

RIPON FORUM

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DEPARTMENT

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THE CARTER CABINET

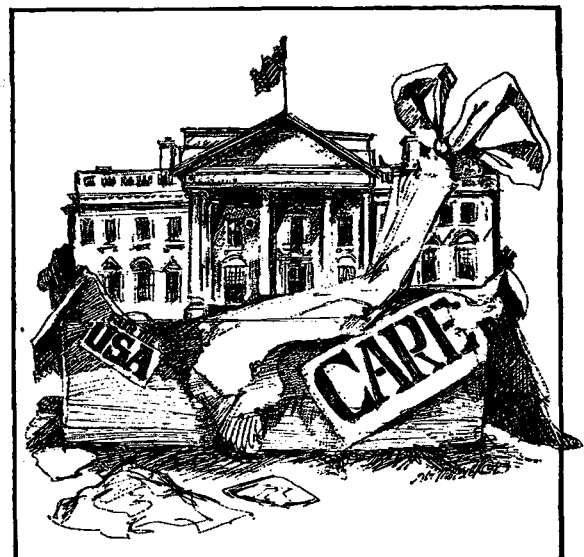
A little over six months ago, Jimmy Carter, successful peanut farmer and tax shelter wizard, became President. After repeatedly asking, "Why Not the Best?" Carter gave the electorate just that---a Cabinet made up of the best of the Great Society retreads and some of the geniuses who helped to involve us in our glorious national adventure in Indochina. To round out his Cabinet, Carter appointed two Georgians: Bert Lance, whose bank was practically going belly up, to bring his managerial talents to the Office of Management and Budget, and the Rev. Andrew Young, to serve as chaplain-at-large-to-the-world with occasional duties at the United Nations.

More skilled and somewhat more diverse than the virtually prepubescent White House staff, Carter's Department secretaries have received widely differing grades from Washington observers for their first six months. A general review of the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet positions indicates that there has been a modest deterioration from the quality level of the Ford Administration---certainly nothing for President Trustme to write home to Miz Lillian about.

State: Having earned his establishmentarian spurs as a troubleshooter on Cyprus, Indochina and other still-troubleshoot areas, Cyrus Vance is perhaps one of the best that Wall Street could offer. Unfortunately, Wall Street didn't offer much. Replacing Kissinger with Vance is perhaps the governmental equivalent of sending in Pee Wee Reese as a pinch hitter for Babe Ruth. Even more pronounced than the brownout of intellectual kilowattage at Foggy Bottom is the State Department's new role as a political haven for the Democratic Left. Politicians who have been re-

jected by voters in their home states or who wouldn't stand a prayer of being elected sewer commissioner have garnered a slew of sub-cabinet level state posts. They earned their spurs by supporting Jimmy Carter when other Democratic liberals saw more in Mo.

Treasury: One of the stronger administrators in the Carter Cabinet, Michael Blumenthal may outclass Bill Simon in this area. Blumenthal has, however, stubbed his toe badly on the issue of tax reform. In moving to press a tax reform package that may severely penalize investment, capital formation, and home ownership, Blumenthal may soon earn the title of commander of Jimmy Carter's War on the Middle Class. Yet thanks to the political strength of upwardly mobile Americans, Blumenthal's prospects for success are less than Sargent Shriver's as commander of LBJ's abortive War on Poverty.



Defense: Harold Brown is the intellectual class of this Cabinet. In brains he is the match of a McNamara or a Schlesinger, but he lacks the flash of intellectual arrogance that hindered the others. Defense is one of the strongest of Carter's Departments. The principal shortcoming of Carter's DOD talent-recruiting was a tendency to suspend experience or knowledgeability requirements when dealing with "symbolic appointments." Clifford Alexander's total background to be secretary of the army was six month's service in the reserves. On the strength of her reputation as a Watergate assistant prosecutor, Jill Wine-Vollner was chosen as general counsel of the army. Although better qualified in general than many Carter appointees, both individuals would seem far better prepared for non-Defense assignments.

Justice: Jerry Ford may have lost last year's election because he had a truly nonpoliticized Justice Department, one which would investigate what turned out to be bogus charges against a sitting President at a devastating point in his election campaign. Jimmy Carter isn't about to risk this possibility---as evidenced by his selection of Griffin Bell and Pete Flaherty to the top two Justice posts. Neither of these men is likely to bring back to Justice the aroma that characterized it from 1969 to mid-1973. At the same time, it would be equally surprising if Justice were to rouse a few potential skeletons from the Carter campaign closet, such as payments in the 1976 California Democratic primary to ministers for their pro-Carter endorsements or receipt of wholesale campaign contributions from maritime interests. Indications are that the Justice Department has already quietly closed out an investigation of widespread misuse of government funds by members of the Carter transition team.

Interior: Cecil Andrus has won high marks from environmentalists for his policies and appointments at Interior. Although a former Western governor, he seems less the mouthpiece of Western mineral and energy interest than many of his predecessors. Andrus has been somewhat less successful at representing Interior's bureaucratic interests in Carter Administration infighting.

Agriculture: Bob Bergland is one of the best administrators in the Carter

Cabinet---perhaps something of a surprise given his congressional background. He has brought two commendable innovations to Agriculture---concern for the family farmer and commitment to fair administration of federal farm programs with respect to black farmers in the South. Due to a glut of wheat on the world market, Bergland has a tough task ahead to assure adequate prices to American producers. Somewhat more enamored with price supports than Earl Butz, Bergland is likely to find his ardor cooled by President Carter, who has developed an aversion to high crop subsidies.

Commerce: Together with the State Department, Commerce is the department which has suffered the greatest decline in top-level administrators since Carter's accession to the Presidency. Elliot Richardson was the first Secretary in a number of years to have effectively mastered Commerce's disparate components. By contrast, Juanita Kreps seems the odds-on choice for anchorperson of the Carter Cabinet. Her appointments have often tended to be personal cronies, and the strong left-of-center tilt of Kreps' top appointments has tended to minimize Commerce's utility for Carter as a contact point with the business community. Secretary Kreps has effectively turned over operational control of the department to Stanley Harmon, a cocky and abrasive manufacturer who has been described as "another Howard Samuels."

Labor: If you want a Great Society secretary of labor, Ray Marshall is your man. An expert on manpower training programs, this Texan is a believer in activist government. His top level staff has been characterized as the best since George Shultz' secretaryship. Marshall has proved particularly adept at intra-Administration infighting, besting Andrus on mine safety and stymieing Califano on welfare reform.

Health, Education, and Welfare: In a kind of Danteian Justice, Joseph Califano was sentenced to bring order to the department whose metastacizing programs he had often spawned as LBJ's domestic braintruster. An adequate administrator and able infighter, Califano still seems to swallow the notion that "Big Daddy HEW Knows Best." The ukase on the handicapped recently promulgated by Califano makes existing drug addicts

and alcoholics the subject of required affirmative action programs. Even the New Republic found this notion a little exotic.

Housing and Urban Development: Pat Harris is no match in administrative abilities for her predecessor, Carla Hills. Secretary Harris has, however, recruited a strong sub-Cabinet team which outclasses any HUD has seen for a number of years. Secretary Harris is reported to have little access to Carter, perhaps because HUD's pet concerns would further bloat his budget.

Transportation: Brock Adams' strong reputation as chairman of the House Budget Committee created expectations which have yet to be realized. His top level appointments were very narrowly based and drawn heavily from his congressional

staff. Intellectually, Adams is certainly no match for his predecessor, William Coleman. The failure of Carter's energy package to include any mass transit proposals either indicates Adams' lack of foresight or his ineffectiveness in making himself heard.

While several of Carter's Cabinet appointees show promise, the overall quality of top level Administration appointments appears to have slipped appreciably. Aside from Harold Brown, there is no one who comes remotely close in intellectual talent to Kissinger, Richardson, Coleman, Levi and Hills. More significantly, perhaps, the base of the Carter Cabinet is drawn much more from establishment Democrat politics than one would have expected from such a self-appointed outsider. ■

Editorial: Justice Department

WHY NOT THE BEST?

Early in July, the Ripon Society called upon President Jimmy Carter to reappoint U.S. Attorney Jonathan Goldstein of New Jersey rather than bow to political pressures to replace him with a Democratic appointee.

Noting that Attorney General Griffin Bell has already fired Detroit U.S. Attorney Philip Van Dam, Ripon called on President Carter to live up to the title of his autobiography, Why Not the Best?, in New Jersey. Goldstein has proven to be one of the "best" since his appointment in 1974.

Attorney General Bell has given no reason to replace Goldstein with one of the half dozen competent but unproven appointees that Sen. Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) has recommended for the post. Goldstein's problem is not that he has fallen short of Carter's standards for the "best," but that he has consistently pursued the "worst" in public office, regardless of their partisan affiliation. In the relentless prosecution of official corruption, Goldstein has followed in the distinguished tradition of his predecessors as U.S. Attorney, Herbert Stern and Frederic Lacey;

The necessity for Goldstein's removal was recently outlined by the Wall Street Journal's Jonathan Kwitny:

...Sen. Williams' list of replacements was put on a back burner---that is, until April 28, when a federal

judge countermanded a parole board and let ex-Newark Mayor [Hugh] Addonizio out of prison for good behavior half-way through a 10-year sentence. The ex-mayor had been sent to jail with the son of Ruggiero "Richie the Boot" Bolardo and others for a plot to steal \$1.4 million from the public till.

After posing for public photos with his 91-year-old mother at her humble Newark home, Addonizio hustled off to his baronial mansion and pool on a 10-acre estate near the Jersey shore, all of which was bought or built while he was mayor (an investigation of where the materials came from led to the charges that sent him to jail).

An indignant Mr. Goldstein appealed the release in court and two days later had Addonizio right back in the slammer. Obviously, Mr. Goldstein is no politician. Despite his record, Mr. Addonizio remains popular with his old neighbors, who picketed in outrage and besieged Mr. Goldstein on the steps of the courthouse. (The Supreme has since freed the ex-mayor, pending its own hearing of Mr. Goldstein's appeal.)

Enter Rep. [Peter] Rodino, very much a politician, who knows that without the support of Newark's Italians, he would soon become ex-Rep. Rodino. Also, he knows that as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, he has the power, if he chooses, to make life miserable for Attorney General Bell.

Since the rejailing of Addonizio, Mr. Rodino has gone to Mr. Bell at least

twice to urge the removal of Mr. Goldstein. Possibly, that would lead to permanent freedom for the ex-mayor. (By some accounts, Mr. Rodino has gone personally to Mr. Carter, but that's unconfirmed.) At any rate, the replacement machinery is creaking into motion. FBI checks have been ordered.

Kwitny notes that New Jersey Assistant Attorney General Robert Del Tufo is the leading candidate to succeed Goldstein. Del Tufo is not the sort of candidate who would feel impelled to see Addonizio returned to the slammer. And though Kwitny himself sees reasons to continue political appointments of U.S. attorneys, he concludes, "But does Mr. Carter imagine that the American people voted him President so he could let Hugh Addonizio go back to that estate by the shore to enjoy his swag from the public treasury."

Goldstein himself has said: "My philosophy is that there has to be an office in this state that protects the public interest, that says you can hold men accountable for their crimes no matter what public office they hold or how high their position in life." These are sentiments with which Carter himself would have to agree and to which Goldstein's record bears ample testimony.

Sen. Williams' efforts to politicize the appointment of U.S. attorneys stands in sharp contrast to the position taken by his Democratic colleague in New York, Daniel P. Moynihan. Sen. Moynihan resisted pressure from his own party and accepted the recommendation of his screening panel that three of that state's four Republican U.S. attorneys be continued in office. A similar panel appointed by Florida Sen. Lawton Chiles and Sen. Richard Stone, both Democrats, has resulted in the retention of two of that state's three U.S. attorneys.

More serious and disturbing than Williams' patronage approach to this important post is the attitude taken by Attorney General Bell and President Carter. Bell has brushed aside criticism by saying, "The main reason is that we had an election last November, and the Democrats won. You can use your imagination after that."

The main reason the Democrats won is that the American people believed that President Carter would not approve politics-as-usual in Washington and that he

would keep his pledge to restore America's faith in its government. Not the least among the President's many promises was his vow to depoliticize the Justice Department and appoint U.S. attorneys on merit. Jonathan Goldstein "merits" reappointment.

Apparently, President Carter will keep this particular promise only if it is agreeable to Democratic senators. This is situational senatorial ethics at best, not high presidential principle. The American people have been led to believe that President Carter had a higher sense of moral standards. ■

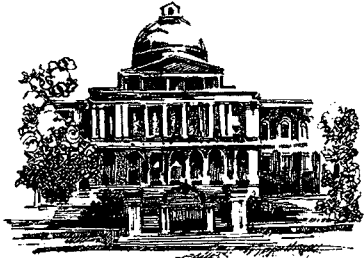
Ripon Update

NEW YORK U.S. Rep. Otis Pike (D), the Suffolk County congressman who has made his mark as a critic of the Central Intelligence Agency and the breakfast cuisine at Jimmy Carter's White House, is considering retirement. The \$8,000 limit on outside income passed this year by the House would seriously affect Pike's return on Long Island rest homes in which he is a part owner. Meanwhile, Pike's fellow Suffolk congressman, Thomas Downey (D), is being touted by New York State Democratic Chairman Dominic Baranello as possible Senate candidate in 1980. Downey will pass the constitutional age requirement of 30 in 1979. In his capacity of state chairman, Baranello wrote a letter to all county chairmen this spring on the state of the party's fiscal problems. In his capacity as county chairman, Baranello replied, assuring him of his cooperation and noting that he was a longtime admirer of the state chairman.

CONNECTICUT Liberal Democrats are looking for an alternative to Gov. Ella Grasso (D) next year. Although she had a reputation as the House liberal in the late John Bailey's political machine, her opposition to a statewide income tax led the Caucus of Connecticut Democrats to vow support to a "progressive" candidate next year. Grasso has been seeking to repair her frazzled relations with local and legislative Democrats, but one influential Hartford city councilman, Nicholas Carbone, has vowed to tour the state this summer to drum up some gubernatorial competition.

OREGON Sen. Mark Hatfield (R) is considered the overwhelming favorite to win reelection in 1978,

but a recent poll taken by the Portland Oregonian showed that Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt (D) could pose a strong challenge to Hatfield. Hatfield, who has led Senate opposition to the neutron bomb, led Goldschmidt by a 46-40 percent margin in the poll. Goldschmidt has said that there is "almost no probability" that he would oppose Hatfield and is considered more likely to challenge Sen. Bob Packwood (R) in 1980.



MASSACHUSETTS Former Gov. Francis Sargent (R) has forsworn next year's gubernatorial race. But Republicans continue to wait for the word from Sargent's cousin, Elliot Richardson, Sargent wrote a recent column for the Boston Globe after a conversation with Richardson in which he concluded: "U.S. Ambassador-at-Large Elliot Richardson won't run for governor of Massachusetts next year if the President still needs him when the Law of the Sea Conference resumes next March. But if he does run, he'll commit himself to a four-year term and forgo 1980 presidential politics."

WORKFARE Gov. Michael Dukakis has proposed a "workfare" scheme which would impose a mandatory work requirement on able-bodied male welfare recipients. Although the plan has encountered Democratic and federal government opposition, Republican criticism has been sparse. Nevertheless, there is a strong "Republican" case to be made against Dukakis' proposal, not a narrowly partisan sense but in a deeper philosophical one. It violates three principles which are fundamental not only to the GOP but to the American Republic. All citizens will recognize these principles as essential to their own freedom. The first precept is that of free labor. Only the threat of war or the commission of a crime justifies any interference with the right of citizens to choose their jobs. Dukakis' proposal puts the state of Massachusetts in the business of operating a conscript work corps. He would require poor, able-bodied men to contract

away their freedom as a condition for their survival. This is not, as some liberal legislators have suggested, "slavery" in the strict sense. In colonial times, it was called "indentured servitude." Dukakis has countered such criticism by arguing that if Massachusetts taxpayers are providing the funds, they have a right to limit the freedom of those who accept these funds. This argument violates a second Republican principle: saving money is not sufficient grounds for abridging people's freedom. Dukakis appeals to a widespread notion that "they" (the welfare recipients) are spending "our" (the taxpayers') money. But he has yet to produce a single welfare recipient who has never been and never will be a taxpayer. "They" are simply some of "us" who this year qualify for welfare. The same reasoning could as easily be applied to Social Security recipients. "They" (the aged) are now living off funds providing by "us" through the Social Security tax. But they themselves once paid the tax and Dukakis' reasoning could as easily demand that "they" put in a day of work for the state. Similarly, does the use of state funds for medicaid recipients give "us" the right to require "them" to stop smoking or take a weight-watcher's course if it is determined that thin, non-smokers will cost "us" less money. Dukakis responds that the whole question can be settled in the courts though his staff, lieutenant governor and cabinet have advised him that his case is a very poor one. But the "we" whose tax money Dukakis claims to be saving will be supplying the tax money to defend Dukakis' legal incompetence. This violates a third Republican principle: that elected representatives not cynically violate the spirit of the laws they are sworn to uphold. Dukakis, a lawyer, thinks that by the time the courts test the issue he will have been safely reelected. He shouldn't be so sure. His plan appeals superficially to a hard-hat constituency. But wearing a hard hat does not mean that one has a soft head. The principles of free labor, equal treatment for all potential taxpayers, and respect for law are those that all citizens recognize as fundamental.

JAWS OF VICTORY: \$4.50. Bargain copies of Ripon's highly-praised book on the 1972 election are now available from Ripon's Washington office, 800 18th St. N.W., Wash., D.C. 20006. Postage Paid.

The 1978 political situation in Oklahoma is complicated by the medical condition of first-term conservative Republican Sen. Dewey Bartlett. Earlier this year, Bartlett was discovered to have lung cancer and has had two operations thus far. He has announced his intention to seek reelection and has sent out the first fundraising appeal of the upcoming campaign. But although his campaign organization is intact, uncertainty over the status of his health places a shadow over his candidacy.

The political picture is further complicated by the indecision of the popular and youthful "reform" governor, David Boren(D). The best guess is that Boren will give up a safe chance to be reelected to run for the United States Senate. Should Bartlett not seek reelection, Boren's decision would be an easier one. He would be the overwhelming favorite to win the Democratic nomination and the general election. Should Boren run for reelection, then most Democrats now waiting in the wings to run for governor will switch and run for the Senate. These include Attorney General Larry Derryberry, Tulsa three-term U.S.Rep. James R. Jones, Senate President Pro Tem Gene Howard, and an outside long-shot for U.S.senator, U.S.Rep. Glenn English of the 6th C.D.

At the present time, there are two announced Republican candidates for governor: Jim Head of Tulsa, who runs as a "reborn Christian," and Neal McCleab, a second term state representative. Neither has stirred up much enthusiasm in the state though McCleab now appears to have an edge. Should there be a real opportunity for a Republican gubernatorial win, more candidates would be attracted. One would be attorney Ron Shotts, a former Oklahoma University football player,

state representative, and the GOP's 1976 candidate for the Corporation Commission. Shotts ran an amazingly close race for that post, losing by only 25,000 votes. He maintains a high level of visibility around the state, but it is more likely that he will run for attorney general than governor. Derryberry's intention to run for governor or senator will leave that office vacant.

Though Boren could easily win reelection or gain the Senate nomination, it is far from certain that he can beat Sen. Bartlett. In his favor is Boren's generally favorable public reception, his image as a "nonpolitician," and the fact that he is a Democrat in a Democratic state. Bartlett, however, has the best political organization of any statewide figure and enjoys enthusiastic support from the major metropolitan newspapers. He elicits, furthermore, greater enthusiasm from the state's conservative Republicans than does Sen. Henry Bellmon(R).

Bartlett is generally considered to be a gentlemanly but dull campaigner. He has been a competent senator with a reasonable quota of favorable press coverage. But in 1972, Bartlett won his seat by only 25,000 votes over then-U.S. Rep. Ed Edmondson while Richard Nixon was carrying every county in the state. A Bartlett-Boren race would be closely contested and expensive with only 50-50 odds for Bartlett---even if he were in the best of health.

In other races, U.S.Rep. Mickey Edwards(R-5th) will undoubtedly have a tough fight for reelection but will probably survive it. Should U.S.Rep. James R. Jones vacate his Tulsa district, the GOP stands a good chance of recapturing Page Belcher's old seat. ■

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THE CASE FOR THE U.S. PRESENCE

by Martin H. Sours

The present debate over United States security policies toward South Korea usually resolves around the following assumptions. First, the situation today is not that of 1950. Therefore, the Carter Administration's present policy should not be compared to that of President Truman's pre-Korean War troop withdrawals.

Today, Japan is economically strong, not an occupied and defeated country. The Sino-Soviet conflict is real and enduring, and the United States has opened more comprehensive forms of interaction with both nations. As a result, neither communist power will endorse a North Korean attack. Finally, both the People's Republic of China and try. For the first time last year, a constructive role on the Korean peninsula.

The Korean influence-buying efforts in Washington, D.C., however lightly treated by the Democratic-controlled Congress, have created an image within the United States of a South Korean government which cannot be trusted and therefore is not worthy of continued American support. The political trials of the "March 1, 1976" dissident group, led by Kim Dae Jung, have also put the South Korean government outside the framework of Carter Administration acceptability as a government supportive of basic human rights.

South Korea is more than a purely political issue, however. With a population of 34 million people, it ranks 22nd in the world in terms of absolute population. Moreover, 45 percent of its population now lives in urban areas, and 92 percent of its population is literate. Since only 20 percent of South Korea's land is level enough for traditional agriculture and few natural resources are present, the South Korean government has sought to mobilize the country by emphasizing the twin problems of political division and poor geographic placement.

The result has been the emergence of South Korea as a world economic actor. Korean Air Lines now flies over the North Pole to Paris and around Asia to the Middle East, where 10,000 Koreans are employed in construction projects. These projects not only give South Korea

increased visibility in the "petro-dollar" region, but provide an export outlet for construction materials utilized by the Korean firms working in the region.

Led by a government-sponsored export promotion policy, the Korean economy grew by 15 percent in 1976 and may well repeat that performance this year. In the past, much of that effort was financed by borrowing, causing concern that debt servicing would be a problem. Korea has been the largest single borrowing nation from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), taking 22 percent of ADB's ordinary loans for the cumulative period, 1968-76.

Now the concern in Korea is over "foreign exchange inflation" due to the excellent trading position of the country. For the first time last year, South Korea ran a \$600 million trade surplus with the United States, exporting \$2.6 billion worth of goods while importing only \$2 billion from America. In March of this year the International Economic Consultative Organization for Korea (IECOK) declared that Korea was qualified to receive annually \$1.4 billion in commercial loans and \$1.1 billion in public loans from the World Bank. IECOK now classifies South Korea as a semi-industrialized nation.

Despite the official Korean notion that Japan should be ignored as a former colonial master, the 1965 normalization treaty between Japan and South Korea has produced two major results: Japanese trading firms (sogo shosha) became the first agents for Korean products, and second, Japan became the model for industrial growth for Korea in general. Negatively, from the Korean point of view, Japanese investment has poured into South Korea, creating neocolonialist reminders.

Nevertheless, the Korean General Trading Companies (GTC) have followed the Korean government's export promotion policies, and in 1976 fourteen firms exceeded \$100 million each in exports. This designation is valuable in business dealings since it allows the company to exchange money at a favorable exchange rate and borrow money at lower interest rates. Ultimately, the advantage in a personalized society

such as Korea's is closeness to the government officials who make all the critical decisions.

To manage this government-business complex, over the past 20 years a meritocracy of foreign-educated scientists and economists (mostly trained in the United States) has grown up. Korea was once a prime example of "the brain drain," and while the emigration process is still going on, an increasing number of foreign-educated businessmen are returning to Korea because rapid growth has created ever-expanding opportunities.

What all this suggests is that the negative publicity concerning Korea, its domestic politics (or lack of politics), its governmental activities in Washington, D.C., and the issue of American troop withdrawal are all somewhat misguided. They tend to put South Korea on its own at precisely the point in its economic development when it can, in fact, go it alone. The industrial base and skilled manpower exist for the continued development of the country. Ideally, however, such development should be done within the contest of "the next international order" and in consultation with the "three great engines" of the world economy. Domestically, this concern is represented inside Korea by opposition to the American troop withdrawal program by political dissidents such as former President Yun Po Sun. There is then an unusual alliance of withdrawal opponents consisting of the U.S. military establishment---desirous of preserving its privileges and bases in Korea---and the South Korean Catholic left---desirous of maintaining its international connections.

The ultimate consideration is the question of war and peace on the Korean peninsula. In this area much has been written and said about force level comparisons between North and South Korea. Little has been done to put this into an economic context. At present, North Korea devotes 15 percent of its Gross National Product to military expenditures while South Korea's current rate is 6 percent.

Internationally, the North Koreans have suffered a series of recent setbacks: defaults on international debts, diplomats expelled from Northern European countries for smuggling, the axe killing of two American soldiers in August 1976, and the failure of their platform at the non-aligned conference in Sri Lanka (also in August 1976). The one advantage North Korea currently possesses is military superiority in weapons over the South. If the South Korean government increases its defense expenditures to 15 percent of its GNP with double North Korea's population and international trading networks to support its economic growth, then the threat to North Korea could become intolerable. It is unfortunately possible to contemplate either a preemptive strike by a declining North Korea or an unrestrained and growing South Korean government trying to unify the country by force.

The Carter Administration's insistence on troop withdrawals leaves President Park's government with a more solid base than before because it legitimizes the reality of the North Korean threat. With domestic support an extensive weapons development and manufacturing effort is being mounted by the South Korean government. By removing American troops, the moderating force in the region is also being removed, increasing the peninsula's instability.

The downing of the American helicopter in July and the death of three American servicemen highlights the volatility of relations between North and South Korea. One must ask the question which the Carter Administration seems incapable of grasping: what would have happened if the helicopter had been South Korean and there had been no American ground troops in the region to act in a restrained and moderate manner?

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