

# RIPON FORUM

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## The President and the Party

While the newspapers are full of stories about the growing battle between the Republican President and the Democratic-dominated Congress, little attention has been paid to the lack of solidarity within the GOP's own ranks. Whether it is over such policy questions as funding priorities and "executive privilege" or such political affairs as Richard Nixon's leadership of the party, the GOP is sharply divided. And, it is not so much the traditional split between the GOP's conservative and progressive wings as between the Republicans on Capitol Hill and in the White House.

The President's efforts at limiting the federal budget, to control taxes and inflation, are supported, in principle, by GOP congressmen. The Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee, for example, unanimously voted to back the President's \$268.7 billion budget ceiling.

But GOP congressmen are quite independent of the Administration on questions of priorities. When Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz appeared before a Senate subcommittee to explain that the executive branch had to decide what low-priority programs to cut, Sen. Henry Bellmon (R-Okla.) exploded: "That's the same as saying that you know more about what's low priority than we do and that really burns us up here."

At the end of the last Congress, the President pocket vetoed several bills, two of which, the Older Americans Act and the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, Congress has passed again by better than four-to-one. Senate Republicans voted for the Older Americans bill 30-to-9 and for Vocational Rehabilitation 35-to-2, while in the House the GOP supported these measures 113-to-65 and 118-to-50 despite the clear promise of another presidential veto.

The Senate has already sustained the President's veto of the Vocational Rehabilitation bill, with the Republicans supporting the White House 31-to-10. But it appears that it was not so much a question of priorities as, in Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott's words, "that unless [Republicans] use our power to sustain the veto, we wouldn't be taken seriously by the Democrats."

The White House's assertion of "executive privilege" for presidential assistants in the Watergate investigation has also brought out GOP independence. Senator Scott has said he will not "interfere" if Republicans on the special Senate Watergate Committee want to subpoena presidential counsel John W. Dean III or others. Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr. (Tenn.), the committee's ranking Republican, believes that at least some testimony by Dean "would be essential to the investigation."

Sen. Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (Conn.) has been the most vocal Republican in demanding that Dean testify, but others include Senators John Tower (Texas) and Norris Cotton (N.H.) and U.S. Rep. Philip Crane (Ill.).

Another slap at the Administration came last month when House Republicans elected Robert H. Michel (Ill.) chairman of the Republican Congressional (Campaign) Committee. After last November's election, the White House asked U.S. Rep. Bob Wilson (Calif.), the 12-year chairman, to step down in favor of Clarence "Bud" Brown (Ohio), though Wilson resisted these pressures until early March.

There was little to distinguish Brown from Michel — both were even members of the Chowder and Marching Society, the club of the GOP House establishment — and it was the affliction of Administration support

that defeated Brown. Before the GOP caucus, U.S. Rep. Dan H. Kuykendall (Tenn.) commented: "Every time a story mentions that Bud Brown has the White House blessing, he loses more votes."

This estrangement can be traced to last fall when President Nixon failed to make as many personal appearances with GOP candidates as Republican leaders desired. Further, U.S. Rep. Silvio Conte (Mass.) recently revealed that the White House told Bob Wilson that he should not attempt to defeat 55 Democratic congressmen, mostly from the South, who were friendly toward the Administration.

Finally, despite the well-publicized pledge from the Administration's congressional liaison, William E. Timmons, that there would be more White House contact with Capitol Hill, GOP congressmen still have little access to the President or his key aides. When Sen. Peter H. Dominick introduced the "Better Schools Act" for the Administration he did so "as a matter of courtesy; a courtesy which I might add was not extended to any of the minority members of the subcommittee in the form of a request for suggestions, advice or guidance with regard to any part of this legislation in its formulation stages by Administration officials."

Republicans like Bellmon, Baker, Tower, Cotton, Crane, Michel, Kuykendall, and Dominick are not candidates for the White House's 1974 Charles E. Goodell Republican Radiclib Award. In fact, all are solidly conservative Republicans. There will, of course, be times like the vote on the Vocational Rehabilitation veto when the White House will win all the Republican votes necessary; but if the Administration continues what Senator Dominick has called its "cavalier attitude," it will often find itself without essential Republican support. RDB

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# EDITORIAL

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Richard Nixon, it should be remembered, was once a partisan Republican. He earned the 1968 Republican presidential nomination on the campaign trails of 1964 and 1966. In those years, when the GOP was so sharply divided over the Goldwater candidacy, Richard Nixon traveled the country as "Mr. Republican" sparking campaign rallies for GOP congressional, gubernatorial and senatorial candidates.

Further, Richard Nixon began his political career at the bottom running for Congress, then senator, then vice president, then president — and then, in a step down that maintained his party credentials, for governor of California. He was not like Ronald Reagan or Nelson Rockefeller, Charles Percy or Francis Sargent, all Republicans who because of their finances, personality or luck did not have to work their way up through the ranks. Nor did he seek, as these Republicans did, to project a public image that was above the partisan fray. Rather, Richard Nixon was a sharply partisan politician who came to symbolize, to the press at least, the worst of overly partisan politics.

But party politics is not without its virtues as David Broder, reporter and columnist for *The Washington Post*, wrote in *The Party's Over*. This book is a brief for "responsible party government" with political parties defined as the "central instruments of self-government." To Broder, "the governmental system is not working because political parties are not working," and the parties "are suffering from simple neglect: neglect by Presidents and public officials."

Broder was particularly critical of presidents who ignored their parties — Lyndon Johnson for his consensus politics which "saw no constructive role for public debate in the formation of national policy" and Dwight Eisenhower whose second Administration was "a holiday from party responsibility." Wrote Broder, "Finally, and this is a bit ironic, Eisenhower was a shrewd enough politician himself to recognize that his own popularity and prestige were so much greater than his adopted party's that he could only damage his own standing by letting himself be dragged into the role of a partisan." The same could be said, for example, of such Republican progressives as Percy or Sargent, or even of Ronald Reagan. But not of Richard Nixon.

In fact, in *The Party's Over*, Broder praised Nixon as "an advocate of party responsibility in government," for Broder argued, "His goal, often stated to associates, is to use his presidency to make the Republican party the majority party, the governing party, in America."

Consequently, the behavior of Richard Nixon during the 1972 campaign took many Republicans by surprise. Rather than campaigning hard for his own re-election and the election of Republicans across the country, the Republican President stood aloof from the partisan battles. In his final campaign, Richard Nixon rejected the goal of a Republican majority encompassing GOP candidates seeking all offices, and sought instead a "New American Majority," which was to coalesce only at the presidential level.

After the campaign, the term "New Majority" replaced the term "Republican" in major White House

political efforts. And despite White House protestations, most Republican leaders were unimpressed with the Administration's efforts to build the GOP. Complained Indiana's national committeeman, L. Keith Bulen, "You can't even get a telephone call returned from the White House unless you're a Southerner. They don't care diddly-damn for us or for the state chairmen either."

Richard Nixon's re-election campaign was based not on the new realities of "strategic politics" as defined by the pollsters, campaign consultants and direct mail specialists who are hired to elect one candidate — and one candidate only. For Richard Nixon, they determined that if he was to win the necessary Democratic votes in 1972, he should stand, like Eisenhower, above the partisan battles. Their strategy required that he build a non-partisan coalition — and if that meant that other GOP candidates would have to go it alone, so be it.

Before, the Republican Party was an asset, but as an incumbent President with the party's nomination secure, the rules of "strategic politics" dictated that he ignore those whose support was guaranteed, and concentrate on those non-Republican voters whose support was needed. The result was that the goal of a unified Republican campaign — unattainable under Eisenhower or Goldwater — was never realized and the hope of responsible party government died, for four more years.

As the leader of the Republican Party, Richard Nixon needs to develop a legislative and administrative program that will help build the GOP — that will give the party the mandate from the people to exercise some responsible party government. But this cannot be a program unilaterally handed down by White House aides to GOP congressmen; the Republicans on Capitol Hill have more than made it clear that they will not be, in Sen. Peter Dominick's words, "the passive and grateful recipient of OMB's set of priorities." Neither can the policies be developed without the ideas of the Republican governors, nor the political priorities established without the assistance of the individual members of the Republican National Committee.

The President is the leader of the Republican Party. But leadership demands more than simply passing the word as to what will be done next. After the disastrous fall campaign, Republicans across the country are no longer waiting patiently by the phone for that call from the White House to go into action.

Leadership requires the solicitation of ideas. It requires the joint development of the policies of the party. And it requires that those policies be pursued with both the entire party's and the nation's interest in mind.

Republican progressives have long felt locked out of the White House by the President's staff. But in the last year, that feeling has spread to most Republicans on Capitol Hill and indeed to most GOP state chairmen and governors. That is why many Republicans are rooting for the axe of the Watergate scandal to fall on the head of H. R. Haldeman; for Haldeman, more than any other presidential aide, epitomizes the condescending White House attitude toward the rest of the Republican Party.

Haldeman is the national chairman of Richard Nixon's new New Majority Party. It is this New Majority Party, not the Republican Party, that is responsible for Watergate. It is the New Majority Party, not the Republican Party, that is responsible for ITT, Vesco and the indifference to integrity that prevades official statements from the White House.

chance to get the nomination, unless he is upset by a former Democrat, Joe Canada, a state senator from Virginia Beach.

Only one Democrat has come forward for the lieutenant governor's nomination — State Sen. Harry Michael, an erudite Charlottesville lawyer upon whom it is difficult to pin any ideological tag.

Republicans dream of gaining majority control in the next House of Delegates. To achieve this, however, many Democrats will have to switch over to the GOP. Those crossing over will be conservatives and will threaten the somewhat tenuous control moderates now have over the house Republicans. The GOP, long the force of progress and moderation within the house, could overnight become a bulwark of stand-patism and reaction.

A tip-off on how many Democrats will switch will come this fall, when those Democrats planning to switch seek a half-way house by running for re-election as independents with the thought in mind of organizing with the Republicans next January. Supposedly, this approach will be more palatable to the voters than an outright change in party affiliation prior to the election. ■

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## ALABAMA

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**MONTGOMERY** — Ten months after being wounded by five bullets, the health of Democratic Gov. George C. Wallace is now a state issue for 1974. And a number of aggressive Democrats are lining up to challenge his re-election.

In February, *Montgomery Advertiser* publisher Harold Martin joined *Newsweek* in questioning the Governor's ability to govern the state in a semi-invalid condition. State Sen. Richard Shelby (D-Tuscaloosa) summed up the spreading doubt about Wallace: "It has been obvious to thousands of people that this state is leaderless, but no one, including myself, spoke out and said so." Whether the 53-year-old chief executive can triumph in a primary runoff with the same attacking fervor he used to narrowly knock off Gov. Albert Brewer in 1970 remains a big question. The "black bloc vote" is larger than ever, Brewer-type moderates have increased, and Wallace's presidential race last year left a \$190,000 debt.

One of the leaders on the starting block to challenge Wallace is State Sen. Eugene McLain of Huntsville, a 42-year-old attorney who is popular among southstate youth and blacks. Also, in the event that Gov. Wallace does not run for re-election, Lieutenant Gov. Jere Beasley and State Attorney General Bill Baxley, who won a federal suit to force TVA plants to comply with state air pollution rules, might seek this office. Former Gov. Albert Brewer could make the race a foursome.

Aside from Gov. Wallace's health and absenteeism, civil rights may well be an issue. In early March, the state advisory panel of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights sharply rapped racial discrimination in Alabama prisons and highway employment. There was no response nor official denial. Indeed, Gov. Wallace, who called the legislature into special session in 1965 to declare HEW school racial guidelines "null and void in this state," has been remarkably silent this year on HEW social service cutback guidelines, spending his time at the National Governors Conference raking "welfare abuses" *et al.*

Barring a major relapse, Wallace is expected to run in 1974 for a second term on a platform of "welfare abuse, high taxes, and crime," and, if re-elected, continue his 1968-vintage platform into 1976 presidential politics. But he must first overcome a treadmill of doubt in Alabama. No prominent Republican seems really interested in taking his job. ■

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## VERMONT

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**MONTPELIER** — Vermont's Republican leadership, still not quite recovered from its loss last November of the governor's office, received another jolt recently; former Republican Lieutenant Gov. Thomas Hayes was appointed chairman of the State Education Board by Democratic Gov. Thomas Salmon.

Hayes was elected lieutenant governor in 1968 with organization support. By 1970, Hayes had broken with the organization over the issue of Vietnam. As a gesture of protest, he ran in the 1970 gubernatorial primary and was overwhelmingly defeated by incumbent Deane Davis. By the time the 1972 election arrived, Hayes was working behind the scenes to help Dem-

ocrat Salmon defeat the organization's hand-picked candidate, Luther Hackett. Hayes's recent appointment to chair the State Board of Education publicizes the unstated alliance between Democrat Salmon and many liberal Republicans who have become alienated by the Republican organization's "Damn them all" attitude.

Though no one is talking openly, the GOP is concerned by the Democrats' organizational strength. With Salmon gaining in popularity among the non-aligned voters and with the very real prospect of Sen. George Aiken stepping down in 1974 after over 30 years in the Senate, a Democratic sweep in 1974 is a real possibility.

Gov. Salmon campaigned on a platform of property tax relief tied to a form of capital gains tax on property sales. The Republican leadership, while approving the tax relief, has turned down the capital gains provision. An informal poll taken on town meeting day by State Sen. William Doyle shows overwhelming voter support for the capital gains tax. The Republican leadership in the legislature appears to be more interested in playing politics than in developing a program of its own.

The only Republican leader who seems to have grasped the importance of the changes in Vermont's voting pattern is former Attorney General James Jeffords. Jeffords, while a member of the state senate in 1966-68, helped develop a Republican alternative to Democratic Gov. Phil Hoff's program. He has repeatedly asked Republican leaders to develop a positive alternative in this session of the legislature. His suggestions have so far been ignored. The Republican leadership, still living in its Alice in Wonderland world, appears to have learned nothing from the 1972 election. At this writing, Jeffords is the only Republican with a state-wide constituency who is well respected by both Republicans and non-affiliated voters. He has given no indications what, if any, role he will play in 1974. Much of the immediate future of the Republican Party will ride on Jeffords's decision.

After the 1936 Democratic sweep, FDR's chief political adviser, Jim Farley, said, "as goes Maine, so goes Vermont." That statement may turn out to be as true in 1974 as it was in 1936. ■

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# POLITICS: REPORTS

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## VIRGINIA

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RICHMOND — Virginia's political situation, which in recent years has been at variance with the national scene, has taken a very unusual twist in this year's gubernatorial contest — neither major party will field a candidate. Instead, the voters will choose from two former Democrats, both running basically as independents. Moderate Republican Gov. A. Linwood Holton cannot succeed himself.

Former Gov. Mills Godwin (1966-1970), an ally of the late conservative Democrat, Sen. Harry Byrd, Sr., is seeking conservative support, and the Republican nomination or endorsement, in trying to keep independent Lieutenant Gov. Harry Howell out of the Governor's Mansion. Godwin did announce that he would run as a Republican if he gets the Republican nomination, something he did not have to say in order to get nominated by the GOP.

Howell is a populist-oriented Norfolk lawyer who battled the Byrd machine when he was a Democrat in Virginia's general assembly. Godwin, a one-time FBI agent, hails from Southside Virginia, the heartland of the now-decimated Byrd machine that controlled Virginia and its politics from the twenties to the mid-sixties.

At this time, Godwin is given the edge in the race because of the fervent backing he will get from conservative Republicans and the many disaffected former Democrats who left their party last year after a liberal takeover tied closely to the McGovern movement.

Howell draws his support from blacks, intellectuals, the white working class, and other residents of Virginia's rapidly growing urban areas. Moderate Republicans, furious about last year's conservative takeover of the GOP that has led to this year's handover of the GOP nomination to a retreat Democrat who vigorously fought the development of Virginia Republicanism, will quietly support Howell, or at least not work for Godwin.

The gubernatorial campaign will not only shape up as a liberal-conservative battle, but also as a clash between two

disparate personalities, between whom there is little love lost.

Howell, although not as fiery as he once was, still arouses crowds with attention-getting rhetoric that generates inordinate amounts of press coverage. His slogan, "Keep the Big Boys Honest," is not only aimed at his favorite targets — utilities, banks, and large corporations — but also at Godwin, who sits on the boards of and is sympathetic to the interests of the "Big Boys." Howell's campaign will also be marked by progressive stands on the many issues that will face the Commonwealth during the next four years.

Godwin, in contrast, will run on his record as a fairly progressive governor (progressive in the sense that Virginia did a lot of catching up during his term). His heavily financed campaign will probably rely heavily on media advertising. Recognizing this year's political realities, any positions he does take will probably be much more conservative than those he took in 1965 when he needed black and moderate support to defeat Holton's first bid for governor.

Although he will inherit the Republican organization, it is doubtful whether Godwin will get much benefit from it since his own campaign organization probably will not work that closely with the GOP nor are large numbers of party workers going to get enthusiastic about working for him.

If Godwin does not make any mistakes and can run the quiet, faceless campaign he wants, he will probably win. Howell, however, will quickly and effectively pounce on any Godwin goofs. In speaking out on the issues, Howell may succeed in goading Godwin to do likewise. Godwin's probable stand-pat positions will then probably cost him votes among urban conservatives who, much less concerned about the conservative-liberal dichotomy at state and local levels, will lean toward supporting the man who will work for providing adequate urban services. An endorsement of Howell, which is a possibility, would also help him.

Race will, as usual, be an underlying issue, but expressed in terms of law-and-order and busing. While racial feelings have cooled somewhat in

the last year, any racial disturbances in Virginia, or next door in the District of Columbia, will hurt Howell as would any court decisions favorable to blacks.

An unspoken, but still very real issue, will be Godwin's health. A January operation to remove several non-malignant intestinal polyps, plus a noticeable palsy, has created some concern that he might not survive a four-year term. If Howell is successful in forcing Godwin into TV debates, his palsy may hurt him in the same way that Nixon's five o'clock shadow on the 1960 TV debates hurt him.

Headless tickets have caused great concern in both parties about the other two state-wide races — lieutenant governor and attorney general — and the local elections for the 100 seats in the House of Delegates (of which the Republicans now hold 25). The 40-man senate is midway through a four-year term this year.

A gaggle of mostly-conservative Republicans are seeking the lieutenant governor's nomination while no Republican seems inclined to take on the popular Democratic attorney general, Andrew Miller, who is seeking reelection in preparation for his 1977 gubernatorial bid.

Leading Republican contenders for the lieutenant governor's slot are State Sen. John Dalton (son of two-time Republican gubernatorial candidate Ted Dalton, and heir to much old-line Republican support in Western Virginia) and Richard Obenshain, the conservative state party chairman. Although Obenshain has not yet announced his intentions, a draft-Obenshain movement has been active since March.

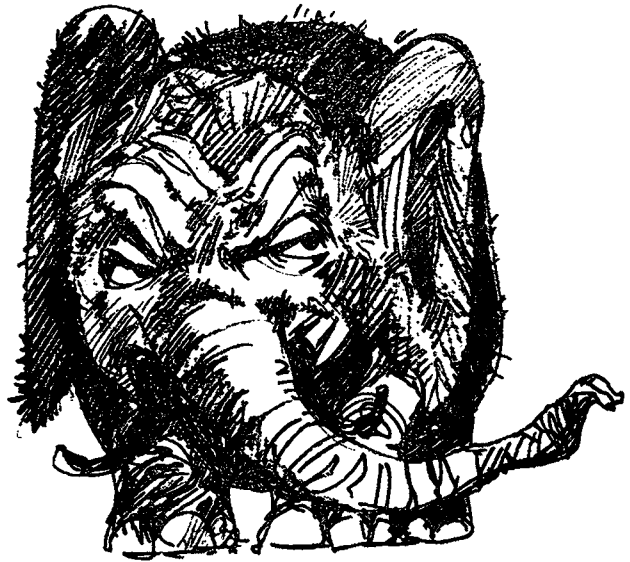
Heavy-handed support from wealthy arch conservative Stets Coleman (who put \$200,000 into last year's victorious campaign of conservative U.S. Sen. William Scott over the then incumbent moderate-liberal Democrat William Spong) has hurt Obenshain across the state. Many feel that too much conservatism is being pushed down their throats and that, from the standpoint of practical politics, Dalton would bring far more votes to Godwin than would Obenshain. Godwin, while friendly with Coleman, does not need his money and is probably leery of too close an association with him. For that reason alone, Godwin may put a kibosh on Obenshain.

At this time, Dalton has the best

Whether the gulf between the President and the GOP can be bridged without the resignation of Halde- man is unanswerable. Certainly it would help solve the immediate tensions between the White House and the Republican Party.

But the resignation of any single presidential aide is no cure-all. Rather, the problem in the end will only be solved if the White House changes its attitude, if it seeks a real partnership with Republicans at all levels. The President must accept the leadership necessary to build a Republican Party based, not on temporary and expedient grounds, but on long-term public policies that combine financial responsibility with human compassion, on governmental programs whose costs and benefits and measures of effectiveness are openly debated by the Re- publican Party and the American people.

The Ripon Society hopes that the second Nixon Administration will not be another "holiday from party responsibility." We invite the White House — after it has cleaned up its internal problems — to rejoin the Republican Party and to help Republicans at all levels build a responsible partisan majority. ■



## DULY NOTED: Watergate

● **"Republican chieftains bridle over Watergate. Moni- tor survey shows leaders across nation, worried over '74, urge Nixon to clear up mess,"** by Godfrey Sperling, Jr. *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 7, 1973. "The Water- gate affair is stirring up a surprising amount of anti- administration feeling among key Republican leaders in every section of the United States. A Monitor survey of GOP leaders in half the states and in every geographical region finds that a number of state chairmen and national committeemen are very upset over what they see as the administration's misbehavior or over what they view as the administration's failure to clear up the Water- gate charges — or over a combination of both . . . In some states, particularly in the South where the Republican Party is struggling to gain numbers, leaders said that Watergate is hurting their recruiting . . . A large number of the leaders said that the Watergate had finally be- come a major political issue and that, if it continued, it could be most damaging to Republican candidates in 1974." Sperling quoted numerous Republican leaders in his survey, none of whom were identified. One Midwest state chairman reported, "Watergate is the biggest issue of all in this state, bigger than inflation. If the issue con- tinues, it is going to hurt those running for office all the way down to the local level."

● **"Bugging Backlash, The Watergate Affair is Dam- aging the GOP, A Journal Poll Finds. Majority of Ameri- cans Think Much Remains to Be Told, Want Probe to Continue."** *The Wall Street Journal*, April 6, 1973. "The Watergate bugging affair could create a serious political liability for the Republican Party — and it may already have — even though most Americans think covert polit- ical espionage by both parties takes place 'pretty much all the time,'" is the lead conclusion of a poll taken for the *Wall Street Journal* by Political Surveys and Analyses Inc. "To one critical question — how their voting choices might be affected should such high-level officials turn out to have been involved — 71 percent say it wouldn't affect their votes. But a significant 29 percent say they would be less likely to vote for Republican candidates in next year's elections. Nearly one out of five of the key independent, or 'swing' voters, whose ballots determine many elections, say they might turn against Republican candidates; and two out of 11 Republican voters say the same."

● **"GOP Senators Call for Full Disclosure on Water- gate: They Hold Nixon Blameless, But Fear Party Harm."** *The National Observer*, April 7, 1973. "In *The National*

*Observer* survey of Senate Republicans, the 43 GOP sena- tors were asked to respond to five questions. Twenty- four responded, either in personal interviews, by phone, in writing, or through aides. Not all of those participating answered every question. By a margin of 14 to 8, the Re- publicans said they thought the Republican Party had been damaged by Watergate, but most thought the dam- age so far was slight. By a margin of 12 to 7, they said they believed that President Nixon had not been dam- aged, but several said he might be in the future . . . The most surprising answers concerned two questions. One asked whether the President should allow White House legal counsel John W. Dean III to testify on Capitol Hill. The other asked whether Nixon is doing all he should to make the facts about Watergate available . . . Of 18 Republican senators responding to the question about Dean, 14 said he should testify and 4 supported the Pres- ident's decision. Of 19 responding to the question about whether Nixon was doing all he should, 12 said no and 7 said yes. The responses followed no clear ideological lines. Among senators who said the President had not done all he should about Watergate were liberals such as Bob Packwood of Oregon and Charles Percy of Illinois and conservatives such as James Buckley of New York, Nor- ris Cotton of New Hampshire, Carl Curtis of Nebraska, William Scott of Virginia and John Tower of Texas."

**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 sixteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contribu- tions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

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## POLITICS: PEOPLE

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● The outcome of the Republican gubernatorial primary in New Jersey between Gov. **William T. Cahill** and U. S. Rep. **Charles Sandman** may hinge on Democratic voters. Because of a successful challenge to the old, party registration laws, voters will be able to choose between the Republican and Democratic primaries. Liberal voters may choose either Cahill or State Assemblywoman **Ann Klein** (D), while conservative voters may be torn between Sandman and State Sen. **Ralph De Rose** (D). Public pronouncements by **Raymond Bateman**, the former state senate president who is the Cahill campaign chairman, and **F. Clifton White**, who is running the Sandman operation, indicate that Sandman will outspend Cahill by at least 2-1. However, recent Sandman congressional testimony favoring construction of a deep water oil port off northern New Jersey (because the water there is allegedly so polluted already) may have cost him heavily. Sandman is backing a suit by party maverick **James Quaremba** to eliminate the organization's preferential ballot position from the primary ballot. Because of the strength of county organizations in the state, a successful Quaremba suit could seriously injure Cahill.

● **Corinne "Lindy" Boggs** had little trouble winning the Louisiana congressional seat held by her missing husband, former House Majority Leader **Hale Boggs**. She defeated her Republican opponent, attorney **Robert E. Lee**, by more than 4-1.

● In the race to unseat Oakland, California's Republican mayor, **John H. Reading**, is Black Panther Chairman **Bobby Seale**. Seale and two other liberal candidates are critical of the Reading Administration for being too conservative. Seale's chances of victory are not rated high.

● A report issued on March 19 by a group of 14 House Republicans criticized a slowdown in United States arms control efforts. Led by U. S. Rep. **G. William Whitehurst** (R-Va.), the report suggested that the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency should be fully funded and called for a permanent ceiling on such strategic armaments as heavy bombers and anti-submarine devices. The 14 congressmen called for new White House initiatives at the Salt II talks and warned against the Administration's increasingly immobile position in the talks.

● California Attorney General **Evelle Younger** says Republicans will have trouble raising money for their gubernatorial race next year. "When the President's people came through last year, they were ruthless — they twisted arms and took all the loose change," Younger told a meeting of Sacramento reporters. "The Republicans who have money to give for political purposes gave within the last year as much as they intended to give for the next ten years . . . The Democrats didn't think they had a winner. They saved their money."

● An excerpt from recent debate on drug legislation in the Vermont legislature: "People who use marijuana blow smoke into each other's belly-buttons and carry on acts of homosexuality." The speaker, Republican National Committeewoman and State Sen. **Madeline Harwood**, is sponsoring legislation for stiffer sentences for drug offenders.

● The Better Schools Act of 1973, The Nixon Administration's proposal to consolidate some elementary and secondary education grant programs through revenue sharing, was introduced in the Senate last month by Sen. **Peter H. Dominick** (R-Colo.). The ranking Republican on the Education Subcommittee, Dominick said he introduced the bill "as a matter of courtesy; a courtesy which I might add was not extended to any of the minority members of the subcommittee in the form of a request for suggestions, advice or guidance with regard to any part of this legislation in its formulation stages by administration officials . . . Having not been consulted in advance of submitting this proposal, I am confident that the same cavalier attitude will insulate these Federal officials in general, and OMB in particular, from any shock at my comments. I seize this opportunity to indicate my disinclination to being a passive and grateful recipient of OMB's set of priorities devoid of any congressional input." On the House side, the ranking Republican on the House Education and Labor Committee, **Albert Quie** (Minn.), refused to even introduce the Administration's bill, and the White House had to get U. S. Rep. **Alphonzo Bell** (Calif.) to do so. The Better Schools Act is given little chance of passing in 1973.

● By a vote of 31-14, the Ohio Republican State Central and Executive Committee elected **Kent B. McGough** to succeed the retiring state chairman, **John S. Andrews**. Andrews, who held the party post for eight years, will become the Washington representative for Owens-Illinois, a Toledo-based company for which he worked before joining the Ohio GOP organization. The new chairman was the longtime chairman of the Allen County GOP and was considered neutral in the party feuds between Sen. **Robert Taft, Jr.** and former Gov. **James A. Rhodes**. At the last minute, Taft backed McGough's opponent, **Robert E. Hughes**, the 44-year-old co-chairman of the Cleveland GOP. McGough, a 55-year-old insurance executive, said he would work with all segments of the party.

● Nebraska's State Central Committee has elected Lexington insurance-real estate man **William E. Barrett** to succeed **Milan Bush** as state GOP chairman. Barrett was elected after two other Republicans, State Sen. **Gerald Stromer** and **Rex Haberman**, decided not to contest his election. Barrett is closely identified with U. S. Rep. **Charles Thone**, who may be building for a 1976 Senate primary battle against former Gov. **Norbert Tiemann**. In the gubernatorial scene, Gov. **John J. Exon** has run out of the budget surplus left to him by Tiemann and is developing budget problems which may endanger his re-election chances. The two top Republican contenders remain unannounced: Lieutenant Gov. **Frank Marsh**, who appears to be developing a wide base of popularity in the state, and GOP National Committeeman **R. L. Herman**, who may prefer a senatorial or congressional race to the gubernatorial job. A third possibility, State Sen. **Richard D. Marvel**, is also making gubernatorial soundings.

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## RIPON FORUM

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