

RIPON FORUM

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ONE DOLLAR

Old Politics

We, the Members of the Republican National Committee, assembled in Portland, Oregon, on June 5, 1968, all working in the interest of Party unity and to make possible a victory in November, hereby resolve to urge that all Republicans continue to observe the Eleventh Commandment: Thou shalt not speak ill of any other Republicans.

NEW POLITICS

We, the members of the Ripon Society, dispersed throughout the fifty states, all working to build the kind of Republican Party that can govern responsibly for the next generation, rededicate ourselves to the First Imperative of Political Vitality: Thou shalt urge fellow Republicans to act wisely, and when they don't, thou shalt tell them so.

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

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Editor: Josiah Lee Auspitz

Contributors: Hayden Anderson, Christopher W. Beal, Robert W. Gordon, Duncan K. Foley, Phillip C. Johnston, John Kyrk, John McCloughy, Howard L. Reiter, Michael A. Sandman, Paul Szep, Andrew T. Weil.

Assistant Editor: Nancy G. Keim

Technical Editor: Janet Beal

Advertising Manager: Donald R. Meyer

Circulation: Nancy Morton

Correspondents

Mrs. Norman W. Osher, Arizona
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John Evans, Missouri
Arthur F. McClure, II, Missouri
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EDITORIAL POINTS

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

From the debacle of 1964, the Republican Party has regained credibility as an alternative government. The overwhelming verdict of the people four years ago that the Republican Party was unfit for responsibility has already been partially reversed. Republicans can bring to the people in 1968 a real and credible choice in policy and style.

This recovery in ideas and programs has been the work of an extremely diverse group of Republicans. Those calling themselves conservatives, moderates and liberals have contributed to the debate. They have accumulated a collection of proposals, attitudes and programs that constitute a practical challenge to the liberal ideology of the New Deal. A partial listing of issues and policies shows how wide is the range of conflict between old-style Democratic solutions and modern Republican thinking.

Nothing better characterizes Democratic domestic policy than its heavy emphasis on the federal government and especially the executive as the center of power and control in the country. Modern Republican governors and mayors have already begun to carve out a place for strong and active local government in handling social problems. Modern Republican policy calls for a broad program of federal tax-sharing with local government to provide a firm financial foundation for state and city provision of social services and education. The Democrats have constantly rejected this device in favor of grant-in-aid programs which tie state use of funds to Federal priorities and Federal control. Grant-in-aid programs designed in Washington are proving to be unresponsive to local needs and are promoting wasteful duplication of government at the local level.

Over the next few years poverty, air and water pollution, national transportation and business concentration will be central problems for the Federal government. The old-line liberals have no new ideas for managing these problems. The Democrats seem limited in imagination to cooking up more agencies, more regulation, more inefficient protection of special interests. Modern Republicans offer the alternative of managing incentives through taxes and tax credits.

Under a Democratic administration some kind of make-work guaranteed employment program is likely. This will be a costly failure and will come to

haunt its creators as our present welfare system has. A modern Republican administration will propose instead a negative income tax combined with job training and placement programs, a sound, workable program endorsed by economists, which will produce a dramatic improvement in the life of poor people and which over time will tend to reduce poverty instead of institutionalizing it.

The Democrats have no proposal for reform of the antiquated, unfair and costly draft. There is a well-thought-out modern Republican proposal for a volunteer army.

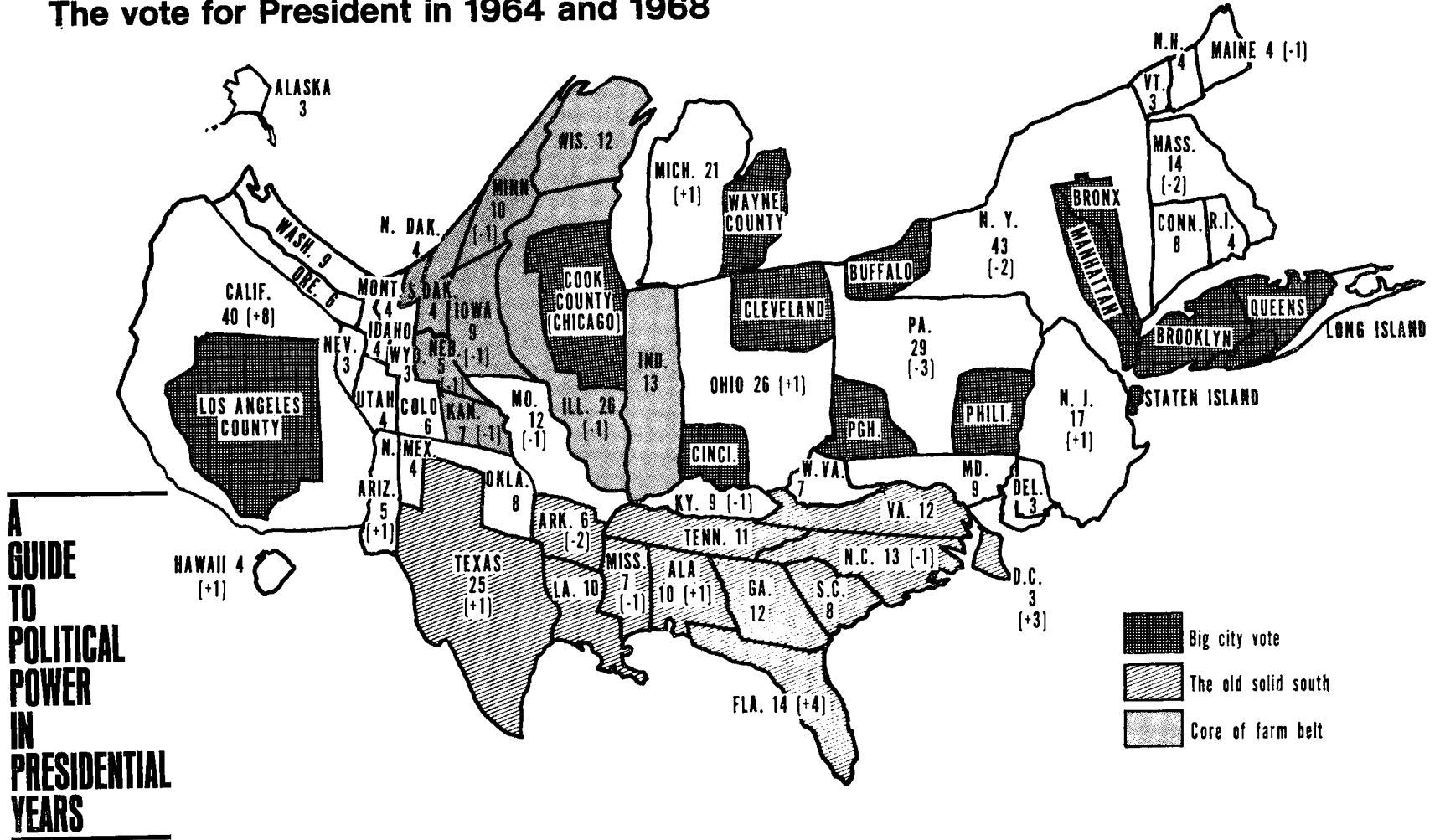
Democratic fiscal policy has produced our worst inflation in fifteen years and a belated surtax which, it now appears, will come into effect during a period of softening demand and rising unemployment—just at the wrong time. Republicans can and should promise a full employment fiscal policy co-ordinated with monetary policy which will use deficits and surpluses to avoid both inflation and excessive unemployment.

The list can be extended and made more complete. There are modern Republican plans for encouraging low-income home ownership and on-the-job training, for tax reform, development banks, rural industrialization and a national employment-information system. Behind all of these lies faith in the private sector once the forces controlling the private sector, taxes and the distribution of income, have been intelligently adjusted by the government. All of these proposals tend to define a new role for government. They tend to shift power to lower levels of decision making or to eliminate the need for a centralized decision altogether. If they were all enacted, they would produce changes in our society and politics. We could shift from a system of protection of competing special interests to a growing awareness of public interest.

How much of this new Republican concept of government will be articulated this year depends on the Republican convention. Will the platform it writes reflect the growth of a modern Republican philosophy over the past four years, or will it rehash stale controversies of the 30's. Will the Republican platform speak directly of the change in concepts and priorities that the nation needs, or will it consist of platitudes about "fiscal irresponsibility" and the "menace of Communism?" This is the chance for an important platform, a platform for history.

Where the Votes Are

The vote for President in 1964 and 1968



A NEW IMAGE

No matter how good the platform is, how much it draws on the creative work of the last four years, modern Republican ideas will not go far unless Republicans win the election. To win in 1968 Republicans need first to reverse their negative image of 1964. This should be done by taking new positions on three symbolic issues that defeated the Party in 1964: extremism, civil rights and irresponsibility in foreign policy.

The issue of foreign irresponsibility is now at the door of the Democrats who adhere to an expensive system of open-ended commitments all over the world. To make best use of this issue the Republican Party must merely demonstrate its willingness to be flexible in foreign policy. As Alf M. Landon recommends in his Guest Editorial, the Party must use language that leaves open the possibility of an improvement in East-West relations, of new trade agreements to pry Czechoslovakia and Rumania away from the Soviet orbit, and of a political settlement in Vietnam. If the tone of Republican statements on foreign policy reflects prudence, restraint and forthrightness, it will provide ample contrast to the Democratic record.

The extremism and civil rights issues are this year united in the candidacy of George Wallace. In 1964 Republicans made a deal with Wallace and won his states—but little else. This year we must repudiate both Wallace and the disastrous southern strategy. We must reaffirm our Lincolnian heritage.

Nothing could better convince the public that the Republican Party is a new and vital force in American life than a strong civil rights resolution at the convention. Nothing, by contrast, could more surely result in heavy losses outside the South than a failure to reverse the racist image of 1964.

Both Mr. Nixon and Governor Rockefeller supported the Open Housing Act this year; Senator Dirksen, Congressmen Ford and Laird and a majority of Republicans in both Houses of Congress voted for the bill. So there should be no disunity in 1968 over a strong civil rights resolution that renews the Party's noblest traditions.

AN URBAN STRATEGY

Finally there remains the need for a winning political strategy and a winning ticket. The "Where the Votes Are," maps on pages 4 and 9 tell it like it is. The importance of the cities has grown to proportions that cannot be ignored by a minority party with strong roots in the small towns and rural areas of American. To win in 1968 the Republican Party will have to make simultaneous inroads into the Nor-

thern industrial states and the rapidly industrializing areas of the New South. Can the Party do both at once?

Not if Mr. Nixon is the nominee. He lacks a strong identification in both areas—his most solid region being the small, traditional Republican states of the mountains and plains. Unable to appeal to both the New South and the industrial North without losing credibility, he will have to choose between a southern strategy and an urban strategy. Neither will bring him a sure victory, but either will put him within shooting range.

If we were a majority Party Mr. Nixon would be an ideal candidate. Offensive to none in the Party, he could rely on organizational strength and "party unity" to put him over. But the Party has the necessary organizational strength mainly in the small states where Nixon doesn't need it. It lacks organization where he is personally weak.

Our article on Republican Arithmetic (see page 9) assesses the chances of two Nixon tickets: Nixon-Percy (urban) and Nixon-Baker (southern). We used these two running mates because they are least likely to antagonize opposing wings of the Party. Percy is the one urbanite who supported the ticket in 1964; Baker is a southerner with a good civil rights record.

The Nixon-Baker ticket, even if it wins Illinois and almost all of the New South, falls well short of an electoral majority, thanks to the Wallace candidacy and the unpredictability of California this year. Nixon-Percy does slightly better but, even if we grant it Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, it still fails to make inroads into New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. There seems no reason to believe that Mr. Percy can win for Mr. Nixon in these latter states. In 1960, with Lodge on the ticket, with Governor Rockefeller visiting 50 of New York's 62 counties on Mr. Nixon's behalf and with last-minute trips to New York and two other northern industrial states by President Eisenhower, Nixon still lost two million Eisenhower votes in New York State—dropping from Ike's 1.6 million vote majority in 1956 to a 400,000 vote deficit. There is no reason to think that anyone can do for Nixon what Rockefeller and Ike could not.*

A surer strategy for victory would be a ticket headed by a man whose appeal falls outside the states which are now solid for the GOP. Hence we exam-

* On September 27, 1960, Mr. Nixon gave public thanks for "the support we have had not only from Governor Rockefeller in the State of New York and around the country, where he's doing a magnificent job for our cause, but also for Winthrop Rockefeller." *Freedom of Communication* Part II, "The Speeches etc. of Vice President Richard M. Nixon", pp300-301.

ine a ticket headed by Rockefeller with a southerner or a man with appeal in the South as Vice President. A conservative estimate of support for such a ticket goes well ahead of either of the Nixon combinations and gets a clear majority of the electoral college even without winning California, New Jersey and Ohio. This estimate relies on the ability of the personalities of the ticket to cut into the New South and Northern industrial states; it relies on organizational strength to deliver traditional Republican states. Thus, it stresses organization where Republicans have it and personal appeal of the candidates where GOP organization is not decisive. It applies the logic of a balanced ticket to the new swing states.

The Ripon Society is not endorsing any candidate or ticket prior to the convention. But from its inception in 1962 it has endorsed a long-term strategy for the Republican Party that seeks to build the GOP into a responsible majority government. The strat-

egy is preeminently an urban one aimed at the nation's metropolitan areas and at the newly industrializing areas of the South—the places where the GOP has been the weakest.

The Bliss Report of 1962, prepared by the present National Chairman of the GOP, has analyzed the failure of the ticket in 1960 to cut into urban areas. The Ripon Report of 1966 on *Southern Republicanism and the New South* showed how the GOP could become the spokesman for emerging political forces in eleven southern states provided it does not hitch its wagon to the redneck vote.

Metropolitan problems will equal foreign affairs in the minds of the American people as they cast their ballots this year. This means that we need a Republican Urban Program, a ticket to make it credible and an electoral strategy that will give the GOP the majority to govern in a nation of cities.

GUEST EDITORIAL

by Alf M. Landon

The Big Issues of 1968

This is a day of new reckoning in all countries, dictatorial and democratic, Communist and capitalist alike.

Wide changes can take place before the two major parties meet in August. Still wider changes will take place during the next four years.

There has not been a major party platform in this country that has not been interpreted by the presidential nominee—either before or after the election—in the light of events and their judgement and decisions.

Thus personal characteristics of the nominee and the public's respect for and confidence in his abilities are highly important factors.

In international relations, the Republican nominee will have to adjust to a substantial new change—the revision and the possible abandonment of the policy of containment formulated by President Truman twenty years ago.

The July 1 joint announcement of President Johnson and Premier Kosygin of Russian - American meetings to discuss limitation of nuclear offensive and defensive weapons forecasts a fundamental and

worthwhile change in the two major powers' foreign political policies. The goals are visible, although a long way off, and the road will be rocky and hilly.

The ramifications of these talks, if successful, will be widespread. And so will be the effect of their failure. Either way, the impact on international relations will be monumental.

For Russia, success would mean a momentous abandonment of Stalin's iridescent dream of world domination by Soviet military conquest. For America, it would mean the abandonment of a policy of unilateral containment of Communism by military power and threats of "massive retaliation." A successful change from containment to coexistence would mean savings of billions of military dollars that can be used by both countries for a better way of life for millions of people.

Coexistence is a policy I have long advocated. Therefore, I support it and hope for the successful conclusion of these impending meetings of the two major powers.

The prospect of these meetings will also have an

impact on American politics in a presidential year. For sure, they must not be analyzed as mere political maneuvers and treated negatively by the Republican presidential nominee. He must not repeat the mistake of President Johnson, who made one of the biggest missteps that ever occurred anywhere by ignoring China's formal proposal in October, 1964, for a world conference to abolish nuclear weapons. I urged then—a course which United Nations Secretary U Thant endorsed the next day—that we should accept the Chinese offer for the purpose of discussion, as Russia and France did later.

I believe the possibility of an East-West conference is a bipartisan matter of highest priority that transcends the demands of partisanship not only for our great and beloved country, but for all the world as well.

A breakthrough with Russia will affect the daily lives of all of us. It will cool heated emotions in troubled areas throughout the world. The Republican Party should not overestimate the chances for an immediate era of good feelings between the United States and Russia. But neither can it allow itself to be left out on a limb in opposition to new initiatives in the international order. It must recognize that talks on limiting nuclear weapons are only the latest step in the changes that have deeply altered the nature of east-west relations.

Despite a long policy of American economic and diplomatic pressure, European Communist bloc trade with other countries has been rapidly increasing. In the meantime, Russia, by revising its unworkable Marxist-Leninist theories, has become a closer match today with the United States of America, militarily, economically and politically than it was twenty years ago. There is continuing and growing animosity between Russia and China.

At the same time, there is tumult and agitation in Communist countries against remnants of old guard police state rule that treat individuals as drops of water in the sea. Communist rule contains within itself the seeds of its own dissolution—spreading education. That is forcing the Communist old guard to take into consideration the rising generation of new Communists.

All these changes require a shift in our foreign policy. As it now stands, South Vietnam is an outpost of our outmoded and unrealistic containment policy aimed at the Soviet Union and China. While that policy has missed its mark, it is still a threat that Communist states must guard against. President Johnson sustained the containment policy by escalating the war in Vietnam.

Now is the time and the opportunity for the Re-

publican Party to boldly face abandoning the negative and unworkable policy of worldwide military containment for a new positive one of "building bridges" or "coexistence"—the unfinished policy of General Eisenhower in the Spirit of Camp David, if you please.

That new policy would be an invitation to Russia to develop normal and customary relations in place of Stalin's plan for Russia's world domination by Communism—a bleak prospect for people of all countries. A policy of coexistence would give America a chance for trade with Communist countries that our containment policy has handed over to our friends and allies on a gold platter. It would fit the demands of our huge industrial and labor structure for growing markets. It will help meet the chronic deficit balance of payments pressure on the American dollar. The Soviet Union and other countries must also relax their restrictions on American products if generally better political relations are to be built.

The way to "build bridges" is to begin by action available to the President in removing by executive order restrictions on trade with Communist countries.

Until and unless that policy is workable and successful, our great and beloved Republic cannot—must not—be second to any country in military power, whether we eat potatoes with salt or potatoes without salt.

This is a day of new reckoning on our domestic policies as well as on our foreign policies.

Presidential leadership calls for intelligent understanding and utilization of social and economic conditions in our complex industrial and agrarian society. The times call for a new order—again coexistence—among Americans in place of domestic disorder. Ways must be found to restore trust, to enhance the dignity of the individual and to give opportunity to all Americans to rise from the bottom to the top.

The third crucial decision confronting the new President is reversing the unsound fiscal policies of a long succession of Democratic presidents that have debased the value of the American dollar. That has produced the highest interest rates since the Civil War.

The cost of hired money is of as much concern to working men and women as to the head of the biggest corporation in America, as is the theft of savings and purchasing power by inflation.

At home and abroad, we must act. We cannot be absorbed by the ending of an old era when the dawn of a new era is upon us.

Hats off to the past. Coats off to the future.

NOTES FROM WASHINGTON

● Senator Robert P. Griffin has dug his pit on the issue of President Johnson's Supreme Court appointments, but now the whole Republican Party will probably fall into it. For the junior Senator from Michigan, by making an enormous issue about the President's right to appoint a successor to Earl Warren, has played right into a political trap that can ruin the Party in November.

It is already clear that if there is a Nixon-Humphrey race the Democrats will campaign on the slogan that a vote for Nixon is a vote for Wallace. And what better way for Democrats to clinch the argument than by revealing at the proper moment the "real" reasons for Warren's resignation. The Chief Justice, it will be said, was worried that in a close election George Wallace would use his leverage to extract veto power over the choice of a new Chief Justice. (Wallace supporters have indeed used just this argument for their candidate). Warren resigned, it will be said, to take the Court out of politics. The futile but well-publicized Republican attempt to block the new appointment will then be used to prove that the GOP was in fact counting on such a Supreme Court deal with Wallace.

Should Nixon be the nominee, the GOP stand against the first Jewish Chief Justice will no doubt also be linked by Democrats with Mr. Nixon's habit of acquiescing when his managers schedule campaign dinners in country clubs that exclude minority groups. That should assure that Mr. Nixon will be unable even to equal his pitiful 9% of the Jewish vote in 1960.

For these unfair campaign issues the Democrats can thank Mr. Griffin and the 18 eager-beaver GOP Senators who rashly followed him on his first crusade as a freshman Senator.

● Delaware Congressman William V. Roth's survey of Federal assistance programs is instructive if not light reading. A major contribution to those trying to figure out just what the Federal government is doing, it includes summaries of some 1050 programs. The study contains some revealing conclusions: "... No one, anywhere, knows exactly how many Federal programs there are ... There is no common denominator—that is, widely used definition, of what a program is ... The Executive Branch does not have available to it enough meaningful information on all programs to allow it to effectively determine the desirability or need for new programs or to compare one with another to find overlap, duplication and lack of coordination ... Sometimes as many as ten Cabinet-level departments and 15 or more agencies have programs devoted essentially to the same general area of activity."

● The degree to which the Republican Party listens to the advice which its National Committee seeks through its Research Conferences should be evident in a few days. Note, for example, a speech delivered by Pro-

fessor Alvin Dozeman of the University of Connecticut in which he concludes an analysis of voters and voting behavior with the following: "Thus, something less than 30% of the people — Republican identifiers — have the responsibility for selecting candidates who must appeal to more than 50% of the electorate. If Republicans choose a candidate with whom only they are happy and feel comfortable, they have probably lost an election. The Republicans, as the minority party, cannot win elections unless a number of independents and Democrats vote for the Republican candidate."

● A good place for Republicans to fight the evils of bureaucracy in Washington is the offices of the Republican National Committee. Back on February 14 the Ripon Society wrote for housing and credentials to the RNC. Two more letters were written in March and April. No answer came through and the RNC now denies having any record of the correspondence. In May, a personal visit to the National Committee offices was made by top executives of the society who were informed: "For the RNC's purposes the Ripon Society doesn't exist." They were also told that they were too late to submit a new application, the deadline having expired.

Late in May, a registered letter of complaint to Ray Bliss brought within two weeks one precious press pass for the Ripon FORUM out of five requested and still no housing. It was explained that all the press credentials available had been given out and that this was a special favor. To see how far this special kind of favoritism would extend, the FORUM asked *Ramparts*, the radical bi-weekly magazine, to request credentials from the RNC. *Ramparts* wrote in mid-June and got accredited by return mail.

Finally, in the middle of July came an apologetic call from Hadley Markham, who is RNC's man in charge of housing in Miami. He offered Ripon its five rooms at the convention and observed, "Letters often get lost at the National Committee." Unless, of course they come from *Ramparts*.

● Slowly the inside history of the Vietnam war leaks out. The latest revelation happens to coincide with a FORUM analysis that was based on external indicators. The January FORUM listed 15 developments that seemed to forebode a limited invasion of North Vietnam, with a landing in Vinh. In June, Hubert Humphrey claimed as proof of his differences with the administration that he opposed such an invasion in secret councils. And General S. L. A. Marshall, the country's leading military author, has told an NBC television interviewer that such an invasion was planned for February, but was thrown off balance when the Communists launched the Tet offensive instead of attacking Khesanh or moving into Laos.

Republican Arithmetic

No, Virginia, Mr. Nixon cannot win—alone. That's not decisive, though, because Mr. Rockefeller can't win by himself, either.

Nixon's real problem is that even if he chooses the ideal running mate and even if he outpolls Humphrey in popular votes, he will have trouble getting a majority of electoral votes.

With the right running mate, Rockefeller *can* head a winning ticket because with a small popular advantage over Humphrey he can add sufficient electoral votes to the traditional Republican base. He will, of course, evoke less enthusiasm than Nixon in traditionally Republican states—but still do well enough to win them. And he will add vital support in the six crucial Northern industrial states. By choosing a running mate widely liked in the New South, Rockefeller can win.

Until President Johnson withdrew, the "credibility gap" was a minority party's dream come true, and we

didn't need to calculate where 270 electoral votes would come from on a state-by-state basis. All we would have needed was to repeat our widespread 1966 Gubernatorial and Congressional successes.

Johnson's withdrawal has defused the credibility gap as a catch-all national issue for the Republican candidate. Public discontent has remained high, but it is no longer focused on the leader of the majority party. Beating Humphrey will be much harder than defeating the President himself, as the great shifts in poll results of the last four months has shown. Humphrey can avoid personal responsibility for past mistakes. He won't be exposed to the public enough before November to acquire a real credibility gap. In addition to having shed Johnson's disadvantages, Humphrey has the advantage of incumbency and majority party status. In short the Republican ticket must be carefully selected—because Humphrey won't throw it away.

WHERE THE SWING ELECTORAL VOTES ARE — BY REGION

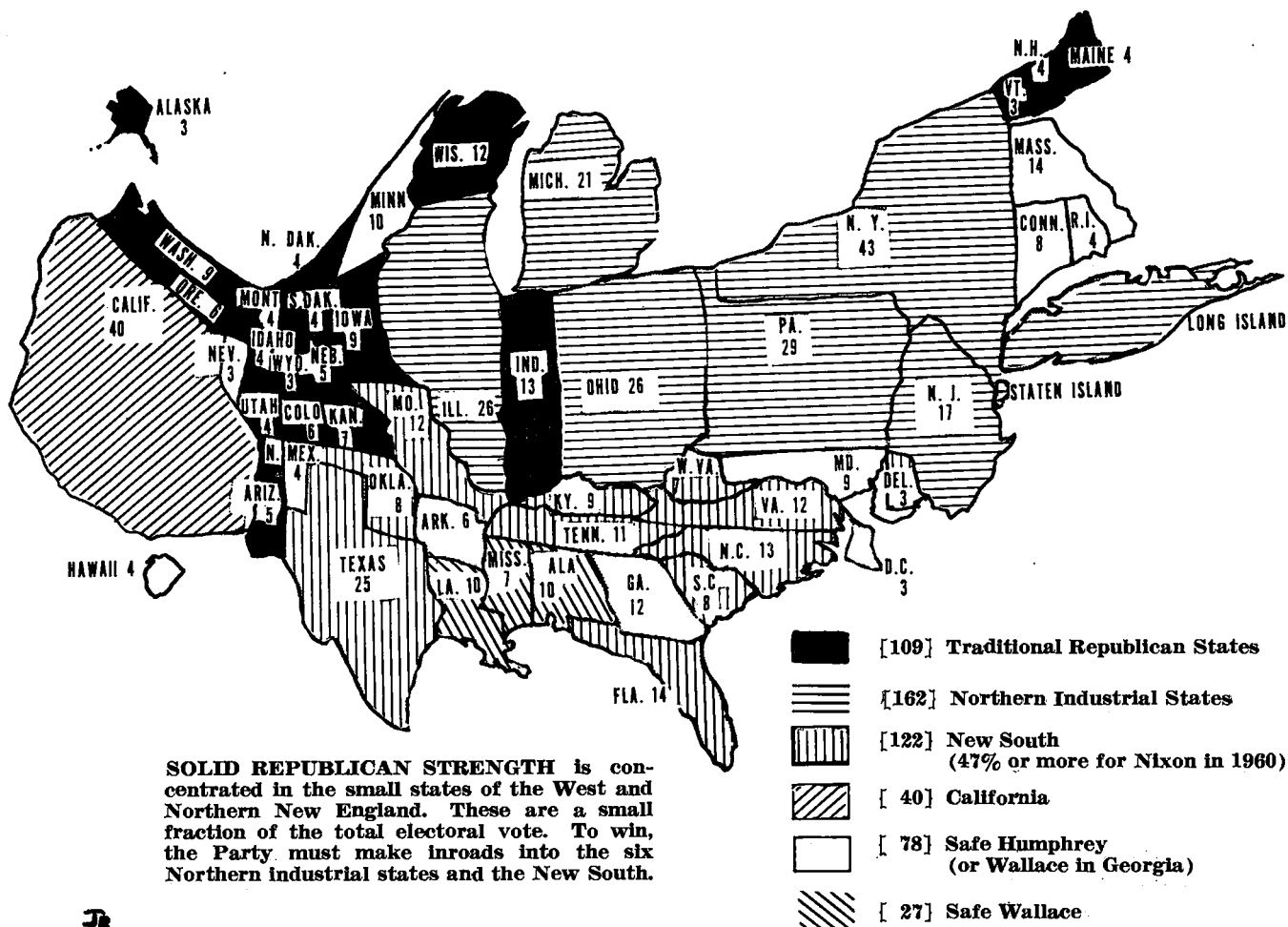


Table I — Republican Potential by Regions

NEEDED TO WIN IN 1968: 270

NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES IN EACH GROUP
OF STATES VOTING FOR

TYPE OF STATE	NUMBER OF STATES	TOTAL NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES IN EACH GROUP OF STATES	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES IN EACH GROUP OF STATES VOTING FOR				BEST RESULT IN EACH GROUP FOR DEWEY OR NIXON
			ONE STATEWIDE REPUBLICAN [GOV. OR U S SEN.]	TWO STATEWIDE REPUBLICANS [GOV. OR U S SEN.]	DEWEY IN 1948	NIXON IN 1960	
TRADITIONAL GOP (all won by Nixon in 1960; 14 have GOP House delegations)	19	109	92	52	50	109	109
NEW SOUTH (includes border states and Tex.-Okla.; Nixon won 5, got at least 47% of the vote in 6 others)	11	122	78	12	3	54	54
NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL (N. Y., Pa., Ohio, Ill., Mich., N. J.)	6	162	162	119	110	26	
CALIFORNIA (Nixon lost in 1962, after barely winning in 1960 and winning in 1950)	1	40	40	40	—	40	40
WALLACE'S BASE (Ala. - La. - Miss., the same as for Thurmond in 1948 and [plus Georgia] for Goldwater in 1964)	3	27	—	—	—	—	—
HUMPHREY'S BASE (Note: of these Minn., Nev. and N. M. gave over 47% to Nixon in 1960; Ga., and Ark., might go to Wallace this year)	11	78	55	14	3	—	3
		538	427	237	166	229	316

CLOSE ELECTION If a national hero were available this year, the Republican ticket could overwhelm even Humphrey by frontal assault, with a national sweep like Eisenhower's in 1952. But in the absence of a single overwhelming national figure, Republicans must plan for a close campaign and must choose a ticket which can win a majority of the electoral college with only a narrow plurality in the popular vote. Hence the need to divide the country into political regions and formulate a strategy than can get a narrow edge in them.

A close analysis of current party strength and of the Nixon and Dewey near-misses demonstrates that two groups of states—the New South and the six Northern Industrial states—plus California will be decisive in a close Presidential election. As Table I shows, Nixon did well in traditional Republican states and in the New South. Dewey was strong in the six Northern industrial states. A combination of these strengths can win—even

without unpredictable California.

Nixon's greatest strength is unquestionably in the small non-Southern, traditional Republican states (though since his 1968 opponent will not be a Catholic he may lose a bit from his 1960 showing). These 19 states sometimes have Democratic Governors or Senators, but they all voted for Nixon in 1960 and their delegations to the US House are overwhelmingly Republican (14 Republican majorities and 2 ties).

Since *any* Republican should win most of these states (90 electoral votes can come just from the Traditional Republican states with Republican and tied US House delegations), the party's Presidential ticket must go beyond that base of support. The party has only four US House delegations and one tied delegation outside of this traditional base.

TWO KEY REGIONS There are 14 additional states which Nixon lost in 1960 but which he might win this year with a slightly different

strategy. In these states Nixon received at least 47% of the vote. Five of these were in the Northern industrial states, and six were in the New South. These are the two key areas for gains in 1968. The remaining three states will not be significant in 1968: Minnesota will surely go for Humphrey, and Nevada and New Mexico are small (three and four electoral votes), traditional Democratic states.

In the New South (including border states and the Southwest) Nixon won almost half of the electoral votes in 1960, barely lost Texas (probably by foul play), and got at least 47% of the vote in five smaller Southern states. If Wallace were not running, Nixon might be able to win almost all of these states. The old courthouse Democrats are losing their grip. Since 1960, new Republican Governors and Senators have been elected in Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas.

But even with strength in the New South, Nixon must still confront his nemesis: the six large Northern Industrial states whose 162 electoral votes are 60% of the 270 needed to win. All of these states have a Republican Governor or Senator, and four have two statewide Republicans. In 1960, Nixon won only Ohio and probably Illinois.

Unfortunately, Nixon cannot claim that his chances in these states are any better than they were in 1960. In each of these states, the final result is determined by fickle suburbanites who vote for Democrats for lower offices and fickle core-city dwellers who don't vote unless aroused by an unusual effort by labor unions and local organizations.

In 1960, Nixon tried to improve his position in these six crucial states by cultivating a more mature image, by emphasizing foreign policy, and by putting Lodge on the ticket. Rockefeller, the *Herald Tribune*, and all major Republicans in these states campaigned hard for Nixon against Kennedy, a Democrat with no great reputation at the time.

Nixon just couldn't win in the volatile counties which swing these six states from one side to the other. The Bliss Report of 1962 thoroughly analyzed Nixon's weakness in the big cities and in their surrounding suburbs. Yet the new Republican leaders in those states since 1960 have carefully avoided association with Nixon: Romney and Percy in Michigan and Illinois and Lindsay and Specter (a near miss) in New York City and Philadelphia. When these men decline Nixon's offer to campaign for them, they aren't engaging in a "liberal Republican conspiracy." They are simply trying to win. If Romney, Percy, and Lindsay can't win with Nixon, they can't win for him.

California is an unpredictable state, but it is easy to predict that Nixon will not win there easily—if he wins at all. In 1962, he lost the governorship to the colorless Pat Brown, the kind of unimpressive machine Democrat who is beaten regularly in the six Northern industrial states. This year may be especially difficult for the Republican Presidential candidate in California, because the Rafferty-Cranston Senatorial contest may degenerate into a mud-slinging bout as Goldwater-Johnson did in

1964. Nixon might win in California this year, but if he does he must count on his running mate and on divisions among the Democrats.

NIXON STRATEGIES

Nixon has three possible Presidential strategies. One is a Dewey strategy to stay in the middle and to wait for Humphrey to make the mistakes. Nixon's best possible running mate for this strategy would probably be California Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch, his campaign manager in 1960 and a man who could deliver California to the GOP (Finch outpolled Reagan by 100,000 votes in 1966). Unfortunately, Nixon cannot rely on the factors that helped him in 1960: his own incumbency and the lack of apparent qualifications in his opponent. So if Humphrey makes no serious mistakes, Nixon can't hope for more than what he got eight years ago by "playing it safe". As the numbers below will make clear, Nixon needs positive assistance in both the New South and in the six big Northern states. His best strategy, therefore, is a ticket which goes after one or both of these blocs, aggressively, rather than sitting tight with California.

If Nixon repeats his strategy of 1960, relying on a party leader from a Northern industrial state to win several of the big six for him, he will not win easily. A Nixon-Percy ticket would probably do about as well in the traditional Republican states as Nixon-Lodge did in 1960. Table II gives that ticket 100 of 109 electoral votes, allowing for a defeat or two (perhaps Washington and Alaska). This is more generous than the two estimates given recently by the *Christian Science Monitor*.

In the New South, Nixon-Percy might get 79 electoral votes, (Nixon's 54 votes in 1960 plus Texas). In the six big states, Percy might pull in Illinois, Ohio and Michigan, the three Midwestern industrial states, with 73 electoral votes. In 1960, Nixon won Ohio and should have won Illinois. Both *Monitor* surveys gave Nixon two but not three of these states (the *Monitor* didn't think Percy could pull in Ohio). We shall be generous and give him all three.

Thus giving Nixon-Percy every benefit of the doubt in the traditional GOP, New South and Northern industrial areas the ticket gets 252 electoral votes without California. Unless the Nixon-Percy ticket wins California for 40 more electoral votes, it can't break 270. This means that Nixon-Percy would need Wallace's three-state base of 27 (Alabama - Louisiana - Mississippi) but this fact is likely to be used by Humphrey in the North (with the slogan that a vote for Nixon is a vote for Wallace).

Nixon's other strategy would be a ticket to improve on his 1960 performance in the New South. Senators Baker of Tennessee and Tower of Texas have both endorsed Nixon and withdrawn from favorite-son status, so either might be chosen. As Baker would not be difficult to explain in the North, we consider a Nixon-Baker ticket as the strongest Southern Strategy. Assuming 100 electoral votes from the traditional Republican states, and Illinois' 26 because that state's Republican delegation supported Nixon fairly early, Nixon would still have to win *both* California and every possible New

South state except West Virginia and Missouri—and even then he would be a vote short of 270.

ROCKEFELLER STRATEGY Rockefeller has only one possible strategy—but it can win easily, without straining for every possible state as Nixon must do to reach 270 electoral votes. Unlike Nixon, Rockefeller can bring many electoral votes on his own to supplement the small traditional Republican states. A running mate with personal appeal in the New South could bring a Rockefeller ticket over the Nixon-Percy level in that region as well as in the six big Northern states. In the traditional Republican states, Rockefeller could afford to run slightly behind Nixon. A total of 90 would be the minimum, for it includes *only* those states with a Republican or tied delegation in the US House. Rockefeller might well do better than this, because his weakness in the Midwest has often been exaggerated. In January 1968, for instance, 18 Republican Congressmen volunteered Rockefeller, then not even a candidate, as the "strongest possible" nominee in a *Congressional Quarterly* survey. Nixon got 20 votes, only two more than Rockefeller.

In the six big Northern states, Rockefeller might easily take all 162 electoral votes, especially as the Democrats are badly divided over the McCarthy-Humphrey struggle. McCarthy supporters—and, even more important, McCarthy workers—would not vote for Nixon but would actively support Rockefeller over Humphrey on both big issues, Vietnam and the cities. Even allowing for some disillusion with Rockefeller's Southern-oriented running mate, Rockefeller could still count on taking the four states of the six which have either a Republican Governor and Senator or two Republican Senators—for 119 electoral votes.

In the New South, any of several possible running

mates could bring Rockefeller up to Nixon's 1960 performance when he won 54 votes plus Texas for 79 total electoral votes. Reagan, however unqualified he may be as an administrator, would help as much as a Southerner and probably clinch California as well. Otherwise, Baker, Cooper, Kirk, Morton or Tower would help Rockefeller more in the South than Percy can help Nixon in the North.

Thus, Rockefeller with a Southern-oriented running mate trails Nixon-Baker in small traditional Republican states and in the New South by 34 votes and runs ahead of Nixon-Percy in the six big Northern states by 46 votes. The combination gives Rockefeller a safe 288 electoral votes *without* California. Of course, Rockefeller's most fervent admirers claim greater strength for him in traditional Republican and in Northern Industrial states. The traditional Republican states with Democratic House delegations, Washington, Colorado and Maine, (19 electoral votes) are certainly within Rockefeller's reach. Ohio and New Jersey, the remaining two of the six big Northern states could be won by Rockefeller (for another 43 votes) and a Humphrey ticket without Teddy Kennedy would have a hard time beating Rockefeller in Massachusetts and Connecticut (22 votes). Rockefeller's maximum is thus 364 without California.

The comparisons here, however, have assumed the worst, that the Democrats' majority status *limits the Republican nominee to 51% - 52%* of the popular vote. If the GOP polls go higher as a result of Vietnam, riots or inflation, *any* Republican ticket will win. But if you want a winning ticket despite our lack of an overwhelming national hero and without counting on blunders by Humphrey, the conclusion seems clear: it will be two close calls with Nixon versus a victory with Rockefeller.

—CHRISTOPHER W. BEAL

Table II—Trial Heats Against Humphrey*

NIXON - PERCY	NIXON - BAKER	ROCKEFELLER - SOUTHERNER
100 from Traditional Republican states (just under 1960 totals since Nixon will not be running against a Catholic in 1968)	100 as in Nixon - Percy	90 from Traditional Republican states (all except those with Democratic delegations in US House)
79 from New South (Nixon in 1960, plus Texas)	103 from New South (every state but W. Va. and Mo.)	79 from New South (Nixon in 1960, plus Texas)
73 from Northern Industrial (Ohio, Illinois, Michigan)	26 from Northern Industrial (Illinois)	119 from 4 Northern Industrials (states with two statewide Republicans)
TOTALS 252 (still needs California to reach 270)	229 (still needs California and one other state to reach 270)	288 (a majority without California, New Jersey and Ohio)

* The Nixon tickets are given maximum estimates; the Rockefeller ticket is given as a minimum estimate — see text.

Here We Go Again

The Republican Party's failure to assure integrated convention delegations from the South is resulting in a repetition of the disastrous southern strategy pursued in 1964. While the Democratic Party has pressed its southern affiliates to integrate their delegations, the Party of Lincoln has silently allowed its southern brethren to carry the lily-white banner. Of the 310 southern delegates to the national convention, only three will be Negroes. Another ten have token representation as alternates.

The tiptoeing by the Republican Party on the issue of Negro exclusion from its southern delegations has been most clearly visible in the pre-convention maneuverings of Richard Nixon. The determination of the Nixon command to prevent a break in its southern flank became painfully apparent in the long delay before a rebuke was delivered to Howard "Bo" Callaway, whose unsolicited hospitality to George Wallace became a national incident. Nixon's reluctance to publicly reprimand his southern coordinator has been privately complemented by his refusals to intervene in the racially restrictive politics of his southern supporters.

Evans and Novak recently reported that Louisiana had named two Negroes as alternate delegates to prevent further charges that the party was practicing Jim Crow politics. Absent from the column was that Nixon had earlier turned down a plea to use his influence with the Louisiana Republicans to secure Negro representation on the delegation. The request had come from Jesse W. Cook, a wealthy Negro real estate man in New Orleans. The selection of two politically inactive Negroes as alternates came only after pro-Rockefeller Negro Republican leaders from New Orleans and Baton Rouge began embarrassing Nixon by drawing national attention to the "color politics" of the state's Republican Party.

Nixon's refusal to promote the selection of Negro delegates was explained as follows by a key aide: "We rely on local established procedures in the south, as in all states. You must remember Republican delegates are elected, not appointed as some Democrats are." When asked if Nixon would be embarrassed by lily-white pro-Nixon delegations from the south, the aide told James K. Batten of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, "We are not going to be embarrassed by any delegation that supports us."

In Florida, which is considered solid Nixon country, the Republicans have named an all-white convention delegation. Negro Republicans quickly responded to the slight by threatening to embarrass the national party whose convention the Florida GOP is hosting. It is unlikely that the Republican minority members will be

pacified by the promise of state chairman William Murfin that, "We'll probably make some of 'em sergeants-at-arms."

The South Carolina Republican Party which had only two Negro delegates to its state convention has included none in its national convention delegation. State Chairman Harry Dent commented, "It's just recently that Negroes have come forward as Republicans. I don't know of a Negro vote we got two years ago. We supposedly got 2%, but I couldn't name one for you."

Some southern Republican leaders realize the folly of neglecting the substantial Negro electorate. In Arkansas, where Governor Winthrop Rockefeller was elected in 1966 with overwhelming Negro support, the state convention chose two Negro delegates and two alternates.

Senator Howard Baker, Jr., of neighboring Tennessee was sharply rebuffed in an attempt to secure substantial Negro representation on his state's convention delegation. Only one alternate—Mrs. Sarah Moore Greene, state president of the NAACP—could be seated, despite arm twisting by Baker.

According to Batten's tally, the breakdown of Negro participation in GOP state delegations is as follows:

Alabama, none; Arkansas, two delegates and two alternates; Florida, none; Georgia, one delegate and two alternates; Louisiana, two alternates; Mississippi, none; North Carolina, one alternate; South Carolina, none; Tennessee, one alternate; Texas, none; Virginia, two alternates.

For Mr. Nixon the lesson is clear. Three Negroes from the South is not enough to reassure the urban-oriented wing of his party that he is not headed for another disastrous southern strategy that will sacrifice GOP strength in northern industrial states. To make up for his tiptoeing on this issue he must publicly support a strong civil rights plank at the 1968 convention. To gain credibility in the areas devastated by the Goldwater ticket in 1964, the party must reverse the betrayal of its traditions. A 1968 civil rights plank will have to include all those features rejected four years ago: namely, to enforce the Civil Rights Acts of Congress; to rededicate ourselves to the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution; to honor the name of Abraham Lincoln; and to resolve as Republicans not to discriminate by sending lily-white delegations to our National Convention.

—JOHN LAZAREK

Mr. Lazarek was co-author of Southern Republicanism and the New South, published by the Ripon Society in 1966.

NBC News Election Year 1968



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Packaging a Campaign: Catalog Offers Aid, Gadgets to Politicians

Merchandise Offers All Office Seekers Equipment, Services Ranging From Poster to Poll

By NEIL ULMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
NEW YORK—Murray Roman doesn't know whether it will be Kennedy, McCarthy or Nixon this fall, but he thinks he has a political winner.
Mr. Roman has formed Campaign Communications Institute Inc., a merchandising program to sell from a catalog "everything the political candidate needs to win."
He has gathered campaign equipment and services, ranging from posters and campaign polls, into a catalog sent to



DAILY EXPRESS

the election via telephone assistance...
"ONE OF THE things I can do with a telephone is speak to the voters in a language they understand," explains Roman who hired Spanish-speaking operators in the Basilio campaign to get the message across. Roman takes credit for another victory in the 21st Congressional District of New York when a young New York, James Schwab

The D.I.Y. of getting elected

by Ivor Davis
NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY. WHO SAYS you have to be as rich as Rockefeller or as crafty as Kennedy to run for President of the United States? All it takes now is a phone call to Murray Roman and he'll make you the complete candidate... with quite the most astonishing array of "do-it-yourself" political gadgetry ever dreamed up.
The unique service is provided by 47-year-old Roman's Campaign Communications Institute of America, which is presently headquartered in his spacious 20th-floor Manhattan apartment.

Buttons
THE whole idea may sound a little far-fetched but Roman is no scatterbrain. He has spent 25 years as a communications adviser to political parties and his illustrated catalogue of campaign gimmicks—from bumper stickers to buttons from billboards to straw boats—lets just about everything the political hopeful needs—whether he's aiming to be President of America or president of the local school board.
By the time the 1968 campaigning is over, Roman estimates he will have netted 5 million dollars from orders which are already rolling in from all over America.
With so many offices in

His Dial-a-Votes Wins Elections

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Campaign aid service for sale

By David Holmstrom
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
New York
History could come to look upon Murray Roman with an affectionate eye. Maybe not this year, but within a few years he could become to political campaigning what Eli Whitney was to cotton. It was the high cost of political campaigning that got him started.
"In 1964," explains Mr. Roman, a communications consultant, "the cost of the presidential campaign for each major party was about \$15 million. For a senator anywhere from \$750,000 to \$2 million. For a Congressman from an urban district it could have been \$35,000 to \$250,000. This year it will be even greater."
What struck Mr. Roman was that a candidate—all the way down to the novice running for city council—had no one source to go to for his campaign needs.
So Mr. Roman organized the Campaign Communications Institute of America, Inc. (CCI), and compiled a complete single-source catalogue of creative materials, equipment, and techniques to help a candidate win an election—and do it more economically and efficiently than in the past.



By John Littlewood, staff photographer

Discussing some of the 300 services and products the Campaign Communications Institute of America, Inc., offers prospective political candidates is Murray Roman, who originated the institute. He supplies campaigners with a complete catalogue of equipment and techniques, including loudspeakers, tape recorders, projectors, placards, and others.

One-stop service for politicians

Catalogue circulated
"A candidate suddenly gets into politics," said the energetic Mr. Roman, who has been organizing volunteers and fund raising for the past 25 years, "and he doesn't know how to get his message to the voters. It's a frantic, hectic business."

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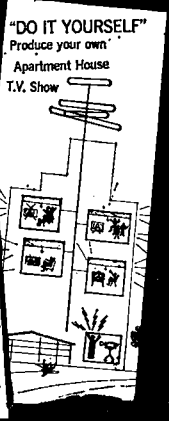
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URBAN FINANCING: A Fair Share for the Cities

Cities are caught in a financial squeeze between the rising demand for services and insufficient sources of revenue. The urban financial system must undergo drastic reform if the cities are to meet the tremendous responsibilities thrust upon them in the last decade.

The Ripon Society proposes three broad areas of reform for the financing of the cities. *First*, selected urban programs should be relinquished in whole or part to state and federal government financing and supervision. *Second*, the federal government must distribute a portion of its income tax revenues back to the states. Though grants of these revenues should carry a minimum of restrictions they should include provisions requiring that a portion of the funds be passed on to the cities. The grants should take into account variations in population, wealth, and local tax effort of the states. *Third*, state and local government tax systems must be reformed. The array of conflicting state and local income and sales taxes must be coordinated, either by federal legislation or by agreements among the states and cities. The real estate tax base must be broadened by improved administration and more realistic assessments. We specifically propose the centralization of property tax assessments at the state level and the reevaluation of tax exemptions for charitable organizations.

I. The Financial Squeeze

The financial gap in city budgets is growing to enormous proportions. One study of local revenue and expenditure projections concludes that *at the current rate the nation's cities will be faced with a gap of \$262 billion during the ten-year period 1967-1977*. The gap continues to widen since (1) cities rely heavily on taxes which are unresponsive to economic growth and (2) the costs of public services are rising rapidly despite decreases in city population.

The demands on cities for services come principally from three communities:

(a) the business and commercial community, which demands transportation, communication and police and fire protection;

(b) the urban middle and upper-class community, which demands these services as well as such family services as schools, playgrounds and entertainment; and

(c) the urban poor, which require the services of the first two communities along with a broad range of special social services.

If cities had only to provide the first two kinds of services, they might well hold their own on the basis of their existing resources. The rate of expansion of social services for the poor, however, has far exceeded the growth capability of present urban revenue sources.

Cities rely most heavily on the real estate tax, which is the least responsive to economic growth. Real property taxes accounted for 60% of the total revenues collected by local governments in 1967. As of that year, however, only ten US cities imposed an income tax. Revenues

from the real estate tax increase by only 0.9% for every 1% increase in gross national product, while revenues from income taxes increase by 1.6%.

Cities are reluctant to adopt non-property taxes such as the sales tax or the income tax. The first reason is geographic. The taxable jurisdiction of a city covers a limited area. Corporations and individuals can easily escape taxes levied against them and their property by moving to a lower tax area.

The second obstacle is state control over local finance. Even if cities were willing to levy heavier income and sales taxes, they are prevented from doing so in many cases by state restrictions. In New York State, for example, the power of local governments to incur debt and to levy taxes is limited by the state constitution, which requires that the state legislature must approve any new taxes the cities may levy; approval often becomes very difficult in a legislature which is dominated by non-city interests. The consequence is a yearly trek to Albany by the mayors of major cities in New York State to ask for new powers to tax in order to meet the growing demands on their resources. Adding insult to injury is the fact that in some states city budgets are growing because of programs which have been mandated by state law. New York City expects to spend \$1.794 billion in 1968-1969 on welfare and Medicaid programs which arose out of state legislation.

The third obstacle is the bureaucratic machinery and red tape that a community must establish to administer any new taxes, particularly the income tax. Citizens

are already faced with a myriad of tax forms to fill out every year and would prefer to deal with a minimum of tax collection authorities.

II. Three Solutions

Cities have three major solutions available for their financial problems. First, they can seek increased federal and state assistance for programs whose impact reaches beyond the cities. Second they can *demand* a larger share of federal and state revenues. Third, they can take greater advantage of existing sources of tax revenues. The Ripon Society proposes that the nation employ a combination of these three solutions.

1. *Increased Federal and State Program Assistance.* Ripon believes that the federal and state governments must increase their assistance for urban programs (a) that help fulfill vital national objectives and (b) that have a regional impact.

The United States has come to recognize that an increasing number of urban programs help fulfill vital national objectives. The high geographic mobility of Americans, rich and poor, has given many local functions a national dimension. The concentration of the poor in the cities is a result of national economic dislocation; and the burden for providing social services to the urban poor thus should fall on the nation as a whole. As indicated in other papers in this issue of the FORUM, the urban social services in most serious need of national assistance are education, welfare and health care.

The cities are becoming increasingly involved with programs in most serious need that have a regional impact, public transportation, air and water pollution controls, water supply, and to some extent, the social services previously named.

Relieving the cities of some of the financial burdens for special social services and regional impact programs

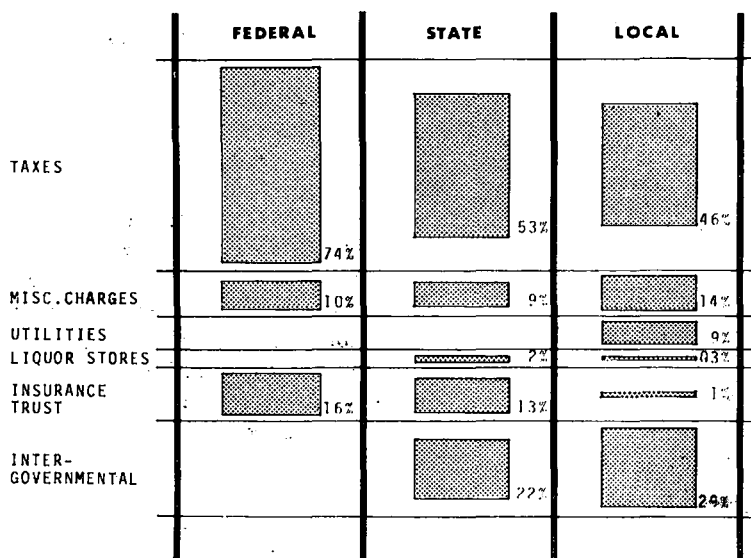
should enable them better to fulfill the ordinary responsibilities of government units closest to the people: police and fire protection, sanitation, recreation. The cities cannot surrender all their responsibilities for social services and regional impact programs. Urban influence on national programs turns in large part on the extent of the cities' participation in these programs. Careful balances must be struck between a concentration of federal and state power over city programs and the inability of the cities to finance these programs, without outside help.

2. *Share in Revenue Sources.* The cities must obtain a larger unrestricted share of federal and state revenues to meet their ordinary operating expenses. Communities have a growing need for help in financing even their ordinary local services, such as the police, sanitation and recreation services. It is unwise to finance all of these services through federal and state programs. On the other hand, the federal and state governments remain the only ones that can effectively and efficiently muster the large resources needed to finance the ordinary functions of the big cities.

Federal grants to state and local governments have been rising. In 1950, such grants accounted for only 9% of total local and state spending; by 1965, they accounted for 12%, and further rises may be expected for the 1970s. There has been increasing experimentation with block grants. However, the bulk of federal grants have been restricted and have been limited to specific services that coincide with the national interest, such as highway construction and education.

The Ripon Society joined with the Republican Governors' Association three years ago to propose that the federal government share a portion of its growing tax revenues, chiefly the income tax, with the states. That proposal we believe remains basically sound. The federal government is still in the best position to apportion

Sources of revenue
(PERCENT)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau 1967

The federal government receives nearly three-quarters of its revenue from taxes. State governments receive slightly more than 50 per cent. Local governments, slightly less than one-half. State and local governments derive 22 per cent and 29 per cent of their revenue, respectively, from inter-governmental sources.

tax expenditure. However, it is even more clear now than in 1965 that any revenue-sharing plan adopted must specifically provide for redistribution of revenues to the cities.

The Ripon revenue-sharing plan is similar to that proposed by Professor Walter Heller and developed further by Professor Robert Pechman. The major elements of the Ripon plan are as follows:

1. 1-2% of the personal income tax as collected by the federal government would be set aside each year by the federal government in a trust fund reserved for the states.
2. The funds would be distributed to the states in accordance with a formula based on population, and a tax effort index which is the proportion of a state's personal income which is collected as taxes by the state and its localities. In addition, 10% of the funds would go to the poorest third of the states based on per capita income.
3. There would be little or no restriction placed on the use of these funds except a requirement that a portion be passed through to local communities.

In essence, the federal government would act as a broker or collection agent for the states. The principal advantage of this plan is that the states would be given a chance to share in a source of revenue that is expanding rapidly and will keep up with the growth of population.

The Ripon Society has recommended that these grants have a minimum of restrictions on them. Conditional federal grants should continue to be provided for those programs that are more national in character; revenue-sharing funds should be used to finance programs of more local nature.

One of the goals of the revenue-sharing plan is to achieve a distribution of revenue from the richer to the poorer states. This is the reason for the 10% provision and for the use of population as the basis for distribution. Predictably, the states that would get a smaller proportion of these funds are New York, California, Illinois, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania. The states that would gain the most are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. The flow of funds is from the highly populated northern and western states to the rural southern states. The loss of funds from the northern states, and their big cities, is not so serious as it might seem. Distribution of funds to poorer states is a small price to pay to gain access to growing federal tax revenues. Moreover, the northern states may be expected to benefit from the increased ability of the southern states to provide adequate social services and thus stem the northward migration of their rural poor.

However, revenue-sharing will not solve the fiscal problems of the states and cities unless the funds set aside are very large. President Johnson has said, however, that in the next five years, federal grants to states and facilities will grow from the present level of \$17 billion to \$60 billion. We feel that a large portion of this growth in federal grants should take the form of unconditional grants. Of the \$43 billion growth, \$20 billion per year should be allocated on the basis of revenue-sharing.

PASS-THRU FORMULA

In view of the financial difficulties facing the cities it is imperative that *any revenue-sharing plan of the federal government include a provision requiring each state to pass a portion of the funds it receives on to the cities.* The federal government should establish certain guidelines and minimums based upon such factors as the percentage of money a state already distributes through local communities; the amounts of money already raised by local communities and spent by them; and the minimum needs of certain low-income communities. The actual formula for accomplishing the pass-through will have to be determined by each state legislature because of the tremendous variety of intergovernmental relationships that exist in each state; but the federal government should set clear standards. Clear federal standards plus increasing reapportionment of state legislatures should help assure that the cities will not be neglected by rural interests in developing pass-through formulas.

3. *Increasing Present Sources of Revenue.* It would be a mistake to think that the cities will be able to get by in the coming years merely by surrendering certain of their functions to state and federal government programs and financing others with revenue-sharing funds. Their needs are too great for such a course.

As noted above, jurisdictional conflict is one of the chief obstacles that cities face in raising sufficient revenues. Overlapping boundaries and tax competition, rightly or wrongly, weigh heavily in the minds of local legislators, whenever taxes are considered. Irrational tax patterns have developed in many states and these in turn generate so much opposition because of their inequities that it becomes very difficult to raise tax rates as high as they should be.

State and local governments could do much on their own to correct this situation by entering into tax agreements with each other. They also could give more emphatic support than they have to the Interstate Taxation Act pending in Congress. In a systematic manner, it deals with the thorny issues of corporate net income and capital stock taxes, sales and use taxes and gross receipts taxes. It cuts through conflicting jurisdictional problems by establishing national definitions and the administrative machinery to interpret them. It sets out a model sales and use tax and certain incentives to encourage each state to adopt it.

The property tax is another important area where reform is needed in local taxes. One of the great inequities of the property tax today is the unevenness of assessment. Most tax assessment officers cannot develop the economics of scale with which to make rational assessments; they are also open to an exceptional amount of local political pressure. State governments could play a major role in correcting this situation by establishing statewide agencies to handle this work, at least for communities under a certain size. The agencies would determine property values in an efficient and scientific manner and would certify the results to local governments, which would in turn apply their own tax rates.

Reform of real estate taxes should also include the

elimination of the obsolete exceptions presently available to charitable organizations. Many such organizations perform laudatory functions in our society; but the public services they receive in the form of police and fire protection, street maintenance and sanitation all have to be paid for. Even properties which are used for direct charitable purposes, such as schools, hospitals and churches, should pay a sum in lieu of taxes to meet these expenses; otherwise they are in effect subsidized by the state. Charitable organizations should pay the full tax rate on properties held for investment; the revenues are needed and private persons otherwise are put at an unfair uncompetitive disadvantage.

The Republican Party has taken the lead in recogniz-

ing the tremendous responsibilities of state and local government in providing the nation's public services. Similarly, Republicans have been among the first to recognize the financing of state and local government is a national concern. We urge Republican leaders to give high priority to the sharing of federal revenues and to the coordination of state and local tax systems. At the state and local level in particular, we hope Republicans will provide the leadership to accomplish the substantial reforms needed in the nation's property tax system.

This paper was written by Robert C. Musser and James Upton and reviewed and edited by Professor Albert G. Hart, J. Eugene Marans, Stanley Stillman and Ray D. Whitman.

SOCIAL SERVICES: Neighborhood Information Centers

American social service institutions, both governmental and private, have been losing touch with the people they serve. The urban disorders of our time have revealed a critical gap in communication between those who produce and those who consume the nation's vital social services.

The Ripon Society proposes the establishment of a national network of neighborhood information centers (NICs) to help close the social services communication gap. Operation of these centers would be the joint responsibility of the federal government, state and local governments and private service agencies and would be coordinated by a National Neighborhood Information Centers Corporation. The staff of the NICs would be composed of both volunteer and professional workers. Establishment of these centers should help in humanizing government and private service agencies and making them more responsive to the needs of the individual.

I. The Communication Gap

The social services communication gap is most serious in the cities. The intensity of urban social demands in this decade has caused a proliferation of public and private programs and agencies. At the federal level alone, there are more than 225 major aid programs, involving 400 authorizations, which are administered by 21 federal agencies and 400 regional and sub-regional offices. State and local programs produce additional layers of overlapping services.

The growth of the country's social service agencies in the last decade has been explosive. The trouble is that too few people in the cities know what these agencies

do or where they can be found. The failure to communicate the existence of social services to the persons who need them has greatly reduced their value.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders [the Riot Commission] found that a major cause of the 1967 disturbances in America's cities was a failure of communication between government and the ghetto. This failure extended to the entire range of government services, including law enforcement, and education, as well as social services. The Riot Commission concluded that the failure to communicate the availability of social services heightened the frustration

and alienation of the urban residents, particularly in the ghetto neighborhoods.

The Ripon Society believes that establishment of a national network of neighborhood information centers can bring significant progress in closing the social services communication gap.

FUNCTIONS

The chief function of the NICs would be to serve as an information clearinghouse for virtually all public and private social services. The information at the centers would be extensive. The centers would be equipped with comprehensive manuals on the availability of private and public social services to the individual. Computers would be used in the compilation of the information manuals. Special on-line computer systems, such as those used for airline reservations, could be used to print out up-to-date information on existing services. Inputs of information would come from national, metropolitan, and neighborhood sources. The staff of each NIC would be thoroughly familiar with the services located in their own neighborhood.

The NICs would also have an important referral function. Inquirers could be directed to specific agencies able to provide special assistance or additional information. The NIC would follow up these referrals to assure that they were effective.

In addition, the NICs would perform a limited counseling role. They could, for example, clarify the significance of a statute or regulatory provision; give advice on the procedures to be followed in dealing with public and private agencies; and help individuals and families appraise the range of services available.

At some time in the future, the NICs could also serve as a clearinghouse for job opportunities, as suggested by Richard M. Nixon in a Ripon FORUM guest editorial in May 1968. There are other areas in which the NICs could help provide this kind of locator service, such as finding openings in training programs, housing projects and health care facilities.

The NICs should foster an "open door" atmosphere to help reduce the negative view that many individuals have toward government and its services. Individuals should be able to call or visit the NIC for expert, unbiased and confidential assistance.

STAFF

The key to the success of the NICs would be the quality of their staff. The staff of an NIC should include professional and nonprofessional personnel, both paid and volunteer. A substantial amount of the staff should be drawn from the neighborhood in which the center is located.

The NICs should have a paid core of full-time professional staff members, who might be recruited in part from public and private agencies which already engage in community counseling activities. These people could be loaned to the NICs, perhaps on a rotation basis. Some of them might prefer to enter NIC career service. The NICs should make efforts to recruit retired business and professional men and women as does the Japanese counterpart of the NICs.

The NICs should have a paid group of full-time non-professional staff members, preferably from the surrounding neighborhood. These indigenous workers would help break down the distrust now existing between the neighborhoods and the social service agencies. The non-professional staff would be trained by the professional staff on the range of services outside the neighborhood. Conversely, the non-professionals would be able to instruct the professionals regarding the people and problems of the neighborhood in which NIC would operate.

The NICs should also attempt to attract volunteer workers, both professional and non-professional. Two thirds of the staff of Great Britain's NIC model, the Citizens' Advice Bureaus, are volunteers, although the volunteer ratio is lower in the cities where the information services are more specialized. Working in the NICs could develop into an exciting new area of volunteer activity for the American people.

The size of an NIC staff would depend upon the needs of the neighborhood. Each NIC should have, as a minimum, a director, at least one supervisor, an appropriate number of experts in the area producing the most questions and the appropriate number of aides and receptionists. A nurse, psychiatrist and other specialists should be available to the staff on a part-time or consulting basis.

LOCATION

At the outset, low income city neighborhoods should have top priority for the location of the NICs. The ultimate goal should be the availability of NICs, or equivalent information services, to every neighborhood in the country. The location of an NIC within a neighborhood would be highly flexible. There would be no need for NIC to be physically independent of other community service offices. It would seem more desirable if NICs could be located within community centers, schools, unemployment offices or other social service facilities. NICs could also be located in public buildings, mobile trailers and transportation terminals.

We recognize that America cannot establish a national network of NICs overnight. However, substantial groundwork has already been laid by the federal, state and local governments in a number of areas. The Office of Economic Opportunity has funded over 800 multi-service centers and 2000 satellite centers in ghetto areas throughout the country since 1964. Within the past year, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has made progress in an experimental program to establish comprehensive neighborhood service centers in 14 pilot cities. These centers would dispense health, education, welfare and recreation services, as well as provide information to ghetto residents. However, the first grants to establish these centers were made only last January by the federal government, and then only for 11 metropolitan areas. The coordination of health and welfare services is being advanced in a number of states by recent authorization of federal grants to locate these services in community centers. Massachusetts Republican Attorney General Elliot Richardson was instru-

mental in obtaining passage of the bill authorizing these grants.

Neighborhood information or multi-service centers have been operating in California, Michigan and Washington primarily under the auspices of state government. Governor Rockefeller is making efforts to establish a network of such centers in New York State. New York City has opened four "little city halls," but they have met strenuous local political resistance and have suffered from lack of operating expenses.

The NICs proposed by Ripon would tie in with such comprehensive neighborhood service centers, where they exist. But the NICs would become more widespread in a shorter period, though their services — mainly information and referral — might be more limited than those of comprehensive centers.

II. A National NIC Committee

What is vitally needed now is a national focus for neighborhood information center efforts. We propose that Congress charter a National Neighborhood Information Center Corporation to assure adequate funding and coordination of the NICs throughout the country. Capital subscriptions to the corporation and contributions for its operating expenses would be made by the federal government and state and local governments as well as by private agencies.

The National NIC Corporation would be governed by a National Committee including representatives from the major federal service agencies (Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, Office of Economic Opportunity, etc.), the principal private service agencies (Red Cross, Travelers Aid, Salvation Army, etc.) and the major city governments (New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc.). The NIC National Committee would be responsible for the coordination of information of national importance, such as Social

Security, Medicare, Red Cross and many similar social services. The National Committee would also help coordinate the funding and planning of NICs in various metropolitan areas.

Each major metropolitan area would have its own NIC Metropolitan Committee to coordinate the establishment and operation of the centers in that area. The Metropolitan Committees would include representatives of the state and city government agencies, the principal private agencies, community organizations (e.g., the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, New York), and business, labor and professional groups (Urban Coalition, trade associations, labor councils).

The Metropolitan Committees would in turn help form NIC Neighborhood Committees for the actual establishment and operation of the NICs. The Neighborhood Committees would consist primarily of local residents but would include members with special expertise from outside the neighborhood.

* * *

Development of neighborhood information centers until recently has progressed much further in other countries than in America. Great Britain established Citizens' Advice Bureaus (CABs) during World War II to help alleviate the dislocation of essential social services caused by war; but the CABs were so successful that they have been given an equivalent peacetime role in British society. The Citizens' Counseling Rooms started in Japan after the War have also been highly successful in providing information and counseling services. Other countries have developed a variety of advice services, ombudsmen, telephone SOS services, administrative appeals machinery and one-stop service centers. The experience of other nations should be of great help in developing NICs in this country, though the United States must fashion its NICs to satisfy its own practical requirements.

The Ripon proposal for a national network of NICs incorporates a number of important tenets of Republican political philosophy. First, it would help separate politics from the dissemination of information to individuals in the cities, thus taking power from urban political machines; second, it would enhance the social services provided by state and city agencies, as well as the Federal government; third, it would help coordinate the services of private agencies with those offered by the government; fourth, it would provide a superb new opportunity for volunteer service by the American people; and perhaps most important, it could bring significant progress in the humanization of American government.

Implementation of the NIC proposal presented here would require a strong federal impetus and equally strong state and local support. We urge Republicans at every level of government to lend their leadership to this effort.

This paper was written by Berna Gorenstein, J. Eugene Marans, Stephen M. Minikes and David R. Young and reviewed by a committee of the New York Ripon Society.



"SAY PLEASE"

WELFARE: While Waiting for a Negative Income Tax

The Ripon Society believes that the objective of the Federal Welfare System should be to offer all citizens a minimum level of economic security and an incentive to raise themselves out of poverty. The present Welfare System is unacceptable because it fails to achieve these two objectives.

The Ripon Society has proposed a radically new approach to the problem of economic insecurity, the Negative Income Tax. (Ripon FORUM, April, 1967). We feel that such a tax properly administered would not only offer economic security for all poor citizens but would provide incentives for economic self-betterment as well.

Until such time as a negative income tax is accepted, we endorse the following improvements in the present system. Many of them have been recommended in reports of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (pp. 457-467) and the Steering Committee of the Arden House Conference on Public Welfare (pp. 21-30).

a) Improved information dissemination about the available welfare programs;

b) Lifting of the 1967 amendment to the Social Security Act which freezes the percent of children that any state can help with Federal support;

c) Mandatory requirements that all States offer benefits under the Federal program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children of Unemployed Parents (AFDC-UP);

d) Inclusion in the AFDC program of not only unemployed parents but underemployed parents, those who earn less than poverty income;

e) Substitution of an affidavit system to determine eligibility rather than the Means Test which is always demeaning and often unjust;

f) Uniform Federal standards in all states for qualification in welfare programs;

g) Increasing the amount of income retainable by recipients of welfare who are also employed; and

h) Development of training and rehabilitation programs designed specifically for people on welfare.

I. The Present System

The Federal Welfare System consists of 50 separate systems, one for each state. The states determine for themselves how much money welfare recipients need and how much of that need they will provide. Federal grant matching formulas are then applied. There are five major programs in the Welfare System:

1) *Old Age Assistance*, in which the Federal Government finances about 70%, has 2 million recipients over the age of 65.

2) *Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)* has about 5 million recipients including a million mothers, 3.7 million children, 175,000 incapacitated fathers and 60,000 able-bodied unemployed fathers. The average family on this program receives \$152 a month. This constitutes the major welfare bur-

den for state and local government.

3) *Aid to the Blind* has 83,000 recipients and costs about \$100 million a year. The federal share is 56%.

4) *Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled* has more than 600,000 recipients: half suffer chronic disease connected with old age but are too young to qualify for old age assistance. This program costs about \$650 million a year; the federal share is 58%.

5) *General Assistance* supports some 664,000 poor who cannot qualify for the four major federally supported programs or who cannot survive on the benefits of those programs. The Federal Government does not contribute to these programs.

Perhaps the greatest problem of the present welfare system is its inadequacy: only 8 million of the

approximately 26-30 million Americans living below the poverty standard are helped by any of the programs. Those who are not helped do not fit into any of the major categories of the federally financed programs. They are not the categorical poor, the blind, the aged, the disabled, the families with dependent children. Those not encompassed by any of the present programs include some 5.5 million children whose parents work full time without earning enough money to get beyond the poverty level.

Another problem with the System is that it depends upon state initiative, which in many cases is lacking. In 1965, for example, 33% of all welfare money went for AFDC, but the 12 southern states spent only 18% on that program. Similarly, the Nation's average of 7% for General Assistance programs that year compared with a 1.6% average in the South. About 40 states still have a one year residence requirement to qualify recipients for AFDC, while several states have none at all. Low benefit levels, however, do not always reflect a state's determination to neglect poor people. Mississippi, for example, spends more on welfare per \$1000 of state personal income than many welfare states. But because Mississippi is a poor state the benefits to its poor citizens are concomitantly lower.

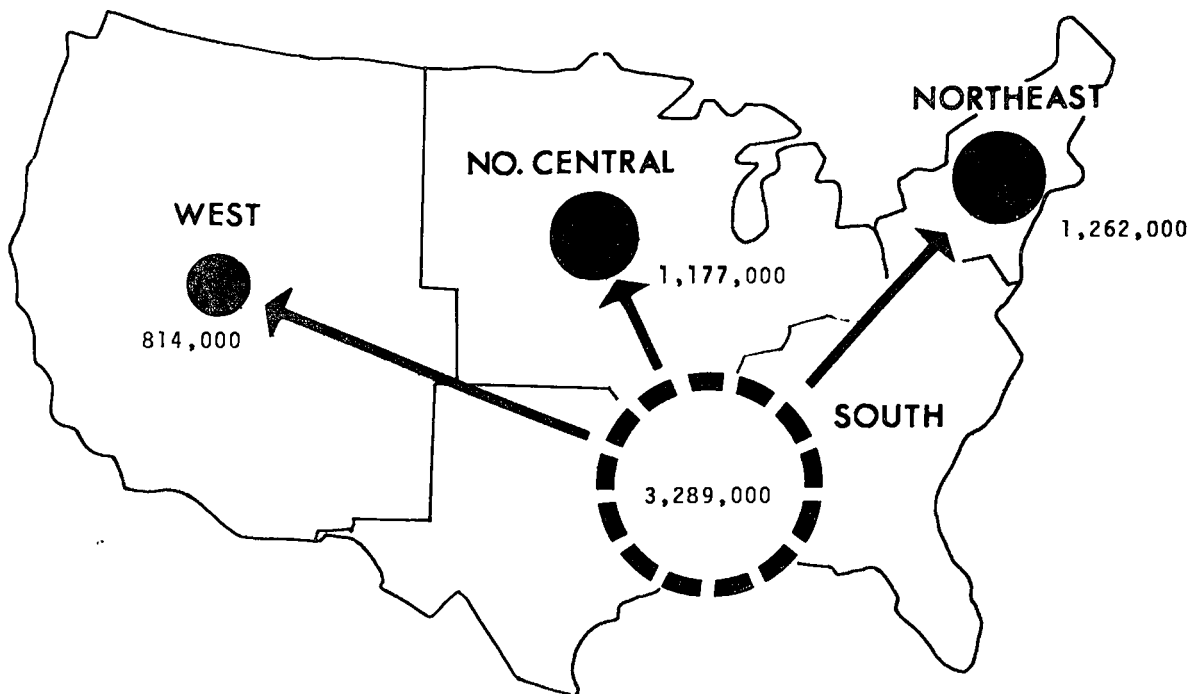
The lack of uniformity in welfare administration among the states encourages mass movement in population. Large northern cities like New York, Washington and Chicago have been deluged with armies of

of poor, flowing into the ghettos and lining up for welfare benefits. In the last decade for example, New York welfare population has more than tripled, rising to 8.2% of the City's population from 3.8% in 1957. In the middle of this year the figure is estimated to be 10% of the population. Welfare is the fastest rising budget category for New York City, even though the City only pays about 1/3 of the nearly \$1 billion bill (Albany and Washington split the balance). The suburbs are experiencing a severe rise in the welfare rolls as well. Four counties surrounding New York City, for example, showed a rise in recipients of about 100% from 1962 to 1967. The movement of the poor into the cities has helped create problems that go far beyond those of welfare itself.

The demeaning manner in which the programs are administered presents additional difficulties. Most states require a Means Test for acceptance in their welfare programs. This test involves a scrutiny of the individual both at the time of application and subsequently to make sure that the means which he represented are still accurate. Close investigation and often outright spying are employed to enforce the Means Test. Welfare recipients usually decry this aspect of the System even more strongly than the inadequate amounts that they receive under it.

No less demeaning is the man-in-the-house rule enforced by 28 states in AFDC programs. This rule stipulates that if a man lives in (or in some cases just

Migration of Non-Whites



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Although the total non-white population of the South has increased, the region lost 3.3 million non-white persons from 1940-63. Since then the emigration rate has been slightly over 100,000 non-whites a year.

visits) the home, the family is no longer eligible to receive benefits. It has been found that many fathers, unable to find a job or to feed and clothe their families with the income they earn, abandon their homes so that their wives and children may qualify under AFDC. The consequences of not having a man in the family is disruption and an unhealthy home environment.

Another very real problem is lack of information regarding available programs. George Wiley, a former Syracuse University professor and national head of the Welfare Rights Program, thinks that the number who receive welfare benefits could double without any change in State laws if the poor are alerted to what they are entitled to.

Finally, under the present welfare system there is no adequate incentive for recipients to remove themselves from the welfare rolls. Under Means Tests welfare may be reduced as soon as income rises, so that the effect of working is nil. Moreover, the man-in-the-house rule in AFDC programs encourages recipient mothers to avoid any association with a potential bread winner. Small wonder that 40% of the families under AFDC are perpetual welfare recipients.

II. Necessary Changes

Two of the problems outlined above, the lack of information about the existing programs and the fact that only a small percentage of the total poor are receiving benefits from the welfare programs seem to have at least one possible common solution. The Federal government should encourage mass dissemination of information regarding the welfare programs. Hence we endorse the concept of the neighborhood social service centers as a means of disseminating information. (See the preceding paper on Neighborhood Information Centers).

In order to increase the number of recipients who qualify for AFDC we advocate the repeal of the 1967 amendment to the Social Security Act which freezes the percentage of children which any state can help with federal AFDC support at the level of the number of children of any state on welfare as of January, 1968. It is estimated as of the beginning of July, 1968, some half million new welfare applicants will be denied federal matching money on AFDC because of this freeze. Another danger in the freeze is that states might impose tighter eligibility standards than now exist to trim growing AFDC rolls if they think that the leadership of the Federal government is an indication of how the state should respond to the problem.

Another possible solution to this problem would be to require that all states offer benefits under the Federally financed program called Aid to Families of Dependent Children of Unemployed Parents (AFDC-UP). This program was first offered in 1961 and has been adopted by 22 states. In these states the level of the benefits and the definition of "unemployed" vary widely. Some states like New York offer help under AFDC-UP to a man who has worked only a

short time during his youth and has not worked since. Other less liberal states, however, insist that the employment occur within the last year or so before application. The Federal government should offer its own broad definition of "unemployed" so that this part of the AFDC program will absorb as many jobless parents as possible.

We also urge consideration of AFDC for "under-employed parents," and millions who work but earn less than a poverty income.

The sociological problems created by the Means Test and man of the house rule have solutions which are at once workable and at the same time inexpensive. An affidavit of need should be substituted for the cumbersome Means Test as a way of verifying individual eligibility for public assistance. Federal regulations should require the adoption of the affidavit method. Random investigations, a method used in checking income tax statements, can be employed to prevent advantage being taken of the affidavit system. The time case workers save by this procedure can be constructively channeled. As the Arden House report stated:

We also propose the man in the house rule should be abandoned. Whatever good is accomplished by such a rule does not justify the psychological harm done to children who are forced to be raised in a fatherless home by the imposition of such an arbitrary rule.

The problem of large movements in population of southern poor into the urban and suburban areas of states with favorable welfare benefits can perhaps be solved by the imposition of a Federal standard of uniform benefits under the welfare programs. We are not advocating absolute uniformity in state benefits because it is clear that there exist many cost of living differentials. We are advocating a relative uniformity in benefits that does not exist today. A blind person in Connecticut now gets \$81 a month while a blind person in New York gets \$103 and one in Mississippi gets about \$46. A dependent child in the Mississippi area now receives about \$9 a month while a child in New York gets \$55. Reducing such significant discrepancies among the states would in time help slow down the rush of the poor to the "good" welfare cities like New York.

A formula to finance such a uniform national program was suggested in 1966 report to the Advisory Council of Public Welfare, which provided the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with a set of recommendations to improve the nation's Welfare Systems. Although the Council did not put a price tag on its proposal, the suggestion deserves consideration. According to the proposal, Washington would determine what each states' welfare payments ought to be and give the states a bill for some reasonable share of the burden, perhaps based on per capita income in the state. The federal government would then pay the balance if the states agree to meet federal welfare standards for their recipients.

Our proposed solution to the problem of the chronic welfare recipient is two-fold. First, we sup-

port the 1967 amendment to the Social Security Act which gives welfare recipients, for the first time, modest income incentives to work. The law now allows recipients to retain the first \$30 a month additional income and 30% of the rest of their earnings. Until the 1967 amendment, recipients lost a dollar of benefits for every dollar earned. This 100% tax on self initiative was a vital flaw in the nation's welfare system. The new plan is a move in the right direction which we believe should be followed by even further steps. New York City's experiment with an exemption of \$85 a month and 30% of the balance might be a logical next step to adopt in helping the poor to help themselves and encouraging people who are presently receiving welfare to bootstrap themselves out of the System.

Moreover, because we believe welfare should, wherever possible, help people move toward useful self-supporting jobs, we urge the Department of Labor, which is currently in the process of reorganizing and rationalizing the Nation's patchwork of some 30 different manpower training programs, to keep the welfare recipients in sharp focus during these changes.

Republican officeholders and candidates have an important responsibility to inform the voters of the special role that the welfare system plays in our society. The word "welfare" has unhappy connotations in the minds of too many intelligent people. They must be shown that those who are presently receiving welfare are not, except for a few, persons who are by choice living on the public dole. They are rather the disabled, the blind, children of broken families and mothers with dependent children. We have a further obligation to think of solutions to the problems of the welfare system. We should encourage legislation which seeks to solve the problems that do exist in that system.

We, as a Nation, decided a long time ago that mothers, children and disabled people incapable of providing for themselves should be provided for. We, as Republicans, should not be embarrassed by that decision, rather we should embrace it as the generous humanitarian concept it is.

This paper was written by a committee of the New York Ripon Society and edited by David L. Sherman.

JOBS: Self - help and Community Power

The urban dilemma will continue to resist solution until those Americans who are among the hardcore unemployed are given the chance and believe in the chance to succeed in the market economy. The minority communities where unemployment is the greatest, especially the black community, have discovered that the answer to more jobs lies within their own efforts and their own sphere. Gratuitous paternalism is no longer accepted. The Ripon Society believes that a concerted underwriting of black efforts to run their own businesses and enter into constructive partnerships with white business is the answer of the future. Government must be ready to help with tax incentives and development programs to further this trend.

I. The Testing Stage

Urban unemployment is of disastrous proportions. Some 500,000 hard-core unemployed live within the central cities. They lack a basic education, work not at all or only from time to time and are unable to cope with the problems of holding and performing a job.

The principal victims of this disaster are black Americans. According to the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, a 1967 survey done in poverty areas in nine large cities showed the rate of

black unemployment to be 9.3%, compared with rates of 7.3% for Negroes nationwide and 3.3% for whites.

Not only do urban Negroes have a higher unemployment rate, but they tend to be out of work for longer periods than whites. They also suffer heavily from underemployment, substandard pay and the necessity of accepting jobs below their skill or educational potentials. The underemployment rate (including part-time workers and those who had dropped out of the labor market),

was estimated by the Riot Commission at 32%.

Even though the nationwide unemployment rate for Negroes has been decreasing, the jobless rate for black teen-agers continues to rise. Unemployment among teen-age Negroes rose in May 1968 to 24.7%, up from 23.2% in April and 19% in January.

The country is still at the testing stage in attempting to solve the problems of urban unemployment. The fundamental defect of many programs from the New Deal to the War on Poverty has been failure to grapple with the unique handicaps of the hardcore unemployed. Fiscal measures to steam up the economy and major public works programs skim off only the readily employable among the nation's jobless. Present recruitment, training and placement programs seem to help primarily those for whom unemployment is a temporary condition. Only a handful of programs, public and private, have reached successfully into the poverty neighborhoods to provide jobs for the hardcore unemployed.

The two most prominent recruitment, training and placement programs are the United States Employment Service (USES), established in 1933, and the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) efforts begun in 1962. The USES has been limited to job placement; but since the USES offices do not seek out or train potential job hunters, the brunt of their aid has gone to those who have both the schooling and the motivation to seek out employment. MDTA and USES have not touched the problem of the hard-core unemployed. These people are chronically out of work, lacking even the most basic skills, and perhaps most important, lacking the desire to obtain a job because of the unceasing frustration and deprivation they have endured.

The programs of the War on Poverty have attempted to adapt the techniques of the USES and the MDTA to poverty neighborhoods. The major departure of the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Work Experience, and other Office of Economic Opportunity programs from the MDTA is their special emphasis on poverty neighborhoods. Yet their concept is almost identical to the MDTA: recruit, train and place. The chief failing of the War on Poverty programs parallels the key weakness of the MDTA, lack of success at job placement. The OEO community centers that have the responsibility for job placement have only been able to place between 15 and 25% of the applicants trained. Moreover, about 50% of the jobs obtained are below the poverty line and, in what is undoubtedly a related phenomenon, only half of those placed remain on the job. The handicap of this endeavor is not in its intentions, but rather that, in general, the jobs available either require skills above the education and training of the hardcore unemployed or else the pay is so low as to be totally inadequate to the needs of the job seekers.

INNOVATION BY BUSINESS

We have seen in the past year a fundamental shift in efforts to reduce hardcore unemployment in our cities. The Government has shifted the primary responsibility for solving the problem to business. The

Ripon Society applauds this change. We believe, however, that business must avoid simply producing carbon copies of government programs which have already failed. Business must strike out in new directions to help assure suitable jobs for the hardcore unemployed.

The business effort to provide jobs for the hardcore unemployed has gained significant momentum in the efforts of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), a group of top business leaders to whom President Johnson assigned the task of finding 500,000 jobs by 1971. The NAB was organized last March by Henry Ford and already claims pledges of 133,000 permanent jobs in 1968—33,000 over the quota for this year.

However, the hardest task for the NAB this year is still ahead. Men have been found to match only a small fraction of the jobs. Training has barely begun. In New York, only about 75 of the 1000 firms pledging jobs have so far signed contracts for training funds offered by the Department of Labor under the NAB program. Nationwide, only about half the jobs pledged were covered by these training contracts in late June. These efforts, then, provide only short term help in solving hardcore unemployment. To achieve long term results will require massive efforts on three levels. The first level is to *motivate the individual* by putting responsibilities into the hands of poor Americans rather than relying on middle class leadership. The second effort must involve a *rebuilding of poverty communities* into viable economic units with the greatest measure of self-determination. And to shore up both these efforts must be intelligent local, state and federal *economic programs* and *special incentives* to aid business in poverty neighborhoods.

II. Motivating Men and Communities

The Ripon Society suggests that it is of prime importance to motivate the hardcore unemployed to become productive members of society. It is a difficult task. They feel alienated from the economy. They are poorly prepared to work and sometimes fearful of working for employers of a different race.

Strong action must be taken to lower these barriers. We urge a system of black representation in the ghetto economy which assures that an employee identifies with his boss and that the neighborhood identifies with the company.

There must be an open-mindedness in industry which exceeds the prevailing attitudes of today. Companies must not only train the poor to hold the basic jobs, but they must continue training through the management level. They must ignore education records and police records in their hiring. They must seek out those people who are leaders in ghettos, who have captured the imagination and won the trust of black Americans. These people must not only be put on the payroll, they must be given responsibility for recruiting, labor relations and other policy decisions—even if they were gang leaders, hustlers or convicts in the past. If black Americans see this happening, their fears of traditional economic exploitation will be allayed.

Unemployment & underemployment

(IN SAMPLE BLIGHTED AREAS)

Unemployment rates in blighted areas are frequently double those in the surrounding metropolitan areas. Underemployment rates, a more valid indicator of human misery, show that about one-third of slum residents who are or should be workers do not work or earn only a token wage.

According to the 1967 Manpower Report of the President, 7% of slum residents wanted full time work but worked part time; one of five working full time earned less than \$60 a week; 40% of families and unrelated individuals reported income under \$3,000 a year, compared to a national average of one-fourth; in slums labor force nonparticipation rate was 11% among men 20 to 64, compared with 7% nationally.



Ripon believes that improving the economic base of poverty neighborhoods is inseparable from rebuilding the faith of the individual in the possibility of succeeding in our economy. This involves (1) encouraging industry to move or expand in the poverty neighborhoods; 2) assuring thorough community participation in the planning and operation of businesses located in these neighborhoods; and (3) aiding the development of independent, community-owned and operated enterprises in poverty areas. The efforts of the NAB and similar organizations should be applied in these directions.

It has become a source of significant pride for the black American that he now wants to develop his own communities—live there, work there, grow there. As described in the "Neighborhood Power" articles of the March 1968 issue of the Ripon FORUM, this in one sense—perhaps the best sense—is the meaning of "black power." After years of being promised that appropriate improvements in his situation were being made for him, the black man has grown tired of waiting. He now wants to be involved himself.

III. Incentives for Development

The two major federal programs designed to improve the economic base of the poverty communities have been pitifully underfunded. One is the Economic Development Administration (EDA) under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. The ERA is expected to bring new industry and permanent jobs to areas of substantial and persistent unemployment; yet less than \$58 million was appropriated in 1968 to induce industry to locate in poverty areas under this program. Model Cities, a program with even broader objectives, has received far too small appropriations to have a significant impact on improving the economic base of poverty communities in the near future.

Ripon believes that appropriate federal government incentives would provide an important impetus to economic development of poverty neighborhoods. These incentives would help solve some of the critical problems that have hampered development in poverty areas thus far: lack of capital; high initial costs for new businesses; shortage of technical assistance; and unavailability of

casualty insurance.

The Ripon Society proposes offering tax credits for businesses locating in poverty areas or hiring the hard-core unemployed. These incentives would be most useful for corporations moving into poverty areas. They would be of only limited value to the development of indigenous enterprises within these areas.

1. *Tax Credit for Investment in Poverty Areas.* We recommend a tax credit for the location and renovation of plants and other business facilities in urban poverty areas. The existing investment tax credit, first enacted in 1962, applies only to equipment. We recommend that for investment in poverty areas the existing credit be increased substantially and extended to investments in real property and plant.

2. *Tax Credit for Hardcore Employment.* Moreover, we suggest a tax credit, similar to that proposed in the Republican Human Investment Act, for the hiring of hardcore unemployed. The mechanics of identifying and certifying the hardcore unemployed should not be difficult. Business could join with public and private employment agencies to recruit the hardcore unemployed. These agencies could give the job recruits a "green card" or other identifying document for presentation to the employer claiming the credit.

The Riot Commission observed that the existing investment tax credit was taken on 1,239,000 corporate tax returns and 6,904,000 individual tax returns during the period of 1962-1965, representing new investments of about \$75 billion and \$17.5 billion respectively. The success of the tax credit in its existing application suggests that it may provide a significant impetus to poverty area investment. It is probably the most pluralistic technique available for channeling governmental assistance: the individual decisions of thousands of businesses in making their daily employment and plant location decisions.

We emphasize again, however, the limitations of the tax incentive device for building new businesses within the poverty area. For this purpose, tax incentives alone would not be enough.

3. *Domestic Development Bank.* The Ripon Society endorses the proposal of Senator Jacob K. Javits, co-sponsored by twenty other Republican Senators, for a Domestic Development Bank (DDB). The DDB would aid in overcoming the lack of capital available for investment in poverty areas by providing low-cost loans for the establishment of business and commercial enterprises. Ripon would expand Senator Javits' proposal to include a special "soft loan" program for poverty area businessmen.

The DDB would be funded at the outset by a federal government subscription of \$2 billion worth of Bank stock. Of this amount, \$400 million would be paid in initially, with the remainder serving as a reserve fund to meet the Bank's liabilities. The \$400 million paid in would be raised, not from the general revenues, but from the sale of Treasury bonds. This is the manner in which American contributions to the international development banks have been raised.

The DDB would seek to rectify the fundamental lack

of commercial credit for the black business community; it would stimulate black ownership of business in the black community. The DDB would guarantee loans from regular sources to poverty area businesses, as well as providing direct loans to these businesses.

LOAN FORGIVENESS

Ripon believes that the DDB should also have a loan forgiveness program similar to that of the Small Business Administration. A poverty area business would be given a loan, the principal on which would be forgiven in stages depending upon the number of hard-core unemployed persons hired and kept on by the business.

The loan forgiveness program would help meet two principal needs of poverty area businesses: First, it would provide working capital which has been largely unavailable to persons wishing to undertake a business operation in a blighted area. Second, it would provide incentive for the business to reach out and employ and train persons hitherto thought unemployable; the schedule of forgiveness of loans would be designed to offset any net additional cost to the business of hiring untrained rather than trained personnel.

The cut-off point between the grant-type operation of the DDB and its more commercial loans would be determined from experience. At the beginning, the DDB might adopt a rule of thumb that a business would be eligible for grant-type loans only if it retained at least a certain percentage of employees who were among the hardcore unemployed when hired. The determination of eligibility for grant-type loans would be made on a company-by-company rather than on an area basis.

The DDB would be a more suitable instrument to administer a loan forgiveness program than the Small Business Administration. The DDB would be able to follow a business from the period in which it qualified for the DDB's direct loans and loans forgiveness program to the point at which it could obtain credit from a commercial bank with loans guaranteed by the DDB. Ultimately, the business should be able to deal with the commercial bank in the same way as other competitors for credit; the relation would be put on a purely business footing, with no special government incentives.

Administration of the loan forgiveness program by the DDB would be analogous to administration of "soft loan" programs by the World Bank (through the International Development Association), the Inter-American Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank. As in the case of these international institutions, the DDB grant-type loans would have to be made from special appropriations by the Bank's contributors. In order to lure private capital for its regular operations, the DDB would have to operate at a profit, even though it could take more risks than commercial banks.

The loan forgiveness program for the DDB differs markedly from legislation to provide tax incentives to established corporations to locate in poverty areas. The tax credit would rarely be helpful to a struggling, undercapitalized, indigenous company; typically such a company has a low cash in-flow and a low tax liability. Far more advantageous for such a company would be a

direct loan that may be forgiven in part. The DDB proposal would have the important advantage of encouraging neighborhood capitalism as well as hiring the hardcore unemployed.

4. *Economic Opportunity Corporation.* We also endorse Senator Javits' proposal for an Economic Opportunity Corporation, which could serve essentially as a development service agency. This body would be chartered by a \$10 million federal grant; it would be given an additional \$10 million to match private contributions. Individuals and corporations could either become members and thus gain access to its services, either by purchasing its bonds or by making a contribution to it. Its governing board would be composed of 15 directors, two-thirds of whom would be recruited from the private sector. All directors would be appointed by the President.

The corporation itself would be non-profit, but it would have the power to set up profit-making subsidiaries which would act as development and investment companies. Its main function, however, would be to provide research and technical assistance on the problems of investment in poverty areas. In addition, it would serve to encourage private investment in poverty areas by making potential investors aware of the opportunities available in various sections of the country.

5. *Casualty Insurance.* Ripon favors the creation of a national reinsurance facility and of insurance premium subsidies for qualified policyholders in blighted commercial areas.

• *Premium Subsidies.* — We believe that it may be necessary to direct premium subsidies to poverty area businessmen who are otherwise qualified to hold insurance but who cannot obtain coverage at economical rates. Premiums for casualty policies covering commercial establishments in blighted areas have been running greatly in excess of rates for comparable property in other parts of the city. Businessmen should not be penalized for wanting to start a business in a poverty area. Premium subsidies would be a reflection of our public policy to compensate for the additional expenses involved in locating and operating a business in blighted areas.

• *National Reinsurance Corporation.* — The national reinsurance facility was a proposal of the Riot Commission. Congress would charter a National Reinsurance Corporation to reduce the exposure of casualty insurers in poverty areas where the risk of loss is found to be high. Foreign reinsurers, who historically have provided reinsurance for domestic companies, have begun to retrench in the face of the staggering losses suffered in increasingly frequent civil disorders in this country.

6. *Joint Ventures.* The Ripon Society urges that special attention be given to promoting the formation of joint ventures between major corporations and poverty area businessmen. Joint ventures have already been undertaken by Aerojet General in Watts, AVCO in Roxbury, Xerox in Rochester, and Fairchild Hiller Corporation in Washington, D.C. In the latter case, the company will be manned and partially owned by inhabitants of the poverty area. Fairchild Hiller will be only a minority shareholder, though it will provide virtually

all the management skills.

Poverty areas have been described as being similar to underdeveloped countries both in their need for capital and the cultural adjustments that must be made to operate effectively within them. American corporations do not hesitate to use the joint venture approach abroad in similar situations. Joint ventures may be an outstanding vehicle for fulfilling the twin objectives of economic development of the community and neighborhood involvement in the enterprise. The Domestic Development Bank and other federal and state agencies should make development of joint ventures a high priority item.

7. *Community Involvement.* It is also crucial that the poverty neighborhoods be given a voice in the activities of the company. Its location, the design of the plant, expansion plans, and other questions are of great interest to the people who live near or work in the plant. A neighborhood board of directors might be established for the company. Its composition should include those militant black leaders who have won the faith of the people.

The need for this was shown recently in Watts, where plans for economic development in that area were strongly opposed by the community because they feared that plants would be built near schools, that residential streets would be congested with commercial traffic, and finally that only whites from outside would be hired. These suspicions are not unjustified. Such things have occurred in the past. Community participation in planning can overcome these fears.

Institutions like community development boards with popularly elected directors can provide regular channels for local participation.

THE LONG VIEW

We recognize that improving the economic base of the community carries the risk of further urban ghettos as one of the involved risks. However, we believe this risk to be minimal. The long range result should be just the opposite. As the resident of the poverty neighborhoods succeeds in performing roles in his community he will become better equipped to seek suitable employment outside the community. Three trends gradually gaining momentum strongly support this view: stepped-up attacks on job discrimination; improved suburban transportation services; and the development of new towns near good jobs. The ghetto traditionally has been a way station for poor Americans. It has also been a training ground for many American minority groups whose members gradually entered the main current of the nation's enterprises. Minority areas still have a role to play as a base for the economic success of the urban poor. There is no longer a reason, however, for minority areas to be depressed areas. The proposals in these Ripon papers would help assure the development of minority areas as decent places to live and work for those who want to remain there and for those who seek the means to leave.

This paper was written for the Ripon Society by John R. Price, Jr., and based on research conducted during 1967-68 by the Ripon Study Group of Williams College.

HOUSING: A Need for Innovation

A housing crisis faces the people of the United States today. The need for more and better housing for major segments of our population of 200 million is acute.

To combat this crisis, the Ripon Society believes that steps must be taken immediately to promote cooperation between Federal, state and local governments and proposed regional commissions, to expand financing opportunities, to find cheaper methods of sound construction, to devise methods to enable the poor to pay for adequate shelter, to create incentives for private enterprise to build for the poor and to create pride in production and ownership of homes.

To these ends, the Ripon Society proposes:

- 1) Development Corporations
 - 2) Experimental Areas
 - 3) Rent Supplements
 - 4) Tax Incentives
 - 5) National Performance Standards
 - 6) New Towns
 - 7) Multi-Markets
 - 8) Progressive Construction Methods
 - 9) Housing Jobs for Minority Groups
 - 10) Local Production
 - 11) Occupant - Ownership
 - 12) Tax Credit for Research and Development
-

I. The Housing Crisis

In 1960, almost one-quarter of all occupied residential housing units in the South were substandard. In other regions substandard housing accounted for between 12% and 16% of all occupied residences. Since then it is doubtful whether this situation has significantly improved. Even many dwellings which are termed standard today in reality are obsolescent and lacking modern facilities. In 1965, almost one family in five lived in poverty. Most of these poverty stricken families occupied substandard housing. Merely to rehouse these families almost 12 million new or rehabilitated units are required. In the next 20 years, six million new families, who would otherwise occupy substandard housing, will also require assistance. Thus by 1988, 18 million new or rehabilitated residential housing units must be financed and produced for sale or rental to low and moderate income families.

Fifty-seven million new dwelling units will be required by 1988. Of these, 18 million new or rehabilitated units will be required by our nation's poor, yet present cost of the new units puts them beyond the reach of the poor. The average price of a housing unit today is \$20,000, whether incorporated in a single or multi-family dwellings. The monthly carrying charges or rental payments can be afforded only by families earning more than

the median family income of \$7000. Moreover, the spiralling cost of land, labor and materials and the rising cost of money are combining to effectively price new housing beyond the reach of 75% of U.S. families.

Inadequate housing has far-reaching effects on its inhabitants. It affects their health—illness and death touch our poor too often and too soon. It affects their outlook on life—inferior housing, conveying images of neglect and inferior status, often produces pessimism and passivity.

The improvement of our nation's housing is complicated. We must take the many factors involved in developing housing—financing, land, building materials, construction techniques, labor, utilities, governmental regulation and marketing—and mesh them to meet the human needs and problems of the poor and distressed segment of our population for whom the existing housing process has not produced the answer. Those with low and moderate incomes, whether living in the core city areas of the nation's urban ghettos or in rural slums, usually are ignorant of non-welfare social services and opportunities for self-betterment. They are not truly integrated into the market economy which provides most of our population with income, goods and services.

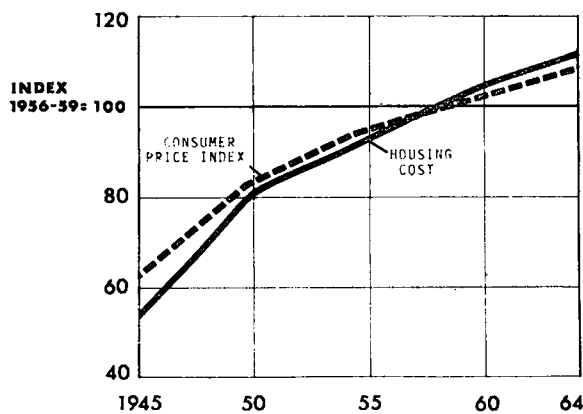
We must recognize that a national housing crisis exists; that most persons and families of low and moderate income are ill-housed and lack access to better housing; that this shortage is severe in the major urban areas of the country and is dangerously inimical to the maintenance of health, the achievement of well-being and the opportunity to prosper; and that this shortage impedes the sound growth of our communities and threatens to exacerbate psychological strains between and among large numbers of people in major urban centers, with attendant substantial disruption of law and order and property destruction.

To cope with these problems, the nation must make a concerted effort to increase swiftly the capacity of public and private groups to construct, finance and manage residential housing for all persons occupying substandard housing. It is estimated that about 2.5 million units per year are necessary to renew or replace presently inadequate housing and to adequately house new families. National goals are required to produce 57 million new dwelling units in the next 20 years, to provide adequate and less expensive financing and lower construction and land development costs, and to adopt optimal standards of construction and maintenance.

In the Housing Act of 1949, Congress declared as national policy "the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." This goal has not yet been met, despite much talk. It must be met before another 20 years pass. The elimination of slums, blight and deterioration within these next 20 years, and the reordering of national priorities to accomplish this task, are of compelling urgency.

Private enterprise and investment must be encouraged to sponsor, build and rehabilitate housing

Housing construction and cost of living



SOURCE: U.S. DEPT. HUD 1965

Housing construction costs over the past two decades have increased at a rate greater than the increase in the consumer price index. High costs may be attributed in part to the specialized nature of many building trades and the proliferation of small-volume builders.

for all persons and to develop increased capacity to finance and construct more dwelling units for sale or rental to low and moderate income groups. Charitable motivation alone cannot be expected to induce additional support and activity. Only profitable participation in the resolution of the nation's housing needs and problems will adequately insure success in dealing with them.

We believe that private zeal and initiative, in responsible and entrepreneurial partnership with good government, can provide the capital, impetus, technology and skills needed to resolve America's housing problems.

II. New Concepts

We must recognize that our efforts to date have not been extensive enough—private enterprise has not done the job, government has not filled the breach. The Housing Act of 1968 provides a massive step in the right direction. Especially noteworthy are its provisions to encourage home ownership, rent subsidies and supplements, and the development of new communities. But the Ripon Society believes that new concepts are needed for the future. We suggest the following:

1. *Local, state and regional development corporations should be organized.* They should be created with the assistance of both public and private enterprise and established and staffed to undertake volume construction of lower-cost, better and more durable housing for occupancy by persons of all income levels, with special emphasis on meeting the needs of the poor and distressed. Expert management, combined with financing from both public and private funds, will help to assure success in this critical undertaking. These development corporations should be given the power to acquire and develop land (in concert with local government) and be given tax inducements, both to finance general development activity and to assist in specific project development financing. Reliance both upon equity and debt financing should be explored, the latter through the issuance of partially or wholly tax-exempt debentures.

2. *Cities should allocate areas on an experimental basis to consortia of private business, lifting building codes, zoning and other restrictions where necessary to promote use of unorthodox building techniques.* This allocation would be conditioned on participation by city agencies and local inhabitants in the planning stages. Final approval of the given project would rest with the local community.

3. In order to increase the ability of poor persons to pay for adequate housing, *present welfare disbursement policies should be revised.* Income maintenance (through grants-in-aid) and rent supplement programs should be expanded.

4. *Property owners who desire to renew or rehabilitate their income producing properties, or to replace them with new construction, should be allowed at their option to reduce or accelerate depreciation of the reasonable costs of such renewal, rehabilitation or new con-*

struction for federal income tax purposes. Abatement of local real property taxes and reduced rates for local services are also appropriate inducements for upgrading housing which should be explored by local authorities.

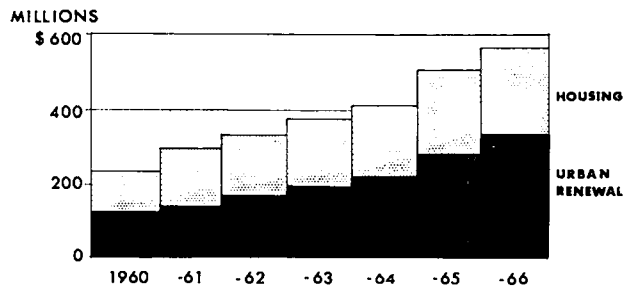
5. *National performance standards and criteria for housing construction should be enacted.* The codes should be oriented toward performance design rather than materials specifications, and should be developed through national research and development programs pursued in cooperation with business and labor. The codes should establish new mechanisms for ensuring sanitary, safe and decent homebuilding by a sponsor in any part of the country. In this manner, objective standards for performance can be established, leaving to local control the important elements of aesthetic considerations and local land usage.

6. *The establishment of new towns in proximity to new jobs should be encouraged.* To this end, the planning resources of regional commissions can be used, along with those of state planning offices. New communities under public-private sponsorship, must be facilitated to replace and supplement existing communities. These new towns will allow our present cities to escape the strangulation of our expanding populace.

7. *Cities should be encouraged, through increased persuasion and fiscal inducement, to combine their purchasing powers to yield large enough housing markets, multi-markets to attract major industrial housing producers.* These multi-markets will yield economies of scale, increased return on investment, local tax inducements and guarantees of marketability (with last resort to public ownership if necessary), and can thus induce the development of lower-cost, yet better, residential housing for the less affluent members of our society.

8. *The cost of housing must be reduced.* National attention should be given to the advantages of instituting industrialized approaches to the supplying of pre-housing, including utilizing existing principles of pre-casting and the mass production of modular parts. These methods have already proved their worth in industries other than building and have been extensively tested and applied in residential construction in Europe. They have effected reductions in the time, cost and effort required to produce multi-unit housing. Promising experiments are underway in this country to produce lower-cost housing on an industrialized basis. "Mini-Habitats" using lightweight concrete and other materials, "stacking" of modules into high-rise frames, "top-down" construction using center cores and wire suspension of box modules, and filament-winding systems all offer great promise.

9. *Increased access by members of minority groups to craft training and jobs in the housing construction industry should become a fact,* both through voluntarily assumed obligations by labor unions and through national legislation. Congress can and should revise the National Labor Relations Act to accomplish this goal. Despite polished utterances and sweeping affirmations of intent, the craft unions have systematically



FEDERAL SPENDING — The increase in federal spending has been more than outstripped by the shortage of housing. Hence the need for new programs to involve private enterprise.

avoided the improvement of their training and job programs. Their resistance against increased efforts to train and utilize the skills of persons from the nation's minority groups have disgraced and perverted the high aspirations and ideals of the pioneers of the American Labor movement. Indifference by private employers, together with lethargy and timidity on the part of governmental officials, have contributed materially to this shameful condition. It seems clear that government action, in partnership with enlightened labor and business, is required to resolve this grave problem.

10. *New housing programs must emphasize use by entrepreneurs of local unskilled and semiskilled labor in local factories and on housing sites.* "Sweat equity" participation is possible under several techniques about to be applied experimentally. These new techniques should be expanded.

11. *Housing programs, where feasible, should encourage occupant-ownership through cooperative and condominium forms of ownership.* This ownership may be either immediate or deferred, depending on the financing program involved.

12. *A Federal tax credit should be established for corporate research and development expenditures relating to urban problem-solving.* This credit would encourage the corporate planning and experimentation necessary to bring new technologies to bear on these problems. The success of the investment tax credit for property indicates that such a credit may provide a significant incentive for urban research and development.

The Ripon Society calls on the Federal Government to fulfill its national obligation, state and local governments to fulfill their public obligations, business and labor to fulfill their social obligation and the members of the Republican Party to fulfill their human obligation to see that every American shall not want for a decent home.

This paper was prepared for Ripon by the following committee: Brian N. Quickstad, (New York); William Olsen, (New York); John Maxim, (Washington, D.C.); R. James Goodell, (Washington, D. C.); Timothy Mellon, (New Haven) and Donald A. Skolnik, (Boston).

URBAN EDUCATION: Revolution in Quality

Education is the reigning faith of a free society. Yet the right to an equal education is the right most flagrantly denied to American minorities, and particularly to the children of the racial ghetto in almost every major city of America.

The Ripon Society sees cause for a new revolution in American urban education—a revolution in quality. This revolution will require intensive efforts at *integration, compensatory education and community control*. Emphasis should be placed on the special priorities of *early childhood education, school construction and renovation and teaching quality*.

Ripon believes that basic responsibility for education must remain in the hands of state and local authorities. Yet the urban education problems today are of grave national concern. We must build a base of federal support for state and local efforts to assure equal educational opportunity for every child.

I. The Widening Gap

American education is ready for its third revolution. The revolution of *quantity*, as former Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel tells us, took us to the Second World War. The revolution of *equality* was second, but it is far from complete. Now we find that the revolution of equality cannot be completed without a third revolution in American education—a revolution in *quality*.

America's city schools have become stratified in quality and divided in objectives, and they threaten to produce a society similarly stratified by class and by race. It is incontestable that we have different qualities of education for the black child and the white child, the suburban child, the city child, the inner city child and the rural child. It is usually the inner city black child who receives the worst education.

Four basic facts highlight the denial of the right to quality education in America's cities today: *first*, the overwhelming majority of city school children, because of the composition of city neighborhoods, are educated in racially segregated schools; *second*, segregated black schools are almost without exception inferior to white schools; *third*, segregated schools, both white and black, perpetuate the racial isolation and racial attitudes produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias; and *fourth*, schools which thus

fail to meet the needs of the community become hopeless and useless, obscuring by their physical existence the social irrelevance of their services.

The schools of the inner-city have become the breeding grounds for apathy and powerlessness. They destroy the sense of self-worth of minority children. As a result, inner city schools have become the symbols of black frustration, contempt and anger.

The bleak record of public education for ghetto children is simply told:

- Black children are already behind white children in achievement by 15-20% by the time they begin school.
- Black students fall farther behind whites with each year completed. By the twelfth grade, they are almost four grades behind white students in the critical skills of verbal and reading ability.
- Once black students feel that they cannot catch up, they are likely to drop out. Six out of ten black students from poverty neighborhoods drop out after the sophomore year of high school. Unemployment and delinquency rates among these dropouts are several times higher than the national average.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission

on Civil Disorders shows that the quality of public education for these children is growing worse.

- Segregation is growing in Northern urban schools. In the South, the number of black students attending schools with all or nearly all black enrollments continues to rise.
- In virtually every large American city, the inner city schools attended by black students are the most overcrowded. They also tend to be the oldest and most poorly equipped.
- The schools attended by disadvantaged black children commonly are staffed by teachers with *less* experience and *lower* qualifications than those attended by middle class whites.
- Ghetto schools generally are unresponsive to the community that they serve. Parents distrust the officials responsible for educating their children.

The deterioration of inner city education can no longer be allowed. The dangers to American society are too great. States have for too long given inadequate attention to this growing danger, and the problem is now so massive and so complicated that all the local and national resources of America must be brought to bear on its solution.

The Ripon Society believes that basic responsibility for education must remain in the hands of state and local authorities; indeed, responsibility for educational policy should be even further decentralized. Yet every child in this country, as an American citizen, is entitled to the best possible school in order to assume the obligations as well as the rights of American citizenship. The nation can ill afford to allow a large mass of its people to remain uneducated and hence unproductive. The problems which confront education today are thus of grave national concern. Therefore, the federal government must participate with state and local governments in assuring a quality education for every child in the land.

This paper does not discuss specific proposals to achieve equal opportunity for higher education. The Ripon Society supports expansion of college preparatory programs, such as Upward Bound, and the establishment of special one-year post-high school college preparatory schools for the disadvantaged youth; we also support intensive efforts to remove financial barriers to higher education.

The proposals in this paper are directed primarily toward promoting equal educational opportunity in the inner city schools. Many of the proposals can also be adapted to deal with providing educational opportunity for children of the rural poor. And similarly, many problems of the ghetto schools in the North arise also in smaller cities and towns of the South where the dual school system is only now beginning to disappear.

The last five years have seen important new legislation by Congress, breaking ground in almost all areas vital to the improvement of urban and rural education. The Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the Higher

Education Act of 1965 have all reflected increasing national concern. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in particular is bringing new dollars and new ideas to the children of poverty and neglect, and bringing new awareness among educators that poverty is in part a result of educational failure. Fear of federal interference, which for so long prevented affirmative national action, is yielding to an effective partnership based on increasing state and local capacity for leadership and a respect by the Federal government for local autonomy.

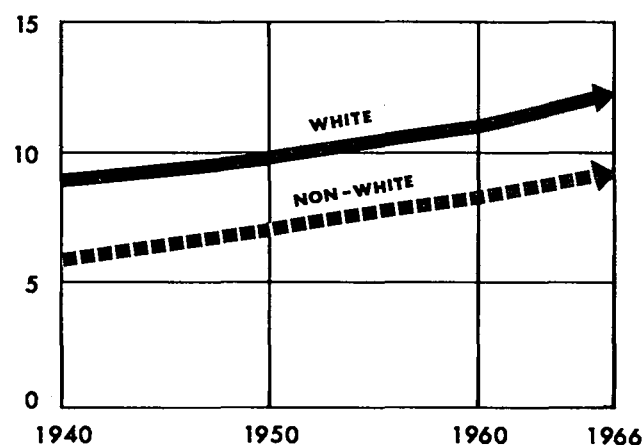
We must build on this base; we must commit ourselves to the expense of achieving quality in education for all our children. The costs of unemployment, welfare and relief, delinquency and crime, high morbidity and mortality—human as well as financial costs—are not the only penalties of failure. Our democratic society has little chance of survival if faced with ever increasing numbers of poorly educated citizens.

II. The Three Prongs

The revolution in quality which we seek has three prongs; (1) *integration*; (2) *compensatory education*; and (3) *community control*. Each one is critical; but all three together are necessary if we are to succeed in our educational goals.

INTEGRATION The Ripon Society proposes that the country accelerate its efforts at every level to achieve a significant amount of school integration within the next decade. There are no obvious solutions that will work for every city. The experience of the past decade seems to call for intensive application of a variety of techniques designed to accomplish desegregation. These include

Years of schooling completed (MEDIAN)



Source: (Primary) U.S. Dept. Commerce, Bur. Census
(Secondary) Statistical Abstract of the U.S. 1967

Although the median school years completed for both whites and non-whites has risen since 1940, the non-white today has completed fewer years of schooling than the white person in 1950.

school pairing, busing, open enrollment, boundary changes, strategic use of site selection, enlargement of attendance areas and the consolidation of schools.

Racial integration remains one of the most urgently needed changes in American education. The vast majority of urban schools are rigidly segregated, and this segregation is growing. The Riot Commission estimates that by 1975, if current policies and trends continue, 80% of all Negro pupils in the twenty largest cities will be attending 90 to 100% black schools.

Segregated schooling deprives disadvantaged children of one of the most significant ingredients of quality education: exposure to other children with broader educational and cultural backgrounds.

Perhaps most important of all, the sensitive observation that separation is *inherently* unequal has its own effect: segregated city schools are considered by administrators, teachers, parents and the students themselves to be inferior—and the judgment inevitably becomes self-fulfilling.

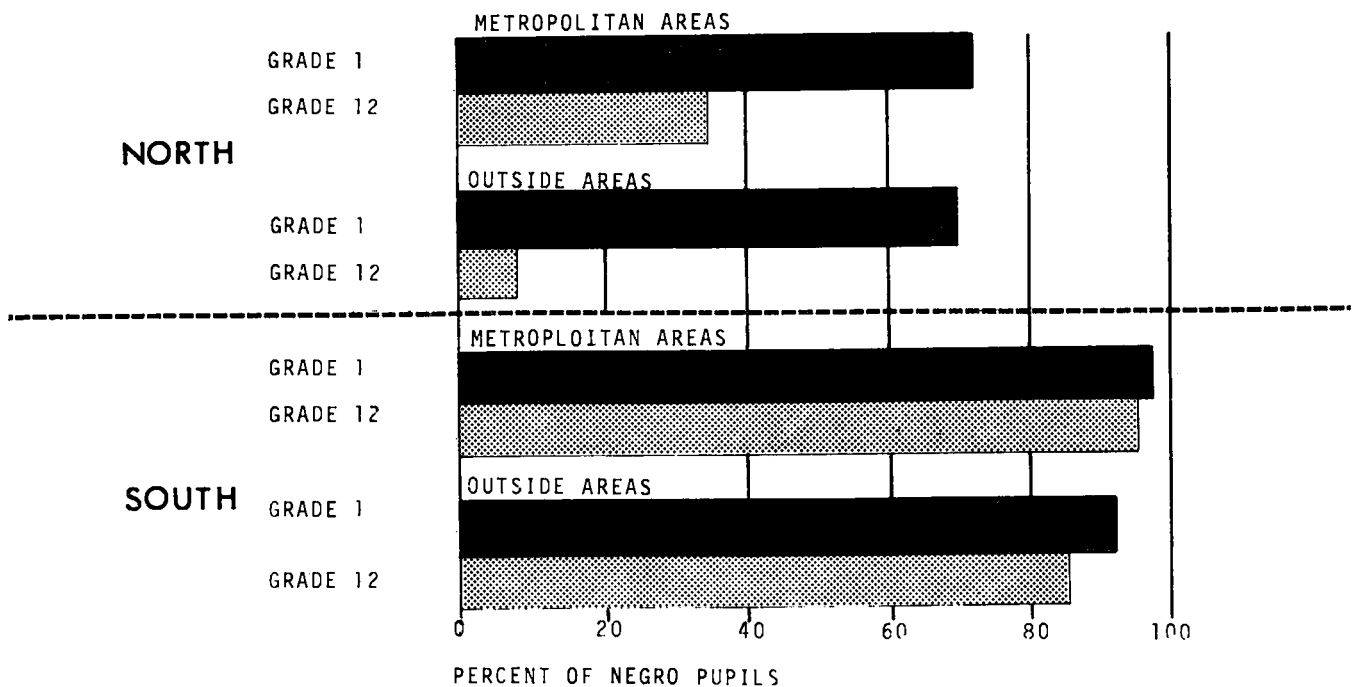
The Ripon Society considers the educational park to be the most promising innovation yet developed for encouraging integration, because it provides an array of educational facilities in a central area with adequate transportation. Consequently, we propose in another part of this paper the construction of a number of federally financed pilot parks over the next few years and the construction of substantially more such facilities if the pilot educational parks prove successful.

Meanwhile, much can be done in the short run to help reduce segregation in American education. Substantial commitments of federal technical assistance should be made available as soon as possible to state and local agencies planning and executing integration plans. We share the view of the Riot Commission that Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be re-oriented and expanded into a major federal effort to provide comprehensive aid to support state and local desegregation projects. The federal concern with integration to date has been expressed largely in a negative direction. Court orders and Title IV enforcement have been directed primarily against *de jure* segregation in the South.

Use of Title IV funds in a positive manner would require repeal of the present statutory restriction against providing assistance to support and encourage desegregation through "assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance." We believe that the time has come for the Congress to proclaim that quality education is inseparable from integration, and that it is national policy to reduce racial concentration in the schools—racial concentration of pupils, teachers and school personnel.

In addition to providing technical assistance for school districts adopting general integration plans, the Title IV program could encourage development of major educational "magnet" schools to serve all of the

Negroes in Negro-majority schools



SOURCE: U.S. DEPT HEW 1966

In the important formative years of elementary education, almost 90% of Negro students attend schools in which they are a majority. By the twelfth grade, that percentage drops only to 60%.

students of a small city, different sections of a large city or subdivisions of a metropolitan area. Similarly, supplemental education centers could be established to offer specialized instruction to students from different schools in a city or its suburbs for a portion of the school day. These centers could provide important racially integrated educational experiences.

The states, and in particular, the state educational agencies, have a key role to play in accomplishing school integration. The states are in a unique position to bring about urban-suburban cooperation and metropolitan planning.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

The Ripon Society believes that compensatory education is essential in our city schools. If financial and cultural disadvantages are not to be perpetuated, we must drastically improve the quality of our education for children of the poor. If schools wait for teachers and society to reform, a whole generation of children may be lost. We cannot afford to wait.

The Ripon Society adopts the position, stated by the Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children (the Advisory Council), that the time has come to provide unequal, exceptional education as a matter of deliberate public policy to every child who needs it. This policy should apply to all the seriously deprived segments of our people—the Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, families living in the depressed parts of Appalachia, as well as to black Americans.

Compensatory education may seem to be unequal education, but it is fully consistent with established educational practice in this country. We have been providing compensatory education for our minorities of physically and mentally handicapped children under the name of "special education" for many years. But the largest minorities of our children are not the crippled and the mentally retarded. They are the millions who suffer the handicaps of sustained deprivation and neglect, much of it due to racial discrimination.

Compensatory education became national policy under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. But the billion dollars a year now being spent under Title I is a pittance compared to the need. School districts have tended to spread their funds out too thinly, providing small amounts of compensatory education to reach as many children as possible. The Advisory Council reports that this tight stretching has caused many Title I efforts to become overextended and ineffective. Ripon agrees with the Advisory Council and other groups of prominent educators that massive actions rather than feeble intentions are required to reach the problems of ghetto children. We recommend that from three to four times more (up from about \$165 to \$600 per capita) should be allocated to each disadvantaged child to show meaningful results from compensatory techniques.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The Ripon Society shares the view of most educators that urban parents must be given an important voice in the operation of the schools that their

children attend. The school systems of our largest cities have become highly centralized, with decision-making responsibility concentrated in a central board of education. No one seems to heed the parents, whose children after all, are the ones at stake.

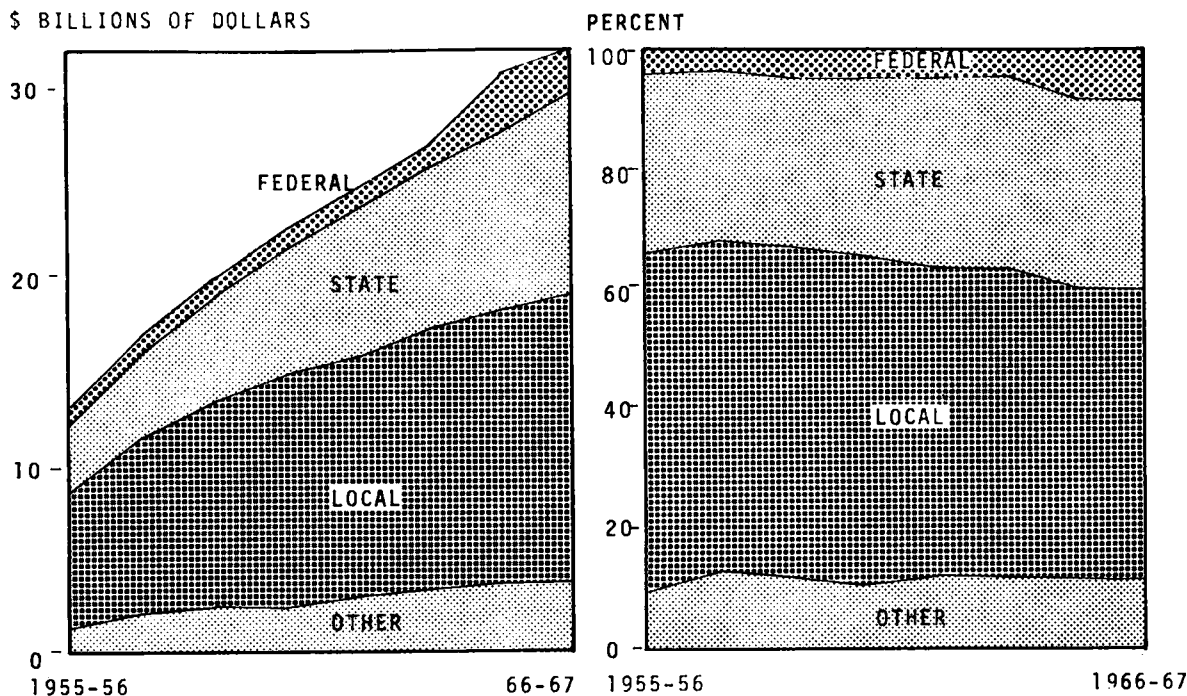
Moreover, it is time to recognize that the school—at least in some communities—must serve as more than an instrument for educating part of the community part of the time. In fact, the school should be an integral part of the life of the community, on a year-round basis. It should serve all the members of the community, providing basic education and care—including nutritional care—to three year-olds and up, opening new opportunities for education and cultural achievement for adults, and providing recreational and educational opportunities for youth twelve months of the year. The concept of the school as a straight 3-R's proposition must be eliminated in favor of a school laboring with, in, and among the people of the community. Such a school cannot exist without community control.

We agree with the Republican Coordinating Committee that federal and state governments should look with favor on recent proposals for school decentralization in larger cities, such as the Bundy Commission Recommendations for the City of New York. These proposals generally provide for centralized control over educational standards and the raising of revenue, and for decentralized control over other aspects of educational policy. The specific design for community control, or "parent power," will vary, of course, from city to city according to the needs of the local situation. The objective is to restore to the ghetto community the kind of local and neighborhood control and involvement that suburban communities and small cities have traditionally enjoyed. Community control of education is fully consistent with the Republican Party's concern for participation of the individual citizen in decisions affecting himself and his family.

Community control should bring benefits in addition to parent involvement in education. The schools can also become a focus for community services. Their facilities can be made available during and after normal school hours for social services by private and public agencies, adult and community training and education programs, community meetings and recreational and cultural activities. Such use is very common in suburban schools with their magnificent physical plants. Community control should also facilitate the employment of local residents—paid and volunteer—as teacher aides and tutors.

We recognize the apparent inconsistency in seeking compensatory education for minority children and community control for their parents, and at the same time stating that integration is essential to achieving equal educational opportunity. However, we believe that these three objectives truly are complementary. It may be necessary to close this revolutionary triangle to fulfill any one of the three objectives. Parents want reasonable assurance that the schools their children will attend after integration will be at least equal, and pre-

Spending for elementary & secondary education



The total expenditures for elementary and secondary education in the United States reached \$32 billion in 1966. The federal and state share of this total has been steadily increasing, the sharpest increase coming in 1965-66 as a result of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

ferably superior, to the ones to which they have been accustomed. Since compensatory education and community control are expected to be critical in assuring superior inner city schools, it may be essential to the achievement of integration. Within the next five years, measurable increases in quality should be obtainable even without full integration. Within the decade, the mixture of improved inner city schools, new educational parks and accelerated integration plans should bring substantial progress in ending racial isolation in American schools.

We understand that high quality urban education will not alone attract suburbanites back to the city. Equally important are metropolitan commitments to integrated housing and employment, and careful planning of urban renewal and public transportation developments. However, city schools of exceptionally high quality could be the key factors in stemming the flight to the suburbs and in bringing about greater integration in education.

III. Special Priorities

The quality revolution in American education will require emphasis on special priorities within our educational systems. Three special priorities are: (1) *early childhood education*; (2) *school construction and renovation*; and (3) *teaching quality*.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

The Ripon Society stresses the urgency of developing as soon as possible a comprehensive system of early childhood education. It becomes increasingly clear that children have a better chance to succeed in school if the years introduced to planned learning experiences well before the age of six. Indications are that the basic patterns of learning ability are established even before the child enters his first formal grade of school. We must move ahead immediately to make kindergartens universally accessible to five year-olds and four year-olds, and possibly three year-olds as well. There is substantial evidence that the level of intellectual capability young people will achieve at age 17 is already *half* determined by the age of four, and that another 30% is predictable at seven years. This means that a community that wants to improve its children's opportunities must send them to school at the earliest possible age. The earlier the investment in systematic intellectual development is begun, the greater will be the return.

Project Head Start, under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, is based on this premise and it has reached 119,044 children in 20 major cities, as well as thousands of others in other metropolitan and rural areas. Yet in most urban areas, the Riot Commission reports, only about 40% of the eligible youngsters are receiving even one year of preschool education. The program has been successful in improving pupil pre-

paredness by raising the IQ of participants some eight to ten points and in generally increasing motivation and identifying psychological and health problems that need attention. Project Followthrough was created last year, however, when it became apparent that after about six months, Head Start graduates were falling behind again. Followthrough aims to continue into the school years the additional services provided preschool youngsters, so that supportive services will be available to keep their achievement level up.

We can build on the experience of Head Start and other preschool programs to bring the benefits of comprehensive early childhood education to all children from disadvantaged homes. These programs should not degenerate into custodial care. They should involve parents and the home as well as the child; the facilities used for the programs should be attractive and exciting. The early childhood education program must be concerned with the whole child and his environment, medical care and food as well as language training and creative instruction. This must be a joint effort of the teachers, health officers, social welfare workers, and to the maximum extent possible, the parents and others in the community.

SCHOOL FACILITIES

The Ripon Society proposes that the nation embark upon a massive program to reverse the deterioration in city school facilities. This program—including renovation as well as new construction—should within a decade provide new and expanded school facilities in the cities equivalent to, or superior to, the modern and spacious plant typically found in suburban school districts.

The typical school building in central sections of the large cities is overcrowded and dilapidated. These conditions are the result of age, neglect or obsolescence. High population densities often place on the school building a pupil load far beyond its capacity. Double or triple sessions are not uncommon in some cities.

Bad physical surroundings are detrimental to the quality of education and to the quality of life in the neighborhood. They erode the morale of teachers and students. They adversely affect community attitudes toward the school.

We support a massive infusion of federal capital into school construction and renovation. The majority of our inner city schools are as unsuitable for modern education as are country roads for the modern automobile. We propose that:

- 1) \$25 billion of additional federal funds be spent for construction and renovation of inner city schools over the next ten years.
- 2) \$5 billion of federal money be spent for intensive development of pilot educational parks over the next five years, with another \$10-15 billion to be spent in the following five years if the pilot parks are successful in reversing the trend toward segregation and unequal educational opportunity.
- 3) Significant federal bonuses be given to districts with construction projects in progress that rec-

ognize the unique need for providing superior education to disadvantaged children in an integrated school.

As with the Interstate Highway System, the construction expenses could be financed in a matching basis with the federal government putting up the major share. The states would likewise provide the supervision of the construction program, subject to certain ground rules agreed upon with the federal government.

This capital improvement program must be accompanied by adequate funding to maintain existing schools at the highest level of quality. It would be folly to spend a decade and billions of dollars rebuilding the nation's educational plant, without adequate provision to maintain that plant at optimum level for the decades ahead.

TEACHING QUALITY

The Ripon Society supports entirely the Riot Commission recommendation that the nation mobilize a national effort to attract to the teaching profession well-qualified and highly motivated young people, and equip them to work effectively with disadvantaged students. The Teaching Corps program, begun as a model program under the Higher Education Act of 1965, may be a sound instrument for such an effort. The Teacher Corps provides training in local colleges or universities for teacher interns—college graduates interested in teaching in poverty areas. Corpsmen are assigned to poverty area schools at the request of local school systems and with the approval of state education agencies. They are employed by the school system and work in teams headed by an experienced teacher.

It is clear that extra incentives must be provided to attract highly qualified teachers to the ghetto and certain deprived rural area schools. The Riot Commission concluded that the most effective means to attract such teachers is to make these schools exciting and attractive places to work. This is an important reason for the substantial construction and renovation program previously proposed in this paper. In addition, we believe that teachers must be accorded the professional status and the pay, equal to the challenge and social benefit of assignment to ghetto schools. This could involve salary increases as high as 50% to properly qualified and motivated teachers willing to work, and in some cases willing to live, in ghetto communities.

Better buildings and higher pay for teachers are not enough to make schools exciting and attractive places to learn and to work. Class size has to go down—probably to a much smaller size than comparable classes in suburban schools. To accomplish this, there must be an expansion of the number of teachers in the urban centers by one-third. A student-teacher ratio of one to twenty-five is considered the maximum for meaningful student-teacher communication. We must develop dynamic teacher recruiting programs and improved certification procedures. There must be a reduction in the time teachers spend on administrative and supervisory chores.

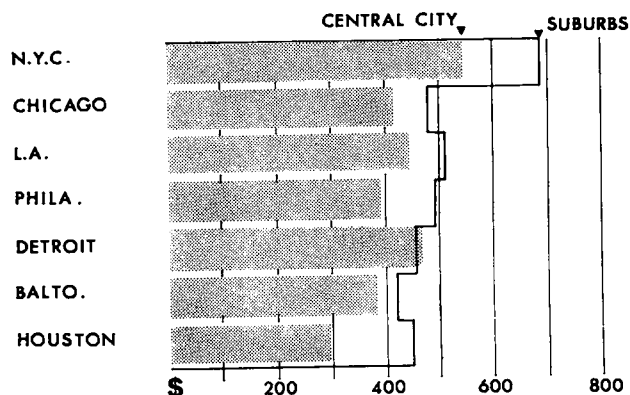
Individualized instruction has to go up—probably

through extensive use of nonprofessional workers. There is impressive evidence from experiments such as Homeward Helper program in New York City that these workers—volunteer and paid—can be exceptionally effective in individualized tutoring and in increasing motivation in ghetto school pupils. Also, adequate supplementary services have to be provided in community schools for severely disadvantaged or disturbed students—of which ghetto schools contain a shockingly high number. The history, culture and contribution of minority groups to American civilization will have to be increasingly recognized in the textbooks and curricula of all schools.

III. Funding the Revolution

The Federal-State Partnership—The principal burden for funding the revolution in quality of American education must fall upon the federal government. Local tax resources, usually tied to a property base, have reached their limit in most areas. State governments can and should do more than at present, but even the resources available at this level are far from adequate.

Per-pupil expenditure



Six of our seven largest cities spend less to educate inner city children than is spent on suburban children in their outlying districts.

The major step toward federal support of elementary and secondary education has already been taken. Primarily as a result of the education laws of the past five years, federal expenditures for education, training and related services have increased from \$4.7 billion in fiscal 1964 to \$12.3 billion in fiscal 1969. The 1965 laws already provide a comprehensive base for meeting the educational needs of the disadvantaged students.

The experience under the federal education acts has shown that local boards can enjoy the benefit of the federal tax base and technical help without endangering their capacity for initiative and responsibility.

The federal-state relationship in education must be a partnership effort. In the long run, it is vital that we strengthen the capacity of the states to respond to the educational needs of our time. In education, the

nation looks to the states not merely as a matter of law or precedent, but as a matter of practical soundness and necessity. If the states are to be equal partners in this relationship, the state educational organizations and agencies must continue their thorough overhaul already begun with grants under Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

We suggest that Federal government aid to the states be in the form of block grants for broad categories such as building programs rather than monies for specifically outlined projects.

Reallocation of State Aid—The next few years must bring about a critical shift in the allocation of funds between city schools and suburban schools. At present, our big city schools spend one one-third as much per pupil as do the schools in adjacent suburbs. The Riot Commission estimates that the budgets of the average inner city school system will have to be *doubled* in the immediate future to provide ghetto children with an education comparable to that regularly provided for suburban children.

We urge that every state transform its present aid formulas, not merely to provide *equal* per-pupil funds for all school districts, but to assure *more* per-pupil aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged students. The present state aid formulas were designed to give suburban schools exceptional aid to accelerate their development when they were poor. Now the cities are poor, and they need the same kind of exceptional aid to accelerate the development of compensatory education in urban schools.

We urge that the Office of Education, in consultation with the Education Commission of the States, develop prototype formulas for providing this exceptional aid to city school districts.

Federal programs aiding states should require, as a basic rule, that funds be allocated within each state in accordance with such formulas.

Republican leadership is desperately needed for the revolution of quality in American urban education. The causes for revolution are grave. They will not go away.

This paper was written by Michael McDonald, J. Eugene Marans and others and edited by Peter J. Wallison.

CREDITS . . .

The preceding Urban Papers were prepared under the General Editorship of Katherine Smith, Tanya Melich, John R. Price, Peter J. Wallison and J. Eugene Marans .

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SUMMER READING

ROMNEY'S WAY: A MAN AND AN IDEA

by T. George Harris; Prentice Hall, 1968, 274 pages.

One salutary effect of Mr. Romney's entrance into the GOP Presidential race was the decision by a major publisher to commission a thoughtful biography of the man. Even after Romney's withdrawal from the Presidential race, Mr. Harris' book will be useful to those interested in the impact of an unusual personality on the political scene. For beneath the abstemious, stolid exterior of this man lies a profound unity of political faith and political action which makes his rejection by the American public a somber puzzle.

The bedrock of Romney's philosophy is his Mormon faith—his view of man as a creature "first of God and then of society." His constantly articulated concern with individual morality and responsibility, with brotherhood, with order under law is not the gloss of political hucksterism, but the natural offshoot of his principle faith.

An example of Mr. Romney's translation of ideals into action is his abiding concern for the American Negro. As Governor of Michigan, he has faced a microcosm of the national urban dilemma. The challenge of southern black migration was there in his state: he reacted by pushing for meaningful open housing laws; he opposed sterilizing the inner city with the cruelties of urban renewal; he fought against public housing which forced Negroes into black territories, where the only outlet was the gnawing urge to destroy and escape.

Tragically, Romney could not dispel the image of a religion-oriented "bigotry" toward the black man, despite his public record. Neither could he communicate his sincere concern about other issues. There seemed to be an unbridgeable gap between the stimulus of his ideals and a favorable response by the public. Perhaps this book will help, belatedly, to close the distance.

—NANCY G. KEIM

GOVERNMENT AND SLUM HOUSING

by Lawrence M. Friedman; Rand McNally Political Science Series (paperback), 1968. 199 pages.

For some time a short, informative volume on past efforts for dealing with housing for the poor has been sorely needed. Now with an election year in full swing, and with the Congress completing action on what has been rightly called the most important housing bill since 1949, Professor Friedman offers this short and readable work.

For those intent on unraveling the deeper mysteries of government housing programs, *Government and Slum Housing* does not go far enough, but for the average

reader it provides a useful synopsis of early movements for better housing, the obstacles faced by reformers, and the arguments made to overcome them; the checkered career of public housing and urban renewal; and the effects of private and public housing programs on the supposed beneficiaries.

Unhappily, Friedman's book was written in 1966, though not published until this spring. He thus treats very lightly the substance and politics of the rent supplement program, enacted in 1965, and fails completely to grasp the importance of or even discuss the idea of home ownership for lower income families, a subject which has occupied center stage in Congress since early 1967. Nor does he devote any space to housing for the rural poor, a subject everyone tends to ignore.

While the author's analysis of the social forces operating for and against housing reform is perceptive and thorough, he does not take much trouble to discuss the impact on housing programs of the Federal Government agencies themselves (FHA is not even listed in the index.) He escapes this subject by observing that "The new Department of Housing and Urban Development symbolizes increased government sensitivity to housing problems," a statement open to some debate.

One would expect after a survey of the century-long efforts for better housing for the poor, that the author would have a number of specific proposals for future progress. The reader expectantly reaching the final chapter will be disappointed. Friedman seems more interested in the process of social change than in the objectives sought. Thus his prescription (drastically condensed) is: a) the substitution of subsidies for punishments, to find the price of the forces opposed to public housing reform and buy them off; and b) increased militance by the poor to force the political process to produce the subsidies required, through "raising the price of good behavior" (riots?). While this strategy certainly deserves consideration, one may be forgiven for inquiring further into the nature of the results it is supposed to yield.

By and large, this is a useful book, with exceptionally good coverage of historical reform efforts and the roots of current housing predicaments. For a much-needed discussion of the very significant developments of the past three years, the reader must look elsewhere. And as a guide to the next steps in housing policy, it is disappointingly silent.

—JOHN McCLAUGHRY

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

THE DARK HORSE

"I expect to have 103 votes on the first ballot . . . I have found the delegates receptive especially in Minnesota and Pennsylvania." Harold Stassen, Washington, D. C., July 15 1968.

THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF ROBERT A. TAFT

by Russell Kirk and James McClellan
Fleet Press, 1967.

REVIEWED BY RICHARD A. SNELLING

This book is about a man who never held any executive office. Robert A. Taft's historical importance is properly viewed and measured "more . . . as a critic than as an architect of national policy." He earned a powerful reputation as a critic with those invaluable attributes of the legislative leader—the capacity to criticize constructively, the ability to convince even his opponents of his sincerity of purpose, and the energy and ability to absorb and give meaning to detail.

In 1946 the members of Congress, predominately Democratic, polled themselves and named Senator Taft their ablest member. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., a man who clearly would not praise Taft because of an identity of point of view, wrote in 1967, "His saving grace is a clearcut logical intelligence and a basic respect for fact, which undercut his own impulses toward dogmatism. Even his enemies respect his intellectual honesty and his reasoning powers."

It is clear that Professors Kirk and McClellan see Taft as, more than anything else, a brilliant pragmatist who was responding to times which needed a Republican to play the role of "leader of the opposition." Taft emerged on the national scene on the heels of the one-sided national contest of 1936 in which the Republicans were reduced to an impotent minority—in fact, a party with no legislative capacity and perhaps even weaker in leadership than in numbers. The authors suggest that a deep force in shaping the principles which became identified with Senator Taft was a fear that the revolutionary nature of many of the programs of Roosevelt, combined with the impotence of the Republican opposition, could well destroy the basic concepts of American democracy.

Taft believed strongly in the party system. He was proud to be thought of as a politician, and his fight to make his under-dog party a responsible party in a period when "many Republicans continued in a political trauma, shocked by defeats of 1932 and 1936, and could think only of making concessions to the new order rather than presenting feasible alternatives to Franklin Roosevelt's proposals."

It is clear in the perspective of 1968 that Taft's great energies were as fully utilized in making constructive proposals as in waging war against the encroachments of the New Deal on individual freedom. Taft's "Political Credo" of 1950 could be endorsed by any current contender for the American Presidency, with the exception, perhaps, of George Wallace. Taft wrote: "To eliminate hardship and poverty and even more to assure equality of opportunity . . . I believe that a floor under family requirements is necessary. There can be no equality of opportunity if the child does not have at least a

primary school education, adequate medical care, sufficient food and clothing and decent shelter." Later, he said, "I favor federal action in these fields because the state resources are, in many respects and in many places, inadequate."

Kirk and McClellan may well shock many a reader, particularly those under forty, with the list of "liberal" causes championed by Senator Taft, but the listing is vital to the authors' attempt to demonstrate the continuum of principle which emerges from the contrast between those "positive" and "constructive" causes and the image of opposition long marketed by some who opposed him. The Taft who fought the grandiose plans Roosevelt had for the Tennessee Valley Authority was the same Taft who sponsored the 1945 Federal Housing Bill. The Taft who fought Roosevelt's attempt to pack the Supreme Court was the same Taft who led the fight against seating Senator Theodore Bilbo from Mississippi and who was insistent throughout his senatorial career on the principle of political equality for all citizens. The Taft whose views on labor live on in the Taft-Hartley Act is the same Taft who pledged the Republican Party in 1938 to provide an adequate and complete system of old-age pensions and who said "The Republican labor policy is definite and clear. It is substantially that urged by the American Federation of Labor. The Government must undertake to protect by law the workingman's right of collective bargaining free from any pressure from the employer. . . ."

The consistent principles which emerge from some of these apparent contrasts are bedded in Robert Taft's belief that the only thing that could really keep American democracy from working was too much faith in government and too little faith in people. Taft did not fear Government, but he certainly wanted to see it kept in its place. As Taft put it, "There are many other aims besides liberty to be sought by political policy and party principle, but every policy must be justified either as an affirmative policy to secure liberty, or as a policy of human progress making no sacrifices to the god of the totalitarian state."

Taft sought liberty under law. He counseled a government given to action but one which saw its own functions in sufficient perspective to demand that it restrain its own power.

At bedrock, there is nothing at all "conservative" in Taft's admonition, "Every policy should be tested on that touchstone, whether it increases or decreases the liberty of our people and the promise of continued liberty in the future."

Richard A. Snelling was the Republican candidate for Governor of Vermont in 1966 and is a delegate to the 1968 Republican National Convention.

TO KNOW WHAT'S WHAT
READ OUR WHO'S WHO

STATE BY STATE

RHODE ISLAND: Chafee's fourth

For the first time since 1940, GOP incumbents for general statewide office below governor will be on the ballot. Lieutenant Governor Joseph H. O'Donnell Jr., and Attorney General Herbert F. DeSimone seek second terms as Governor John Chafee, most popular governor in Rhode Island history, seeks his fourth.

The rest of the ticket was filled without difficulty. State Chairman Howard Russell will challenge the incumbent Democratic Congressman in the second district. Lincoln Almond, administrator of the town of Lincoln, will oppose the incumbent Democrat in the first district. Almond won State Committee endorsement over Arthur D. Levin, Governor Chafee's able Press Secretary. In contrast with two years ago, this contest in Republican ranks was completely free of bitterness and ideological squabbles. Levin will not contest the primary.

The Democrats have had to resort to a genuine draft of a Superior Court judge for governor. No one else seems to want to challenge Chafee whose popularity continues evidently undiminished.

One potentially large issue looms in the campaign. Rhode Island came close to adopting a program of state aid to private schools. The proposal was in the form of a tuition plan for students attending them. The recent Supreme Court decision on textbook aid to private school students has encouraged Citizens for Educational Freedom, the sponsor of the legislation. Neither Governor Chafee nor his opponent has taken a position on the proposal.

● The Democratic General Assembly rejected Governor Chafee's proposed income tax. The tax was opposed by a citizen's group which collected 50,000 signatures. The Governor contends that his stand will not hurt him, since the 50,000 petitioned the state to live within its budget. Instead, the Democrats raised taxes and borrowed money to meet increased expenditures. As of July 1, Rhode Island has the second highest gasoline tax in the nation, a full penny and a half more than that of neighboring Massachusetts.

OHIO: Cincinnati's man to watch: Eugene Ruehlman

Cincinnati's Mayor Eugene Ruehlmann, like New York's John Lindsay, represents a new wave of Republican leaders who are particularly responsive to urban America's problems. Since old approaches to housing, welfare and unemployment appear increasingly bankrupt, and since the Democratic coalition be-

gins to suffer from hardening of the arteries, Republicans, if they confronted today's issues with imagination and courage, could conceivably fill a leadership vacuum in our cities.

With his Harvard law degree and his dapper appearance, Ruehlmann often finds himself portrayed as a capable young professional man turned political reformer. Other journalists depict the mayor as a home town boy. Ruehlmann grew up and continues to live in Price Hill, a middle-class suburb cut off from Cincinnati's prestige neighborhoods on the east side. Selected as Cincinnati's "boy-mayor" during his senior year at Western Hills High School, he became a football and basketball letter-man and a member of Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Cincinnati. Ivy League do-gooders repel many average Americans, but who can reject a home town success story?

Before he was sworn in as mayor last December 1, Ruehlmann sat on city council for four terms and served as vice mayor for four years. Although social problems of blacks and Appalachian whites now demand his attention, he made his original contribution on the council as a specialist in municipal finances. He received much public attention these last two years because of his singleness of purpose in championing a river-front sports stadium for the city. Ruehlmann as vice mayor involved himself in all facets of this project, and his efforts earned him the nickname "Mr. Stadium." He convinced local leaders that a modern stadium would boost Cincinnati as an industrial and commercial center, while he helped to devise and sponsor a complex but effective method for financing its construction.

Critics lament such concern over a sports arena during a time of urban crisis. Ruehlmann counters that a healthy economic base is a prerequisite for reviving urban life and curing social ills. An expanding supply of good jobs will accomplish more toward eliminating poverty than a dozen welfare programs, argues the mayor.

Ruehlmann's labors to foster local commercial and industrial growth won him patronage from many Cincinnati businessmen. A published list of his campaign supporters reads like a who's who in Cincinnati business. No one, however, accuses Ruehlmann of acting as a stooge for Queen City corporate interests. The mayor informs company executives that it is their responsibility to provide training programs and jobs for the hard core unemployed. Since public resources remain inadequate for financing innovations in housing and employment, Ruehlmann depends upon businessmen to answer his call for help. Local entrepreneurs might spurn such demands if they came from someone known as a "liberal Democrat," but Mr. Stadium stands a good chance of enlisting their support.

It is still too early to evaluate objectively the new employment programs sponsored by Cincinnati's business community at Mayor Ruehlmann's urging. Agencies organized exclusively to create jobs for the hard core unemployed have multiplied rapidly under the

direction of local businessmen. A Full Employment Task Force appointed last September by former City Manager William Wichman seeks to create 2,100 to 3,500 jobs. After a four month study of this city's employment situation, Mayor Ruehlmann and Task Force Chairman Robert W. Knauff, president of the Charles Taylor Co., urged corporation executives to revise their hiring practices. From a labor supply composed of the unskilled and the unmotivated, Task Force spokesmen urged that each company enlist 0.5% new workers. There should not be premature optimism because of this flurry of activity by businessmen. A March survey compiled by an urban research group concludes that even a plethora of new agencies has failed to noticeably improve job opportunities for Cincinnati's hard core unemployed.

To improve slum housing was a top priority of Eugene P. Ruehlmann when he became mayor. His walks through blighted areas bordering on Cincinnati's central core only reinforced this original goal. Starved for revenue like all large cities, Cincinnati must win federal grants and persuade private contractors to tackle its housing problem. The mayor is working to establish a rotating fund to purchase decayed property for resale for private development. Ruehlmann has also proposed organizing a Housing Task Force which would function on an experimental, day to day basis to help Cincinnati's slum dwellers obtain decent housing.

Obstacles exist that may block Mayor Ruehlmann's endeavors. His office itself represents a major problem. Cincinnati's charter stipulates that a city manager shall direct executive functions. Trained to guide traditional municipal services like street paving and garbage removal, city managers often lack expertise for dealing with today's social problems. Under this system, the mayor is merely one of nine councilmen, and council's majority party elects him to his office. Although a few mayors like Charles P. Taft made this job a source of influence, most were content to cut ribbons and to chair council meetings. Although Republicans hold six of nine seats on the council, this does not give Ruehlmann a mandate to freely legislate his ideas. The mayor must worry about members of his own party losing patience with his policies for the black community.

Ruehlmann relies on Vice Mayor Willis Gradison, Jr. as his chief lieutenant and Republican ally. Holder of a doctorate from Harvard Business School, Gradison worked as an Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare from 1955 to 1957. Gradison helps free the mayor from a host of ceremonial duties, while he assumes responsibility for three of the council's most complex tasks. An overseer of various downtown renewal projects, the vice mayor also serves as the council's public transportation trouble shooter. As an advocate of revamping Cincinnati's Community Action Commission, Gradison seeks to make this organization accountable to City Hall. By making an occasional compromise with their law and order colleagues, Ruehlmann and Gradison have managed to avoid any open party battles over their programs.

Naturally an urban crisis cannot be understood by analysing one man's role in it. Hundreds of people lend their skills to make Cincinnati a more just and livable city. Yet at present, Eugene Ruehlmann stands as Cincinnati's most visible public figure who grapples with this city's dilemma. Although people from all segments of Cincinnati's population offer him their good will, he remains a vulnerable figure subject to conditions that lie beyond his influence.

MISSOURI: remember the Maine!

With a solid vote for Nixon on the first ballot assured, the main issue between conservatives and moderates at the state convention in Kansas City June 29, was what the delegation might do should Nixon be stopped after the first few ballots. At stake was the selection of four delegates, the remaining twenty having been chosen previously in Congressional district conventions. A "Nixon" slate opposed an "uncommitted" slate. Moderates charged that the "Nixon" slate was controlled by Goldwaterites and would switch to Reagan at the first opportunity. When it became apparent that the uncommitted slate would win if the issue came to a vote, a compromise was reached in the name of party unity. Three from the moderate slate and one from the conservative slate were selected. Although the delegates have not publicly indicated how they would go if Nixon were stopped, one delegate has estimated that the count would stand at 13 uncommitted, 11 for Reagan.

The tone of speeches at the convention was set by Congressman Durward Hall, the convention chairman, who opened his remarks with his definition of an elder statesman: one who remembers when the US was more powerful than countries like North Korea. Republicans, he said, are often accused of wanting to go back to the McKinley era; but at least we remembered the *Maine* and didn't forget the *Pueblo*.

Congressman Thomas H. Curtis, said to be Missouri's strongest Republican candidate in years for the US Senate, gave the keynote address, which for depth of insight, matched his recent suggestion that President Johnson be impeached for his inflationary policies. Some of the objects of his attacks: unconstitutional usurpations of power by the Supreme Court—such as the one-man, one-vote decision, illegal lobbying activities by federal officials and national policy-making on the Charles River by Harvard professors. Not only did Curtis' address fail to accentuate the positive; it was inhumanely long (50 minutes), especially in view of the fact that lunch was being skipped in hopes of an early adjournment.

● Lawrence K. Roos, St. Louis County Supervisor, who is running a strong race for Governor, continued his attacks on Democratic Governor Warren Hearnes for neglecting the needs of St. Louis and Kansas City. (Roos' positive, urban orientation has been previously reported in the FORUM). These two cities requested help for their current severe financial difficulties, but Hearnes dumped the question in the legislature's lap without making any specific recommendations.

NORTH CAROLINA: GOP Gains likely

The state's first GOP gubernatorial primary brought overwhelming victory to "conservative" Congressman James C. Gardner, a segregationist Democrat in the 1950s. Gardner demonstrated that the passing of the "Old Guard" in directing the Tarheel GOP is permanent. Such established leaders of the State GOP as Charles R. Jonas and James T. Broyhill endorsed Jack Stickley, a progressive businessman, early in the campaign. Stickley, a New Yorker who moved to Charlotte, was generally regarded as a moderate candidate.

During the campaign, Gardner hired members of the Alabama Republican Central Committee as advisors and used advertising to good advantage to project his qualities of youth and leadership, Jack Stickley, by contrast, ran a lackluster campaign. During the course of campaign, Gardner signed a John Birch Society Petition and received the KKK endorsement, which he refused to reject. Stickley, of course, tried to capitalize upon this but due to his campaign style, he failed to embarrass his opponent.

On election day, Gardner swept the entire state in the Republican primary, winning even in Stickley's strongest district, the Charlotte area. The strength of his victory has led him to pressure Tarheel delegates to bolt Nixon for Reagan on the first ballot at Miami. Gardner's combination of youthful activism with staunch conservatism provides an opportunity for an election victory against the moderate Democrat, Robert Scott.

Many observers are predicting that six Republican Congressmen can be elected, which would mean a GOP majority in North Carolina's 11-man House delegation. In the Congressional Districts in the Eastern Portion of the state, Republican chance of victory is low while in the Piedmonts the picture is entirely different. In all, the picture in North Carolina should show increased Republican strength throughout the state come November.

ALASKA: Rasmuson vs Stevens

The withdrawal of Congressman Howard Pollock from the August 27 primary has left the Republican senatorial nomination to one of two contenders—Elmer Rasmuson an "Establishment" Republican and a prominent banker, or Ted Stevens, the Majority Leader of the state legislature.

Elmer Rasmuson, is the son of a pioneer missionary to Alaska—a very attractive attribute in this almost-frontier state. He rose to become the head of the National Bank of Alaska (one of the biggest in the state) and is a former chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of Alaska. After being active in civic affairs in his early years, he served several terms as Mayor of An-

chorage - a non-partisan post. This background makes him the favorite candidate of the Alaskan business and financial community.

One report suggests that after spending a half-million dollars to hire Spencer Roberts for his campaign, Mr. Rasmuson was able to extract promises from political contributors not to pledge money to any other candidate for Senator Gruening's seat. This would explain the withdrawal of Congressman Pollock and State Senator Brad Phillips.

Ted Stevens, although not a life-time resident of the state, may have more appeal to voters in a state where the average age is 18 and the voting age is 19. He is younger than Mr. Rasmuson, is attractive, well-spoken and seems to be able to communicate with the minorities and the young.

After working as Solicitor for the Interior Department under President Eisenhower, he returned to Alaska where he had once practiced law, and almost immediately ran for Senator Gruening's seat in 1962. Although defeated then, he proved successful in running for the state legislature in 1964 against a background of general Republican defeat. He was re-elected in 1966 and was chosen as Republican Majority Leader.

Mr. Stevens is not well-financed, possesses one hired aide (to Mr. Rasmuson's 40) and drives around campaigning in a camper-bus. But he is well known and would draw Independent and Democratic voters in the primary.

MICHIGAN: why Nixon bombed

It was observed by the press that Richard M. Nixon somehow bombed out at his closed door meeting with the Michigan delegation to the National Convention. George Romney seemed all ready to endorse him and somehow Mr. Nixon made such a negative impression on the delegates that an early endorsement by Romney was impossible.

From inside reports, it appears that Nixon made two major blunders. First, he denied that Bo Callaway had welcomed George Wallace into the GOP. He said Rockefeller was misrepresenting Calloway's remarks. The next day Bouncing Bo repeated his statement to the press, putting Nixon in the position of doing the misrepresentation.

Nixon's second blunder was his reply to a question about his strength in urban areas. Michigan Republicans are particularly sensitive about candidates who lose the cities, since Goldwater cost them five Congressional seats; it took the Romney landslide in 1966 to win all of these back. How did Nixon put these fears to rest? You guessed it, by proving to them that he didn't have to win the cities to win the election. He ticked off a host of Southern states that he expected to win that would put him over the top without getting his hands dirty on urban grime. Small wonder the delegates from Wayne County and environs were hopping mad after the meeting.

FEDERALIST NOTES: action on the urban front

With public attention focused on Congress and on national politics, the hard work done by State legislatures frequently passes unnoticed. In a number of States, Republican legislators have taken important initiatives toward meeting their states' urban needs.

In *California*, a bipartisan group of legislators, backed by Democratic Speaker Jesse Unruh, Republican Governor Ronald Reagan and Republican Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch, introduced a major legislative package in April to improve job and business opportunities for slum dwellers. One bill, authored by Assemblyman William Campbell (R-Hacienda Heights), would authorize the establishment of non-profit regional job development corporations, backed by a guaranteed loan fund to make business loans in disadvantaged areas. A second measure, introduced by Assembly Floor Leader Bob Monagan (R-Stockton), would provide incentives to banks to participate in the job development corporations.

A bill by Assemblyman John Veneman (R-Modesto), would grant tax incentives to small business owners who place hard-core unemployed persons in full-time jobs. Other bills, developed by the Republican staff in the Assembly but given to Democrats for introduction as part of a coalition package, would tighten anti-discrimination provisions in the apprenticeship programs, create a State Department of Human Resources Development, and provide technical assistance to small businessmen in ghetto neighborhoods.

In *Wisconsin*, State Senator Jerris G. Leonard, now the GOP candidate for the US Senate, and Republican Assembly Majority Leader J. Curtis McKay steered to passage an imaginative measure to stimulate new housing in ghetto areas. The bill, devised by Insurance Commissioner Robert D. Haase (formerly Republican Speaker of the House), and strongly backed by GOP Governor Warren Knowles, created a "Wisconsin Indemnity Fund" to reinsure private companies who insure mortgages in congested urban centers. The measure was prompted by the reluctance of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to insure property in declining central cities.

In *Pennsylvania*, freshman State Representative Daniel Beren (R-Abington), secured the passage of a "Neighborhood Assistance Act" to bring business skills to bear on the problems of the slums. The bill as passed provided a state income tax credit of 25% of the amount invested by a business in a community improvement program. In addition, with the approval of the affected Department, the tax credit could be increased to 50% of the first \$150,000 invested. The program aroused such a favorable response that Beren is pushing an amendment to raise the allowable figure to \$350,000.

POLITICAL CALENDAR

(compiled from materials supplied by the
Republican National Committee. Presidential
material in bold face).

August

- 3 IDAHO: Deadline for voter registration for the August 6 primary.
- 4 Republican National Convention Gala; Miami Beach, Florida.
- 5 **Republican National Convention begins**; Miami Beach Convention Hall; Miami Beach, Florida. Lasts through August 8.
- WYOMING: Deadline for voter registration for August 20 primary.
- 6 IDAHO: Primary election.
- KANSAS: Primary election.
- MICHIGAN: Primary election.
- MISSOURI: Primary election.
- 12 MARYLAND: Voter registration deadline for September 10 primary.
- 16 OKLAHOMA: Deadline for voter registration for August 27 primary.
- 17 LOUISIANA: Primary election.
- MASSACHUSETTS: Deadline for voter registration for September 17 primary.
- 20 MINNESOTA: Voter registration deadline for September 10 primary.
- WYOMING: Primary election.
- 21 COLORADO: Voter registration deadline for September 10 primary.
- 24 IOWA: Deadline for voter registration for September 3 primary.
- 26 **Democratic National Convention begins**; International Amphitheatre, Chicago, Illinois. Lasts through August 29.
- 27 ALASKA: Primary election.
- NEW MEXICO: Primary election.
- OKLAHOMA: Primary election.
- UTAH: Deadline for voter registration for September 10 primary.

September

- 3 IOWA: Primary election.
- NEVADA: Primary election.
- NORTH DAKOTA: Primary election.
- 6 RHODE ISLAND: Deadline for voter registration for Nov. 5 general election.
- 7 KENTUCKY: Deadline for voter registration for the Sept. 10 primary.
- 10 ARIZONA: Primary election.
- COLORADO: Primary election.
- MARYLAND: Primary election.
- MINNESOTA: Primary election.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE: Primary election.
- RHODE ISLAND: Primary election.
- VERMONT: Primary election.
- WISCONSIN: Primary election.
- 11 GEORGIA: Primary Election
- 12 CALIFORNIA: Deadline for voter registration for Nov. 5 general election.
- 16 PENNSYLVANIA: Deadline for voter registration for Nov. 5 general election.
- 17 MASSACHUSETTS: Primary election.
- WASHINGTON: Primary election.
- 23 ARIZONA: Deadline for voter registration for the Nov. 5 general election.
- 26 MONTANA: Deadline for voter registration for the Nov. 5 general election.
- NEW JERSEY: Deadline for voter registration for Nov. 5 general election.
- 28 NEVADA: Deadline for voter registration for Nov. 5 general election.
- 30 ILLINOIS: Deadline for voter registration for the Nov. 5 general election.

14a ELIOT STREET

REFORM FOR CHICAGO'S PARKS

The newly organized Chicago Chapter of the Ripon Society was launched on June 26 at a press conference in which it presented a strong critique of policies and practices of the Chicago Park District.

In its first position paper the Ripon Chapter asserted that the park agency has "failed to develop a park system which serves the city adequately."

"The ghetto areas of the city have long been discriminated against in the allocation of park resources," the paper said. Criticizing "long political domination by City Hall," the study called for a crash program to put poorer areas of the city on an equal footing with more fortunate areas. Among its specific proposals were:

1. Reorganization of the district and revitalization of its staff. The paper suggested an elected district commissioner to replace the present City Hall appointees.

2. Renewal of present parks by closing down highways through them on weekends, arresting stagnation in lagoons, cleaning up lands, construction of more underpasses and assuring safe use of facilities.

3. Programs to involve local residents in planning activities and increasing park programs. The paper called for the utilization of Board of Education properties and school board employees

The parks paper was supplemented by a general essay on the Chapter's philosophy of city government. The group's debut received coverage in all the major Chicago dailies, including an especially thorough piece by Basil Talbott, Jr., of the Chicago Sun-Times, which featured a picture of Ripon's National President Lee W. Huebner and Chicago Steering Committee member Calvin D. Trow-

bridge as they introduced the group.

- John McClaughry, a regular contributor to the FORUM and founder of the Ripon-like Justin Morrill Society of Vermont, is running for the Vermont State Legislature in a three-man race. His frequent reporting of black power activities should stand him in good stead with the four non-white voters in his district.

- Elizabeth Pond, the Christian Science Monitor's thoughtful foreign affairs reporter, had this to say in a recent review of the Ripon Society's book **The Realities of Vietnam** (see Book Club order form): "One of the best pieces of Vietnam analysis available—and also a model exercise in political responsibility. It seeks a "moderate" solution to the Vietnam war, one that would involve de-escalation rather than either an abrupt pullout by US troops or further escalation. . . It remains a strong and relevant book in its emphasis of the complex interrelationships of political forces in Vietnam."

- T. William Porter and Robert A. Wilson of the Dallas Chapter represented the Ripon Society at the Republican Governors' Conference in Tulsa, Oklahoma in June.

- The Williams College Ripon Study Group received academic credit for a paper on jobs that provided some of the supporting research for the position paper in this issue. The Williams men interviewed experts in eight cities.

- This month's Book Club selection: Ripon's **Who's Who at Convention '68**, the first compilation of its kind. More than 1000 delegates were kind enough to send the Society their biographies. They get the book for free. Everybody else pays \$5.00 for a fascinating group portrait of the GOP today.

LETTERS

THOU SHALT NOT

Dear Sirs:

Your recent blast against Governor Reagan, a very loyal and dedicated Republican and an excellent Governor, received great play in the Hawaiian newspapers, to the detriment of the Republican Party. It is my sincere hope that the members of your Society, and all other groups who allege to support the Republican cause, will refrain from any such actions in the future. I would appreciate knowing whether you do, in fact, agree with the Republican National Committee resolution urging all Republicans to observe the Eleventh Commandment in the interests of a Republican victory at the polls regardless of who our nominee may be.

EDWARD E. JOHNSTON
State Chairman
Republican Party of Hawaii

(The Ripon Society's position on the Eleventh Commandment appears on the cover of this issue. Our report on Governor Reagan in June said that he lacked the diplomatic and administrative experience to be President. This is not an ideological judgment but a judgment of Mr. Reagan's qualifications and there can be no Commandment that requires Republicans to put Party above Country by supporting an unqualified candidate for the Presidency.

IN RE REAGAN

Dear Sirs;

Your indictment of California Governor Ronald Reagan (June '68) is restrained, cautious and occasionally complimentary. Space limitations prevent an extensive analysis of each section of the article but several points merit comment.

Your first two sections on "The Will Not to Govern" and "The Reagan Style" on the balance appear to compliment the Governor. As one would expect, you take exception to the fact the Governor suggests that someone other than a self-classified "intellectual" can in fact understand

and deal with the "complex and difficult modern social problems."

The single criticism, "He doesn't like to govern", is documented only by pointing to the famous "mini-memos." The facts are, however, that Governor Reagan has taken a very aggressive stance as chief executive. No one's "sacred cows" have avoided scrutiny. Some of the best technicians available to government have been recruited for the Reagan administration.

If you have been even a casual observer of government in California in the last 18 months, you can't really believe Reagan has been a passive occupant of the executive chair drifting with the ebb and flow of bureaucracy. He has taken an active role in the affairs of state whether you agree with the direction this role has taken or not.

Much ink has been expended on the Mental Health controversy, and having been through a legislative battle in Oregon regarding care of the mentally ill, I understand better than most that any attempt to limit resources allocated to dealing with this grievous problem is doomed to failure.

Certainly, gleaned your information from an admittedly hostile newspaper and the bureaucrats involved won't present the problem in perspective. Memos and statistics I have seen indicate that after the budget limitation, because of the reduction in patients, patient-staff ratios in the mental institutions were still better than under previous administrations.

Your criticism that Governor Reagan examined and vetoed many OEO programs is directly contradictory to the charge that he failed to care about governing. Suffice it to point out, perhaps, that a great many Americans have serious doubts that OEO is the solution to the poverty, ignorance and misfortune in our midst. A responsible state executive concerned about the "start-up" of programs that are then "turned over" to the state to finance should examine closely many of these proposals. Governors who have welcomed these programs as "free money to help the economy" may well rue their lack of action one day.

Perhaps the San Jose *Mercury* (1/29/68) most effectively pointed to the Governor's true concern about minorities when it said Governor Reagan, an avowed conservative on fiscal matters, has appointed what is believed to be the largest number of minority group members to executive positions in the history of California. In fact, the article titled "Reagan Quietly Better Minority State Job Lot" concludes, "In attempting to combat bias in state employment, California appears to be substantially ahead of New York, usually thought to be a model in this field."

It is no accident Governor Reagan received the Republican Presidential endorsement from the *Clatsop Defender*, Oregon's Negro newspaper during our primary here.

Your harshest and most tangible criticism is contained in the Editorial. Your second point concerns Vietnam. It stems from a basic philosophic disagreement about handling this Southeast Asian situation, and you simply aren't broadminded enough to believe that someone who disagrees with you can, in fact, be intelligent or informed. You charge the Governor, in this case, with being "doctrinaire," "uncompromising," "shrill," and "simplistic." You also say he endorses "every word of the right-wing military men."

That accusation merits some definition and documentation before it should be taken seriously. The FORUM is, by and large, an excellent publication devoted to facts and information but it flounders in this case.

The important thing is that FORUM readers should understand that the charge against Reagan in regard to foreign affairs stems from a philosophical difference, coupled with the simple conclusion that anyone who disagrees is, ipso facto, "doctrinaire," "uncompromising," "shrill" and "simplistic."

Many feel America needs leadership in this particular time in our history. Even the FORUM concedes Governor Reagan is unsurpassed in his ability to communicate and inspire people. Couple this with the conclusions of *The Observer* that Reagan "is intelligent. He actually reads books. He knows how to listen. He has a point of view," and you want a man who would make an effective President.

Certainly the 1968 Presidential race would inspire a lot more Americans if Ronald Reagan were an active candidate.

FRED VAN NATTA
Salem, Oregon

Dear Sirs:

After reading the Report on Ronald Reagan in your June issue I am now convinced more than ever that as a delegate to the National Convention I should support Governor Ronald Reagan, since you say that he is desirous not to govern.

I believe that we are now over-governed to the point where we are stifling individual freedom which is the basis for the greatness of this country in the past, and future. Sometimes you can get more out of an article such as yours, that is "Anti." I had not realized that the Governor was taking the position that he thought the individual should make as many of his own decisions as possible, which to me is very commendable.

CARL L. GILLIS, JR.
Adrian, Georgia.

Ed. Note The FORUM is always pleased to publish articulate criticisms of its articles, especially when they come from long-time Ripon subscribers like Mr. Van Natta and Republican delegates like Mr. Gillis. But a few points in the above letters do demand rebuttal:

1. The Ripon study documented its contention that Reagan "doesn't like to govern" with evidence of his lack of patience for administrative detail and his ignorance of his own legislative program. These facts are a sign of insufficient experience and capacity and cannot be explained away as part of a philosophy of limited government, as Mr. Gillis tries to.

2. We do not say that Reagan has been a "passive" governor. On the contrary, we compliment him for his adeptness at confrontation politics. We do say that he

has been an ineffective governor, whose forcefulness has been confined to token issues and counter-productive budget cuts. One such token issue is OEO, where he has made a lot of smoke without much fire. Why California should welcome federal money for highways and defense but not for vocational rehabilitation and child care is beyond us.

3. To improve staff/patient ratios in mental hospitals it is merely necessary to make greater cutbacks in patients than in staff. If Mr. Reagan's discharging of patients turns out to be justified, we will certainly admit it. At the moment, there are good grounds to believe that those discharged will have to be recommitted with more serious illnesses later.

4. Our criticism of Reagan's position on Vietnam is documented with quotations from his speeches, and it is not fair to represent our criticism of him as stemming from a "difference in philosophy." The Ripon position on Vietnam is contained in a book on that subject which is noticeably free from doctrinaire assertions and which comes up with conclusions that no one has been able to label either hawk or dove. Mr. Reagan has sounded off on Vietnam without any grounding on the facts or any experience in foreign affairs.

DEFECTORS

Dear Sirs:

I have decided not to renew my subscription to the Ripon FORUM but would like to assure you that there has been no real failure on your part. The trouble is I now feel more at home in the Democratic Party, in spite of some differences of opinion. The lack of a real debate in the Republican presidential contest and the recent defeat of Senator Tom Kuchel have reinforced my decision to switch.

Too long I have felt that Republican liberals were being ignored by the party. Why, one might ask, be frustrated and angered by people who refuse not only to think, but also to listen to other people's ideas?

When the party decides to reopen the doors to liberal thinking I will consider coming back.

DANIEL J. TOBIAS
San Francisco, California

Dear Sirs:

This spring and summer, with the national political scene being what it is, I have felt that the only course of action open to me as a liberal Republican was to contribute every available dollar and minute to the McCarthy campaign. It is beyond me why the only viable opposition to a bankrupt foreign policy and insufficient domestic policy comes from within the party in power, instead of from the supposed opposition power. Sometimes I lose hope for the Republican Party and wonder if it will go the way of the Whigs. The attempts by the GOP leaders to alienate the majority of the young people in this country can only be viewed as some manifestation of a desire to push the party into oblivion. I hope by contributing to the Ripon Society I will help in some small way to build a barrier to these leaders and encourage the more liberal Republicans to speak out.

DAVID F. HOOVER
Cambridge, Massachusetts

READERS CLASSIFIEDS

BEGINNING next month — and for a limited period thereafter — the FORUM will offer free classified ads to all paying subscribers. Ads should be kept to 40 words and cannot use the Ripon Society as a forwarding address.

RIPON SPEAKERS BUREAU, will send young, articulate and, on occasion, handsome speakers to address groups on any topics covered in Ripon publications: e.g. the Negative Tax; The Draft; Vietnam; Urban Affairs; Republican Politics.

ADVERTISERS who want to reach an unusual audience of office-holders, young activists, and business leaders can write the Advertising Manager, Ripon FORUM, for rates.

TOWARDS A NEW ERA

The lethargy which dominates political institutions today demands of the Republican Party a new era of principled pragmatism. It is time that we come alive and bring Republican principles to the solution of contemporary problems. The feasibility of this can perhaps be best illustrated by recounting an incident that occurred during a Senate-House Conference on poverty legislation.

House Republicans were united with Senate Democrats and Republicans in opposing the so-called Green Amendment to place Community Action agencies under the direct control of municipal governments. We were also striving to introduce new incentives for the involvement of private enterprise in solving poverty problems. Senator Robert Kennedy was one of the Senate conferees. At one point in the discussion he became particularly impassioned in telling a big-city Democratic House conferee that the old approaches weren't good enough. What worked in the 1930s won't necessarily work in the 1960s. You must involve private enterprise. The welfare system is demeaning and destroys the dignity of people while wasting money. You can't do everything from Washington, he said. You have to involve the poor themselves in self-help projects, give incentives for development of private ghetto industry and housing. You must take a new approach and recognize the failures of the past. It was at this point that House conferees passed Senator Kennedy a note offering him the Republican nomination for President on such a platform. Recovering quickly from his evident surprise, he smilingly replied: "The way things are going, I just might take it."

Thus, the Senator's pragmatism caused him to veer his course sharply over the past year. He espoused a whole series of programs of essentially Republican origin. These included federal revenue sharing with states and localities, tax credits to employers for training and hiring the unskilled, block grants for education and other purposes to strengthen local and state government, wage subsidies and tax incentives to train the poor, private incentives in housing and industrial development to reverse the process of decay in ghetto areas, a restructuring of the wasteful welfare system and human renewal priorities in the expenditure of federal funds to control inflation and high interest rates while investing more federal dollars in areas of urgent human need.

Congressman Goodell of New York is a member of the Platform Committee at the Republican National Convention and Chairman of the Sub-committee on Equal Opportunity in an Urban Society.

This spring Senator Kennedy began talking about "participatory democracy", a recharacterization of the concept of involvement of all sectors and individuals working together in society to solve problems. It has strong Republican overtones. Obviously, my point is not that Senator Kennedy was becoming a Republican. Senator Kennedy felt the need for new approaches to old problems. His pragmatism attracted him to many viable Republican proposals that had been consistently rejected by the Democratic Administration. These proposals defy labeling as conservative or liberal; they are realistic approaches to the kind of innovation so desperately demanded in today's society.

It is time Republicans stopped rigidly classifying and automatically reacting against well-labeled but poorly conceived and implemented Democratic attempts to solve pressing national problems. We can do better than the problem-solutions that have so often been offered by Democrats in the sixties. The poor and the downtrodden and the non-whites need more than the passive presentation of equal opportunity when society and circumstance have rendered unequal their abilities to respond. They require hyper-equality, if you will.

This is completely consistent with other government programs for the farmer, the businessman, the elder citizen and other groupings in society narrowly benefited by specific programs on the theory that society itself benefits by their increased security and productivity. We must reject the notion that government involvement, per se, is bad in striving to solve social problems. Our government programs should be better because they recognize the limitations of government.

Abroad, we must implement the lesson of Vietnam that many international problems are not susceptible to solution by intrusion of American military might.

We must recognize that urban upheaval and social discontent will not be eliminated by the mere intrusion of police power. Ours must be the pragmatic approach, implementing the new enlightenment in the social sciences, based upon the sound concept of diversified rather than centralized authority in ordering social organization, be it at home or abroad.

Our nation needs new leadership that understands the imperatives of our age. We stand potentially at the threshold of a New Era . . . a New Era of realism and enlightenment. Republican principles — and yes, Republican clichés — are peculiarly suited to serve our nation in the New Era, if we understand them and are willing to apply them anew.