

RIPON FORUM

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POLITICS: THE HOUSE

WHERE ARE ALL THE PROGRESSIVES GOING?

Nine members of the House's progressive Republican Wednesday Group are not seeking reelection to Congress. Indeed, progressives seem to dominate the lists of retiring Republican congressmen. Although only four of these are not seeking other office, the stature of retiring U.S.Reps. Gilbert Gude(R-Md.) Edward G. Biester, Jr.(R-Pa.), and Charles Mosher(R-Ohio) has sort of a chilling effect on progressive Republicans---particularly the unexpected exits of the relatively young Biester and Gude. Their announcements came on the heels of the widespread publicity given moderate U.S.Rep. James Hastings' decision to leave his New York seat in mid-term. A brief rundown of exiting Republican moderates:

* In announcing his decision, Wednesday Group Chairman Mosher cited Mosher's Law, "It better to retire too soon than too late." In addition to his age of 69, Mosher cited his desire for privacy: "Contrary to a stereotyped opinion popularly encouraged, the job of a congressman is not all special advantages (of which there are many), it is in fact weighted heavily with DISadvantages...it requires an onerously demanding, hectic, fragmented schedule of seldom less than seven days per week and often many more than 12 working hours per day, constantly harried by call bells, phone bells, committee sessions (frequently shuttling between two or more meetings at the same time), and at every turn there are deserving people insistently crowding to capture your momentary attention...to confer, to report, to assist, to argue, to request, to demand or plead, to compliment, criticize, invite, etc., etc., staff people, bureaucrats, lobbyists, reporters, colleagues, a steady stream of valued constituents, and varied others. All that, plus the House debates, caucuses, briefings, working breakfasts, working lunches, receptions, dinners, homework study, and even midnight collect calls from drunks...you name it!" Although Ripon member Mosher has urged that his successor be young, but not necessarily with prior political experience, the line of announced GOP candidates to succeed him has not yet begun to form.

* On a contrasting note, the 45-year-old Biester said in his announcement of retirement: "I concluded that the House of Representatives should not be the long and final resting place for professional politicians." He went on to say: "The development---even for the best purposes---of a political class separate from the people in tradition, interests, and experience, tends to disengage that half of our legislative branch from its special role which is intense identity with the people and their interests." Although he has not ruled out future political quests, Biester has cited family considerations as one reason for his decision. Democrats see a possible opening in his Montgomery County district with Biester's retirement, but so does conservative William A. Duff who tried in 1974 to defeat Biester in a primary. The primary this time already has four entrants, who range from Duff to the moderate John Renninger, a 51-year-old state representative who is given the best shot at winning the GOP nomination.

* Gude's reasoning for leaving Congress at 52 was similar to Biester's. Like Biester, he did not rule out further public service, explaining, "It's not so much frustration; it's just that there aren't enough hours in the day to do everything...I'm looking for a better balance where I can be productive and also have time for my family." Commenting on the reasoning of Biester and Gude, the Washington Post editorialized: "Indeed, members of Congress do grow stale, and frequent turnover does inject new viewpoints and vitality. The major problem with this principle is that, in practice, it often has regrettable results. The hacks and drones tend to cling to their seats while the most conscientious and perceptive individuals, such as Mr. Gude, decide it is time to move on." Gude's seat in Democratic Montgomery County immediately became the center of intense political interest. Democratic "interested" included former McGovern campaign manager Frank Mankiewicz, former Washington Redskins' lineman Ray Schoenke, former Muskie aide Lanny G. Davis, and a shopping list of

most of the other Democrats in the county. Republican speculation centered on State Sen. Newton I. Steers, Jr., who promised to "keep (the seat) in the Gude tradition" and conservative Abraham Kalish.

* Moderates seeking higher office include U.S.Reps. John Heinz III(R-Pa.), Alan Steelman (R-Texas), Alphonzo Bell(R-Calif.), Peter Peyser (R-N.Y.), and Marvin Esch(R-Mich.) for the Senate. Heinz and Esch, in particular, have strong shots at their targets. Progressive U.S.Rep. Pierre duPont IV(R-Del.) is favored to win his state's governorship.

* Missouri is one of several states where moderate Republicans have chances of making strong gains, partly because there will be four Democratic vacancies in the state's ten congressional districts. In the 2nd C.D. which U.S. Rep. James Symington is vacating for the Senate race, House Minority Leader Robert Snyder is given the lead over a large GOP field to regain the seat once held by Federal Elections Commission Chairman Thomas Curtis. In the 4th C.D. U.S.Rep. William J. Randall(D) is retiring, providing an opening for either State Rep. Robert Johnson, 30, or Independence Mayor Richard A. King. The 6th C.D. was considered possible GOP territory before U.S.Rep. Jerry Litton was elected in 1972; now that he is seeking a Senate seat, it may be picked up by either State Rep. Tom Coleman or furniture businessman Robert Tipton. Coleman's youthful looks---he looks about ten years younger than 31---may be his chief drawback. The 8th C.D. has a Republican base to which conservative U.S.Rep. Richard Ichord(D) appeals, but progressive State Rep. Larry Marshall(R) may challenge him this year. In the 9th C.D., however, the GOP is still looking for a Republican interested in seeking the seat of retiring U.S.Rep. William Hungate(D).

* Iowa is another state where moderate Republicans have a chance for a comeback after the disaster they suffered in 1974. In the 1st C.D., the shine of liberalism and Watergate may have worn off U.S.Rep. Edward Mezvinsky(D), who faces another challenge from businessman James A.S.Leach, who received 46 percent of the vote in 1974. In the 2nd C.D., State Sen. Tom Riley(R), who twice sought the seat in 1968 and 1974, hopes that this may be the year to unseat freshman U.S.Rep. Michael T. Blouin(D). The 5th C.D. should be a Republican district and former State Sen. John Murray hopes to prove it by unseating U.S.Rep. Tom Harkin. Probably the most entrenched Democrat from the 1974 landslide is the 6th C.D.'s Berkley Bedell, whose constituent catering will make him a difficult target for the GOP's Joanne Soper, a 1968 state co-chairman for Rockefeller.

* Oklahoma offers another, more unlikely opportunity for moderate GOP gains. In the 1st

C.D., controversial State Sen. Frank Keating (R-Tulsa) is seeking to oust U.S.Rep. James R. Jones, whose opportunistic voting record has soured his image in both conservative and liberal eyes. Keating will have to bear both the advantages and disadvantages of leading a statewide campaign for liquor-by-the-drink and coauthoring the state's Equal Rights Amendment statute. In the 2nd C.D., freshman U.S.Rep. Ted Risenhoover has used his first term to develop a playboy image; he will face a primary challenge from the son of his predecessor, State Rep. Drew Edmondson(D). The ensuing bloody mess might provide an opening for former GOP State Chairman Bud Stewart, a staffer for Sen. Henry Bellmon(R). In 1970, the GOP tried and failed to win the 4th C.D. with the son of former University of Oklahoma football coach Bud Wilkinson. This time, they hope State Rep. Ron Shotts, a former University of Oklahoma All-American fullback and moderate Republican, will be able to score. In the 5th C.D., where Democrat-turned-Republican John Jarman is retiring, his 1974 conservative Republican opponent, Mickey Edwards, will try again. Edwards, however, who is best known as the former publisher of a rightwing medical magazine, will face a moderate Republican challenger this time, former Attorney General G.T.Blankenship. A man who claims to be the reincarnation of George Washington has also shown some interest in the race. Again, the most entrenched Democratic freshman is in the last congressional district, the 6th, where progressive Republican Steven Jones will tackle conservative U.S.Rep. Glenn English. English represents a very conservative district and votes that way; Jones ran unsuccessfully for attorney general in 1974.

* Other progressive Republican candidates include the following:

---Harry Jeffrey, a former RNC and Capitol Hill aide now a history professor who is seeking the 40th C.D. seat now held by U.S.Rep. Andrew Hinshaw(R-Calif.), who was indicted earlier this year on charges of bribery, embezzlement, and misappropriation of county funds.

---Newt Gingrich, the young college professor, who nearly unseated U.S.Rep. John J. Flynt, Jr.(D-Ga.) in 1974 and is trying again.

---William Harter, a 39-year-old Presbyterian pastor who has set his sights on U.S. Rep. Matthew F. McHugh(D) who succeeded former U.S.Rep. Howard Robison in New York's 29th C.D.

---Carlton Finkbeiner, a young attorney who won a surprising 47 percent of the vote against Ohio's U.S.Rep. Thomas L. Ashley(D) in 1974 and will be back in the 9th C.D.

---Charles Seeger, a 28-year-old former aide to U.S.Rep. Joseph McDade(R), who is challenging U.S.Rep. Albert Johnson(R) in Pennsylvania's 23rd C.D. Johnson will be 70 this year.

---Marc Lincoln Marks, an attorney, who will oppose the less-than-distinguished

U.S.Rep. Joseph Vigorito from Pennsylvania's 24th C.D. Marks is a former Mercer County solicitor.

---Richard Kaffenberger, a local community development director, who is looking at U.S.Rep. Morris Udall's presumably vacant 2nd C.D. seat in Arizona.

---Will Erwin, assistant secretary of agriculture for rural development, who will probably be slated to run against U.S.Rep. Floyd Fithian(D-2nd) in Indiana, thus blocking a comeback by the neanderthal Earl Landgrebe(R).

---James R. Hurley, assistant state assembly minority leader, who may challenge U.S. Rep. William R. Hughes(D) in New Jersey's 2nd C.D. if former U.S.Rep. Charles Sandman(R) can

be dissuaded from making a comeback attempt.

---Joseph Woodcock, Bergen County prosecutor who has garnered considerable publicity from investigation of some of New Jersey's more gruesome crimes. Woodcock could challenge U.S.Rep. Henry Helstoski(D-9th) if Helstoski's own gruesome problems with federal law enforcement officials continue to aggravate.

---Arthur Mason, 34, an energetic attorney who is challenging U.S.Rep. Robert Drinan (D) in Massachusetts 4th C.D.

---William E. Schluter, a former state senator who is considering a race against U.S. Rep. Helen Meyner(D-13th) in Northwest New Jersey. ■

GOP DELEGATE SELECTION

WHERE TO GO, WHAT TO DO

On the following two pages, the FORUM has reprinted charts prepared by the Republican National Committee's Political/Research Division. The charts separate states which have caucus/

convention selection systems from the 29 states which choose their delegates in a primary selection process. The charts are reprinted from First Monday, the RNC magazine.

DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS—CONVENTIONS

STATE	STAGES*	PRIMARY?	FIRST IMPORTANT DATE**	# OF DELEGATES
ALASKA	P-D-SC	NO	CALL OF DISTRICT CHAIRMAN	19
ARIZONA	L-CD-SC	NO	CALL OF COUNTY CHAIRMAN	29
ARKANSAS	PR-P-C-SC	YES-AB	MARCH 9-APRIL 6 (pr)	27
COLORADO	P-C-CD-SC	NO	MAY 3 (p)	31
CONNECTICUT	L-CD-SC	NO	APRIL 7-9 (e)	35
DELAWARE	PR-SC	NO	MAY 4 (pr)	17
GEORGIA	P-C-CD-SC	YES-AB	MARCH 27 (p)	48
HAWAII	P-SC	NO	JANUARY 27 (p)	19
IDAHO	L-SC	YES-A	NOT YET DECIDED	21
INDIANA	PR-CD-SC	YES-AB	FEBRUARY 18-MARCH 15 (pr)	54
IOWA	P-C-CD-SC	NO	JANUARY 19 (p)	36
KANSAS	P-C-CD-SC	NO	CALL OF STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE	34
KENTUCKY	PR-C-CD-SC	YES-AB	CALL OF STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE	37
LOUISIANA	CD-SC	NO	CALL OF STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE	41
MAINE	L-SC	NO	PRIOR TO APRIL 1 (m)	20
MICHIGAN	PR-C-SC	YES-AB	MARCH 28 (pr)	84
MINNESOTA	P-C-CD-SC	NO	FEBRUARY 24 (p)	42
MISSISSIPPI	P-C-SC	NO	CALL OF STATE EXECUTIVE COM.	30
MISSOURI	L-C-CD-SC	NO	CALL OF COUNTY CENTRAL COM.	49
MONTANA	PR-C-CD-SC	YES	APRIL (p)	20
NEVADA	P-C-SC	YES-AB	BY APRIL 8 (p)	18
NEW MEXICO	L-C-SC	NO	CALL OF COUNTY CENTRAL COM.	21
NORTH CAROLINA	PR-P-C-CD-SC	YES-AB	NOT YET DECIDED	54
NORTH DAKOTA	L-SC	NO	BY JUNE 14 (1d)	18
OKLAHOMA	P-C-CD-SC	NO	CALL OF STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE	36
OREGON	PR-CD	YES-A	SEPTEMBER 18, 1975-MARCH 16 (pr)	30
SOUTH CAROLINA	P-C-CD-SC	NO	FEBRUARY 28 (p)	36
UTAH	L-C-SC	NO	MAY 17 (m)	20
VERMONT	L-SC	NO	APRIL 20-30 (m)	18
VIRGINIA	L-CD-SC	NO	CALL OF COUNTY OR CITY CENTRAL COMM.	51
WASHINGTON	P-C-CD-SC	NO	CALL OF COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE	36
WYOMING	P-C-SC	NO	FEBRUARY 4-MARCH 5 (p)	17

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

*—STAGES

C—COUNTY CONVENTION/CAUCUS
 CD—CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT CONVENTION
 D—DISTRICT CONVENTION/CAUCUS
 L—LOCAL LEVEL (TOWN, MUNICIPAL, ETC.)

P—PRECINCT CAUCUS
 PR—PRIMARY (LOCAL AND/OR PRESIDENT)
 SC—STATE CONVENTION

**—FIRST IMPORTANT DATE

p—PRECINCT MEETING/CAUCUS
 pr—PRIMARY (LOCAL AND/OR PRESIDENTIAL)
 m—TOWN, MUNICIPAL, OR MASS MEETING
 e—ENDORSEMENT MEETING

DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS—PRIMARIES

STATE	DATE	TYPE*	FILING DATES FOR DELEGATES	REPRESENTATION**	# OF DELEGS.
ALABAMA	MAY 4	DS	MARCH 1	MV	37
ARKANSAS	JUNE 8	PP-AB		PR	27
CALIFORNIA	JUNE 8	DS+PP		WTA-S	167
DISTRICT OF COL.	MAY 4	DS+PP	MARCH 4	WTA-S	14
FLORIDA	MARCH 9	DS+PP	MARCH 1	WTA-D+S	66
GEORGIA	MAY 4	PP-AB		WTA-D+S	48
IDAHO	MAY 25	PP-A		PR	21
ILLINOIS	MARCH 16	DS+PP	JANUARY 7-14	MV	101
INDIANA	MAY 4	PP-AB		WTA-D+S	54
KENTUCKY	MAY 25	PP-AB		PR	37
MARYLAND	MAY 18	DS+PP	MARCH 8	WTA-D	43
MASSACHUSETTS	MARCH 2	PP-AB		PR	43
MICHIGAN	MAY 18	PP-AB		PR	84
MONTANA	JUNE 1	PP-			20
NEBRASKA	MAY 11	DS+PP	MARCH 12	MV	25
NEVADA	MAY 25	PP-AB		PR	18
NEW HAMPSHIRE	FEBRUARY 24	DS+PP	DEC. 11-JAN. 12	MV	21
NEW JERSEY	JUNE 8	DS+PP	APRIL 29	MV	67
NEW YORK	APRIL 6	DS	FEBRUARY 16-19	MV	154
NORTH CAROLINA	MARCH 23	PP-AB		PR	54
OHIO	JUNE 8	DS	MARCH 25	MV	97
OREGON	MAY 25	PP-A		PR	30
PENNSYLVANIA	APRIL 27	DS+PP	JAN. 27-FEB. 17	MV	103
RHODE ISLAND	JUNE 1	DS+PP	MARCH 1-10		19
SOUTH DAKOTA	JUNE 1	DS	MAR. 18-APR. 15	PR	20
TENNESSEE	MAY 6	DS+PP	MARCH 25	WTA-D+S	43
TEXAS	MAY 1	DS+PP	MARCH 1	MV	100
WEST VIRGINIA	MAY 11	DS+PP	JAN. 5-FEB. 7	MV	28
WISCONSIN	APRIL 6	PP-AB		WTA-D+S	45

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

***—TYPE**

DS—DELEGATE SELECTION: DELEGATES ARE ELECTED ON THE BALLOT TO REPRESENT THAT STATE AT THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

DS+PP—DELEGATE SELECTION & PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE: DELEGATES ARE ELECTED ON THE BALLOT TO REPRESENT THAT STATE AND VOTERS ARE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE.

PP-AB—PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY/APPORTION & BIND: VOTERS ARE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE. RESULTS OF THIS PRIMARY APPORTION THE DELEGATES WHICH HAVE BEEN CHOSEN AT STATE CONVENTIONS. THIS PRIMARY ALSO LEGALLY BINDS THE DELEGATES' VOTES AT THE CONVENTION.

PP-A—PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY/APPORTION: VOTERS ARE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO EXPRESS THEIR PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE. RESULTS OF THIS PRIMARY APPORTION DELEGATES WHICH HAVE BEEN CHOSEN AT STATE CONVENTIONS.

****—REPRESENTATION**

MV—MOST VOTES: THOSE DELEGATES RECEIVING THE MOST VOTES ON THE BALLOT WITHIN THE ALLOTTED NUMBER OF DELEGATES WILL ATTEND THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WTA-S—WINNER TAKE ALL THROUGHOUT THE STATE: THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE RECEIVING THE MOST VOTES ON THE BALLOT WILL TAKE ALL HIS DESIGNATED DELEGATES THROUGHOUT THE STATE TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WTA-D+S—WINNER TAKE ALL IN THE DISTRICT AND THE STATE: THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WHO RECEIVED THE MOST VOTES IN THE DISTRICT AND/OR THE STATE WILL TAKE ALL THOSE DESIGNATED CANDIDATES TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

PR—PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION: THE RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY WILL BE USED TO APPORTION THE DELEGATES CHOSEN BY THE PARTIES BY THE PROPORTIONAL PERCENTAGE OF THE VOTES CAST IN THE PRIMARY FOR EACH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

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EDITORIAL POINTS

When Watergate was the centerpiece of controversy in 1974, few members of Congress were shy about assessing blame or prescribing cures. The net effect of that concern was indubitably beneficial for the balance of powers in American government.

The ethics of the Presidency and the entire Executive Branch came under intense scrutiny. The benefits of a strong Presidency which were trumpeted in the 1960's made a swift metamorphosis to the evils of the imperial Presidency in the 1970's. The Executive Branch has seldom had such scrutiny and analysis. In reaction to Watergate, there was hope that the lethargic or Legislative Branch might evidence new vigor. Alas, the new model---like most large appliances these days---was not built to last. The strain of 535 minds turning against each other was too much. What has remained is a new-found ability to scrutinize and immobilize the Executive. In too many cases, Congress is reminiscent of a tired jalopy, too worn out to go anywhere, but tying up a hell of a lot of traffic by breaking down during the freeway rush hour.

The time for congressional self-analysis seems ripe. Indeed, congresspersons may find that the time may turn from ripe to rotten as quickly as it did for Richard Nixon unless they reexamine their own roles. A number of areas seem to demand examination:

* What is the congressperson's role in government? Is he/she a legislator or a constituent ombudsman? Most members of Congress find that attending to constituent complaints is more important than attending rollcalls when election time comes near. But attending to constituent complaints is probably a self-fulfilling role---the more ably the role is filled, the more complaints will be directed to Congress---and the more executive agencies will feel compelled to respond primarily to complaints processed in this way. The constituent ombudsman is certainly a needed and valid role for a member of Congress, but it has a tendency to expand exponentially.

* One evidence of the increased burden is the continual pressure to increase the size of congressional staffs and congressional buildings. Justifiable criticism is leveled at the ballooning federal bureaucracy, but what about the ballooning congressional establishment. The congressional appetite of ravenous House Democrats was recently stymied when they sought to take over the new addition to the Library of Congress. The system itself contains lapses in rectitude---such as the Senate practice of al-

lowing senior senators to commandeer committee staff positions for their personal staffs. The high-handed tactics of House Administration Committee Chairman Wayne Hays(D-Ohio) were evident last year in the way he unilaterally expanded staff allotments without any congressional ratification.

* Appetite is only one of Congress's excesses. Members are fond of bewailing the mountain of paperwork required by the federal bureaucracy, but the pages of gobbledegook published in the Congressional Record go unchallenged. So do the procedures whereby congresspersons may amend their remarks before publication---a convenient method of rewriting history which Richard Nixon certainly would have appreciated. The deceits practiced by Congress are legion, but press releases are among the most blatant. A simple respect for human intelligence would require members of Congress not to claim credit for every dollar of federal aid pumped into their district. Few members, however, can resist such positive publicity. Creating the image of a busy-beaver public servant through press statements timed for release when the representative is out of town is equally deceitful in many ways. Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) seems such a master of this technique that he must distribute press releases on his jog to work to keep up his released image.

* The examination of congressional ethics extends to more critical areas. The revelations of Gulf Oil Corporation contributions would not be so bizarre were they not accompanied by a blatant and blase disregard of the implications for incumbent members of Congress. Whatever the propriety of members' acceptance or nonacceptance, the revelations demand investigation. But there is no thundering demand from Capitol Hill for Sen. Hugh Scott(R) or other congressmen to reveal their dealings with Gulf Oil. Scott is mum and so is Congress. Were such attitudes to be found in the Executive Branch, they would be described as stonewalling or worse.

* What limits ought to be placed on the political use of congressional staffs and perquisites. One aspect was the recent revelation of how the staff time of congressional presidential candidates is compensated. Undoubtedly, there is heightened sensitivity to the ethical constraints involved in use of public money. The use of congressional franking privileges is another area for possible abuse. The dispute between U.S.Rep. Alphonzo Bell(R-Calif.) and Sen. John V. Tunney(D-Calif.) over Tunney's use of mailing privileges in anticipation of this year's Senate campaign is only one case in point. Perhaps more to the point has been the congressional outcry that rulings of the Federal Election Commission may limit the advantages of incumbency.

POLITICS: \$90 BILLION

Criticism of Reagan's \$90 billion scheme in the press has prompted cries of dirty pool from conservatives:

National Review: "When Reagan suggested denationalizing a mere \$90 billion of federal largesse, the plan was quickly snubbed by the major media as being unworthy of serious comment, though well worth plenty of frivolous comment. Columnists who normally lecture us on morality and principle turned positively Machiavellian on this issue.

William A. Rusher: "The nation's leading journalistic cheerleaders for liberalism have now cut the clowning and gotten down to the serious business involved in the New Hampshire Republican primary. Not surprisingly, this turns out to be defeating Ronald Reagan. I confess to being a bit breath-taken, though, by the breezy cynicism with which they are counting on the presumed stupidity of New Hampshire's Republican voters to help them achieve that objective... The first example of this, and thus far the worst, is the media's ruthless distortion of Reagan's proposal that a large number of federal welfare programs be turned over to the individual states, which could then manage (and finance) any they chose to continue."

James J. Kilpatrick: "Comparisons, they say, are odious, and Ronald Reagan finds himself these days in the midst of a comparison that is odious almost beyond the bearing. He is being compared to George McGovern... Reagan's foes, who seem to be legion, have clutched this proposal lovingly to their breasts. They are fetched by it. They profess never to have seen so beautiful a blunder. They cannot get enough of it. They speak of it incessantly. And Reagan, to his credit, has whetted their passion by spelling out, chapter and verse, precisely where he would make the \$90 billion cuts. McGovern's baby and Reagan's baby have this much in common: Both may be seen as the products of men with ideas. The difference is this: McGovern's idea was basically screwy. Reagan's idea is basically sound.

Human Events: "From the impression left by most of the media, former Gov. Ronald Reagan has come up with a silly idea in talking about transferring \$90 billion of federal programs to the states. The plan has been cartooned as a Frankenstein monster, pictured as an anchor on his otherwise smooth-sailing campaign ship and generally designated a massive political goof. One would never know that there are genuine supporters around. Who would guess from a routine glance through the press that

the New York Times, hardly a rightwing publication, has concluded that the Reagan proposal is worth considering?"

Box 226, Charlestown, Mass.

- The Maryland Chapter will hold an Issues Conference and Convention Seminar February 7 at St. Johns College in Annapolis. In addition to discussion of domestic and international issues, the conference will feature explanations of delegate selection procedures.
- The Annual Meeting of the Chicago Chapter was held January 28 at the Chicago Bar Association. The first meeting of the chapter's North Shore Group will be held February 8. GOP candidates for Congress in the 10th C.D.---Sam Young, Dan Hales, and John Nimrod---will address the topic, "Must the North Shore Remain Democratic?"
- In downstate Illinois, Ripon member David N. Barkhausen is seeking the Republican nomination for the 59th State Senate district. A transportation expert and law school graduate, Barkhausen concluded his announcement of candidacy by stating, "I do not want to pretend that as one of 59 state senators and 236 members of the Illinois General Assembly, I will have any extraordinary impact upon the course of human events. Our society has suffered immensely in recent years from the curse of over-promising politicians and the subsequent disappointment and rebellion when Utopia is not attained... The recruitment and formation of a grass-roots constituency (that I will pursue) will be designed to rebuild the shattered relationship between the individual and Illinois state government by responding sympathetically and creatively to the undercurrent of hostility toward institutional life, toward impersonal inefficiency, toward massive organization, and toward the endless small indignities of an administered age. The goal is to elevate and energize, rather than diminish and demean, the individual citizen."
- On January 14, the Washington, D.C. Chapter sponsored a debate on the proposed Energy Independence Authority with Rockefeller aide Peter Wallison defending the EIA and Chapter president Richard Rahn and George Washington University economics professor William A. Johnson attacking the proposal.
- In addition to preparing a Mid South politician's handbook, the Memphis chapter has been active in the planning for another race for the Tennessee Public Service Commission by Jane Hardaway, now a GOP state vice chairman. The chapter has also been active in assisting chapter member Bill Robilio, a recent graduate of Southern Methodist University, establish a Ripon chapter in Texas.

RENEW TODAY.

POLITICS: THE PRESIDENCY

California: U.S. Rep. Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R-Calif.) is leading the Republican pack of hopefuls to challenge Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) ---despite the recent quixotic entry of former U.S. Rep., former presidential aspirant John G. Schmitz in the race. In a recent Field Poll, Goldwater held a 2-1 lead over his nearest GOP rival, former HEW Secretary Robert Finch. In deference to his son's campaign, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) has apparently resolved to stay neutral in this year's presidential contest. The senior Goldwater is himself the subject of conservative scorn for his failure to exert more vigorous conservative leadership. A recent article in the Conservative Digest was entitled "Goldwater: Leader or Legend?" and questioned whether conservatives have relied too heavily on the Arizona senator for direction, saying he "has failed to provide leadership at critical times." (Note: In a perceptive critique of the younger Goldwater and Tunney, Sacramento Bee reporter Martin Smith observed: "The two sons have been the target of critics who claim their success is based solely on their names and not on any personal accomplishments or intellectual abilities. Occasionally each man displays a lack of self-confidence which indicates he may half-believe the critics. Tunney has a reputation for overreacting when he runs into political problems, while the younger Goldwater agonizes overlong on whether to risk a seat in the House for a seat in the Senate.")

Connecticut: State GOP Chairman Frederick Biebel has announced his neutrality, but a large part of the state GOP establishment---including GOP National Committee members John Alsop and Mary Boatwright, and former state GOP chairmen Edwin May, Jr., Brian Gaffney, and Vincent Laudone---have backed Ford. The GOP's 1974 candidate for governor, former U.S. Rep. Robert Steele, has been entertaining discussions about heading the Reagan campaign in the state. Although Steele has been considered a moderate, numerous splits in the state party have never precisely followed ideological logic. In making an announcement of his candidacy for reelection, Sen. Lowell Weicker (R) slapped the rightwing tendencies of both Ford and Reagan. Weicker said his ideal candidate would be Sens. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.) or Charles McC Mathias (R-Md.).

Florida: Reagan campaign chairman Tommy Thomas has been predicting a 2-1 Reagan victory in the state, but that sort of overselling could turn into a sour March 9 lemon for Reagan. Despite organizational confusion in the Ford camp, the President is felt to be about even with Reagan---and several polls attest to this

fact. A remark by U.S. Rep. Louis Frey, Jr., the Ford campaign chairman, that his heart was with Reagan while his head was with Ford has elicited something less than jubilation from the Ford staff. National staffers have been sent to Florida to prevent state GOP factionalism from undermining the Ford campaign. Reagan's \$90 billion scheme is not expected to be a big hit in the Florida GOP---particularly among retirees who may be scared by its possible impact on them. The Miami Herald recently editorialized: "In the case of Florida, according to our Robert D. Shaw, Jr., the state would lose some \$1.2 billion a year in federal funds, or less than we send to Washington. The sum roughly equals the 4-cent sales tax collection. Should this then be doubled, and in Dade County should property taxes be escalated enormously---by 15 mills anyway---to make up for the \$269 million in federal funds which the county receives under the long standing federal aid to education act and other programs?" With four of the state's five Republican congressmen backing Ford, Reagan's edge here is a slim one. As one leading Republican told the Los Angeles Times' Kenneth Reich recently: "It's going to be very, very tight, I think. I think Reagan's going to have a little advantage, but not as much as has been predicted." Under the state's winner-take-all system, it is a 66-delegate jackpot.

Iowa: Despite the low-key nature of the search for adherents among participants in the Iowa GOP caucuses, Ford was the choice of an estimated 55 percent of those who identified a preference.

Illinois: Ford is still favored in this state; Reagan has delegates for about 70 of the 96 delegate slots and his backers would be lucky to win half those spots. Still, the Illinois primary puts Sen. Charles Percy in a sticky position since he would have to wait until after the primary to take advantage of a possible Ford pull-out. In that case, according to the Chicago Sun Times' Jerome Watson, "Percy would hope to pick off a substantial number of Ford delegates as a home-state base. Some Percy advisers think the senator could get 30 or so delegates in such a case, and his failure to do better could be excused by his late entry into the campaign. Percy's problem, as always, rests on the fact that shrinking Republican regular organization ranks are conservative and apparently getting more so. So, Reagan could expect to find strong sympathies among the cut-loose Ford delegates."

Massachusetts: Alabama Gov. George Wallace is going to have some competition for the anti-busing vote in Massachusetts. A group of anti-busing militants met with Reagan in New Hampshire recently and returned home to spread the gospel of party conversion to anti-

busing Democrats. A goal of over 1000 new Reagan Republicans by the February filing deadline has been set.

Missouri: Despite the backing of Missouri Gov. Christopher "Kit" Bond(R), Ford trailed Reagan slightly in a recent poll by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

New Hampshire: One would think that Gov. Meldrim Thomson(R) would find time to go to Kansas City to support buddy Ronald Reagan's presidential quest, but shucks, the governor says he will be preoccupied with his gubernatorial campaign. Peter Thomson, the governor's son, is representing his father on the state's Reagan delegate slate. The Ford slate ranges from progressives like State Rep. Susan McLane and former Gov. Walter Peterson to conservatives like former Sen. Norris Cotton. Reagan's \$90 billion scheme seems to have provided a source of unending energy for Ford backers. State Senate Finance Committee Chairman C. Robertson Trowbridge, for example, announced that the Reagan plan would cost the state \$110 million in federal assistance. The irony of state politics is that conservative Reagan backers have had to defend Reagan's plan against progressive critics who argue that it may require imposition of a broad-based state tax. As the Concord Monitor's Tom Ferriter has observed, "So while Thomson and other anti-taxers grit it out trying to defend Reagan against criticism from moderate and liberal supporters of President Ford, the pro-taxers are gleefully pointing fingers at Reagan and painting him as the man who finally would thrust new taxes on the state."

New Jersey: State GOP Chairman Webster Todd has been working to put together a slate of uncommitted delegates similar to New York's. Such a slate would probably contain a good deal more covert Reagan supporters than the Ford delegate slate which is also under consideration. New Jersey, however, has a recent history of uncommitted slates. A Reagan campaign in the state has yet to surface.

North Carolina: Recent polls show Reagan and Ford running about even at 40 percent, although a Reagan poll showed he had the edge with likely primary voters. The race pits Ford backer Gov. James Holshouser(R) against Reagan backer Sen. Jesse Helms(R), both chairing statewide efforts. The edge of ideological motivation goes to Reagan. In a recent issue of Nation magazine, writer Mark Pinsky notes: "The Reagan-Ford contest is already seen as a highly personalized test of strength between Helms and Holshouser, both of whom have a great deal at stake. If Holshouser---heretofore regarded as an amiable lightweight---can deliver North Carolina and the South for Ford, he would be a natural ticket-balancing Vice Presidential nominee. His aides have let it be known for the past year that he plans to challenge Helms in the 1978 senatorial primary."

Ohio: The Ford-Reagan confrontation may spark a battle for the post of Ohio national committeeman. Cuyahoga County Chairman Bob Hughes is reportedly considering a race against GOP National Committeeman Ray Bliss, a former state and national GOP chairman. According to the Cleveland Press' Roy Meyers, Hughes will have the support of Gov. James Rhodes(R) in this effort: "Hughes, reportedly, is not happy with the stance being taken by Bliss and some other GOP leaders in regard to the Ronald Reagan threat. It is well known that Hughes has no love for the former California governor and wants the party to reject Reagan and give unrestricted support to President Ford. A confrontation with Bliss would bring sores out into the open, but Hughes evidently is willing to risk airing some dirty linen in order to get Ohio solidly in line behind Ford."

Oklahoma: A recent poll of the Oklahoma State GOP Committee gave Reagan 73 percent compared to 15 percent for Ford. Former Treasury Secretary John Connally came off well as a vice presidential choice.

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