1972 Ripon Society Endorsements

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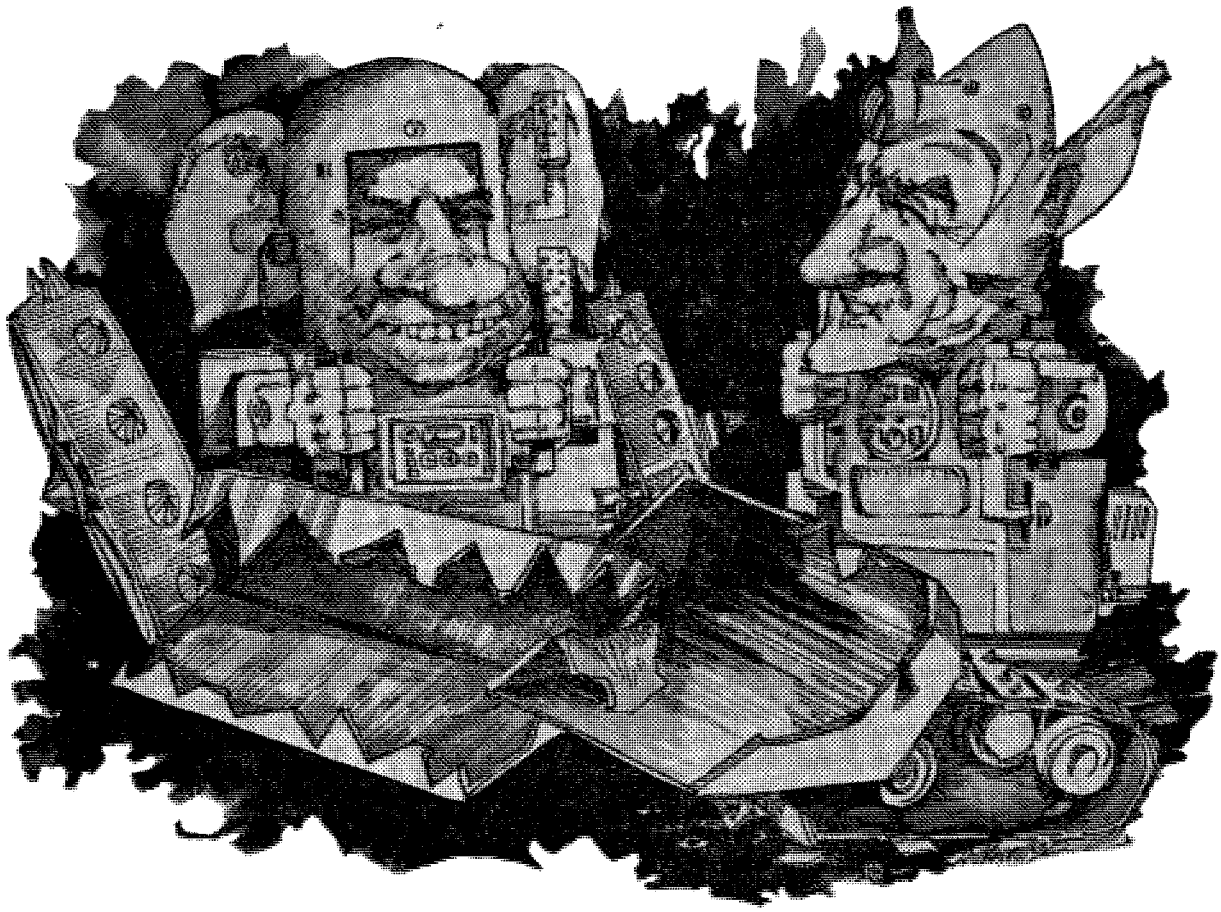

Toward a Revival of Progressivism

by Daniel J. Elazar

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features

  Correspondence to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

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1972 Ripon Society Endorsements

Each year the Ripon Society endorses candidates for public office. The endorsements are based on the candidates' public record, campaign statements, issues' positions, and in the case of incumbent Senators and Representatives, their rating in the annual Ripon Congressional Ratings. This year's endorsements cover candidates for Senator, Governor and U.S. Representative.

In measuring a candidate's record we, of course, examine announced positions, but we also look at the context in which the position was taken, i.e. the state or locality, the quality of the opponent, and the candidate's long-term potential.

In those states with Ripon chapters, the chapter decided the endorsements. In addition, some chapters will separately endorse other statewide and local candidates.

We hope that this list will serve as a guide for progressive Republicans. The men and women below are Republicans who are looking toward the future, but with firm roots in the Republican traditions of civil liberties, decentralized government, a full market economy, and, most of all, peace at home and abroad. Their election is important to the future of the Party and the Country.

SENATORIAL

Winton Blount (Alabama)
***Ted Stevens** (Alaska)
***J. Caleb Boggs** (Delaware)
***Charles Percy** (Illinois)
***James B. Pearson** (Kansas)
***Edward W. Brooke** (Mass.)
***Robert Griffin** (Michigan)
***Clifford Case** (New Jersey)
Pete Domenici (New Mexico)
Dewey F. Bartlett (Oklahoma)
***Mark O. Hatfield** (Oregon)
John Chafee (Rhode Island)
***Howard Baker, Jr.** (Tennessee)

GUBERNATORIAL

***Russell Peterson** (Delaware)
***Richard Ogilvie** (Illinois)
Dr. Otis Bowen (Indiana)
***Robert D. Ray** (Iowa)
Christopher "Kit" Bond (Missouri)
°**Malcolm McLane** (N. Hampshire)
Herbert DeSimone (Rhode Island)
***Daniel Evans** (Washington)

CONGRESSIONAL

***William Mailliard** (California, 6th)
***Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.** (California, 7th)
***Alphonzo Bell** (California, 28th)
William Ketchum (California, 36th)
Clair W. Burgener (California, 42nd)
James Johnson (Colorado, 4th)
***Robert Steele** (Connecticut, 2nd)
***Stewart McKinney** (Connecticut, 4th)
***Pierre "Pete" du Pont, IV** (Delaware, A.L.)
***Louis Frey, Jr.** (Florida, 9th)
Rodney Cook (Georgia, 5th)
Fred Rohlfing (Hawaii, 1st)
***Orval Hansen** (Idaho, 2nd)
***John B. Anderson** (Illinois, 16th)
***Thomas Railsback** (Illinois, 19th)
***Paul Findley** (Illinois, 20th)
***Fred Schwengel** (Iowa, 1st)
William S. Cohen (Maine, 2nd)
Marjorie Holt (Maryland, 4th)
Edward J. Mason (Maryland, 6th)
***Gilbert Gude** (Maryland, 8th)
***Silvio O. Conte** (Mass., 1st)
Martin A. Linsky (Mass., 4th)
Howard M. Miller (Mass., 9th)
***Margaret M. Heckler** (Mass., 10th)
William D. Weeks (Mass., 12th)
***Marvin Esch** (Michigan, 2nd)
***Donald Riegle, Jr.** (Michigan, 7th)
***Philip Ruppe** (Michigan, 11th)
David Serotkin (Michigan, 12th)
***Albert H. Quie** (Minn., 1st)
***William Frenzel** (Minn., 3rd)
Alan Davisson (Minn., 5th)
***John Zwach** (Minn., 6th)
Jon Haaven (Minn., 7th)
Russell Sloan (Missouri, 6th)
***Peter Frelinghuysen** (New Jersey, 5th)
***Edwin Forsythe** (New Jersey, 6th)
***William Widnall** (New Jersey, 7th)
Alfred Schiaffo (New Jersey,, 9th)
Milton A. Waldor (New Jersey, 11th)
Joseph Maraziti (New Jersey, 13th)
Fuller H. Brooks (New Jersey, 15th)
***Manuel Lujan, Jr.** (New Mexico, 1st)
Joseph Boyd, Jr. (New York, 1st)
Jane Pickens Langley (New York, 18th)
***Peter Peyser** (New York, 23rd)
Carl Vergari (New York, 24th)
Benjamin Gilman (New York, 26th)
***Howard Robison** (New York, 27th)
***Frank Horton** (New York, 34th)
***Barber Conable** (New York, 35th)
***Mark Andrews** (North Dakota, Al.)
***Charles Whalen, Jr.** (Ohio, 3rd)
***Clarence Brown** (Ohio, 7th)
***J. William Stanton** (Ohio, 11th)
***Charles Mosher** (Ohio. 13th)
Ralph Regula (Ohio, 16th)
***John Dellenback** (Oregon, 4th)
***Edward G. Biester, Jr.** (Pennsylvania, 8th)
***Joseph M. McDade** (Pennsylvania, 10th)
***R. Lawrence Coughlin** (Pennsylvania, 13th)
***H. John Heinz, III** (Pennsylvania, 18th)
***William G. Whitehurst** (Virginia, 2nd)
Joel Pritchard (Washington, 1st)
***William Steiger** (Wisconsin, 6th)

*Incumbent
°Republican running as Independent

COMMENTARY

Looking Ahead to 1976

by Robert D. Behn

In Miami Beach last August, with the GOP ticket preordained and with the Republican delegates confident of its victory in November, all speculation about the GOP's future focused on 1976. The only real excitement swirled around the debate in the Rules Committee and on the convention floor over the different formulas for allocating delegates to the next quadrennial GOP convention. The media speculators found it simpler to interpret the various proposals, not in terms of their one man-one vote equity, but in terms of how they would affect the presidential hopes of various Republicans. For sparring partners on whom to focus the 1972 convention spotlight, the media selected Vice President Spiro T. Agnew to represent the Republican Right and Illinois Sen. Charles Percy to represent the GOP's more moderate wing. Though everyone concluded that the formula adopted by the full convention would benefit Agnew more than Percy, it is not at all clear that these two will be featured in the main bout at the 1976 convention.

Agnew has not used his first four years as Vice President to build, on a personal level, individual contacts and loyalties with grass-roots Republicans the way Richard Nixon did during his two terms in that office. As Vice President, both men were well-travelled on the rubber chicken circuit, but while Nixon would entertain or telephone local Republican figures at each stop, Agnew has preferred to remain secluded in his hotel room playing gin rummy with his Secret Service men. In fact, the morning after President Nixon announced that Agnew again would be his running mate, the Vice President was in Alaska playing tennis, not with Republican leaders but with his advance man and two Air Force officers from the base where he landed. This pattern has been repeated during the fall campaign, prompting columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak to write:

> Agnew, in short, does not yet display telltale signs of using this campaign to collect IOUs for his own 1976 presidential bid.

Rather than personal loyalties directly cultivated among individual Republicans, the Vice President's strength within the party is based on his outspoken rhetoric. Now, the Vice President has promised "to adopt a new style," to moderate his rhetoric — his major asset with GOP conservatives — at least for the duration of the re-election campaign. Indeed, Agnew has confessed that his role as the Nixon Administration's "cutting edge" was not his own idea nor one with which he was happy. Rather, Agnew claims he accepted this assignment because if a Vice President "is really going to be really an effective team player, he has to do sometimes what may not be as comfortable for him as other things he might be called on to do." Since the Miami Beach convention, Agnew has stressed that he is "not a conservative in any respect."

While his more moderate public posture will undoubtedly improve Agnew's presidential image with the general electorate, it will also undermine the loyalty of his following on the Republican Right. Commenting on the "New Agnew," *The Charlotte Observer* has editorialized:

> All of this says a great deal about the character of the politician Spiro Agnew. It says that, chameleon-like, he changes colors to fit the political habitat of the moment. It raises questions about the man's credibility in the past as well as in the future. What does he really think and believe? When is he a tool and when is he himself?

Certainly, conservative Republicans will be asking the same questions.

If, by 1976, Agnew has lost his following, GOP conservatives will have several possibilities in the U.S. Senate, the modern launching pad for presidential candidacies. (Since 1960 every major party presidential nominee has served there and, like the Vice Presidency, Senatorial responsibilities are sufficiently vague, with few day-to-day administrative duties, as to provide adequate time for pursuing presidential ambitions.)

William Brock of Tennessee and James Buckley of New York are the obvious possibilities. Bill Brock's "Young Voters for the President" organization is giving him a lot of national visibility, some more organizational experience to add to that gained as a member of the Young Republican National Federation's "Syndicate" and a nation-wide network of trained young politicoes; few have accused Brock of conceiving and leading the youth arm of the Nixon re-election effort for purely altruistic reasons. The articulate and personable Jim Buckley also has an easily accessible network of conservatives: the mailing list of brother Bill's magazine, *National Review*.

If, in 1974, Ronald Reagan retires as Governor of California (as he has promised) and is elected to the Senate, he must also be considered a presidential threat. Although he'll be 65

in 1976, the hold over the GOP that Reagan demonstrated as temporary chairman in Miami Beach is not likely to be dissipated by age.

As for the party's progressive wing, the press has decided that Charles Percy will be its 1976 standard bearer, essentially for the same reasons that it annointed Nelson Rockefeller during the 1960's; both are wealthy, attractive, good campaigners and with enough national visibility to continually place on the polls of potential Republican candidates. Unfortunately, Rockefeller's unofficial status as *"the* moderate Republican leader" prevented other GOP progressives from testing the waters of national politics and, when anyone else tried, predestined him to the role of a mere "stalking horse for Nelson." But Rockefeller rarely exercised his leadership between quadrennial sprints for the GOP nomination — though his preeminence precluded Percy, for example, from playing a national role and doomed George Romney's presidential bid to defeat. If Percy is to inherit Rockefeller's media mantel, it will be lamentable if this is not accompanied by a recognition by both Percy and other Republican progressives of the position's limitations and responsibilities.

Percy is already making the arguments for a moderate presidential nominee in 1976. After Miami Beach, Percy mused on the implications of the conservative's victory in the delegate formula fight. "It looks like it [1976] will be another 1964. Not having been satisfied with one such disaster in our lifetime they [the GOP conservatives] want another one." Then Percy made the standard argument for nominating a Republican moderate. "I don't believe he [a doctrinaire conservative] has any more chance in our lifetime than an out-and-out liberal who's too far left — like McGovern."

Significantly for the Illinois Senator's potential candidacy, that argument has very little impact on GOP convention delegates. It was Scranton's argument in 1964 and Rockefeller's in 1968 — an indication that GOP progressives simply hadn't elected enough of their own as delegates.

In fact, there is only one strategy that will nominate a progressive Republican for President in 1976: through primaries, caucuses and conventions to elect progressives to a majority of the delegate positions. These progressive delegates may be committed to different candidates, or even uncommitted to any candidate, but they must be willing to stand and be counted — publicly and continually — on the fights over credentials, rules, platform and, finally, the nomination itself.

Every four years, the leaders of the current progressive cause — be it a presidential candidate or, like 1972, a rules fight — listen to the excuse: "You know I'm with you; I just can't come out publicly." It's a sure sign that the Republican has failed to secure a progressive base of support in local party councils.

Thus those progressives who manage to be elected National Convention Delegates, are often forced — in an effort to maintain their personal position in a conservative-dominated party — to vote with the conservatives on key intra-party fights. A past debt or a pledge to the party when elected a delegate, the need for support from the party machine in the current campaign or the hope of support from conservatives in a future one are common reasons that GOP progressives vote to perpetuate conservative dominance of the party. Clearly these men and women have not been elected to party positions because they and their fellow progressives have worked hard and won control of the local party; no, they were granted their positions by conservatives who decided it was expedient to have all spectrums of the party represented in the delegation membership, though not in its votes.

The difficulties confronting those attempting to unite progressive Republicans are illustrated by Charles Percy's own role at the 1964 and 1972 conventions. In 1964, as the GOP's nominee for Governor of Illinois, Percy was already the state's leading Republican moderate; but he had conflicts with the conservative-dominated state party and to build up some good will, Percy pledged to vote as a National Convention Delegate for the presidential contender favored by a majority of the Illinois delegation. This effectively committed Percy to vote for Barry Goldwater, thus appeasing the Republican Right, while providing an excuse to those Republicans (as well as independents and Democrats) who looked to Percy for some intellectual, if not political, leadership. So, in July 1964, at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, Percy helped nominate the man who led to his gubernatorial defeat that November.

In 1972, Percy was a member of the convention Rules Committee and before going to Miami Beach he publicly joined with other GOP Senators to propose some reform rules that Percy said would "bring the Republican Party into the 20th century." Percy's part in this senatorial reform package was the delegate allocation question and the formula he proposed to the Rules Committee was the most progressive one suggested. But when the time came for the floor fight over the formula, Percy decided not to get involved. He didn't even undertake the routine task of explaining the impact of the proposed "small slates" plan to the GOP delegates from Illinois — the state whose 1968 Republican presidential vote was most under-represented at the 1972 convention. Percy, of course, was advised that being a leader of the floor fight would hurt his chances in 1976. However, his image as an effective party leader was tarnished when only seven other delegates from Illinois voted with Percy for the more equitable delegate formula.

In 1976, those progressive Governors, Senators and Congressmen who are convention delegates can be forceful and effective leaders only if they have built a progressive base in their local or state party. This means they must involve political moderates — whether they are Republicans, independents or Democrats — in Republican political work, educate them, elect them to their own Republican ward committees, and then elect them to the key positions in county and state GOP organizations. In most states, for progressive Republicans to build this kind of viable party organization will take a long time —four years may not be long enough.

The battle for the GOP's next presidential nomination does not begin in January 1976; it is underway now. ■

Politics: Reports

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS — The Louisiana Senate race, which had once been fated to be decided in the August 19 Democratic primary, has taken a whole new tack after the death of Senate President Pro Tem Allen Ellender in July.

Ellender had been headed for a primary battle with State Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, who narrowly lost the governorship to Gov. Edwin L. Edwards in 1971. Since the filing deadline had passed before Ellender's death, a controversy erupted in which the Attorney General, William Guste, ordered filing reopened and the Democratic State Committee refused. Meanwhile, Edwards appointed his wife to fill out the unexpired term with the assumption that she would resign after the November election so that the newly-elected Senator could have a seniority edge.

Johnston, a long-time supporter of the Long family and a political conservative, won the primary against token opposition. Meanwhile former Gov. John McKeithen decided to run as an independent against Johnston, a former legislative ally of McKeithen.

While McKeithen and Johnston heated up Louisiana's election weather, the Republicans also reacted to the change in the political atmosphere. C. M. McLean, a Shreveport geologist, had been slated as the token Republican sacrificial lamb but with the prospect of a McKeithen-Johnston battle, McLean withdrew so the State Republican Committee could pick a new candidate. Nominated at their August 24 meeting were National Committeeman Tom Stagg, fresh from rules wrangles in Miami Beach; David Treen, a congressional candidate in the 3rd C.D.; and Ben. C. Toledano, a New Orleans lawyer who received 42 percent of the vote while running against Mayor Moon Landrieu in 1971.

Both Stagg and Treen withdrew before the vote. Toledano easily defeated the fourth candidate nominated, A. C. Clemmons. The new candidate was involved in several Nixon and Eisenhower campaigns and his conservatism is tinged with a reputation for supporting underdogs on social issues.

The traditional Democratic vote may now be split two ways. (An American Independent Party candidate is also slated.) A strong Nixon victory in Louisiana might elect Toledano and reverse the moribund condition of the Louisiana GOP.

Both Treen and Toledano headquarters claim to be the official Nixon headquarters for the state. The split is indicative of the split between the two Republican candidates, both of whom are jealous over their leadership positions in the party. When Vice President Agnew visited the state, the split caused consternation among his staff. The Vice President solved his protocol problems by appearing at a campaign rally, taking both Treen and Toledano by the hand and acknowledging the crowd's applause. The split, however, remains.

Treen is a perennial GOP candidate who challenged Majority Leader Hale Boggs (D) in 1962, 1964 and 1968 and came close enough to upsetting Boggs to necessitate redistricting. The 1971 GOP gubernatorial candidate is given his first real chance of winning this year as he seeks the seat of retiring Congressman Patrick T. Caffery, 40, who decided he didn't like Washington. Treen, a 44-year-old lawyer, will face the winner of a September 30 runoff for the Democratic nomination.

In five of the other seven congressional districts, however, no Republicans filed for the nomination, although the possibility of party-designated candidates remains.

ARIZONA

PHOENIX — In a three-way Republican primary race in Arizona's new 4th C.D., arch-conservative John Conlan emerged the winner, but without the support of much of the state's more moderately conservative GOP leadership.

State Sen. Conlan's 41 percent of the September 12 primary vote was easily enough to beat his two opponents: former Maricopa County chairman Bill Baker, who was favored by the party establishment, and State Treasurer Ernest Garfield. Pre-primary controversy between Conlan and other state leaders may aid Conlan's Democratic opponent, Jack E. Brown, a Phoenix lawyer and chief counsel for the Navajo Nation. The 4th C.D. should be a solidly Republican district but Republican infighting may damage the GOP chances.

Conlan, backed by massive amounts of right-wing ideology and money, saturated the media and environment with T.V. spots and commercial billboards, showing his name superimposed on a design akin to the American flag. While his opponents, especially Garfield, raised substantial issues, the Conlan juggernaut held its hardcore vote, splitting the rational majority of the party between Baker and Garfield.

A storm arose when Conlan and other party leaders exchanged charges regarding Conlan's dismissal as a state campaign coordinator in the early 1960's. Conlan had been fired by Attorney General Richard Kleindienst (then state party chairman) and Samuel Kitchell, campaign manager for former Gov. Paul Fannin (now a U.S. Senator).

The dispute was highlighted by rival press conferences held by Conlan and Congressman Sam Steiger (R) who called Conlan "deceitful and unfit to serve in any public office." When Steiger tried to enter Conlan's press conference, two Conlan aides barred the door. Steiger hammered strenuously against the door, but when he failed to gain entrance that way, he got a key from the hotel desk and entered the press conference in a more sedate manner. Conlan charged Steiger was trying to take over the GOP as "his private preserve." Steiger has since refused to support Conlan.

Many Republican campaign workers are seeking refuge in the Arizona Nixon campaign, leaving the 4th C.D. to conservative ideologues and perhaps to the Democrats.

Note: The August FORUM newsletter incorrectly placed Phoenix in New Mexico. In this fast-changing world, Phoenix remains in Arizona, as does Gov. Jack Williams (R).

IDAHO

BOISE — On August 8, Idaho voters nominated both a Republican and a Democratic conservative for the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Leonard B. Jordan (R), but gave more moderate candidates a plurality of the vote in the Democratic primary and a surprisingly large chunk of the Republican vote.

Congressman James A. McClure won the Republican nomination while Idaho State University President Dr. William E. "Bud" Davis won the Democrat's. McClure defeated two moderates, former White House aide Dr. Glen Wegner and former Gov. Robert E. Smylie, and one conservative, former Congressman George V. Hansen who was the GOP's 1968 Senate nominee. McClure won 36 percent of the vote and Hansen got over 27 percent while Wegner got 19 and Smylie 17 percent.

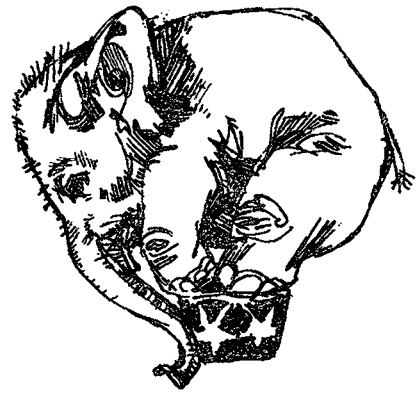
Meanwhile, Davis amassed only 36 percent of the vote against three liberal opponents: Attorney General Tony Park, lawyer Byron Johnson and political activist Mrs. Rose Bowman. Though the Republican confusion normally would have given the Democrats an opportunity to switch Jordan's seat to the other side of the Senate aisle, their own disarray imperils that opportunity. Both parties are marked by deep political schisms.

On the Republican side, the bitterly-contested Senate race has given McClure a possibly worthless nomination. Both Wegner and Smylie concentrated their campaign effort against McClure's record. George Hansen, who, if anything, was to McClure's right and finished second, has subsequently accused McClure of buying the nomination by being the puppet of vested financial interests and out-of-state brokers, and has declared his willingness to support Davis under the right conditions. Hansen's surprise defection has been damaging to McClure's hitherto safe prospects of securing a unified conservative vote in view of Hansen's large plurality in East Idaho, which has been vital to conservative Republican, victory arithmetic.

Davis, on the other hand, has not only moved to accommodate the George Hansen Republicans — thereby gaining a foothold in previous GOP bastions — but has significantly modified his campaign to accommodate the large number of moderates and liberals that voted in both primaries.

In the 1st C.D., conservative apple grower Steve D. Symms (R), 34, defeated a GOP moderate in the primary and faces Gov. Cecil Andrus's administrative assistant, Edward V. Williams, 44. In the 2nd C.D., Congressman Orval Hansen (R) is being challenged by the Rev. Willis H. Ludlow (D), a liberal Methodist minister.

The Republicans appear to be ahead in the Congressional races, due largely to the bumbling of Governor Andrus, Idaho's first Democratic governor in a quarter-century, who is nearing the end of his first term. Andrus, who was elected as a liberal, has



tried to improve his image with the state's traditionally conservative electorate by refusing to endorse Ludlow for election in the 2nd District.

Andrus has accused Ludlow of being a wild-eyed extremist because of Ludlow's advocacy of liberal abortion laws and his suggestion that "controlling marijuana" should be investigated. Stung by Andrus's attempts to portray him as an advocate of loose morals and drug-pushing, Ludlow accused Andrus of "playing favorites" and showing his ignorance on issues.

Symms is trying hard to shed his right-wing image, however. In late summer, he spent a week working in a North Idaho mine under an assumed identity and has since made sympathetic proposals regarding mining conditions and pay for miners.

The result is a badly fractured Democratic Party. Democrats are not only badly split in the 2nd C.D., aiding Orval Hansen; but there is evidence that this factionalization has spilled over into the 1st C.D., and could work against Williams, a close Andrus confidant. At the moment, both Orval Hansen and Symms look like winners.

Gov. Andrus, meanwhile, seems to have further narrowed his own base of support, increasing Republican chances two years from now of retaking the governorship. Already, his fight with Ludlow is destroying whatever thin chance the Democrats might have had to capture control of the State Legislature. It now appears Republicans will dramatically add to their already solid majority.

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY — Republican ultra-conservatives launched a concerted attempt to wrest Utah's two congressional nominations from more moderate conservatives in the September 12 primary, but were beaten back in both districts.

In the first C.D., airline pilot Joe H. Ferguson came close to upsetting Robert K. Wolthuis, 37, a less-strident conservative who is a former aide to Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R). Wolthuis won the right to contest Congressman K. Gunn McKay (D) by winning a narrow 53 percent of the Republican vote.

In the 2nd C.D., Congressman Sherman Lloyd (R) was challenged by a former John Birch Society official, Mark Anderson, 46. Anderson was trounced more than 2 to 1 by Lloyd, who won re-election in 1970 with only 52 percent of the vote. This year, Lloyd will face Wayne Owens, a 35-year-old lawyer who has served as an aide to both Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Both Anderson and Ferguson gathered a dedicated corps of supporters in their attempt to wrest control from the party's more moderate leadership. The primary was characterized by unprofessionalism — by the candidates in their media campaigns and the media in their own local biases. The conservatives failed to communicate their

intended images to the public — that of concerned, reasoning men who could support their position by logic. The Wolthuis and Lloyd campaigns, however, were similarly inept and dealt with their challenges as representing a "vocal minority" who were bent on destroying the Republican Party and Utah's credibility among other states.

The Republican prospects for November are hazy. Both the Democratic and Republican incumbent could be vulnerable to challenges, while Lloyd — as well as Wolthuis — faces the added imperative of wooing back the disgruntled conservatives within his own party ranks.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE — In the wake of the gubernatorial nomination of two conservatives by the Republican and Democratic Parties, Concord Mayor Malcolm McLane (R) has announced an independent candidacy.

McLane's September 21 announcement came after Republican Governor Walter Peterson was defeated for a third-term renomination by sometime Republican, ultra-conservative Meldrim Thomson. The *Manchester Union-Leader,* which endorsed Thomson, scored a double-sweep in the September 12 primary as its Democratic favorite, retired Navy Captain Roger Crowley, swamped House Minority Leader Robert Raiche.

When Peterson disdained an independent candidacy, McLane, a progressive Republican who has sat on the Concord City Council for 17 years, entered the race, stating, "I do not believe that there is any choice between the candidates of the two parties, Mr. Thomson and Captain Crowley, both of whom are conservative, (*Manchester Union-Leader* publisher William) Loeb-supported, lacking in qualifications for the task and without experience in elective office."

Both Thomson and Crowley are strong opponents of a broad-based tax. McLane has announced that as governor he would keep his "options open" to impose a sales or income tax, if necessary. New Hampshire is the lone state government without either of the latter sources of income.

Gov. Peterson had entered the gubernatorial race against Thomson on a wave of popularity, but his advocacy of a broad-based tax system cut his support at the polls, leaving book-publisher Thomson with a 2,000 vote edge. Although Peterson had an effective media campaign, he failed to energize his organization to get out his supporters. As a result, while Thomson's vote rose from a similar 1970 contest with Peterson, Peterson's vote total dropped. (Thomson then ran as an independent in that election.)

Meanwhile, conservatives also captured the Republican Senate nomination with another sometime Republican, former Gov. Wesley Powell. (Powell has run for both the Senate and Governorship as an independent after losing Republican primaries.)

Powell defeated three other candidates, Keene businessman Peter Booras, the organizer of the write-in campaign for Spiro Agnew in the March presidential primary, former U.S. Attorney David Brock who finished third and House Speaker Marshall Cobleigh, the most progressive candidate, who finished a poor fourth.

Booras was hurt by a high-pressure advertising campaign which exposed his rather grating television personality. Brock came across as a moderate conservative who was a nice guy. He may be preparing the groundwork for an eventual race for Congressman Louis Wyman's seat when Wyman decides to relinquish it. Cobleigh was hurt by a late start, his recent divorce and his associations with Gov. Peterson. Powell ended up with almost 50 percent of the vote in the four-man race.

The results of the Republican primary will probably be inconsequential, because Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre (D) is heavily favored for re-election.

In the state legislature, more than a third of the membership will be new next year — including new leadership on both sides of the aisle. Progressive Republicans like State Rep. Kimon Zachos and State Sen. David Nixon may be in line for leadership positions. Atty. Gen. Warren B. Rudman and State Board of Education chairman William Green also may provide a liberal counterweight to a conservative state administration.

Former Republican Congressman Chester Merrow will challenge Wyman as a Democrat in November, but neither Wyman nor Congressman James C. Cleveland (R) are likely to be retired.

In another state race, Republican John F. Bridges, son of the late Sen. Styles Bridges, is seeking a traditionally Democratic seat on the Executive Council. Aided by a prominent Democrat as his campaign manager, Bridges may win.

INDIANA

INDIANAPOLIS — Whether Republican gubernatorial candidate Dr. Otis Bowen will be able to defeat his Democratic opponent, former Gov. Matthew Welsh, will largely depend on the margin of an expected Nixon landslide in Indiana.

Democratic polls currently indicate that Welsh is leading Bowen by 49 to 34 percent. Republican leaders dismiss these figures as biased though they concede that Welsh is ahead. The Republicans suggest the real figures are closer to a 40 to 35 percent lead for Welsh.

The relationship of the gubernatorial campaign to the presidential race is indicated by Welsh's soft-pedalling of his support for McGovern and Bowen's references to the "McGovern-Welsh ticket" in hopes of reducing GOP ticket-splitting. Welsh has pointedly declined to urge Sen. George McGovern to campaign in the state and told the Associated Press, "My job is to get elected governor. His job is to get elected president."

The degree of ticket-splitting is probably the key to the governorship this year. When Welsh ran for governor in 1960, he won his race in spite of Nixon's 250,000 vote plurality in the state. Republicans are predicting a Nixon plurality of 300,000 this year — enough, they hope, to elect Dr. Bowen as governor. A big Nixon win would also confirm large Republican majorities in both houses of the state legislature.

The major campaign issue is property tax relief and tax reform. Dr. Bowen has suggested reform through increases in the state income tax and state sales tax, accompanied by reduction in local property taxes and "rigid" spending controls in the state budget.

Welsh has yet to be specific about his tax reform plans, insisting only that he would keep the state legislature in session until they reached agreement with him on a restructured system.

Welsh had been somewhat hampered by organizational difficulties, but State Democratic chairman Gordon St. Angelo has moved into Welsh headquarters and claims to have "straightened out" the problems.

Bowen's difficulties stem from the dichotomy inherent in attempting to disassociate himself from the errors of the current administration of Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb (R) and share credit for such achievements as low state expenditures. In the past several years, Bowen, the Republican House Speaker, has had several of his own social-spending bills vetoed by Gov. Whitcomb.

Of the two men, Bowen is probably more moderate with a more conservative state organization and Welsh is more conservative with a more moderate state organization.

In the Congressional races, most of the incumbents — both Democrats and Republicans — appear at this point in the campaign to be set for re-election. Changes in the delegation's political complexion could be made in the 4th, 10th and 11th C.D.'s, however.

In the 4th C.D., Congressman J. Edward Roush (D) is facing a serious challenge from conservative Republican Allan E. Bloom, the 39-year-old former State Senate majority leader.

A reverse situation prevails in the 10th C.D., where Congressman David W. Dennis (R), 59, is running against Philip R. Sharp, 30, a political science professor at Ball State University in Muncie. Sharp is blunting his support of McGovern in an effort to upset the moderately-conservative Dennis, who narrowly beat Sharp in 1970.

In the 11th C.D., Congressman Andrew Jacobs, Jr. (D) is working hard to beat back the Rev. William H. Hudnut III (R), who benefits from the new Republican tinge to the reapportioned district.

NORTH DAKOTA

MINOT, NORTH DAKOTA — Led by a 36-year-old former economics professor, Republicans are given a good chance to win the North Dakota governorship this year, after 12 years of Democratic domination.

Lieut. Gov. Richard F. Larsen won the Republican nomination by crushing party maverick Robert P. McCarney by more than 2-1 in the September 5 primary. Larsen, who taught economics at the University of North Dakota before entering politics and opening a bookstore, will now face Congressman Arthur A. Link, a 58-year-old rancher with Lincolnesque features.

The defeat of McCarney was significant because the Bismarck businessman had upset endorsed GOP candidates for governor in 1968 and for West District Congressman in 1970. He had won both primaries on the strength of his anti-tax stands but lost both general elections.

Link, the Democrat who beat McCarney in 1970, entered the gubernatorial race after Gov. William L. Guy decided to retire and North Dakota lost one of its two Congressional seats.

Larsen's biggest political handicap may be his professional image in this agrarian state. He graduated from Harvard University and later earned a doctorate at the London School of Economics.

But Larsen should benefit from the popularity of President Nixon and Congressman Mark Andrews (R), who is expected to win by a landslide.

WISCONSIN

MILWAUKEE — In Wisconsin, the Republicans are a half million dollars in debt but the Democrats have a surplus of campaign funds.

Just as this situation reverses the relative national positions of the two parties, so the electoral prospects of Wisconsin Republicans and Democrats are similarly reversed from the national standard-bearers.

Though Richard Nixon is expected to carry the state, his coattails are expected to be detachable.

Congressman Alvin E. O'Konski (R), for instance, has been in Congress since 1942 and ranks second in that house in Republican seniority. Despite last-minute announcements that he would not seek re-election in the new 7th C.D. against fellow Congressman David R. Obey (D), O'Konski reconsidered when he found it was too late to withdraw from the primary. After announcing he wouldn't campaign, he campaigned. And so, in the September 12 primary, he defeated a 28-year-old marketing director, David N. Connor by a 55-45 percent margin. Connor, a cousin of Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, launched a vigorous billboard campaign in his effort to unseat O'Konski, who stressed his anti-war record. O'Konski, whose present and past electoral shenanigans have not always pleased the electorate, is expected to be the loser in November.

Another seat may be lost by the Republicans in the 8th C.D. where Congressman John Byrnes (R) is retiring. Harold V. Froehlich (R), the conservative former Wisconsin Speaker of the House, won the nomination in a four-man primary field and will now face Father Robert J. Cornell (D) in the general election. A close race is expected. (In that congressional district, former Ripon executive director Thomas E. Petri, who won his primary battle, is now engaged in a tough race for the 2nd District State Senate seat.) ■

Politics: People

● The latest conservative mailing soliciting money is signed by **Herbert Philbrick** who is leading his fourth life as a **"Youth Against McGovern."** No other young people besides the 57-year-old Philbrick are mentioned in the letter or brochure, nor does the mailing say what will be done with the money you are supposed to send. However, the national chairman of YAM — sounds sweet doesn't it — is **Chris Buckley,** son of **National Review's William F. Buckley.**

● In Connecticut, private polls showed such a large Nixon lead in late September that Republicans were given a chance of sweeping all six Congressional seats. (They now hold two.) This incredible possibility was suggested by a prominent polling firm despite indications of widespread apathy and disgust among Connecticut voters concerning the presidential election. Democratic and Republican suits and countersuits over legislative redistricting have finally ended and the elections will be held in November — to the consternation of the Democrats who hoped to postpone them.

● While President Nixon and Congressman **Pierre du Pont** (R) appear headed for overwhelming victories in Delaware, Sen. **J. Caleb Boggs** and Gov. **Russell W. Peterson** are involved in much tighter races. Boggs, running for his third term, has lost some ground against an aggressive young Democratic challenger, **Joseph R. Biden, Jr.,** 29, a New Castle County councilman, but still remains the November favorite. Gov. Peterson, meanwhile, is trailing the Democratic candidate, House Minority Leader **Sherman W. Tribbitt.** Peterson has been hurt by his mid-term proposals for increased taxing and by a bruising August 19 primary battle with **David P. Buckson,** a conservative former State Attorney General who suggested in the campaign that he would end the problem of state prison escapees very quickly by having guards shoot to kill. The inmates would then get the message. Buckson has refused to support Peterson, whose progressive stance on criminal justice was criticized by Buckson. A defeat of Peterson would be a sharp loss for progressive Republicans in Delaware and a big boost for the Democrats, who now hold not a single statewide office.

● The political chances of the Texas GOP's super-conservative gubernatorial candidate have also improved, though not so dramatically. The Republican candidate, **Henry C. Grover,** has settled some of his public differences with GOP State Chairman Dr. **George Willeford,** whom he had once sought to overthrow. Grover's opponent, Democrat **Dolph Briscoe,** angered liberal Democrats by supporting — at one time or another — no less than four Democratic presidential hopefuls at the July Democratic National Convention. Briscoe's chances are probably also damaged by the candidacy of the Raza Unida Party's **Ramsey Muniz.** Grover reportedly plans to spend $1.5 million on his election effort.

● **Jack E. Robinson,** president of the Boston Branch of the NAACP, has changed his registration from Democratic to Republican. In making the switch, the black Boston leader said, "My impression is that the future for blacks will be in the Republican Party, rather than in the Democratic Party." He was later appointed chairman of the minorities division of the Massachusetts CRP, raising the ire of Republicans with longer tenure.

● **Clay T. Whitehead,** director of the White House's Office of Telecommunications Policy and a major advocate of reduced governmental regulation and interference in the communications industry, recently damned one of the major blights on the American psyche — television re-runs. Whitehead's concern for unemployed actors and other film craftsmen has been echoed by President Nixon, who told the **Screen Actors Guild** that his Administration would "explore whatever regulatory recommendations are in order" if networks did not voluntarily reduce the number of re-runs.

● Programming in Public Television is also coming under the Administration's influence. Former Congressman **Tom Curtis** (R), who opposed Sen. **Thomas Eagleton** for a Missouri Senate seat in 1968, has been named board chairman of the **Corporation for Public Television. Henry Loomis,** deputy director of the United States Information Agency, has been named CPT president, replacing **John Macy** who quit after President Nixon vetoed a two-year appropriation for CPT in June. Loomis at one point quit the USIA during the Johnson Administration over Administration directives for Voice of America programming. Meanwhile, the affiliated Public Broadcasting Service also appointed new directors, among whom was Texas Republican **Sam E. Wyly,** board chairman of the University Computing Co., of Dallas.

● Two Republican campaign organizations are being put together in New Jersey to work for President Nixon's re-election. The official organization is nominally headed by Gov. **William Cahill** and under the direction of **Harry Sears,** former State Senate majority leader. The Cahill organization, which has the official recognition of CRP chairman **Clark MacGregor,** is seen as a trial run of gubernatorial strength. The probable primary opponent to Cahill in 1973, Congressman **Charles Sandman** (R), is organizing his own gubernatorial campaign organization under the guise of an alternative Nixon campaign group. Among Sandman's associates in the new group is Dr. **James Ralph,** the most decorated ear, nose and throat specialist to return from the Vietnam War and the man who challenged Sen. **Clifford Case** (R) in this year's primary. Sandman launched his gubernatorial vehicle despite the opposition of MacGregor.

● The old, old **Spiro T. Agnew** — the version that dates back to his gubernatorial days in Maryland — re-emerged on the campaign trail in late September. Agnew told a crowd in Minneapolis that the problems of the cities would not be solved "until the individual citizen who lives in the suburbs but enjoys all the benefits of the city takes a greater personal interest in city problems." Tell it like it is, Spiro.

● State Rep. **Jon Haaven** (R) is given a good chance to unseat freshman Congressman **Bob Bergland** (D) in Minnesota's 7th C.D. The National Republican Congressional Committee's campaign director, **Edward A. Terrill,** has made the district one of his top targets this year. The Republicans lost the district in 1970, when Bergland captured 54 percent of the vote, and the AFL-CIO is expected to give Bergland strong financial support in an effort to save the seat for the Democrats. As elsewhere in the nation, a 21-point Nixon lead in the **Minnesota Poll** has Democrats worried.

RIPON FORUM

At Issue: Toward a Revival of Progressivism

The impotence of contemporary ideological solutions to the country's political predicaments has left America ideologically adrift, according to Daniel J. Elazar, the director of the Center for the Study of Federalism at Temple University. Professor Elazar, who is also the editor of PUBLIUS magazine, contends that the American political tradition is built upon a progressive foundation which can still serve the needs of America's present government dilemmas. Neither Liberalism nor Conservatism nor Radicalism is adequate. The prescription for America is a revival of Progressivism.

by Daniel J. Elazar

The American people today are in the midst of a time of troubles rarely equalled and never surpassed in our history. The very consensus that underlies our civil society is being challenged from many quarters in an effort to transcend the synthesis of interests and attitudes which forged and have maintained American federal democracy. Important groups are seeking to renegotiate the social compact which unites us and which has for generations formed the basis for the development of the commercial republic that embodies our way of life.

The leading critics of our society, like their opponents who are more or less satisfied with the *status quo,* share the opinion that the ideologies which inform American society today are the only authentic ones which America has produced. Indeed, while they see the American crisis as rooted in these ideologies' inadequacy to provide coherent guidelines for dealing with our problems, they have no alternatives to suggest.

The critics are quite right in recognizing the bankruptcy of the currently fashionable ideologies. Bad thought does lead to the narrowing of practical choices by directing us into what have become blind alleys. At this critical juncture in our history, Americans must re-examine the persuasions which have hardened into ideologies in our time if only to reopen the possibility of discovering viable alternatives to present programs and structures that have proved inadequate or worse.

What are those hardened persuasions? First and foremost, there is a dominant liberal ideology which has become the measure of all things political, social and moral in contemporary America. Liberalism is so dominant that even the spokesmen for the so-called "moderates" of the American "establishment" reflect its basic presuppositions in their every pronouncement and so pervasive that even those who oppose its consequences fail to examine its premises.

Counterpoised against Liberalism, there is an ostensible Conservatism whose social myth frequently is nothing more than a comfortable mask for obscurantist reaction, so weak in its wider influence that it is no better than a half-ideology which cannot reach even those who share its policy positions. Finally, old-new Radicalism has developed again, as it does from time to time, to propound theories of social and individual redemption whose basis is the negation of the American experience as such.

Each of these ideologies claims to have the solution to our society's ills in its grasp. It is our claim that none of them is adequate to cope with the problems of contemporary society in a manner that is not likely to generate problems much worse than those they purport to solve.

Liberalism — the dominant ideology in America for at least a generation and one whose roots reach back to the bedrock of American aspirations — at least has the virtue of authentic links to the larger American tradition. Its proponents of the last generation — the men who shaped the public mind in the era of the New Deal — made a great contribution to the improvement of American society through their efforts to readjust our thinking and economic actions to twentieth-century realities and open up our minds and social system to previously excluded groups of various kinds. They shifted our views regarding property as the touch stone of American liberties to views that placed speech, or expression, in that central position. They gave us group pluralism to replace the more institutionally-oriented federalism as the basis for our sense of right political organization, and, by doing so, made possible the acceptance of diverse religious, ethnic and racial groups into the care of American society, as well as political ones.

Now Liberalism has run aground on its own presuppositions carried to their logical conclusions by a subsequent generation. The Liberals' effort to free people from unnecessary restraints and distinctions has been transformed into an effort to remove all restraints and distinctions, even those needed to keep the fabric of society intact. So, the virtue of eliminating distinctions between blacks and whites has become the vice of eliminating the distinction between children and adults. Liberal efforts to give the less privileged a new deal now have been distorted into efforts that often deal unfairly with those who have achieved a modicum of success through their own earlier efforts. So, the noble effort to provide social assistance for the disadvantaged has given way to the imposition of new style quota systems that discriminate against the efforts and talents of others.

In recent years, Liberalism has been challenged on a variety of fronts, for both legitimate and illegitimate reasons. Its most potent challengers have chosen to appeal to a conservative tradition that has never sunk roots in this country and which has rarely been encountered on these shores since the Tory exodus after the Revolutionary War.

If the problem of Liberalism is the unlimited pursuit of freedom from restraint and the uncritical elimination of all social distinction, the problem of Conservatism in America is that it is based on concepts of elitism of either class or race and stand-pattism which contradict American traditions.

Nevertheless, the challenge of these neo-Tories has been so vocal and vociferous that for most of the postwar period they were able to preempt the role of the opposition. Consequently, those dissatisfied with Liberalism were forced to accept either the unsatisfactory "moderate" stance (meaning "liberal-with-unarticulated-reservations") or be associated with dyed-in-wool reactionaries whose ideas were more likely to lead to some form of totalitarianism than to recreate the commonwealth of Edmund Burke.

"The Progressives rejected or minimized class differences . . ."

The responsible Conservatives with Burkean inclinations ended up as shadow Liberals, accepting the central Liberal assumptions but applying brakes in their application.

Most recently, a new Radicalism has emerged in various shades to challenge the Liberal consensus from the left. Ranging from the most violent nihilism to a variety of uncritical parlor identification with the poor and the blacks, the common theme of contemporary Radicalism is the essential immortality of American history, a negation of American ideals and American reality. While this approach has a certain attraction for the young and the honestly alienated, it is severely — and deservedly — limited in its potential appeal to the country as a whole.

Radicalism too, is not by any means new but, rather, the heir of a long, if important, tradition of rejection of the American experience shared by a small but periodically vocal minority. If the past is any guide, the limitations of Radicalism will lead in time to disillusionment on the part of some of its adherents or heightened alienation and increasingly violent responses on the part of others, further weakening it as a viable alternative on the American scene.

The task of finding a viable authentically American replacement for Liberalism and its deficiencies must begin with the recognition that America is the home of the Liberal tradition and is certainly not a congenial environment for either Conservatism or Radicalism. Indeed, a strong but erroneous case has been made by Louis Hartz and others that Liberalism is the only authentic political persuasion in the United States. The answer to the deficiencies of Liberalism as an ideology must lie in another persuasion that is equally nonconservative in approach and just as firmly rooted in American history and life, yet which offers a true alternative.

There is, indeed, another persuasion within the American political tradition. It has no single name but may fairly be called Progressivism after its last great public manifestation. Progressivism is a persuasion as well-attuned to the modern epoch and the American experience as Liberalism and as well-connected with the great tradition of the Western World as Conservatism. Progressivism has its roots in the heritage of the Calvinist or Puritan-Presbyterian origins of so many American institutions and families.

While the greatest original concentration of Puritans was in New England, Puritans and Presbyterians were so thoroughly scattered throughout the American colonies that fully half the churches in the new United States in 1776 belonged to one of the Calvinist sects.

The Puritan pioneers, like the pioneers who embraced Liberalism, came to the New World to emancipate themselves from the constraints of medievalism (which they usually described as feudalism) and the shackles of the ideology that was the ancestor of contemporary Conservatism. Both looked forward to a new land for opportunity and backward beyond feudalism to the ideas of the ancient world for inspiration. But, while the founding fathers of American Liberalism sought to preserve their connections with Western culture primarily through a reliance on the classical tradition of Greece and Rome, the fathers of Progressivism sought to preserve theirs through a primary reliance on the Bible and the great tradition it had generated.

The early American Puritans sought to establish their particular "city upon a hill," a good commonwealth that would be based on the discoveries and principles of the modern epoch, by harking back to the design of the holy commonwealth of the ancient Israelites that preceeded even the Classic epoch. In adapting that design to their own circumstances, they saw the possibilities of freeing man from social and political tyranny as well as providing him with a constitutional way to be truly free.

While the Puritans and Presbyterians spread themselves over much of the Atlantic seaboard, New England was the center of Puritan influence and North Carolina the focus for Presbyterians. So, New England became the source of their world view for the North and North Carolina for the South. But, whereas the latter state was a backwater within its section, New England became the political and intellectual heartland of the North. The Yankee descendents of the early Puritans, in some respects the wiser and certainly more conscious of the limitations of Puritanism after two centuries of society-building in New England, set forth four or five generations ago to create a greater New England, a new city upon the hill in the American West. From northern Ohio to southern California they labored to plant the notions of commonwealth and material prosperity joined by their forefathers, establishing in the process societies of agrarian towns created by their own covenants, the northern wing of the Whig Party, and the reform movement that struggled to improve society in every possible respect. They and their newfound allies from other ethnic groups who shared a similar heritage, fought to defend their creations in a great civil war and later in the Populist revolt.

The sons and grandsons of the Yankees and their allies (embracing large numbers of Scandanavians, Jews, Dutch, English Canadians, Scots and smaller numbers from other groups) in turn took it upon themselves to bring the ideal commonwealth of their inheritance into the urban-industrial age two and three generations ago, during what we know as the Progressive Era. From those efforts there emerged a new crystallization of an old American tradition, the last such crystallization before the triumph of Liberalism.

The Progressive tradition, as inadequately presented and analyzed by today's historians of the Liberal persuasion, is portrayed as a welter of doctrines and a confusion of notions — all generally pointed in the direction of social reform through increased government participation in the nation's economic life, but not organized around any coherent general principles, except perhaps a reputed anti-immigrant bias. It is possible, however, to distinguish between the real Progressives and those who simply accented the Progressive rubric for the sake of achieving the specific reforms which they supported. Doing so makes it possible to distill the essence of the Progressive idea and discover its meaning for our time.

First and foremost, two basic distinctions must be made: (1) between those who wrote and theorized about Progressivism and those who were active in the political arena to advance the ends of Progressivism and (2) between the Progressive intellectuals and their allies of the Eastern cities and the Progressive political figures, business and professional men and their allies of the Western towns and countryside. Those who theorized about Progressivism in the East are generally accepted the spokesmen for the movement but their acceptance by the Progressives themselves was likely due to their utility as rationalizers of already determined courses of action. The Westerners apparently paid little attention to those rationalizers but continued to develop programs based less on immediate justifications than they were pegged to larger

"The Progressives were interested in fostering a nation of communities . . ."

principles derived from their Yankee heritage.

In sum, Easterners liked to quote Herbert Croly and Walter Weyl; Westerners liked to quote Scripture and the Declaration of Independence. The ideas of Croly and Weyl easily shaped into Liberalism when the Progressive movement was spent. Consequently, it is necessary to turn to the Western Progressives to distill the essence of Progressivism as a separate persuasion with a doctrine of its own.

From the actions and pronouncements of leading Progressives, it is possible to distill five central elements in the Progressive tradition:

1. The Progressives rejected or minimized the reality of class differences and sought through their programs to eliminate what they conceived to be external (thereby artificial and unfortunate) factors that promoted the division of American society along class lines. In this they reflected their commitment to the idea that the American common man was essentially a member of the middle class. They were, themselves, "middle class" in their orientation and background. They had faith in the American common man pursuing those solid virtues which were typical of middle class goals before the advent of the hedonistic society. Moreover, like Aristotle, they saw in the middle class and its values, properly refined, the best source of social stability and social reform.

The Progressives, themselves, had no real sense of class as a basis for social distinctions. Opposed to the

domination of the new upper class that had emerged from the Gilded Age to claim the special privileges of a *nouveau* elite, they were equally unsympathetic to a radical labor movement organized around the principles of working class consciousness. Consequently, their "middle class" was open to all who desired to enter it — it was not conceived to be simply a middle force balancing the other classes but a group that would ultimately embrace the overwhelming majority of the American people as opportunity was spread more equally. Indeed, they saw their task as one of restoring the equality of opportunity lost in the course of industrialization and urbanization. In this respect, they can be considered middle class Radicals. George Norris and Robert LaFollette, Sr., the greatest of the Progressive senators, embodied this middle class Radicalism in its highest form.

2. The Progressives were communitarian or community-minded in their orientation. Though they were interested in government assuming a larger role in society, they were opposed to collectivism in either its governmental or its corporate forms as the solution for the ills of industrial society, because they saw in it the destruction of individual freedom and, ultimately, of the democratic community which they viewed as the product of cooperation among free and more or less equal individuals. At the same time, they rejected the radical individualism of the Gilded Age (and of later generations of Conservatives) which denied the power of the community to set standards and enforce them or to provide services needed by its members.

In their understanding of the world, the Progressives perceived that individuals can gain and maintain true freedom only to the extent that they are participants in communities possessing adequate power to assure the personal security and opportunity that are the necessary prerequisites of freedom. Translated into practical political terms, they sought to strengthen the local community with its basically voluntaristic methods of self-government without hesitating to use the coercive powers of government where voluntarism could not do the job. In balance, they demanded the maintenance of competitive or countervailing powers. In this respect, they were essentially anti-bureaucratic, rejecting big organization as inimical to the community and individuality. Louis D. Brandeis, who understood "the curse of bigness," and John Dewey, who understood the need for community, typified this concern of the Progressive movement.

3. The Progressives sought to preserve continuity with the past — the American past and the great tradition of the West — even in their effort to change the consequences of immediate past behavior. Indeed, part of their approach was based on the idea that the situation they confronted was a perversion of the American tradition and that it was possible to institute changes which, while quite radical in light of that recent past, would actually be far more in harmony with the original tradition of America. In embracing this position, they equally rejected both the *status quo* stance of Conservatives and the revolutionary notions of Radicals. This attitude developed, in no small measure, because the men who were most active in the Progressive movement generally were much more closely connected with the original American idea of commonwealth than either the newly rich industrialist group which had revolutionized the nation since 1850 or the Radicals and Liberals who hoped to revolutionize it in their time. Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, who wrote history while making it, were the prime embodiments of this aspect of Progressivism.

4. The Progressives were interested in fostering a nation of communities, not in promoting a nationwide pattern of conformity. Their interest in local action, in the strengthening of the federal system at all its points, in "trustbusting" and in the maintenance of various subnational differences, all reflected their desire to allow diversity to flourish within a national framework. They wanted to encourage a harmonious community of communities — through the cultivation of diverse integrities rather than in the search for uniformity. In the last analysis, they sought to use the power of the nation as a whole and the national government to preserve community, not to destroy it. Jane Addams, Jacob Riis, and their co-workers exemplified this commitment to a diversity of communities within the context of a common society.

". . . Progressivism continues to rest upon the principle that America is basically a one-class society . . ."

5. The Progressives, though primarily city-dwellers, were strongly and positively oriented toward the preservation and enhancement of the country's natural environment. They founded the conservation movement and were devoted to it. Indeed, they were the pioneer environmental preservationists in American history. In this respect, they represented the urban dweller, American style, who went to the city for economic advantage but who did not become citified in the process. The conservation movement remains their best-known legacy. Gifford Pinchot and Steven T. Mather guided and exemplified the Progressives dedicated to this ideal.

The Progressive tradition was a casualty of World War I. After the war, the American people turned their backs on reform and, even more important, rejected the notions of individual self-discipline and self-control essential to the implementation of the Progressive program. The "roaring twenties" exemplify that rejection and the emergence of the twentieth century hedonism so antithetical to Progressivism. When the reform movement successfully reasserted itself through the New Deal in the 1930's, many of the old Progressives played decisive roles in the work, but the ideological leadership of the reformers had passed to the Liberals, who had never really agreed with the Progressives even while working with them. After the social changes of the 1920's, the Liberals, with their commitment to the elimination of social restrictions and controls, were better able to articulate the avant guard position in American society seeking government which freed citizens from economic worries as well as social restraints.

Since then, the Liberals have grown in strength and influence, a new Conservatism and a still-newer Radicalism

have emerged as the opponents of Liberalism, and the Progressive tradition has been almost forgotten. Yet the Progressive tradition is not quite dead. Scattered around the country are the inarticulate but effective heirs of the Progressive tradition. These new Progressives often are found in the highest offices of the land, only their own special outlook remains unexpressed and unpublicized.

Today, the times demand a revival of the Progressive tradition in the United States as an alternative to an increasingly bankrupt Liberalism, an increasingly irrelevant Conservatism, and an increasingly dangerous Radicalism. The Progressive alternative must be heard once again in the great debate which is now engaging the citizens of this federal republic.

A revived Progressivism should appeal to all Americans for Progressivism continues to rest upon the principle that America is basically a one-class society in which people of all economic and occupational levels share the common values of the middle class regardless of the changes those values have undergone, and whose approach to political and social change is not only conditioned by a common orientation but is focused by a commitment to the traditional goals of a middle class society.

At the same time, let it be clearly understood that a revived Progressivism dare not assume that American values are synonymous with the values and conditions of American society where today's commercial republic seems to have run amok. On the contrary, the task of a revived Progressivism includes the restoration of true understanding of and appreciation for the real values of American society, the fostering of those values in concrete ways despite the assaults against them even by their putative defenders and the elimination of the remaining pockets of those excluded from the mainstream of American life.

To these ends, a revived Progressivism will be as community-minded as always. Its adherents will seek to maintain the values of community where possible and to restore them where necessary. Just as Progressivism rejects the doctrinaire individualism of the right, so does it reject the collectivism or neo-collectivism of the left. Neither free markets nor state planning appear to be the touchstones against which all proposals for social change shall be measured. Rather, a revived Progressivism will seek linkages with those who speak of participatory democracy, an original idea of Puritans and Progressives.

Since Progressivism is founded upon the existence of the Covenant that has made Americans, in Lincoln's words, an "almost-chosen people," and values covenants as the basis of all proper social order, it does not reject the existence of an Ark of the Covenant, an ultimate truth which men and societies must constantly seek and pursue. To Progressives, all is not simply relative. Yet truth is not to be found in any of the sacred cows of the modern ideologies. Progressivism must be based on a covenant of communities each of which should be able to preserve its own integrity by entering into partnership with other communities across the nation. In answer to the competing cries that "one nation" must mean either "one way" or "any way," a revived Progressivism should seek to identify the legitimate diversities that exist in this country and the illegitimate ones that are being foisted upon us, subtly or otherwise, and to discuss means by which the former can be preserved and the latter eliminated so as to preserve and enhance the nation as a whole.

A revived Progressivism must reaffirm the value of the American heritage and its ability to speak to us today. Consequently, it will have to advocate changes that preserve continuity with that past. As in the case of the Old Progressivism, this implies a commitment to the future that recognizes that change is part of our tradition. The past should have a vote, not a veto — but it should have that vote.

". . . Liberalism has run aground on its own presuppositions . . ."

Finally, and perhaps most important, a revived Progressivism must be concerned with conservation of our environment and all its resources in the fullest sense of the term. The fundamental ecological orientation of Progressivism must remain the basic attribute that it was in the past so that a new Progressive movement will concentrate its efforts on the enhancement of our people's relationship with the natural environment of this richly endowed country, to preserve our cities as extensions of that environment rather than as means by which to reject it and to preserve our countryside in such a manner that it enhances civilization as civilization enhances it.

It is this writer's firm belief that many millions of Americans share the Progressive vision of American society, inarticulate as it may presently be, and that even now many of the rising generation of political leaders are operating according to some intuitive perception of that vision. However, at a time when the very consensus that binds Americans together is being challenged and the nation's social compact is being renegotiated that is not enough. The Progressive persuasion itself needs to be articulated and the vision restored to public view.

To this end, all who care to participate in the effort must be mobilized to enunciate principles that will clarify that vision and to forge policies and programs that will help achieve its goals. ■

Duly Noted

● **"Is It True What They Say About The New York Times?"** by John C. Ottinger and Patrick D. Maines. **National Review,** September 15, 1972. Apparently not, if one is referring to the vintage Agnew attacks on the balance of **NYT** news coverage. Ottinger and Maines analyzed **NYT** reporting on Sen. James L. Buckley's 1970 election campaign; the 1969 ABM debate in the Senate; the 1969 Haynsworth nomination to the Supreme Court; Vice President Spiro Agnew's 1969 tangle with the TV networks; and President Nixon's 1972 decision to mine North Vietnam's ports and concluded that the **NYT** "news performance in terms of balance between Right and Left may not be flawless, but it must be rated very high," and then suggested: "conservatives — and all other Americans — could be more confident if other major media measured up to the same standard."

● **Politeia,** The Quarterly of the American Association of Political Consultants. (Holt Information Systems, Inc., 383 Madison Ave., New York 10007; $15 for Fall '72 issue plus all four '73 issues.) Yes, there is ethics in politics — at least among political consultants — according to F. Clifton White, president of AAPC, and editor Gus Tyler. **Politeia** is a well-crafted attempt to describe and refine the art of campaign politics. It may be unnerving, but political consulting is not synonomous with dirty politics, according to Tyler. In fact, he says, one of the goals of AAPC and **Politeia** is to "establish a Marquis of Queensbury set of rules in the political arena. It seeks to light a small ethical candle in the factional hurricanes." With authors like fundraising expert Herbert E. Alexander, titles like "Let's Cut the Baloney about Political Advertising," and topics like Congressman Peter Rodino's (D-N.J.) primary victory in a predominantly black district, **Politeia** lives up to its editorial promise with a compelling product. Those for whom politics is dull, if not dirty, will find **Politeia** refreshing and fascinating.

● **"Chairman of the Board,"** by Andrew J. Glass. **The New Leader,** September 18, 1972. "There is a distinct corporate flavor to Richard Nixon's drive to crush George McGovern . . ." As, for example, the report of the chairman of the board at Miami Beach: "To hear (Chairman Nixon) tell it, Vietnam was a poorly conceived investment by a previous inept management, which your management has skillfully converted into a small nonrecurring loss. It is interesting to note, the chairman concluded, that the research department has definitely ascertained that George McGovern, a dissident minor stockholder, seeks to bankrupt the company after first dishonoring its credit in world markets. Thank you very much for your interest and please don't forget to leave your proxies with management November 3 correctly filled out." Not a word in the chairman's report about the embarrassments in corporate espionage or the dubious business practices in the milk and wheat product operations.

● **"Nixon Rides High Horse,"** by David Broder. **Washington Post,** August 29, 1972. "The danger to Richard Nixon's high-riding campaign can be summarized in one word: Smugness." Broder points out that the voters are not as satisfied as President Nixon might believe them to be and concludes with this suggestion, "There is after all a distinction between being on the high road and being on your high horse. The best advice anyone could give the President would be: Dismount."

● **Youth in Politics: Expectations and Realities,** by Sidney Hyman. (New York: Basic Books, 1972, $8.95.) **Youth in Politics** is a valuable backward look at a decade of student political activity, with a special focus on the effect young campaign workers had on the congressional elections of 1970. The first third of Hyman's study is a narrative of the student movements of the 1960's, beginning (symbolically) with John Kennedy's Inaugural Address, and winding its way through accounts of SNCC, the Free Speech Movement, SDS, Columbia, teach-ins, mobilizations, moratoriums, Cambodia and Kent State, and the 1970 Princeton Plan for a two-week pre-election academic recess.

All of this is worthwhile history, but the book may be of little more than retrospective interest because of the signal changes which have taken place in the last two years: (1) the lowering of the voting age to 18; (2) the shortening of residence requirements to 30 days; (3) the liberalization of absentee ballot procedures; and (4) the fact that most students are now permitted to register and vote on their college campuses. Hyman has evaluated the role of "youth in politics" based on their success as campaign workers, asking, "Can young people alter electoral outcomes by persuading older voters of the virtue of their cause?" The question relevant in 1972 is, "Can new voters be organized by their peers and others such that these 18-24 year olds will exercise a critical influence on all future elections?"

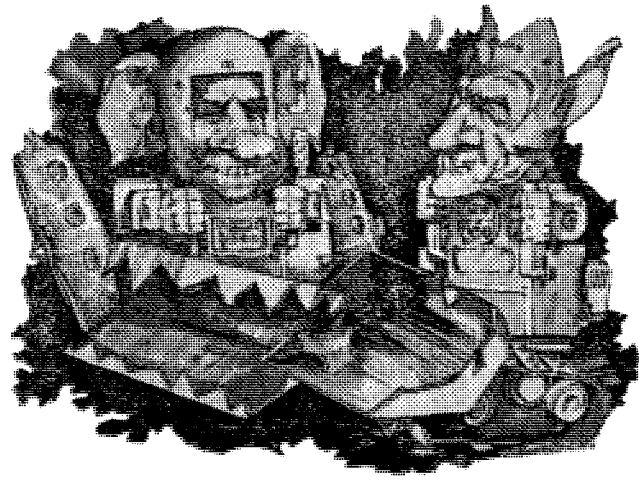
Though the results of this year's contests are as yet unknown, the validity of several propositions already seems assured. First, the young are not politically homogeneous. They are not all liberal McGovern collegians. Two-thirds of the 1972 new voters have never attended college, the majority are middle-of-the-road independents, and Nixon appears likely to capture a plurality of this vote in November. Second, young people constitute a substantial portion of the total electorate, and for those candidates willing to appeal to this group, a ready pool of enthusiastic and often-sophisticated volunteers awaits the call. This is particularly the case in those areas (such as university towns) in which youthful voters cluster. The import of these propositions is that the young have at last — politically — come of age. — Reviewed by PETER BAUGHER.

● **"The Myth of New Majorities,"** by James L. Sundquist. **Washington Post,** September 24, 1972. Adapted from his soon-to-be-published book **(Dynamics of the Party System),** Sundquist details why "no fundamental realignment" of the American political system is likely to occur in 1972 — just as it failed to occur in 1964 and 1968. According to Sundquist, "the essential condition for realignment has not developed. While the new issues have cut across and distributed the existing alignment, and while they have aroused great passion and dominated political debate, they have not driven the major parties to opposite poles." Sundquist has the graphs and charts to show why. Kevin Phillips, are you listening?

● **Your Child And Busing,** published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Publication No. 36, May 1972. Reviewing the history of busing and desegregation in the U.S., the Commission on Civil Rights concludes, "Busing is a last resort and only that. But when all other tools are ineffective, school districts have the duty to use the last remaining tool to meet their constitutional obligation." A logical, reflective assessment.

● **Target '72: Sixty Days to Victory, A Program for Voter Identification and Turnout.** Published by the Political/Research Division of the Republican National Committee, 310 First St., S.E., Washington, D.C., 20003 (in cooperation with the Committee for the Re-election of the President). A Republican campaign organizer's manual to "four more years," from boiler room to ballot box.

● **Business and Society Review,** 89 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. (Quarterly, $24 per year.) The new quarterly



is edited by Theodore Cross, author of **Black Capitalism,** and will specialize in issues concerning business accountability and corporate reform. The current issue includes an interview with economist Milton Friedman by contributing editor John McLaughry, also a frequent contributor to the FORUM. Friedman condemns the idea of corporate social responsibility as "utter hogwash" incompatible with Friedman's belief that the sole responsibility of corporate executives is to "make as much money for their stockholders as possible."

● **"A New Look in Welfare: McGovern Takes the Middle,"** by Jodi Allen. **Washington Post,** August 31, 1972. Ms. Allen extends her criticism of the Nixon welfare program (June 1972 FORUM) to George McGovern's modified, but still badly flawed, proposal. "The Senator has made precisely the wrong choice," she writes. "He stuck with his $4,000 guarantee but abandoned the principle of universality whereas he should have done just the opposite." She proposes a $2,800 guarantee for all the poor (including the childless), a maximum 50 percent tax (from all sources on the earnings of the poor), a guaranteed job with a wage pegged at 90 percent of the minimum wage, and mandatory maintenance of current state welfare benefits. "The plan," she says, "would guarantee a minimum income of $4,600 ($3,600 wage, $1,000 supplement) for all families with an able-bodied member, provide a reasonable incentive for work effort for all the poor and protect current welfare recipients in high payment states from loss of benefits."

● **"Symposium on the Future of American Federalism,"** with articles by William Safire, Richard Nathan, Thomas Huston and Wendell Hulcher. **Publius** (Spring, 1972). Published by the Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, Penn. 19122. This publication reprints the important policy debate in the White House on the nature of the "new Federalism" and its implications for decentralization and administrative reform.

● **"The Black Dilemma if Nixon Wins,"** by Arthur A. Fletcher. **Wall Street Journal,** September 25, 1972. Fletcher, a former Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Nixon Administration, claims that blacks have effectively ruined opportunities to be politically effective in the Nixon Administration. Now executive director of the United Negro College Fund, Fletcher says blacks could have benefitted from the example or organized labor, which while it disagreed with the Administration in as many areas as black leaders, gave the Administration strong support in areas like the Vietnam War. Organized labor therefore became an object of Administration courting, thereby increasing organized labor's impact. Blacks generally spurned Administration policy proposals across the board — and thus the support of blacks was written off — as, effectively, were any policy alternatives which might have been beneficial to blacks. Fletcher argues that blacks have to treat a second Nixon Administration with less hostility if they wish to be politically effective. He suggests that if blacks "take a page out of labor's book and become political pragmatists in the same way that such traditional Nixon opponents as the Jews and Chicanos have found ways to accommodate the President, then they might be able to achieve a share in the leadership of the (human rights) movement."

● **Giap Teaches Us a Lesson — But It's Over Our Heads,** by Craig R. Whitney. **New York Times Magazine,** September 24, 1972. According to **New York Times** Saigon Bureau Chief Craig Whitney, the lesson of South Vietnamese history has fallen on the deaf ears of American officials who prefer not to recognize the tenacity of the North Vietnamese War efforts. As a result, American officials continue to underestimate the devastating impact that the 1968 Tet offensive and this year's spring thrust had on South Vietnam's military effectiveness and civilian morale. And the lesson of that, says Whitney, "Seems to be that, if we do not withdraw now, in 1976 we will still be committed to holding up the flagging will of our South Vietnamese allies with money, bombs and air crews." Whitney views the damages inflicted by the U.S. on North Vietnam not as ending the war, but as opening a new stage — "a long one, with which the South Vietnamese will not be able to cope unless the Americans continue to help them on a massive scale." Four more years.

● **"Rusher Sees Dismal Choice for Conservatives,"** by William A. Rusher. **The Idaho Statesman,** September 1, 1972. "I believe that conservatism and therefore America, would on balance be better off — actually do better — in raw policy terms — under, and in spite of, a President McGovern." Unlike his **National Review** associates, magazine publisher Rusher isn't backing Nixon. He won't vote.

● **"Wanted: Some Big Prosecutions,"** by William Buckley. **Boston Globe,** September 22, 1972. Perhaps we should be grateful that Bill Buckley has publicly suggested that the Nixon Administration vigorously prosecute "some of the Big People in America" such as "recalcitrant generals," "tax cheats," and "influence peddlers." But **National Review's** editor is not concerned about the judicial equity of such prosecutions nor about the strain and alienation which repeated scandals encouraged among America's citizens. No, Bill Buckley is concerned about "helping to restore faith in Mr. Nixon" and "increasing Mr. Nixon's vote of confidence in November." Nary a word about propriety, but maybe Buckley can carry expediency one point further. If the President could unhinge himself from the Thieu regime, stop the bombing, and bring the POW's home, wouldn't such actions also increase the margins of a vote of 'confidence?' As well as pointing the "gun barrel at some of the Big People in America," we look forward to a future Buckley column suggesting we point the gun barrel **away** from the Little People in Southeast Asia.

Note: Contributions to Duly Noted are appreciated. Notes on books, articles and other media presentations should be addressed to DULY NOTED, Ripon Society, 14A Eliot Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

LETTERS

A Call to Excellence?

It is my sad purpose to disassociate myself from the Ripon Society's endorsement of the Nixon-Agnew ticket.

The reasons are contained in the many editorials and policy statements of the Ripon Society over the past four years. I had been laboring under the apparent delusion that such prose served a function beyond the literary exercise indulged in by the authors.

Those who have argued that this endorsement will improve the Society's relations with the Republican Party seem oblivious to the fact that to most of the party, the Society will be anathema regardless of this action, and to the fact that the minority would continue to seek Ripon's services despite a non-endorsement.

I look forward to the rationale, four years hence, for supporting the Agnew-Brock ticket. "A call to excellence in leadership" is apparently a phrase with ironic overtones.

HOWARD L. REITER
Vice President, Ripon Society
Mishawaka, Indiana

Editor's Note: The Ripon Society endorsed President Nixon in the September FORUM.

Ripon Rebuked

When I first joined the Society it was for the reason that I felt the Ripon Society could offer a positive and constructive liberal influence on the Republican Party; that the Ripon Society could offer opposition to right wing party members, such as Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon. As soon as Nixon was elected, however, the Ripon Society started modifying its position and moving toward the Nixon ideology — basically to gain favor with the powers-to-be. And now in 1972 the Ripon Society has actually supported President Nixon's economic, Vietnam, and his governmental policies — if not directly at least by indirect methods by approving of him generally.

How the Ripon Society can now support Nixon's Vietnam policy knowing that it is nothing more than the same blind attitudes professed by the former President before him, is extremely hard to understand. It is increasingly obvious that the Nixon policy for getting out of Vietnam is to bomb the North into submission — a policy advocated by Goldwater in 1964 and one that has failed repeatedly every time someone has attempted it.

Nixon has consistently used deceit and half-truths to convince the Nation that he is doing the right thing. While saying that we are getting out of Vietnam and Indochina, he increases the bombing to levels never before considered and increases Naval strength. At the same time troops are secretly kept in neighboring countries.

While saying that he is helping the economy, he continues to favor those with the financial wealth and ignores the rest of the Nation under the pretext that the mega-corporations are the only ones who can save the economy. He continues to favor the destruction of family farms and rural areas by corporation farms and developers.

While saying that he supports education, he sets out to reduce support for education, vocational schools, and scientific research. He has not dissuaded military research. Support is not necessarily money, it is also technical support, political support, and moral support — he refuses all to education.

President Nixon has not changed from the Richard Nixon of 1952 or 1956 or even 1960; he has only become self-conscious of his own political well-being.

I was disillusioned as a Republican in 1969 and that disillusionment has not gotten any less, only more so.

His position on busing is no more than a cover-up for the real issue facing the country — and that issue is the BIGOTRY and RACISM that exists in America. It is not a matter of neighborhood schools, it is a matter of whether or not all Americans can have an equal opportunity.

My word to the Ripon Society is that Richard Nixon stands for everything the Society has fought against since its beginning in the Republican Party. Have the members lost sight of this fact? This is not the time to stop putting new life into American Society just so an alliance can be had with the White House.

I invite all rational and honest Ripon Society members and Republicans to support George McGovern also. Can the Country or, for that matter, the Republican Party, afford four more years of Richard Nixon?

STEVEN D. BERKSHIRE
Indianapolis, Indiana

McGovern Endorsed

Richard Nixon in his acceptance speech at the Republican convention accused George McGovern of abandoning traditional Democratic Party principles and urged Democrats to "come home" to those principles by voting for Nixon in November. The other side of this coin is the problem faced by Republican voters who have watched Nixon systematically embrace the opposition's program and rhetoric while abandoning certain traditional Republican principles. I believe that in three decisive areas George McGovern represents traditional Republican principles better than Richard Nixon and that Republicans who seek to be faithful to these principles rather than to party success in holding office have good reasons to vote for McGovern. The three betrayed principles are: restraint in the use of military force and the making of treaty commitments in foreign countries; defense of the soundness of the dollar as a symbol of our good faith in dealing with other nations; and reluctance to involve the Federal Government in the detailed management of the economy.

Nixon's record in these three areas is abysmal from a Republican point of view. He has labelled as "isolationist" those who seek a return to the principles of restraint and non-intervention that guided the United States for the first 160 years of its existence. He does this because he has embraced a characteristically Democratic policy of multiplying U.S. "commitments" to foreign factions and propping up those factions with military and economic aid. The litmus test for this decision is Vietnam where Nixon, instead of liquidating an historically improbable commitment of no practical relevance to American security, has reinforced and extended it and in the process undertaken military measures of extreme, perhaps unparalled, brutality. The negotiations Nixon has carried on with Russia and China have entangled us further in precisely the kind of great-power web of international politics that Americans abhorred from the time of Washington to the time of Roosevelt. I think that Americans in the past had good reasons for their reluctance to become embroiled in the moral ambiguities and practical risks of balance of power politics, and Republicans have traditionally been among the most eloquent in stating those reasons and the stoutest in acting on them.

The second Republican tradition betrayed by Nixon is defense of the value of the dollar. The difficulty America has had in defending the dollar is a direct consequence of the inflated "commitments" of Democratic Presidents. Nixon was forced to devalue the dollar because of his decision to maintain and extend those "commitments." The manner in which devaluation was carried out was shocking in its disrespect for other nations. For many months we were treated to the spectacle of a Democratic Secretary of the Treasury intimidating other nations with the threat of American default. Instead of treating international finance, the most delicate of institutions, as a matter of mutual interest and sober respect, the Nixon Administration undertook an exercise in bullying and bluff.

The third of Nixon's betrayals of Republican tradition is his adoption of the Democratic habit of detailed intervention in the economy, often in response to special interests. This tendency manifested itself early in his term in Administration support for the SST subsidy and the Lockheed Loan. It reached a climax with Nixon's adoption of wage and price controls, which were superfluous in reducing inflation but committed the government to substantial and continuous intervention in private economic decision-making. At the same time Nixon allowed his promising anti-bureaucratic position on welfare reform to degenerate into a punitive bill riddled with administrative nightmares like eligibility requirements depending on a vague concept of "inability to work." The traditional Republican arguments that private decision-making is likely to be better than government's in

most economic matters, and that constant government intervention weakens the fabric of democracy by making the fortunes of large groups of people dependent on favorable or unfavorable government decisions, seem to have been forgotten by Richard Nixon.

Politics rarely exhibits clearcut betrayals of party position. The vagueness and flexibility of party pronouncements and the exigencies of history tend to make almost any position seem consistent in some way with party tradition. Any particular Republican has his own sense of what is central to Republican philosophy and what is peripheral. I find the three principles I have been discussing here: restraint in foreign policy, defense of the dollar as a symbol of good faith, and reluctance to involve the Federal Government in the detailed management of the economy, the most attractive and central pillars of Republican tradition. There is no doubt in my mind that Richard Nixon has betrayed these principles and that he cannot therefore command my support as a Republican. The case that George McGovern represents these principles is weaker but not unpersuasive, especially because I find the question of restraint in foreign policy to be the most important issue in 1972 and in some sense the key to the other issues. I choose McGovern.

DUNCAN FOLEY
Cambridge, Mass.

Ripon Disendorsed

This has been a year of startling political developments, but none has been more startling to me than the decision this September of the Ripon National Governing Board to endorse Richard Nixon for re-election.

By endorsing Nixon, Ripon is accepting a certain responsibility for his actions during the next four years. Knowing what we do, this is not a responsibility I can assume. I am, therefore, withdrawing from the National Governing Board and from Ripon. I continue to cling to the Republican Party though there is very little room left for me. Hopefully, Ripon (if it is not plundered by ambition) will reassert its high standards, and I shall be able to rejoin in the future.

KEN KAISERMAN
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Credibility

If moderate, liberal Republicans wish to maintain their credibility and their future as a force to be reckoned with in coming political years, 1972 must be the year in which those Republicans decide to put principle ahead of party. In other words, they should work for the defeat of Richard M. Nixon.

The precedent for such "disloyalty" was clearly enunciated by the Nixon Administration two years ago when Vice President Spiro Agnew, no doubt with some encouragement, refused to support the "radical-liberal" Republican Senate candidate from New York, Charles Goodell, due to "principle." There were also other progressive GOP Senate candidates — notably Spaulding in Massachusetts, Garland in Virginia, Ellicker in Washington, and Danforth in Missouri — where the Administration refused the moderate wing of the party its assistance, and in some cases actually gave low-key assistance to candidates other than those running on the Republican ticket.

Looking at the record, there are shortcomings in both the President and his Democratic challenger, South Dakota Senator George McGovern. But, after four years of Nixon, the nation ought to be willing to give McGovern a chance. Or, at least, willing to welcome a change.

An honest assessment of George McGovern will indicate that while he is basically less close to the philosophy of the "New Politics" than many of the delegates who nominated him, he is nonetheless more open and less wedded to the blunders of the past than is Richard Nixon.

George McGovern's campaign, which began in the New Hampshire primary without the backing of vested interests or "professional" politicians, has emerged from the status of an obscure protest movement to a people's crusade for change. While McGovern has demonstrated himself to be personally still something of an old politician — witness his backtracking on his "progressive" economic proposals and tax reform ideas, and other areas where he has become less of an imaginative leader now that he has the nomination — his campaign is still the best available vehicle of hope on the political scene.

MICHAEL McCRERY
Idaho Falls, Idaho

CORRECTIONS

In the September FORUM, book reviewer Barry Chabot was incorrectly listed as Bruce Chabot. Due to a typographical error in the FORUM analysis of Vietnam, "Bombs Aren't Defused," the figure for Vietnam war dead was listed as "57 percent." It should have been "47 percent." Professor Robert Donaldson was a major contributor to the September FORUM on the Nixon Administration Record. His name was omitted from the list of contributors. Another major contributor was Robert E. Hunter, senior fellow of the Overseas Development Council and the major author of the article on Overseas Economics: "Trading for World Peace."

14a ELIOT STREET

● **New Jersey Chapter** president **Richard Zimmer** has been named to a key leadership post in Sen. Clifford Case's re-election effort. **Al Felzenberg, an NGB** member, is a CRP field man for Essex, Passaic, and Hudson Counties.

● Additional **New York Chapter** members running for office this fall include **David Arens,** seeking election as a civil court judge in Manhattan and **Jane Weld,** who is running for election in the 52nd Assembly District in Brooklyn.

● The **New York Chapter** held two meetings in September. **Floravante G. Perrotta,** former New York City Administrator and currently head of the New York City CRP efforts, addressed a September 19 meeting. Assembly Speaker **Perry Duryea** spoke to a combined meeting of Ripon, the Met Club and New York Young Republicans on September 28. New chapter officers include **Kathy Ritchell,** secretary; **Linda Asay,** vice president for publicity; **Ann Heavner** as vice president for community affairs; **Ed Goldberg** as chairman for financial planning; **Lewis Stone** as chairman of legislative action and **Sal Sclafani** as Chairman for Environmental Problems.

● The **Washington Chapter** hosted guest speaker **William V. Shannon** September 26. Shannon, a member of the **New York Times** editorial board, traced the problems of the GOP's moderate wing to Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's decision to drop out of the presidential race in 1960.

● The **Memphis Chapter** was responsible for the August 3 primary night coverage of Shelby County Precincts for WMC-TV in Memphis. The effort, which was organized by **Linda Miller,** stimulated favorable comment from WMC and local Republican officials. Another Memphis' new NGB representatives are Chapter presigrad on a Fulbright Scholarship, working on her Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Chicago.

● The **Memphis Chapter** received full chapter status at the NGB meeting September 10, in Philadelphia. Memphis' new NGB representatives are Chapter President **William Whitten,** an attorney, **Robert Lanier,** also an attorney, and **Mary Sullivan,** a stockbroker.

● **New York Chapter** Vice-President **Glenn Gerstell** and NGB member **Tanya Melich** have been named deputy campaign managers for the Nixon campaign in New York City, while former NGB Chairman **John Price** has been named to head CRP efforts in Queens.

● The "Committee of a Whole Bunch of People Who Want to Clean Up the Mess in Harrisburg and Elect Jon Vipond Representative" are doing just that for National Associate Member **Jon Vipond** in Pennsylvania's 114th legislative district near Scranton. Vipond, a law clerk to the President Judge of the Commonwealth Court, defeated the party-endorsed candidate in an April primary and is now engaged in a tough fight against a four-term Democratic incumbent.

● **Washington Chapter** member **Howard A. Cohen** has been appointed Assistant Director of the Cost of Living Council by COLC Executive Director Donald Rumsfeld. Cohen was previously a member of the White House staff.

Forum Reader Survey

In July 1971, the publication schedule of the Ripon FORUM was changed to accommodate a mid-month newsletter as well as the traditional monthly magazine. Now, after 15 months under this bi-monthly publication schedule, the Society is evaluating this format and formulating plans for the future. Consequently, we would appreciate your cooperation in completing this Reader Survey. Please attach any additional comments you may have after answering this questionnaire and mail it to FORUM READER SURVEY, 14a Eliot Street, Cambridge, Mass., 02138 by October 30, 1972. (Use the inserted subscription envelope to mail your reply.) Your evaluation of our past performance and ideas for the future will be important in our planning.

1. What date did you receive this issue of the FORUM? .....

2. What feature of the FORUM do you find most valuable? (Circle One)
   Letters; 14A Eliot Street; People in Politics; Political Notes; Book Reviews; Substantive Policy Proposals; Editorials; Political Analysis, State Political Reports; Duly Noted.
   Comments: .....

3. What feature of the FORUM do you read first? (Circle One)
   Letters; 14A Eliot Street; People in Politics; Political Notes; Book Reviews; Substantive Policy Proposals; Editorials; Political Analysis, State Political Reports; Duly Noted.
   Comments: .....

4. Which features of the FORUM would you like to see expanded? (Circle one or more)
   Letters; 14A Eliot Street; People in Politics; Political Notes; Book Reviews; Substantive Policy Proposals; Editorials; Political Analysis, State Political Reports; Duly Noted.
   Comments: .....

5. Do you read only parts of the FORUM? ..... If the answer is yes, why don't you read the complete issue? .....
   .....

6. Which do you find more valuable — the FORUM magazine or newsletter? (Circle one)
   Comments: .....

7. What aspect of public policy would you like to see covered more thoroughly in future issues of the FORUM? .....

8. What aspect of the FORUM has most dissatisfied you? .....
   .....

9. In what additional ways do you think the FORUM could improve? .....
   .....

10. Which published format for the FORUM would you prefer? (Circle one)
    a. the present format of a monthly magazine and a monthly newsletter.
    b. a semi-monthly political newsletter with occasional substantive articles, plus a FORUM quarterly in which each issue would be devoted to a particular subject, such as criminal justice.
    c. other. (Please explain) .....

11. What other publications do you read? (Circle)

DAILIES:	WEEKLIES:	MONTHLIES:	QUARTERLIES:
New York Times	*Time*	*Harper's*	*Public Interest*
Washington Post	*Newsweek*	*Atlantic*	*Foreign Affairs*
Wall Street Journal	*Saturday Review*	*Washington Monthly*	*Foreign Policy*
Christian Science Monitor	*New Republic*	*Fortune*	*Others*: .....
Other:	*National Review*	*Others*:	.....
.....	*Other*:	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....