

It's What's Inside That Counts

**RIPON
FORUM**

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ONE DOLLAR



This Year's Presidential Program?

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BREED'S HILL — I have a certain sympathy for President Nixon in his dealings with Congress. Legislators have a tendency to know it all. . . and are seldom bashful in letting the world know that they are the chosen recipients of most of nature's knowledge. One of my many pet peeves is legislative fact-finding tours. Such tours are meant, I suppose, to enlighten otherwise unenlightened legislators regarding the state of state institutions and the like. Usually, the legislators succeed in wreaking havoc in the institution. But we are nevertheless blessed by a subsequent report from the fact-finders who insist on informing the public of how they are protecting the innocent, curing the sick and saving the general populace from the nasty habits of an unbeneficent government.

For example, a group of legislators in a nearby state recently made their annual pilgrimage to the state's reform school to determine whether the youthful inmates were still being mistreated by their callous guardians. And, since it always takes legislators one percent of the time normally needed by average humans to learn anything, these legislators were easily able to determine that the maximum security unit of the institution — which is used for disciplinary purposes — was inhumane and overcrowded. That a maximum security unit in which youngsters aged 12 to 16 are locked up in 5 x 10 foot cells is inhumane does not require a stroke of genius. That such conditions persist because legislators are too short-brained and too short-sighted to appropriate the necessary funds to correct such defects is beyond the small and tortured minds of some legislators.

Just the week before their visit, a youthful offender, aged 15 — let's call him Leggie — escaped from the reform school. It was to be expected. He had escaped many times before. He was quite proficient — the only person I know who watched "It Takes a Thief" on TV for educational purposes. But Leggie had been locked up for the three months prior to his escape. He had only recently been released to a freer environment. His lock-up was not due to the sadistic instincts of the reform school employees. It was due to the fact that his community would have screamed holy terror if Leggie had been spotted in the vicinity — with good reason; he is not exactly the kind of individual with whom you would want to play Russian roulette. But there are no facilities to deal with Leggie. Even a boy who had been *rejected* by two mental hospitals as not amenable to treatment has been locked up in that maximum security unit.

All of which is more reason to read James Q. Wilson's positively brilliant suggestions for corrections which he made in his January 28 article in the *New York Times*

Magazine, "If every criminal knew he would be punished if caught . . ." Wilson argues that one reason that prisons do not deter is that there is little certainty what sentences a criminal will receive. "It is not too much to say that many sentences being administered are, in the strict sense, irrational — that is, there is no coherent goal toward which they are directed." In seeking to rationalize the system, Wilson suggests the following reforms:

— "First, the court system would be organized around the primary task of sentencing, not around the largely mythic task of determining guilt."

— "Second, the sentencing process would be placed under central management with uniform standards . . ."

— "Third, every conviction for a non-trivial offense would entail a penalty that involved a deprivation of liberty, even if brief."

— "Fourth, 'deprivation of liberty' need not, and usually would not, entail confinement in a conventional prison."

— "Fifth, conviction for a subsequent offense would invariably result in an increased deprivation of liberty."

But, concludes Wilson, "of course nothing will be done. The proposal is hopelessly utopian." Instead of reality, the public and their legislators insist on dealing with imaginary worlds of idealized rehabilitation and sadistic vengeance. Tain't neither one gonna work, as Wilson points out. So, the only solution is to lock up whole legislatures in solitary for one day. Let them speechify to the walls and yell repeatedly for toilet paper without response. Let them wonder when, if ever, they will be released and wonder if there is much, if any, rationality to American criminal justice. Maybe then there will be prison and penal reform. db.



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Editorial Board COMMENTARY

Free Speech and the Pentagon

by James H. Manaban

On April 26, 1951, Sen. Richard Nixon introduced a strong bill to protect government witnesses testifying before congressional committees from discharge by superior officers.

"I have introduced in the Senate today," he said, "a bill to make it a violation of law for any officer of the federal government to dismiss or otherwise discipline a government employee for testifying before a committee of Congress. . . It is essential to the security of the nation and the very lives of the people, as we look into these vitally important issues, that every witness have complete freedom from reprisal when he is given an opportunity to tell what he knows." Addressing himself to upcoming congressional hearings, Sen. Nixon continued: "Unless protection is given to witnesses who are members of the armed services or employees of the government, the scheduled hearings will amount to no more than a parade of yes-men for Administration policies as they exist." (*Congressional Record*, April 26, 1951, S4393 and S4394.)

The bill which Sen. Nixon introduced (S1390, 82nd Congress, First Session) was most explicit in the definition of retaliation for testimony:

"The demotion, dismissal or retirement (other than voluntary or for physical disability) of such witness within one year after attending or testifying in such inquiry or investigation, unless such testimony discloses misfeasance, malfeasance, derelictions of duty, or past reprehensible conduct on the part of such witness, shall be considered *prima facie* evidence that such witness was demoted, dismissed, or retired because of such attendance or such testimony."

In spite of this seeming commitment to the principle of free speech, we have witnessed during President Richard Nixon's first term two remarkable cases of unblushing retaliation against dedicated civil servants who spoke freely and publicly. The experiences of A. Ernest Fitzgerald and Gordon Rule raise important questions about the role of the First Amendment and the balance of power within our government.

Fitzgerald was hired by the Pentagon in 1965 as deputy for management systems in the Air Force. He had been running a small cost consulting firm and was supposed to apply his expertise to help trim the Air Force's cost overruns and disappearing budgets.

In his book, *The High Priests of Waste* (Norton, 1972, \$8.95), Fitzgerald details the repeated efforts by contractors, generals, and his Pentagon superiors to deter and defer all efforts to eliminate waste. The Minuteman missile program, the F-111 swing-wing jet, and the C-5A transport plane are some of the more noteworthy examples of the Pentagon's success and Fitzgerald's failure.

Rather early in his government career, Fitzgerald gave a speech to a group of generals explaining his theories of government waste. However, the Office of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara promptly forbade printing or distribution of the speech, even within the Department of Defense or the Air Force, on the ground that if Fitzgerald's criticism leaked out it might cause the public to lose confidence in the management of the Defense Department, and this would undermine military security.

The acceptance of this logic within

the Defense Department means that anyone who values his career simply refrains from making critical comments, and that official reports are edited to eliminate most bad news and pessimistic forecasts. This perhaps explains the inconsistency of years of optimistic reports sent to Washington from Vietnam while field commanders were fully aware of the hopeless nature of the war. (See, for example, *365 Days*, by Ronald Glasser, Bantam Books, 1971.)

In October 1968, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) invited Fitzgerald to testify before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress concerning the economics of military procurement. Fitzgerald was first notified by his Defense Department bosses that he would not be allowed to testify, then was told he could appear as long as he did not discuss the C-5A. At the hearing, however, Sen. Proxmire directly asked him to confirm or deny his staff's analysis that the C-5A contract was running \$2 billion over estimates, and Fitzgerald conceded that this was so.

Fitzgerald's willingness to tell the truth was aided to some extent, at least, by the fact that in September 1968, he had completed three years of employment and was granted career tenure. But on November 25, exactly 12 days after his testimony, Fitzgerald received notice that his tenure was retroactively revoked. Thereafter, he was reassigned to progressively less important jobs. When Melvin Laird took over as Secretary of Defense, the pattern continued. In fact, Fitzgerald was fired November 4, 1969, ostensibly as part of an "economy move."

Three days later, sixty members of the House of Representatives signed and sent to President Nixon a letter strongly protesting the firing. As Clark Mollenhoff has pointed out, "the problem of the cost overruns involved actions in the last months of the Johnson Administration, so there was no reason for either President Nixon or Defense Secretary Melvin Laird to get involved." (*The Pentagon*, by Clark R. Mollenhoff, Pinnacle Books, 1972 edition, p. S62.) Nonetheless, Nixon refused to reverse the decision, and on January 5, 1970, Fitzgerald left the Pentagon.

Subsequent events are also informa-

tive. Fitzgerald appealed to the Civil Service Commission, which insisted on hearing the case in secret session. Fitzgerald then took his case before U. S. District Judge William Bryant, who agreed that closed hearings are unconstitutional and a violation of due process. The Commission was "permanently enjoined from holding hearings closed to the press and the public in the appeal of plaintiff Fitzgerald." In August 1971, the Justice Department appealed this order, and in September 1972, the Court of Appeals affirmed Judge Bryant's order. Open hearings commenced in Washington on January 26, 1973.

(Editor's Note: At his January news conference, President Nixon said that he had personally ordered Fitzgerald's dismissal. He said, "No, this was not a case of some person down the line deciding he should go. It was a decision that was submitted to me. I made it and I stick by it." Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler later denied that Nixon had personally ordered Fitzgerald's dismissal and said the President "misspoke.")

In his book, Fitzgerald calls Gordon Rule "one of the Navy's toughest and most experienced contract specialists." A former Navy captain, Rule won the U. S. Navy civilian merit award in 1971. He simultaneously held two top jobs in the Navy, serving as chairman of the Contract Claims Control and Surveillance Group, and as director of the Procurement Control and Clearance Division.

Unfortunately, Rule has a proclivity for exercising the right of free speech. In 1970, he accused two Senators and two Congressmen of using improper influence to win an award of \$716 million for the Avondale Shipbuilding Company of Louisiana. The legislators concerned were Senators Russell B. Long and Allen J. Ellender (Chairmen of Finance and Appropriations, respectively) and Congressmen Hale Boggs and F. Edward Hebert (Majority Leader and Armed Services Chairman, respectively), all Louisiana Democrats. Thereafter, Rule was removed from his job with the Navy's Contract Control Group and replaced by a more compliant military man.

On December 19, 1972, Rule was asked to testify before a subcommittee

of Sen. Proxmire's committee. In answer to a question, he stated that President Nixon's appointment of Roy L. Ash as director of the Office of Management and Budget was a mistake. Recalling the late President Eisenhower's warning about the military-industrial complex, he stated, "General Eisenhower must be twitching in his grave."

The basis of Rule's opinion, of course, was that Roy Ash is the former president of Litton Industries, which is currently seeking \$544 million from the Navy in cost overruns. As director of OMB, Ash will preside over secret budget decisions which will directly affect Litton Industries.

The day after his testimony, while Rule was at home with laryngitis, he received a visit from Admiral Isaac Kidd, Jr., the Navy's material chief, and Rule's immediate superior. Admiral Kidd brought along papers for Rule to sign applying for retirement. When Rule refused, Kidd promptly fired him from his remaining job as director of Navy Procurement Control, and reassigned him to an innocuous post as consultant to a naval supply school.

Kidd's justification for the transfer was that Rule violated an order not to comment on "delicate" negotiations between the Navy and two defense contractors, Grumman Aerospace Corp. and Litton Industries. Kidd said that he found Rule's testimony to be an embarrassment to the Navy.

Like Fitzgerald, Rule has appealed to the Civil Service Commission. He may be less than pleased when he discovers that the vice chairman of the Commission, Jayne Baker Spain, sits as one of the 11-member board of directors of Litton Industries.

Both of these cases involve blatant attempts to silence criticism, using undisguised reprisals as an example to others within the defense establishment. In neither case was classified information or national security a factor. The sole offense was the giving of embarrassing information to a congressional committee.

If freedom of speech is to have any meaning in this country, surely it means that government employees should not be fired nor demoted for criticizing their bosses. In a balance of power system, how else is one branch

of government (Congress) to find out what is going on in another branch (the Executive, which includes the Department of Defense and the Pentagon)? Surely employees should be without the fear of losing their jobs.

Our constitution attempted to establish civilian control over the military, naming the President as "Commander in Chief" and giving Congress the power of the purse and also the power "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." It would appear fundamental, then, that there is no justification of any sort, not "national security" and certainly not embarrassment, for withholding information from Congress. Secret committee sessions may be justified when classified information is being discussed, but the executive branch cannot be given the right to withhold facts from the legislative branch in a balance of power system of government.

Congress has passed a law (18 USC 1505) which makes it a crime to impede congressional witnesses or to retaliate against them afterwards. The penalty is up to five years in prison or a fine of up to \$5,000 or both. But this law was not enforced against the people who fired A. Ernest Fitzgerald, and it seems unlikely that Attorney General Richard Kleindienst will apply it to Admiral Kidd.

Perhaps a better approach is Sen. Richard Nixon's 1951 bill, which has been resurrected this year by Congressman Les Aspin (D-Wisc.). This would shift the burden of proof by making any involuntary transfer, demotion or termination within one year after testifying before a congressional committee presumptively retaliatory and void. However, any legislation is ineffective if unenforced, and Congress must be prepared to use its impeachment power to force the Justice Department to obey the law.

Best of all would be a forthright commitment to the principle of the First Amendment, within government as well as without. President Nixon and Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson should make it perfectly clear that Pentagon employees may communicate at any time with Congressmen without fear of reprisals of the type visited upon A. Ernest Fitzgerald and Gordon Rule. ■

The Case for Libertari- anism

by Mark Frazier

Early in January, Spiro Agnew read the tally of electoral college votes into the record. The event would normally have been interred as filler in the back pages of the *New York Times*. Yet, in this case, it drew substantial news coverage: an electoral delegate had bolted the Republicans. Robert Lea MacBride, in protest to the growing statism of both the Democratic Party and the GOP, had cast his vote for the ticket of the fledgling Libertarian Party.

MacBride is in many ways representative of the new constituency which sees itself as "libertarian." Ivy League-educated and an admirer of Jefferson, he chafes at a left-right political spectrum which sets out only a choice of paternalisms — economic regulation by the left, or civil control by the right. Like other libertarians, he believes that a clearer choice would come from a spectrum which began with tyranny at one pole and ended with *laissez-faire* at the other. In sum, he has a profound distrust of political power.

Libertarians hold to a basic tenet that no man may initiate force or theft against any human being, for

any purpose. They envision a society in which all relationships are peaceful, where each individual has sovereign power over his own person and whatever property he has received through voluntary contracts. The apolitical message of this approach has been well received by disparate segments of the current spectrum. Former SDS president Carl Oglesby wrote in 1966 that decentralist elements of the New Left were "morally and politically coordinate" with the libertarian right. Sen. Barry Goldwater, whose philosophy is in many ways not a libertarian one, reciprocated Oglesby's comments by saying in 1968 that he had "a lot in common" with the peaceful anarchist wing of SDS. Advocates of decentralism and deregulation who are more in the mainstream have also been heard in recent years: Sen. Mark Hatfield and Milton Friedman, to give two examples.

While the principles of libertarianism may sound utopian, the revolt against the paternalism of New Deal liberals has been so sweeping as to have elevated libertarian stands on current issues into good favor. To McGovern supporters weary of wars in foreign lands, libertarians offer an end to military interventionism and a reduced defense budget. Conservatives and Wallace-Schmitz supporters, now on the verge of tax rebellion, agree with libertarian proposals to end the tangled web of state subsidies. To those who wish to lead "divergent" life-styles, libertarians promise legalization of victimless crimes. Leaders of the one-year-old Libertarian Party are now sure that enough disaffection with politics exists to give the 1976 Libertarian Party presidential candidate almost a million votes.

Libertarians, however, have already had an impact on public debate over four major issues. On ending Pentagon waste, the public schooling disaster, liberal urban programs, and involuntary mental hospitalization, the critiques of libertarian theorists have been impressively well received.

The claim that public schooling is barren to most, and harmful to many, first came from Paul Goodman, the noted left-wing libertarian who wrote *Compulsory Mis-Education*. Also in the 1950's, a rising libertarian eco-

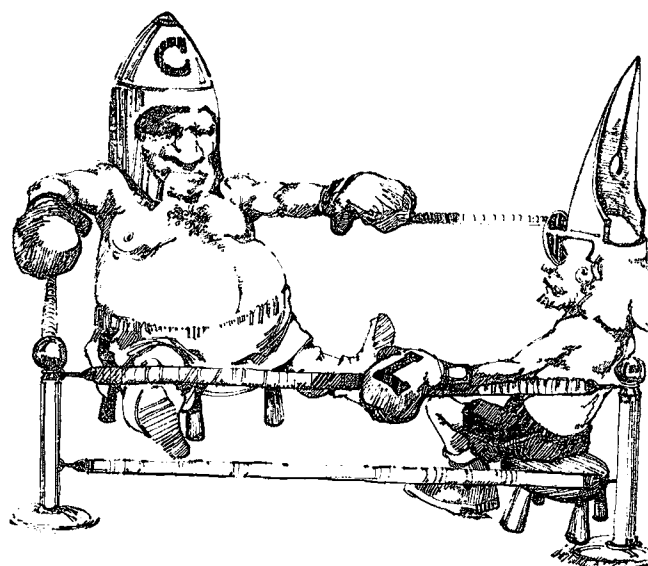
nomist named Milton Friedman first proposed the voucher system as a means of improving education, and asked that compulsory attendance laws be lifted. John Holt and George Denison expanded on these early attacks in the mid-1960's, advocating "free schools" as an alternative to public education. Ivan Illich, a left-wing radical, proposed "deschooling society" in a book of the same name published in 1971. He claimed that public schooling all over the world put diplomas before learning, and suggested that education be left up to the voluntary arrangements of children and their parents.

While these arguments spread and took root, so did other, more empirical reasons for leaving education to the free market. The Coleman Report of 1965 — a huge federal survey of public school systems — found the relation between student achievement and the amount spent per student to be almost nil. Christopher Jencks's 1972 Harvard study found education to have only slight influence on an individual's ultimate economic success. Indeed, by the end of the past decade, New York City high schools were graduating enormous numbers of students who could not read beer bottle labels. It struck many as curious that the city's level of per-pupil spending was already higher than the state average — and rising — while the level of educational achievement was declining. With the advent of the deferred tuition system at leading colleges, libertarians began to propose that *all* education be paid for out of a percentage of the student's future earnings. This system would not only remove the need for school taxes, but create financial incentives, presently lacking, for a school to educate its children well.

In urban policy, a curious melange of left and right criticisms also converged on common libertarian points. Fumbling public housing projects and counter-productive urban renewal projects fell under Jane Jacobs's unflinching, now classic, analyses in the mid-sixties (*The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and *The Economy of Cities*), while on the right-wing, Professor Martin Anderson, an admirer of Ayn Rand, documented in his best-

selling book, *The Federal Bulldozer*, the fact that "urban renewal" almost always meant "Negro removal." In 1969, Edward Banfield attacked a number of state welfare programs, such as minimum wage laws, as detrimental to job opportunities for the poor. The same year, Professor Jay W. Forrester of MIT revealed a sophisticated "Urban Dynamics" computer model, which suggested that almost any government program to help the cities would wind up hurting them, because the program would attract consumers of tax money to the city while driving out revenue producers. The government should avoid programs which attract the poor to the city, he tentatively concluded, and concentrate on improving the upward mobility of the poor who already live in the city. Proponents of the Urban Dynamics approach now include Richard Lugar, mayor of Indianapolis; John Collins, former mayor of Boston; and Eugene Callender, the black leader of the New York Urban Coalition.

The libertarian role in disputes over defense and foreign policy has also been notable. Leonard Liggio, an instructor in history at the City College of New York and an advocate of *laissez-faire*, played a major part in organizing the 1967 Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal over United States involvement in Vietnam. More significant was the recent controversy over C-5A cost overruns. A. Ernest Fitzgerald, a Pentagon cost analyst and a right-wing libertarian, lost his job early in 1969 for exposing a \$2.5 billion padding of the bill for the plane (see "Free Speech and the Pentagon," by James H. Manahan on page 4). Fitzgerald now heads the National Taxpayers Union, a libertarian anti-tax group which includes such leftists as Noam Chomsky and Karl Hess, and such rightists as Henry Hazlitt and Ludwig von Mises. He has also just written a book on the Pentagon called *The High Priests of Waste*, which to date is the definitive work on Defense Department boondoggling. Nearly all libertarians oppose American military intervention abroad; the sole exceptions are advocates of "containment" and the rollback of communism, an increasingly rare breed. All support removal of barriers to free trade and investment.



Diligent opposition to curbs on personal freedom has also become a strong libertarian position in recent years. Libertarians hold that all legal attempts to regulate private morality are immoral, and thus support *laissez-faire* in drug use, sex mores, freedom of the press, and freedom of speech. Not only do they view laws governing such activities as invasive of individual rights, but in the case of illegal heroin usage, for instance, they believe the law has actually contributed to the spread of the problem it was designed to cure. Outlawing heroin shoots prices up to levels where a habit can be supported only by stealing, prostitution, or creation of new addicts who then buy narcotics from those who turned them on. In regard to involuntary mental hospitalization, libertarian Thomas Szasz has finally begun reaping the rewards of a long, lonely struggle to remove the power of psychiatrists to commit patients to institutions without their consent. So long as a person does not harm others or destroy others' property, he contends, no one can justify incarceration of someone who displays "aberrant" behavior.

The Ripon Society has taken a predominantly libertarian point of view on a number of these issues and on others. The Society's proposals in this line have been:

- * A Volunteer Army (1966);
- * Rights of the Mentally Ill (1967);
- * The Negative Income Tax (1967);

- * Free Market on the Farm (1969);
- * Crimes Without Victims (1972);
- and
- * Expanded Ownership (1972).

The FORUM, in addition, has frequently run articles which explore the alternatives to centralized New Deal liberalism. Those reflecting a particularly clear critique of paternalism include Howard Reiter's "Neighborhood Power and the GOP" (March, 1968), John McClaughry's "Jefferson and the GOP" (May, 1968), J. Lee Auspitz's "Reprivatization" (December, 1969), Patricia Lines's "Why Decentralize?" (January, 1971), Daniel J. Elazar's "Toward a Revival of Progressivism" (October, 1972), and Sen. Mark Hatfield's speech at Ripon's tenth anniversary dinner, reprinted in the January, 1973 FORUM.

Outside the FORUM, J. Lee Auspitz's article in the April, 1970 *Playboy*, "For a Moderate Majority," suggested that the movement toward libertarianism is not only desirable on philosophical grounds but is also a practical necessity. Without a movement toward non-bureaucratic solutions to problems, the United States cannot accommodate a new, highly educated and independent-minded citizenry. And unless one of the major parties begins to move away from statism soon, the electoral vote of Robert MacBride may be merely a portent of a spreading distaste for current politics, a revulsion which could culminate in vast defections to a new party. ■

Getting College Republicans Out of the Closet

by George Gordon

Questions have arisen in some quarters (see J. Brian Smith's commentary in the February FORUM) about the direction and scope of the Nixon college effort in 1972. That President Nixon was successful on campus, no one can deny. The Gallup Poll shows that the President's support among college students grew from 17 percent in November of 1971 to 47 percent in November of 1972. Indeed, some observers believe that the success of the Young Voters for the President's (YVP) college effort heralds the coming of a long-awaited Republican youth majority.

In November of 1971, when the Young Voters' college program was initiated, the primary political question was whether or not Richard Nixon could survive the youth vote. Few politicians, in Democratic and Republican

circles alike, were taking the YVP seriously. *Time Magazine* quoted a "high White House official" as saying, "Rietz is nuts," when told of YVP Director Ken Rietz's statement that the President would carry the youth vote. Democrats were gleefully circulating a long list of states where Nixon's 1968 margin of defeat or victory was exceeded by the number of newly enfranchised voters. Sen. George McGovern, struggling to establish credibility as a candidate, based his claim to electability largely on the youth vote.

On campus, the situation seemed bleak to most Republicans. Few GOP party spokesmen had ventured onto campuses in some time. College Republican clubs, though sometimes a good campaign nucleus, were often small and ideologically-oriented. Nixon and his people, the Democrats said, would never dare campaign on campus. Generally, tremendous peer group pressure was directed against any student who openly supported the President.

Flaunting all "informed opinion," the President's campaign proceeded to confront the dismal youth situation head on. The Young Voters for the President hired a college staff and provided it with the resources and programmatic freedom necessary for the task.

The College Division was the first operational division of the Young Voters. It was charged with the responsibility of helping to organize the YVP effort in New Hampshire and the other initial primary states. While the college organizers sent onto campuses in that early stage met with an expected reluctance, they also met with an unexpected interest. Within a relatively short period of time, there were organizations on all the major campuses in the initial primary states. In fact, the backbone of the volunteer YVP manpower used in that final week in New Hampshire (where YVP became the largest youth organization in the history of that state's primary with over 1,000 young people involved) came from the college campuses of New Hampshire and the neighboring states.

The first mistake made in approaching the college vote was to assume

that it could be won with speeches, debates, literature and normal campaign paraphernalia. Hostility, built up over a period of several years as a result of radical agitation and the lack of a Republican presence on campus, caused many otherwise undecided students to either tune out GOP speakers completely or to discount their arguments. There was a real effort by the far left element on campus to make it appear absurd or even socially unacceptable to consider Nixon as an alternative. Obviously, a new campaign approach was needed by the YVP program. It was necessary to bore from within — to involve enough college students campaigning on their own campus to establish by their presence that a pro-Nixon stance was a legitimate one for a student.

One way of establishing the legitimacy of the pro-Nixon position was the organization of the Student Leaders for the President. The purpose of this organization was twofold: first, to place known campus leaders out front for President Nixon; second, to get the advice of students who were currently running their campuses on how the Nixon college campaign could be most effective. This organization consisted of 600 members nationwide, including the student body president of such schools as the University of Southern California, the University of Washington, Colorado State, the University of Nebraska, Brandeis University and Old Miss.

The first reaction that Nixon staffers received on many campuses was "Nixon, are you kidding, nobody's for Nixon!" But, of course, as the polls later revealed, many students actually were, they just did not talk about it. The best way to ferret out the initial Nixon supporter on a given campus was to walk into the student government office, student newspaper office or a randomly selected fraternity, and simply stop individuals and ask them who they supported for President. A number of tries almost invariably resulted in the identification of an articulate Nixon supporter who could be convinced to help. The campaign experience in innumerable cases across the country was that if one articulate student could be convinced to set up a Nixon table on campus, and

actively seek the support of his fellow students, he could, in several days, recruit a corps of between fifty (Berkeley) and 3,000 (University of South Carolina) volunteers. Most properly organized YVP clubs ranged from 200 to 500 members, with many having more than 1,000.

The next important step was to have a vigorous and visible club campaign. The simple existence of a group of students campaigning for President Nixon compelled uncommitted students to reject the notion that only Democrats were acceptable to the academic community. Once they opened the door to the possibility of an alternative, the issues had to be reconsidered; then they were open to the persuasions of GOP spokesmen and literature.

The Young Voters scheduled as many speakers on as many campuses as time and resources allowed. Any request for a speaker, from Counselor Robert Finch at Dartmouth, to Ed Cox at Malcolm X University, to Sen. Jacob Javits at San Francisco State, was filled when humanly possible. Four hundred separate college appearances were made by top Administration spokesmen through the YVP program. An additional 1,600 college appearances were made by young people working through the YVP Speakers Bureau.

In addition to campaigning on campus, students were involved in every level of the off-campus campaign. Where possible, entire headquarters, phone banks, and precincts were turned over to youth for staffing and supervision. In New Hampshire, phone banks, staffed heavily with students, called every Republican in the state three times. Students were constantly utilized off campus for voter registration drives, literature blitzes and rallies.

By the end of the campaign, the YVP had been active on 1,165 campuses. They had systematically canvassed over 3.2 million students and enlisted 321,000 supporters, over 130,000 of whom actively campaigned for the President. The Young Voters for the President had created one of the most successful student efforts in the history of either party.

In any successful campaign, there is a lot of discussion about who played a key role and who did not. The

1972 presidential campaign is no different. All of this discussion is irrelevant, however, unless we consider the one major point — more young people were involved in the 1972 election than in any election in history. And, involvement is the key. No matter how many speeches are made, pamphlets issued, TV ads aired, etc., if young people are not actively involved then the future of both of our parties is in danger. If we get them actively working, and that is what YVP did (more than 400,000), then our parties' futures are bright.

In his article, Smith claimed that there was no YVP college effort. The figures used here should effectively destroy that notion. But, let me make one further point — YVP Director Ken Rietz initially said that college students would play a key role but that YVP would not be aimed at



either college students or the non-college young. Rietz attempted to strike a balance, and in most states it worked.

The YVP program was aimed at young people as young people. They were not asked if they were Republican or Democratic, if they were rich or poor, black or white, college or non-college, or if they had ever worked for another candidate. Under Rietz's careful instructions, they were asked only if they wanted to become involved and, if they did, they were

signed up.

And, it worked. The Northern California registration chairman was a former official of the Democratic Party. A Wisconsin Nixonette leader was a former McGovern girl. A Michigan organizer was a former Humphrey staffer, etc.

No one presidential campaign is ever a carbon copy of another, and because of the particular circumstances of 1972 — an incumbent President, George McGovern, the enfranchisement of 18-year-olds, among other factors — 1976 and beyond will not be successful for the Republican cause if the 1972 college handbooks are simply dusted off, reprinted and redistributed. But 1972 established several general guidelines for the party in its future approach to college voters:

1. The approach to the colleges must be from within — an approach which will get students involved. Washington speech-makers and Madison Avenue advertising will continue to play a part. But students are student-community-oriented — the real battle for their votes is won by other students, campaigning elbow to elbow, day to day, in grass roots style.
2. Never again should the party be estranged from the campus. No matter what philosophical turn or social orientation the world of academia takes, the GOP must remain an ever-present voice on campus.
3. New people must be involved. We can begin in 1974 with the YVP members of 1972. But a base that is not constantly expanding rapidly contracts — the key word is involvement.

The Republican Party is still a minority party. But majority status can be a reality with this generation. The Young Voters for the President took a long step toward that goal. They helped to build President Nixon's "New Majority" by involving young people who would otherwise never have been involved. The challenge for our party now is to continue to interest those already involved and to create a new vehicle for allowing more young people to be active partners in the party as they were in the 1972 campaign. ■

COMMENTARY

The Price of Money

by *Richard W. Rabn*

The Nixon Administration has again demonstrated its willingness to face economic realities by devaluing the American dollar for the second time in the last year and a half. Unfortunately, the devaluation will not cure the problem of too many dollars finding their way into too many foreign pockets. Although the move will raise the price of imports and lower the price of exports, neither our import nor export flows are likely to change appreciably. (The situation worsened after the last time the Administration devalued.) The inelasticity of the current situation can be attributed to the insensitivity of a large share of our imports to price changes. Buying decisions on luxuries such as a Mercedes Benz are not made on the basis of a \$700 price differential. Neither are decisions on necessities such as fuel oil. On the other hand, many American exports are similarly price insensitive. A small cut in the price of computers, commercial aircraft or technical equipment will not precipitate a substantial increase in sales to foreign customers.

Further devaluations seem likely, given the nature of the import-export metabolism and the likelihood that the nation's rapidly growing industrial competitors will continue to show greater increases in productivity than their American counterparts. The international repercussions of devaluations in the world financial community, however, are rather traumatic when the U.S. is involved. Devaluations enrich speculators, upset business plan-

ning, disrupt American tourists abroad and invite retaliation and general ill will among nations.

In recent years, it has been painfully apparent that international central bankers are incapable of maintaining a fixed rate or even a semi-fixed rate of exchange without periodic international monetary crises. The current semi-fixed or crawling rate systems being proposed all appear to maintain many of the major weaknesses of the fixed exchange rate systems; they would continue to encourage countries to employ undesirable methods of payment adjustments without providing the advantages of a fully flexible or "clear float" exchange rate system.

It is time to adopt such complete flexibility in exchange rates. Under the current system, speculators are encouraged to attack a weak currency since the fixed rate protects them against a price rise in the event that the currency under attack is not devalued. However, they have substantial opportunities for windfall profits due to a sudden devaluation. Under a flexible exchange system, speculators would find their occupation more hazardous since the price of a currency could rise without limit. In all likelihood, flexible exchange rates would stabilize speculation — whereas inflexible or semi-inflexible exchange rates

have fueled speculation. Foreign exchange markets could operate much like grain markets; if the price of wheat falls too low, it will attract buyers; if it rises too high, a surplus of sellers will result.

In the past, the prevalent wisdom postulated that flexible exchange rates would discourage businessmen from engaging in international trade because of attendant uncertainties. The present system, however, has not reduced uncertainty. Under a system of flexible exchange rates, businessmen could hedge against price movements in the same way they hedge in commodity markets. The problem is analogous to fault lines in the earth's surface. Such faults cause uneven movement of adjacent land masses. Under such conditions it becomes far easier to live with frequent small tremors as the earth masses slip by each other (frequent small price movements between currencies) than with infrequent cataclysmic earthquakes (major devaluations).

Differing rates of growth among nations are inevitable. The central bankers and the international traders can coexist if they will abandon their attempts to artificially peg rates of exchange and instead adopt a fully flexible exchange rate system.

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POLITICS: PROFILES

California Gubernatorial Hopefuls

In 1974, Ronald Reagan will step down from the governor's chair of the nation's most populous state, setting off a unique scramble for that powerful position.

After eight years of a Republican Administration, anxious Democrats will be putting up their biggest political guns, including the speaker of the assembly, the senate majority leader, the mayor of San Francisco, the secretary of state, and a northern California congressman. This race, and the subsequent changes in lower offices, may significantly shift state political alignments.

The Democrats enter the battle armed with a strong registration edge and an overwhelming majority in the lower legislative house. The Republicans are banking on the lessons of eight years of executive control in a Democratic state, and on the victory of Richard Nixon in 1972, in spite of their registration disadvantage. Four Republicans have surfaced so far as the front-runners to succeed Reagan.

The turmoil within each party, combined with the demands of protecting and enhancing the quality of life in a state which for many Americans has become the geographical end of the "Continental West," sets the stage for a significant turning point in California's history.

The events in California have always affected many other states, and the nation as well. Thus, Republicans outside California may get a preview of future trends by studying the personalities who will vie for the right to seek another four years of a Republican Administration. These profiles, based on personal interviews, feature the front-running candidates for the GOP gubernatorial nomination, men who represent all elements of the diverse California Republican Party.

Of all the Republicans contemplating the California gubernatorial primary in 1974, *Robert Finch* is probably the best known outside the state. Back home from his position as a counsellor to President Nixon, he pauses from his hectic schedule of meetings at the recent California Republican State Convention to assess the local political climate.

In his characteristically deep voice, Finch describes himself as an "institutional Republican and devotee of the party for over thirty years." He is considering running for governor because, as he sees it, "the Republican Party is in trouble nationally and in California. The party apparatus in California," he explains, "is much more unstructured than in other large states, so in order to affect the party most, you put together a party and set its tone from the governor's chair."

Finch is convinced that changes the

people might desire could very well come from within a party that has already been in control of the executive branch for two terms, drawing on his active California GOP political experience from the age of 18 until election to statewide office in 1966.

In that year, Finch was elected lieutenant governor by a greater margin than Gov. Reagan. "Gov. Reagan responded to the desire of Californians for some constraints on fast-burgeoning government," says Finch, gathering his thoughts as he gazes out the window from his convention hospitality suite. "But now we're in a different situation. There is less than zero population growth and it's going to have an enormous impact on how we allocate governmental resources. 1974 will be a new game and I don't feel it is necessary to defend or not defend Gov. Reagan's record. I think he met a need but now we are moving into another period."

Finch's theme — efficient use of governmental resources — explains his view of regional government in California. "The attitude of the public is not enthusiastic about another level of government," he says. "The public is more inclined to want levels of government to operate more efficiently, and this is really what the test of revenue-sharing is all about."

Finch is optimistic about the ability of government to resolve the differences between orderly economic growth and protection of the environment. "This is the most difficult job government has at every level, at this point in time," he says, adding, "I think it is possible to do it."

Finch has previously spoken out on the high cost of campaign financing and is skeptical of legislative proposals for public campaign financing because of the tendency to favor incumbents. "The key is disclosure of campaign contributions," he says, "and artificial spending limitations per voter are very capricious and probably not defensible in terms of certain constitutional guarantees."

While he is thinking of the power and influence of the governorship, Finch has not definitely excluded a run for the U. S. Senate seat now held by Alan Cranston. His national posture and familiarity with issues of revenue-sharing, expenditures for social programs, and reassessment of defense spending could make Finch a formidable opponent.

Realistically, he sees Cranston as an "accomplished politician, although



Robert Finch

definitely not unbeatable." Compared to Cranston's six years in the Senate, Finch's federal experience is substantial. Before his election to the office of lieutenant governor, Finch had served as an administrative assistant both to a California congressman and to then-Vice President Nixon. He chaired Nixon's 1960 presidential campaign and was campaign manager for George Murphy in 1964. Of course, his tenure as secretary of the sprawling Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and his position as counsellor to President Nixon, give Finch unique background experience from which to run for the Senate.

In summing up the state of the California Republican Party, Finch says, "Obviously, some changes are needed. Both parties are sharing the same general alienation as other institutions. We need to broaden the base of the party and specifically attract new voters and minority voters. The California Republican Party has a great opportunity if we can rise up and seize it. That is what '74 is all about."

Robert Finch, the "institutional Republican," is thus seeking the office in which he can best serve his party, the state and the nation, based on his unique background.

Houston Flournoy looks more like a graduate student than a college professor. A Doctor of Philosophy in government, he sits in his spacious office and explains that "there is a whole new element that has come into the electorate since 1970. There are millions of young people in this state who have not affiliated with the Republican Party. They are, I suspect, skeptical of both parties; and in that sense, they are available for a Republican candidate if the appeal and the posture of the candidate are such that he attracts them."

"1974 is not going to be an easy year for any Republican," Flournoy points out, "and a major primary issue will be whether the Republican Party wants to recognize the fact that we have to nominate a candidate who can appeal significantly beyond the borders of the Republican Party, to the independent elements in California. It is quite clear to me," he continues, "that no Republican is going

to win with Republican votes alone."

"If you're going to expand the base of the party," he feels, "you're going to do it primarily through a candidate and not the party machinery." He feels that the "Republican Party is not in much different a position than it was in the 30's." But its minority status is buttressed by the fact that the "California voter has always been independent, and has always been willing to vote for a man, not a party."

Flournoy feels that many young, new voters registered as Democrats primarily because of the contested presidential primary. "I think that the young people are equally, if not more, independent than the general electorate," he adds. "They really don't feel committed because they find faults with both parties. This is an opportunity for Republicans to pursue."

Flournoy speaks quite directly about the record of Gov. Ronald Reagan. "In the course of the last six years, there have been a lot of things accomplished that I think have been desirable and noteworthy." But he is quick to add, "At the same time, it's no secret that on some issues I have had disagreements with the Governor, and I would certainly not feel bound to support those actions of the Governor and his Administration that I did not agree with."

Flournoy candidly states that "the direct responsibility in the state controller's office is somewhat limited insofar as my ability to affect the major questions that face the state." Although Flournoy is a specialist in constitutional law and political science by virtue of his academic training, his duties as controller are limited to California's fiscal affairs. He is in charge of all disbursements made by the state, auditing those disbursements, appraising inheritances and gifts for state tax purposes, and is involved in virtually all other state fiscal matters.

"The office of the Governor is certainly a more challenging opportunity," he continues. "My prime interest at the moment is for governor and not for senator, although it is certainly not impossible for a Republican candidate to beat Sen. Alan Cranston." Flournoy already has defeated Cran-

ston once, when he was elected controller in 1966.

Flournoy has served 14 years in state government. He was elected to three, two-year terms in the state assembly before running for state controller with Ronald Reagan in 1966. He was re-elected in 1970 by a plurality of 1.4 million votes. He received a total of 3.7 million votes that year; more than any other candidate for state public office anywhere in the nation.

Relaxing in his high-backed chair, he muses, "I believe that through my experience in the legislature, as well as in the controller's office, that I could provide a kind of leadership that might be able to accomplish some progress in many of the problems that face the state." Recently, Flournoy held a successful fundraising dinner in Los Angeles. He will decide to run if there is enough money and support, and if "it appears feasible for us to undertake a race with the probability of success."

Because of Flournoy's academic background and his role as the state's chief fiscal officer, he is an expert in the problems of school finance, dramatized by the *Serrano vs. Priest* decision. "It will be a major issue in the future," Flournoy explains. "I don't believe the question of equitable funding for schools in California has been accomplished by the recent tax act. The *Serrano* decision, which I think is morally right, raised the question of how do we provide the funds for the equal educational opportunity for chil-



Ronald Reagan

dren that the state has committed itself to provide. I've advocated a state-wide property tax in the past, and I still support it. But the key method that the state must come up with is a system whereby we guarantee every child in the state an adequate number of dollars for his education."

Flournoy does not hesitate to point out the problem of continuing to encourage the growth of California's economy while "doing the least damage to legitimate environmental concerns as possible. It's going to be difficult," he continues, "to reconcile between maximum economic development and maximum protection of the environment."

Regarding the costs of campaign financing, Flournoy says, "the key element of the whole problem is the primary. I don't think that we would put the state in a position of supporting everybody who chooses to file in a primary unless you make filing far more difficult. The dilemma is that the primary should remain open."

Flournoy concludes by noting that "the President is pursuing a policy of cutting back the size of the federal government, and I think that this is worthwhile. I think that holds the

possibility of increasing the area of responsibility of the states to provide services that should be decentralized. I think this is a welcomed shift of emphasis from centralization in Washington to decentralization." He sees the state's role being enlarged to provide services at the local level and thereby preventing future federal intervention.

Flournoy seeks to strengthen the role of the states in line with a decreasing federal role. He will seek the governorship if he finds sufficiently broad support from Republicans and non-Republicans alike.

Lt. Governor *Ed Reinecke* leans over his desk and concisely states why he is considering running for governor. "The great opportunity for innovation and change in the American political system is now at the state level. The only place," he says, "that there is an opportunity to make change is where, first of all, the organization is small enough to maneuver, to be handled, to be changed, and, secondly, where you can get to an executive position where policies can be effected that will make that change."

Reinecke does not feel that eight years of a Republican Administration, most of which he was a part, will hamper him in seeking the governorship. He was appointed to his office by Gov. Ronald Reagan when Robert Finch left to join the Nixon Administration in 1959, and then was elected by a substantial margin in 1970.

Sitting attentively in his office under the State Capitol dome, he says that his close relationship with Gov. Reagan, his cabinet and staff, and the periods during which he was acting governor, have adequately prepared him to recognize and identify those problems that would be left for the next governor.

Reinecke, a former manufacturing company president, intends to use his private and public executive experience "to continue to do what Gov. Reagan is already doing in holding down the size of state government, and, if possible, reducing it." But, he quickly volunteers that the issues of the 1974 election will be somewhat different than those which Gov. Reagan faced.

Reinecke is confident that the duties and responsibilities of his office adequately prepare him to meet the issues of the 1974 campaign. As lieutenant governor, his duties are defined partly by the constitution, partly by the legislature, and partly by the Governor.

The constitution gives Reinecke a role in developing policy for higher education in California. He is a member of the governing bodies of both the University of California and the State University and College systems. Legislation gives him a policy role in such varied subjects as relations between California and Mexico, the protection of the environment, interstate cooperation, the disposal and control of state lands, intergovernmental relations, and marine and coastal resources. He also has been given responsibility over the State Economic Development Commission, which is charged with developing and enhancing the health of the California business community, and he is a member of several special task forces established by Gov. Reagan.

Because of the size of California and its vast areas of unincorporated and rural land, over 4,000 special-function governmental districts have

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been formed to solve the needs of local communities. Reinecke is heading a special task force to study these local governments, including new regional governmental forms. "I don't care for the regional concept," he stresses, "except in cases when, for physical reasons, a problem must be treated on a geographical basis, such as air pollution or watershed problems."

Reinecke does not hesitate, however, to commend the Federal Environmental Protection Agency for suggesting the rather extreme proposal for massive gas rationing in the Los Angeles area. "It shocked a lot of people into realizing that the problem is tougher than they realized," he says, quickly adding that he does not think such rationing will ever occur.

Reinecke is quite specific in his views on the federal-state relationship. "Unfortunately, most of what happens at the state level is handed down as a stepchild of some piece of federal legislation," he says, warning of the need to fight the tendency toward what he calls the "big brotherism" of federal programs. He cites his frustrations as a three-term Congressman, and his first-hand observations of the "terribly bureaucratic inertia in federal agencies."

Looking at the chances for a Republican victory in 1974, Reinecke cites the President's significant election victory in California. "California is a very pro-Republican state," he says. "The GOP losses in the Assembly were nothing more than the fruits of previous reapportionment, and were not any indication that the Republican Party is weaker." He stresses that it is "your philosophy that gets votes in California, not the party registration."

Reinecke's predisposition is that the office of governor is where the most can be done to make changes for the benefit of the state, and his interest in that office grows from a concern for the need to protect the state from an expanding federal government.

Evelle J. Younger, the lawyer for the State of California as its attorney general, leans back in his chair, relaxes, and says candidly, "My job is fun — certainly, next to being governor, this job is the most important in state gov-

ernment." The self-styled "career public official" says he has not made up his mind to run for governor, noting that his dedication to his present position would only be overcome by strong support from the leaders and members of the California Republican Party.

There is precedent for the attorney general's office being a stepping stone to the governorship; both Republican Earl Warren and Democrat Edmund G. "Pat" Brown made the same jump. Younger, the first Republican attorney general since 1947, heads an army of 1,767 civil servants, including attorneys, investigators, narcotic agents, and criminal statisticians, in advising the state's constitutional officers and 90 departments and agencies. He also represents the state's 20 million people in criminal appeals and in proposing laws in areas such as the environment, consumer protection, and organized crime control.

Younger's views on campaign issues affecting the primary in 1974 are as neat and uncluttered as his desk and personal appearance. "They don't really let you talk about issues in a contested Republican primary, so you have to start talking about background and experience," he says, carefully looking for the right word and phrase as he speaks. At 54, his "track record" is built upon service as an FBI agent, city attorney, municipal and superior court judge, and district attorney of Los Angeles.

Younger is realistic about the difficulty in succeeding a Republican Administration that will have been in power for eight years. "No matter how good a job a governor does, no matter how good a man he is, after eight years in office his ship of state has got some barnacles on it," he says.

Younger has chaired President Nixon's Task Force on Crime and Law Enforcement and presently heads the state's criminal justice planning agency. Interviewed in his office, he discussed his views on regional government, a complex and on-going problem in California. He favors regional governmental units where efficiency and cost require such centralization, but adds that in certain law enforcement functions, such as record-keeping and coordinating attacks on organized crime, regional approaches are less



efficient than state control.

Acquainted with large organizations as a major general in the Air Force Reserve, the Nebraska-born Younger is not optimistic about reducing the size of government. His focus as governor would be in trying to "manage the system efficiently and effectively, and to reduce waste where possible."

He also is unconvinced that public campaign financing is the best method of solving the high cost of campaigning, and particularly questions the use of public money to fund all candidates. "You can't treat all 13 Los Angeles mayoralty candidates seriously because they're not all serious candidates, so where do you stop?"

Asked about the health of the California GOP in light of a reduced percentage of registered Republicans last November, he stresses that "in California I think our voters have a monumental lack of concern for parties." The existence of a Republican Administration and a Democratic legislature is proof that "the party identification is of very little importance to most voters. The presentation of a better candidate than the choice of the Democrats is the key to victory. But, if one guy is as good as another guy, then they are going to vote their party; everything else being equal, the Republicans are going to lose."

Younger questions the existence of a conservative-moderate split in the California Republican Party. He calls himself a "conservative on law and order," but a "liberal or moderate in matters of welfare and other than enforcement" areas. He also identifies the far left and the far right within the GOP, and finds himself comfortably in between.

Whether or not Attorney General Younger can be lured into running for the governorship will depend on the extent of support that he will receive from party leaders and the polls. ■

POLITICS: REPORTS

NEW JERSEY

IRVINGTON, N.J. — It is generally agreed that President Nixon's 1972 campaign in New Jersey served as a trial run for Gov. William T. Cahill's 1973 drive for re-election.

Cahill's main difficulties this year may come not from the Democrats but from conservative Congressman Charles Sandman, whom political pundits predict may make his third successive shot at the governorship in this year's June primary. (Sandman considered challenging Sen. Clifford P. Case in the 1972 senatorial primary.)

Soon after the southern New Jersey Congressman's solid re-election to Congress last year, he made it clear that he would challenge Gov. Cahill if he could raise sufficient funds.

Sandman announced his candidacy on February 17, saying he would seek the governorship to give "better leadership to both the state and to the party." He said he would make high taxes, crime, education and transportation key issues in the race. His campaign is expected to focus on opposition to a statewide income tax, attempt to tie Gov. Cahill to a pro-busing position, and make political capital on charges of political corruption.

Cahill is favored to win both re-nomination and re-election despite numerous setbacks he suffered in 1972. These included the failure of the legislature to enact his progressive income tax proposal, the Senate's refusal to reconfirm Education Commissioner Carl Marburger, who reportedly suffered from pro-busing thoughts, and the conviction of Secretary of State Paul Sherwin on corruption charges.

While the Governor's legislative programs have not always met approval from his Republican legislature, Cahill has nonetheless established an image as a decisive leader who is unafraid to take bold action on such matters as environment, mass transit, and prison reform. Upon assuming office,

he established close rapport with the mayors of New Jersey's large cities; he has since been in the forefront of attempts to secure additional revenue for urban areas.

Perhaps Cahill's greatest asset, however, is the lackluster horde of Democratic aspirants for the gubernatorial nomination and the disarray of the state's Democratic leadership. The power of Democratic county bosses has been diminished by repeated liberal insurgencies and the election of reform mayors in Newark and Jersey City. Divisions in the Bergen County Democratic Party are so bad, for example, that important McGovern backers have threatened to back Gov. Cahill if machine-backed State Sen. Ralph De Rose (Essex County) is nominated for governor. Aside from the 1972 McGovern primary sweep of the state, however, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party has not been able to impose its will on more traditional Democratic leaders. Their impact is just strong enough to guarantee bloody statewide primaries and to doom any possibility for a consensus nomination.

Cahill's personal appeal, coupled with a series of favorable coincidences, has considerably strengthened the GOP organization throughout the state. A progressive from southern New Jersey — which is known for its conservatism — Cahill's very presence has tended to submerge the traditional regional-ideological split that has persisted in New Jersey for decades. County organizations retain their power over nominations and jobs — a situation which has prompted the comparison between the state's party system and the barony system of medieval France. Through effective use of his patronage, however, Cahill has succeeded in solidifying his support within the organizations of the major counties.

At a mid-January meeting of county chairmen, a motion was passed urging the Governor to seek re-election. The lone dissenter, as would have been expected, was Congressman Charles Sandman, who simultaneously serves

as GOP chairman of Cape May County. During the past four years, Cahill moderates have been elevated to the chairmanships of Essex, Middlesex, and Mercer, all populous Democratic counties.

Pro-Cahill county chairmen exerting top influence within the party are moderates George Wallhauser (Essex) and Harry Richardson (Middlesex). Wallhauser broke with the Essex organization when it endorsed Sandman for governor in 1969. Having been "right from the start," his counsel was sought in the early days of the Cahill Administration. In the two years Richardson has served as Middlesex County chairman, he has broadened the party's base considerably. In 1972, he engineered the upset of the Wilentz-Otowski Democratic machine that had dominated Middlesex County politics for generations. Signs of the machine's vulnerability first appeared in May 1972 when a bipartisan reform slate smashed a machine-backed ticket in its Perth Amboy base.

Pragmatic conservative Anthony Statile (Bergen) would have been included in the same influence category as Wallhauser and Richardson, but he recently resigned in the middle of a federal grand jury investigation of GOP politics in Bergen County, a longtime Republican bastion. Statile, a protege of former county and state GOP leader Nelson Gross, had been under fire by both liberal and conservative insurgents as the result of the general election victories of Congressman Henry Helstoski (D) and Sheriff Joseph Job, an ex-Republican, despite the Nixon landslide. Gross, who is again practicing law in the state after serving two years with the State Department, is chairing the ad hoc Republican Leadership Group, which has selected Englewood City Clerk Joseph Carney as its candidate to succeed Statile. Carney's election is considered likely, although State Sen. Harold C. Hollenbeck, a *saue* young moderate, may challenge Carney for the post in the June primary.

Gross will continue to exert considerable influence in Bergen politics as well as to play an indirect role in the re-election of Gov. Cahill, whose campaign he managed four years ago. After losing his Senate bid to Sen. Harrison Williams in 1970, Gross

stated that he was too young to accept the cloistered life of a judge. Other options open to him are accepting a post in a second Cahill Administration or running for the Senate again in 1976 or 1978.

Other county chairmen solidly in Cahill's corner are Bill Danskin of Monmouth, leader of the County Chairmen's Association; moderate Harry Sayen (Mercer), a relative newcomer to politics; and Henry R. Leiner (Camden). State Chairman John Dimon, formerly chairman of Burlington County, is also expected to play a major role in Cahill's campaign. ■

OEO

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Any questions about the directions in which new OEO Director Howard Phillips will take his department should have been resolved by an examination of his key appointments. The list reads like the Office of Conservative Opportunity.

His three top aides are David R. Jones, principal assistant to the director for operational activities; J. Alan MacKay, principal assistant to the director for staff support; and John E. Schrote, principal assistant to the director for liaison activities. Jones is on a leave of absence as an administrative assistant to Sen. James L. Buckley. MacKay left a position as an assistant general counsel of the Cabot Corporation in Boston about a year ago to work for Phillips. He was a national chairman of the Young Americans for Freedom, active in the Massachusetts Conservative Party and an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican Senate nomination won by Sen. Edward Brooke in 1966. Schrote, who also had joined OEO previous to the recent conservative reunion, was an administrative assistant to former Congressman Donald E. "Buz" Lukens.

Other key Phillips appointments include:

Alvin Arnett, executive director of the Appalachian Regional Commission and former executive assistant to Sen. J. Glenn Beall, as a special consultant to the director;

Ronald Fuller, a former aide to Vice

President Agnew, as administrative assistant to the director;

Daniel F. Joy, former editor of YAF's *New Guard* magazine, as acting assistant director for program review; and

Randall C. Teague, former executive director of YAF, as deputy director for operations.

One OEO staffer who failed to take his dismissal with stoic silence was Theodore Tetzlaff, acting director of the legal services. Tetzlaff, whose philosophical differences with Phillips over the program had been widely publicized, was replaced by J. Laurence McCarty, former chairman of the Massachusetts Conservative Union and former treasurer of the American Conservative Union. Before assuming the post, McCarty was an associate counsel of New England Life Insurance Company in Boston. He had been an associate counsel at the Prudential Insurance Company as well and had previously engaged in private practice. The biographical information available from OEO does not mention his political activities. The 38-year-old McCarty had been a longtime ally of MacKay in the Massachusetts Conservative Party and in conservative-Republican politics in the state. McCarty, for instance, was active in the 1970 Republican primary campaign of John J. McCarthy for Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's seat. McCarthy was defeated by liberal Republican Josiah Spaulding. Speaking of the trio of Phillips-MacKay-McCarty, one Bay State Republican said, "You couldn't destroy (the OEO) more effectively. They're to the right of Goldwater."

About the future of the legal services program, Tetzlaff said, "I think there's a serious question whether anything is going to be settled on the merits any more or whether the sole consideration is going to be political." ■

NWPC

HOUSTON — Although Republicans constituted only about 75 of the 624 delegates to the convention of the National Women's Political Caucus in February, two of the four top slots

in the NWPC went to Republicans.

Frances "Sissy" Farenthold, the liberal Democrat who ran unsuccessfully for her party's 1972 nomination for governor of Texas, was elected national chairwoman. None of the three national vice chairwomen, however, are Democrats, despite the preponderance of Democrats in the organization. Elected vice chairwomen were:

Audrey Colom, a black Republican from Washington, D.C. who formerly worked for the National Welfare Rights Organization;

Rhea Mojica Hammer, a Chicago Chicano active in La Raza Unida; and

Bobbi Green Kilberg, a white Washington, D.C. attorney active in both women's and Indians' rights.

Ms. Kilberg said that adoption of the new national structure, which stresses the involvement of state and local caucuses, was the convention's most important development. Although convention press reports emphasized the bickering and wrangling that dominated the convention, the NWPC vice chairwoman called the conflicts "positive," and said, "The kind of frustrations that build up in any young organization came out at that meeting and they got resolved."

She had high praise for Jill Ruckelshaus, the wife of Environmental Protection Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus, who took a strong role in mediating convention conflicts. (Sidelight: Ms. Ruckelshaus will work part-time as an aide to presidential counsellor Anne Armstrong.)

Although the focus of debate at the convention was on the organization's structure, three main goals for the immediate future were developed: ratification of the equal rights amendment, passage of day care legislation, and election of women to state and local offices.

Perhaps ironically, Republican delegates at the convention worked most effectively with black and Chicano delegates, with whom they formed a working coalition which succeeded in carrying all three of the organization's "number two" spots. The coalition was so effective that one conservative, southern Republican delegate unsuccessfully attempted to convince Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm (D) to run for the NWPC chair. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● New Hampshire Gov. **Meldrim Thomson** has gotten in political hot water by ordering an aide to investigate the tax records of former aides and allies of his predecessor, former Gov. **Walter Peterson**. The action has prompted an investigation from New Hampshire Attorney Gen. **Warren B. Rudman** (a Peterson appointee) as well as one by U.S. Attorney **William B. Cullimore** to determine if the confidentiality of federal tax records had been broken. The State Executive Council has set up a special committee to investigate Thomson's actions.

● Bumper Sticker Department: As if it were not enough to festoon Bay State cars with stickers reading, "Massachusetts: State of Awareness," another contribution to bumper art was spotted recently: "Massachusetts: Love it or Leave it."

● Another Republican reportedly decided he'd rather switch than fight. Congressman **Donald W. Riegle, Jr.**, a 35-year-old maverik Republican from Michigan, has reversed his political stripes. As a Democrat, Riegle will reportedly be missed by House Republicans as much as Congressman **Ogden R. Reid**, the New York Congressman who made the Republican-Democratic conversion last year. Riegle had been a long-time congressional dove and supported Congressman **Paul N. McCloskey's** presidential bid last year. McCloskey, however, is fighting rather than switching.

● Reportedly unhappy with the proposed reorganization of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, **Patricia Reilly Hitt** has gotten a new assignment. The former assistant HEW secretary for community and field services has been appointed director of ACTION, where she succeeds fellow Californian **Joseph Blatchford**, who returned to the west coast.

● Voice from the Past Department: Former Sen. **Stephen M. Young** is testing the warmth of Democratic political waters before deciding whether to plunge into the 1974 race for Sen. **William Saxbe's** (R-Ohio) seat. Young defeated Sen. **John W. Bricker** in 1958 and his successor, Sen. **Robert Taft, Jr.**, in 1964 before voluntarily leaving Washington himself in 1970.

● State Rep. **W. Murray Ryan** was elected New Mexico's Republican state chairman in January, replacing **Thomas F. McKenna**. **Dennis Stevens** has also resigned as the party's executive director; a permanent replacement has not yet been named.

● State Sen. **Stanley J. Aronoff** has begun his campaign for Ohio attorney general. Aronoff, a 40-year-old liberal from Cincinnati, is seeking the office now held by **William J. Brown** (D).

● The House Administration Committee, chaired by Congressman **Wayne Hays** (D-Ohio), has once again refused to permit minority staffing. The computer unit of the committee alone has 60 staff members, all appointed by the Democratic majority. A small break with tradition occurred, however, when the committee voted that all meetings would be "open" unless voted "closed" by the committee. In the past, all committee meetings were closed unless the majority voted to have them open.

● Although the Georgia GOP is still recovering from their Senate setback last fall against an unknown

Democrat, **Sam Nunn**, State Republican Chairman **Robert Shaw** is making noises about running against the popular Sen. **Herman E. Talmadge** in 1974.

● The Pennsylvania Republican Party has intervened in the Ripon Society's suit to overturn the delegate allocation formula adopted at the 1972 Republican National Convention. In making the announcement, Sen. **Richard S. Schweiker**, chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican Committee on Rule 30, said, "Today's legal action follows a pledge by the Pennsylvania delegation at the convention in Miami last August to seek court action to insure that Republicans from Pennsylvania and other large states are fairly represented at the 1976 Convention." Schweiker said Pennsylvania was seeking to join the suit not to "declare unconstitutional any bonus delegates" under the formula, but to "insure that the national GOP delegate formula fairly represents all states, whether this formula includes bonus delegates or not."

● Musical Chairs Department: **John Lofton**, editor of **Monday**, which the **Boston Globe** once described as the GOP's answer to the **Daily Worker**, was recently appointed as public affairs director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Lofton left the Republican National Committee on a Friday, spent one day at his new job, "got lonely" (according to one RNC staffer), and returned to the Republican National Committee. Like they say, "Never on Monday."

● Recent announcements of White House staff changes include the appointment of chief speech writer **Ray Price** as a special consultant to the President. In his new role, Price will be sort of a "house philosopher" for the President on a broad range of governmental questions. The White House also announced the appointment of **David N. Parker** as the President's appointments secretary. Parker succeeds **Dwight Chapin**, who press reports implicated in the Watergate espionage ring. Parker was an aide to former Interior Secretary **Walter Hickel**.

● Big-name conservatives are talking about the need to boost Vice President **Spiro Agnew** as a presidential contender. Failing that, they talk of a "youth movement" for Gov. **Ronald Reagan** (R-Calif.), who will be 65 in 1976.

● Congressman **Clarence J. "Bud" Brown** (R-Ohio) says that he is keeping his options open for governor and senator in 1974. Brown has been appointed to lead the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee's candidate development task force. Brown also has reportedly been pushed by the White House to chair the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, but Congressman **Bob Wilson** (R-Calif.) has refused to step down.

● At California's Republican State Convention on February 3, Republicans elected **Paul Haerle**, a San Francisco attorney, former appointments secretary to Gov. **Ronald Reagan** and former GOP state secretary, to be Republican state vice chairman. Haerle defeated **Truman Campbell**, a Fresno attorney, 741-251, and therefore will probably succeed **Gordon Luce** as Republican state chairman in two years. Campbell, the more conservative of the two, labeled Haerle as one of Gov. Reagan's "palace guard;" he said the Governor's staff act as "self-appointed kingmakers . . . who have attempted to control our leaders and legislators in California politics."

Getting Involved in Crime and Corrections

Corrections is part punishment and part rehabilitation, according to Ann Cunningham, a former caseworker for Sen. Edward W. Brooke in the corrections area and now assistant director of the Man to Man Program in Washington, D.C. (Washington Redskin running back Charley Harroway is Man to Man, Inc. director, sports fans.) But the corrections problem is inseparable from the community problem, according to Ms. Cunningham. Rehabilitation cannot occur in a vacuum. It requires the cooperation of the community as well as the willingness of the offender.

by Ann L. Cunningham

It is a sad but undeniable fact that correctional facilities and the individuals housed within them have been historically viewed as a non-priority problem by citizens and their governments. News stories about prisons all too often emphasize the negative — escapes, overcrowding, stabbings, and the potential for violence. And such stories, in turn, reinforce the community with its general view that prisoners are anti-social, and that the community's traditional role of "non-involvement" is therefore completely justified.

This feeling of non-involvement is enhanced in part by the invisibility of men and women in prison. Because they are housed behind high walls with long sentences, we never see them and, as a result, we can afford to react to even their most basic needs with tremendous indifference. Indifference to a great extent created the Attica and Rahway tragedies where men were willing to give, and gave, their lives for what most would consider the recognition of basic human living conditions (e.g., improved medical facilities, mail privileges, constructive disciplinary procedures).

While the inmate is invisible, the victim of crime is very conspicuous — reinforcing the community's tendency of vindictiveness toward the criminal. Our ignorance about crime — and particularly about corrections — leads unfortunately to an easy satisfaction with lurid headlines and a smug assumption that "jail will do him good."

The potential danger of this "non-involved-jail-will-do-him-good" attitude is the false and essentially naive

sense of security it perpetuates. For how much is really known about what goes on behind those walls?

- Do we know that in some systems men make only \$3 a month?
- Do we know that men have been known to get 15 days in solitary confinement for carrying a concealed cookie from the dining room or for looking at a correctional officer in an insolent manner?
- Do we know that prison discipline can often be more arbitrary than constructive?

Petey Greene, a well known and articulate offender from Washington, D.C. who heads a program called Efforts from Ex-Convicts, once said, "They put me in jail for 10 years — taught me how to sweep the floor with a broom — and when I got out, everyone was using vacuum cleaners."

Perhaps if we knew more about what goes on in prisons, we would do more to change them.

We do seem concerned, however, about the end-product of the prison system — the recidivist or repeated offender. We try to deal with him by giving him a longer sentence, buying more city crime lamps, and purchasing more locks for our homes. Perhaps it is time that we take a close look at the purpose for which prisons are established — to rehabilitate, remotivate and resocialize — a purpose that seems sadly remote in today's system.

We are troubled when we read about prison riots and think "something should be done." We want change. Our traditional feeling (a cop-out, if you will) is to blame

such riots on the Administration of the correctional facility — “they don’t care” . . . “guards brutalize inmates — they turn their backs on homosexual assaults” . . . “get rid of the guards” . . . “prisons just train more hardened criminals.”

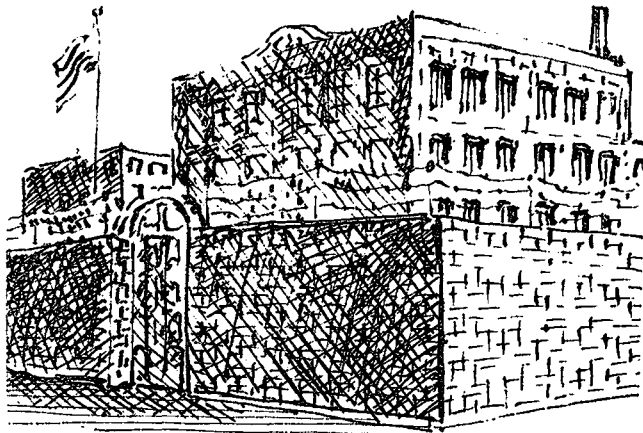
Frankly, to a large extent, these oversimplifications of a considerably complex problem are more of a reflection of society’s indifference to the system than of the system’s apparent inability to cope with the situation in a constructive manner. And while it is easy for us to blame the administrators and correctional officers of the system, we must realize that for years this system has suffered from a lack of funds for programs, from low salaries, from lack of public interest and from an inherent fear of public involvement. And if that sad cycle is ever to be broken, we must wake up to the real needs and be ready to help.

Politicians continue to toy with both the institution’s problems (and usually only after a crisis in the prison) and their constituents’ fears — and the resulting dialogue of proposed action is so broad that we remain frozen in our indifference. And, unfortunately, the system continues to perpetuate itself while we continue to talk.

We must never forget that when the Court sends a man to jail for 1-2-5-10-20 years or even life, that 99 percent of those who are sent to jail will one day return to the community from which they came — our communities. Involvement in his life and in the resocialization process is of paramount importance if these men and women are to become what we want them to be — if they are to have the ability to live at peace with society and with themselves upon release. They cannot do it alone. They need our help.

Let us take, for example, a man at the time of his release. He is for the most part hypersensitive and insecure. He returns to a society that is essentially frightened to receive him — a society that because of this fright reacts by continuing to exclude him.

- Felon offenders are denied the right to vote in some states, after their time has been served.
- Though he may have been trained as a barber in prison, the ex-offender is denied a license in some states because of his record.
- Civil Service declares a man *eligible* for employment (because of his qualifications) but not *suitable* (because of his prison record), therefore he



cannot get a job.

- Apartments and living quarters are often denied to ex-offenders only because of their prior conviction.

And so, while we satisfy our need — only rhetorically — by saying that a man once he has served time has “paid his debt,” his debt in fact continues. *And we dare not forget that a criminal life is what this man can understand. A productive life is foreign to him.* And thus the revolving door which unfortunately turns for well over half of our nation’s prisoners revolves again.

Revised laws and attitude changes on our parts seem to be the simpler side of a relatively complex situation. But let us ponder some considerably more difficult, yet very practical, questions.

- How can we tell an individual that making \$70 a week upon release in a training program is really a “better way of life” than hustling drugs for \$100 a day in the street?
- How can our communities realistically expect that a man will take responsibility for managing his own life upon release when for *years* in the prison system he has been denied responsibility — and has been *given* 3 meals a day, *given* clean sheets and clothing, *told* when to get up, when to go to sleep and so on? Many ex-convicts are frustrated simply by the freedom of choice on a menu — or are afraid merely to cross a street.
- How can we continue to react indifferently about the many environmental factors that may have put a man in prison and then return him to that same jungle — more bitter and more hostile — and still say to him, “Go straight?”
- How can we expect a man to live at peace with society when we totally isolate him in prison from the society to which he will return and in which we insist that he adjust to our social norms?

Look at some of the circumstances that may have placed so many men and women in prison. Many men and women have justifiably called themselves “political prisoners.” They are the victims of the social system — they are the victims of poor housing, lack of educational opportunity, job discrimination, an environment infested with drugs, an environment which assigns people to the purgatory of prison life simply because there are no community alternatives possible.

Let me be specific. One of the bitterest young men I know has just served two years for the possession of marijuana at Lorton Reformatory in Virginia. You know as I do that many people have been accused and found guilty of possession of marijuana, yet they did not go to jail. Why? The answer in large part is because their families could say: “I’ll put my son in prep school” or “I’ll put him in a training program.” But where does the individual in the inner city go who does not have that choice available? He goes to jail.

Where do the answers lie? So far, congressional action has been largely rhetorical. Grandstand plays occur from time to time — Jimmy Hoffa appears to tell his story — but what happens? Headlines, talk — but no action. And the frustration of the prison system continues.

Many bills have been introduced regarding correctional reform in both the House and the Senate but they linger in committee while the member sends letters to inquiring constituents — "I share your concern over prison reform and have introduced a measure ..." — letters that unfortunately seem to satisfy the recipient. For prisons, there is no voting constituency. In fact, there is really no constructive lobby at all.

Tear the prison walls down? Where, then, would the prisoners be sent? It is a disservice to the community as well as to the offender to return him immediately to an environment that may have caused his problems at the outset. Those who argue that a solution to the prison problem lies in tearing down the walls do not really understand the essential paradox of corrections — the need both to punish and to rehabilitate. A prison combines both punishment and rehabilitation. For some, the pendulum should swing more toward punishment (which, in fact, is confinement and limitations on freedom) and for others, when the outside social factors are considerably less favorable, the pendulum should swing toward rehabilitation and resocialization (e.g., the inner city drop-out with a drug habit). In simpler terms, Jimmy Hoffa does not have to learn how to repair a car, fix a typewriter, etc. in order to survive upon release — the inner city, school drop-out in all probability does.

Obviously, some of the answers lie in resolving the problems that create the majority of prisoners and therefore the need for prisons — poor housing, inadequate education, lack of job opportunities, etc.

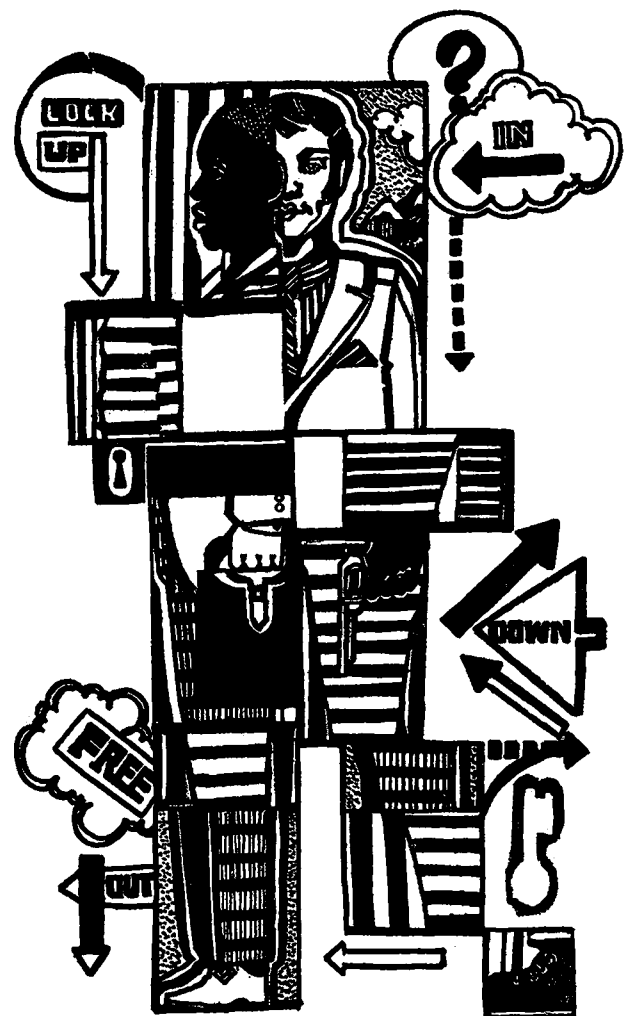
But the heart of reform in prisons today is really the community's willingness to take some risks and back the programs that are being advocated by many leaders in corrections:

- Smaller prisons closer to the communities from which the inmates come. Large overcrowded facilities tend to become custodial in nature — not rehabilitative. Smaller prisons closer to the community could more easily involve community resources (e.g., health facilities, educational facilities, job training programs) which are so vital to the rehabilitation-resocialization process.
- Increased and *improved* rehabilitative facilities (drug addict and alcoholic centers, psychological outpatient treatment centers) designed to provide services for those prisoners who need help rather than incarceration.
- Furloughs (day and weekend) for men and women in prison who have earned the trust of the institution to which they are confined. This type of program would provide an incentive for increased personal responsibility and eventually to constructive resocialization into society.
- Restructuring of probation and parole procedures — particularly for youthful and first-time offenders — so that fewer would go to prison. The money thus saved could be invested in community programs — education, work training and employment opportunities.

It is also important to remember that society as an

abstraction cannot necessarily be an effective agent of change in an individual's life. Some of the time the solution must involve a personal commitment. Man to Man, Inc. in Washington, D.C. is built on such an approach. This program involves volunteers from the community who are carefully screened and trained before being assigned to an individual at the local penitentiary. The volunteer works with the inmate and his family throughout his period of incarceration. He is a constructive advocate of the man in prison and is in constant touch with institutional officials in his efforts to work toward the eventual resocialization of the offender into the community. The thrust of the program is two-fold: first and foremost, to work with the inmate, his problems and his hopes for a better life; and second, to build — even if slowly — a constructive public lobby in the corrections field.

Corrections has been the stepchild of the criminal justice system for far too long. It is time that we in the community assume some responsibility in meeting the needs for effective programs to insure that prisons are more than mere custodial systems for those who make our streets unsafe and that prisoners are transformed from burdens on society to contributing members of the community to which one day 99 percent of them return. ■



BOOK REVIEW

The Politics of Principle

MR. REPUBLICAN: A Biography of Robert A. Taft
By James T. Patterson
Houghton Mifflin, 1972, 749 pages, \$12.50

by John McClaughry

From his earliest years, Sen. Robert Alphonso Taft distinguished himself in the family tradition — the pursuit of excellence. He was first in his class at Uncle Horace's renowned Taft School; first in his class at Yale; and first in his class at Harvard Law School. From his election as an Ohio state legislator in 1920 to his death as a United States Senator in 1953 at the age of 63, Robert A. Taft exemplified to an uncommon degree the virtues of character, principle, high motivation, penetrating intelligence, and a compulsion to serve his fellow Americans.

Bob Taft (father of the present Sen. Bob Taft, Jr.) certainly had a great deal of family character to inherit. His grandfather, Alphonso Taft, left the Vermont hill farm, worked his way through Yale and Yale Law School, rose to eminence in the Cincinnati bar, and became one of the few honest men to serve in Grant's Cabinet. Alphonso Taft defined for his progeny the model young man:

"He was a man of talents . . . of great humanity . . . his sympathies were deep and strong and he was fearless in his exposition of them. His character for sobriety and industry and integrity was without a blemish . . . he would stand firm against the most formidable opposition and never ceased to put forth his best."

Bob's father, William Howard Taft, became successively a Federal Appeals Judge, high commissioner to the Philippines, Secretary of War, President, and Chief Justice of the United States. His mother, Nellie Herron Taft, was a fiercely independent, ambitious woman, with intelligence to match her husband's.

Professor Patterson ably and lucidly describes the high points of Robert Taft's long and productive career — as a leading isolationist before World War II; author of the Taft-Hartley Act and opponent of NATO; guiding spirit behind the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Public Housing Act (which caused the conservative John Bricker to mutter, "I hear the Socialists have gotten to Bob Taft"); three times candidate for the Republican presidential nomination; and, in the months before his death, "first mate" in the Senate for President Eisenhower. If Bob Taft him-

self were writing an account of his life, one would expect it to emphasize his basic principles; Patterson, seemingly recognizing this, does not fail the reader.

Taft's most deeply held principle was the idea of liberty. "The consideration which ought to determine almost every decision of policy today," he wrote in 1953, "is the necessity of preserving, maintaining, and increasing the liberty of the people of our country, as fundamental to every other progressive purpose." Throughout his public life he maintained a remarkable, though not absolutely unswerving, devotion to this ideal.

As a young legislator in Ohio, he voted against movie censorship, no-warrant liquor raids, and compulsory Bible-reading in the schools. In the latter instance, he was emulating his grandfather, who, as a judge years before, had struck down a similar statute to the subsequent detriment of his political career. Later, Taft was a vigorous opponent of the draft and of President Roosevelt's plan to draft strikers into the armed forces. Despite his fervent hatred of communism, he defended the right of avowed communists to teach at state universities.

Bob Taft inherited a second major principle from his father — the principle of equal justice under the law. No man's liberty could be secure, the Tafts felt, without the protection of a judicial system dedicated to implementing this great principle. In the field of foreign relations, too, Taft believed in the rule of law, repeatedly advocating a strong World Court instead of a Wilsonian collective security agreement based not on law but on force. Taft's celebrated attack on the Nuremberg war crimes' trials as a travesty of equal justice under the law has been fully described in John F. Kennedy's *Profiles in Courage*.

A third major principle was that of equal opportunity for all. Like his father and grandfather, Bob Taft had a healthy distrust of the money-mad finance capitalists and monopolists of Wall Street. Indeed, it was William Howard Taft, who, as an appeals judge, outlawed the steel pipe pool, the first strong judicial action under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.

Not only did Taft take a dim view of Big Business (reinforced when Wall Street, Madison Avenue, *Time-Life* and the *New York Times* denied him the Republican presidential nomination time and time again), but he also had a positive philosophy for individual progress, inherited in part from his early mentor, Herbert Hoover. Congress, he stated in 1945, must "undertake to put a floor under essential things to give all a minimum standard of living, and all children an opportunity to get a start in life." This philosophy lay beneath his sponsorship of housing and education legislation which startled and confounded his more conservative admirers.

Because of these principles, Taft consistently saw Big Government — characterized by autocracy, bureaucracy, and centralized power — as the greatest danger to America. He saw, too, that war and imperialism had the inevitable effect of expanding the power of Big Government — particularly the President — and diminishing the liberties of the people. For his pacifism he was reviled by his opponents, who went to the ridiculous lengths of portraying him as an ally of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin at various

times. Yet Taft spared no hyperbole on the warhawks; over many years the same theses recur — war brings totalitarianism, socialist dictatorship at home, the garrison state, and loss of individual liberties. On his Senate desk, after his death, was found a scribbled note to himself: "No Indo-China — except in case of emergency invasion by the Chinese."

Robert A. Taft, for all his virtues, was not without his weaknesses. His campaign style, one observer said, was "a cartoonist's dream, a party leader's despair." He was abrupt, cold to strangers, overly intellectual, reserved, and utterly intolerant of stupidity. His candor was incredible; on one occasion, when a Harvard Law School classmate attempted to reintroduce himself, Taft blurted out, "I have no recollection of you whatever." Taft's passion for facts and issues often led him to ignore human relationships.

More substantively, Taft displayed several lamentable traits. He could only be described as violently partisan in his opposition to FDR and Truman. His fervent hatred of communism as the antithesis of liberty led him to frequent rhetorical excesses and to an intermittent flirtation with Sen. Joe McCarthy. For all his devotion to civil liberties, he praised the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in exposing suspected communists and favored banning Communist Party members from the ballot. In his 1952 presidential bid, in particular, Taft allowed his backers to engage in some highly questionable delegate-collection tactics that tarnished his image as a man of unblemished integrity.

Patterson is scrupulously fair in reporting Taft's weaknesses as well as his virtues. In only one area does the por-



trait need further work — Taft's attitude toward blacks. From the time he described a law client in 1913 as "a cheerful kind of coon," Taft took various positions on civil rights issues. He favored a federal anti-lynch law, but vigorously opposed federal fair employment practices legislation. He supported a no-discrimination clause in federal education legislation, but seemed to favor the "separate-but-equal-doctrine" as late as 1952, when it was beginning to crumble rapidly in court tests. It would appear, from circumstantial evidence, that Taft completely lacked the ability to comprehend life from a black man's perspective. It seems curious that a man so intoxicated with the idea of human liberty should have been so ambivalent on this issue.

Patterson also leaves the reader confused about Taft's views on interventionism, but it is primarily a result of Taft's own confusion rather than of the biographer's shortcoming. Taft himself never seemed able to clearly reconcile his opposition to entanglement in Western European affairs after World War II with his aggressive, anti-communist militarism in the Far East during the same period. It is surprising that Taft's brilliant and logical mind, so conspicuous for its clear reasoning on every other issue of the day, failed to resolve this contradiction.

One wonders, too, what Taft thought of the junior Senator from California, Richard M. Nixon. Taft has been quoted elsewhere as describing Nixon in 1952 as "a little man in a big hurry . . . (who) has a mean and vindictive streak . . . (and whose) personality radiates tension and conflict," and fervently hoping that Nixon would never accede to the Presidency. Patterson sheds no light on this potentially interesting topic.

Patterson performs a particularly useful service in his willingness to repeatedly appraise Taft's character. His conclusion is worth repeating:

"Above all, his stature depended on personal qualities: honesty, conscientiousness, courage, dignity, and intelligence. These attributes were counterbalanced by a partisan combativeness which made him as feared as he was respected, and by a refusal — usually — to depart from principles, leaving him vulnerable to the charge that he was stubborn and reactionary. But they also gave him the strength to rise above personal defeats and to maintain his commitment to serve. It was given to him as it is to few men: to embark on a career he had been trained to follow and to pursue it effectively until the day he died."

Patterson's effort to portray Robert A. Taft can only be evaluated as outstanding. Not only does he faithfully capture the flow of events throughout Taft's life, but he implicitly poses the question of whether a contemporary politician can succeed, as Taft did, through intelligence, character, industry, courage, and devotion to principle; or whether the route to success can be followed only through the cultivation of a charismatic personality, the avoidance of any semblance of principle, and expensive mass media merchandising. Let us hope that Robert A. Taft was not the last to succeed by exemplifying the old-fashioned virtues. ■

BOOK REVIEW

Energy, Energy, Who's Got the Energy?

POWER ALONG THE HUDSON

by Allan R. Talbot

E.P. Dutton & Co., 1972, 244 pages, \$7.95

THE LAST PLAY

by James Ridgeway

E.P. Dutton, & Co., 1973, 446 pages, \$10.00

ENERGY, ECOLOGY, ECONOMY

by Gerald Garvey

W.W. Norton & Co., 1972, 235 pages, \$8.95

by Tanya Melich

Books about the energy-environment tug-of-war tend to fall into three categories. There are the chatty, case studies, such as *Power Along The Hudson*, a description of the struggle between power forces and environmentalists over the development of New York State's Hudson River Valley. There are the ideological polemics and exposes, such as *The Last Play*, a description of the monopolization of the energy industry. Finally, there are the structural theory books, such as *Energy, Ecology, Economy*, an analysis of the inter-relationship between the ecosystem and the nation's energy demands.

Most case study books — *Power Along The Hudson* is no exception — provide repeatable vignettes and tidbits about their subject, but little depth. For example, Talbot writes about Hudson Valley history, reports gossip about the Ottinger-Rockefeller struggle over the Valley, and incisively describes Charles Luce, the public power protagonist turned Consolidated Edison chairman.

Power Along The Hudson is pleasant and light reading. It can be viewed as the book the tired energy or environmental advocate reads to relax after a hard day's pouring over complex tomes on the energy crisis.

James Ridgeway's *The Last Play* is entirely different. His main thesis — that the oil industries are nearing complete ownership of the United States energy complex — is painstakingly and convincingly researched.

The book provides a detailed guide of the energy industry with information about which companies own what sources of energy, an analysis of the companies themselves and tables about which financial institutions control these companies.

Ridgeway claims that the growth of these energy trusts is destructive to the nation's well-being. He believes these trusts have created an energy crisis through their general disregard, until recently, for environmental concerns, and their juggling with market forces for unreasonably high prices.

He also warns that the trusts' involvement in major economic alliances with third-world nations is already creating political liaisons which are potentially damaging to U.S. foreign policy.

To eradicate these trends, Ridgeway wants to build a "new society." He hopes to solve the energy problem by governmental expropriation of America's energy resources. He qualifies this call for expropriation by cautioning that it must be effected by democratic means, an impossibility given the present devotion of most Americans to the free enterprise system.

But despite Ridgeway's utopianism, he presents provocative ideas, among which are the procedures by which expropriated resources would be developed.

The industries would be run nationally by an umbrella-style federal agency. While it would create policy, its management would be done on a regional level.

The nation would be divided into regional energy boards administered by publicly-elected officers whose primary responsibility would be to create economic plans for development of the region's natural resources. Actual development would be determined by public bidding, but restricted to public nonprofit groups.

After basic development, the resources would be sold to private marketing facilities for refining, milling and other second-stage development.

While Ridgeway admits that these new public bodies might create inappropriate and unworkable plans, he maintains that public planning could hardly be worse than the present policies of private industry.

Such an argument is fallacious. There is nothing to indicate that planning and development through community boards and other nonprofit organizations, and led by elected public officials, would provide better energy policies. It might, but Ridgeway offers readers nothing more substantial than faith to support his assumption.

Would his system turn out to be another T.V.A. or would it be an inefficient bureaucracy mired in political considerations and community bickering?

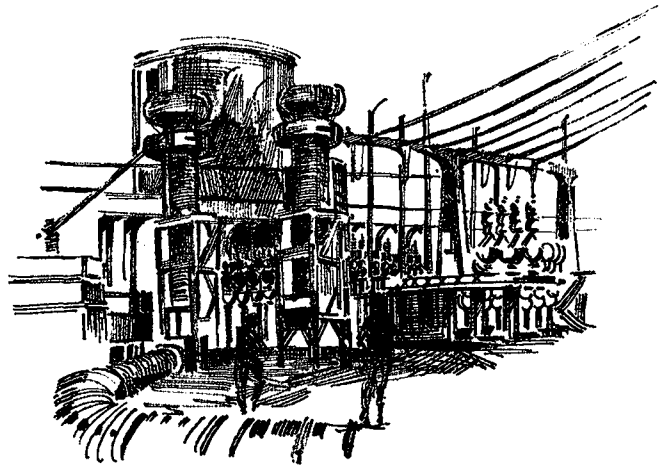
While Ridgeway looks to fundamental political and economic change to solve the energy problem, Gerald Garvey accepts the system, more or less, as it is. He systematically analyzes the factors involved in determining the costs of energy and the costs of environmental quality. Instead of looking toward structural governmental changes as panaceas, Garvey recognizes that a sound energy policy must include not only governmental factors but those of the market.

In *Energy, Ecology, Economy*, Garvey stresses that the solution to energy-associated environmental problems

will occur through the intelligent use of well-researched facts and a reasonable ecological framework rather than through the doctrine of "eco-theology." It is significant that this approach seems to have been adopted by William D. Ruckelshaus, chief of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Garvey's book was originally prepared as a study for the White House Office of Science and Theology. It is rich in ecological theory and, wherever possible, statistics that enhance the theory. Unfortunately, the science of determining ecological costs is in its infancy so the data is often sketchy.

Overall, it is a fine academic work as well as politically realistic. In an era of dogmatic environmental ideology, Garvey is to be commended for giving the energy debate some sorely needed perspective. ■



DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"A Routine Staff Trim for Agnew — or a Sign of His Political Decline?"** by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. *Washington Post*, January 21, 1973. Commenting on the transfer of two key aides to Vice President Agnew by White House staff chief H. R. Haldeman, Evans and Novak suggest, "Agnew's political staff, never one of his strengths, is now weaker than ever at a moment ripe for building a national operation aiming toward the 1976 presidential nomination." Although the columnists admit that President Nixon may not have known about Haldeman's actions, they conclude that the cuts are "evidence that Agnew's standing with the palace guard is chilly at the very least."

● **"GOP: Silence is Golden,"** by Richard M. Cohen. *Washington Post*, February 13, 1973. So fascinated is the Maryland GOP with Washington, according to Cohen, that it ignores the machinations of the Democratic state government in Annapolis. "It is a strange set of affairs — a two-party state where one party regularly takes a powder and relinquishes any role in the operation of the state's government," he writes. Cohen says that GOP leaders contend that their silence is necessary to maintain their political survival in the state, but the *Washington Post* columnist contends that the party has "come of age" in Maryland and needs not be so timid. "So the Democrats and Marvin Mandel govern uncriticized, free to legislate and rule unhampered by the checks and balances inherent in a two-party system. Soon though, the GOP will settle on its gubernatorial candidate for 1974, the mimeograph machines will begin to hum, the position papers will flow and Maryland voters will be told what a disaster the last four years have been. But that, of course, is manana."

● **"Nixon as Disraeli?"** by J. H. Plumb. *New York Times Magazine*, February 11, 1973. Taking as his point of departure President Nixon's remark that "My view, my approach is probably that of a Disraeli conservative," the distinguished British historian, J. H. Plumb, suggests that the President ought to reconsider that comparison. Plumb's opinion of Disraeli is hardly higher than those many of the President's most vituperative critics have of the incumbent occupant of the White House. Plumb variously describes Disraeli as amorous, amoral, flamboyant, aristocratic, Bohemian, opportunistic, devoid of ideas for domestic reform, power-hungry, without compassion for the victims of his policies and infatuated with the growth of British imperialism. "Foreign or domestic, Disraelian conservatism adds up to little more than the pursuit and use of power. Some might call this pragmatism. They would be wrong; immediate decision without a thought of long-term consequence is the reverse of pragmatism . . ." writes Plumb. He concludes, "And one can only hope that if Nixon and Kissinger turn back to their hero, Disraeli, they will understand him better — his

shortcomings, his irresponsibility, his almost total lack of principle or philosophy." Move over, Machiavelli.

● **"Sargent Concerned Over Public Image,"** by David Farrell. *Boston Globe*, February 15, 1973. *Boston Globe* political columnist David Farrell says there is a growing rift between Massachusetts Republicans, Gov. Francis W. Sargent and Sen. Edward M. Brooke, whose relations have deteriorated to the extent that "Brooke and (former Gov. John) Volpe forces are seriously considering running a candidate against Sargent in next year's Republican primary." Farrell asserts that Brooke is concerned about Sargent's ability to arrest the slipping GOP representation in the state legislature. "The continuing slide by the GOP in the House and Senate has caused Brooke to conclude that the Governor is interested solely in himself and not the party." Farrell concludes that Sargent's position is sufficiently threatened that he "would do well to review his modus operandi, especially his role as leader of the Republican Party in Massachusetts."

● **"Republicanism: Growing Force in Dixie,"** by David Nordan. *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, October 15, 1972. Writing a five-part series on the Republican Party in the South, *Journal* correspondent David Nordan identifies at least three strains of Southern Republicanism: First, the "Dixie Republicans who want to fortify themselves in an ideological tower far to the right of America's political mainstream while waiting for the populace to beat a path to their door." Second, there are the Republicans who "still want to be big fish in little ponds, thereby protecting their authority and patronage control rights within the party." And third, are "the plain racists, who think they have found a safe refuge in the GOP from the civil rights innovations of the national Democrats." The results, says Nordan, "are the semifierce in-house struggles for control and direction of the Southern Republican Party today" which GOP leaders would "prefer to keep . . . out of the limelight or downplay them when discovered." The two largest groups which alternate in power are the "conservative purists" and the "more flexible moderates." Despite the GOP's "temporary gains here and there," Nordan expresses the conviction that the party's competitiveness will undergo its crucial test in the next few years.

● **"The Fruits of Agnewism,"** by Ben H. Bagdikian. *Columbla Journalism Review*, January/February, 1973. Former *Washington Post* media critic Bagdikian has studied the broadcast and print coverage of the 1972 presidential election. He has concluded that the Nixon Administration's criticism of the press has resulted in greater timidity in critical press coverage of the Administration. "There has been a retrogression in printing newsworthy information that is critical of the Administration and a notable decline in investigation of apparent wrongdoing when it is likely to anger or embarrass the White House. This, coupled with the shrewd manipulation of the media by Nixon officials, has moved the American news system closer to becoming a propaganda arm of the Administration in power."

● **"Race Issue in House Race,"** by Allan Frank. *Anchorage Daily News*, February 5, 1973. The Alaskan special election to succeed the late Congressman Nick Begich features Democrat Emil Notti, who is half-Italian and half-Athabaskan native, and Republican State Sen. Don Young, a white who is married to an Athabaskan-Aleut native. As a consequence, suggests *Anchorage Daily News* columnist Allan Frank, racism may be the contest's "dumbest and perhaps most important issue." Frank says that supporters of both candidates privately discuss the impact that racism and reverse racism will have on Notti, the first native American to run for Congress. "So far, the candidates are trying to talk to the people and the only solid consensus is that the late Rep. Nick Begich was a good man. Maybe before the election the candidates can agree that their supporters should abandon private appeals on the basis of racism," writes Frank.

● **The Right Report.** (1735 De Sales Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036) **The Right Report** may not be right, but it is "intended for a clientele of sophisticated conservatives like yourself, who have good reason to keep informed on what's going on inside the American Right..." In upcoming issues you will learn about such things as, "Where does Ayn Rand fit in?" It is edited by conservative journalist Lee Edwards who says in his promotion that, "I have seen the efforts of many hard-working patriots falter or fail because knowledge of what was going on outside their local areas was unavailable to them." Add one more newsletter to your list of conservative "must" reading.

● **"Hopeful Politicians Already Lining Up For '76 Governor's Race,"** by Philip Bailey. *Argus* (Seattle, Washington), January 26, 1973. In his weekly column in the *Argus*, Bailey says that Washington politicians are taking it "for granted" that Gov. Daniel Evans (R) will not run for re-election in 1976. Possible Republican contenders for the nomination, says Bailey, include Attorney General Slade Gorton, who he sees as the top contender; Secretary of State A. L. "Lud" Kramer; King County Executive John Spellman; King County Prosecutor Christopher Bayley; Everett Mayor Robert Anderson; newly-elected Congressman Joel Pritchard; and former House Speaker Stewart Bledsoe. In other words, the state has no paucity of able, ambitious young Republicans.

● **"Slow Season for Liberal Republicans,"** by David S. Broder. *Washington Post*, February 6, 1973. "The gloomiest folks in Washington these days may well be the liberal Republicans. There are not a lot of them around and whenever they gather it seems to be to say farewell to one of the brethren banished from the Nixon Administration, beaten in his race for re-election to Congress, or bowing to a wife's injunction to get out of this rat race and make some money for the kids' college tuition," says Broder, who calls Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson progressive Republicans' best presidential hope for 1976. But as Broder points out, even Richardson has his political problems — such as his job. "That their 'best hope' is a man saddled with these disadvantages pretty well describes the state of the liberal Republicans in this, the fifth year, of President Nixon's reign. Even in their present sad condition, however, they are vitally important to the mental stability of Washington. Whenever the February gloom gets too great, anyone in town can snap himself out of his self-pity by thinking: Count your blessings, man. Just imagine you were a liberal Republican!"

● **"Texan Gets Briefing At Harvard,"** by Anthony Harrigan. *Beeville* (Texas) *Bee-Picayune*, January 18, 1973. In November-December, four freshman Congressmen (from Maine, California and Texas) spent a month at Harvard University's Kennedy Institute of Politics, learning the ropes of congressional relations. Anthony Harrigan, executive vice president of the Southern States Industrial Council, finds it outrageous that a Texas Republican (Alan Steelman) would want to "sit at the feet of Harvard 'experts' on politics. The Harvard vision of American needs and realities certainly is out of focus from the standpoint of the people of Texas." It is strange ideological logic which asserts that Harvard is liberal, therefore anyone who spends a month at Harvard must be associating with all sorts of no-good-nik liberals, and therefore is unfit to associate with his more conservative

constituents. Harrigan points out that Texas politicians could have given Steelman sounder advice. "Texas' political savvy is proverbial." As we learned in the Sharpstown Scandal?

● **"First Open State GOP Feud Flares,"** by Lee Stillwell. *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, January 21, 1973. Writing about the feud between Gov. Winfield Dunn and Congressman James H. Quillen over the proposed medical school to be built at Johnson City, Stillwell says, "It represents a milestone. This is the first feud aired publicly since the party became totally competitive with Tennessee's Democratic Party." Quillen and Sen. Bill Brock support the school. Dunn supports efforts to improve the University of Tennessee Medical School in Memphis. In the past, says Stillwell, Sen. Howard Baker, Jr. has mediated intra-party conflicts in the state. "This is a good omen for Republicans. An indication in the eyes of many of the party's pros that they can have their squabbles and still unite during elections."

● **"How Mr. Smith Went to Washington Yet Kept Ties with Home,"** by Burt Schorr. *Wall Street Journal*, February 22, 1973. "As Farmers Home administrator, in fact, Mr. Smith (former Congressman James V. Smith, R-Okla.) visited Oklahoma 28 times in four years at taxpayers expense, spending approximately 150 days of official business, plus weekends and vacation time, in the state, his travel records show." Having been released from his federal service by President Nixon, Smith is now reportedly looking for a job — either as a congressman or governor in 1974. But, reports the *Wall Street Journal*, from the looks of Smith's travel itinerary, he has been looking for that job for the past four years as well. "What Mr. Smith leaves behind at the Farmers Home Administration is an impressive lesson in how the resources of high federal office can be mobilized to serve unslaked political ambitions." His staff even composed salutatory comments to be inserted in the *Congressional Record* by friendly congressmen.

● **"Adams: Not Ready for the Political Pasture,"** by Tom Raum. *Tampa Tribune-Times*, February 18, 1973. "Lt. Gov. Tom Adams, who within a few days has become Florida's best known farmer, says he isn't ready to be put out to political pasture — even if Gov. Reubin Askew doesn't pick him for a second term." Adams, who had been prominently mentioned as one of the top Democratic prospects to run against Sen. Edward Gurney in 1974, has run into political trouble. Gov. Askew has ordered an investigation into whether Adams, who doubles as head of the state's Commerce Department and leader of one of the state's most powerful political machines, was aided by state employees in the operation of his 1,000-acre Gasden County farm. Although Askew has indicated that Adams will not be invited to complete the Democratic team for a second term, Adams says he is not out of politics. Says Adams, "Many people in state government ride horses. I just keep mine on a little farm, along with a few cows, instead of in a stable." Republicans do not think it is that innocent and are calling for Adams's impeachment as the first step on the road to recapturing the governorship in 1974.

● **"The State of Conservatism,"** by Jeffrey Bell. *Human Events*, February 24, 1973. "The way conservatism will prevail in this country, if it does, is to implement a successful conservative governing strategy in Washington. Successful conservative governors, mayors, county executives, etc. are also desirable, but success in Washington is the *sine qua non*." Bell, former Capitol Hill director for the American Conservative Union, argues that conservatives have pushed Nixon to the right; that the Ashbrook campaign was "one of the most successful political operations conservatives have ever undertaken;" that the argument that conservatives must take over the political apparatus "from the bottom up" is wrong because political power in America "is almost always built from the top down;" and that conservatives have the necessary ideas and programs to govern but that they have not pushed them hard enough. Bell contends that, "Conservatives in America politics have been frustrated for decades, and none of these frustrations were exceeded by the first four years of Richard Nixon's presidency. But it is time for conservatives to realize that the situation has fundamentally altered." Rightward, ho!

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DULY NOTED: BOOKS

● **Six Presidents, Too Many Wars**, by Bill Lawrence. (Saturday Review Press, 1972, 307 pages, \$10.00) **Six Presidents, Too Many Wars** is an inside look at Bill Lawrence's rather bawdy, irreverent career. For instance, Lawrence remembers FDR's secret night journeys around the country to meet with world leaders and how the White House staff gave them away by lowering the flag when FDR was leaving town. He also admits to some "political romances" with presidential contenders Wendell Willkie (1940) and Barry Goldwater (1964), as well as with two presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy. It was with the latter that Lawrence, in this reviewer's view, lost his usually solid newsman's objectivity. He credits Kennedy with great accomplishments during the Cuban missile crisis, but brushes over the Bay of Pigs incident. While history has witnessed the enactment of JFK's domestic program, it was done only after Lyndon Johnson became president. It is doubtful that Kennedy, had he lived, could have moved Congress to similar action. Lawrence does not try to gloss over his personal biases. He was frankly surprised that Harry S. Truman was as good a president as he proved to be; thought Dwight D. Eisenhower a mediocre man; castigated LBJ for military deceit surrounding the Vietnam War; and never really had a solid rapport with Richard Nixon. More a political writer than a war correspondent, Lawrence did report armed actions during World War II, and the Korean, Middle Eastern and Southern Asian conflicts. His intimate reflections about important people sometimes seem pretentious. He always managed to be where major stories were happening — much to the chagrin of his competitors. Although not a humble man, he projected a disarming wit that made him quite popular with his peers. In a journalistic tenure that carried him from Lincoln, Nebraska to United Press — for 20 years a *New York Times* correspondent and finally to ABC — Bill Lawrence had his sources and did his job. Although he makes only casual reference to it, Lawrence was stricken with throat cancer in 1968. His book was written prior to his death last year. To Lawrence's credit, he seems neither sad nor sorry. Reviewed by Chuck Slocum.

● **God Save This Honorable Court: The Supreme Court Crisis**, by Louis W. Kohlmeier, Jr. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972, 309 pages, \$7.95) Do you remember Homer Thornberry and Herschel Friday and Mildred L. Lillie? They are identified in this book, which is partly a "tract for the times" and partly a chilling review of the processes and events which have reshaped the composition and character of the Supreme Court during the seven years from 1965 through the 1971-72 term. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's sudden death in July 1965 opened the Court to presidential cronyism when Justice Arthur Goldberg resigned and made room for the hapless Abe Fortas. Lyndon Johnson's hopes in the Fall of 1968 of naming another old political crony and of elevating Fortas to the Chief Justiceship were blasted under shady circumstances all around; not even Chief Justice Earl Warren, for whom otherwise the author has nothing but admiration, looks good in this episode. But worse, followed the sequence of nominations of Judges Warren Burger, Clement Haynesworth, G. Harrold Carswell, and Harry A. Blackmun for Supreme Court posts. The events, the pressures, and the memorable quotes about mediocrity are recounted with damning intensity. The cheap gutter politics played by the President of the United States and his attorney general during the Carswell affair were continued in repeated attacks on the Warren Court, and it is clear that Nixon and Mitchell had every intention of replacing Justices Hugo Black and John M. Harlan with a pair of unqualified appointees. Kohlmeier details the inside story of the improbable circumstances which brought us Justices Louis Powell and William Rehnquist instead, giving Nixon — at ruinous cost — the kind of ideological core he had desired from the first. Kohlmeier's book is marred by an uncertain grasp of the Court's earlier history, by a somewhat rhetorical epilogue, and by

a tendency to judge the judges primarily by their stands on matters of civil liberties. These qualifications aside, the book is probably the best integrated survey available at this time. All moderate and liberal Republicans need to ponder the processes and events described, both to arm themselves against their future repetition, and in the interest of restoring what Sen. Edward Brooke, during the Haynesworth debate, called, "the reverence on which the Court's power is ultimately founded." Reviewed by William A. Koelsch.

● **The Creative Interface: Private Enterprise and the Urban Crisis**, Vol. 3 in a series, edited by Robert Miller. (The American University Center for the Study of Private Enterprise, Washington, D.C., 1971, no price indicated) The outgrowth of a series of lectures sponsored by Hill and Knowlton, Inc. on the topic of Business-Government Relations, this volume features Saville Davis, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Donald Kendall, Chairman of the Board of PepsiCo, Inc.; and Maurice Stans, then Secretary of Commerce. According to the series editor, the major contribution of this volume is the identification of obstacles, constraints, and opportunities confronting a society seeking to overcome urban deterioration. The inability of this volume to accomplish its mission is a telling testimony of the state of urban progress today. Saville Davis, talking of "Planning for the 1970's," points out that the Nixon Administration has decided in favor of private capital to motor us to urban "nirvana," but graphically notes the inability of the private sector to operate except at the urban margin. Factors such as black resistance to white "interference," the fragmented nature of government and much inner-city industrial efforts, and obdurate labor unions are cited to make the point. Solutions call for a super development authority (U.D.C.?) with clout that will look at the world in a systematic way and encourage business/government to build satellite cities. Urgency is singled out as the prime motivator to this coming together process. Kendall, outlining the "Role of Business," starts with his interpretations of the Generation Gap (positive; they are involved), evolves to a Generational Alliance (we do not like decaying cities either) and then embraces the consumer movement as a source of creative friction. The urban element resurfaces again at the end when he cites the business sector's willingness to accept the challenge. (Remember the Seabees? "... the impossible takes a bit longer?") There is little of substance here. Finally, Stans discusses "A National Growth Policy," a topic which President Nixon had addressed in a State of the Union message. The format is one of re-discovery of the urban deterioration cycle: decline of central city importance, mass in-migration of the poorly educated, out-migration of the middle-class, etc. Stans is right in noting that a release of population pressures must be achieved as a way of releasing tension in the city, but he does not really address the lack of coordination of policies aimed at alleviating urban overgrowth. How to organize and govern in an era when "Megalopolis" is a reality while providing for a business/government partnership in this setting is not addressed. This is the most critical issue and its omission is symptomatic of our deepest national problem. Reviewed by Ralph E. Thayer.

● **The Running of Richard Nixon**, by Leonard Lurie. (Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1972, 390 pages, \$19.00) One does not have to like Richard Nixon to dislike Leonard Lurie's book about Richard Nixon. Lurie's conclusion regarding Nixon's character — "He is just what he appears to be, a sad, lonely, morally bankrupt man, who trusts no one, knows that pain comes from all directions and would rather be somewhere else. We meet such people everyday, but not in the White House" — is pabulum compared to the vitriol Lurie spews out in the rest of his book. Hardly a fact escapes Lurie's pen without psychological analysis. The author cannot quite resist the temptation to paint horns on Nixon in every paragraph — lest we forget the abysmally low esteem in which Lurie holds his subject. And though Lurie's sarcasm occasionally rings with deadly accuracy and his analysis occasionally reveals a hidden motive, the cumulative effect of the book is somewhat revolting — making *The Running of Richard Nixon* something to run away from. Reviewed by Dick Behn.

● **So Help Me God**, by Robert S. Alley. (John Knox Press, 160 pages, 1972, \$4.95) Alley's thesis is that presidential actions are motivated by religious beliefs. The author defines the Congregational-Unitarian tradition as "goal oriented," Calvinism as fitting the ethicist's category of legalism, and the Anglican-Catholic tradition as "situation ethics." Using such categories, Alley analyzes the actions of Presidents from Wilson to Nixon, focusing on foreign policy with particular emphasis on communism. While the account is somewhat marred by the author's bias, it is nonetheless provoking. When read in conjunction with such products as Garry Wills's *Nixon Agonistes*, it makes for fascinating speculation regarding President Nixon's possible motivations. Its obvious contribution is a unique analysis of religious tradition and its impact on the holder of the world's most powerful office. Reviewed by Dean Lapham.

● **The Police and The Community**, edited by Robert F. Steadman of the Committee for Economic Development. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 112 pages, 1972, \$2.25) In this three-part study of the role of law enforcement in urban America, Bernard Garmire, Miami police chief, doubts that today's policeman can be both a crime fighter and community relations specialist; Jesse Rubin, psychiatrist, comments on the unique personality traits that go into making up a good policeman and discusses how present recruiting, testing and training methods can be improved to match the man with his role; and James Q. Wilson, Harvard political scientist, discusses the hostility felt by many ghetto residents toward police because of real or imagined instances of repression or discrimination and the simultaneous desire of law abiding ghetto residents for more police protection. The frustration experienced by police, in attempting to cope with such conflicting attitudes, generates within them an uncertainty about their role in the community and serves to further isolate them from the people. Chief Garmire's suggestion to reorganize police departments by separating the community service function from the law enforcement function merits serious attention. Community relations specialists, psychologically equipped and specifically educated and trained for this role, would carry out the community service function, which now occupies an estimated two-thirds of all police time. These specialists would live within their assigned community, would be unarmed, probably would not wear uniforms and might or might not have powers of arrest. Such a reorganization would probably require the expenditure of substantial additional funds, but when one considers the present social cost of crime, perhaps this is the place to spend it. Reviewed by Harlan L. Gronewold.

● **Men Behind Bars**, by Stan Opatowsky. (Pinnacle Books, 191 pages, 1972, \$.95) Despite the resemblance of the book's title to an X-rated movie, Opatowsky does a credible job of identifying the conflicting pressures which afflict America's correctional systems. In his conclusion, he says, "The truth is that society is still floundering about trying to determine just what to do with a convicted criminal. It fluctuates from theories of rehabilitation to theories of incarceration for punishment to theories of incarceration as a deterrent to theories of incarceration simply to get the criminal out of the way." Ironically, many of the reforms that have been instituted in "corrections" over the centuries have since been judged blatantly inhumane. But because society has refused to decide what it expects from its prisons, prisons remain inhumane and senseless. Although Opatowsky focuses on many scandalous situations in American prisons, he does so without maudlin sentimentality and indiscriminate damnation of prison staffs. He understands that as long as the nation continues to lock up its problems and neglect them, it will continue to have worse problems when they are released. Reviewed by Dick Behn.

● **Do the Poor Want to Work? A Social Psychological Study of Work Orientations**, by Leonard Goodwin. (Brookings Institution, 180 pages, 1972, \$6.50) The principle lesson to be learned from Leonard Goodwin's recent book, *Do the Poor Want to Work*, is not about the poor, but rather why the book should have been written at all and what it implies for the contributions of modern social science to social policy-making. The book is essentially a boiled-down summary of findings from a questionnaire circulated widely among welfare families. Similar work-at-

titude studies of the "poor" have been made in the past, but Goodwin's book appears to be the latest word in refinement of the art. The author has done a scholarly job of demonstrating — from the responses of welfare mothers, sons and fathers — that the poor identify self-esteem with work no less than the "non-poor." Some other predictable conclusions also emerge from the data: One, that the limited work opportunities of blacks reflect unfavorably on their level of "confidence." Two, the auspicious finding that work "orientations" are related to past experiences in the work force as well as to basic personal outlooks. With all due gratitude to the progenitors of such studies (such as the Brookings Institution), the usefulness of the exercise must be questioned. Do such studies ask important questions or provide useful answers? Indeed, does any such basically static attitude analysis really contribute to the cause of practical understanding (particularly when the results are offered without the standard disclaimers of public opinion pollsters who know that attitudes are subject to change)? Published under the mantle of "science," such books give the discipline a suspect image. It was under the mantle of "science" that the Coleman Report popularized the idea that student achievement was unquestionably correlated with school integration. And yet with the passage of time, and the growth of "middle class" black schools, doubts have arisen about the veracity of the Coleman findings. It may well be that creative social analysis simply cannot be performed through interpretive attitude surveys. But social scientists, caught up with their concern for laying empirical foundations for their work, have been reluctant to confront the issue. After all, surveys permit a social scientist to quantify something, enabling him to construct a myriad of tables and flow diagrams just like the natural scientist. But if the end result is nothing more than the conclusion that the poor want to work, but they will not want to quite so much if they try it and do not succeed, then the effort is impressive but wasteful. As Pavlov told George Bernard Shaw when Shaw asserted that Pavlov's dogs were only doing what one would expect them to do: "Yes, but now it is science." Reviewed by Frederic R. Kellogg.

● **The Bosses**, by Alfred Steinberg. (Macmillan Co., 379 pages, 1972, \$8.95) The participants in the Watergate episode may have helped further blacken the already tarnished name of "politics," but Watergate pales by comparison to some of the more egregious deeds of Frank Hague (Jersey City), James Curley (Boston), Ed Crump (Memphis), Huey Long (Louisiana), Tom Pendergast (Kansas City) and Gene Talmadge (Georgia). These men rose to their pinnacles of perverse power during the 1920's and 1930's, an era which Steinberg says was unequalled as an age when "local bosses were collectively more powerful and debilitating to democratic principles." Although all of Steinberg's "bosses" are Democrats, Republicans were not unrepresented in the pre-Depression and Depression era. Chicago Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson connived with Al Capone and once told a campaign rally, "They call you lowbrows and hoodlums. They call me that, too. We lowbrows have to stick together. Look who's against us." Even after Watergate, the shenanigans of the "bosses" seem slightly unreal: Crump's importation of black voters from Mississippi and Arkansas to vote in Memphis elections, Curley's fisticuffs with the outgoing governor on his own inaugural day, the practice of one Pendergast aide of "stuffing" voting lines to discourage legitimate voters, Long's kidnapping of two men who threatened to sue him for breaking up their marriages. Their disregard for the law was brazen. When a state senator threw a book at Long during a debate in the Louisiana legislature, he yelled, "Maybe you've heard of this book. It's the constitution of the state of Louisiana." Retorted Long, "I'm the constitution around here." But perhaps the most distressing aspect of the "bosses" political power was its extension to the state and national arenas. Deprived of a spot on his own state's delegation to the 1932 Democratic National Convention, Curley shocked his fellow Massachusetts Democrats when Puerto Rico was called on a rollcall. "Puerto Rico — Chairman Alcalde Jaime Miguel Curleo. Puerto Rico casts its six votes for Franklin Delano Roosevelt," shouted back Curley. As brashful as was their influence, the "bosses" were spectacularly resourceful and inventive. Steinberg does them justice. Reviewed by Dick Behn.

LETTERS

Journalists

Representative Charles W. Whalen, Jr.'s excellent guest editorial (February 1973 FORUM) on the plight of journalists who are asked in Court to reveal their confidential sources is marred by one significant inaccuracy. Representative Whalen mistakenly states:

"Journalists have sought protection from the judicial branch of government, but it has not been granted. Reporters were denied a testimonial privilege in the courts in virtually every instance — and the few cases in recent years which ruled that information could be protected have been rendered moot by the Supreme Court's decision of June 29, 1972. (*Branzburg v. Hayes*, 40 U.S.L.W. 5025, U.S. June 29, 1972)."

A recent decision of the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, *Baker v. F & F Investment* (decided December 7, 1972, after the *Branzburg* decision), has upheld a journalist's right to refuse to reveal his source. After extensive discussion of the *Branzburg* decision, Judge Kaufman concluded:

"Compelled disclosure of confidential sources unquestionably threatens a journalist's ability to secure information that is made available to him only on a confidential basis — and the District Court so found. The deterrent effect such disclosure is likely to have upon future 'undercover' investigative reporting, the dividends of which are revealed in articles such as Balk's, threatens freedom of the press and the public's need to be informed. It thereby undermines values which traditionally have been protected by federal courts applying federal public policy."

* * *

"It is axiomatic, and a principle fundamental to our constitutional way of life, that where the press remains free so too will a people remain free. Freedom of the press may be stilled by direct or, more subtly, by indirect restraints. Happily, the First Amendment tolerates neither, absent a concern so compelling as to override the precious rights of freedom of speech and the press. We find no such compelling concern in this case. Accordingly, it is our view that the District Court properly exercised its discretion in refusing to order Mr. Balk to disclose the identity of his journalistic source."

The *Baker* case involved different facts from *Branzburg*, and cannot take the place of a clear pronouncement from Congress, but its broad ruling and reasoning indicates that journalists have not been left completely unprotected by the Courts.

MARTIN I. KAMINSKY
New York, New York

Premature

Perhaps it may seem a bit premature to start worrying about the presidential election of 1976, but it seems to me if we are concerned about the future of this party we must start soon.

I believe we should soon choose a candidate to represent the moderate-liberal wing of the party and work for his election. It seems to me that the person who best represents this group, regardless of his age, is Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York. I believe Gov. Rockefeller to be the ablest man for the Republican nomination because of his wide appeal to members of the Republican Party. What is equally important is his high appeal to a large portion of Democratic and independent voters, as has been demonstrated in his elections for governor of New York. This is extremely important because the Democratic Party and persons who are independents make up greater than two-thirds of the American electorate.

LARRY RIECK
Astoria, Oregon

Fifth Column

I wish to reply to your recent editorial in the FORUM newsletter (January 15, 1973) in which you implied that President Nixon deserved to be opposed on his handling of the peace negotiations and impliedly praised Republicans who opposed him.

I also felt that the resumption of bombing was a mistake, at first. But I realized quickly that it had succeeded in bringing the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table; and to a bargain much more favorable than October's, as pointed out by columnist William White in the *Boston Herald-American* on January 26.

The problem is that a Fifth Column, successfully, irresponsibly, and entirely anti-Americanly playing on the legitimate fears of war and disgust at its mis-management and victory-lessness that all Americans felt, succeeded in generating the idea that most Americans had suddenly turned against their great commitment to world freedom, to America's guarantees around the world, and to our noble purpose of protecting those who support freedom everywhere. But this is not so. Those Americans who wanted the war to end (the Fifth Column excepted) did not feel that this war was helping us to gain those ends. They have heard the *Boston Globe* and the media tell them for so long that this war was just a series of My Lai massacres and Tet failures that they came to feel it should just be ended, period.

But our President, I see now, knew better. He knew we could win a peace which would make future aggressors think twice about invading a nation under our protection. He gave pause to the leaders of Egypt and Syria; a second thought to the Russians and Cubans and Chileans. In doing so, our President guaranteed that peace might endure for a while. Under the Fifth Column's form of "peace," there would be no end to our sons' dying, anywhere, everywhere, futilely.

Thank God for the courage of our Republican President, Richard M. Nixon!

J. MICHAEL FREEDBERG
Roxbury, Massachusetts

Nostalgia

I read with interest and some nostalgia the commentaries with regard to the first ten years of the Society in the December 1972 issue. They seem to accurately reflect the underlying dilemma of attempting to operate within the existing rules of the political game while attempting to draw new strength from a constituency of graduate students and young professionals who are more and more turned off by that system. However, I was somewhat disturbed by the emphasis that Lee Huebner gave to acting as a gadfly to the intellectual establishment. It sounds like the Society would be sitting around trading points with Norman Cousins and Irving Kristol. Given a limited amount of resources, one must play in the big game of power, not the impotent game of scholasticism. The promotion of research proposals of substance that put forth the basic Republican and Ripon philosophy of providing opportunities for individual initiative, and the breakup of large centers of government and corporate power will always contain critiques of traditional liberalism. But it is only at this level of promoting viable issues and arguing against the old solutions, liberal and conservative alike, that the Society can continue to attract new members on the campuses and strike its strongest blow against "reflexible liberalism." Power is the name of the game and no one wants to spend his limited energy arguing academic points.

Perhaps the above is unfair to Lee (Huebner), who does stress the necessary relationship between research and politics. But the need to play in the big game strikes me as particularly important, viewing from a country where political control is in the hands of the military who have largely delegated the development of the country to the macro-economists. We should be happy that the United States has not reached the stage where the academic community is of overwhelming importance for the determination of policy. Until that point is reached, the Society must continue to play the game where it is.

SAMUEL A. SHERER
Jakarta, Indonesia

14a ELIOT STREET

● For the benefit of any Ripon-type who is still trying to keep track of the organizational changes taking place within the Society, **Mike MacLeod** has assumed the responsibilities of "national director," based in our Washington office. Prior to joining our staff on February 12, Mike was assistant for congressional relations at HUD and a special assistant to Sen. **Robert Griffin** (R-Michigan). Be sure to tune in next month for another exciting episode of "The Reorganization of Ripon."

● Congressmen **William Cohen** (R-Maine) and **Joel Pritchard** (R-Wash.) were guests of the Washington, D.C. Chapter at a February 20 meeting.

● As a result of **Richard Rahn's** appointment as Ripon's in-office wizard, he has relinquished his NGB slot from the New York Chapter to **Martha Ferry**, an executive at American Express. Rahn will become an at-large member, as will **Berna Gorenstein**, another New Yorker who now serves on Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller's** staff as a researcher.

● Under **Richard Rahn's** reorganization of the 14a Eliot Street office, **Deborah Bowen** will henceforth have the title of "office manager," with all the duties and responsibilities attendant thereto. **Vicky Golden** will be the "administrative assistant and sometime administrative assistant to the editor." Miss Golden will be principally involved in the "politics" side of the FORUM. They keep the same desks in the office.

● The New Jersey Chapter recently elected new officers. They are: **John Brotschol**, president; **Marc Zell**, vice president; **Al Felzenberg**, executive director; **Nancy Miller**, secretary-treasurer; **Harry Kline**, vice president of politics; **Evalynn Hyra**, membership chairman; **Everett Post**, finance chairman; **Jeff Mockler**, campus co-ordinator; **Richard Zimmer**, publicity; and **Richard Poole**, constitutional chairman. **Emmet John Hughes**, journalist, former speech writer and administrative assistant to President **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, and author of **The Ordeal of Power**, spoke at the Chapter's February meeting.

● At a recent meeting, members of the Nashville Chapter heard **Dortch Oldham** expound his feelings on the future direction of Tennessee state government. Oldham has been suggested as a candidate for governor in 1974. He was finance chairman for the 1972 senatorial campaign of Sen. **Howard Baker, Jr.**

● Dr. **William A. Koelsch** has become a contributing editor to the FORUM. Dr. Koelsch is an associate professor of history and geography at Clark University as well as the University archivist.

● **Lee W. Huebner**, former Ripon president, has been named a special assistant to the President. Huebner was formerly a White House speech writer. According to the announcement made by White House Press Secretary **Ron Ziegler**, Huebner will "continue to be one of the President's key writers and will serve as associate director of the (editorial) department." Under the White House reorganization, the writing and research staff has been re-titled the "editorial department," and will be headed by **David R. Gergen**.

● Ripon president **Ron Speed** has announced with the usual regrets that he has accepted the resignation of Ripon political director **Daniel J. Swillinger**. (Mr. Swillinger's departure was predicted before the re-election of President Nixon in November and the election of Mr. Speed in December and is therefore considered to be an unrelated development.) Swillinger will become assistant dean of the College of Law at Ohio State University in Columbus. His appointment will become effective July 1. In the interim, Swillinger will conduct a fact-finding tour of Europe. Presumably, he will be counting Republicans to determine if expatriates have been under-represented in the 1976 delegate-allocation formula.

Correction

On page 24 of the January FORUM, William J. Small should be credited as the author of **Political Power and the Press** and Robert Stein should be credited as the author of **Media Power: Who is Shaping Your Picture of the World?**

● "You are cordially invited not to attend the dinner in honor of **Martin A. Linsky** which will not be held at the Brookline High School Gymnasium on the night of the next severe snowstorm," reads the front page of the invitation. It continues, "Gov. **Francis W. Sargent** will not deliver a brief address discussing his running mate for Lt. Governor." Fr. **Robert Drinan** is listed on the Linsky invitation as the man "who will not give the invocation." The non-dinner is Linsky's contribution to fund-raising gimmicks and an innovation that is required because of a \$58,000 campaign debt. Unlike some political dinners, this "dinner" is not by invitation only. The "invitation" instructs those interested in "attending" to have contributions "visit" Linsky for Congress, 88 Needham Street, Newton, Massachusetts.

● **Joel Goldstein**, a 28-year-old assistant professor at the University of Louisville, filed on Wednesday, February 7 for the Republican nomination for ward eight alderman. Goldstein is presently precinct captain of the eighth ward and president of the Metro Republican Club.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in sixteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work. The Society offers the following options for annual contribution: Contributor \$25 or more; Sustainer \$100 or more; Founder \$1000 or more. Inquiries about membership and chapter organization should be addressed to the National Executive Director.

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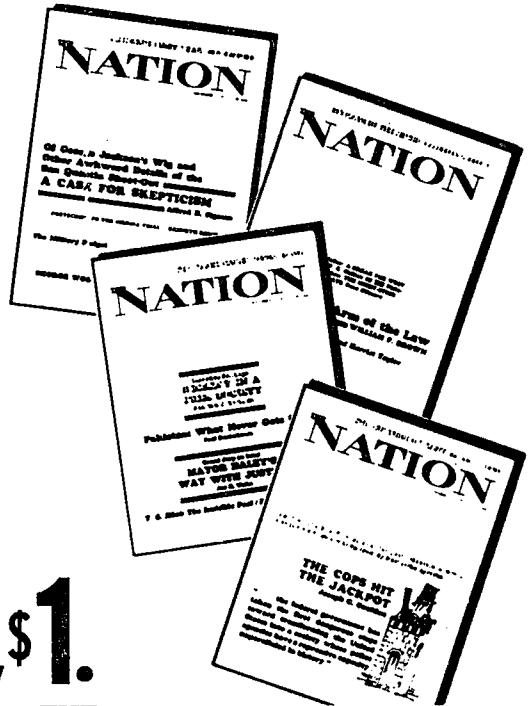
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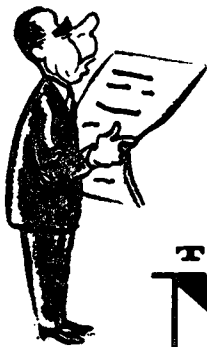
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