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COMMENTARY: RULE 29

"WE GOT 'EM, BUT WE DIDN'T GET 'EM GOOD ENOUGH"

by Dick Behn

GOP conservatives intend to sidetrack the report of the Republican National Committee's Rule 29 Committee by referring the report to the rules and arrangements committees of the 1976 Republican National Convention.

The Rule 29 Committee, under the chairmanship of U.S. Rep. William Steiger (R-Wisc.), has been working on changes in party rules and methods of broadening the party's base for more than a year. Under a plan discussed at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, D.C., February 16, "all of the proposed rule changes should be referred to the rules committee of the convention without approval or disapproval by the RNC."

Dr. Donald Devine, a professor of the University of Maryland who authored the plan, said moderates were "snookered" by conservatives on the Rule 29 Committee. Referring to moderates on the committee, Devine said, "We got 'em, but we didn't get 'em good enough." Devine, himself a member of the Rule 29 Committee, said conservatives pretended to be "slaughtered" when they really had won most of the important battles. Now conservatives have developed a plan to table most of the work of the committee.

"Most of the rules changes are uncontroversial and constructive," admits Devine. "The change [in the rules] which is most objectionable is the one (Rule 19c and d) which expands the Republican National Committee to include public officials and auxiliary chairmen. Yet, there are several other debatable items and all of them need detailed consideration," according to Devine.

The expansion of the Republican National Committee may be the most controversial section of the report, according to some members of the RNC. Many conservative members consider the proposed expansion to be windowdressing which violates the elective nature of the RNC by including members not elected by state organizations. New Hampshire GOP National Committeewoman Victoria Zachos and Nevada's Lucy Humphrey suggest that it might make more sense to include state vice chairwomen on the RNC. Florida National Committeewoman Paula Hawkins argues that the party needs to be broadened at the bottom, not the top. The precinct level is "where the action is," says Hawkins.

Some RNC members interpret the expansion as a violation of "state's rights." Texas' Fred Agnich, Colorado's Jo Anne Gray, and Arizona's John Haugh are among those concerned about the rule on this ground. "I'm totally opposed to that," says Agnich. "There simply is no such thing as a national Republican Party. It simply is a federation of states."

The Devine plan would consign the less formal "recommendations" of the Rule 29 Committee to either the convention's rules or arrangements committees "without prejudice." But, says Devine, "Because of the importance of these proposals, though, both the rules and arrangements committees of the convention should be selected before the end of 1975. Likewise, their importance requires that the members of these committees be selected in consultation with the RNC members in each state."

Changes in the party rules cannot be made by the RNC; they have to wait for the 1976 convention. It had been expected, however, that the RNC would take some position on the proposed changes at the March 5-6 meeting. Some conservative members of the Rule 29 Committee---such as Young Republicans Co-Chairman Phyllis McGrath of Colorado and Devine---have been critical of the committee's composition, charging that it should have been composed only of RNC members. Presumably, by referring the report to the convention committees (which will be composed of RNC members), this objection will be overcome.

A third section of the report---the interpretation of the GOP's Rule 32b which defines how state parties can demonstrate how they "endeavor" and take "positive action" to broaden the party's

base among women, minority and heritage groups, and youth—may also cause a fight at the RNC meeting. Mississippi GOP State Chairman Clarke Reed suggests that the compromise language was simply "fooling with paperwork" rather than expanding the GOP at the grassroots. Florida's Hawkins has a similar criticism, arguing that "we should pay more attention and endeavor at the local level." (Rule 32 deals primarily with delegate selection to the national convention.)

Texas' Agnich says that there "are some things in there that bother me," adding that he was disturbed that the national GOP should dictate what state organizations might have to do. Some conservatives are concerned that the language of the Rule 29 Committee report might be used as grounds for delegation challenges in 1976.

Under the Devine plan, all "shoulds" in the Rule 32b interpretation would be changed to less imperative "coulds." He also calls for elimination of the provision for submission of positive action plans and materials to the RNC for "review." The interpretation does not call for the RNC to accept or reject the plans, but Devine still argues that "this is likewise inconsistent with the principle of state autonomy and cannot be forced upon a state in any event. Therefore, it is recommended that plans which may be developed be kept by each state party organization." The fear of RNC interference in state party affairs runs deep. As Mississippi's Reed and Oklahoma Vice Chairwoman Helen Salmon assert, their state organizations already do many of the suggested outreach activities and have attempted to broaden their parties' bases, so why should the RNC mandate these acts.

Reed and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan also object to the implication that the party's door has ever been closed. As Reagan told the CPAC conference: "When have we ever advocated a closed door policy? Who has ever been barred from participating?" Moderates do not argue that the door has been locked, only that to many non-Republicans, it does not look sufficiently inviting to open. As they see it, the job of the Rule 29 Committee was to seek ways to reaffirm the fact that the door is open and that all Americans are welcome inside.

Conservatives are worried, however, that the Rule 32b section carries the seeds of quotas for minority groups. The report nowhere suggests quotas, however, and the committee has never, in fact, ever remotely considered the imposition of any such quotas. Presumably, the methods outlined could pull more male WASPs into the party. The outreach methods are sexless, raceless, and ageless. Still, conservative leaders like the American Conservative Union's M. Stanton Evans darkly prophesy that quotas are implied, citing the Rule 29 report as "masterful proof of Republican confusion, and of the comparative emptiness of the party's national program."

Still, on balance, Arizona's Haugh says "my guess is that the [32b section] will pass. Iowa State Chairman John McDonald also feels mildly optimistic. He calls the 32b compromise "rather modest suggestions of what states should be doing to comply with the rules of the 1972 convention.

Several RNC members predict approval of the final document. "I feel pretty good that it will pass," says Michigan GOP Chairman William McLaughlin. "I am quite pleased with it," says North Dakota National Committeewoman Gerridee Wheeler, adding, "In certain ways, the report didn't go as far as I wanted it to go."

Missouri's Rosemary Ginn also is optimistic, suggesting that many of the recommendations were outgrowths of the RNC's "DO" Committee, which she headed three years ago. Mississippi's Reed, however, expressed little ambivalence about the report, calling the language "utterly repulsive." ■

COMMENTARY: THE GOP

THE RIPPLES OF WATERGATE

by Timothy D. Mead

The ripples of Watergate will disrupt Republican politics for at least the next decade. The pool from which credible Republican candidates can be drawn to seek higher office has been substantially reduced by the defeat of many Republican congressmen, state legislators, county commissioners, township supervisors and other local officials in 1974. Even if there are no other imminent Republican disasters, it will be years before the minor office pool can be refilled with competent and ambitious persons who can successfully seek election to positions of greater power.

The GOP has experienced losses before. It seems to be the fate of the "second" party in American political history to suffer such misfortunes, viz., the Democrats in 1904 and the Republicans in 1936. The GOP experienced widespread disaster in 1964 when it lost not only the Presidency by an almost unmatched margin, but also lost over 500 Republican legislative seats at the state level and untold numbers of other officials at the local level. But in January 1965, there were still major bastions of Republican strength. Seventeen states had dynamic and successful Republi-

can governors, including Pennsylvania's William Scranton, New York's Nelson Rockefeller, Michigan's George Romney, Massachusetts' John Volpe, and Rhode Island's John Chafee. The leadership of these governors was critical in rebuilding the Republican Party for the challenge of 1966. The GOP could repair to these bastions of party strength in the federal system to weather the storm.

Today, there are few Republican strongholds. As the Washington Post's Lou Cannon has pointed out, while revenue sharing has strengthened the role of state government, Republicans no longer benefit from the states' renewed vigor. In contrast with the situation in 1965, only Michigan's Gov. William Milliken(R) is both reasonably young and a chief executive of one of the ten largest states. The only other Republican governor from a major state is Ohio's James Rhodes, now 68.

Certainly Watergate played a major role in the magnitude of the Republican defeat in 1974. Surveys taken by Applied Communications in early 1974 indicated that approximately ten percent of the likely Republican voters agreed that they would vote against any Republican candidate for Congress "so that politicians know that voters will not tolerate scandals." These surveys did not so much indicate that voters would stay home (and in Pennsylvania, at least, the voter turnout in 1974 was comparable to 1970) as that a significant minority was prepared to hold Republicans responsible for the actions of a Republican Administration.

Moreover, the nature of the Republican debacle in 1964 was not so easily foreseeable as was the 1974 result. Consequently, in 1964, able and ambitious Republicans had already declared their candidacies for office before Sen. Barry Goldwater was nominated for President. As these Republicans did so, many created vacancies in lower offices for new Republican aspirants. Though large numbers of Republicans were defeated in 1964, the critical process of party renewal went on.

Not so in 1974. The Watergate cauldron boiled and bubbled for two years, giving Republicans ample opportunity to anticipate 1974's calamity...and thus to contribute to it. The decision of many able and ambitious Republicans not to seek higher office (or, as in the case of a surprising number of incumbent congressmen, any office at all), further contributed to the size and character of the Republican defeat. This is not to say that U.S. Rep. John Anderson(R-Ill) would have necessarily unseated Sen. Adlai Stevenson III. When Anderson's example, however, is multiplied by the number of Republicans across the country who were considering seeking office against marginal Democratic incumbents in a variety of offices, the impact is quite substantial. What it means, simply, is that many marginal Democrats were not challenged by credible Republicans (and were therefore reelected) while marginal Republicans were assaulted in droves. The expectation of widespread Republican losses, by both Republicans and Democrats, was one of the major causes of those losses.

All this makes a difference in the character of future Republican prospects. Political scientist Joseph A. Schlesinger has noted that "experience in the state legislature is by far the commonest office experience of the states' political leaders." In other words, the loss of over 700 state legislators means that in the next few elections, Republicans will be missing large numbers of persons who possess the most universal type of political experience found in state and national political leaders.

Further, successful challengers for the United States House of Representatives, for example, are usually seven to nine years younger than the typical incumbent. But the unsuccessful challenger is somewhat older; Republicans tend to nominate older, non-incumbent candidates. Republicans who hope to move up the political ladder waited in 1974, and while they are waiting, they are becoming older. Some may become too old to seek or win office. Others may win office but be too old to develop the skill and expertise in office that would permit them to become effective in the office or permit them to advance their careers even further. And, of course, the advancement of their careers would at the same time advance the cause of the Republican Party.

Therefore, during the next 10-15 years, the "structure of opportunity" for Republicans will be adversely affected by the absence of up-and-coming young office holders and by the aging (in terms of prospects for advancement) of the office holders who are Republican. And this is one of the effects of the Watergate scandal on the Republican Party that will linger.

A political party depends on its office holders for its strength, both actual and potential. Its actual strength rests on the ability of present office holders to make public policy. As a result of the 1974 elections, Republicans find themselves in a position of sharply reduced actual strength. The GOP's potential strength rests on the prospect, as perceived by the able and ambitious, that the party may serve as a vehicle for their own power. The Watergate election has significantly eroded potential Republican success. The remaining incumbent Republicans are, almost by definition, from largely safe or one-party areas. For the party to reestablish itself, there-

fore, as a viable political force in the United States requires the development of a new cadre of candidates, a wholesale turnabout. The GOP needs candidates who have not been in politics, partly because it is now without likely prospects for advancement in the ranks of its own incumbents. The GOP needs, for example, to recruit state legislative candidates from the ranks of community activists. One of their strengths must be that they do not fit the traditional mold of state legislative candidates...that they are unacceptable to the conventional political wisdom of the county chairmen.

In a two-party system, political parties are constantly in the process of "broadening their base." The minority party particularly finds it necessary to seek additional recruits. The activities of the GOP's Rule 29 Committee are simply an extension of this perennial activity. The Rule 29 Committee has proposed that State Republican Committees "Take more positive action and endeavor to assure greater and more equitable participation of women, young people, minority and heritage groups and senior citizens in the political process and to increase their representation at the 1976 national convention." This sort of "broadening" of the party will not be enough. The character of the bipartisan struggle of the last third of a century means that virtually every experienced Republican operative has spent a political lifetime in pursuit of a "broader base." Like the quest for the Holy Grail, these efforts have developed character in the face of adversity and little else. Broadening the base of the Republican Party into some sort of viable foundation on which to contest elections will require more than a simple announcement by the Republican National Committee that membership is now open to all who wish to apply. All too frequently these pronouncements sound as though the Republican Party were some sort of country club with an extensive waiting list for members.

The history of American politics demonstrates that there has only been one way for a political party to broaden its base. And that has been for it to seize the ideas of the disaffected, to weld those ideas into a coherent program for policies that will achieve objectives that people need and want, to recruit New candidates and elect them to office, and to develop and maintain public support for that program and those office holders.

Pollster Louis Harris, among others, has documented the dimensions and nature of the American public's disaffection. In 1975, America's "disaffected" constitute a large and diverse cross-section of the voting public. Republicans should take the ideas of these disaffected Americans to heart. And around those ideas, Republicans should begin a renaissance. In a democratic society, only public support can justify the success of a political party. The long road back from Watergate lies in that direction. ■

Contributor Note: Timothy Mead is an associate with the political consulting firm of Applied Communications in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He was formerly a political science professor at Moravian College.

POLITICS: THE GOP

THE STATE OF THE REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION

"She's quite secure," says Mississippi GOP State Chairman Clarke Reed. "I think she's doing a great job," says North Dakota GOP National Committeewoman Gerridee Wheeler. "I haven't heard any adverse comment," says Texas GOP National Committeeman Fred Agnich. There seems to be general agreement that Mary Louise Smith has strengthened her position as chairman of the Republican National Committee—despite persistent rumors that former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird might be slated for the job.

Arizona GOP National Committeeman John Haugh notes that Mrs. Smith has two things going for her: a "doctrine of fairness" which dictates that she be given sufficient time to adjust to her position, and her role as the first woman chairman, a role which serves to blunt any move to replace her. Both Iowa GOP Chairman John McDonald and Michigan GOP Chairman William McLaughlin point to the state chairmen's meeting in Chicago in January as a turning point in Mrs. Smith's tenure as national chairman. Mississippi's Reed called her presentation of new RNC programs the best he had ever seen at a state chairmen's meeting.

Mrs. Smith also benefits from new independence and responsibility in her relations with the White House, which seems determined to be supportive of the RNC but at the same time careful not to preempt the RNC's prerogatives. Noting the "sexist" nature of the remark, one White House aide suggests that the "RNC needs to get back its manhood." The President is also prepared to support GOP party-building efforts; he has promised to personally assist in congressional candidate recruitment where necessary, a gesture his predecessor was never willing to make.

Mrs. Smith's new stature in the Republican Party comes despite lingering doubts among many Republicans about the wisdom of the proposed \$2 million advertising program to change the GOP's public image. Many GOP leaders think the money would be better spent on other programs—despite prototypes of the TV portion of the program that were shown to state chairmen. (The RNC is finding it difficult to buy air time for its proposed half-hour programs.) A special communications task force has been organized to direct what some Republicans derogatorily refer to as a "propaganda" program. The program's goals, as presented to the GOP National Executive Committee in January, are to correct misimpressions about the Republican Party; define the Republican concept of government; show that what the Republican Party stands for is what most Americans believe in; identify Republican principles with principles of the nation's founders; make it easier to run as a Republican in 1976; and help the GOP Finance Division reach its goals. The program will be the responsibility of Richard Thaxton, who was appointed director of the RNC's political/research division last fall. The program will be directed by the RNC, although the advertising firm of Bozell and Jacobs was hired to assist in the project. About \$1.5 million of the budget is scheduled for paid advertising.

Mrs. Smith maintains that the program is "designed to supplant rhetoric with action." Her contention that "image is important" is supported by the results of an RNC-commissioned poll showing that only 18% of the American public consider themselves Republicans. According to the poll taken by Market Opinion Research, GOP identification is fairly well divided by region: East, 17%; Midwest, 19%; South 17%; and West, 19%. The GPO did best in the poll among the retired/disabled, housewives, and those over 65. It did worst among skilled craftsmen, service workers, laborers, and those between 21 and 29. Presenting the results of MOR's poll to the GOP chairmen's meeting in Chicago, Robert Teeter observed, "The first thing that comes to people's minds about the Republican Party is that it's the party of big business, and that it's rich, organized and wealthy."

One reason that GOP professionals were heartened by the Chicago meeting, despite the dismal statistics, was the array of services being organized at the Republican National Committee by Mrs. Smith. 1976 congressional candidates will be limited to \$70,000 per campaign, but an additional \$10,000 in services may be provided by both the national party committee and the state party committee. The RNC is expanding its ability to handle such campaign chores as computerized voter lists; it is also offering to pay part of the salary for state GOP finance directors in order to encourage states to hire such directors. These plans will necessitate an increase in the RNC budget from \$8 million in the campaign year of 1974 to \$12 million in the non-campaign year of 1975.

Mrs. Smith's next hurdles are the Republican Leadership Conference and the Republican National Committee meeting, both scheduled to be held in Washington during the first week of March. One of the first items on the RNC agenda is approval of the controversial Rule 29 Committee report.

Recent leadership changes in Republican organizations are outlined below:

THE WHITE HOUSE: Presidential speechwriter and adviser Robert T. Hartmann is now in charge of political activities for President Ford. His chief political deputy is John T. Calkins, ex-head of the National Republican Congressional Committee and once an aide to former U.S. Rep. Howard W. Robison. Gwen Anderson, the former Washington GOP national committeewoman who was Ford's political operative when he was vice president, will work with Calkins.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE: Under a recent reorganization of the RNC staff, Eddie Mahe, Jr., formerly director of political activities, has become RNC executive director. Charles Peckham, a former consultant to the RNC and the National Republican Congressional Committee, has been named director of field operations under political director Thaxton. A former field representative, Norman "Buddy" Bishop, will be director of the Communications Division. O.C. Carmichael, Jr., an Indiana businessman and former college president, is the new chairman of the GOP National Finance Committee. Florida Republican National Committeeman William C. Cramer, who was counsel to the Rule 29 Committee and the RNC's chief attorney in the Ripon Society's suit against the RNC on delegate apportionment, was named general counsel to the RNC in January. He replaced Harry Dent, a former White House operative who pleaded guilty last fall to violations of federal elections statutes.

SENATE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE: Sen. Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) easily defeated Sen. Jacob Javits for the chairmanship of the Senate Republican Conference in January. GOP moderates were barely able to muster more than the hard core Wednesday Club membership in the 23-14 vote. Javits supporters had expected the vote to be closer, but a few votes may have been lost by an emotional speech by Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (R-Ct.), who denounced Curtis' repeated defenses of Richard Nixon. Shortly before the Nixon resignation, for example, Curtis suggested that the United States would be like a "banana republic" if he were forced to resign. Some observers suggested the vote hinged more on personalities than ideology. It was also suggested that the election of GOP moderates Ted Stevens

(R-Alaska) and Robert Stafford(R-Vt.) to leadership posts weighted the vote against Javits. Commenting on the vote, columnist Marianne Means observed: "Clearly, the Curtis victory indicates that a majority of Senate Republicans have not been sufficiently affected by the party's recent troubles to change their political or philosophical approach."

SENATE STEERING COMMITTEE: Sen. James McClure(R-Idaho) has been named to head the conservative GOP group.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN SENATORIAL COMMITTEE: Sen. Ted Stevens(R-Alaska) was elected to chair the committee in January. He subsequently asked for the resignation of Buehl Berentson, who had been executive director of the committee for four years. Stevens also announced that the committee was broke and will be until after the annual congressional fundraising dinner on April 15. A new executive director for the committee is not expected to be named until after that date; the NRSC is currently being operated by a three-member staff. A spokesman for Sen. Stevens said the new chairman wants to diffuse responsibility and involve more Republican senators in the committee's operation.

REPUBLICAN STUDY COMMITTEE: The committee, formerly known as the Republican Steering Committee, has elected U.S.Rep. Marjorie Holt(R-Md.) to be its new chairwoman. The previous chairman and about 30 other members of the conservative group were defeated last fall. The four new vice chairmen include one freshman, U.S.Rep. Tom Hagedorn(R-Minn.) and three veterans: U.S.Rep. Philip Crane(R-Ill.); U.S.Rep. Steven Symms(R-Idaho), and U.S.Rep. Barry Goldwater(R-Cal.). The executive committee of the organization includes two other freshmen: U.S.Reps. William Goodling(R-Pa.) and Charles Grassley(R-Iowa).

REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE: Chairman Guy Vander Jagt has appointed his three opponents for the chairmanship slot as RCCC senior vice chairmen. The appointees are John Rousselot for organization; Pierre du Pont for finance; and James Collins for candidate recruitment. Vander Jagt has appointed former U.S.Rep. Jack H. McDonald(R-Mich.) to be acting RCCC director until a permanent replacement for Jack Calkins can be selected. McDonald, a moderate conservative, served in Congress from 1966 to 1972, when redistricting combined his district and that of U.S.Rep. William Broomfield. McDonald was defeated in the subsequent primary and has since operated a consulting business in Washington.

POLITICS: STATES

Former U.S.Rep. Charles Sandman(R-N.J.) is back where he started in politics: as municipal attorney for Lower Township. The former Nixon defender also gets speaking requests, as when the Dade County GOP decided that Sandman was a more acceptable speaker than Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. Former Colorado Gov. John Vanderhoof has been named to head the Club 20, an organization dedicated to tourism and development on Colorado's West Slope. Former U.S.Rep. Robert Tiernan(D-R.I.) has been named one of the new members of the Federal Elections Commission; Tiernan was defeated in a 1974 primary. Two defeated Republican congressmen have been named to high-paying administration posts: Former U.S.Rep. William J. Scherle(R-Iowa) will be assistant deputy administrator of the Agriculture Department's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. Former U.S.Rep. Earl Ruth(R-N.C.) has been governor of American Samoa, pop. 28,000. Although admitting he previously knew nothing about Samoa, Ruth has said he will "be firm, but at the same time give the people all the leeway possible." Former California Controller Houston Flournoy(R), who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1974, is back teaching; he has a small course in local and state government at the University of Southern California. In Tennessee, Victor Ashe finally made it to the State Senate. The 30-year-old legislator was ruled ineligible for election to the State Senate last year because his birthday came after the election, just missing minimum age requirements. Ashe's mother, Martha, ran in his stead, was elected, and promptly resigned the first day that the legislature met. Her son was then selected for the post by the Knox County Court.

CALIFORNIA GOP conservatives swept most posts at a recent state convention. Paul Haerle, a moderate-conservative and former appointments secretary to Ronald Reagan, was promoted unanimously from vice chairman to chairman. A major contest, however, was held for vice chairman where moderates backed conservative party activist Rosemary Ferraro over Pasadena attorney Mike Montgomery, a darkhorse candidate who won a narrow victory on the second ballot. Moderates' worst defeat came with the election of Fresno businessman Truman Campbell as party secretary, a stepping stone to the chairmanship. Los Angeles attorney Mike Donaldson, the new GOP treasurer, was the only moderate to win election. The convention gave convicted perjurer Ed Reinecke, a former lieutenant governor, a standing ovation. Only half the audience stood, however, to applaud former moderate Controller Houston Flournoy; ironically, it was the right side of the room. The convention was a preliminary test for 1976 Republican Senate hopefuls. Flournoy has declined to

rule himself in or out of the race. U.S.Rep. Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R) says, "It's something I'm seriously looking at." Former State GOP Chairman Dennis Carpenter, now a state senator, is a good campaigner, but lacks name recognition. Goldwater has the name recognition, but little else. GOP National Committeeman William Banowsky is an excellent speaker and like U.S.Rep. Alphonso Bell, is considered a possible candidate. Former HEW Secretary Robert Finch is already in the race, but San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson (R), a close friend of Finch, has ruled out a Senate run. Note: There are two announced candidates so far to succeed San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto (D); progressive GOP State Sen. Milton Marks and former State Sen. George Moscone, who ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1974.

KENTUCKY Kentucky Gov. Julian Carroll (D) will have at least two Democratic challengers this year: Jefferson County Judge Todd Hollenbach and State Auditor Louise Faust. Carroll took over his post with a vengeance when former Gov. Wendell Ford moved to Senate; the new governor ousted Ford supporters and halted a number of Ford's prize projects. Now the Ford people, under cover, are actively supporting Hollenbach, who may not beat Carroll, but will stir up a mess of Democratic dissension. The GOP might be able to win---if they could find a candidate, a goal they show little prospect of achieving.

NEVADA Nevada Republicans have chosen 37-year-old Frank Fahrenkopf, a Reno attorney, to succeed retiring GOP State Chairman Walter P. Casey, Jr. When he was reelected state chairman last year, Casey said he would serve only until after the election. His successor defeated State Vice Chairwoman Edwina Prior for the post. Fahrenkopf had been active in the 1972 Nixon campaign as well as the campaign organization of Attorney General Robert List (R); he ran unsuccessfully for national president of the Young Republicans several years ago.

OKLAHOMA U.S.Rep. John Jarman hardly announced a change in party affiliation from Democratic to Republican when he got GOP primary opposition for 1976. Oklahoma City attorney Mickey Edwards (R) came within about 3,400 votes of defeating Jarman in 1974 and announced he will challenge Jarman in the 1976 primary. Oklahoma GOP Vice Chairwoman Helen Salmon said the GOP was "delighted" by Jarman's switch.

RHODE ISLAND Rhode Island Republicans are expected to elect the 26-year-old former administrative assistant to Cranston Mayor James L. Taft, Jr., as GOP state chairman. H. James Field, Jr., has been selected by the party's nominating committee and should be elected at a March 10 meeting despite concern about Field's previous campaign ties to Taft and former Gov. John Chafee (R). Field has worked for both men and did an earlier stint for Donald Rumsfeld at the Cost of Living Council. Some Republicans are concerned that Field might not be sufficiently committed to grassroots development of the GOP as opposed to the "superstar development" which has characterized the state party in the past decade. Recent elections have reduced visible GOP leaders to Taft and Providence Mayor Vincent A. "Buddy" Cianci, Jr. The energetic Field is given substantial credit for Taft's convincing victory last fall in the face of a Democratic landslide in Rhode Island. Republicans have also been heartened by the energetic performance turned in by Providence's new mayor, who has moved quickly to fulfill campaign promises. Cianci's leadership has put the Democratic City Council on the defensive---particularly on the issue of open public meetings, an idea without favor among the secretive Democrats. Cianci is also aided by the continuing split among the city's Democrats, who have elected Frank Darigan as the new city Democratic chairman. Darigan ran against former Mayor Joseph Doorley (D) in last year's mayoral primary and lost, but was elected city chairman with Doorley support and with evident intentions at making another mayoral run. The former city Democratic chairman is still vigorously anti-Doorley. Note: Sen. John O. Pastore (D) will be 69 and up for reelection in 1976, but he shows no signs of retirement intent. If he does step aside, however, there could be a long line of possible Democratic successors, including Gov. Philip W. Noel, U.S.Rep. Fernand J. St.Germain, Lt.Gov. Joseph Garrihy, and Doorley.

SOUTH DAKOTA U.S.Rep. Larry Pressler (R-1st) tried the federal government and didn't succeed so he tried the South Dakota government and did. Pressler wanted to fulfill a campaign promise by returning 10% of his congressional salary, but the House sergeant of arms said the Pressler couldn't so he gave it to South Dakota "where it will be not only appreciated, but also be more efficiently spent for state and local purposes."

VIRGINIA Former Virginia Lt.Gov. Henry E. Howell, Jr., has decided not to run for his old State Senate seat from Norfolk. The erstwhile Democrat ran for governor unsuccessfully as an independent in 1973 and is expected to run again for governor again in 1977. Howell apparently is looking with favor upon the Democratic Party again, and has emphasized his loyalty to future Democratic candidates. One of the potential candidates for the Senate seat Howell decided not to seek is Democratic State Chairman Joseph T. Fitzpatrick.

☾ DULY NOTED: STATES

"Adlai Ripped For Backing Daley." Chicago Tribune, February 20, 1975. Sen. Adlai Stevenson III's announced support for Chicago Mayor Richard Daley(D) has angered liberal Stevenson supporters. Leaders of the liberal Independent Voters of Illinois and a group of former campaign supporters of Stevenson issued statements attacking the senator for backing Daley's reelection over Democrats like liberal Alderman William S. Singer.

● "3 Republicans Start Senate Maneuvering," by Remer Tyson. Detroit Free Press, February 17, 1975. "The race for the Republican nomination in Michigan's 1976 U.S. Senate election began to take shape this weekend at the state GOP convention [in Grand Rapids]." Prospective candidates include U.S. Reps. Marvin Esch(R-2nd) and Philip Ruppe(R-11th); Gov. William Milliken is still a possibility though he has indicated he does not now plan to run. Sen. Philip Hart(D) has not yet announced if he will run again; if he does not, Atty. Gen. Frank Kelley and U.S. Rep. Donald Riegle are likely Democratic nominees.

● "Nancy Brataas Elected to Minnesota Senate," Minneapolis Tribune, February 2, 1975. Former GOP State Chairwoman Nancy Brataas won a special election to the Minnesota State Senate February 1, becoming the second woman in state history to serve as a state senator. The special election was one of several early 1975 GOP "special" victories in Democratic states which have demonstrated that Republicans do not necessarily have to be losers.

● "Runnin' Scared," by Mary Perot Nichols. (New York) Village Voice, February 17, 1975. "Bella Abzug, now a declared contender for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate in 1976, was the first candidate to apprise the Liberal Party of her campaign plans. Despite the courtesy, Liberal Party boss (or tactician, depending on your point of view) Alex Rose is holding his cards close to his chest on the subject of support for Bella...In fact, sources close to the Liberal Party leadership say that there is one potential female candidate who could knock Bella right out of the ring---and not only with the Liberals. Former New York City Consumer Affairs Commissioner Bess Myerson could beat just about anybody in the Democratic primary and incumbent Republican-Conservative James Buckley too. At least that's what most politicians I know think," writes Nichols. "Meanwhile, political writers, mostly male, have been amusing themselves with the idea of Lieutenant Governor Mary Anne Krupsak rising up to smite Bella, who is at least partially responsible for Krupsak's September primary victory..." Nichols ridicules, however, the possibility of primary opposition to Abzug from either Krupsak or U.S. Rep. Elizabeth Hotzman(D-Brooklyn).

● "Cleveland Assesses GOP," by Rod Paul. Concord Monitor, February 5, 1975. Gov. Meldrim Thomson's dalliance with Conservative Party politics is disturbing GOP regulars in New Hampshire. "Even the normally complacent U.S. Rep. James C. Cleveland has decided to become more involved in party affairs. However, Cleveland says this without reference to Thomson's effort to build the GOP in his own image." One cause for GOP concern is a letter written by Thomson in his capacity as chairman of the new national Conservative Caucus. Thomson wrote: "If it appears that neither major political party intends to offer a Presidential ticket committed to challenging the left-wing control of the executive branch, the delegates (to a Conservative Caucus convention) may decide to propose and endorse their own candidate for President." Since Thomson has left the party in the past to run as an independent, GOP politicians are prepared to take Thomson's statements at face value.

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FOR CONGRESS:

SPECIAL INSERT INSIDE

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COMMENTARY: REAGAN

WHERE'S RONALD REAGAN'S HORSE?

by Dick Behn

Ronald Reagan is wishy washy. Even Reagan's conservative supporters have begun to realize that their hero may want to lead the charge but still be unwilling to mount the horse.

Reagan wants to be President. As one reporter suggested at a recent press conference, Reagan would not be chasing fried chicken around the country if he didn't covet White House accommodations.

But Reagan can't seem to decide how to become President. The problem is that the former California governor belongs to the same party as the current president. And though Reagan would dearly like to have Gerald Ford's job, he can't bring himself to say that Gerald Ford is no good. The role of "Clean Gene," President-dumper, is not one to which Reagan apparently aspires. BUT, he apparently has not ruled it out. Asked about his political intentions by reporters at the recent Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington, D.C., Reagan repeatedly evaded the questions. Referring to President Ford, Reagan said: "I'm not going to join any chorus saying, 'The honeymoon is over.'" Commenting on Ford's allegiance to conservative principles, Reagan suggested that Ford "agrees with them more than he differs with them." Wobbling further, Reagan even refused to repudiate his relationship with Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. That grievous failure did not go unnoticed by CPAC delegates.

If Reagan truly wants to run for President, he first needs a party. His supporters, if they are typified by participants in the CPAC conference, do not think the Republican Party is the right vehicle. Young Americans for Freedom president Ronald Docksai told conference participants that there were two divergent views on the state of the Republican Party: "those who believe the Republican Party is dying and those who believe the Republican Party is dead." Reagan himself refused to take that view, arguing that the GOP should fully adopt conservative principles, and let those Republicans who can't salute the conservative "banner" desert. That attitude may be popular with conservatives like Mississippi GOP State Chairman Clarke Reed, but it certainly does not please all of Reagan's potential constituency. (Reagan stops short of saying moderates should leave the Republican Party. Asked that question, Reagan said he had trouble understanding who moderates are, but "I'm not suggesting that anyone leave the party." Under the Reagan plan, however, the door would be definitely open for departures.)

Second, if Reagan runs for President, he needs supporters. His speech to CPAC was enthusiastically received with chants of "We Want Reagan" at its conclusion. The enthusiasm was somewhat superficial, however, because conservatives wanted Reagan to pick up the third party banner and he kept waving the GOP flag. Realignment is not enough for ideologues at CPAC who are caught up in a new ideological crusade. As one CPAC delegate noted the next day, "Mr. Reagan gets a sudden case of laryngitis every time somebody crooks his finger from the White House. Another delegate suggested rather half-heartedly, "I suggest that Reagan is a nice guy. If we can't have George Patton as President, I suppose Reagan will do." CPAC speakers who wanted to short-circuit third-party talk attempted to rally participants behind a Republican Reagan ticket in 1976. Their attempts fell a little flat. CPAC participants did not want leadership appeasement; they wanted a return to the ideological purity of 1964.

Another necessity for Reagan's presidential quest is publicity. For that, Reagan has two modes open to him. He may make publicity, which is a bit harder these days as a non-governor, but he still can do it by not showing up at CIA Commission meetings and but not telling conservatives what they want to hear. It is difficult, however, to make a presidential campaign out of non-comments. It's not impossible, but it's difficult. And Reagan seems to have been burned too many times by his public comments to be willing to play with political matches.

Reagan's other mode of media exposure is self-made. If he can't get good press, Reagan can always write his own via his newspaper column or broadcast his own via his radio commentary spots. Certainly Reagan's approach is one of the more novel approaches to overcoming campaign spending limits. Reagan does not have to buy radio time; he is paid to produce it.

Reagan also needs substantive issues for his campaign. One suspects that continued support for the Thieu government is not going to be an appealing political draw. Reagan concluded his CPAC speech by saying: "A political party cannot be all things to all people. It must represent certain fundamental beliefs which must not be compromised to political expediency, or simply to swell its numbers. I do not believe I have proposed anything that is contrary to what has been considered Republican philosophy and principle. It is at the same time the very basis, the heart and soul, of conservatism. It is time to reassert that principle and raise it to full view. And if there are those who cannot subscribe to these principles, then let them go their own way."

But if Reagan wants to be President, he will have to use of the formula propounded by conservative columnists Kevin Phillips and William Rusher----unite the GOP economic conservatives with the blue collar social conservatives. And this Reagan seems unlikely to do. As columnist Ernest Codine pointed out last December: "Reagan was twice elected governor of the nation's largest state because he, far more than his Democratic opponents, bespoke the views of rank-and-file Californians on such issues as high taxes and campus demonstrations. Like so many other Republicans, however, Reagan could never be more than half a populist. In the final analysis, he comes through as a champion of the few rather than of the man. This was not so apparent, nor so important, while the country was prosperous and pocketbook issues did not loom so large. But it is fatal now."

Reagan's inability to grasp this fundamental problem in his political mathematics. According to the New York Times' R.W.Apple, Reagan is "skeptical about the idea [of a conservative party] for three reasons: the historical record of third-party failure, organizational obstacles placed in the path of third-party movements by the new campaign-financing law and his conviction that his constituency and that of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama would not easily fit together.

If Reagan wants to be President, he needs a running mate. But of Wallace, Reagan says, "I think we have certain philosophical differences. Not inconsiderable energies were expended at CPAC on bridging the Reagan-Wallace gap, but even the token Wallaceite speaker, State Rep. Woody Jenkins (D-La.), admitted that Wallace had no intention of leaving the Democratic Party and was committed to work for the Democratic nomination.

Reagan's vacillations have led the Washington Post's David Broder to observe that "The Republican Right is a headless horseman." Conservatives like former OEO director Howard Phillips are ready to abandon Reagan for a more willing leader like North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms(R) or New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson(R).

When the political landscape is surveyed from Reagan's perspective, it is truly fraught with potential ambushes. It is no wonder the governor can't find his horse. ■

COMMENTARY: CONGRESS

THE ILLUSION OF CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

by Bill Frenzel

Congressional reform has become a fixation with reporters, editorialists, and broadcast anchors. It is becoming increasingly difficult to labor through any press report on Congress without running into the word "reform" or the description "reform-minded." Almost invariably, the description is applied to the Democratic majority in the House, or to the freshman component of that majority.

Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines reform as "amendment of that which is defective or corrective of an abuse." No matter what the press may report, there is precious little of that going on in the House. Abuses are are being created, not corrected. In the name of reform, House Democrats have simply rearranged and tightened their control system. The result is less debate, less openness and a reduced role for the minority in lawmaking. In other words, if you like steamrollers, you'll love the present House of Representatives.

Calling the roll of Democratic counter-reforms in the House is no easy assignment. Limitations of space and time require that only the most egregious abuses be noted. Nasty little tricks like waiving conflict of interest statutes for friends will have to be omitted in deference to the big picture.

Perhaps the most odious abuse is the Democratic Caucus' binding vote rule. This is the old "unit rule" repudiated by all Democrats in 1968...well, almost all Democrats. The unit rule has been revived in the House Democratic Caucus. It is a handy device which allows---no, it forces---each Democratic member to put aside his or her brains and independence and defer to the will of the Caucus. That's not bad for openers, but remember too that the will of the Caucus is determined in the shadows of secrecy. The "winds of change" that blew the secret unit rule back in the House could have originated in the back rooms of Illinois' Cook County. Whatever its origin, the unit rule caused the use of the phrase "King Caucus" in describing the tyranny in the House.

Another creative "reform" adopted by the Democratic Caucus was the resurrection of the discredited proxy vote. The House abolished proxies in a real reform last year. The Caucus dug them up because they offered a convenient way "to carry out the will of the majority." Giving away one's precious right to vote may be abhorrent to representative government, but it looked like a wonderful spare part for the steamroller. Never mind that it encourages absenteeism and discourages committee work or even that it gives more power to the chairmen.

After King Caucus had been clever enough to revive the proxy, it seemed a shame to wait around in committee until a majority of the members showed up. So the caucus invented the one-third quorum. As long as you have all the proxies, you really don't need all those people anyway. They might even raise questions. Therefore, the Caucus decided that it is better to legislate without them. Republicans think that committee work is about the most important thing Congress does, but obviously, they have much to learn from the creative despot, King Caucus.

In three, short, counter-reform hops, House Democrats went from unit rule, to proxies, to short quorums. That took the House from the empty head to the empty chair to the empty room. With only a little more effort, King Caucus could have assigned one member vote for all of us. Apparently, none was considered trustworthy.

Another thoughtful reform by the House Democrats was to steal staff previously guaranteed to the minority. All King Caucus had to do was to serve up a unit rule decision which obviated a House reform of last year which guaranteed one-third of each committee staff to the minority. The great staff rip-off keeps all of the investigatory staff out of the hands of Republicans. They might find something wrong with the Congress. A staff sleuth might even find out what secret legislation was being secretly proposed in the secret Caucus.

Having ripped off the minority staff, King Caucus must have figured that the minority would not want to say much on the House floor, nor want to make amendments. Discussion and amendments just waste time when the will of the majority must be served. So the Democrats invoked, by secret rule, of course, a gag rule when the House rules were adopted. Since no amendments were permitted, there was no record vote. The shabby, Democratic, counter-reform record was concealed.

But the record gets worse. The Democrats voted for more suspensions. Suspensions prevent amendments and limit debate. They use the "closed rule" more often this year. A whole session has elapsed since most Democrats promised John Gardner that they would vote against closed rules, so the promise seems to have expired. In retrospect, it expired last year too,

Another favorite Caucus device is the waiver of points of order. The waiver avoids legislating according to the rules. The Caucus rules this year have granted new excuses for closing meetings and keeping them closed longer. Despite Republican cries to open conference committee meetings with the Senate, the Caucus rules allow them to stay closed. Closed rules and closed conferences are perfectly consistent with secret policy-making in Caucus. But, for a group that is pledged to openness, they can only be termed doublespeak.

The empty head, the empty chair, the empty room, the great staff rip-off, the denial of amendments, the limitation on debate and the growing secrecy stand together with a pack of minor league atrocities as a screaming indictment of the Democratic House majority. The saddest part of the story is that the new Democrats---"reform-minded" and "pledged to reform"---voted again and again for these abuses of the democratic process.

But, was it not a good thing that the Democrats killed the seniority system? That would indeed have been a good thing, but one wonders whether the beast is dead and, if he is, whether the new beast, King Caucus, is less tyrannical. With 21 committees and 140 subcommittees, the handful of seniority casualties hardly seem a mortal blow. The worst part of the seniority system was the irresistible incentive to members to stay in Congress forever. That incentive has not been removed. What seems to remain is a seniority promotion system with the tyranny of King Caucus laid over it.

The most charitable analysis of congressional reform would give the Democrats one "probable" in the dragon-slaying department, but the same analysis would certify that an awful lot of anti-reform dragons were resurrected at the same time. The same fairness that would pass out brownie points to House Democrats for a gutsy performance in attacking the seniority system would at the same time give them, and especially the new Democrats, unabashed hell for abuse of power, subversion of the democratic process and disdain for real reform.

Republican congressional challengers should have a field day roasting Democratic incumbents in next year's elections on the subject of reform. In only two short months, the House Democrats have demonstrated remarkable consistency by getting on the wrong side of nearly every reform issue. ■

Contributor Note: U.S.Rep. Bill Frenzel(R-Minn.) is chairman of a House Republican task force on congressional reform.

COMMENTARY: ECONOMY

CURING THE CREDIT CRUNCH

by Willis Gradison

Temporarily, the most recent credit crunch is over, but it is not so far behind as to be forgotten. The next tightening of money conditions is uncertain only in its timing; it is virtually assured by the realities of record federal borrowings which lay ahead. A slackening rate of inflation, a decline in interest rates, and a sluggish loan demand seem to create an ideal environment for new credit legislation, not enacted under the pressure of crisis but based on a realistic assessment of the nation's needs in the years ahead.

U.S.Rep. Henry Reuss, chairman of the House Banking, Currency and Housing Committee, recently presented his list of priority legislation for that committee. The committee's decision to defer action on one of Reuss' priorities---mandatory allocation of credit to national priority uses---and to reject action on another of his priorities---legislative direction to the Federal Reserve Bank on lowering long-term interest rates---has led to the development of my own committee agenda.

This agenda was developed in light of certain realities: 1. The likelihood of recurrent periods of extreme credit tightness; 2. The need to build into our credit system better means of stabilizing the flow of credit to housing; 3. Consumer demand for new financial services; 4. The availability of high capacity electronic transfer mechanisms; 5. The need to resolve long-standing legislative debate over the regulatory framework for competition among financial intermediaries; 6. The need for permanent capital in the United States coupled with growing holdings of dollar claims abroad; and 7. The growing attack on the independence of the Federal Reserve Bank, its methods of operation, and the results of its decisions.

The most important single action that the House Banking Committee could take would be to consider price and wage controls---and then overwhelmingly reject them. Many businesses, fearful of a sudden reimposition of controls, are reluctant---and understandably so---to cut prices substantially. A clear, unmistakable message from Congress itself would help cut the inflation rate, restore real purchasing power to the consumer, and rebuild public confidence in the economy.

Secondly, variable rate mortgages are a useful means of evening the flow of savings into thrift accounts during periods of tight money. Extending to federal savings and loan associations the same powers now exercised by state associations to adjust mortgage interest rates to market conditions would help stabilize the flow of funds into housing. How successful this proves depends largely on the consumer; to what extent will borrowers avail themselves of variable rate mortgages? To what extent will they switch from variable to fixed rate mortgages during periods of credit ease?

In New Hampshire and Massachusetts, NOW bank accounts have proven to be attractive to the consumer. In just one year,, there is one of these interest-bearing checking accounts for every four conventional checking accounts in Massachusetts. NOW accounts should be available nationwide in banks as well as thrift institutions. Along with this change must come a reexamination of the whole question of prohibiting payment of interest on demand deposits.

Electronic fund transfers should also be encouraged. Direct, paperless deposits of payroll and social security checks are feasible. There is no reason to restrain banks from making transfers from savings to demand accounts on receipt of telephone orders; or from making transfers from savings to demand accounts to cover check overdrafts; or from making third-party payments directly from savings accounts.

Next, the Financial Institutions Act should be passed---thereby granting consumer lending

RIPON RATINGS

One Republican senator and seven Republican congressmen received 100 percent ratings in the 1974 Ripon congressional ratings. Those with perfect scores were Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) and U.S. Reps. Paul N. McCloskey (R-Cal., 17th), John Anderson (R-Ill., 16th), Philip E. Ruppe (R-Mich., 11th), Bill Frenzel (R-Minn., 3rd), Howard Robison (R-N.Y., 27th), and Charles Mosher (R-Ohio, 13th), and Edward G. Biester, Jr. (R-Pa., 8th).

The average Ripon score in the Senate was 60 percent for Republicans and 49 percent for Democrats. The average Ripon score in the House was 55 percent for Republicans and 45 percent for Democrats. Ripon's ratings are based on votes on civil liberties, free market, abortion, foreign aid, international trade, congressional reform, and fiscal restraint issues. The ratings are based on 16 votes in the House and 23 in the Senate.

Other high-ranking scores in the Senate were Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), 91; Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), 85; Sen. Robert Taft, Jr. (R-Ohio), 87; Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.), 80; and Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.), 83. The only Democratic senator to score above 75 percent was Sen. Richard Clark of Iowa, who received an 82. The lowest-ranking member in the Senate was Sen. William Scott (R-Va.) with a 14.

KEY TO SENATE TEST VOTES

7. Amendment by Sen. James Buckley (Cons-N.Y.) to require the use of a higher discount rate when computing cost-benefit ratios for the actual construction of projects authorized for design under the water resources development bill. This use of more realistic discount rates would have made it more difficult to justify these frequently-pork barrel-like projects on economic grounds. Vote YEA. D-7 right, 41 wrong; R-14 right, 22 wrong.

17. A motion by Sen. Robert Taft, Jr. (R-Ohio), to invoke cloture on a bill to transfer the legal services program from the Office of Economic Opportunity to a new Legal Services Corporation. Vote YEA. D-44 right, 12 wrong; R-24 right, 17 wrong.

40. An amendment by Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) to strike a section of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation bill which would terminate the agency's authority to offer insurance and financial programs to U.S. investors in Yugoslavia and Rumania. Vote YEA. D-23 right, 29 wrong; R-31 right, 8 wrong.

75. A bill, sponsored by Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R-Nebr.) to establish new standards and procedures for the imposition of the death penalty. Vote NAY. D-25 right, 26 wrong; R-8 right, 28 wrong.

78. An amendment by Sen. Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.) to provide that meetings of the budget committee be open to the public. Vote YEA. D-37 right, 11 wrong; R-18 right, 15 wrong.

140. An amendment by Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) to the pending Tower amendment to the federal election campaign financing legislation. The Mansfield amendment would require the comptroller general to audit the income tax returns of federal employees whose gross annual income exceeds \$20,000. Vote NAY. D-4 right, 45 wrong; R-12 right, 26 wrong. (After times of great scandal such as Watergate, there often ensues a veritable stampede of politicians to vote for anything, no matter how ill-conceived, that purports to be reformist. Rarely has this trend been better illustrated than in the vote on this costly amendment.)

149. A bill, sponsored by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), to reimburse Mississippi chicken farmers for losses due to the destruction of about 8 million broilers contaminated by the pesticide dieldrin. Vote NAY. D-15 right, 34 wrong; R-16 wrong, 21 wrong.

164. A bill, sponsored by Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.), to require states to reform their auto insurance laws so that accident victims would be paid by their own insurance carriers regardless of fault. Vote YEA. D-32 right, 22 wrong; R-19 right, 20 wrong.

189. An amendment by Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.) to the Tower substitute amendment, to extend the Cost of Living Council's authority to enforce wage-price commitments by business and labor groups. Vote NAY. D-14 right, 33 wrong; R-32 right, 4 wrong.

210. A motion by Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) to table an amendment by Sen. William L. Scott (R-Va.) to transfer jurisdiction over cases involving public elementary or secondary schools from federal to state courts. Vote YEA. D-36 right, 12 wrong; R-25 right, 13 wrong.

244. An amendment to the military procurement authorization by Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) to prohibit the Defense Department from denying assistance to college students solely on the grounds that the institution where they were enrolled previously had terminated its Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program. Vote YEA. D-32 right, 19 wrong; R-16 right, 24 wrong.

246. A motion by Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) to table an amendment to the military procurement authorization by Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.) to prohibit the use of federal funds for abortions, abortion referral services, or medical assistance or supplies for such cases. Vote YEA. D-35 right, 16 wrong; R-29 right, 11 wrong.

315. A motion by Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R-N.C.) that the Senate agree to House amendments prohibiting the new Legal Services Corporation from engaging in in-house research activities and the direct funding of back-up legal research centers and public interest law firms. Vote NAY. D-42 right, 12 wrong; R-19 right, 22 wrong.

334. A motion by Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) to table an amendment to the Export Administration Act by Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) limiting to 5 million tons the amount of iron and steel scrap which may be exported from the United States in FY '75. Vote YEA. D-39 right, 18 wrong; R-31 right, 8 wrong.

366. A motion by Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) to table an amendment by Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) in the nature of a substitute bill, establishing a Cost of Living Task Force with subpoena powers. Vote YEA. D-17 right, 31 wrong; R-33 right, 3 wrong.

480. An amendment by Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) authorizing the President to delay the cutoff of military aid to Turkey until Dec. 10, 1974 if he determines that such a delay will further negotiations for a peaceful resolution of the Cyprus conflict. Vote YEA. D-9 right, 32 wrong; R-18 right, 8 wrong.

484. A motion by Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.) to table an amendment by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), barring the use of funds to compel any school system, as a condition for receiving grants, to classify or assign teachers or students by race or sex. Vote YEA. D-27 right, 20 wrong; R-16 right, 16 wrong.

503. An amendment by Sen. Frank Moss (D-Utah), barring funds for tobacco price support, export subsidy, or sales promotion programs. Vote YEA. D-13 right, 40 wrong; R-11 right, 25 wrong.

505. An amendment by Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., deleting the \$85.7 million appropriation for subsidy payments to sugar growers. Vote YEA. D-10 right, 43 wrong;

R-18 right, 19 wrong.

520. An amendment to the foreign aid authorization by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), setting a \$5 billion ceiling on FY '75 expenditures for foreign assistance programs. This amendment entailed about a \$600 million reduction. Vote NAY. D-18 right, 34 wrong; R-30 right, 9 wrong.

524. Confirmation of Nelson A. Rockefeller as vice president of the United States. Vote YEA. D-53 right, 4 wrong; R-38 right, 3 wrong.

537. An amendment to the Trade Act of 1974 by Sen. Thomas V. McIntyre (D-N.H.) to bar the President from reducing tariffs or duties on manufactured goods for which imports exceed one third of domestic consumption during three of the last five years. Vote NAY. D-23 right, 26 wrong; R-26 right, 9 wrong.

556. Vote on a conference report on a bill, sponsored by U.S. Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan (D-Mo.), requiring that 20% of all oil imported into the United States be carried in U.S. flag vessels, with the percentage requirements increasing to 25% after June 30, 1977. The President would be authorized to waive the requirement due to national security reasons or a shortage of tankers. Vote NAY. D-14 right, 32 wrong; R-26 right, 12 wrong.

KEY TO HOUSE TEST VOTES

84. An amendment by U.S. Rep. Ralph H. Metcalfe (D-Ill.) to eliminate the death penalty as punishment for hijacking and substitute in its place a sentence of 20 years to life in prison. Vote YEA. D-90 right, 136 wrong; R-31 right, 150 wrong.

123. A bill sponsored by U.S. Rep. Thomas E. Morgan (D-Pa.) to authorize funds for disaster relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction assistance in Pakistan, Nicaragua, and the Sahelian nations of Africa. Vote YEA. D-178 right, 46 wrong; R-98 right, 78 wrong.

217. A bill, sponsored by U.S. Rep. Leonor Sullivan (D-Mo.) to require that 20% of all imported oil be carried in U.S. flag vessels. Vote NAY. D-30 right, 194 wrong; R-106 right, 72 wrong.

227. A motion by U.S. Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) to recommend to conference a bill with instructions to include in the bill the House-approved provision barring legal service back-up research centers. Vote NAY. D-155 right, 52 wrong; R-35 right, 131 wrong.

245. A bill sponsored by U.S. Rep. Al Ullman (D-Ore.) to increase the temporary public debt ceiling from \$475.7 billion to \$495 billion through March 31, 1975. Vote YEA. D-116 right, 97 wrong; R-75 right, 93 wrong.

301. An amendment by U.S. Rep. John Heinz III (R-Pa.) to increase appropriations for the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department by \$1.82 million. Vote YEA. D-119 right, 105 wrong; R-92 right, 80 wrong.

314. An amendment by U.S. Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) to delete a \$3 million subsidy to Cotton, Inc., a research organization that promotes the cotton industry. Vote YEA. D-76 right, 134 wrong; R-106 right, 55 wrong.

335. A motion by U.S. Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill (D-Mass.) to table a resolution by U.S. Rep. John B. Anderson (R-Ill.) to direct the chairman of the Select Committee on Committees to request the Rules Committee to grant a rule for immediate consideration of the so-called "Boiling Plan" (H.R. 988) for reorganizing House committees. Vote NAY. D-9 right, 218 wrong; R-156 right, 24 wrong.

346. An amendment to the Labor-HEW Appropriations bill by U.S. Rep. Angelo D. Roncallo (R-N.Y.) to prohibit the use of funds for abortions and related referral services, drugs, devices, and research, and to prohibit the Labor Department and HEW from forcing government contractors and public and private schools receiving federal funds to pay for abortion insurance coverage and benefits. Vote NAY. D-149 right, 53 wrong; R-98 right, 70 wrong.

383. A bill, sponsored by U.S. Rep. W.R. Poage (D-Tex.) to provide \$2 billion in emergency federal loan guarantees to livestock producers who face economic hardship due to oversupply. Vote NAY. D-104 right, 128 wrong; R-100 right, 82 wrong.

496. An amendment to the Urban Mass Transportation bill (H.R. 12859) by U.S. Rep. E.G. Shuster (R-Pa.) to award federal grants on the basis of a city's efforts to discourage the use of automobiles by disincentive taxes and its promotion of mass transit use. Vote YEA. D-29 right, 150 wrong; R-126 right, 24 wrong.

551. An amendment by U.S. Rep. Marjorie S. Holt (R-Md.) to prohibit the Office of Civil Rights of HEW from withholding funds from school districts, assigning teachers and students to schools or maintaining any records based on race, religion, sex, or national origin. Vote NAY. D-129 right, 89 wrong; R-40 right, 131 wrong.

558. An amendment by U.S. Rep. Richard H. Ichord (D-Mo.) to the pending Hansen substitute amendment, to retain the Committee on Internal Security as a separate B-level standing committee instead of transferring its functions to the Judiciary Committee. D-126 right, 109 wrong; R-38 right, 137 wrong.

586. An amendment to the Hansen substitute by U.S. Rep. Delbert L. Latta (R-Ohio) abolishing the practice of proxy voting at committees and subcommittees. Vote YEA. D-47 right, 165 wrong; R-149 right, 1 wrong.

588. An amendment by U.S. Rep. Julia Butler Hansen (D-Wash.) in the nature of a substitute for a resolution by U.S. Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.) to reform the structure, jurisdiction, and procedures of House committees. Vote NAY. D-67 right, 150 wrong; R-98 right, 53 wrong.

716. Vote on the confirmation of Nelson A. Rockefeller to be vice president of the United States. Vote YEA. D-134 right, 99 wrong; R-153 right, 29 wrong.

CALIFORNIA
Anderson (35) 40
Bell (28) 86
Brown (38) 47
Burgener (42) 60
Burke (37) 67
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Clausen (1) 44
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Ketchum (36) 36
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Noss (7) 40
Perris (33) 40
Reas (26) 60
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Roybal (30) 56
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Sisk (16) 33
Stark (8) 50
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Veysey (43) 60
Waldie (14) 62
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Wilson, B. (40) 46
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Evans (3) 55
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Schroeder (1) 62
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Grasso (6) 75
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Gunter (5) 38
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Lehman (13) 57
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Mathis (2) 0
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Stubblefield (1) 18
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Hebert (1) 25
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Pascam (8) 29
Rarick (6) 0
Treen (3) 40
Waggoner (4) 27
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Cohen (2) 88
Kyros (1) 47
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Conte (1) 94
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Drinan (4) 81
Harrington (6) 87
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Macdonald (7) 74
Moakley (9) 50
O'Neill (8) 50
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Broomefield (19) 71
Brown (3) 64
Cederberg (10) 40
Chamberlain (6) 60
Conyers (1) 60
Diggs (13) 60
Dingle (16) 33
Ea (2) 69
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Griffiths (17) 50
Huber (18) 29
Hutchinson (4) 50
Nedzi (14) 50
O'Hara (12) 38
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Ruppe (11) 100
Traxler (8) 50
Vander Jagt (9) 67
Vander Veen (5) 69
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Frazer (5) 75
Frazer (5) 100
Karth (4) 46
Nelsen (2) 64
Quie (1) 75
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Bowen (2) 19
Cochran (4) 47
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Montgomery (3) 19
Whitten (1) 25
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Clay (1) 64
Hingate (9) 27
Ichord (8) 7
Litton (6) 43
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Sullivan (3) 21
Symington (2) 57
Taylor (7) 27
MONTANA
Melcher (2) 31
Shoup (1) 36

powers and checking account privileges to savings and loan associations. There seems to be a broadening consensus in support of action on this measure.

Congress should also enact a clearer definition of appropriate activities for bank holding companies. The present standard ("so closely related to banking or managing or controlling banks as to be a proper incident thereto") seems to be leading to unnecessary controversy about the interventions of Congress. Should an Indiana bank (with sufficient capital) be permitted to acquire an Arizona savings and loan institution? Congress should clarify its views on such questions. Also in the area of banking reform, regulation of foreign banks should be examined, as should the mechanisms available for dealing with crises such as the collapse of the Franklin National Bank last year. There should be safeguards to prevent a chain-reaction collapse of other institutions when one bank encounters similar equity problems.

At a time when capital is in short supply in this country, massive amounts of consumption dollars are being converted into capital dollars in the hands of the petroleum-producing countries. This will continue until we reduce our dependence on foreign energy sources or U.S. exports to OPEC countries expand proportionately. We need a calm, dispassionate review of the situation with the goal of encouraging increased permanent investment of OPEC funds in the United States and reducing short-term, volatile holdings.

Finally, the relationship between the Federal Reserve and Congress must be reexamined. There seems to be increasing suspicion of the "Fed" by members of Congress and increasingly I hear highly political attacks on the Fed or its key decision-makers. Such an atmosphere in itself could undermine the Fed's ability to act independently in reaching decisions. (Not all of their decisions will be popular, but not all popular decisions are necessarily wise.) The public needs a clear view of how the Fed actually operates so it can develop greater confidence in the Fed's decision-making process, if not in the decisions themselves. One means might be broader consultation with varied interest groups on a regular basis before decisions are made. Another might be more timely disclosure of major decisions and the reasons for these decisions. I have no desire to weaken the Fed by these changes, but I fear that if some accommodation is not made, the very independence of the Fed could be impaired, its nonpolitical image corrupted, and the help of monetary policy in dealing with inflation could be lost. ■

Contributor Note: U.S. Rep. Willis Gradison (R-Ohio) is a member of the House Banking, Currency, and Housing Committee.

POLITICS: STATES

Massachusetts Republicans elected former Metropolitan District Commissioner John Sears as the new head of the state GOP February 26. Sears succeeds William Barnstead, whose controversial statements led to his ouster from the job in January. The new chairman was chosen by a screening committee headed by Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.); Sears' election is one aspect of Brooke's new leadership in party affairs. Not only will Sears be paid full-time, but a staff of four-five field representatives is also expected to be added to the GOP budget. Brooke has pledged his support for raising the necessary funds for the expanded operation. Speaking of past party quarrels and critics, Brooke brought laughter to the GOP state committee meeting when he said: "I hope I don't offend [my critics] any more than they offend me."

ALABAMA Gerald Ford never got his White House pool, but George Wallace is getting one for the gubernatorial mansion. Wallace is paying for the pool, but the state is digging the hole. Doctors have urged Wallace to test the waters more often for therapeutic purposes. Note: The Alabama GOP elected Edgar Welden, executive assistant to U.S. Rep. John Buchanan (R) to succeed Republican State Chairman Richard Bennett, who served three terms in the post. Welden, a Birmingham realtor and former GOP executive director, defeated Montgomery County GOP Chairman Richard Compton for the post.

CONNECTICUT Former GOP State Chairman J. Brian Gaffney may be headed for a comeback in his old party post after a brief judicial career. Gaffney was appointed as a judge by former Gov. Thomas Meskill in 1974, but he resigned when it became clear that he would not be reappointed to a full, eight-year term. He has shown interest in the job now held by GOP State Chairman Vincent Laudone, but he has also be mentioned as a possible candidate for mayor of New Britain.

NORTH CAROLINA North Carolina Republicans are fighting again. This time Frank Rouse, former GOP state chairman and a political foe of Gov. James Holshouser (R), has charged that he and a business partner gave \$5,000 to the losing campaign of former Attorney General Jim Carson in exchange for a promise of a favorable ruling on a contracting claim against the state government. Carson, a Holshouser ally, denies the charge as does his campaign manager, Bill Russo, who is now executive director of the state GOP.

VERMONT

The Vermont GOP State Committee has elected 1974 gubernatorial candidate Walter "Peanut" Kennedy as the new state chairman. Kennedy, a former Vermont House speaker, defeated party Vice chairman Constance Johnson, 26-10. The new chairman succeeds Stewart A. Smith, who blocked two attempts to remove him as chairman before he finally resigned. Smith, a moderate, had a running feud with conservative GOP National Committeeman Roland A. Seward. House Majority Leader Richard A. Snelling, considered a 1976 GOP gubernatorial hopeful, wanted a full-time chairman, but Seward argued that the debt-ridden GOP could not afford one. Kennedy meanwhile has indicated he does not intend to make another gubernatorial run in 1976. Gov. Thomas Salmon(D) is considered a probable Senate candidate against Sen. Robert Stafford(R) so there may be a gubernatorial opening for the GOP.

DULY NOTED: STATES

Speaking to a Young Republican Conference in Washington in late February, Sen. Bill Brock(R-Tenn.) said: "Let's get off this old garbage of calling people names and judging their ideas by what label they carry. Look at law and order. Maybe it's about time the conservatives admitted that we have got to deal with some of the roots of the crime problem if we are going to stop it, just like it's time the liberals admitted that you cannot put the rights of criminals above the rights of citizens."

● "Tydings Almost Certain He'll Run for Senate in '76," by William Taffe. Washington Star-News, March 2, 1976. "Former U.S. senator from Maryland, Joseph D. Tydings, suggested strongly yesterday that he intends to run next year for the Senate seat now held by J. Glenn Beall, Jr., who defeated Tydings in 1970." Tydings blamed his 1970 defeat on his involvement in too many controversial issues, and said he was 80-90 percent sure to run again. If he does, he may face Democratic primary opposition from U.S. Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes; Gov. Marvin Mandel, or Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara A. Mikulski, who ran a strong but losing Senate campaign in 1974.

● "Chaos In Capital," by Patrick Boyle. Pittsburgh Press, February 16, 1975. "The legislature, praise be to the voters of Pennsylvania, ostensibly is being managed by the Democrats, but so far that party has shown signs of having problems directing a two-car funeral. During the past two years, Republicans ran the House and Democrats operated the Senate. That political split accomplished more for the people than one party may be able to achieve," writes the Press' Harrisburg correspondent. "Gov. Milton J. Shapp has been pouring the steam into his new administration and the departments and agencies under his direction and they are coughing and burping under that pressure."

● "The GOP Road to Recovery," by Douglas Hallett. California Journal, February, 1975. "In casting out so many Republicans last November, the electorate was not so much revolting against Republican principles as, along with Watergate and the economy, against the apparent absence (or at least invisibility) of those principles in the last Republican campaign [in California]," writes former Nixon aide Hallett. He asserts that Republicans stressed name-calling too much and policy articulation too little. Hallett notes that "Republicans have won the state capitol historically only when they have successfully succeeded in subordinating their fratricidal conservative-liberal conflicts to a policy platform that takes the best from both wings of the party." He notes that new Gov. Jerry Brown(D) adopted many Reaganesque positions in his own campaign and urges the GOP to recapture the sensitivity to "social trends" in the electorate which it demonstrated in winning earlier elections.

● "Holton Likes Absence From Political Arenas," by Helen Dewar. Washington Post, February 25, 1975. Former Virginia Gov. Linwood Holton(R) has not ruled out a 1978 Senate race against Sen. William Scott(R), regardless of the conservative Scott's reelection decision. Holton predicts "an effort in the Republican Party to nominate someone else." Dewar suggests, "One possibility is that Holton, who is known to be more interested in a cabinet post than legislative office, might stand aside from the Senate race if someone like his old Roanoke law partner, Rep. M. Caldwell Butler(R-Va.) could be persuaded to run for the Senate. Conceivably, Holton might try to run against U.S. Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr.(Ind.-Va.) next year, but the Virginia GOP is considered highly unlikely to nominate a candidate to oppose Byrd."

● "Simon As Candidate? He Could Be Drafted," by Robert Comstock. Hackensack(N.J.) Record, February 23, 1975. Treasury Secretary William Simon may be headed for a Republican gubernatorial campaign in New Jersey. Simon has done a little home state politicking lately and said at one point: "It's great to be here even at the risk of stirring up further speculation about my future. There appears to be bipartisan interest in my returning to New Jersey. Some of my Republican friends think it would be the best way to save Trenton. And some of my Democratic friends think it would be the best way to save Washington." Simon recently hosted a \$1,000-a-glass political fundraiser in New Jersey; if he were to seek the nomination, his financial angels would include industrialist Henry Becton and Edward A. Jesser, president of the state Chamber of Commerce. Comstock suggests that Simon may be too conservative for New Jersey's political tastes, but notes that his humor, name recognition, and speaking ability will be distinct advantages.

POLITICS: THE DEMOCRATS

On a recent ride on Boston's Metropolitan Transit Authority, the streetcar conductor warned riders to "watch your wallets and handbags." One straphanging gentleman of indeterminate political origins added in a loud voice, "And liberal Democrats." Some recent Democratic events worth having watched for follow:

In Georgia, State Sen. Roscoe Dean (D-Jesup) has charged that a state investigation of his finances is a "political conspiracy to crucify and destroy" him by Lt. Gov. Zell Miller (D). In 1974, Dean travelled 72,696 miles—all of it on legislative business, according to Dean. The senator, a member of the Senate Committee on Economy, Reorganization, and Efficiency in Government, received \$15,363 from the state for his travels. "There is no substitute for quality," says Dean of his legislative service. Traveling at the legal speed limit of 55 mph in November, Dean would have spent 181 hours on the road in order to justify his vouchers. When his traveling was first revealed, Dean said, "I'll keep traveling." More recently, he announced, "It is apparent that the lieutenant governor, the Georgia Power Co., and the Atlanta newspapers have joined forces in a political conspiracy to crucify and destroy Roscoe Dean, the people's choice." Dean says Miller is trying to eliminate a potential gubernatorial rival and has promised to demand a state investigation of Miller at a later date.

In Pennsylvania, Gov. Milton Shapp (D) would like the State Senate to confirm former State Insurance Commissioner Herbert Denenberg (D) as a member of the state Public Utilities Commission. Senate Democrats have decided to keep the nomination in committee, however, because confirmation would surely be rejected if the controversial Denenberg's name were brought to the Senate floor. Even the Senate majority leader has vowed to vote against Denenberg, whose abrasive manner has endeared him to consumers, but not legislators. By keeping the nomination in committee, Denenberg supporters hope to keep him on the PUC until the political winds change. Democrats need Republican votes for Denenberg to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority, but an estimated eight Democrats are likely to vote against the unsuccessful 1974 Senate aspirant.

In New York, both Gov. Hugh Carey (D) and Mayor Abraham Beame (D) have severe budget problems. Beame has been embarrassed by the discrepancies between his announcements of city payroll cutbacks and later revelations of much lower actual job eliminations, most of them attributable to attrition. Carey's budget problems have contrasted sharply with a requested increase of \$1 million for the office of Lt. Gov. Mary Anne Krupsak. The new governor's penurious attitude toward New York led former Queens Democratic Chairman Matthew Troy to quip: "I'd never have voted for him if I'd known what a tightwad he was."

In Boston, the high cost of vice has shocked Mayor Kevin White (D), who would like to be something more than mayor. Making a tour of the city's seemier bars and nightclubs, White was surprised when the tab for seven drinks came to \$25. Nevertheless, said the mayor after his educational tour, "I know a lot more about this city than people think I do." What the people know about the mayor has some Bostonians troubled. The city spent \$50,000 on an advertising for the "Great Light Way" and the "M.O.B," references to a high-intensity street light project and White's relations with the elderly through the "Mayor's Older Bostonians." At least one potential Democratic opponent to White in this year's mayoralty contest thinks that the ad campaign resembled political advertising.

In Tennessee, State Rep. Ed Williams (R-Memphis) seems to have demonstrated that he is right and U.S. Rep. Harold Ford and TIME magazine are wrong. Ford's campaign literature and TIME indicated that the freshman congressman had a master's degree from Vanderbilt University. Williams protested to TIME that the published information was erroneous and the description of Ford by former legislative colleagues as the "worst member of the Tennessee General Assembly" was more accurate. Rep. Williams is considered a potential Republican opponent to Ford.

In Maryland, Gov. Marvin Mandel (D) has been bedeviled by past travels on private jets owned by friends who do business with the state of Maryland. It was the second time in four years that Mandel has had publicity trouble over his jet junkets and brought to ten the acknowledged trips. The controversy led the Maryland Senate to pass a resolution suggesting that the governor's most publicized trip—to Jamaica in January aboard a jet owned by the Steuart Oil Co.—"gave the appearance of wrongdoing." Mandel's defense of his trip-making led State Sen. Julian L. Lapidus (D) to comment: "I just cannot conceive how the governor—who I consider the most astute politician in this state—continues to sink the quagmire of this Jamaica trip. I just can't understand it. Every day there is another trip, and every day there is another company and every day it gets more exciting like 'As the world Turns.'" Apparently, Gov. Mandel is not aware how sensitive even the "appearance of wrongdoing" can be in the post-Watergate era. The governor's attitude at a recent press conference—"I've gone through it enough. I'm not answering any more questions."—was disturbingly familiar.

In Minnesota last year, the Democratic legislature established a state ethics commission. The commission has suggested that labor union dues should not be used to fund political campaigns, a point in which Minnesota law differs from federal laws which do outlaw dues contributions. Minnesota Democrats are now unhappy with their own ethics commission, however; they received over \$400,000 from labor unions in 1974. There is such a thing as too much ethics, apparently.

In Ohio, 38 Democratic campaign workers were hired by the state government after the defeat of Gov. John J. Gilligan(D) last November. Relatives of top Gilligan staffers and many staffers of "Ohioans for Gilligan" figured prominently in the appointments. An investigation by the Cincinnati Enquirer disclosed that about 5,000 state employees were moved to to civil service or non-political job classifications before Gilligan left office.

In Missouri, a federal grand jury has been investigating the 1968 reelection campaign of former Gov. Warren E. Hearnes. Now seeking to succeed Sen. Stuart Symington(D) in 1976, Hearnes has admitted that \$41,597 from over 100 supposed contributors were misrepresented in a campaign report. The contributions to the Hearnes for Governor Committee came ironically from the Committee for Truth in Politics, not the listed contributors. Hearnes says the investigation is politically motivated and the fraudulent affidavit "might be technically wrong, but not morally wrong."

In Chicago, well, Chicago is Chicago. And Richard Daley is still King. "Watch your wallets and your handbags." ■

14A ELIOT ST.

Sue Davis, partner in a Washington-based consulting group, has been named national finance development chairperson for the Ripon Society. Anne Heavner, a

New York NGB member, has been named FORUM circulation development director.

- The Washington, D.C. chapter heard House Minority Leader John Rhodes, House Conference Chairman John Anderson, and Sen. Robert Stafford at a December meeting of the chapter. In January, the chapter's speaker was former Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus.
- The Ripon Society's regional coordinators are Peter Berg, northeast; Daniel Swillinger, midwest; Ralph Thayer, mid-South; Linda Miller, southeast; Ann O'Loughlin, North Central; Bill Robilio, Texas; and Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff, Mid-Atlantic. Addresses may be obtained through the Ripon Society's Washington office.
- Bill Gibbons has replaced Bob Kabel as president of the Nashville chapter; Kabel is now a congressional staff aide. Former Tennessee gubernatorial candidate LaMar Alexander was the chapter's speaker at its February meeting.
- Nancy Hunt, who ran unsuccessfully for the New York City Council in 1974, has been appointed an executive vice president of the New York Chapter. The chapter has also elected two new representatives to the National Governing Board, Anne Heavner and Joseph Francis, both involved in investment and banking.
- Jonathan Brown, former president of the Washington, D.C. chapter, has left the staff of California Assembly Minority Leader Robert Beverly(R) to become a lobbyist for private California colleges.
- Peter Wallison has been named counsel to Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. Wallison was formerly secretary-treasurer of the Third Century Corporation, which funded the National Commission on Critical Choices. Wallison is also a former chairman of the Ripon National Governing Board.
- National Associate Member Ferd LaBrunerie has been named to the Missouri State Council on the Arts.

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