milliken's prospects is the success of his recent "Bill's Beefsteak" dinners honoring the governor's 52nd birthday. The 1974 dinners drew about 3,000 persons and netted well over \$200,000. Present at the first

of the three dinners was Bill Marshall, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO, and a number of other labor leaders. According to lower-echelon union spokesmen, it is possible that the AFL-CIO will remain neutral in the governor's race thereby giving a considerable boost to Milliken.

Of high interest to Michigan Republicans is Milliken's selection of a runningmate to replace Lt. Gov. James Brickley, who announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection. The leading contender is Philip E. Ruppe of Houghton. Ruppe is a liberal who has been pushed by the *Detroit Free Press* and many liberals within the party. Ruppe could also strengthen Milliken's standing in Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The strongest factor against his selection

is the fear of many Republicans that without the support of Rep. Ruppe as a congressional candidate, Republicans would lose the 11th C.D. to Attorney General Frank Kelley (D). Other contenders include State Rep. Dennis O. Cawthorne (minority floor leader of the Michigan House), State Sen. Carl Pursell, and State Rep. James Damman.

Following the "temporary withdrawal" of former Detroit Mayor Jerry Cavanagh from the Democratic race to undergo surgery for cancer, Sander Levin, the 1970 gubernatorial candidate, is the leading contender for the Democratic nomination for governor. State Rep. Bobby Crim, Democratic floor leader of the Michigan house, is considered by insiders to be a dark-horse possibility for the nomination.

James E. Wells, a Detroit attorney and member of the Conservative Party of Michigan, has also announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination. "Forced busing is the main issue in the Democratic primary race," Wells said. He indicated that if he were unsuccessful in his attempt to secure the Democratic nomination, "then we'll go the American Independent Party route."

Republican prospects in other state races are glum. The Michigan Senate, evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats but organized by the Republicans, will fall to the Democrats because of reapportionment. In the State House, controlled by the Democrats 60-50, it is feared that the Republicans may lose as many as ten seats.

On the heels of their shocking loss to Richard VanderVeen in Grand

Rapids' 5th C.D. Michigan Republicans faced an April 16 special election to fill the vacancy left by U.S. Rep. James Harvey (R), who was appointed to a federal judgeship in Detroit. Michigan's 8th C.D., which includes all or part of seven counties in the state's thumb region (including Saginaw and Bay City), hadn't sent a Democrat to Congress since 1932.

Democrat J. Robert Traxler, a state representative for the past 13 years, began campaigning last August in an effort to break the GOP hold on the district. The primary thrust of his campaign had been to make the elec-

tion a referendum on President Nixon, and he had asked 8th C.D. voters to "send a message" to Washington. His Republican opponent, James Sparling (who served Harvey as an aide), had attempted to shift voter hostility toward the Democrat-controlled Congress.

In the long run, it was Democrat Traxler's approach that was more successful. In Bad Axe, a solid GOP farm area, more than 350 persons including top GOP officials turned out in 20-degree weather at a dinner held to raise funds for Traxler's campaign. Local politicians said they could not recall such attendance at a Democratic gathering in this town of 3,000 during this century — not even during the depression of the 1930's.

GOP officials attending the fundraiser included Huron County GOP chairman Gordon Gempel, county commission chairman Albert Thoms (who was wearing a Traxler campaign button), and Republican Sheriff Richard Stokan.

According to a Knight News Service survey, President Nixon's controversial visit to the 8th C.D. helped Sparling but independent voters in the district swung the election to Traxler. Actually, a swing to Sparling had been evident before Nixon's visit.

Although Sparling refused to blame the President for his defeat, other Republicans did. Gov. Milliken said Nixon was a GOP "minus" in the campaign. Lt. Gov. James H. Brickley (R) said, "People don't feel they have a President. And this is caused by the effects of Watergate." Said Michigan GOP State Chairman William Mc-



William Milliken

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Laughlin, "It's easy to blame the President, but I don't know if that's the right thing."

Actually, the relative decrease in the percentage of the Republican vote was smaller in Michigan's 8th C.D. than in the previous four special congressional elections this year. Sparling's 48.6 percent was 10.7 percent lower than U.S. Rep. James Harvey's percentage in 1972. By comparison, the relative GOP decreases in the other races were: Pennsylvania's 12th C.D. — 18.3 percent; Michigan's 5th C.D. — 16.8 percent; Ohio's 1st C.D. — 22.2 percent; and California's 13th C.D. — 20.7 percent.

Republicans also face difficulties in November. Both Traxler and VanderVeen may be difficult to unseat at that time. In addition, U.S. Rep. Marvin Esch (R) faces a stiff contest in the 2nd C.D. Prospective Democratic candidates include John Reuther, nephew of the former labor leader and recent lobbyist for Ford Motor Company, Ypsilanti attorney Ronald Egner, and Eastern Michigan University Political Science Professor Marjorie Lansing. Although most observers give the nomination to Reuther, Lansing has strong support from students and feminists and should run a strong race. In addition, Ed McNamara, mayor of Livonia and 1970 candidate for lieutenant governor, is considering entering the race. Regardless of the Democratic nominee, Esch faces the toughest campaign of his career.

In the 18th C.D., conservative U.S. Rep. Robert Huber (R) faces a strong challenge from State Sen. Daniel S. Copper (D). Although this should be an easy seat for the Democrats, Huber's conservative positions on social issues have a strong appeal to many working-class Democrats.

The race to succeed retiring U.S. Rep. Charles E. Chamberlain promises to be a crowded one. Two candidates, East Lansing attorney Clifford Taylor and former Agnew staffer Mike Coning of Jackson are considering entering the Republican nomination; State Sen. William Ballenger is expected to announce for the position shortly. In addition, State Rep. Thomas Sharpe of Howell and State Sen. James Fleming of Jackson are considering entering the race. Recent surveys indicate that Ballenger, an activist in the

moderate wing of the Republican Party, is the leading contender and will win the primary with ease.

The leading Democratic contender, attorney Robert Carr of East Lansing, is considered a shoo-in for the nomination. He is opposed by C. Patrick Larrowe, a Michigan State University economist. The general election between Ballenger and Carr promises to be a hotly contested race. Carr lost to Chamberlain by 2,000 votes in 1972 and has maintained a low-profile campaign organization since that time. However, unlike Chamberlain, Ballenger is popular with many of the groups that formed Carr's 1972 constituency, including students, feminists, and advocates of campaign reform legislation. This race promises to be as close in 1974 as it was in 1972. ■

CONNECTICUT

NEW HAVEN — Only a few months ago, Connecticut politicians were wondering whether U.S. Rep. Ella T. Grasso (D-6th) might actually become the state's first woman governor. Today, they are wondering whether anyone can possibly stop the popular congresswoman from achieving that goal.

State Attorney General Robert K. Killian was first thought the frontrunner in the Democratic race. Both candidates attacked the record compiled by incumbent conservative Gov. Thomas Meskill (R) and figured his low standing in the polls would lead either Democrat to victory in November. Grasso's candidacy began to pick up steam, adding endorsements and showing up well in polls to the detriment of the Killian campaign.

Then, in mid-March, state Republicans were thrown into the political limelight when Meskill, who had made only vague hints on the subject before, announced he would not seek a second term. (Meskill said "family reasons" were the deciding factor, but Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., is promoting him for nomination to a vacancy on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.)

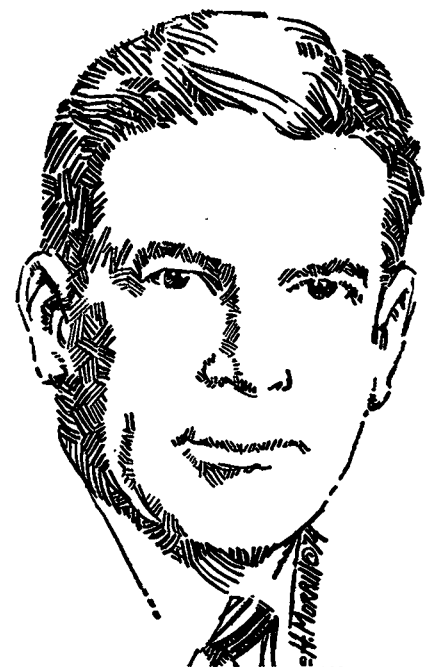
Republicans were now short one candidate for governor, since no prospec-

tive candidates had dared declare their intentions before Meskill made his plans known. U.S. Rep. Robert H. Steele (R-4th) had indicated his interest in the governor's mansion for several months, and former State Environmental Protection Commissioner Dan W. Lufkin had drifted back into the state, appearing at a number of political and social functions, hinting at his availability.

While both men were considered progressives, Meskill and State GOP Chairman J. Brian Gaffney made known their dislike for Steele, who has been an ambitious, maverick liberal in his two terms in the House. Furthermore, the gubernatorial nomination would also determine control of the state party organization.

Lufkin, a millionaire investment banker, was generally considered a Weicker ally; and while Meskill and Gaffney have often been at odds with the state's junior senator, their distaste for Steele enabled them to unite with Weicker to "leak" to the press a joint preference for Lufkin for the party nod.

No sooner had Lufkin become the recognized frontrunner than he dropped his own "bombshell," that he was not interested in the governorship (or any other office) this year. Attention again centered on Steele, who had all but formally announced his candidacy, as the leading GOP candidate.



Thomas Meskill

Gaffney remains vehemently opposed to the 35-year-old Steele's nomination, however, and is willing to support virtually any other candidate. Bridgeport Mayor Nicholas A. Panuzio (R), 38, has fallen heir to Meskill-Gaffney support in what appears to be an inevitable, bitter primary battle. Although Weicker has indicated neutrality in the gubernatorial race, he is much closer to Panuzio than Steele. So are U.S. Reps. Stewart McKinney and Ronald Sarasin. Sarasin himself faces a stiff re-election contest, possibly from former House Speaker William Ratchford. Lt. Gov. Peter L. Cashman (R) has ruled himself out of gubernatorial consideration; he is waiting to take over Steele's seat once the congressman declares his intentions for higher office. The gubernatorial nomination will probably not be settled in convention and be carried into a summer primary.

Regardless of whom the GOP selects, Grasso remains the favorite in both the Democratic gubernatorial primary and the general election. (Former University of Connecticut president Homer Babbidge dropped out of the Democratic race for financial reasons.) The congresswoman is expected to run on her personal appeal and "trustability," as she has done successfully in the past, so the governor's exit poses no great dilemma for her. Recent polls showed that while Steele and Killian would run neck-and-neck, Grasso would be the victor over Steele by an astonishing 55-36 percent margin.

There is far less suspense in the race for Connecticut's Senate. Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff, the very popular liber-

al Democrat who served as governor and also HEW secretary before his election to the upper chamber, seems virtually unbeatable. Only one Republican — State Commissioner of Motor Vehicles Edward Koslowski — has put himself forward as a potential sacrificial lamb. ■

MISSISSIPPI

CLARKSDALE — James Meredith — who desegregated "Ole Miss," ran for Congress in New York City against Adam Clayton Powell, and lost the 1972 Republican Senate nomination in Mississippi to Gil Carmichael — is back in politics, this time as a Democrat.

Carmichael is one of five Democrats seeking the nomination to oppose freshman U.S. Rep. Thad Cochran (R). The leading candidate, however, is Carmichael's brother-in-law, Jackson television executive Kenneth Dean, a black former executive director of the Mississippi Council of Human Relations. Cochran will have one opponent in the Republican primary, but Republicans are confident of Cochran's victory. Although Dean reportedly would like to unite "regular" and "loyalist" Democrats in his campaign, Republicans view this prospect as unlikely. Indeed, they are convinced that the "loyalists" or "national" Democrats are themselves now badly split. Newspaper editor Hodding Carter III, for example, who was nominated for Vice President at the 1972 Democratic National Convention, reportedly has largely withdrawn from "loyalist" politics.

U.S. Rep. Trent Lott (R-5th) will not have any primary opposition. One of the three relative unknowns seeking the Democratic nomination, Karl Mertz, ran unsuccessfully in the 1972 GOP primary in the 2nd C.D. (Cochran's GOP challenger ran in the Democratic primary in the 2nd C.D. in 1972.)

Although U.S. Reps. Jamie L. Whitten (D-1st) and G.V. "Sonny" Montgomery (D-3rd) will have free rides this year, Republicans hope to launch a strong challenge against freshman U.S. Rep. David Bowen in the 2nd C.D.

Bowen's alleged liberalism will be attacked in the Democratic primary by Houston Mayor Harry Gates Robinson, who may receive considerable support from "regular" Democrats. That primary may make it easier for former State Sen. Ben F. Hilbun, Jr. (R), in the general election. Hilbun's style may be more appealing to the rural district than Bowen's polished approach. Furthermore, Hilbun's name identification (his father was president of the University of Mississippi) should help. Hilbun says he'll campaign the only way he knows how — shake everybody's hand and know everyone's name.

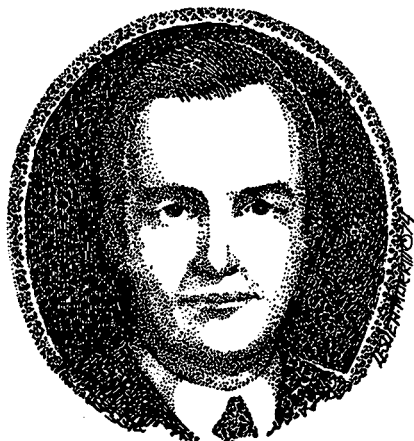
Mississippi GOP chairman Clarke Reed is looking forward to this fall's congressional contests. The Democratic opponents of Cochran and Lott are "authentic national Democrats," according to Reed. ("Mississippi Democrats" are the same as Republicans, Reed observes.) The prospect for a clear conservative-Republican / liberal-Democrat contest "delights" the Mississippi chairman, who evidently thinks this is the way politics should be ordained. Reed forecasts re-election for Cochran and Lott in the 70-80 percent range. ■

IOWA

DES MOINES — Two moderate Republicans will battle in the June 4 primary for the right to oppose U.S. Rep. John Culver (D-2nd) in this fall's Senate race.

It may be indicative of Republican chances in the race to succeed retiring Sen. Harold Hughes that no conservative Republican entered the field. Only State Rep. David Stanley (R), Hughes' victim in 1968, and State Sen. George Milligan (R) filed. Culver, recently-resigned chairman of the House Democratic Study Group, will have a tough race against the GOP

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Clarke Reed

winner. Stanley is given the edge in the Republican primary as the result of his previous statewide race.

As always, the Republicans' shining light will be Gov. Robert Ray, who won re-election to his third term in 1972 with 58 percent of the vote. Four Democrats are running in the gubernatorial primary. The frontrunner is probably former State Rep. William Gannon, 36, but he is followed closely by State Sen. James Schaben, 47, and former Democratic State Chairman Clark Rasmussen, 39. Rasmussen resigned as state chairman to work for Hughes and resigned that job to attack Ray. A January poll by the *Des Moines Register* showed Ray had an 82-percent approval rating, a monumental testament to his state leadership.

Close congressional contests could develop in several districts. In the 1st C.D., James A. S. Leach, 31, will oppose freshman U.S. Rep. Edward Mezvinsky, 35, who won election in 1972 with 53 percent of the vote. Now president of a propane gas firm, Leach was formerly a State Department official and delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. Mezvinsky is smooth-talking, but vulnerable.

The leading Republican candidate for Culver's seat is State Sen. Tom Riley, a highly-regarded legislator,

who is given a slight edge over State Sen. Michael Blouin, the leading Democratic candidate in a four-man field.

There is one Republican woman running against four GOP men for the 3rd C.D. seat being vacated by fiscal watchdog H.R. Gross (R). Gross's administrative assistant, Robert E. Case, has left that position to run. He and former State Rep. Charlene Conklin are leading GOP contenders. Former FCC Chairman Nicholas Johnson



Robert Ray

hopes to win a partial ticket back to Washington in the four-man Democratic primary. His closest competitor will be State Rep. Stephen Rapp, 25, who makes speeches from abandoned gasoline stations wherever he goes. A convention may be necessary to choose the nominees.

Although U.S. Reps. Neal Smith (D-4th) and William Scherle (R-5th) are considered safe, U.S. Rep. Wiley Mayne (R-6th) may have a tough race. Like many other marginal Republican incumbents in 1974, he will face a former Democratic opponent who has decided that 1974 may be his year. Democrat Barkley Bedell, a Hughes friend and successful businessman, was defeated by Mayne in 1972, and has been running ever since.

The billboards for Neal Smith's Republican opponent do provoke some Watergate confusion, however: "Chuck Dick" is really the name of the candidate. Dick is enthusiastic and well organized.

One indication of the relative enthusiasm with which Republicans and Democrats approach this year's campaign is the number of legislative seats left uncontested at filing time. Although they control the legislature, Republicans had no candidates in 27 districts while Democrats had candidates in all but five. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Speaking at the Democratic Governors' Conference in Chicago, Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter stirred up a controversy when he said, "President Nixon's disgrace, which he has brought upon the White House, has been a millstone to the Republicans. It is going to be very serious indeed if Nixon remains in office and the Democrats win on the basis of his performance instead of their own. We could win the battle in 1974 and lose the war in 1976. The people will vote in 1976 not on Richard M. Nixon, but on the action of Congress. It appears as though we will be able to elect this year a House and a Senate which is two-thirds Democratic. But if we do this and then don't come up with the solutions to the problems of the nation, we are going to be in trouble in 1976. We need a cohesive, unified policy on which we can campaign for the presidency next time." The Georgia governor is heading the Democratic National Committee's 1974 campaign com-

mittee, which includes Boston Mayor Kevin White, Louisiana U.S. Rep. Lindy Boggs (D), Connecticut political strategist Anne Wexler, and Virginia pollster Vic Fingerhut. Indications at a public session of one meeting are that the Democrats intend to stress the "economy" this fall — interesting, since the President told a \$1000-a-plate fundraiser in Washington March 27 that the economy would help GOP candidates this fall.

● Speaking to a rules workshop at the Midwest Republican Leadership Conference in Chicago in late March, Rule 29 subcommittee chairman Edwin Derwinski, an Illinois congressman, indicated it was "stupid politics" to try to balance 1976 convention delegates by sex. If there will not be a convention contest, according to Derwinski, then the GOP can worry about loading up "the convention with people who'll look good on television." But in the case of a contested convention, more latitude will be needed, according to Derwinski. "For instance, if I were (Sen. Charles) Percy's chairman in Illinois and the convention were wide open, I'd want to elect delegates who'd vote for my man, no matter whether they were men or women or members of the Gay Liberation Movement . . ."

● **Josiah A. Spaulding**, former Massachusetts GOP state chairman and 1970 opponent of Sen. **Edward M. Kennedy** (D), has decided against a campaign against Secretary of Administration and Finance **William Cowin** for attorney general. Spaulding's decision boosts Cowin's election chances, but he will still face a primary challenge from **Charles C. Cabot, Jr.** (R) for the powerful state office. Cabot is relatively unknown but carries a solid Yankee name.

● Speaking at the annual shad planking in Wakefield, Virginia Gov. **Mills E. Godwin, Jr.** (R), advocated impeachment. "We need leadership in the country, and if that's the only way we're going to get leadership, I think we ought to move in that direction," said Godwin. Although Republicans were present at the previously Democratic event, as usual, neither women nor blacks were invited.

● One result of the indictment of California Lt. Gov. **Ed Reinecke** (R) in the ITT mess has been a swift downturn of his standings in **Mervin Field's California Poll**. Although Reinecke formerly led State Controller **Houston I. Flournoy** (R) by a wide margin, latest gubernatorial polls showed him leading 28-24 percent with the rest undecided.

● A recent poll in Kansas by the **Topeka Capital-Journal** showed Sen. **Robert Dole** (R) leading U.S. Rep. **Bill Roy** (D) by 48-35 percent. The poll results, however, pleased Democrats who noted that an earlier poll by the same pollster showed Dole leading, 56-32 percent. None of the six prospective Republican gubernatorial nominees emerged with significant leads in the **Capital-Journal** poll.

● Earlier this year, former Air Force POW **Quincy Collins** was touted as a GOP Senate candidate in South Carolina. That effort died, however, and now Georgia Republicans want Collins to oppose U.S. Rep. **John Davis** (D) in the 7th C.D. Although Davis won 73 percent of the vote in 1970, he defeated GOP businessman **Charlie Sherrill**, 58-42 percent.

● In Missouri, Attorney General **John Danforth** (R) and Republican National Committeewoman **Rosemary Ginn** have opted out of the race against Sen. **Thomas Eagleton** (D). By elimination, the GOP candidate will be a familiar face: former U.S. Rep. **Thomas R. Curtis**, 63, who has been vice president of Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. Curtis, who was briefly chairman of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in the second Nixon Administration, ran against Eagleton in 1968; he received 49 percent of the vote.

● Delaware State Sen. **Reynolds du Pont**, Republican minority leader of the State Senate, is retiring. In his 16 years in the State Senate, du Pont was a power in the state GOP and a major party financial backer. Du Pont will also resign as GOP state finance chairman once the party's \$50,000 debt is eliminated. His likely replacement in this fall's election is State Rep. **Andrew G. Knox** (R), the original sponsor of Delaware's Coastal Zone Act. Republicans may lose their one-vote margin this November in the legislature's lower house.

● **Bud Wilkinson**, former Oklahoma University football coach and aide to President Nixon, is reported-

ly readying himself to enter the Oklahoma gubernatorial race. If Wilkinson, who ran unsuccessfully against former Sen. **Fred Harris** in 1964, enters the race, it may be a four-way Republican contest with Wilkinson and former Attorney General **G.T. Blankenship** as probable frontrunners. Incumbent Gov. **David Hall**, embattled by administration scandals, will probably have a similar three-way Democratic race for his post. In the "sleepy sixth," U.S. Rep. "**Happy**" **Camp** (R) is being opposed by a youthful Republican challenger, former Assistant Attorney General **Tim Leonard**, who is picking up surprising GOP support. Oklahoma FORUM correspondent **Stephen Jones**, an Enid attorney, and **David Russell**, an aide to Sen. **Dewey Bartlett**, are considering a run for state attorney general.

● Alabama State Sen. **Gene McLain** (D) is a distinct underdog in his race against Gov. **George Wallace** (D), but he does get his licks in. He has called the Wallace Administration "the most corrupt in Alabama history," and won agreement on that point from former Gov. **James E. Folsom** (D). According to McLain the Wallace Administration is "vicious, almost like a totalitarian government."

● Remember **Terry Carpenter**? He nominated "Joe Smith" for vice president at the Republican National Convention in 1956. In 1972 he was the Democratic opponent to Sen. **Carl Curtis** (R-Neb.) and received a startling 47 percent of the vote. This year, Carpenter's curse is on Nebraska Gov. **J. James Exon** (D), who is the odds-on favorite for re-election. Carpenter is favored to win the seven-man Democratic primary for lieutenant governor on May 14; since candidates for governor and lieutenant governor run as a ticket, Carpenter is favored to win in November too. The elderly and maverick state senator is not known as a favorite of Exon.

● Former HUD Secretary **George Romney**, searching for his version of Common Cause, thinks the League of Women Voters might be the answer.

JAWS OF VICTORY

By Clifford Brown and the Ripon Society

Release Date: June 14

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"... is an important and useful book for anyone who wants to keep abreast of contemporary politics." John Gardner.

For a preview of the book,
see "What's Wrong With Politics,"
by Josiah Lee Auspitz and Clifford W. Brown
in the *May Harpers*.

● One bizarre element in the controversy over the Kentucky candidacy papers of Sen. **Marlow W. Cook** (R) was the decision of at least one Kentucky newspaper not to publish news of Cook's error prior to the filing deadline. The *Louisville Times* knew that Cook had not acted to rectify his failure to file the name of a campaign treasurer, but decided not to publish a story revealing the error before the filing deadline. Complaining of the actions of a *Louisville Times* reporter and editor, Cook said, "In all fairness, I am disappointed that a newsman would have knowledge of a situation and not write about it because it would make a better story later on . . . In essence, it's something like knowing a crime is going to be committed but not writing about it because the story will be better if a crime is committed."

● San Francisco Republicans hope to be able to force State California State Democratic Chairman **John Burton** into a runoff in the June 2 special election to select a successor to U.S. Rep. **William Mailliard** (R). Both the county and state central committees have endorsed **Tom Caylor**, a 35-year-old international trade consultant, in the special election, which will be held the same day as California's primary. Caylor has three Republican opponents, including **Sean McCarthy** who was hustled out of the recent state GOP convention when he interrupted Vice President **Gerald Ford**. Burton has four fellow Democrats in the race. The GOP expects a runoff between Burton and Caylor on July 2.

● The decision of Alaska State Sen. **Lowell Thomas, Jr.** (R), to run for lieutenant governor in the Republican primary on a ticket with former State Senate president **Jay Hammond** (R) lends a new dimension of credibility to Hammond's campaign against former Govs. **Walter Hickel** and **Keith Miller**. As one colleague of State Senate Majority Leader Thomas observed, "Lowell can finance his campaign out of petty cash." Thomas' entry into the race means there will be three GOP Anchorage legislators seeking the nomination. Meanwhile, Gov. **William Egan** (D) has endangered his re-election chances by selling a state ferry boat, thereby congesting coastal traffic in southeast Alaska.

● Four years ago, then-Florida Secretary of State **Tom Adams** (D) almost ran for governor. Instead, he ended up as lieutenant governor on the winning ticket with Gov. **Reubin Askew**. Adams has now initiated a donnybrook in the Democratic Party by shrouding himself in the cloak of **George Wallace** and announcing for governor. Adams still has viable remnants of the powerful political machine he assembled as secretary of state, and Askew could be hurt by his moderate position on busing. Prospects are for a stiff race in the September primary with Askew the winner. However, a special grand jury investigating scandals in state government may seriously damage Adams, who was fired as state secretary of commerce by Askew, when it was revealed that Adams used state employees on his private farm. With the state commissioner of education already indicted and the state comptroller under investigation, Adams may also be on the grand jury's list of possible targets for investigation.

● Although the Arkansas State GOP attempted to block his candidacy, **Joseph Weston**, controversial editor of the *Sharp County Citizen* (which specializes

in sex, drinking and scandal), will be on the GOP primary ballot for governor. In a public, executive committee session, the GOP voted to bar Weston from the ballot after earlier trying to block his candidacy on the grounds that he was not registered as a Republican. Despite the party's fear of the intemperance of Weston's rhetoric, the editor got a court order allowing him to contest **Ken Coon** for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Coon is the party's 38-year-old executive director, who took a leave of absence to run for governor; the former college biology instructor first ran for lieutenant governor in 1972. Weston's black running mate **Andrew Bearden**, was unanimously accepted by the GOP at the same meeting that Weston was rejected. Bearden will face GOP National Committeewoman **Leona Troxwell** for lieutenant governor. (If nostalgia catches on in the Democratic primary, former Gov. **Orval Faubus** will be the Democratic nominee for governor. Otherwise, former U.S. Rep. **David Pryor**, who almost upset Sen. **John McClellan** in 1972, should w.n.) The GOP is endeavoring to rebuild from the bottom up in Arkansas, hoping to win 10 legislative seats this year instead of their current two. In two other races of interest, banker **John Harris Jones** will be the GOP nominee for Sen. **William Fulbright's** seat. Harris is a conservative former Democrat. **Judy Petty**, former personal political secretary to the late Gov. **Winthrop Rockefeller** and now state party treasurer, is running against U.S. Rep. **Wilbur Mills** (D).

● Society News: CREEP Youth Director **Kenneth Rietz** has married CREEP Nixonette director **Angie Miller**.

No More CREEPS

Editor's Note: The following letter from RNC Chairman **George Bush** is a reply to suggestions that future Republican presidential candidates should not establish organizations like CREEP, but rely instead on the GOP itself as the nucleus of the campaign organization.

At our last Republican National Committee meeting I reiterated something I have been saying in almost every speech in the last fourteen months — namely, that our goal should be to build the Republican National Committee so strong and to make it so effective that a separate campaign organization would not be necessary. The Republican National Committee is not that effective as of this writing.

My own strong recommendation to the presidential nominee would be that the machinery of the Republican National Committee be the major vehicle for the campaign in 1976. The chairman should, of course, be totally in accord with the views and desires of the nominee if the National Committee were to be the campaign vehicle. Obviously, much would have to be added to the RNC to be sure it would be effective.

I certainly agree with the thrust of the Vice President's remarks. One thing to keep in mind, however, is that there were many good people working for the CRP. I am sure the Vice President totally agrees with this. People like **Clark MacGregor** are effective, honest, open, able men of mature political judgment. Having said that, I will admit that there were many "adolescents" running around doing things that denigrated the Party, the President, and the entire political process.

George Bush
Chairman
Republican National Committee

COMMENTARY: POLITICS

New Directions For The Republican Party

by John J. Rhodes

Almost everyone has a secret ambition in life. Mine is to become speaker of the House. My ambition will not be fulfilled through Walter Mitzy dreams. In order for it to happen, the Republican Party will have to become the majority party in the United States Congress. That is going to require an enormous commitment of Republican time and energy.

The road to majority status is sure to be a bumpy one. In this political year, for example, Republicans face a stacked deck. It is more than just Watergate. A minority party whose President is not running again historically loses congressional seats during the off-year.

Looking beyond 1974, the only way for us eventually to reverse the proportionate numbers in Congress is to strike out in new directions. Republicans should be addressing themselves to the many serious problems facing

America with the intent of developing sound and sensible strategies for their solutions. That is what we are now doing. That is what we should continue to do.

The recently-held Ripon Society Conference — "Building a Progressive GOP in the Post-Watergate Era" — is one example of a constructive Republican effort to determine the direction of our party. Another example is the Midwestern Republican Leadership Conference in Chicago which had, incidentally, more applications to attend than could be accommodated.

As the problems facing America are diverse, so too must be the approaches to these problems. That being the case, I believe that the GOP does well to maintain within its ranks individuals of varied experience and perspective. Those who insist that the GOP must remain ideologically narrow for all time doom our great party to permanent minority status. We need to involve all types of people in the formulation of imaginative solutions to the problems of America. They should all be able to find a haven under the banner of the Republican Party.

One major issue in which the Republican Party has a great opportunity to take the lead is that of congressional reform. During our lifetime Congress has failed to meet its responsibilities to the American people. A recent Harris poll reveals that only 21 percent of the American people are satisfied with the job Congress does. The people say that garbagemen and used-car salesmen deserve more respect for the work they do than their elected representatives in Congress.

There is no need to recount the entire litany of congressional failures, past and present. Let it suffice to point out that Congress has yet to spend the taxpayers' money in a rational manner. For instance, Congress has yet to enact the emergency energy bill that everyone agrees we need. When Congress *does* act, it acts foolishly. Consider the recent response of the House to the growing cries for pension reform: two separate bills were passed, each calling for a different set of regulations and each delegating administrative jurisdiction to a different department.

The issue of congressional reform

belongs to the Republicans largely by default. The Democrats have no legitimate claim to it. They, after all, have had ironclad control of the Congress for the past 20 years and have not done anything to implement any of the reforms that are necessary to bring Congress into the twentieth century. All the Democratic speakers and all the Democratic committee chairmen of years past — they are the ones who must be held accountable for Congress' low credibility with the people.

The failings of the Democratic leadership in Congress recently prompted Common Cause to take out a full-page ad in the *Washington Post* which read: "There's Another Political Scandal In Town, But This One Belongs To The Democrats." Pointing out that the one overriding lesson from Watergate is the need for meaningful campaign reform legislation, the ad sharply criticized the Democratic chairman of the House Administration Committee for failing to report a bill. "Where is the House Democratic Leadership?" asked Common Cause. It is a question that we Republicans ask frequently.

The obvious answer is to change the leadership in Congress. The Democrats have controlled Congress for a dangerously long time (a total of 36 years in the past 40 years). As was pointed out by the highly respected Republican congressman from New Jersey, Peter Frelinghuysen — who unfortunately has decided not to seek re-election this year — members of Congress who have occupied positions of influence for considerable periods of time fall prey to all sorts of negative influences: special interests, pressure groups, and just plain limited perspective. This is true of many of

Contributor Notes

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the Democratic committee chairmen who determine which legislation will reach the House floor. The only way to correct this is to change the guard and let the Republicans try their hand at running the Congress. Frankly, the same principle would apply if the situation were reversed and the Republicans had controlled the Congress for 20 straight years.

However, changing the leadership is only a partial answer. In addition, Congress must be structurally reformed. One major answer on the House side is provided by the Select Committee on Committees. Known to most people as the Bolling Committee (after its able chairman, Missouri U.S. Rep. Richard Bolling), it spent 14 months conducting an in-depth study of a House committee system that has remained essentially unchanged since 1947. Its report, which has been in-

particularly want to see their personal power bases carved up. Some important proposals of the Bolling Committee are certain to meet some rather fierce Democrat-inspired opposition on the House floor. When this happens, the burden will be on the Republicans to champion the fight for reform.

There are countless other important issues that deserve attention, many of which the other party has failed to deal with. One good example is housing for the elderly. The Better Communities Act would provide \$2.3 billion annually of shared revenues to cities, urban counties, and states. It was sent to the Congress by the President one year ago, and there it has stayed. Because there had been no action by the Democratic-run Congress on this permanent legislation, the House Republican Policy Committee, chaired by U.S. Rep. Barber Conable

as an advisory panel to be set up within the Administration on Aging. The Republican recommendations, which have been introduced in legislative form under the principal sponsorship of U.S. Rep. William Widnall, also include the reduction of taxes related to home ownership.

Republicans also address themselves to the need for reform of our criminal justice system. The National Advisory Commission of Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, under the leadership of former Delaware Gov. Russell Peterson, who is now chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, developed a series of broad reforms and improvements in criminal justice planning and also set ambitious goals for the reduction of various crimes in the next decade. Many of the commission's proposals are quite controversial. But such is the nature of true reform. The Republican Party should lead the effort to implement whatever improvements are necessary to bring about a national reduction in crime.

In the coming years, America is going to have to strike an effective balance between the obvious need to become self-sufficient with regard to energy and the equally obvious need to protect our environment. We will need to develop a sound strategy to provide for the orderly growth of our urban centers before they consume us all. We will need to thoroughly revamp our systems of health care, education, and transportation. There is no end to the work which needs to be done. It will be the ultimate test of our technological genius as well as our desire to ensure America's continued vitality within the world community. It is also a test of our ability to provide for our people's legitimate needs. I look to the Republican Party to meet these, and other, challenges — not only for our own sake, but for that of our country.

Those who predict the demise of the Republican Party in 1974 presuppose an absence of concern and ability on the part of its membership. Such a supposition is wholly false. So long as there are Republican men and women who care about America, there will be a future for our great party. Concern is our insurance against defeat. ■



troduced in resolution form, is a work of monumental dimension and significance. Congress cannot hope to be viable in the 1970's with a system of committees that was devised in the late 1940's.

But there is trouble on the horizon. "Progress is a nice word," Robert Kennedy once observed. "But change is its motivator, and change has its enemies." In the case of the Bolling Committee recommendations, the "enemies" of change are mainly those Democrats in the House who don't

of New York, recently met to recommend new proposals aimed at temporarily alleviating the severe housing-related problems of the elderly. Many of these proposals were initially drafted by the Republican Task Force on Aging, which is chaired by U.S. Rep. Robert Steele of Connecticut. They include such necessary features as the reinstatement of a direct loan program to nonprofit sponsors for the construction of specialized housing for the elderly, the establishment of a construction-for-leasing program, as well

COMMENTARY: NATION

The Case For Worker Ownership

by George Pillsbury

On March 7, the Minnesota legislature passed legislation to help bring capitalism to the workers.

The employee-owned trust legislation is a new approach to the need to increase privately-financed security for employees and deconcentrate the nation's wealth. The goal of the legislation, in the words of House sponsor Salisbury Adams, is to "start switching the ownership of American industry away from the 5 percent who currently own American industry to the 95 percent who work for American industry."

The genesis of the legislation dates to when my son Charles was at Yale University, working on his senior thesis, "The Economic Impact of American Investment in Latin America." One of the books he read was *The Two Factor Theory* by Louis Kelso and Pat Hetter. The authors explain how capital ownership should be expanded and second incomes for workers developed through stock ownership options.

During this same period, I resigned as an employee of the Pillsbury Company after 23 years and filed for

the State Senate. After my election, Charlie gave me the book inscribed with the thought that reading it might enable me to make a significant contribution to the future well-being of our society.

Then in the 1971 legislative session, I was appointed to serve on the Economic Reconversion Study Commission with four of the other authors of the bill. From the deliberations of the commission, the concept of this bill developed.

The bill's objective is to motivate the present owners of Minnesota enterprises to build significant equity ownership for the benefit of their employees in connection with the normal financing of corporate growth and transfer of assets. In other words, the goal is to have more people (in particular, *all* employees) own a greater portion of America's productive assets where they work. Well-managed businesses grow through acquiring assets that pay for themselves, and this opportunity must be made accessible to corporate employees if they are ultimately to become economically independent without unreasonable self-deprivation during their working lives.

This goal will be approached by establishing employee stock ownership trusts, under which the trust may borrow funds to invest in the stock of the employer corporation. This instantly makes all employees beneficial owners of the corporation's stock, subject only to the trust's paying off the loan, much as stock option does for top management today. The employer corporation obligates itself to make annual payments, which under the new bill are deductible up to 30 percent of the payroll, into the trust in amounts sufficient to service the debt. Deducting such payments from pre-tax revenues makes it possible for the corporation to build greater employee ownership than it otherwise could.

The bill defines an employee stock ownership trust that would qualify under state and federal tax laws with wide employee participation. More emphasis is placed upon making all full-time employees eligible, and any discrimination in favor of the more highly paid employees, such as is presently possible in existing law, is prohibited. The employees will also be able to participate in trust policy

through a trust advisory committee.

Possibly even more important, the trust would be treated similarly to a charitable foundation for income, estate, and gift tax purposes. In this way, owners of a corporation would be motivated to give some of their ownership to the trust for the benefit of the corporate employees.

Under today's law, when an owner of a Minnesota enterprise contemplates his or her death there is no sure way he or she can keep the ownership in the hands of Minnesota citizens. The choices are to sell out to some other company, "go public," or transfer assets to a charitable foundation. However, under the new law, the owner now is able to sell, give, or bequeath a portion or all of his or her estate to a qualified employee stock ownership trust, have funds to pay the inheritance and estate taxes, and leave the balance of ownership to his or her heirs. By choosing this alternative, the wealth stays in the state, where the earnings will continue to produce incomes for Minnesota citizens and tax revenues for the state.

With the bill's passage, Minnesota becomes a unique place in which to do business and to be employed. Were a comparable bill to be enacted into federal law, equity ownership of the future growth of American industry, agribusiness, and other commercial ventures would flow towards the people who work in these enterprises as well as those individuals and institutions who presently own most of this property. Thus, one could visualize a rapid expansion in the numbers of citizens owning American business. The resulting benefits to both employees and industry would be dramatic. ■



COMMENTARY: POLITICS

Putting Garbage To Good Use

by *Henry Diamond*

Garbage — one of yesterday's problems — is today, ironically, an important natural resource.

For years, environmentalists have been saying that this nation has a solid-waste problem. Our call to action went something like this: Each of us generates about five pounds of garbage a day, and we are running out of places to dump it or get rid of it in an environmentally sound way.

Suddenly the energy crisis was upon us. In a dramatic reversal, that five pounds of garbage became a sought after resource — one kilowatt hour of electricity.

More than \$1 billion of energy is waiting to be released from the nation's garbage heaps. The energy value of this garbage is equivalent to 290 million barrels of fuel oil, or about two-thirds of our former imports from the Arab countries. The fuel recovered from garbage has a lower sulphur con-

tent than any other fuel except natural gas.

In New York State, we have the means to harness the energy potential in garbage. In 1972, New York voters approved by 2-1 margin the Environmental Quality Bond Act. This act helped continue the cleanup of the state's air and water pollution and the preservation of its land. But for the first time in this nation, it also provided an incentive for municipalities to recover energy and products from their solid waste. The bond act provides \$175 million to help municipalities build resource-recovery plants on a 50-percent matching-grant basis.

The first resource-recovery project funded by the bond act is currently under way. On Long Island, the towns of Babylon, Huntington, and Islip in Suffolk County have joined with the state to build a resource-recovery plant. The facility would convert garbage into heat to serve Pilgrim State Hospital and a planned adjacent community college and industrial park, while permitting the recovery of such marketable materials as ferrous metals. The bond act will cover up to 50 percent of the cost of the \$61 million plant.

Westchester County is carrying out a study leading to the construction of a similar plant in that county. The energy recovered would serve Grasslands Hospital and School.

Other states are also seeking to capitalize upon the energy value of garbage. Last fall, Connecticut announced plans to adopt a statewide plan for constructing resource-recovery plants. By 1985, Connecticut expects to be recycling about 60 percent of its household and industrial waste — equal to about 11 percent of the state's current electrical needs. Massachusetts plans to construct a \$342 million network of resource-recovery plants that would

turn about 56 percent of the state's garbage into combustible fuel, meeting about 15 percent of the total energy used by the state's utilities to produce electricity.

The reasons behind this surge of interest in garbage are simple. Public awareness has created pressures at the private and governmental levels to deal with solid waste in an environmentally sound way and to find methods of producing inexpensive, clean energy.

When oil was plentiful and cheap, there was no cause for concern. But when the price of oil per barrel went from \$2 to \$10-12, the price of garbage became a better bargain. Union Electric Company in St. Louis is burning about 300 tons of garbage a day as a supplementary source for power generation.

For the long term, such sources as nuclear power, solar energy, and geothermal energy will all be needed to meet this nation's energy needs. But for today, harnessing the energy in garbage is a practical and partial solution.

It is testimony to American initiative and ingenuity and to the flexibility of our political system that we are using one problem to solve another. The Arabs, in the long run, have done more to solve the "garbage crisis" than the sum of all the ecological rhetoric. ■

Research Needed

The Ripon Society will be operating a research consortium this year for GOP candidates. Persons interested in preparing research papers for the consortium, or with knowledge of candidates who might be interested in contracting for research assistance, should contact Richard W. Rahn, 509 C St. N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

DULY NOTED POLITICS:

● "How Mayor Kevin White Is Running For President," by Robert A. Jordan and Martin F. Nolan, *Boston Globe*, April 14, 1974. "The story is familiar: a bright young Boston Irishman comes close to the vice-presidential nomination of his party, loses it, but impresses some of the party pros in the process." Boston Mayor Kevin White would like to repeat the John F. Kennedy example. First, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, who reportedly nixed White for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination in 1972, would have to abdicate his first-draft choice rights on the 1976 nomination. But meanwhile, White is displaying himself around the country and visiting Wash-

ington to exercise his office as cochairman of the Democratic National Committee's campaign committee. The key to White's non-campaign is the city of Boston; Boston is "livable," ergo, White can make the nation livable. "Boston is Kevin White's campaign platform. If the city works, if it remains livable, relatively free of turmoil, unique in this civilized assets, then White may break the jinx of mayors seeking higher office."

● "The Liberals Love Barry Goldwater Now," by Roy Reed, *New York Times Magazine*, April 7, 1974. The southern bureau chief of the *New York Times* analyzes the transformation of Barry Goldwater from bete-noire to folk hero and comments, "The senator has even changed his mind about the Republican Party's eastern establishment. Not just Nelson A. Rockefeller — who has met

Goldwater at least half-way in his ideology — but the whole Dewey-Javits-Wall Street eastern seaboard that he once advocated, about half in jest, sawing off and floating out to sea. When I asked him if he saw any merit in establishing a national Conservative party, he said no, there, was no point; the Republican Party could handle the job. 'My personal feeling is, I no longer feel that a Republican has to be a conservative,' he said. 'I can live with Jack Javits.' He conceded that that meant he had 'changed his mind' to some extent. 'I used to get very angry about Republicans who would not vote down the party line. But the longer I stayed around here in the East, the more I realized that living in these big eastern cities was a little different from living out in the Middle West and the Far West. I couldn't get elected in New York City. I don't work politics that way. On the other hand, I don't think Jack Javits could get elected in Phoenix, 'cause he doesn't do it my way.'"

● "Announcement Made At Last: O'Callaghan Will Run for Governor." *Reno Evening Gazette*, April 6, 1974. The decision of Nevada Gov. Mike O'Callaghan (D) to seek re-election rather than Sen. Alan Bible's seat in Washington improves the chances of former Gov. Paul Laxalt (R) to win that Senate post. The decision of the former school teacher to remain in Carson City for a third term also renewed pressure on another former governor, Grant Sawyer, to seek the Democratic Senate nomination. If he does so — and he has indicated he will not — Sawyer would oppose Lt. Gov. Harry Reid, 34, who is regarded as a 'lightweight' by some party regulars. It had been anticipated that State Sen. William J. Raggio (R) and Attorney General Robert List (R) would seek the governorship if O'Callaghan tried to switch offices, but they may well decide against challenging the incumbent, whose popularity crosses party and ideological lines.

● "Barometer to Nixon's Chances," by George F. Will. *Denver Post*, April 6, 1974. Republican Senate Whip Robert Griffin is "a utility infielder. He does nothing spectacularly, but he does a commendable number of things commendably. He is, I venture, the most underrated senator on the Republican side. With regard to the looming impeachment trial, his significance cannot be overestimated. Indeed, the fate of Richard Nixon probably rests with about a dozen senators, of whom the moderate Griffin is singularly important . . . of Griffin more than any other senator, this can be said with reasonable certainty: his vote will be cast on the side that prevails in an impeachment trial." That is, according to Will, if Griffin votes for impeachment, the President will have been proven to have committed serious, even if unindictable, misdeeds.

● "Can They Save Republican Party?" by Reg Murphy. *Atlanta Constitution*, April 1, 1974. "Though it wasn't predictable three months ago, party politics may be making a comeback in the United States," Murphy says. Democrats and Republicans such as Vice President Gerald Ford are united in their agreement with the thesis of political columnist David Broder: "Political parties must be held together if there is to be responsibility and accountability in the future." Ford accurately portrays CREEP as "an arrogant, elite guard of political adolescents," but Murphy asserts that it is difficult for the GOP to disown CREEP but not the President. "In doing so they find they are having to attack President

Nixon's staff. For it was indeed his staff, loyal Republicans all, who managed CREEP offices and who got themselves and the boss embroiled in Watergate."

● "Poll Bad News for Marginal GOPs in House," by Tim Wynaard. *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, April 14, 1974. "A still-secret poll being made available selectively to key Democrats paints the most glowing picture yet of sweeping Republican congressional defeats this fall — and demolishes the argument that rebellious voters are in a mood to sweep any incumbent out of office, regardless of party . . . The results indicate that nationally in marginal districts voters would keep their Democratic incumbents over a Republican challenger by a 62-to-18 percent margin. But in districts with Republican incumbents the GOP leads Democratic challengers by only seven points — a 42-35 edge when a known Republican congressman was pitted against an unspecified opponent described only by a party label." The poll results indicate an across-the-board feeling that Democrats are more competent to handle issues like energy, inflation, and health care than are Republicans.

● "Nixon's Trip to Michigan a Gamble," by Charles Bartlett. *Seattle Times*, April 10, 1974. "The sliding schedule for House action on impeachment has an interesting potential to influence the Republican members' judgment of the President. It appears that the later the vote comes, the easier it will be for Republican incumbents to vote for impeachment. As the state primary deadlines pass, Republican representatives from those states are isolated from their fears of being opposed by Nixon loyalists. They will be even freer to vote against the President if the schedule slides enough to make it appear that the Senate will not have time to decide the issue before the election."

● "The Poisonous Primaries," by Stewart Alsop. *Newsweek*, April 22, 1974. "This is one factor to bear in mind when considering Jerry Ford's chances of becoming the next President of the United States — which, although he has never said so, he very much wants to be. For anybody who wants to be President, being a natural politician is an almost essential asset. There is another factor to bear in mind. Recent political history proves one rule beyond dispute. Primaries are poison. And Jerry Ford is the only politician in either party who can sensibly risk ducking the primaries," writes Alsop. He further points out that Ford is liked by the President, and that although felicity with the President might not be the asset it once was, the President's enmity is still a distinct liability.

● "A Dilemma for the Buckley," by Martin F. Nolan. *Boston Globe*, April 21, 1974. "There may be panic in the shrinking conservative redoubt and all the wit and the piety of the Buckley brothers seem unable to dissolve." Nolan argues that the concern of William and James Buckley for conservative self-interest has led them to betray conservative principles and advocate the President's resignation. "Liberal concern for due process and the rights of the accused is vanishing in an anti-Nixon cloud of suspicion. Conservative respect for the Constitution, on the other hand, is dissolving in despair over the anguish — the 'unseemingly' anguish of the moment. That is why arguments abound for resignation," says Bill Buckley. Columnist Buckley suggests that the impeachment clause — which didn't scare the founding Fathers — evokes 'superstitious' interpretations among Americans. That is a pity, an American tragedy, not just a conservative one," says Nolan.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.