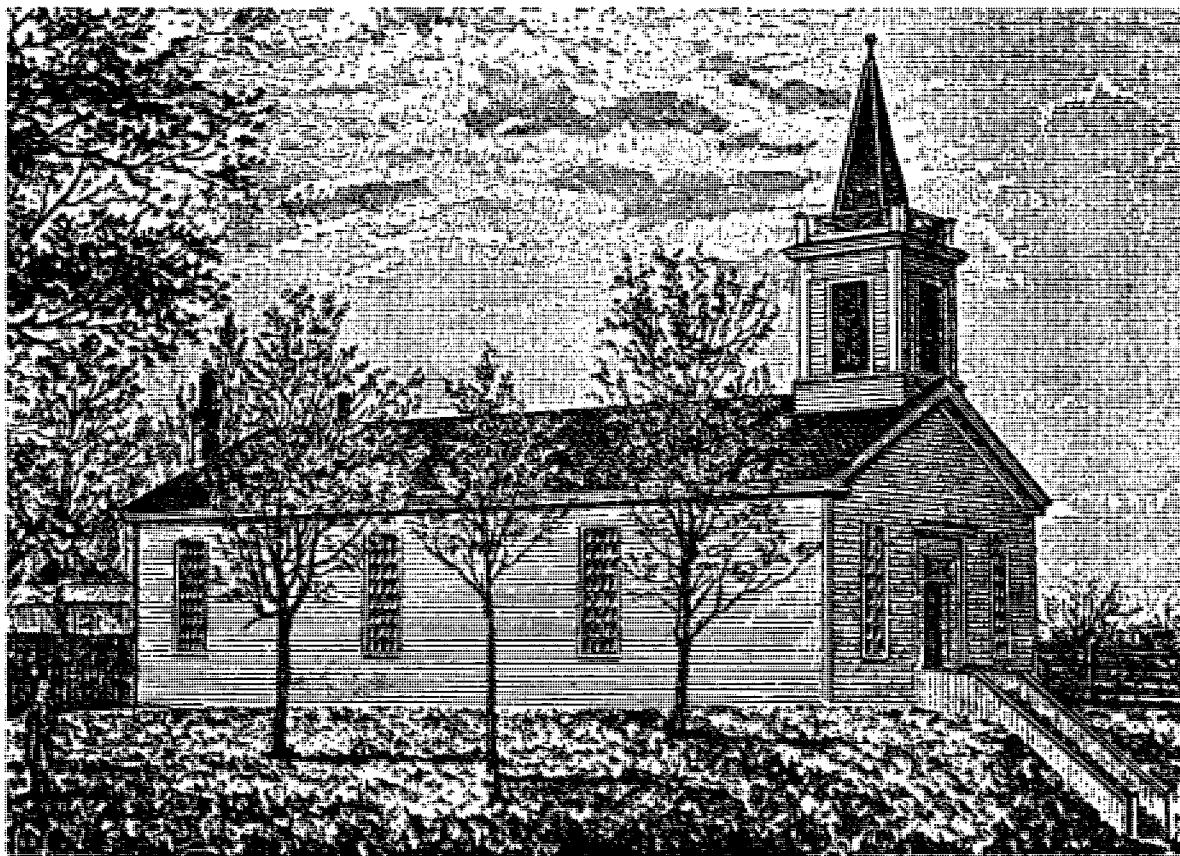


RIPON FORUM

JULY 1968

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ONE DOLLAR



First Congregational Church, Ripon, Wisconsin

(Wisconsin Historical Society)

AN ATLANTIC FREE TRADE AREA?

by Douglas Jay

*discussion: Thomas H. Curtis
Paul Findley*

THE NEED FOR PRAGMATISM

by Nelson A. Rockefeller

GAULLISM IN THE EAST

by Stephen Jones

CRIME AND THE GHETTO

by Ralph F. Salerno

discussion: Joseph M. McDade

AFTER ROBERT F. KENNEDY

An editorial

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

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EDITORIAL POINTS

America, Woodrow Wilson once said, is the country where you cannot overthrow the government by killing the leaders. For the strength of American democracy abides not in famous men but in institutions that have the support of the people.

The same cannot be said for the strength of America's political parties in 1968. Leadership is especially critical this year because the national parties themselves are weak and in flux. Their supporting institutions — the National Committees, task forces, young people's groups, women's federations and advisory boards — are unknown to the people. Hence the need for responsible leaders to bring enthusiasm, commitment and external resources into what would otherwise be the empty shells of national party organization.

No man brought more formidable assets into the political system this year than Robert F. Kennedy. His death is a tragic loss not simply because it robs the country of his personal qualities — his energy, his realism, his passion — but because it deprives national politics of something larger than Kennedy himself: an experienced brain trust, a far-flung network of political allies, an alert legislative staff, a valuable set of international contacts.

The Kennedy machine was a well-balanced one. It combined the arm-twisting of the old politics with the mass appeal of the new. It performed well both in inventing slogans and in drafting legislation to back them up. Its proposals for change had credibility because standing behind them were capable administrators both within and outside government.

All this does not mean that Robert Kennedy would have made an ideal nominee or a great president. But it did mean that his presence on the national stage challenged his rivals to surpass his efforts.

Kennedy was a goad to the Democratic Party to renew itself. He seemed to want to rescue his Party from the mistakes of the past eight years: the blithe faith in statist liberalism that was alienating both its lower middle class and Negro constituencies; the naive assumption that noble words and symbolic acts could substitute for patient, even plodding administration. In international affairs, Kennedy was the spokesman for a bitter group of advisers, who, having laid the groundwork for the Vietnam war, were outraged to see it turned into the sole focus of national foreign policy. True, Kennedy's campaign divided the Democratic Party. But it also made pos-

sible the reuniting of a more vigorous and realistic party in the fall.

For Republicans, Kennedy's campaign presented a different kind of challenge: it threatened to appropriate GOP programs and use them to win voters in metropolitan areas. Republicans had spoken about the need for private sector involvement in urban problems; Kennedy had introduced legislation about it. Republicans had sounded off on crime and lawlessness; Kennedy as Attorney General had brought prosecution of Organized Crime to an all-time high. Republicans liked to complain about the tax burden on middle-income people; Kennedy had channeled this talk into the constructive issue of tax reform. So long as Kennedy was around, Republicans had to make good their rhetoric about decentralization, private initiative, fiscal responsibility and law and order.

With his murder, the pressures for renewal in the two-party system are weaker. Democrats are less likely to revise their ossified concepts of government. Republicans are less apt to outgrow their obstructionist rhetoric and apply to national issues the imagination and administrative skills they have shown in state and local government. For a Party to restore itself, it needs controversy. Yet the voices preaching party unity have never been louder, or more self-serving.

We preach something else. In the weeks before the conventions both parties need insurrection. Only that party which is healthy enough to encourage debate, to permit the confrontation of men and ideas in open convention will have the strength to govern the country. We hope this will be our Party.

In the years beyond the conventions, that party will flourish which can institutionalize the spirit of ferment and innovation that Robert Kennedy was able to personify. We are working to make this our Party.

* * * * *

George Wallace has been telling people that his campaign has nothing to do with racism. Anyone who reads his campaign literature knows this to be untrue. The latest document: a pamphlet by a superannuated Columbia University professor arguing that Negroes are genetically inferior and ought therefore to be put in segregated schools. If the Republican Party is still the Party of Lincoln, it will pass a resolution at its convention in Miami, condemning racism.

NOTES FROM WASHINGTON

● Senate Republicans lost a valuable leader in Thomas H. Kuchel. Since his very first vote in the Senate in the early weeks of 1953 attempting to repeal Rule 22, Kuchel has been recognized as an independent and progressive thinker. His career is full of courageous and outstanding performance including his work extending medicare to cover all people over 65 and involving the private sector; leading the fight for conservation and wilderness measures; leading the successful bipartisan effort to amend dramatically the McCellan Bill of Rights for Labor; supporting the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency foreign aid and the United Nations. It is understating it to say his role in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was exceptional and indispensable. His battle against extremists including the Birchers has marked his political career. He beat a right-winger in the 1962 primary by about three to one and his principled decision in not supporting Ronald Reagan in 1966 presented him with a difficult political problem in 1968.

● Since December of last year, the Republican Co-ordinating Committee has issued some 16 major position papers covering a wide range of subjects. It must be said that while concentrating on rebuilding the Republican Party organizationally, Ray Bliss has not ignored the importance of issues. There have been nearly 50 papers issued under the auspices of the Co-ordinating Committee since Bliss took over—not a bad record for a Party that was considered in November 1964 as derelict in thinking. Not all the papers are of high quality; in fact, some of the staff work has been less than objective and balanced, some of the task force appointments reflect more politics than care, and certainly the results in foreign and defense policy are unworthy of a "thinking" Party. Nevertheless, papers on "Urban Education: Problems and Priorities," "An Economy in Crisis," "New Directions for Urban America," and "Modern Urban Transportation" show a willingness to join the last half of the twentieth century. Now that the desire to grapple with the issues is firmly established, it would be appropriate for the next 50 statements to begin creating new solutions rather than relying on the present formula: one percent innovation, ninety-nine percent reiteration.

● Congressman John Dellenback has his own "Congressional Scholars Program." School authorities in his district of Oregon choose 12 students who are guests of the Dellenbacks in Washington. The program is designed to "give these scholars an opportunity to meet some of the people and observe as many as possible of the procedures and structures through which and in which our National government lives and performs its function."

● The Poor Peoples Campaign Liason Committee (some 30 members of the House and Senate led by Republicans Edward Brooke and Ogden Reid and Democrats Philip Hart and Charles Diggs and with full leadership blessings) is swinging into full action with subcommittees on the problems of food, welfare, jobs, housing, long-range planning and administration and coordination. Republicans John Anderson (Ill.) Garner Shriver (Kansas), Albert Quie (Minn.), William McCulloch (Ohio) among others demonstrate that this is no phoney liberal group, but one hard bent on meeting some of the realistic demands of the marchers, and as a by-product tempering Congressional criticism. The Campaign itself has embarrassed many a Joel T. Broyhill and Strom Thurmond. If the Poor People's non-violence and their unusual success in living through the worst of conditions (including two feet of mud) doesn't shake the latter officials' belief in "shooting" as a solution to the problems of the poor, nothing will.

● The Republicans still have an issue in Congressional Reform, if they want it. Although not a very exciting topic, the record is solidly on the Republican side. Since March 7, 1967, the House Rules Committee has held up the Senate passed bill, even upon the unanimous urging of the entire House Republican membership to bring the Senate bill onto the floor. Republican initiative has been good in this area, starting with the work of the Task Force which produced *We Propose*, published by McGraw Hill in 1966. Politics now dictate that the leaders of house reform, Thomas Curtis (Mo.), James Cleveland (N.H.) and Durward Hall (Mo.) stifle movement by more vigorous Republicans for a discharge petition in the fears that the Rules Committee would release and the House would pass Democrat Brooks' (Texas friend of LBJ's) watered-down version—enough to claim victory for the Democrats and subvert Congressional reform for years. In the meantime, three \$24,000 a year salaries are still being paid for "consulting" work that has been completed for well over a year.

● The proposed Republican Party Center to be built on Capital Hill looks like an outdated mental institution. The Party is apparently again turning down the opportunity to demonstrate some identification with contemporary thought and innovative initiative. It is hoped that the design of the structure will not reflect the Party's thinking for the future.

● It is always a compliment to be used as a reference by *Congressional Quarterly* in their impartial, solidly researched Special Reports. Their paper, "The Military Industrial Complex" used the Ripon's paper on the "Southwestern Military Industrial Complex" as one of their very few secondary sources.

Organized Crime and the Ghetto

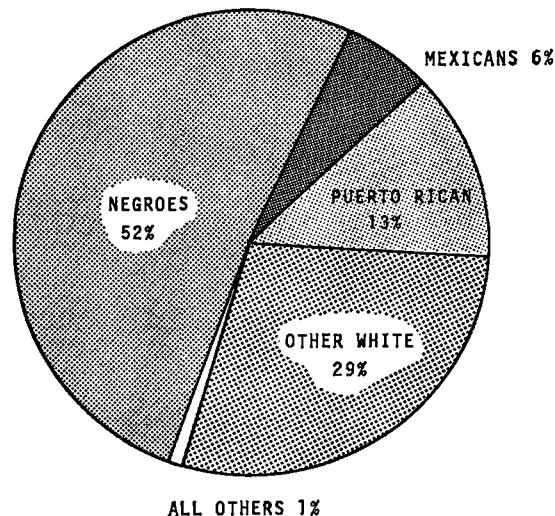
If the possibility of an accord in Vietnam should become a reality, the focus of national attention will be directed toward two important domestic issues: poverty and crime. Perhaps then, a relationship between the two which has often been suggested, but never fully developed, will be made clear in the connective role exemplified by Organized Crime in the ghetto. The subject was only touched upon in the Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, and almost entirely overlooked by the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. This is a strange anomaly indeed, for most of the facts could be obtained simply by asking any ghetto resident.

The American public is aware that Negroes make up an inordinate percentage of the number of known addicts of such "hard" narcotics as heroin and cocaine; and there is some recognition that this is an almost natural result of the depression and despair that is to be found in the poverty of ghetto life. We know that many addicts must turn to crime to support their addiction, and that a well developed "habit" will cost anywhere between \$20 and \$100 per day.

The fact that "hard drugs" are neither grown nor manufactured in the United States was forcefully hurled at a group of government leaders during a recent community meeting in Harlem, when Charles "Jomo" Kenyatta, leader of a militant group known as the Mau-Maus said, "Sure, the people here use drugs, but they don't own ships and airplanes, so someone else is bringing it into the country."

The Federal Bureau of Narcotics long ago documented the fact that control of the importation and large-scale distribution of such drugs has been an enterprise of Organized Crime. The retail cost to the ghetto dweller is high: exclusive of any expenditure for food, shelter and clothing, an average addict with a \$20-a-day habit will in the year have to steal cash and other property valued at more than \$80,000, for which he will receive 10% of the value from the "fence," an organized criminal. But the cost to society is still higher: it leads to billions of dollars worth of thefts, burglaries and armed robberies. We are aware of this "Crime in the Streets" and regard the addict as a perpetrator, but do we ever think of him as a victim: the victim of Organized Crime?

Ralph F. Salerno retired in 1966 as Supervisor of Detectives for the New York City Police. His book on Organized Crime will be published by Doubleday.



NARCOTICS ADDICTS BY RACE — According to Treasury Department figures minority groups account for more than 70% of known addicts. Organized Crime is the major importer of the hard drugs.

There are other, less dramatic forms of victimization. Congressional committees have revealed the many evils of racketeer-controlled unions. A cursory examination of the record will reveal that the principal victims of the "sweetheart contract" (a contract which labor leaders sign to the disadvantage of their members) are the low salaried employees in the restaurant and food trades, car-wash establishments, custodial and other service industries where labor is provided essentially by Negro, Spanish-speaking and other urban poor.

The loan business is another case in point. We hear criticism of the work habits and abilities of some Negroes, but there is a failure to understand and react to the prevailing conditions he meets. Take the case history (openly published by the media at the time) of the minimum waged worker who borrowed \$10 from a loanshark, promising to pay \$1 interest and the principal in one week. This Negro may not have been able to calculate the interest as being 520% per annum; he only knew that he was considered a poor risk by regular lending institutions. The loanshark cleverly avoided the borrower on his payday and allowed the interest to accumulate for a few weeks. Then he induced his victim to "only pay the interest," permitting the principal of \$10 to remain outstanding. Over a period of less than a year and a half this poor man had paid \$84 in interest, and still owed \$10 when

the scheme was interrupted by the arrest of the loan-shark.

Gambling in the slums is also a province of Organized Crime. There is a tendency to romanticize the syndicate gambler as though he were a Robin Hood, when in fact he robs the poor to make himself rich, and our society is his accomplice. Legal gambling outlets are usually too highly priced for the urban poor: a \$3 admission charge is standard for pari-mutuel betting at racetracks, more than that is spent at Bingo games where these are legal, and state lotteries are priced at no less than \$1. There is no lawful medium for the poor man's 25 or 50-cent wager, and his dream of having \$500 all at one time is catered to only by the illegal "numbers" man or the bookmaker. As seen by the ghetto dweller, America is reluctant to put money into the ghettos in realistic programs, and at the very same time is ready to allow these communities to be drained of billions of dollars annually for the benefit of Organized Crime.

...discussion

GOP INITIATIVES ON CRIME

—JOSEPH M. McDADE

Ralph Salerno speaks from the perspective of a lifetime in law enforcement. Our own GOP Congressional studies echo what he says—the victims of organized crime are the urban poor.

It is not wrong to comment on the underworld violence of the syndicate, or its penetration of legitimate business, or its involvement in glamorous gambling casinos. But it is misleading.

The principal impact of organized crime is the money it siphons off from the urban poor. Through the numbers racket alone organized crime clears an amount three times larger than the entire War on Poverty budget.

The Administration says that street crime and organized crime are entirely separate things, and they act as if organized crime should not really receive very much attention while we are waging the battle against street crime.

The two are *not* separate. Organized crime begets street crime in many different ways. Most officials in New York City, for instance, agree that 50% of all street crime (petty robbery, mugging, etc.) is committed by narcotics addicts in search of money to feed their habit. Police Chief Orlando Wilson places the figure at 60% in Chicago. And it is organized crime that starts the cycle by its narcotics trade in the centers of urban poverty.

Moreover, through numbers, narcotics, and loan sharking, organized crime compels or impels the urban poor to resort to crime in search of money to pay the demands of the syndicate or to replace money which

the syndicate has already extracted. Through the corruption of local officials, which must exist for organized crime to flourish, the syndicate contributes to the disrespect for public authority and law and order. It helps create the atmosphere in which resort to crime seems to be justified to all too many.

Yet the Administration does precious little.

The Republicans in the Congress have tried to fill the void. We have recently put into the Truth-in-Lending Bill provisions which for the first time make loan sharking a national offense.

And we have recommended a host of legislative and administrative changes which would represent a real effort to combat organized crime:

1. A dramatic increase in the size and authority of the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Justice Department;

2. Federal funds to encourage the development of regional intelligence collection and dissemination on organized crime;

3. Abolition of the rigid two-witness and direct evidence rules in perjury prosecutions;

4. Extended prison terms where a felony was committed as part of a continuing illegal business in which the offender held a management position;

5. Establishment of residential facilities for the protection of witnesses against organized crime;

6. Under appropriate safe-guards for personal liberties, centralized computer storage of data regarding organized criminal behavior;

7. Creation of a permanent Joint Congressional Committee on Organized Crime;

8. Extension of Federal immunity provisions to crimes relating to organized crime;

9. Limited permissive wire-tap legislation, following the guidelines recently laid down by the Supreme Court, to permit court-ordered wire-tap and eavesdrop surveillance but to prohibit all electronic surveillance by the Federal government except when ordered by the courts;

10. Passage of legislation to prohibit the investment of illegally acquired funds in legitimate business;

11. Increased organizational stature to the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Justice Department so that its Director's appointment would be subject to Senate confirmation and its budget publicly specified;

12. Authorization and appropriation of \$100 million per year for a meaningful effort to combat organized crime, pursuant to plans to be presented by the Administration on how the money will be spent.

Few of these ideas are brand new. Most of them were made by the President's own Law Enforcement Commission but totally ignored by this Administration. That is the irony; for historians will probably say that the major domestic undertaking of the present Administration was the War on Poverty. But you do not need the luxury of hindsight to know that the War on Poverty cannot succeed without a strenuous war on organized crime.

Congressman McDade of Pennsylvania last year led a group of 22 Congressmen in a study of the effects of organized crime.

An Atlantic Free Trade Area?

A great opportunity, I believe, is now open to the United States, supported by Britain and Canada, to give a new lead towards economic expansion and more liberal trade policies. Mr. William Roth stated on behalf of the US Administration in February that the feasibility of the Atlantic free trade area idea was being studied. If the US sometime this year could take the initiative in inviting other friendly nations to examine this general concept, I am sure it would be very widely welcomed on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, it could be a turning point, winning great credit for American statesmanship, like General Marshall's speech of June 1947 or the Trade Expansion Act of 1962.

The aim at the start might well be a North Atlantic Free Trade Area. But the long-term purpose would be to establish an outward-looking, open-ended free trade group, with complete industrial free trade between the members, and open to any country that wished to join. There need be no geographical exclusion, as in any specifically European or American groups. But since something approaching complete industrial free trade would be the goal, the rules of GATT would be fully preserved. It is possible to be a group or association (like EFTA the European Free Trade Association) without being an "area."

The present seems to many in Britain an opportune moment for a new move, though it is of course for Americans to say whether any major decision can be made before the Presidential election. There are two reasons why a new trade initiative would be timely this year. First, the Kennedy Round, after four years of negotiation, reached a highly successful conclusion last summer, and the tariffs of all the major industrial countries will be coming down over the next two years—and nothing should be done to interfere with this. After the process is complete, industrial tariffs will be down to an average of 11.2% in the US, 10.2% in Japan and 7.6% in the European Economic Community (EEC). A further multilateral round is possible, and certainly should not, in my view, be ruled out. Yet it is clear from the above figures that even if, after a prolonged round of negotiation, a cut of even one-third in these rates was achieved, it would no longer be a very great reward for a vast deal of effort. The

free trade group approach, therefore, might well be a much more promising alternative in terms of reward for a given effort.

Secondly, General de Gaulle has shut the door firmly against British and other membership in the EEC. It is becoming ever more clear to the public in Britain and elsewhere that the EEC is developing into an exclusive club, with highly restrictive and reactionary agricultural and food policies, an unsympathetic attitude towards developing countries outside the French sphere, and a tendency to veto all new members. Not merely Britain, be it noted, but Austria, for instance, has been trying to join for five years in vain. Opinion in Britain and the other influential EFTA countries like Sweden, Switzerland and Norway, is becoming increasingly convinced that attempts to join the EEC are a humiliating waste of time, which achieve nothing economically and merely make a candidate country appear politically ridiculous. Thus, if both the multilateral approach and the widening of the EEC look unpromising, the need is clear to find some other road.

GAINS FOR THE U.S.

For the US there would appear to be great gains to be won, both politically and economically, by taking the initiative in building a widely-conceived free trade group. The natural first members might well be the U.S., Canada, Britain, the rest of EFTA and Ireland—a North Atlantic Free Trade Area. (Britain is already linked with EFTA in a complete free trade area, with Canada in extensive mutual free-entry rights, and in a bilateral free trade area with Ireland). Besides the prestige to be won for the US in taking a lead similar to that of 1947 or 1962, a free trade group starting from this nucleus would be a powerful political support for NATO and for the free world generally. The US, Canada, Britain and the EFTA countries in Scandinavia, as well as Switzerland and Austria, are all Parliamentary democracies, where essential political and personal freedoms are deeply valued and jealously guarded. If it could be shown, as it has been shown in EFTA, that such countries can join together in achieving nearly complete free trade without supra-national interference in each other's affairs, this would powerfully enhance the prestige of the free nations, and show that they are still capable of positive acts of statesmanship.

Economically, it would surely also offer real, if not dramatic, gains to the US. For it might well be the most practical method in the 1970's of opening

Mr. Jay, a Labour Member of Parliament, is a former President of the British Board of Trade. His book, *After the Common Market*, was recently published as a Penguin Special paperback.

up new markets for American exports, and furthering the progress made by Mr. Cordell Hull's bilateral trade treaties in the 1930's, and the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. EFTA and Canada alone would offer the US an additional tariff-free market of 120 million people, more than half the population of the US. It is true that Britain and the other EFTA countries would be able to export to the US on the basis of lower wage rates; but American industry, on the other hand, is in many cases better equipped and more efficient. Experience of EFTA and indeed of GATT has shown that, as the classical free trade argument always predicted, reciprocal tariff cuts promote greater prosperity all round, rather than industrial upheaval. Though, therefore, the economic gain to the US from an Atlantic Free Trade Area might not be as spectacular as to Britain and EFTA, it could nevertheless be substantial.

But there is no reason why the growth of the area should stop at this point. If the US, Canada, Britain and EFTA already belonged, Japan would almost certainly wish to join; and would clearly have to be admitted—because the club would be non-exclusive. If Japan joined, Australia and New Zealand (who are already forming a bilateral free trade area) would almost wish to do the same and Latin American countries might well then follow.

Even, however, at the point where the Group consisted of North America and EFTA only, a great gain would have been achieved—a tariff-free market of over 300 millions living in democratic countries. It would then be possible for the US and the rest of the Group to negotiate realistically and from strength with the EEC. This seems to me the only practical method by which the US can meet the present obstructionist and wrecking tactics of the French in international affairs. The Atlantic Group would be able

to invite the EEC to join as one member on the same terms as others. There would, that is to say—if the EEC agreed—be mutual industrial free trade; but the other members would not have to accept the agricultural protectionism of the Six or the bureaucratic apparatus in Brussels. If the EEC accepted, so much the better. If not, it would be their funeral.

Americans may naturally ask why such a free trade group should initially be mainly industrial rather than agricultural, since the US clearly wishes to export farm products. The answer is that, to Britain and EFTA, "industrial free trade" means the absence of the agricultural restrictionism of the EEC. Britain is a free market now for most American food products. If Britain were to join the EEC, she would have to exclude American grain and other farm products from her markets, whereas in the sort of Atlantic free trade group I am proposing Britain would remain a free importer of North American foodstuffs. The more other EFTA countries did the same, the better; but formal insistence on this at the start might make progress difficult.

From the point of view of Britain, a widening free trade group of this kind would yield enormous advantages, which are now being increasingly realized in both business and political circles in Britain. It would offer British industry a tariff-free market some three times that of the EEC—and four times, if Japan, Australia and New Zealand were to join. We should be building on the proved success of EFTA; and we should be relieved of the hideous prospect of the EEC's dear food policy, which would force up our living costs and export costs and damage our trade all over the world. We should also avoid damage and disruption to our present close relations with EFTA and the Commonwealth; and we should be spared the nightmare of government by the undemocratic, bureaucratic apparatus in Brussels, which is regarded with greatest suspicion and dislike by the British public. An Atlantic or wider free trade group of this kind could easily be run by a Ministerial Council and small secretariat, as are EFTA, NATO or OECD.

HELPING POOR NATIONS Trade expansion on these lines would also be far more beneficial to the less developed countries than a widening of the EEC system. The EEC discriminates against both industrial and farm products from any country outside it, whether developed or otherwise (except ex-French colonies). For instance, Britain imports a huge quantity annually of Asian textiles, while the EEC excludes them almost entirely. It would be an essential principle of the sort of free trade group I am proposing that each developed member of it would accept the UNCTAD principle of "generalized preferences;" i.e., the developed countries would grant free entry to the products of the less developed, and the less developed would not be expected to reciprocate. The US and Britain would, for instance, both dismantle tariffs on imports from India and Pakistan. But India and Pakistan would be permitted—for the time at any rate—to retain their tariffs against



American and British goods. Thus the less-developed countries would be first-class citizens in the Group; and the richer countries would be the second-class ones. An expanding system of this kind would probably do far more for economic progress in the poorer countries than any amount of aid and development finance.

Such is the opportunity which now confronts us. The open-ended free trade group, of course, is not necessarily an alternative to another round of multi-lateral tariff cuts. Technically, both could proceed at once. But it is probably the more important and the more promising. Nor would it be wise to wait too long. There is always a danger, otherwise, that mutually antagonistic and restrictive regional blocs may spring up—a European bloc, an American bloc, or a Pacific bloc—which would lead to economic and perhaps political conflict. By far the best way to prevent this would be to launch an outward-looking group, which is genuinely open for all to join, and not subject to vetoes and exclusions like the EEC.

If both the US and Britain were now to promote such a project, the strong probability is that it would develop to the benefit of all on the widening basis I have described above. At present both Washington and London appear to be waiting coyly for the other to make the first move. If either or both would move now, the consequences might be as dramatic and far-reaching as those that followed General Marshall's speech in 1947. Why need we have less vision today than General Marshall and Mr. Ernest Bevin, 21 years ago?

...discussion

AMERICA'S GLOBAL INTERESTS

—THOMAS B. CURTIS

With the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations completed in 1967 and the need for strong emphasis on tariff-cutting thus seemingly removed, US foreign trade policy may take a new direction. I therefore welcome the opportunity afforded by Mr. Douglas Jay's article to comment on the idea of an Atlantic Free Trade Area.

As regional economic trading blocs have formed in the postwar years — EEC, EFTA, LAFTA, CACM — the thought has been expressed that the United States should also become the leader in promoting a trade bloc of its own. A commonly proposed version is that of the Atlantic area, concentrating on the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and the Scandinavian countries. Although this proposal has appeal I feel it

Congressman Curtis of Missouri is the ranking Republican member of the Joint Economic Committee and is also the Republican candidate for United States Senator from Missouri.

overlooks the fact that the United States is a world power with major interests in the Atlantic and the Pacific as well as in its own hemisphere. Another restrictive trade grouping does not appear to me to be the best path for the United States to follow.

I note that Mr. Jay thinks that an Atlantic Free Trade Area should be outward-looking and open-ended with eventually no geographic exclusion. With this as the ultimate goal, a role could be foreseen, under certain circumstances, for an Atlantic Free Trade Area.

If trading blocs currently in existence, particularly the EEC, remain inward-looking, exclusive and highly restrictive, other countries may be forced into groupings of their own. The Six of the EEC — especially France — must realize that continuing to exclude the United Kingdom makes all the more likely a counter-grouping of the Outer Seven and the Americas which it professes to distrust and fear. Regionalism becomes necessary if multilateralism becomes unworkable.

Using the same reasoning, a regional response might ultimately be necessary also in the field of dealing with economic development in the emerging nations. If the EEC insists on continuing its policy of discriminatory preferences to certain developing countries — particularly to ex-French colonies in Africa — it might just help create a Western Hemisphere trade preference scheme for Latin America. I am therefore gratified to see Mr. Jay state that policy decisions taken by developed countries toward developing countries should be on a generalized preference basis and not discriminatory. African countries must realize that if they insist on their ties to Europe, other developing countries might gain preferences to other markets.

But even while the idea of an Atlantic Free Trade Area is under discussion, there are several useful initiatives that can be taken by the United States which will be of benefit on either a regional or multilateral basis. Much work is needed in the field of other-than-tariff barriers. The International Anti-Dumping Code negotiated during the Kennedy Round was a start in this direction; but much more remains to be done. An orientation of GATT to matters in this field such as international patent and copyright agreements and anti-trust laws would be most useful, hopefully leading to the development of a code of fair practices in international trade. The United States has much to gain in any such attempt to remove other-than-tariff barriers as we have fewer of them than do many other countries.

In contrast to Mr. Jay, I do not feel that we have to wait for a larger grouping of Atlantic countries to negotiate realistically and from a position of strength with the EEC. This can be done now. The United States is certainly powerful enough alone and the US market sufficiently attractive to have real bargaining strength in any negotiations to remove impediments to trade.

In regard to timing, I feel that 1968 will see no great positive trade initiatives by the United States toward an Atlantic Free Trade Area or in any other direction. However, this option should continue to

be discussed and thoroughly studied. The year 1969 with a new administration will be an entirely different story and new initiatives could occur.

But, in conclusion, the main thrust of my argument is that the United States has interests in the world much wider than any regional grouping. I can foresee the US in a regional grouping only if it seems forced upon us by restrictive practices of other countries. Even then, we should constantly be attempting to expand membership in the regional bloc to all countries on a multilateral basis as quickly as possible.

THE POLITICAL OBSTACLES

—PAUL FINDLEY

Mr. Douglas Jay has presented convincing and persuasive arguments for the establishment of a North Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA). Many of his assertions are clearly supported by the evidence presented in the Stamp Report prepared by the Atlantic Trade Study chaired by Sir Michael Wright.* The NAFTA represents not only an opportunity for Britain but also for the United States and other members of the community of Western nations.

Notwithstanding the attractiveness of the idea, there is, of course, political opposition which may seriously delay or even abort the movement in its embryonic stages. Powerful and influential circles in Britain continue to push for British admission to the Common Market (known as the Six). The United States State Department continues to argue that Britain join the Six and thereby become "Europeanized." At the same time, powerful tides for protectionism are increasing in the Congress. Encouraged by the Trade Relations Council, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute and the American Iron and Steel Institute, more than 75 Senators have sponsored an assortment of textile, steel and oil quota bills.

Thus in the United States, the NAFTA proposal is caught between a State Department policy which favors British entry into the Six and a quota-minded Congress. Yet the combination of these two pressures in time may be the very factors which will make NAFTA more attractive and ultimately lead to its advancement.

The State Department, for examples, favors British entry into the Six not because of any particular economic advantages which would accrue to Britain but because the Department believes any movement toward supra-national institutions and organizations in Europe is to be encouraged and applauded. Yet if

*The Atlantic Trade Study (Moor House, London Wall, London, E.C. 2) has published a series of 12 studies of the various aspects of a North Atlantic Free Trade Area.

Britain is blocked from Europe the Department may in time realize that NAFTA would itself be a movement towards supra-national organization and would hopefully eventually include the Common Market countries, either as a bloc or as individual nations. In fact, given the present disposition of the de Gaulle government it may be that, for Britain and others, supra-national organizations will come into being quicker through the NAFTA route than by the halting expansion of the Common Market. The possibility of the entry to NAFTA of Japan, Australia and New Zealand is another attractive possibility which may eventually appeal to those in the State Department who have been searching for some way to link the industrial Pacific countries with those of the North Atlantic Community and at the same time bring Canada and the US closer together.

In the Congress, protectionist sentiment may work to the advantage of NAFTA. This sentiment is so strong that Congressional approval for an extension of renegotiation authority is precarious. Yet the Administration has indicated its opposition to quota bills and implied that it will wield the veto axe should any reach the President's desk. Thus, an impasse might occur in which Congress can't or won't give the President his extension of negotiating authority and the President won't approve stiff quota laws. Both sides may then find in the NAFTA approach an answer to their problems. NAFTA is a liberal trade proposal in that it eliminates artificial trade barriers, yet it is attractive to the conservative American business community because of the possibility of expanded markets.

At this stage what is needed more than anything else is an educational campaign in the Congress and among the various trade lobbies, liberal and protectionist. Sir Michael Wright has been meeting with congressmen and business leaders interested in the NAFTA, answering their questions and providing additional information. All of this has been helpful, but more is needed. A sustained educational campaign and the endorsement of the concept by presidential candidates and organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau or the Trade Relations Council could enhance its popularity and increase congressional support.

Congressman Findley of Illinois has been Chairman of the House Republican Committee on Western Alliances and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

NEXT STOP NIRVANA

"The Republican Party is four years ahead of any schedule I had, and the closest to perfection that I have seen any political party." Ray Bliss as quoted in the Portland *Oregonian*, June 3, 1968.

Gaullism in the East

There are three revolutions taking place in Eastern European Communist states that may have great significance in the continuing power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The first revolution is for genuine independence. Prague and Bucharest, like Belgrade before them, clearly want their domestic and foreign policies determined at home and not in Moscow. Rumania's successful efforts in blocking the economic integration of the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has had the effect of denying Moscow a virtual stranglehold on the economies of these countries.

The second revolution is for rational economic policies. Eastern European Communist economists have long recognized the need for rationalization of the economic structure of the state. This has meant that in some instances collective farms have been disbanded, as in Poland; centralized economic planning has been drastically curtailed in Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. There is even a movement towards the use of competition in the marketplace and the use of incentives and profit as the basis for encouraging increased production.

Finally, there is the revolution against one-party dictatorship. There has even been talk of opposition parties and full civil rights — in practice as well as on paper — for these countries.

Two countries, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, in different ways, are now demonstrating the most independence. In Czechoslovakia the liberalization has been in domestic affairs — de-Stalinization — whereas in Rumania the emphasis has been upon desatellization or independence in foreign affairs.

DIPLOMATIC LEVERS

The changes in European Communism provide an opportunity for American diplomacy to pry countries away from their subservience to the Soviet Union and to foster a genuine spirit of independence.

Unfortunately, the performance of the Johnson Administration in reacting to these developments has not matched its rhetoric. At first there was a flurry of activity to promote reconciliation. American and Rumanian legations were elevated to ambassadorial status in 1964; the President authorized credit guarantees through the Export-Import Bank for all East European Communist countries except Albania and East Germany; a Fulbright Agreement was reached with Yugoslavia in 1964; Pan American Airlines began direct flights between New York and Prague; the East-West Trade Bill was submitted to Congress in 1966; there was some revision of the COCOM list of strategic commodities banned to Communist governments; membership for Poland and Yugoslavia in GATT was encouraged and sponsored by the United States; Zbignew Brzezinski, the

Columbia University expert on Soviet bloc affairs and author of the persuasive "Alternative to Partition," was appointed to the State Department Policy Planning Council with instruction to draft a new policy for the United States in Eastern Europe. Brzezinski wrote the President's famous speech outlining the policy of "bridge building" to Eastern Europe which was delivered on October 7, 1966, in New York.

Yet, within the year, Brzezinski had resigned from the Department disgruntled and disappointed over the Administration's relative inaction. Nor was he alone. A desk officer for one of the East European countries told me in February, "The policy of bridge-building is fine but nobody does anything to carry it out." Certainly Congress has removed some of the Administration's bargaining tools by prohibiting soft currency sales under P.L. 480 (Food for Peace) to countries trading with North Vietnam and denying Export-Import Bank credits to Communist countries for the duration of the Vietnam war.

But the Administration's policy has also been sabotaged within the Executive Branch. Cultural budgets for some East European countries have been cut by as much as 40% from 1967 to 1968; the number of exchange visitors between the United States and Poland in 1967 was at the same level as in 1959. The programs of United States assistance to medical exchange programs involving the Children's Hospital in Krakow, Poland was terminated. The East-West Trade Bill was not even reintroduced, and when it had been sent up in 1966 it was the Secretary of State not the President who did so. In 1967, Export-Import Bank credits to Communist countries were half what they were in 1966. In fact, they were less than in any year since 1963. The increase in trade with East Europe has been far below expectations. Even the archaic practice of requiring East European diplomats to pass through electronic surveillance at designated points of entry (while not requiring the same procedure for Communist tourists or newsmen) so as to prevent an atom bomb from being slipped into the country (in a time of ICBM's) has been continued.

Unfortunately the Republican response to developments in Eastern Europe has been almost as timid and unimaginative. Some in the Congress still hanker for a Special Committee on "Captive Nations" and fill the *Congressional Record* with statements of support for various exile leaders and calls for liberation of these countries from Communism. None of this is intended, of course, to "roll back" Communism or even promote peaceful changes in Europe but is designed instead to wave the "bloody shirt" of Communism in Eastern Europe for political support at home among first- and second-generation East Europeans living here.

Moreover, despite the obvious evidence of the breakup of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe the

Republican Coordinating Committee recommended in its report on "East-West Trade" last March that we treat all members of the COMECON (East Europe's pale answer to the Common Market) as one bloc.

Ironically, such an attitude (which equates Albania with Rumania and East Germany with Czecheslovakia) is almost identical with that of the Administration. The State Department, despite its rhetoric about "bridge-building," has clearly indicated its opposition to any move to extend "most favored nation" treatment to Rumania and Czecheslovakia. The Administration favors extending "most favored nation" treatment to all COMECON members as a bloc, instead of using the offer of trade liberalization to pry individual countries loose from Soviet control.

Although the reasoning behind the Republican position may differ from that supporting the Administration view, both reach the same result. The Republican Coordinating Committee wants to treat COMECON as a bloc because it still views East Europe as an appendage of the Soviet Union. The Administration doesn't want to offend the Russians by wooing the East Europeans separately. Both positions do scant justice to the revolutionary changes taking place within East European Communism.

OSSIFIED STANCE

The Republican Coordinating Committee, moreover, with its ossified terminology, threatens to commit the entire Party to an outdated position better suited to the early 1950s than to the 1970s. For there is now good reason to believe that the Coordinating Committee statements will be written into the National Platform by Senator Dirksen without any debates or discussion. This would mean that the GOP will be committed to a platform plank on East-West trade which, behind a facade of anti-Communist rhetoric, will condemn Eastern Europe to the Soviet sphere.

Such a position, no doubt, will please those Republicans who oppose trade with the East for reasons that are now largely irrelevant. They think that our refusal to trade denies Warsaw Pact countries the sophisticated equipment they desire; but our NATO allies are only too willing to sell it to them.

The war in Vietnam has also been cited as the basis for Republican refusal to support trade expansion with Communist countries. Last year the Senate approved a Republican-sponsored amendment prohibiting Export-Import Bank credit guarantees for the Fiat plant in Russia. This move antagonized the Soviets, irritated the Italians, our allies, denied profits and jobs to our own industry and lost what little influence that sale might have brought us in Moscow—all without interfering in the slightest with the building of the Fiat automobile plant, with the flow of Soviet supplies to Vietnam, with the progress of the Soviet economy or with the length of the Vietnamese war.

Congressman Paul Findley of Illinois has recently struck a more flexible and more promising attitude. He would have us "reward" a country increasing the scope of its external independence from Soviet control or appreciably liberalizing its domestic system. Similarly,

whenever an opposite trend develops, the United States should be prepared, says Mr. Findley, to withdraw or discontinue special privileges, such as "most favored nation" treatment.

He argues that, before extending "most favored nation" tariff status to Communist governments, they should be members of GATT and agree to abide by international conventions for the protection of patents and industrial processes, the honoring of copyright provisions and for the settlement of commercial disputes arising under trade agreements by third-party arbitration.

Whatever economic advantage would accrue to Eastern European countries by trading with the United States would be offset by political advantages to us in helping to develop their independence. At the same time, with the provisions outlined above, the United States, in extending the "most favored nation" provisions, would be buying a long term advantage for our national interest; that is, the entry of state trading companies into recognition of property rights and the short term advantage which would accrue to businessmen who, as a result of the agreement, would not only have better access to markets but also secure protection of industrial processes and assurance of fair arbitration of any disputes that might arise from transactions.

The Eisenhower Administration led the way in this "carrot and stick" approach. When Poland liberalized in 1956 the Eisenhower Administration recognized the significance of this development to US national interest and did what it could to bolster Polish independence. Poland was allowed to purchase P.L. 480 commodities on especially favorable credit terms. The United States financed a children's hospital in Krakow. A cultural agreement was signed. The United States and Poland each agreed to publish and distribute foreign language magazines in the other's country. The major outlines of our policy of "treating different Communist countries differently" and the use of the "carrot and stick" were first adopted by the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration. They make good sense today for moderate Republicans.

In all of this it goes without saying that peaceful engagement with the East European countries does not mean a search for accommodation with the Soviet Union or its nominal allies over the heads of the West Europeans. Ultimately, policies such as East-West trade, cultural and educational exchanges, summit conferences and all the rest are aimed at creating an atmosphere for a lasting European settlement and reconciliation. What we are engaged in is a creative building process, as Brzezinski states, "a process of building a larger European framework which lends itself to resolving the existing problems."

If, as I believe, the United States cannot wisely use military force in order to bring about political reforms within Eastern European countries and if at the same time it restrains itself completely from using incentives, then we are relegated to the unimportant position of bystanders in the dramas which are now unfolding.

—STEPHEN JONES

STATE BY STATE

FEDERALIST NOTES: updating the laws

Restoring the balance between an over-extended federal government and state and local governments ill-equipped to meet contemporary problems has become the foremost concern of those who understand the importance of a viable federal system. In many states the first obstacles to be overcome are obsolete state constitutions and local charters.

In Pennsylvania, a constitutional convention proposed changes to liberalize home rule; provide for intergovernmental agencies on the local level; establish a reapportionment process designed to preclude gerrymandering; and replace rigid limitations on state and local debt with a flexible system based on tax income. But no change was made in the provision which limits governors to one term, so Republican Raymond Shafer will not be able to succeed himself. Voters approved all of Shafer's proposals on April 23. (See "Has Constitutional Reform Ruined Ray Shafer?" in the June FORUM.)

Georgia's legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment which would increase the terms of legislators from two to four years in both houses. One unusual feature of the proposal is that the legislators would be elected and begin serving at the halfway point in the governor's term, so that a governor would face two legislatures during his four years in office. The measure must be submitted to the voters before it can take effect.

An Indiana commission will recommend whether the state should call a constitutional convention or update the document by amendment.

Tennessee voters will have a chance to decide on whether to hold a limited constitutional convention when they vote in November. Two similar conventions have been held in the past fifteen years; this one would begin sessions in 1971 and consider judicial reorganization, local government reorganization and property taxation methods. It will also review the one-term limit now imposed on the governor.

The fourth longest Constitution in the world—the California Constitution—is in the midst of being revised and shortened. A Constitution Revision Committee, established in 1963 and consisting of three senators, three assemblymen and 60 prominent citizens, has submitted a major portion of its recommendations to the Legislature. The articles covered thus far are those on education, local government, penal institutions, corporations and public utilities, land and homestead exemption and constitutional amendment.

Should these proposed revisions be approved by a two-thirds majority of the Legislature, they will be sub-

mitted to the voters for final approval. Meanwhile, the Commission will rework the 14 remaining articles of the Constitution. The target set for final completion and approval of the revised Constitution is 1975.

Arkansas' first-term Governor Winthrop Rockefeller proposed a constitutional convention to a special session of the heavily Democratic legislature. The legislature agreed to submit the idea to the voters.

A number of other recent actions have rationalized the workings of state governments.

Illinois, which has more local government divisions than any other state, has taken the first step toward consolidating some of them. A citizen's commission will undertake a two-year study of urban-area government, and is expected to recommend some constitutional changes and a reduction in the six-thousand-plus towns, special districts, and school districts.

Massachusetts is the first large industrial state to assume the full burden of state welfare costs. Third-term Republican Governor John Volpe led the fight to extract approval of the welfare measure from a Democratic-dominated legislature.

Thus, as of July 1, 1968, the state will assume the full cost of local welfare programs and will also take over some aspects of program administration. Previously the costs were split between the state and its cities and towns. The major advantages will be statewide uniformity in the application of welfare laws, whereas formerly local units administered welfare according to their own interpretation of state statutes. An added benefit will be the assumption of \$82 million in annual charges by the state, which is in effect a subsidy to the cities and towns.

New Mexico's committee on state government reorganization has submitted its report to Governor David Cargo. It proposed sweeping changes in the executive branch to include a 14-man cabinet whose members would supervise all state agencies.

Pennsylvania, has extended a program to establish branch "Governor's Offices" to eleven cities. The idea is patterned after New York Mayor John Lindsay's "Little City Halls" and is sponsored by a \$400,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. In the first ten weeks of operation, 7547 visitors brought their problems to the state through the nineteen offices.

In order to train welfare recipients and other unemployed for jobs, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare has initiated two six-month training programs for careers at state institutions. Over 700 people have already enrolled at eleven state mental hospitals, five state schools and hospitals and two geriatric centers to train for such occupations as nursing and therapy. An added benefit will be the freeing of professional personnel now doing such work for their more specialized duties.

Ohio has set up a Department of Urban Affairs. The Director will be appointed by Republican Governor James Rhodes. The new unit will coordinate state aspects of the administration of OEO programs and act as a clearing house for local government cooperation.

Special Note: Delaware, the first state, has become

the first state to reapportion its legislature by computer. Census figures and such limiting factors as geographic and local political boundaries were programmed into the machine, along with the requirement that districts be contiguous and approximately equal in population. The legislature modified the output to change computer-proposed districts which had more than one incumbent legislator as a resident, but the finished plan was 90% the product of the computer.

IDAHO: Senator Church's opponent

George V. Hansen, two-term Republican Congressman from Idaho's 2nd Congressional District, will be the state's GOP nominee this November to oppose incumbent Democratic Senator Frank Church.

State Attorney General Allan Shepard, a moderate Republican who for a time looked like the probable Republican candidate (and received coverage in the January FORUM), has withdrawn his candidacy and dropped out of the picture. He is now President of the National Attorneys General Association. Most observers had previously given Shepard a better than average chance of unseating Church, and his withdrawal, which came unexpectedly, is believed to have been motivated by intense opposition to his candidacy from the more conservative wing of Idaho Republicanism. (Since the 1966 GOP primary defeat of liberal Governor Robert E. Smylie, Idaho Republicans have tended to be ultra-conservative).

As the Republican candidate, Hansen, a militant right-winger, has unleashed a furious campaign against Church.

A firm opponent of civil rights legislation and a hard-line advocate of "law and order," Hansen has hit the Idaho campaign trail with stinging criticism of Senator Church's advocacy of civil rights. Hansen has publicly called for firm and vigorous repression of Negro demonstrations, and leveled the implication of treason against a wide variety of Negro leaders, ranging from Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown to Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and even the late Dr. Martin Luther King. Following King's assassination, Hansen asserted that the civil rights leader's death was not really as great a tragedy as made out. While not condoning King's murder, Hansen noted that King had been a supporter of revolution and violence and observed that his death was merely a case of "the chicken coming home to roost."

Hansen has also firmly endorsed Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's order to police to "shoot to kill or main" Negro looters. Recommending this as a step to be taken nationally to "end violence," Hansen has conceded that such a solution might mean the deaths of a number of persons, but has added that a little killing now to prevent riots might prevent more killing later.

State Senator William Roden of Boise, the GOP majority leader, called Hansen's statements "unfortunate." "I don't think he's ever seen a riot," Roden said.

On foreign policy, Hansen is an outspoken hawk on Vietnam. He sees the Vietnam conflict as part of a Moscow-based Communist conspiracy to take over the world. Hansen would have the Administration get tough with the Soviet Union and apply pressure on the Russians to end the war.

Believing President Johnson to be "an appeaser" and having ridiculed the notion of peace talks with the enemy as unsatisfactory, Hansen would preserve America's "honor" by seeking a military victory as the quickest way out of Vietnam.

Hansen favors applying any measures necessary to "win" and says he will not rule out nuclear warfare or an invasion of North Vietnam and China.

In other areas, Hansen also provides a direct contrast to Church. Unlike Church, Hansen is an opponent of—and would abolish—such measures to help the poor as Head Start, the Poverty Program, rent subsidies and welfare.

The general opinion of most observers is that Hansen is presently trailing Church. However, Hansen has in the past proven himself an adept and able campaigner, and his brisk, vigorous style has helped him overcome his underdog status in the past.

In 1964 for instance, when Goldwater was dragging scores of GOP candidates down to defeat in Idaho (which went for LBJ), arch-Goldwaterite Hansen scored a surprise upset by defeating long term incumbent and liberal Democrat Ralph Harding. That year, Hansen was the only Republican candidate in the northwest to unseat an incumbent Democratic congressman.

It should be mentioned, however, that he then had the luck to have the same surname as State Senator Orval Hansen, a more progressive Republican who ran unsuccessfully in the same district in 1962. Orval will seek the GOP Congressional nomination this year for George's vacated house seat to capitalize on the new right-wing support for the Hansen name.

SOUTH CAROLINA: does 'unity' mask a turn to the right?

The election of Mrs. Alice Wilder as South Carolina Committeewoman at the State Convention in March may indicate a swing to the right among South Carolina Republicans. Although moderates are publicly calling for party unity, they remain quietly furious at Mrs. Wilder's defeat of the incumbent, Mrs. Anne Morris.

The election, which went almost unnoticed in South Carolina, is symptomatic of a long-simmering struggle for power between the dominant Republican figures in the state. According to reporter Jack Bass of The Charlotte *Observer*, Mrs. Wilder's victory was basically a

defeat for National Committeeman J. Drake Edens and a victory for state party chairman Harry S. Dent.

Congressman Albert W. Watson, who switched over from the Democratic Party after supporting Barry Goldwater, sided with Edens and the moderates. Strom Thurmond remained closely aligned with the conservatives. Marshall J. Parker, the Republican candidate for the US Senate seat of Democrat Fritz Hollings, remained neutral. Watson's support for the moderates surprised many, in view of his record as an arch-segregationist.

The only detailed account of the fight was written by associate editor Harrison Jenkins of the *Columbia Record*. He wrote, "Republicans still are having trouble with reactionaries, racists and Birchers in their midst." He added that politicking among the delegates "took a bitter and nasty turn. The racists accused Mrs. Morris of being overly fond of Negroes, of welcoming Senator Edward Brooke to the state, and of inviting Negroes into the party."

In a letter to the editor, Chairman Dent called the report a "smear" and said, "I have found no one who heard the type remarks he attributes to party members." In an interview Dent said, "Jenkins in trying to oust me as party chairman and I don't think it any of his business." Mrs. Dan D. Ellis, a Republican delegate, praised Jenkin's "honest and accurate" story.

Edens was state chairman before Dent and is generally given credit for building a real Republican party structure. Thurmond and Watson both switched to the Republican label while he was chairman. He is now a national vice chairman of the party and is on the seven-member advisory committee that forms the inner circle of political advisers for Richard Nixon.

An administrative assistant to Senator Thurmond before returning to South Carolina and winning election as state chairman, Dent is considered less dedicated to the Republican Party than to Senator Thurmond.

Mrs. Wilder is also a Thurmond admirer. "I think Senator Thurmond is the best representative we have in conservative government in this country and wish we had more like him," she says. "I think he's right on just about every stand he takes."

Mrs. Wilder says she ran against Mrs. Morris because she was asked to run by people who thought they needed more conservative representation. She prefers Ronald Reagan as presidential candidate, but she is willing to support any nominee of the Republican Party. She hopes she won't have to work for Nelson Rockefeller, but says "I would if I have to."

Mrs. Wilder denies being a racist. The only two Negro delegates to the state convention voted for her after she personally solicited their votes.

Some of Dent's friends insist that the struggle over the National Committeewoman was a power struggle between Dent and Edens and did not involve ideology at all. "The two women were pawns in a larger personality clash," declared a veteran party official.

In the wake of the struggle, party leaders are calling for unity. The 22 delegates to the National Convention are pledged to Thurmond, and Thurmond has said he will work for either Nixon or Reagan. The Republi-

can National Committee is expected to ask him to stump the Deep South in the fall to draw GOP support from George Wallace.

Thurmond voiced satisfaction with Nixon but stopped short of endorsing the former Vice President. There is good possibility however that, should Thurmond panic at Rockefeller's gains, he may release his delegates to vote for Nixon on the first ballot at the convention.

ILLINOIS: the ho-hum primary

Unnoticed by national observers and by most voters in Illinois was the June 11 Republican primary, which had the lowest turnout of any since 1944. With the presidential year presidential popularity contests removed from the ballot by the State Election Board at the behest of the Establishments of both major parties (to avoid the embarrassment of any non-establishment candidate showing popular strength) the GOP delegation reflects Illinois' organizational politics. On the day of the primary Senator Charles Percy announced what he could not prevent: his formal withdrawal as a favorite son candidate. The 58 member Illinois delegation is now overwhelmingly prepared to support Richard Nixon on the first ballot in Miami.

This support for Nixon is firmly rooted in ideological identification, in the collection of political debts outstanding, and most importantly, in an efficient Illinois Committee for Nixon.

Matching the hot and humid weather of election day was a heated and acrimonious fight for the Republican nomination for governor. The perennial bloodletting suffered by the Republican party of Illinois in its state-wide primary battles was repeated with gusto this year as Richard Ogilvie, the candidate from Cook County and of the YR syndicate, faced John Henry Altforfer, the downstate candidate of the more traditional pols. The winner was Ogilvie with 48% of the vote and a meagre (and disappointing in the face of expected plurality of 150,000 plus) plurality of 43,000 votes. Losing downstate to Altforfer by some 50,000 votes, Ogilvie salvaged his victory out of his 90,000 margin over Altforfer in Cook County.

These figures may signify that the recently papered over schism between downstate and Cook County Republicans will be reopened to the detriment of Republican chances in November; the danger of the splintering of the party is heightened by the victor's claim of a mandate to "reorganize the party." The expected shape of the reorganization by the Ogilvie camp is a purge of those who oppose him including the present National Committeewoman, Mrs. Audrey Peak; the Ogilvie forces, however, must weigh their asserted mandate against the loss in Cook County of every party committeemanship fight in which Ogilvie took sides.

The blood-letting of the primary has left the Illinois Republican party in its traditional post-primary condition of disunity with no visible adhesive to put it back together except the possible pressure from a national candidate who knows how important Illinois can be to his chances of victory. But perhaps more disturbing than disunity was the fact that the "ho-hum primary", as the press called it, attracted little voter interest in GOP areas.

CALIFORNIA: Rafferty rampant

Dr. Max Rafferty is the Republican Senatorial nominee of California. Thomas H. Kuchel, Minority Whip, Earl Warren Republican and fifteen-year veteran in the Senate, was defeated by the right-wing California State Superintendent of Public Instruction by 67,000 votes.

In a state reeling in horror over the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy within its borders, little seemed surprising in the dawn hours of June 5. In actual fact, the Rafferty victory had become a probability during the closing days of the campaign.

Rafferty says he won because his approach is "anti-establishment," and "People are just plain fed up, fed up with the war in Viet Nam, fed up with our racial troubles, fed up with the breakdown in law and order." Nevertheless, the public opinion polls had shown Kuchel ahead of "The Blue Max" from the beginning, but California observers seasoned on the mercurial, fast breaking primaries of 1964 and 1966 were far from confident of a Kuchel victory.

Kuchel, with his broad-based nonpartisan approach found himself handicapped in a state where the members of his own party are growing increasingly partisan amidst the riches of power acquired since the elections of 1964. Governor Reagan and Senator Murphy, certainly, are team-type Republicans. Kuchel supported neither after they received their respective nominations, as Rafferty noted often and effectively during the campaign.

Reagan's position of neutrality in the Senate primary probably aided Kuchel more than Rafferty, although the Governor's disapproval did not prevent former GOP national finance committeeman Leland Kaiser of San Francisco from joining Rafferty's campaign committee in early May. Reagan, when queried about the move at his May 9 press conference acknowledged Kaiser's new position as Northern California Finance chairman for Rafferty and stressed Kaiser's "independent action." Reporters present were given the impression Kaiser was temporarily out of the Reagan "kitchen cabinet."

Soon after, the Rafferty campaign began to steamroll. The May 28 California *Poll* showed the Blue Max closing his prior deficit of 13% to 5%. The June 3 State Poll reported a 3% difference with a 16% undecided.

The other three candidates in the race who mustered 1.5% of the vote in the State Poll, had already endorsed Rafferty. Kuchel forces increased their calls for a big turnout on the assumption it would help their man. The turnout came, especially in populous Los Angeles County, where Kuchel went down three to two.

One Los Angeles journalist wondered whether Rafferty ran a good campaign or Kuchel a bad one. It is fair to attribute the result to a bit of both. Kuchel's personal political style is probably no longer suited to the McLuhanesque California GOP. Earnest and thorough, the Senator's stump speeches dealt with the realities of his senatorial duties. But integrity and independence do not always equal charisma, and the tele-genic Max made the most of his own colorful style and pungent oratory. Even the bright green and yellow "Rafferty!" signs expressed vitality and energy in contrast to Kuchel's nearly illegible gray, blue and orange billboards.

Rafferty has already said his campaign will stress rioting and the rise in crime as well as the unbalanced budget and the departure of our gold supply. A Kuchel confidant attributed the Senator's defeat to a "generally uneasy electorate" which sees "the incumbent public official as a good target." Rafferty, he conceded, "sounded more militant" when talking about law and order. This may well be the key to the election. The overriding fact, however, is that more than half of California's Republicans voted for an unabashed right-winger.

SOUTH DAKOTA: National Committee post contested

At the Republican State Convention on July 15, Henry Moeller, a progressive incumbent Republican National Committeeman from Vermillion, South Dakota, will be challenged by Jack Gibson of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Mr. Gibson was the Goldwater state chairman during the election year of 1964 and is secretary-treasurer of the Nixon-pledged South Dakota delegation headed by senior Senator Karl Mundt.

South Dakota's unusual State Convention rules specify that each of the three delegates elected from every county at the primary on June 4 cast one-third of the total number of popular votes which voters in their county gave to the Republican candidate in the last gubernatorial campaign.

The challenge from conservatives to a progressive incumbent on the present National Committee seems to fit a pattern emerging in Idaho, North Dakota, Colorado, Missouri and elsewhere.

● In the June 4 primary, Robert Schumacher, a young progressive candidate for Congress polled approximately 36% of the Republican vote against Congressman E. Y. Berry, the six-term Republican incumbent. Mr. Schumacher's campaign was hurt by lack of finances.

NOMINATION GAME

Is Silence Golden?

Richard M. Nixon, it seems, has decided to play a cautious game between now and the days immediately before the presidential convention starting August 5th. He has cancelled public appearances and will use the time thus saved to plan a convention blitz, write his acceptance speech and organize his general election campaign.

Nixon's strategy is fully in keeping with his position as strong front runner for the nomination. He is just a large delegation or so away from the nomination, and laying low is his safest course in the face of Governor Rockefeller's dramatic "new politics" drive for the nomination. By refusing to do battle with Rockefeller and meet with him in public debate, Nixon reduces the impact of the Rockefeller thrust while remaining in position to counterattack should the New York Governor overreach himself.

But Nixon's decision to retire from the public scene does have its drawbacks. It almost certainly means that Rockefeller will surge well ahead of him in important pre-convention polls. The decision not to go on television with Rockefeller may make it more difficult for Nixon to entice Vice President Humphrey to debate during the general election campaign. It also loses for Nixon and the GOP a full month in which to build public exposure for November. Also, the strategy of reticence makes it possible for Rockefeller to edge Nixon away from the vital center of American politics—ground that will be all the harder to regain if Nixon is then the nominee.

By fighting Rockefeller and winning the nomination, Nixon would have momentum to sweep past Humphrey in November. His strategy of reticence means that a Humphrey-Nixon test in November will be a squeaker. But Nixon and his friends are confident that on balance, silence is golden. It is, they believe, the best nomination strategy, whatever the disadvantages for November.

Governor Rockefeller's forces, meanwhile, are vastly encouraged by the manner in which their champion's "new politics" campaign is developing. It is building momentum, attracting attention, drawing increasing public support. The polls are beginning to look the way they will have to look if Rockefeller is to receive the nomination. In Minnesota, for instance, Rockefeller now leads native son McCarthy by ten percent and native son Humphrey by five percent while Nixon trails both Democrats, McCarthy by five and Humphrey by ten percentage points.

Paradoxically Rockefeller's greatest current concern is the failure of the more conservative forces in the party to rally round their natural champion, Governor Reagan of California. If Reagan cannot attract the support of

200 delegates on the early ballots, then neither he nor Governor Rockefeller has much chance of receiving the nomination unless nearly all of the remaining favorite son delegations hold firm.

● One of the biggest delegations of them all, Texas' 56-man bloc, is now locked firmly behind favorite son John Tower. At the State Convention in June GOP Chairman Peter O'Donnell and 1962 gubernatorial nominee Jack Cox succeeded in defeating a Reaganite resolution to free Texas delegates after the first ballot. The Texas bloc will now be at Tower's disposal until he chooses to release it.

The Reagan forces, however, did succeed in passing a resolution commending Ronald Reagan for "the job he has done as Governor of California and the constructive influence he has exerted in national affairs." The resolution also places the Texas delegation on record as urging Reagan to "take an even more active part in National Republican politics". Tower supported this resolution to avoid a display of disunity after Reagan supporters staged an emotional three minute demonstration on the floor. Ernest Stromberger, Dallas *Times-Herald* reporter, reported that Party leaders were concerned that the Reaganites, if not pacified, might bolt to George Wallace.

● One man hoping for a Rockefeller nomination is William B. Saxbe, the GOP candidate for US Senate in Ohio. His polls show him an easy winner over Democrat John J. Gilligan with Rockefeller heading the ticket, whereas with Nixon the election would be uncomfortably close.

—JESSE BENTON FREMONT



Szep — The Boston Globe

How Much Can the Federal Budget Do?

A new political division is beginning to appear in the country between those who instinctively turn to the Federal budget and to direct Federal expenditures to attack our economic and social problems and a smaller group in both parties who would rather use Federal and State tax policy to redistribute income and reconstruct incentives. This division is obscured by the fact that both groups are activist. Both want the Government to undertake responsibility for social justice and a correction of laissez-faire inefficiencies. In the perspective of the people's rejection in 1964 of laissez-faire and reaffirmation of activist goals, this growing disagreement over means may produce the important political divisions of the future.

I have frequently argued in specific cases and in general theory the positive merits of incentive manipulation. This approach also has its relevance to the present crisis in the Federal budget.

Federal programs are, to begin with, haunted by politics at every level. Since we do not have a well agreed upon set of social priorities and goals, programs come into being only as the result of political bargaining. Administrators who try to execute Congressional decisions begin without clear guidelines. Their decisions are further entangled by the fact that any choice between alternative ways of achieving a goal have political ramifications. If the goal can best be served by a centralized office, there will be pressures to spread offices around the country to build up "local constituencies." The location of facilities becomes a matter of intense political conflict and bargaining. Not only are the overall goals blurred and contradictory, but the actual implementation of even small parts of the program are compromises in which efficiency and political influence are combined.

This leads directly to the profusion of small, underfinanced programs so characteristic of the Federal government. Model Cities money, for instance, is so widely spread that almost no meaningful experiments can be made anywhere.

Attempts, heroic attempts at that, are now being made to bring some rationality into the budgeting process. The Bureau of the Budget especially, has championed the use of modern management techniques to try to control expenditures. But these methods of control themselves decay in the political atmosphere. To illustrate this, consider our treatment of water-resource projects, on which we spend hundreds of millions of dollars per year.

There are irrigation projects that sell water substantially below cost to a few prosperous but politically influential farmers in the Southwest. The justification for selling below cost is that there are "non-market-valued benefits" from results such as flood control. This

is proper, and it is proper also to count in these benefits in deciding whether or not to invest in a given project. We should add up the benefits and compare them to the cost of the projects. This is done. The benefits, though, come strung out for years after the dams have been built, while the cost is concentrated now. To make costs and benefits comparable, we have to use an interest rate to decide what the stream of benefits is worth to us right now as a single sum. This is like asking how much we would have to put in a savings account right now at some rate of interest to be able to withdraw certain benefits over a period of time. Obviously, the lower the rate of interest we get on the account, the larger the initial deposit must be to get out the benefits.

What rate does the government use? Should it be 18%, since that is the before-tax rate of return to corporate investment? 12%, since that is what the market valued benefits of education amount to? The 6.8% we pay for mortgages on houses, which is still another alternative use of the money? 4.5%, the return ordinary citizens get from holding government bonds? There are arguments for using any of these. In fact the government costs out water resource projects using the incredibly low interest rate of 2½%. All the motions of cost benefit analysis are then performed, but the allocation figure is nonsense.

It is situations like this that lead me to be skeptical of the Federal budget as an effective instrument for managing our society. It is perhaps very good to legislate by compromise and coalition when matters of law and social order are concerned. It is not a good thing when fairly simple economic results are the goal. And our goals are not very complicated. We want to house, feed, clothe and educate ourselves, all matters in which productivity and efficiency are better than confusion and compromise. We want to build houses cheaply and in areas where they do people the most good. These are matters the market manages well if it builds houses at all. We certainly want to do something to make the market build more housing for poor people, but we want to retain the other efficient features.

At this moment the administration of Federal expenditure is in a crisis. This may be temporary and I can imagine it being alleviated by technical advances and management science. But it will not hurt now to shift the emphasis from direct expenditure to incentive systems, from "decision-making" to policy. The only real danger is that the political machinery is really set up to avoid doing anything effective at all. If this is the case, it is easy to see why attacking and defending the Federal budget is so popular with some politicians. It produces a maximum of noise and a minimum of motion.

SUMMER READING

REVIEWED BY STEPHEN HESS

The Condition of Republicanism, by Nick Thimmesch, Norton, N.Y., 272 pp., \$5.95.

Republican Politics, edited by Bernard Cosman and Robert J. Huckshorn. Praeger, N.Y., 276 pp., \$6.95.

Charles Percy of Illinois, by David Murray. Harper & Row, N.Y., 178 pp., \$5.95.

The condition of Republicanism today, according to reporter Nick Thimmesch, is remarkably healthy considering that the Grand Old Party, as Professors Cosman and Huckshorn remind us, was very sick indeed less than four years ago.

The Cosman-Huckshorn book focuses on the immediate past—the Goldwater campaign of 1964 and its aftermath; the Thimmesch book, except for a quick romp through GOP history, focuses on Republican personalities in 1968. Taken together, the two books give a clear picture of the resiliency of the American party system.

Like every other pundit this year, Thimmesch, who is Washington Bureau Chief of *Newsday*, has had trouble keeping his study abreast of recent political happenings. (His book went to press just after George Romney withdrew from the presidential race.) Yet it is to his credit that his cataloging of Republican leaders around the country and their basically pragmatic outlook remains valid.

There is a no-nonsense air to his writing style. When, for example, he quotes Arkansas Governor Winthrop Rockefeller's opinion of his state's Democratic legislature—"I wish some of those bastards would hurry up and go home"—it has the ring of authenticity. Thimmesch's chapters on Nixon, Rockefeller, Romney, Percy, Reagan, and Lindsay are crammed with useful details. I found his treatment of the New York Mayor particularly good.

The freshman Senator from Illinois, Charles Percy, is also the subject of a full-scale biography by David Murray, the Chicago *Sun-Times'* top drawer political correspondent. While Murray correctly places his subject far down on the list of potential Republican presidential nominees, he does see him as "possibly a good bet for Vice President." The biography is determinedly fair with especially fine chapters on the Valerie Percy murder case and Percy's 1966 opponent, Senator Paul Douglas. Murray writes with a felicity that is rare in books of this genre.

By contrast, there is a heavy-handed reliance on academic jargon in many of the sections in *Republican Politics*, the Cosman and Huckshorn anthology. Almost all of these articles have appeared in print before, some of them several times. The overall tone is that of a supplemental reader for a college course dressed up for the popular market.

Still it is hard to fault the editors for giving wider

circulation to the pioneering work of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan or Herbert E. Alexander's continuing studies of money in politics.

Moreover, Robert L. Peabody of Johns Hopkins presents a valuable history of the December 1964 fight between Charles Halleck and Gerald Ford for the minority leadership in the House of Representatives, and Karl A. Lamb contributes a splendid account of what the Republican National Committee was like during the Goldwater campaign.

At one point, Lamb writes: "The [Republican National Committee] secretaries met in The Huddle Coffe Shop, in a corner of the Cafritz Building garage. This time-honored practice may have helped give the lower-echelon staff a sense of cohesion. . . In the interest of efficiency, [Chairman] Dean Burch ordered the installation of several coffee urns within the National Committee offices. His decision was a sensible one, but the long-time employees resented it as yet another change in established patterns."

Such an observation shows a sharp eye for institutional politics—not just of the political party variety.

—STEPHEN HESS

Mr. Hess, the author of several books on political topics, is a Fellow of the Institute of Politics at Harvard. He is, co-author of a biography of Richard M. Nixon, to be published this Fall.

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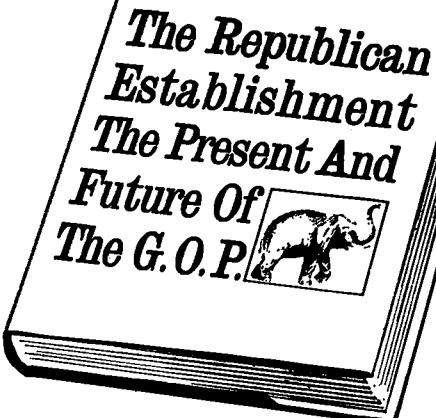
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NBC News Election Year 1968

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Newsweek

Packaging a Campaign: Catalog Offers Aid, Gadgets to Politicians

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

**By NEIL ULMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**

NEW YORK—Murray Roman doesn't know whether it will be Kennedy, McCarthy or Nixon this fall, but he thinks he has a political winner.

Mr. Roman has formed Campaign Communications Institute Inc., a merchandising program to sell from a catalog "everything the political candidate needs to win."

He has gathered campaign equipment services, ranging from posters to bumper stickers, from a catalog "anything you can imagine, from a poster to a poll."

His Dial-a-Votes Wins Elections

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DAILY EXPRESS

SOMEHOW WORKS

DAILY EXPRESS

DAILY EXPRESS THURSDAY, APRIL 25, 1968

The D.I.Y. of getting elected

by Ivor Davis

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY.

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Buttons

THE whole idea may sound a little far-fetched but Roman is no scatterbrain. He has spent 20 years as communications adviser to political parties and his illustrated catalogue of campaign gimmicks from bumper stickers to bumper boats to straw boaters lists just about everything the political hopeful needs—whether he's aiming to be President of America or president of the local PTA.

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Campaign aid service for sale

**By David Holmstrom
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor**

New York

History could come to look upon Murray Roman with an affectionate eye. Maybe not this year, but within a few years he could become to political campaigning what Eli Whitney was to cotton-picking.

It was the high cost of political campaigning that got him started.

"In 1964," explains Mr. Roman, a communications consultant, "the cost of the presidential campaign for each major party was about \$15 million. For a senator from a large state it could have been anywhere from \$750,000 to \$2 million. For a Congressman from an urban district it could have been \$35,000 to \$250,000. This year it will be even greater."

What struck Mr. Roman was that a candidate, all the way down to the novice running for city council — had no one source to go to for his campaign needs.

So Mr. Roman organized the Campaign Communications Institute of America, Inc. (CCI), and compiled a complete single-source catalogue of creative materials, equipment, and techniques to help a candidate win an election — and do it more economically and efficiently than in the past.

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

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

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LEGISLATIVE REFORM IN TEXAS?

The Dallas chapter of the Ripon Society used its first major report to attack multi-member legislative districts, used to elect state representatives in Texas metropolitan areas. It called them "relics of the 19th century" and said they should be replaced by single-member districts.

Every metropolitan area in the state now elects its representatives under an at-large system. Dallas voters, for example, select 15 representatives.

The report, which was given extensive coverage by the Texas press, said adoption of single member districts would lead to better representation, better voter familiarity with the candidates, less expensive campaigns and better responsiveness by the legislator.

"The most concrete benefits which would result from single member legislative districts is that there would be more effective representation for those political and racial urban minorities whose interests are not now represented under multi-member districts," the report said.

The report continued, "Republicans, Negroes and other groups which are in the minority country-wide but in the majority in the areas within the county where they live would be able to elect legislators to represent them." Currently "confusion becomes chaos when the voter is asked to pick 8, 10, or 15 state representatives out of twice as many or more nominees."

Under these conditions, the campaign for the state legislature becomes simply invisible to the voters: they do not even know who is running, let alone where the candidates stand on the issues."

On the other hand, single-member districts would give the voters a "sense of participation in their state government which they are denied today."

"The residents of our cities are no longer satisfied with a paternalistic system of representation. They are asking only to participate, and we join in their request," the report said.

The Dallas chapter also answered criticisms previously made of the single-member system on the grounds that it would break up the "united front" presented by district representatives and would lead to "ward politics."

"Dallas citizens are not socially, economically or politically homogenous. The legislative desires of the West

Dallas Negro differ from those of the Richardson white collar workers. The legislative attitudes of the Mexican-American living near downtown Dallas are different from those of the white executive living in Highland Park."

Thus, the report argued, "it may be that the only 'united front' that is facilitated by multi-member districts is one united against the interests of the unrepresented minorities of Dallas County."

In answer to the ward politics argument, the report said, "It seems clear that the wards referred to by those who raise this argument are not the affluent suburbs, but are instead the areas populated by Negroes, Mexican-Americans and poor whites, and this country is hopefully beyond the point where we can indulge ourselves in the assumption that any group is to be denied a meaningful voice at the polls because they do not know how to use their vote properly.

"It is time for those who cry 'ward politics' to give some substance to their ghost or lay it to rest."

The report did argue that single-member districts would lead to a new type of legislator. "The metropolitan representative could really get to know his constituency and their legislative desires.

"He would, of course, have to be more responsible to his particular constituency, but, then that's what a representative is supposed to be."

(Copies of the report may be ordered from Neil D. Anderson, 1000 LTV Tower; Dallas, Texas, 75201.)

● Christopher T. Bayley, Ripon's National Vice President has been named one of the "25 Most Eligible Bachelors in America" by "Town and Country Magazine. He is 30 years old, green-eyed, black-haired and is taking flying lessons. As a special bonus, the FORUM will supply his telephone number to all new female subscribers who request it during the next 30 days.

● This month's book club selection is *In Search of Sacred Cows*, a collection of drawings by Paul Szep, editorial cartoonist for the Boston Globe. Szep, aged 25, is considered by many the most promising political caricaturist in America. His drawings have appeared regularly in The FORUM. He has offered to autograph copies of his book for the FORUM Book Club.

LETTERS

NEW YORK GROUP OBJECTS

Dear Sirs:

On behalf of the New York chapter of the Ripon Society, we would like to express disagreement with Robert Gordon's review of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, ("Repression is Not the Answer," April FORUM).

Our points of departure from Mr. Gordon's conclusions, and the language he used to express them are many, but two matters deserve discussion here.

First, the review contains a recklessly unsubstantiated charge that the Report reflects "sloppiness"—an indictment which unaccountably was repeated in the cover page lead. It is pointless to debate here whether the Report is in fact sloppy in its analysis or research. The Commission was authorized in late July, 1967; if it was to accomplish anything, its conclusions had to be disseminated before the summer of 1968. To criticize as "sloppy" an effort which produces a work of this significance, about a problem of this magnitude, is carping, disingenuous and destructive. It reflects a desire to turn aside the focus of the Report, a desire which is fully as worthy of condemnation as the silence with which the report was greeted in other quarters.

Second, Mr. Gordon's criticism of the Report's indictment of white racism is offensive. Mr. Gordon's argument seems to have two major underpinnings: (1) the racism notion was created in order to induce a feeling of guilt in whites, and thus to make mobilization of public opinion easier, and (2) the charge of racism is divisive,

and, indeed, counterproductive.

To say that Mr. Gordon's conspiracy theory of the white racism indictment is wrong is not enough. In reality, the declaration savors more of an invention to aid the review's apparent conclusion—that the Commission was right for the wrong reasons. Thus, Mr. Gordon assumes that the purpose of the Report was to argue against violent repression of riots, and for this alleged purpose he commends the Commission. But the Commission was wrong, he asserts, in the arguments they used against violent repression; for example, the Commission raised the specter of white racism in order to make whites feel that they, fundamentally, were the cause of the riots they now desired to repress.

Although it may be intellectually appealing to argue that the Commission was right for the wrong reasons, it was a misconstruction of the Report to say that its purpose was to argue against violent repression. Clearly, the purpose of the Report was to expose the causes and find the cures of the civil disorders of the past summer. Among the causes, and indeed pre-eminent among them, the Commission found racism—persistent housing discrimination, verbal abuse by police and an indifference by white society to the legitimate rights of ghetto dwellers.

Thus, Mr. Gordon's statement that the Commission made up the racism idea in order to argue that repression was wrong is a mischievous fallacy. Repression is wrong, as Mr. Gordon phrased it, because it is "stupidly destructive," and there is no indication that the Commission or any other sensible person, felt otherwise.

Furthermore, to say that the racism indictment of

the Report is divisive, as Mr. Gordon has concluded, is to say that it brings up a controversial issue. Mr. Gordon does not argue that racism is not the prevalent attitude of white America (in fact, he notes that whites stopped supporting civil rights for blacks as soon as the legal technicalities barring such rights were overcome), but concludes that some whites are racists and some are not. Just what this truism contributes to the debate is hard to evaluate, but it's not much.

It is a sufficient argument against the position taken in Mr. Gordon's review to note that the late Martin Luther King thought the greatest stumbling block to Negro rights was not white racism itself, but the white "liberal" establishment which condoned racism in the almighty name of societal order. In our view, the Ripon Society ought not to identify itself with an attitude which Dr. King, with his characteristic perceptiveness, so correctly feared and condemned.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD
The Ripon Society of New York

MR. GORDON REPLIES

Both the New York Chapter's restatement of the positions taken in my review and their own arguments against them are so cloudy that I find it hard to see what they're getting at. Nothing I said justifies the fantastic implications of their last paragraph that I side with the people who condone racism in the name of order. I don't, and I'm amazed that they thought I did.

I objected to the Commission's use of the phrase "white racism." To the authors of the above letter that objection amounts to denying the depth and pervasiveness of white hostility to Negroes in this society. Such a denial would be idiotic and I did not make it. What I said was that calling whites "racists" is bad as a tactic. It convinces only those who already believe in and feel guilty about racism in themselves (like the 400 whites who went on a "Confession of Racism March" recently); it offends those whose fear and hatred of Negroes seem to have, in their minds, some rational basis (like economic competition, rising crime rates in their neighborhoods, falling property values, and deteriorating schools). To my mind the Commission did not come to grips with the staggering problem of relations between groups (lower-middle and working class whites and ghetto Negroes) whose actual short-run interests happen to conflict.

I also said that labeling white racism the primary cause of riots and poverty was an unhelpful method of social and historical analysis. This too is very different from saying that white racism does not exist. To put it very simply, the label doesn't explain poverty, because many whites are poor too. It doesn't explain riots, because racism is persistent and riots are sporadic.

This brings me to "sloppiness". I notice that the New York group does not disagree that the Report's analysis was sloppy. They claim only that (a) I did not substantiate the charge and (b) even if I had, it would be wrong to bring it up because the problem the Report addresses is so important. I did try, in the short space I had, to substantiate the criticism, pointing in particular to the Commission's failure to supply a plausible account of the dynamics of riots. Since writing the piece I've come across many social scientists who share my reckless views, and I have reason to suppose that several members of the Commission's staff share them too. The second point, that it was "carping, disingenuous, and destructive" to state my criticism at all leaves me cold. The New York members of the Chapter may believe that all texts loosely aimed towards the good life are to be treated as unassailable. If I were in politics I might agree; but I'm not and I don't; a reviewer's business is to make discriminations.

It is not really the Commission's fault, by the way, that their research isn't better. First-rate academicians were reluctant to contribute because they feared a "whitewash" of a report; when they saw it might not be so they were too late to be helpful. But excusing the Commission doesn't improve the result, which is largely the work of very good lawyers and shows it. Its investigations were superbly carried out, especially those seek-

ing to establish who did the killing and what, if any, organized conspiracies (none, it turned out) were involved. The evidence in their files on these points is probably unshakeable.

Once, however, the Report leaves the realm in which proof of personal responsibility is the issue, and enters that of social and historical causation, when it stops looking for who and looks for what, it reveals the lawyer's weakness for trying to pin the rap on two or three very specific "causes". To lawyers it makes sense that people who live in poverty and humiliation should rebel; historians know that such people often don't, and that there are more subtle explanations.

Finally, a word about my emphasis on the Report's argument against violent repression of riots. I stressed that part because I thought it was the best reasoned and most useful part of the Report. Even if whites were well disposed toward ending black poverty, which many aren't, and the Congress wanted to appropriate money to do it, which it doesn't, it would take a long time before this attitude made any difference. Meanwhile, the auguries are that the riots will continue. Under such conditions, it seems to me terribly important how the authorities go about preserving life and property in the ghettos and protecting large numbers of Negroes from the brutality of police, soldiers, and rioters. We don't seem to know how to prevent riots in the short haul. We must therefore learn how to handle them in ways that will not increase racial hatred.

ROBERT W. GORDON
Cambridge, Massachusetts

REFORMING THE ARMY

Dear Sirs:

The Ripon Society has made a deep impact with its position paper on the need for a volunteer army, and its call for making the military more attractive as a career. I would like to suggest two areas in which the Armed Forces need improvement if they are to attract capable volunteers.

First, the Armed Forces educational program is a farce. True you can get degrees, college credits and high school diplomas through the Armed Forces; but what is not said is that no reputable business will accept a diploma received through the military. And only ten colleges will even consider college credits gotten while in the service.

Second, the retirement program is inadequate and unjust. Certainly you can get a pension after 20 to 30 years of service. But what is not known is that at the most it amounts to \$300 a month. Furthermore the Armed Forces don't even have a job placement service for their retiring veterans. According to a survey recently taken by Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz many retiring veterans lacking pre-military education or job experience are virtually forced to go on Welfare.

RAFFY CHENGRIAN
Dorchester, Massachusetts

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A CALL FOR PRAGMATISM

Diversity is a major underlying condition of American life. The enduring challenge to American leadership is to bring unity out of this diversity, not conformity or uniformity, but a sense of cohesiveness that gives us national direction and purpose.

Prior to 1964, there were observers and students of the American political scene who argued for clear philosophical divisions between political parties, for a party symmetry and neat lines of political demarcation. The voters, it was said, deserved a clear choice, liberalism versus conservatism, and not two major parties that offered both, as well as all shades of political thinking in between.

These views are little heard of late. We have learned a subtler lesson—that sharp political lines can help to produce deep national divisions, that zealous ideological purity generates irreconcilable factional rivalries. America today has a surfeit of division and rivalry. Instead, we need leadership that can compose our differences maturely, leadership that solves problems and get things done. We need the progress that comes from pragmatism.

There is no profit in forcing our politics into rigid patterns imposed from right or left. There is no point in our conducting paralyzing ideological debates.

We must face each problem with a solution that meets this ultimate test: Does it work? Then let's find a way to do it. If it doesn't work, then all the passionate, ideological rhetoric we unleash will not make it work. Our goal must be to find workable solutions — not merely to defend philosophical positions.

As a case in point, there is little value in debating the priority of order over progress in our riot-torn or riot-prone cities. It must be only too evident that urban disorders thrive in wretched urban conditions. Obviously, unless we make substantial progress in improving these root conditions, we are going to find ourselves perpetually papering over serious urban failings with a thin, easily torn fabric of "public order." Yes, we must put down disorder swiftly and firmly. But let's get at the roots of social upheaval. This is the pragmatic approach we applied in creating an Urban Development Corporation in New York State this year. This corporation has the potential and

the objective of drawing \$5 billion worth of private capital to the priority task of transforming riot-breeding slums into decent communities. This is the only way to lasting public order—through measurable human progress.

Progress through pragmatism in government means simply taking the measure of a problem, devising a solution on a scale matching the dimensions of the problem and then going to the people or their representatives to win a mandate for putting the solution to work.

Water pollution offers another case, a problem ubiquitously decried, but inconclusively attacked, in most places. In New York, we measured the total need — \$1 billion in State aid to build the sewage treatment systems necessary to end water pollution in the State. We then took to the cities, towns and villages in an intensive campaign to educate the public to the problem, the solution proposed, the price if we acted, and the higher price of inaction. The result: a sweeping victory for a billion-dollar Pure Waters Bond Issue.

Another hallmark of pragmatic leadership is relevance. Our policies must be shaped to the problem as it exists today, and as it can be envisioned in the foreseeable future. Pragmatism requires of us that we recognize change and deal with it intelligently so that we master the force of change before it masters us.

One final pragmatic test for our party: Republicans must know their political arithmetic. We must accept the realities of party registration — the fact that the Republican Party is a minority party and not even number two but actually number three, trailing both the Democrats and the Independents. We must know what this means in terms of acquiring the breadth of voter appeal essential to Republican victory. Americans of whatever economic station, color, profession, whether rural, suburban, or city dwellers must see in the Republican party a banner they can follow towards the fulfillment of their aspirations.

Particularly in this time when division and self-doubt plague us, we as Republicans must hold forth leadership that can pull the Nation together, gather in the scattered and embittered factions of American life and get the country back on course.

(Richard M. Nixon contributed a guest editorial to our May issue.)