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Can He Pull Off the
Upset of the
Century?

Commentary

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Can the GOP Do Better?

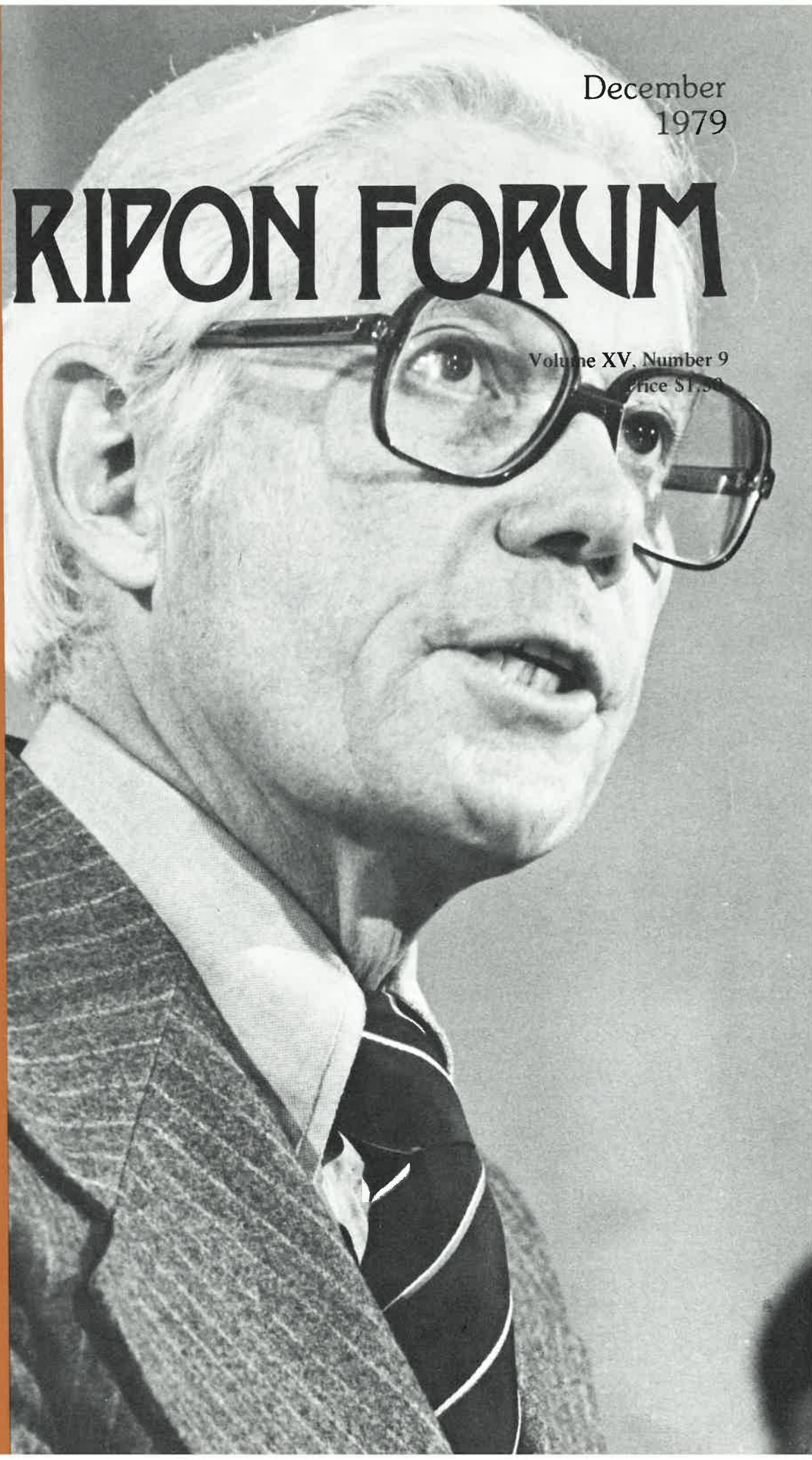
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RIPON FORUM

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COMMENTARY

Energy and Inflation: Can the GOP Do Better?

It may be only slight hyperbole to suggest that the recently concluded Ripon Annual Issues Conference may ultimately prove to have been one of the crucial intellectual turning points in the history of the Republican Party. Intellectual excitement was at a high pitch and the panels were provocative and of superior quality. Yet the conference did more than confirm the resurgence of The Ripon Society as the leading idea brokering group in American politics, it also suggested some very new perspectives for viewing our mounting energy and economic problems.

In the face of what Morton Kondracke in a recent issue of *The New Republic* characterized as "the intellectual disarray" of the Democrats, Republicans have a tremendous opportunity if they show a mastery of our perplexing economic and energy supply problems. The intellectual bankruptcy of the various Democratic Presidential aspirants varies only in degree. President Jimmy Carter has brought us a combination of raging inflation, persistent and shockingly high levels of youth unemployment, misallocation of and failure to capitalize on domestic energy supplies and growing U.S. vulnerability to disruptions of foreign energy supplies. His policy articulation and execution on such critical issues as entry into the work force, capital formation, energy consumption and development of effective international cooperation to address the world's energy and economic crisis has been a curious blend of counterproductive nostrums, contradictory rhetoric and fumbling follow through.

Yet compared with his principal Democratic rival, Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, Carter appears almost to be economically literate. Far more disturbing than the moral dementia that has characterized Kennedy throughout his adult life is his penchant for the demagogic solution whether talking of capital formation, energy production or such a sensitive subject as the Iranian crisis. The patently demagogic character of Kennedy's appeal and the emergence of the Iranian crisis have already produced a windfall profit to Carter who now has a real hope of political resurrection. While a Carter triumphant over Kennedy would prove a politically formidable foe for Republicans, there is no indication that Carter is gaining any mastery over the problems of energy supply and inflation.

Oddly the only Democratic Presidential candidate who is occasionally making any sense is California Governor Jerry Brown. Brown's flirtations with Howard Jarvis on an ill advised budget balancing constitutional amendment and with the New Left on its almost theological opposition to nuclear power have earned him a reputation as the California Snowflake. Yet flake that he may be, Brown has made some

trenchant observations about our need to increase our competitiveness in the world market and our rates of labor productivity and capital formation and to decrease our profligate use of energy. He has correctly pointed out that economic policies over the last several decades are robbing our children's futures. Yet while his voice seems prophetic as compared to the banalities of a Carter or the hip shooting of a Kennedy, Jerry Brown hardly seems capable of curing the disease he has diagnosed.

A Republican victory in 1980 can not, however, be presumed on the basis of the evident inadequacy of all the serious Democratic contenders. If Jimmy Carter, now by far the likeliest Democratic nominee, is to be defeated, Republicans must give some sense that they grasp the severity of the economic and energy crisis in which we are immersed. Despite the generally impressive personal presentation of the participants the January 5 Republican Presidential debate from Des Moines was not altogether reassuring. In their response to questions on the U.S. grain embargo all but one of the participants seemed more willing to pander to a few voters in Iowa rural caucuses than to show U.S. resolve against a determined Soviet aggressor.

The same was true of energy and inflation where most of the candidates skillfully peddled a number of notions that seemed to suggest a life of easy choices: all we need to do to liberate ourselves from dependency on the OPEC cartel is to increase domestic energy production, e.g., mine more coal, build more nuclear power plants, cut down senseless government regulation; we can tax cut ourselves out of inflation and toward economic prosperity and competitiveness in the world market place.

Somehow this sounds a little too good to be true and a little reminiscent on the inflation and energy front of what Jimmy Carter peddled in 1976 about his ability to reorganize and redirect the federal bureaucracy. We suspect that the choices are somewhat more difficult as suggested by Representative John B. Anderson, until the Iowa debate a long shot Presidential contender. If we are to get out of the mess in which we find ourselves the American public will have to sacrifice and our leaders will have to take political risks. We must acknowledge some hard truths:

- ▶ During the decade of the 1980s we will be remarkably vulnerable to pricing decisions of oil producing nations. The long lead time involved in building large synthetic fuel plants makes unlikely the bringing to market of significant quantities of such fuel before the end of the decade.
- ▶ The likeliest source of new domestic fuel in this decade is coal. As Carl Bagge, President of the National Coal Association and his one time nemesis, Louise Dunlap, President of the Environmental Policy Institute seemed to agree during our domestic energy panel some of the once wide gulf between the coal industry and the environmental movement has been narrowed. Movement to much greater use of coal for electrical generation will require some breakthroughs in environmental technology to allay concerns over such potentially serious problems as coal pollutant induced acid rain. It may also require considerable capital investment to upgrade railroad roadbeds over which much of the coal will be shipped.

▶ In the longer term our energy crisis is "a crisis of technology" as Dr. Ishrat Usmani of the United Nations stated in his brilliant presentation during the international energy panel. Enormous energy savings could be made through fundamental breakthroughs in such areas as photovoltaic solar or gasoline engine efficiency. As Dr. Bogdan Maglich suggested, fusion energy may provide within our lifetime a plentiful source of environmentally clean, reasonably affordable energy. Instead of investing significantly in the basic research to produce such breakthroughs the Carter Administration is pouring tens of billions into dubious synthetic fuel projects which even if successful promise only modest improvements in our energy supply.

▶ Conservation is far and away the most economical and productive response in the near term to the vulnerable energy position in which the United States and the western industrialized countries will be for the next decade. As a Princeton University retrofit project recently demonstrated, savings of as much as two thirds of home heating oil use can be achieved by relatively economical retrofitting of existing homes to reduce heat loss. Spurred by federal fuel efficiency standards and by foreign competition, the domestic automobile industry has already found it possible virtually to double gasoline mileage. An immediate and stiff gas tax could accelerate the turnover of the U.S. automobile fleet to more fuel efficient cars. In recent years industry has become far more conscious of the potential for energy conservation. Nevertheless, U.S. industry has a long way to go to match the Swedish or the French in industrial energy efficiency.

▶ A large number of the OPEC countries, particularly Nigeria, Indonesia, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, Iran and Venezuela, are developing countries with rising expectations on the part of their populations for standards of living closer to that of the Western industrialized countries. These countries can be expected to seek to optimize the return on the sale to the industrialized countries of any non-renewable resources such as oil. They can hardly be condemned for this, for as Ramadan Barg eloquently argued during the international energy panel, they are seeking to emulate the material progress of the industrialized countries. Despite our fondness for images of profligate sheikhs at Monte Carlo and other watering spots we must acknowledge that much of the OPEC produced windfall prices have accrued to countries with genuine development efforts.

▶ For this very reason we can hardly anticipate forbearance on the part of the OPEC countries; those with large deprived populations of their own are hardly likely to be impressed by pleas that huge price hikes will reduce the standards of living of the industrialized countries. Our policy must instead be one of summoning up concerted action by the consuming countries for joint research, production and conservation efforts as well as possible pooled purchasing arrangements.

▶ Common ground exists between oil consuming nations of the industrialized world and many developing countries that have been hurt severely by the price rises in fossil fuels. There may be considerable merit to the recom-

mentation by Dr. Ishrat Usmani of Pakistan for an international energy foundation to be funded by perhaps a ten cents per barrel tax on oil and perhaps equivalent taxes on other nonrenewable fuels. These revenues could sponsor research into means of developing energy conservation and generation techniques to ensure world prosperity well after the exhaustion of nonrenewable fuels.

The explosion in the price of overseas oil has aggravated some already distressing trends in the economy, particularly a lower rate of savings and investment, an aging of much of our industrial plant, and a stagnation of our rates of labor productivity. The Issues Conference tax and economic policy panel drew a surprising consensus from Morton Kondracke, Dr. Richard Rahn and George Gilder that our public policies have been less effective in encouraging savings and investment than those of our Western European allies and Japan. The possible prescriptions, however, are hardly as clear as the problem. They might, however, include a combination of the following:

- ▶ A concerted push for a fairer sharing of the Free World defense burden by Western Europe and Japan. Today approximately six percent of our nation's GNP is devoted to defense spending; the comparable percentage for West Germany is about 3 percent and for Japan about 1 percent.
- ▶ The exemption of a large portion of savings and investment income from taxation. In general our tax code will have to be skewed in favor of savings and investment as opposed to consumption.
- ▶ An overhaul of U.S. patent policy much on the lines of that advocated by Senator Harrison Schmitt in order that federally funded inventions can be brought to the marketplace.
- ▶ The easing of barriers to entry to new technologies: this may include further deregulation of transportation, communications and construction as well as further easing of capital gains taxation and securities registration requirements.

We can once again become masters of our own economic fate. This can come about, however, only if our leaders lead rather than follow public opinion. Leadership like humility is rarely found among those who talk about it. Sadly today there is a surfeit of talk about leadership among those who aspire to the White House. The electorate is we suspect more discerning than our putative leaders would suppose; if this is so, 1980 may see some real political surprises. ■

As you note the news in this issue is fresher than the face date on the cover. A year-end financial crunch delayed publication but it is our intention to honor the commitment to publish a monthly magazine.

PRESIDENTIAL SPOTLIGHT

John B. Anderson
A Dark Horse Who
Could Pull Off
The Upset of The Century

As of mid-summer 1979 the conventional political wisdom was that the Republican Presidential race would ultimately boil down to three candidates, Front-runner Ronald Reagan carrying the mantle of the GOP's ascendant right wing; John Connally who would combine Fortune 500 financial support with a charismatic personality to threaten Reagan on his home turf; and Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker, the likely standard bearer of the GOP's moderate wing.

Yet in recent months this scenario has been shredded. Despite raising eight million dollars and expending a heavy proportion of it in early primary states, John Connally has found his popularity static or falling in such key states as New Hampshire. Connally's decision to forego Federal matching funds has been widely viewed as a sign of political weakness thus undercutting the self confident aura that has been an essential part of his appeal. Howard Baker, perhaps the ablest Senate leader of our generation, was even less successful than Connally in getting his campaign on track. Depending on his relatively high standing in the opinion polls and betting on a George Bush collapse in the primary states, Baker allowed Bush to line up support of much of the anti-Reagan moderate Republican establishment while at the same time attracting conservatives with positions that seemed almost identical to those of Reagan. Moreover, Baker's pragmatic argument that he was the moderate best equipped to head off Reagan was severely dented by strong Bush showings in straw polls in Iowa, Maine and Florida.

Events of the last few weeks, however, have further scrambled the Republican Presidential outlook. The big loser appears to be Ronald Reagan. On January 2 a broad coalition of California Republicans filed nearly a half million signatures to an initiative that would split the California Republican national convention delegation proportionally. If the Secretary of State validates sufficient signatures by January 24, the initiative will be placed on the June primary ballot where it should pass overwhelmingly. This could result in a net loss to Reagan of 80 to 100 of California's 168 delegates. Reagan may have suffered even more dearly from his decision to duck a televised debate from Des Moines on January 5. His support in Iowa was halved in a month; the losses elsewhere may have been equally severe.

At least three candidates received a significant boost from the Iowa debate. Philip Crane's impressive performance capitalized on the hemorrhage from Reagan of conservatives who feel that Reagan is either too old or tired to be President. Howard Baker's strong showing gave him a leg up on George Bush whose personal projection did not match the cracker-jack efficiency of his Iowa campaign organization. The big winner, however, may have been Illinois Republican Congressman John B. Anderson who alone of the debate participants appeared to recognize that he was addressing a national audience.

**“Gerald Ford could be
pivotal in tipping an open convention
to Anderson, his long time
House leadership colleague.”**

While the other candidates wept puddles of crocodile tears for the Iowa farmers who were “scapegoats” or “victims” of the President's grain embargo, Anderson alone supported the embargo and pointed out the hypocrisy of his rivals. The forthrightness of his answers to questions and a brilliant summation thrust him into national prominence after a campaign mired in relative obscurity. The aftermath of the debate included a surge of campaign contributions and volunteers, reams of favorable press, both a serious endorsement and a humorous campaign song from comedian Mark Russell and virtual endorsements from both *The New York Times* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. Oddly the big winner from Iowa may be Anderson whose almost nonexistent Iowa effort will barely make a blip on the charts in that state.

Despite a shaky organizational start, Anderson had begun to rise perceptibly in the polls in the last couple of months due to his stress on issues. His proposal for a fifty cent tax on gasoline combined with a fifty percent cut in Social Security employee taxes has gathered a chorus of hurrahs from such diverse parties as *The National Journal*, *The Washington Star*, *The National Journal* and David Brinkley. The Iranian crisis

has created a far greater sense of public urgency on the energy issue, and Anderson alone of all the candidates in either party seems willing to face up to the need for U.S. consumption restraints if we are to get off an OPEC price roller coaster. Anderson's proposal is attracting a surprising amount of conservative establishment support with many business leaders concluding that Anderson and John Connally are the class of the field.

Anderson's strong suit has been the extraordinary regard in which he is held by informed political observers. This high esteem was reported in a recent *Parade Magazine* Intelligence Report which stated:

According to veteran reporters and Congressmen, the most qualified Republican candidate for President or Vice President is Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois; born in Rockford, Illinois on February 15, 1922. Anderson, who has served in Congress since 1961, is considered by many colleagues as the most able member in the House.

After reviewing the Carter-Kennedy-Brown offerings provided by the Democrats, numerous independent observers have concluded that John Anderson is far and away the ablest candidate in either party. Such normally non-Republican columnists as Joseph Kraft, Clayton Fritchey and Marquis Childs have cited Anderson's intellectual supremacy over the crowded Presidential field. The extraordinarily candid Senator Bob Dole, himself an articulate Republican Presidential aspirant, has called Anderson “the brightest guy” running.

The reverse side of the coin is that the press and many moderate Republican activists themselves, while convinced that Anderson is the ablest candidate in the field, are equally persuaded that the Republican Party could never nominate a person of such ability. Yet it is quite conceivable that some of these skeptics may be in for a very pleasant surprise.

Despite a late start, Anderson is beginning to make serious inroads in the pivotal early primary states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Illinois and Wisconsin. He has already pulled even with John Connally in private polls of New Hampshire Republicans. Anderson's vivacious wife, the former Keke Machakos, may prove a secret weapon in wooing New Hampshire's and Massachusetts' politically significant Greek American communities. While the *Manchester Union Leader* is exerting itself as only William Loeb would to ensure a thumping Reagan victory in New Hampshire, many other dailies and weeklies have given Anderson very favorable coverage. Moreover, perhaps equally significant with the *Union Leader* in current New Hampshire Presidential politics is the *Boston Globe*, the leading paper in much of populous southeastern New Hampshire. Anderson in view of his focus on issues can anticipate very favorable coverage and possible endorsements from a bevy of New England newspapers.

Despite the exceptionally conservative tenor of its politics, New Hampshire is well tailored to a campaigner such as Anderson. The small size of the state and the tendency of New Hampshire Republicans to turn out to hear the candidates provides the Illinois Congressman an opportunity to reach much of the electorate first hand. Anderson may also benefit from Granite State voters' traditional aversion to lavish

political spending. Having just met the twenty state matching fund requirement, Anderson should be able to draw out over three hundred thousand dollars in matching funds in January. Since his thinly funded campaign (five hundred thousand dollars raised to date) is one of the few being run in the black and his campaign staff is adjusted to guerrilla rations, most of the matching funds will go to media expenditures in the New England primaries. This should be sufficient to give him a clear shot at the New England electorate. Henry Cabot Lodge's smashing 1964 New Hampshire write-in victory was secured on total expenditures of only about twenty five thousand dollars as opposed to expenditures ten times that by his principal rivals, Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater.

**"Anderson's strong suit
has been the extraordinary regard
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It is conceivable that Anderson could be discovered by New Hampshire voters and pull off a stunning upset, but Anderson strategists are banking on only a second or third place showing in New Hampshire where Reagan is believed to have a virtually insurmountable lead. They expect to follow a strong New Hampshire showing with an outright victory a week later in Massachusetts' March 4 primary. Anderson's Massachusetts organization is quite strong, including such party stalwarts as former party chairman Josiah Spaulding, National Committeewoman Eunice Howe, Middlesex County Sheriff John Buckley, Ann Gannett and Margot Lindsay. In addition to much of the Bay State's moderate Republican leadership, Anderson can count on strong support from the state's strong environmental and feminist groups as well as the campuses in a state which has come to epitomize the knowledge industrial complex.

An Anderson victory in Massachusetts would produce a splurge of media publicity from publications that had previously discounted his campaign as too issue oriented to appeal to the voters. The poll surge from a Massachusetts win and the resulting flow of campaign contributions could propel Anderson to a victory two weeks later in the March 18 Illinois primary where he now trails both Reagan and Connally. Anderson has already assembled a formidable Illinois organization including popular former Illinois Governor Richard Ogilvie. Anderson would hope to follow an Illinois victory with a similar triumph two weeks later in nearby Wisconsin's open primary. Here in the open primary environment an ascendant Anderson could be the beneficiary of thousands of crossover voters who can't stomach Carter, Kennedy or Brown.

The later primaries are harder to project but Anderson victories seem quite possible in such diverse states as Oregon, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Maryland, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and perhaps even Ohio, provided that victories have occurred

in earlier New England and Middle Western primaries. In addition, if the proportional primary initiative passes in California, Anderson could conceivably secure a quarter of the delegates in Ronald Reagan's home state.

Even with victories in a half dozen key primaries, John Anderson could expect to arrive in Detroit with no more than 40% of the delegates. To win in such a wide open convention he would have to woo a number of delegates who may consider themselves somewhat to his right. Anderson's chance of nomination would appear to hinge on his standing out preeminently in the public opinion polls as the one Republican who could win in November.

Given Anderson's strong appeal to such crosspartisan constituencies as feminists, environmentalists and futurists as well as his commanding media presence, it is very conceivable that as of July 1980 John Anderson may be the only Republican who would seem a good bet, if nominated, to win the White House in 1980. If Jimmy Carter triumphs over Ted Kennedy in the Democratic nomination battle, as seems increasingly likely thanks to Ayatollah Khomeini and Ted Kennedy's periodic confetti brained utterances, Carter will be a formidable foe even in the face of a faltering economy.

In such a situation Gerald Ford could be pivotal in tipping an open convention to Anderson, his long time House leadership colleague. Anderson then might unify the party by picking as his vice presidential recommendation an articulate conservative such as New Mexico Senator Harrison Schmitt, Nevada Senator Paul Laxalt, former Ambassador Anne Armstrong of Texas, Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi, or a southern governor such as Lamar Alexander of Tennessee, or Bill Clements of Texas. Such a ticket might sweep the critical battleground states of the Great Lakes while wrestling the peripheral South (Texas, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia — the only non-Carter Southern state in 1976) from Carter and holding the Western states carried by Ford in 1976, including Reagan's California.

Jimmy the Greek may not yet give short odds on this scenario but in this especially volatile political campaign it would seem foolhardy to write off the possibility that the best qualified candidate might actually be nominated. Nearly one hundred twenty years ago in very trying times the Republican Party took a similar gamble in trusting its Presidential fortunes to a former Illinois Congressman distinguished by his extraordinary ability to communicate, his sense of history and his moral courage. ■

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“U.S. Technology Policy to Increase Our Economic Competitiveness” The Need for a Uniform Patent Policy

by U.S. Senator Harrison Schmitt (R-NM)

INTRODUCTION

Decreasing productivity and increasing energy costs are probably the two major contributors to our current inflation outside of the high rate of increase in the “effective” money supply due to the rate we spend money rather than saving or investing it.

A decline in productivity in recent years can be related to many inadequacies in Government policy. As productivity declines relative to an increasing “effective” money supply, the goods and services produced are fewer in number and are bid upward in price by consumers who are understandably unwilling to save.

It is difficult to isolate any one factor that is mostly to blame for our declining productivity. The loss of a work ethic is often blamed but may actually be the least significant, if a factor at all, since it can't be proved qualitatively. More important factors affecting productivity are those which dis-

courage investment in new and more efficient production. Those adverse factors which Government could eliminate are counterproductive tax law, excessive and conflicting regulation, a decline in Federal and private research and development, repressive patent policies that discourage innovation, discouragement of low cost domestic energy production, and, now, excessively high interest rates. Obviously, these are things we could do something about if we would face the facts squarely and change those laws that have caused the current situation to develop.

During the 20 years following World War II, American technology contributed to an annual rate of productivity increases of 3.4%. Since 1966, that rate of increase has been cut in half. While America is still the most productive country in the world, it is clear that our leadership is being challenged. Other countries are spending higher percentages of their gross national product on research and development, and they are gaining the benefits of greater innovation and high productivity increases.

The number of patentable inventions made under Federally supported research has been steadily declining, while the share of U.S. patents issued to foreign applicants has doubled in the last 14 years. Capital investment in the U.S. is growing more slowly than it is elsewhere and the U.S. trading position, even in many, formerly safe, high technology products, is deteriorating.

Without significant changes in Federal policies affecting private investment in the innovation process, the future holds bleak promise of continued penetration of domestic markets by foreign competitors, increasing U.S. trade deficits, and the eventual loss of the traditional U.S. role as the world technological leader.

The Senate Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee, on which I serve as the ranking Republican member, has been examining the nature of this problem for the past two years and its implications for continued economic growth and development, maintenance of a favorable balance of trade, and improved technology transfer. An integral part of the Subcommittee's concern relates to the Federal Government's role in promoting technology utilization and industrial innovation. Testimony from leaders of all sectors of our national economy has highlighted the importance of innovation to employment, inflation, the trade deficit and the competitiveness of U.S. industry in world markets. The Subcommittee is now exploring various alternative legislative measures to stimulate the development, applications, and diffusion of new technologies. The challengers to U.S. technological leadership are all around us — West Germany, France, and Japan, to name just a few. Unless we as a nation take



steps to reverse the downward trend in the rate of U.S. innovation and economic productivity, we risk becoming second to all, rather than second to none.

GOVERNMENT PATENT POLICY

Although the solutions proposed to reverse these alarming trends are many and complex, one of the areas which has a significant impact on the innovation process is the government's policy for handling the fruits of the billions of dollars of national expenditures on science and technology. I am referring, of course, to the Federal Government's patent policy, or lack thereof.

The role of the Federal government in the industrial innovation process cannot be overstated. For more than a decade, Federal agencies have funded nearly two-thirds of this nation's expenditures on research and development (R&D). During this past fiscal year alone, the Federal government provided more than \$29 billion in research and development support. As a result of this huge national investment, thousands of inventions are identified each year which have traditionally formed a valuable source of new products and technology development.

Unfortunately, Federal policies and procedures for the management of the results of Federal R&D contracts have operated in the past to inhibit the process by which such benefits are made available to the American consumer. The fact that the Federal government presently holds title to about 28,000 inventions developed with the assistance of Federal R&D funds and yet only 5% of these government-owned inventions have ever been effectively used, helps to convince me that the present policies are not providing the maximum return to the public from its annual investment in science and technology research and development.

This is not a new problem. For the past thirty years, debate has flourished over the most appropriate Federal policy for determining ownership of the products of Government-funded research. Typically, the debate, and any hope for substantial patent policy reform, becomes bogged down in the "title" versus "license" arguments. National Commissions, interagency studies, and two executive orders have failed to achieve the long-desired goal of a comprehensive government patent policy. Individual Federal agencies commonly operate under varying statutory policies and procedures. Processing of normal waiver applications can take up to two years depending on the agency. The nature of the controversy clearly demand a legislative solution.

My own interest in the subject of government patent policy stems from my years at NASA and the many problems encountered in attempting to work with diverse Federal patent policies that were confusing, ineffective, and often times counterproductive. NASA's own statutory patent policy, while in my view fundamentally sound and implemented in an equitable manner, has inherent flaws built into its "waiver" system which give rise to undesirable delays on

waiver applications and lack of predictability for the contractor.

One example of the type of problem experienced was when I tried to get NASA and the Department of the Interior to initiate a program of advanced coal mining technology. After nearly a year of trying to negotiate an interagency agreement, we finally gave up and decided we couldn't do it because of conflicting and unresolvable patent policies.

Federal patent policies which were originally designed to protect the public interest by preventing the so-called "give-away" have in fact operated to discourage contractor bidding, eliminate incentives to innovate or disclose inventions, and delay the commercialization of inventions developed under Federal contracts. Ultimately, it is the American Public who suffers from these misguided policies through the failure of potentially significant technological inventions to reach the marketplace.

Last spring I introduced a bill designed to achieve a uniform government-wide policy for the management and utilization of the results of federally-funded research and development. Entitled the "Science and Technology Research and Development Utilization Policy Act", the bill is a revised version of an earlier bill I introduced in the 95th Congress. The changes made from the earlier text reflect the thoughtful comments from leaders of business, industry, and government.

The approach I am suggesting in this bill represents a truly middle ground position between the traditional "title in the Government" policy and a full blown "license" policy that would unequivocally assign title to the contractor. Essentially, this bill would establish a presumption of title in the government in those specific situations where it is necessary to assure full public access to resulting inventions. The specific situations in which the government would retain title are narrowly drawn, but I believe adequate to protect the public interest. The determination as to the government's rights would be made at the time of contracting so the contractor will have a clear idea of what his rights will be to any inventions developed under the contract.

In all other situations, and when the government fails to make an adequate showing of the need for retaining principal rights to any inventions likely to be developed under the contract, it would be presumed that the contractor could elect to retain title to any such inventions.

To assure flexibility in the implementation of the policy, the government would have the authority to waive its rights to title when found to be in the public interest. In addition, the government is given limited "march-in" rights if the contractor fails to take reasonable steps to develop the invention.

I am offering this legislative proposal as one step this country must take to reverse the national decline in industrial innovation and economic productivity. Americans have neither lost their willingness nor their ability to innovate. Rather it is the system within which the innovation process functions that must be restructured to provide a more favorable climate for our traditional innovative spirit. The reform of our Federal patent policy is a beginning of that process.

PATENT POLICY AND THE ENERGY CRISIS

In hearings I participated in this year in the Small Business Committee, there was overwhelming evidence that many energy inventions are being stifled by our current patent policies. If we, as a nation, are to move from our dependence on insecure imported oil, natural gas and coal to a long-term goal of dependence on our own renewable resources by the beginning of the next century, we need to start now in changing the policies that will encourage innovation. In addition to our changing patent policies, we must provide continuing tax incentives to encourage technological advancement that will increase the efficiency by which we convert one form of energy to another.

Overall, the solution to inflation and our other economic problems will only come when we recognize that time and technology have changed the basic character of the economy. The only way to regain control, to stabilize, and then to move steadily ahead is to encourage a rapid decrease in the growth of our "effective" money supply and undercut artificially high foreign energy prices.

Less Tax, not more is part of the cure.

Less federal spending, not more, is part of the cure.

Less management by regulation, not more, is part of the cure.

Lower interest rates, not higher, is part of the cure.

In short, growth, not stagnation, is the cure. ■

"A Republican Program for Energy and Economic Growth"



by Rep. Clarence Brown of Ohio

INTRODUCTION

In the last days of the 1970s it is becoming easier to assign a theme to a decade that has defied characterization. Unlike the 1960's, which seemed to take on definition and theme almost from the beginning, the 1970's were a time of confusion and uncertainty over just who we were and where we were going.

It is clear now, however, that the overriding theme of the decade has been our confrontation with the limits of growth and our near-surrender in the face of the challenge posed by such limits.

Governor Jerry Brown of California is a most unlikely national figure or presidential candidate, but he has enjoyed a remarkable degree of success largely because he is one of the few major politicians to accurately perceive that limits on growth pose our biggest challenge. However, Governor Brown is not destined for higher leadership, despite his notoriety, because he has not been able to articulate a solution to the problem. His answer is to accept the limits; but that's not the American way and Americans are not ready for that kind of leader.

President Carter, in his own way, has been plagued with the same tendency to surrender to our problems. Although he fancies himself a problem-solver, his solutions usually fail to

go to the heart of the problem. The energy crisis is a good example.

Flushed with the success of his recent election victory and inspired by his own phrasemaking, on April 20, 1977, President Carter proudly declared the "Moral Equivalent of War" on the energy crisis. As details of his policies were revealed in the days that followed, it became clear that a more apt description would have been, "The Moral Equivalent of Surrender."

President Carter had sized up the energy problem—demand was outstripping supply—and had opted to close the gap by restraining demand. He totally ignored the other available option—increasing supply.

The President's conservation policies were so fraught with both conceptual and practical flaws that many of the proposals were rejected by the Democrat-controlled Congress. Republicans found no basic quarrel with conservation as a goal. On the other hand, the president's refusal to address the energy supply problem left us deeply disturbed because of its chilling implication: no economic growth.

The NAACP quickly perceived the implication of the Carter Administration's no-growth energy policy and released a task force report calling for new energy production incentives. Only through economic growth, the NAACP stated, can black Americans find the opportunities that will bring them into the mainstream of American economic life The report further went on to note "the historic direct correlation between the level of economic activity and energy availability and consumption. Energy supply development throughout our nation's history has been critically important to economic growth. We find it very disturbing to contemplate a future in which energy supply would become a constraint upon our ability to solve these critically important social and economic problems which confront Black Citizens." . . . If we expect to reach four percent unemployment by 1985—a generous six-year timetable—we must create 12.7 million new jobs. That's 2.1 million jobs per year—an annual increase of 2.2 percent in the number of jobs. That need should be compared to actual performance in the prosperous decade of the 1960's, when the number of jobs increased 1.1 million per year—a 1.9 percent annual rate.

It should be clear not only that we must not settle for zero growth, but that the U.S. economy must grow even faster than it has in recent history. Since 1950, the average annual growth of the U.S. economy in real terms has been 3.7 percent. Many other major industrialized countries have grown at annual real rates averaging in excess of 5.5 percent, and some have averaged more than six percent. If the United States had grown on average 1.5 percent faster each year since 1950, at a rate of 5.2 percent, our GNP would now be \$3 trillion, instead of 42 trillion.

With a \$3 trillion economy, incomes would be 50 percent higher than at present. Jobs would be plentiful. Federal revenues this year would be \$200 billion higher—enough for a balanced budget, welfare reform, national health insurance and unquestioned military preeminence, plus enough left over to let us reduce payroll and income taxes, instead of raising them.

Economic growth of this magnitude is neither impossible nor unreasonable, as the experience of other industrialized nation nations proves. But it cannot be achieved without economic incentives for growth and it is impossible for a no-growth energy policy.

THE PROBLEM OF ENERGY IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

Let's take a quick look at the energy problem, focusing on oil. When the OPEC embargo hit in 1973, our dependence on oil imports was more than a quarter of the oil we used. So that embargo severely disrupted our national economy by cutting off supplies, bringing long lines at the gas station.

Understanding their power over us, OPEC began to dramatically increase oil prices. Rather than fully take the blow to our economy then, as most of the rest of the world did, the U.S. government slapped price controls on our own domestic oil products in an attempt to hold consumer prices down. The administration plan then was to gradually lift those domestic producer controls to the world's OPEC market prices—spreading the impact out over a period of years and taking the path gradually. Unfortunately, this made it even more difficult for American oil companies to produce American oil, since prices were held below costs of going out and finding that increasingly difficult-to-find oil.

The federally-controlled low domestic oil prices had two effects. First, they led to decreasing domestic oil production. In 1973, production in the lower 48 states was 9.4 million barrels of oil per day. By 1978 production in the same states had declined by two million barrels to just 7.4 million barrels per day—a 23% drop. Secondly, low federal price controls insulated American consumers from higher prices and encouraged demand for oil products rather than bringing about conservation. Since 1972, demand for petroleum in the U.S. has grown 15 percent—to 20 million barrels of oil per day.

The difference between our falling domestic production and our ever-increasing appetite for petroleum has been met by imports. We now import almost 50% of the oil we use—over half of that from Moslem nations..

Unfortunately, President Carter and the Democratic Congress have addressed the energy supply problem with a continuation of the regulations and controls which created the problem in the first place, rather than with the type of tax and savings policies that would encourage production. Price controls discouraging U.S. energy production were very frustrating. I became so frustrated that I once suggested to the Congress that, rather than repeal the law of supply and demand, it should instead repeal the law of gravity and that way the oil would bubble up out of the ground on its own.

This failure to respond to the energy supply problem set us up for the oil shortage which resulted from the Iranian collapse at the end of 1978. Faced with long gasoline lines and skyrocketing prices at the pump (despite the controls), President Carter finally yielded to the inexorable laws of

supply and demand and announced he would exercise his authority to lift gradually U.S. crude oil price controls. It was the right policy decision, but came far too late to avert the present crisis. President Ford's decontrol proposal of four years earlier, had it been enacted, might have averted the 1979 Iranian crisis.

In addition, President Carter in July came to another belated policy decision—to attempt to stimulate domestic energy supplies by instituting a program to develop synthetic fuels such as liquified and gasified coal, shale oil, etc.

Finally, President Carter had coupled his decontrol announcement with an attack on the U.S. oil companies and a demand for a strict windfall profits tax, the result of which would be to channel the additional revenue to the U.S. Treasury, instead of into domestic natural energy production. Republicans in Congress said they would support such a tax only if it allowed for significant production incentives, enough congressional Democrats agreed so that substantial modification of the tax proposal occurred before it was enacted at the end of December.

Thus, the Administration has been grudgingly pulled kicking and screaming to encourage production rather than to face restricting or conservation.

A REPUBLICAN ENERGY PROGRAM

At every opportunity provided by the legislative process, Republicans in Congress have attempted to expand the national energy policy beyond discouragement of demand (conservation) in an effort also to encourage supply (production). The Republican alternative can be summarized briefly as follows:

- 1** Stimulate the production of all domestic natural energy resources by removing price controls on crude oil and natural gas as quickly as is consistent with the time it takes to bring on additional supplies.
- 2** Tax windfall profits resulting from decontrol, but structure taxes to encourage maximum discovery of new reserves and maximum production from existing wells.
- 3** Immediately terminate federal allocation authority over refined products which has created massive disruptions in gasoline, diesel fuel and distillate oil markets.
- 4** Give high budget priority to the acquisition of a petroleum stockpile large enough to provide a buffer against future oil supply interruptions.
- 5** Stimulate the development of the domestic synthetic fuels industry with price guarantees that will encourage private investment in an energy source that can be competitive with conventional sources.
- 6** Adopt legislation to remove regulatory impediments to development of both natural and synthetic energy systems.

7 Streamline nuclear regulatory procedures designed to guarantee safety without erecting unnecessary bureaucratic roadblocks.

8 Provide incentives for the development of solar and other exotic energy forms without creating massive, obstructive new regulations.

The Republican contribution to the national energy debate has been significant.

The new natural gas pricing policy adopted by Congress in 1978 is very poorly conceived, but it is significantly better than the president's original offering, thanks in large part to Republican efforts. Oppressive mandatory conservation schemes have been softened and tilted toward incentives, with local options and flexibility added.

The president certainly would not have begun crude oil price decontrol if Republicans had not proved that he could successfully defend his decision in Congress. The counterproductive windfall profits tax and the ill-advised synfuels corporation are being significantly modified through Republican efforts. And the promising prospect for legislation to speed priority energy supply projects would not exist without solid Republican support.

Still more remains to be accomplished if the U.S. is to experience the economic growth that will be necessary to guarantee rising living standards for American workers and job opportunities for the chronically unemployed.

The Joint Economic Committee (JEC) Midyear Report released this August included a staff study which assessed economic prospects for the 1980's. The energy section of the staff sketched four possible scenarios for the coming decade. The first three assume no major energy policy changes and varying world energy developments. Each of these cases involves energy supply disruptions of various degrees, and each predicts high inflation, high unemployment, low economic growth and sharp declines in the growth of real disposable income.

The fourth case finds no energy supply interruptions and nominal OPEC price increases, not exceeding the rate of inflation. The result, the JEC said, would be low inflation, declining unemployment, robust economic growth and significant increases in real disposable income. How does the JEC think this can be achieved? The report said, "This optimistic scenario could result from domestic programs to raise conventional energy output, energy productivity, substantial energy production from coal and renewable resources, or from atypical stability within OPEC."

The JEC didn't admit it, because this was a unanimous bipartisan report, but what they described is the Republican energy policy.

Republicans are having a positive impact. We are helping to change the tone of U.S. energy policy. Republicans don't want to let America surrender to our problems. If we can get this message to the American people, we will find them turning to us for leadership in the 1980's. The survival of our way of life hangs in the balance. ■

JERUSALEM, THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP: AN ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE

by Wolf Blitzer

Washington correspondent, *The Jerusalem Post*

Washington, Dec. 24 — There's a very lively debate underway within Israel about the future of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But make no mistake about: There's also a strong consensus within the major political establishment — both in and out of government.

With the exception of the tiny left-wing and Communist (Rakah) parties, virtually the entire organized political spectrum in Israel, including the governing Likud and the Opposition Labor Alignment as well as the smaller Democratic Movement headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin and the National Religious Party, agrees on several sensitive points:

No independent Palestinian state should be established on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Even the most moderate among the Labor leaders, such as former Foreign Minister Abba Eban, oppose a Palestinian state, which is widely viewed by most Israelis as representing a potential security threat to Israel. A Palestinian state dominated by the Palestine Liberation Organization might lead to the establishment of a Soviet foothold along Israel's borders—on the outskirts of Jerusalem and only 12 miles from Tel Aviv and the heavily-populated Mediterranean coastal plain.

Israel has the right to establish settlements on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. What is not widely known but what is a clear-cut fact is that many more Jewish settlements were established between 1967 and 1977 while Labor was in power than during the past two and one-half years of Likud rule. (In total, there are only about 80 settlements in the territories with a combined Jewish population of less than 8,000. More than one million Palestinian Arabs live on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.) Today's differences about settlements involve questions dealing with where, when, how many and at what cost — not the right to build them.

Israel can never withdraw to the pre-1967 lines. Nearly all Israelis believe that those lines are vulnerable and would endanger Israeli's security. Moreover, very few Israeli politicians either in or out of the government would go along with Washington's formulation that Israel should withdraw to the pre-1967 lines with only "minor modifications." The Arabs interpret United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967 as requiring a total Israeli pullback; the U.S. accepts some "minor modifications." But Israel, even under the Labor governments and the so-called Allon Plan, insists on some significant modifications.

Jerusalem is Israel's capital and must never again be divided. On this explosive issue, there is very little room for flexibility, from the Israeli point-of-view. Some sort of compromise involving Arab control of the Moslem Holy Places or a "borough" form of local self-government can be envisaged. But no conceivable Israeli government can be expected to give up its sovereignty over the entire city, which is today populated by about 300,000 Jews and 85,000 Arabs.

Israel requires security outposts along the Jordan River Valley and other strategically-important locations of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Because the disputed areas are so small, compared to the Sinai, every Israeli government on the political horizon can be expected to demand an Israeli military presence at specified locations throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But having stated these fundamental points of consensus within Israeli today, any analysis of the various political solutions advanced by the major political bodies must also recognize the widely-disparate views on the future of these territories, captured by Israel in 1967 after the late Egyptian President, Gamal Abdul Nasser, went to war by closing the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, demanding that United Nations Secretary-General U Thant withdraw the UN peacekeeping forces from Sinai and then mobilizing Egyptian forces in Sinai. Despite Israeli appeals to Jordan to stay out of the conflict (as it later did during the 1973 Yom Kippur War), King Hussein foolishly paid attention to Nasser's boasts of early victories on the battlefield and joined the attack. In the process, Hussein lost a good chunk of his Kingdom.

The differences between the various political factions of the major Israeli political parties focus on ideological, military, demographic, religious and other considerations.

In capsule form, the major difference between Prime Minister Menahem Begin's Likud and Opposition Leader Shimon Peres' Labor parties involves the question of territorial partition of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Begin sees all of these territories as belonging to *Eretz Yisrael*, the traditional Land of Israel. He says that Israel, therefore, cannot accept any foreign sovereignty over Judea, Samaria and Gaza, the historic Biblical names of these areas. He is willing to extend self-rule or autonomy to the residents of the territories.

Peres and his followers agree that these areas have historic

significance for Israel, but they are willing to forego their claim for the sake of true peace *with Jordan*. (The Labor Party, unlike the Likud, is prepared to accept the principle of territorial withdrawal from the heavily-populated portions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip within the context of a formal peace treaty with Jordan. But, as I suggested above, Labor is not willing to withdraw to the pre-1967 lines.

Former Foreign Minister Yigal Allon, who, in 1967 shortly after the war, put forward his "Allon Plan" while he served as Transportation Minister in the Cabinet of the late-Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, wanted Israel to annex strategically-important portions of the territories along the pre-1867 frontiers. He also proposed that Israel take over the Jordan Valley rift. While three successive Labor governments never formally accepted the Allon Plan, they clearly considered it the most viable solution as evidenced by their decision to establish some 60 civilian and para-military settlements within the areas envisaged by Allon as eventually becoming part of the State of Israel — even after the signing of a peace treaty with Jordan.

The major problem with the Allon Plan was that King Hussein consistently rejected it during several years of secret negotiations with Israel that ended in 1974 when the Arab summit conference at Rabat recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians, stripping Hussein of authority to negotiate.

Hussein did not want to go down in Arab history as the person who gave up such sizeable portions of the territories, including East Jerusalem. The Labor governments of Eshkol, the late-Mrs. Golda Meir and Yitshak Rabin were unwilling to withdraw totally from the West Bank and West Jerusalem, as demanded by Hussein. (There was one such offer by Israel immediately after the 1967 war. But Hussein rejected it and Israel never revived it.)

During those first 10 years, Mehaahem Begin, then the Opposition Leader in the Knesset, repeatedly called for Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. He wanted Israel to do to those areas what it had done to East Jerusalem immediately after the war: formally incorporate them into Israel and extend Israeli law to them.

But after Begin won the May 1977 election and formed a new government, he did not follow through on that position, which he had actually incorporated in his campaign platform. Instead, he invited Moshe Dayan, a life-long Labor Party leader, to join his Cabinet as Foreign Minister. Dayan agreed, provided that Israel did not formally annex the territories. Begin, apparently anxious to win quick international and internal legitimacy for his new government, accepted Dayan's condition.

From Begin's standpoint, it must be stressed, that in itself represented a major concession — one for which his hard-line followers in the Herut faction of the Likud never forgave him.

Together, Begin and Dayan came up with the concept of autonomy for the residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Their idea involved a functional rather than a geographic partition of the territories. This concept was proposed pub-

licity in December 1977, a month after Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem.

During the months of negotiations leading to the Camp David Accords in September 1978 and the eventual signing of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty in March 1979, the autonomy concept was revised. Today, its shape is being further refined during the Israeli-Egyptian autonomy negotiations which involve a U.S. mediatory role led by Ambassador Sol Linowitz. The "target date" for concluding those negotiations is May 1980.

Begin recognizes that autonomy, as envisaged at Camp David, represents a temporary concept — one to last for five years after the residents of the territories elect a self-governing authority (administrative council), which is supposed to replace the current military government. The "final status" of the territories is to be negotiated during the last two years of the transition period during talks involving Israel, Egypt, Jordan and representatives of the Palestinians.

Instead of dividing up the West Bank and Gaza Strip according to geography, Begin and his followers are prepared to divide up responsibilities in governing the territories during the transition period. Thus, Israel would still be in charge over security matters and foreign policy; the local residents would control their commerce, transportation, health and other matters. Still undetermined are such issues as control of land and water sources.

But the major difference now between Begin and Dayan, who resigned in October from the government, involves the question of the final status of the territories. Dayan opposes Israeli annexation after five years; Begin does not. Indeed, Begin still insists that he will call for Israeli sovereignty at the end of the transition period — if he is still in power.

Dayan opposes the formal annexation of the territories, one of the major reasons being demographics. Incorporating more than one million Arabs into Israel, which already has 500,000 Israeli Arab citizens living within the pre-1967 lines, would set the stage for an eventual Arab majority in Israel because of the higher Arab birth rate. Within a few decades, the three million Jews in Israel would be outnumbered by Arabs. Israel's *raison d'être* as a Jewish state would be endangered; either that, or it would have to stop being fully-fledged parliamentary democracy.

Begin counters that argument by insisting that millions of Jews from around the world would immigrate to Israel if they knew that the West Bank and Gaza would eventually be incorporated. Most observers consider that prospect unlikely at the moment.

So far, Palestinians living on the West Bank and Gaza Strip have not expressed any readiness to participate in the autonomy negotiations. They still seem unconvinced that these talks hold out some prospect for improving their political status.

But Ambassador Linowitz and other observers involved in the negotiations believe that the Palestinians might yet reconsider if they conclude that participating in the elections

and cooperating with the autonomy scheme would prove beneficial.

Many Israelis, including moderates of the Labor alignment, have deep reservations about autonomy, fearing that it might eventually evolve into an independent Palestinian state. Several modern nation-states of the world started off with a lot less than autonomy. But all indications point to an Israeli continuation of support for autonomy as an interim solution for the problem of the West Bank and Gaza even if Labor should defeat Likud during the next scheduled election in 1981. (Under Israel's parliamentary system, earlier elections could take place if Likud should suffer a vote of no confidence in the Knesset.)

As most observers of the Arab-Israeli conflict have come to recognize, there is no easy or quick-fix solution of the Palestinian question. The disputed territories are so small; the emotions of the adversaries so deep. But the autonomy plan can — over a number of years — develop into a workable solution, one that extends political identity to the Palestinians and security to the Israelis. That will require goodwill and patience, characteristics which have not always been in abundance in that part of the world in recent years. And the spreading turmoil in the Moslem world, as demonstrated by the crisis in Iran, the unrest in Saudi Arabia, and the simmering rivalries between so many other Arab countries, is not going to make the situation any easier. As usual, the Soviets can be expected to keep the pot boiling in order to exploit tension to expand their own influence throughout the region. ■

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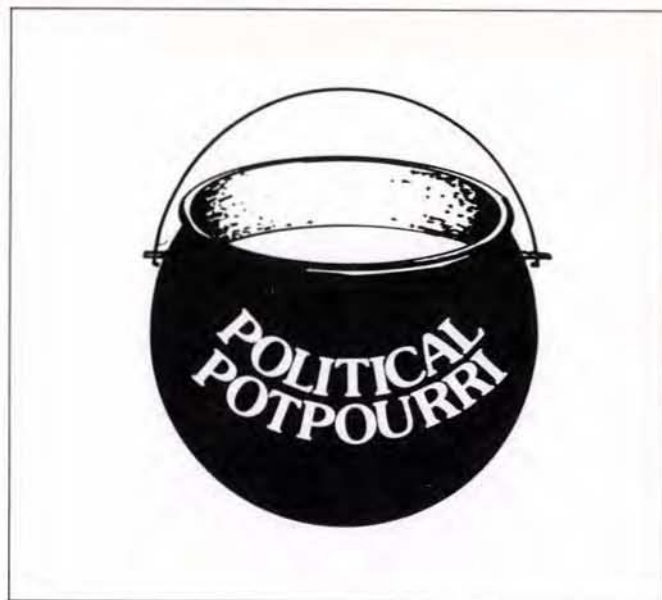
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Is Ronald Reagan Slipping?

The decision of Ronald Reagan's campaign managers to have their candidate duck the televised January 5 Republican Presidential debate from Iowa is seen by some potential observers as a sign either of over confidence or fear that Reagan can no longer hold his own in an uncontrolled political environment. The decision is already producing some negative fallout in Iowa where some Republican voters are expressing resentment that Reagan is taking their support for granted.

This follows decisions by Reagan's managers to keep Reagan off the campaign trail for long stretches of rest of as much as three weeks. Although the ostensible purpose of such planned inactivity is to avoid overexposure, the new Reagan strategy has led to speculation that Reagan can no longer bear up to the grueling pace of his 1976 campaign. Supporters of some of Reagan's rivals have begun to ask how Reagan can handle the rigors of a seven day a week Presidency if he has trouble with the pace of a Presidential campaign.

Reagan remains a superb speaker in a controlled environment when he is delivering a familiar set speech or a carefully rehearsed script. This had led to a reputation for being extremely articulate. Yet as Ted Kennedy has suddenly discovered such a reputation can evaporate through some repeated campaign gaffes. Reagan has not been immune from such in the past, although as the challenger to a less articulate but front running incumbent the California conservative escaped close press scrutiny on these miscues. In one major foreign policy speech in 1975 Reagan nine different times misspoke using the phrase "the third world war" instead of the prepared "the third world". Now that Reagan has vaulted into the frontrunner position such gaffes will hardly be passed over by the press.

It is possible that John Sear's carefully calculated strategy of keeping Reagan under wraps will allow him to gain the Republican nomination without making any controversial statements or proposals that might plague him in the fall. Yet whether Reagan were then to face a resurgent Jimmy Carter or an even more youthful Ted Kennedy or Jerry Brown he may already have given them a far more valuable issue than anything that could result from a few campaign fluffs. If Carter is the nominee one can readily envision Rafshoon ads concluding "Jimmy Carter: A Vigorous, Vital President Tested in Crisis". With Kennedy or Brown the Democrats might counter with "A New Generation of Leadership".

It is conceivable that Reagan can dissipate voter concerns over his ability to handle the rigors of the Presidency by plunging into a full-scale no holds barred campaign. Absent such a shift in strategy, he may find himself in a steadily declining position in the polls against all of his likely Democratic rivals. Reagan's recent collapse to a nearly two to one deficit in Gallup Poll pairings against Jimmy Carter seems to manifest such a slide. Concerns over Reagan's political viability seem to underlie much of the movement of many once pro-Reagan party activists to John Conally or George Bush. Reagan's considerable lead among rank and file Republican voters may erode rapidly if they also sense this weakness.

Ripon Platform Project

Regional platform hearings for the 1980 Republican National Convention will begin in January and extend until early June. Members are encouraged to testify on behalf of the Society in their region on topics which fit within the general guidelines of the issues for that hearing, as listed in the hearings schedule below. Persons wishing to testify should contact Sam Sherer or Bart Doyle at the Ripon national office so that activities can be coordinated. They

may also contact directly Roger Semerad, Executive Director, Temporary Committee on Resolutions (Platform), RNC, 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. NOTE THAT FORMAL REQUESTS MUST BE MADE TO TESTIFY.

In addition, the Society is preparing research papers on health policy, urban policy, housing, alternative energy sources, and the initiative procedure and the reapportionment process. Please notify us if you have an interest in these or other topics on which you have special knowledge. We hope to have four or more research papers completed early next year to be published in the February and March issues of the *Forum* and to be presented at these Platform hearings.

1980 Republican Regional Platform Hearings

LOCATION	DATE	ISSUE FOCUS
Washington, D.C.	January 14, 15 Monday, Tuesday	Testimony on broad range of domestic and international issues by Members of Congress, RNC Policy Advisory Councils & invited witnesses
St. Petersburg, Florida	January 28, Monday	Fiscal and Monetary, Foreign Policy and Defense
Los Angeles, California	February 15, Friday	Human Resources, Agriculture and Rural
Indianapolis, Indiana	February 29, Friday	Government Regulations and Free Enterprise, Human Resources.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	March 7, Friday	Housing and Urban Energy
St. Louis, Missouri	March 21, Friday	Fiscal and Monetary, Housing and Urban
Davenport, Iowa	April 18, Friday	Agriculture and Rural, Government Regulations and Free Enterprise
Seattle/Tacoma, Washington	May 2, Friday	Foreign Policy and Defense, Energy
Chicago, Illinois	May 23, Friday	Foreign Policy and Defense, Fiscal and Monetary
New York, New York	June 6, Friday	Foreign Policy and Defense, Fiscal and Monetary

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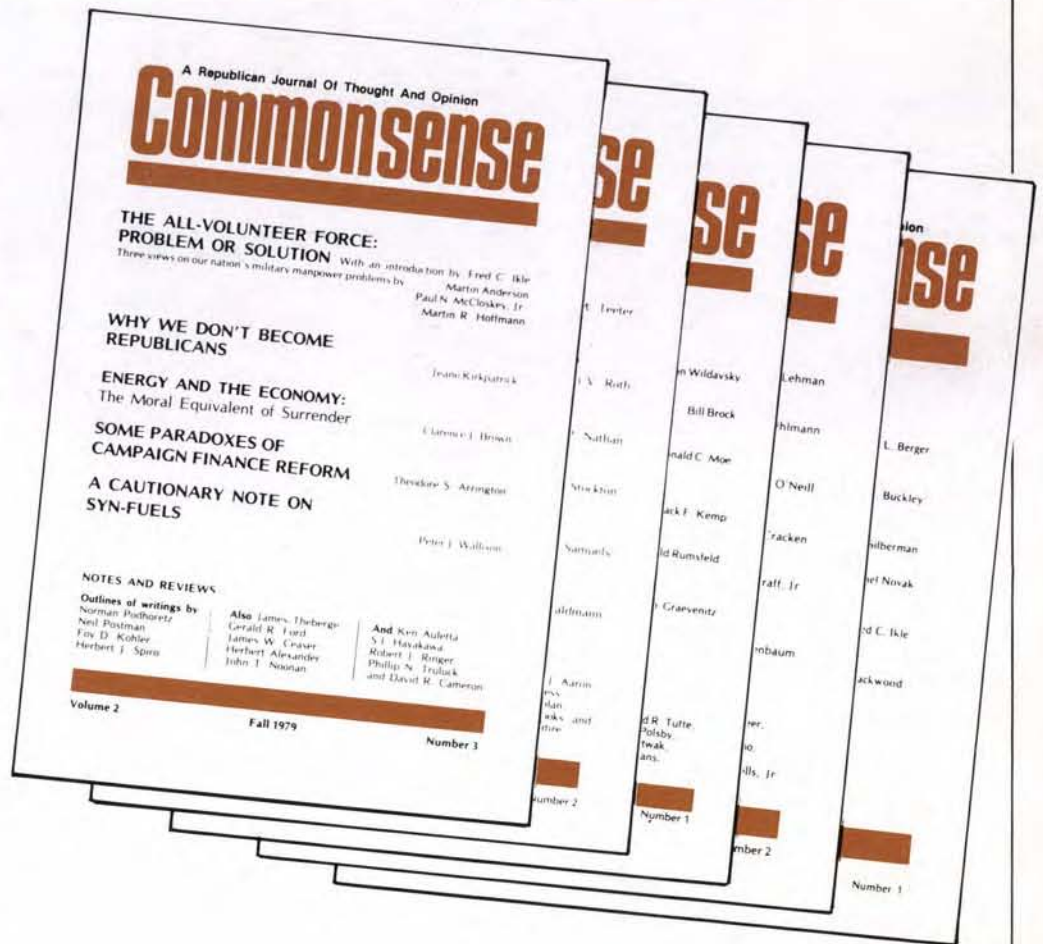
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