

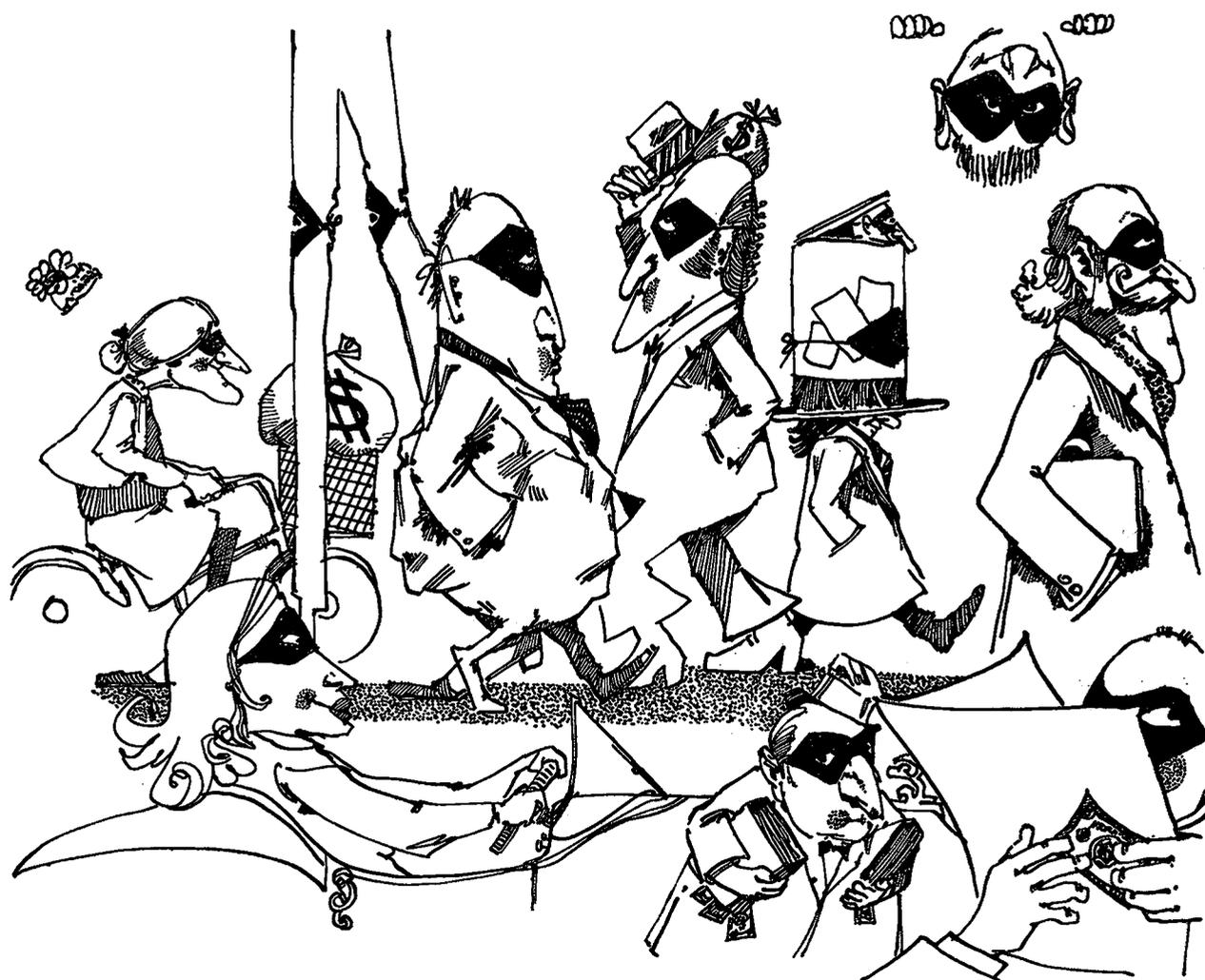
**White House: Grandmothers Runneth Over**

**RIPON  
FORUM**

JUNE, 1973

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ONE DOLLAR



**THE NEW MINORITY  
OR  
WAS IT ALWAYS THAT WAY?**

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# •Margin Release

BREED'S HILL — The presidency is sick, according to usually reliable sources in the press.

Unofficial spokesmen for the media have revealed that the presidency has been ill for some time, but that the illness was concealed by White House aides. Some spokespeople, in and out of the media, have questioned whether the presidency can recover. Even those who recently have been unsympathetic to the institution, however, say they hope for a complete recovery because they fear that the presidency's heir is incompetent.

The news about the presidency's illness comes after several months of reports that the Congress was suffering from chronic anemia and that strong medicine would be required to reinvigorate that branch of government. But with the presidency in ill health, the Congress has shown new vigor. Indeed, well-placed sources in the media have maintained that it is perhaps good for the presidency to get sick because it will give Congress a chance to recover from its anemia — which was probably psychosomatic anyway.

Headlines have focused, however, on medical reports about the state of the presidency. Official statements from the White House maintain that the institution's condition is satisfactory despite major surgery. Other informants, however, insist that the presidency is suffering from a state of shock. The President has changed doctors after numerous reports that his trusted family physicians had concealed the nature of his illness from him. Some observers remain puzzled, however, by the President's refusal to consult outside specialists.

The latest revelations of governmental decrepitude came after several years of medical discussion on the state of the nation. Liberal and leftist commentators had asserted during the past decade that the nation was "sick." Conservative and rightist commentators had asserted during the same period that the only people who were sick were the liberals and the leftists . . . except, of course, the courts and the press which were also sick because they paid too much attention to the medical reports from the liberals and the leftists who were obviously frauds and quacks dispensing patent medicine.

The health of the courts became a campaign issue

in 1968 when it was alleged that the courts had become soft-headed (a non-medical term). It was promised that if the courts were healed then all would be well with America.

However, when new doctors were appointed to the court case, several of them were accused of quackery themselves. This was interpreted in some quarters as a slur on Southern medicine but critics maintained that it was only an attack on legal malpractice.

In 1970, the focus of the national health debates shifted to the press. The media, it was charged, presented biased diagnoses which failed to adequately reflect the true nature of the national patient. The nation, it was argued, was really very well off . . . only the press insisted on reporting its occasional headaches and colds and ignoring the rest of the body. The press, in turn, accused its critics of advocating a return to black magic. No one is interested in a healthy toe, said the TV broadcasters.

Then last year, the health of a dirty old man named Politics was called into serious question. Many observers had always suspected Politics of secretly masking his leprous condition. The FBI, which had always given impartial diagnoses in the past, was called in to examine the patient. But then it was disclosed that the FBI had suffered a heart attack. Similar attacks were soon felt at the CIA, the Justice Department, and the State Department. The President announced a massive campaign to fight heart disease and shuffled his doctors.

The press, reveling in all the new outbreaks of disease, proclaimed itself the "bestest" doctor of all and announced its diagnoses had been vindicated. One congressional source meanwhile found a new disease; the press, he said, was catching "McCarthyism."

Ignoring such charges, the media continued to publish all the confidential medical data it could get a hold of. In response to critics who claimed that a cure could not be determined unless a confidential doctor-patient relationship was maintained, the press and some members of Congress replied that the truth was more important than the cure.

Doesn't anybody make house calls anymore? db

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# EDITORIAL

Were it not for Watergate, the columnists would not be writing about corruption of power, obsession with loyalty, resignations and impeachment. They would be writing about realignment.

From the perspective of last January, one could reliably predict that the political news of the spring would be dominated by symbols of political conversion. John Connally, scion of the Southern conservative wing of the Democratic Party, was fated to switch to the GOP. Other conservative Democrats, such as Mills Godwin in Virginia and Frank Rizzo in Pennsylvania, were flirting with the idea. Then in late winter, Donald Riegle, the fair-haired boy of the Michigan GOP and an outspoken liberal, went in the opposite direction. With such prominent politicians dramatizing political realignment and leading the GOP to monolithic conservatism, the long elusive, "emerging Republican majority" would be at hand.

Then the White House bungled its own game plan. Nobody mentions the emerging Republican majority any more. In fact, nobody even uses the word "Republican" except as a label for his or her political opponent. Watergate has preempted discussion about expanding the GOP's base; Republicans are merely trying to hold on to their own pants and skirts.

Nor are things likely to change soon. With the public exposed to daily revelations about official misconduct, with new indictments probable, with a televised senatorial investigation calling formerly prominent Republicans, and with criminal trials to follow, the GOP will be under assault for many months to come.

For the moment, the strategy of political polarization designed to fashion that conservative majority has been put to rout. Even as John Mitchell, Charles Colson and others associated with that strategy tried to disentangle themselves from charges and countercharges on Watergate, the President, in stating on April 30 his four "great goals" for the nation, renounced, as he did in 1971, the polarizing style. John Connally may well be followed by other ambitious Democrats to fill the vacuum of post-Watergate leadership at the White House. But nowhere is there evidence that the kind of party realignment dreamed of by the old advocates of the Southern Strategy will be realized under *this* presidency.

Today, progressive Republicans occupy a unique position. Freedom from White House control, which they sought so assiduously over the past several years, now becomes an important asset. GOP progressives exercised independent judgment on the Carswell and Haynsworth nominations, on the Hatfield-McGovern and Cooper-Church amendments to end the war in Indochina, on the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, on the ABM and SST. They resisted presidential dominance when it was most pervasive, and yet did so not because of partisan differences but because of political scruples.

By their independence from the people most implicated in Watergate and indeed from the President on great matters of conscience, Republican progressives may now find some relief from the pain their individualism caused them in the past. U. S. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey may take some small solace in the fact that he warned us, as a candidate in the New Hampshire primary and in his book *Truth and Untruth: Political Deceit in America*, of improprieties in the White House.

Yet this freedom is more than a political asset. It carries with it a special responsibility to ensure that Watergate and consanguineous scandals are resolved to

the nation's complete satisfaction. Because Democrats can be accused of partisan excesses, most Democrats — at least those not given to daily excesses — may be reluctant to press constantly. Sen. Lowell Weicker, the only progressive Republican on the special senatorial investigatory committee, became a leading critic of the *Waterbugging* last fall, long before it became politically faddish. Sen. Charles Percy's leadership on the appointment of an independent prosecutor also derived from his position as a progressive Republican. The task of Watergate falls to those Republicans not identified with the President.

Progressive Republicans also have a responsibility to the GOP, and an opportunity to build the party again from the White House's ashes. Rightly or wrongly, the most prominently suspect Republicans are associated with conservative policies and with the GOP's conservative wing. No one mistakes John Mitchell, Maurice Stans, H.R. Haldeman and John Dean for liberals. Only *Human Events* has had the imagination to so label John Ehrlichman. While Barry Goldwater will continue to be a senatorial symbol of integrity, Ronald Reagan, an oft-mentioned candidate for the party's presidential nomination in 1976, is insisting that the conduct of the Watergate *buglers* was not criminal, simply misguided. To the extent that the public identifies a spectrum of political thought within the GOP, it will associate Watergate with the Republican right; continued dominance of the party by that wing will continue to implicate the entire GOP.

Only progressive Republicans, unscathed by the scandal, can restore to the party an image of integrity and objective government. The combination of independence, intelligence and integrity makes them ideal for party leadership. They should seize the opportunity, for they have not had one like it since they nominated Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952.

But leadership requires more than running for office — more than getting out in front and demanding that everyone follow. Republican progressives are addicted to independent, crusading campaigns that build little for other party candidates and leave no political base for implementing their own ideals.

Republican progressives will have to work together, each accepting leadership responsibilities and back-seat assignments as the situation warrants. They will have to speak out, not only to the League of Women Voters and the environmental groups, but also on the Republican dinner circuit where they must raise the questions of integrity in government — Republican integrity — and progressive policies for federal domestic policy. They will have to rally public support for the congressional reforms necessary to reestablish a sense of dignity to the political process and a constitutional balance between the legislative and executive branches on both questions of international commitments and the federal budget. They will have to identify and aid young progressive candidates who wish to seek office as Republicans. They will have to revive the substance of those progressive policy initiatives of President Nixon's first term that were combined in his Second American Revolution.

Everyone is already looking to the 1976 presidential nomination. One or more progressive Republicans will run. But the work of building the party, and perhaps some day a real Republican majority, will be done not by those who launch a crusading candidacy for the presidency but by those who accept the less glamorous roles of developing and selling progressive policy, serving as intelligent critics of the Democrats and the White House, and exercising quiet leadership of example and assistance. ■



*"The Emerging Republican Problem"*

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# Editorial Board COMMENTARY

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## Does the FBI Need a Big Brother?

*by Robert D. Bebn*

In the wake of the revelation that L. Patrick Gray III, while acting FBI director, did not aggressively investigate White House involvement with Watergate, Democratic senators in Washington are introducing legislation to make the FBI an independent agency. Their objective is to in-

sulate the nation's principal law enforcement agency from political pressure by either the White House or the attorney general.

But the history of reform movements to "take the politics out of" numerous governmental agencies should provide a warning to those who would attempt to do the same with the FBI. All governmental agencies, whether they are "independent" or not, make their decisions in a political environment. The only question is: What are the political constituencies to which the agency is responsive?

The original rationale for making an agency "independent" may have been to ensure efficiency or to reduce corruption — but an inevitable corollary is to reduce political access by some, but not all, segments of the electorate. The classic example is the independent regulatory commission whose life cycle is invariably characterized by an initial period of aggressive regulation followed by an eon of sympathy with the organizations that the agency was established to regulate. Such an agency's independence is not from all political pressures; rather, the agency exercises its independence by deciding those political pressures to which it will respond.

Ironically, only a few years ago, a major criticism of J. Edgar Hoover, the bureau's former director, was that he was *too* independent of political control. On the organization chart, he reported to the attorney general, although neither Robert Kennedy, Ramsey Clark nor John Mitchell had much influence over Hoover and *his* agency. No President dared not to reappoint Hoover, who dealt directly with Congress on his bureau's budget, for which the former director deigned to make his annual pilgrimage to Capitol Hill. U.S. Rep. John J. Rooney (D-N.Y.), the penny-pinching chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee for the Justice Department, once said, "I have never cut [the FBI's] budget and I never intend to."

Still, independence from control by elected officials does not mean that Hoover was above politics. Rather, he was a master of it. Through speeches and books, he controlled the public image of his agency in a way that would make any J. Walter Thompson account executive drool.

Further, congressmen and others worried about the contents and use of their own FBI file. When former Sen. Edward V. Long (D-Mo.) criticized FBI wiretapping, the bureau leaked to LIFE magazine a scandal about Long splitting legal fees with a Teamster attorney, and the resulting headlines helped to defeat Long in his next election. When Martin Luther King, Jr. denounced Hoover, the FBI director invited newsmen to listen to tapes obtained through a bug in the civil rights leader's hotel room. It was principally Gray's political malleability that fostered recent Democratic eulogies to Hoover's independence.

At a time when many are attempting to reassert "civilian control" over the military, it may seem odd that others should advocate the elimination of such control over the FBI. However, Senators Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.) and Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), the two major advocates of an independent FBI, have often supported military officers in opposition to their civilian superiors in the Pentagon.

Significantly, the proposals by Jackson and Byrd will not resolve the weakness demonstrated by Watergate: the difficulty of investigating the White House without its cooperation. Traditionally, scandals within the heart of the executive branch have been cleared up by appointing an independent investigation/prosecution team. Richard Nixon was, until last month, simply unwilling to do this.

If the FBI is independent, its director can decide how he will pursue any investigation; however, this does not guarantee that he will vigorously investigate the White House. Only a few years ago, when Hoover was at the height of his independence from political control, one of the fundamental criticisms of the FBI was that it undertook only the easy assignments, e.g., communists and radicals, while deliberately ignoring the more intractable problems of, for example, organized crime. Indeed, it has been reported that one reason the White House decided to start its own in-house investigation of the Pentagon Papers case was because they became convinced that Hoover, because of his friendship with Ellsberg's future fa-



ther-in-law, would not make the Pentagon Papers case top priority. It is not obvious that an independent FBI would have or could have cleared up the Watergate scandal by itself — either before or after the election.

The Democratic Congress is, of course, interested in keeping alive the question of the integrity of the FBI — for it can only serve to further embarrass the Republican White House. But Congress, under Democratic control, was an accomplice to letting the FBI and Hoover acquire independent status. By failing to exercise legislative oversight over the bureau's and Mr. Hoover's activities, Congress permitted the FBI to accrue enough power to place itself beyond the control of either Congress or the President.

Congress has permitted the same thing to happen to the CIA. The Senate has a special oversight committee on the intelligence agency — Jackson is a member — but the committee does not hold regular public hearings and other members of Congress do not even know the size of the agency's budget or for what it is spent. Further, the special committee has not met for over two years. Now we find that the CIA was involved in some domestic espionage in the Pentagon Papers case.

Will political independence be the guarantor against political abuses by the CIA and the FBI? Obviously not. But the Constitution does provide a proven process: the system of checks and balances between the legislative and executive branches. Unfortunately, brass buttons or hushed confidentialities about national security have so mesmerized some of those on Capitol Hill — Jackson and Byrd being more in a trance than many others — that Congress has been unable to aggressively examine the operations of the FBI, the CIA or the Pentagon.

Senators Byrd and Jackson have emphasized that they hope to generate debate over "the future role of the FBI." This is indeed a worthy goal. But nothing can better guarantee that the executive branch will not use the FBI for its own political purposes than for Congress vigilantly to exercise its constitutional responsibilities. ■

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## Editorial Board COMMENTARY

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# Public Campaign Financing

by James H. Manaban

The cost of political campaigns today is enormous. Small contributors provide an important source of funds for candidates, but congressional, senatorial and professional campaigns are forced to seek a large share of support from "fat cats."

When an officeholder, however honest, receives large contributions from individuals or special interest groups, he or she incurs obligations to the contributors. The present system of campaign financing gives some individuals greatly disproportionate influence over public policy, and reduces the impact of the average citizen on his elected representatives. One high White House aide has been quoted as saying, "If I give \$100,000 and you give \$10, of course I have more pull."

This principle of "government for sale" was dramatically played out during a 13-day period in early 1971. On March 13, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin announced that there would be no increase in support prices for milk during the next year as there was no evidence to justify such a move. Ten days later, on March 23, dairy representatives gave \$10,000 to four Republican campaign committees; their leaders had an audience with the President and Secretary Hardin on March 23; and \$25,000 more was contributed to ten Republican committees on March 24. On March 25, Secretary Hardin reversed himself, citing "continuing research" that had turned up new information on rising costs. He raised the support price from \$4.66 to \$4.93 per 100 pounds of liquid milk — a decision which cost the government \$125 million in subsidies in 1971 and raised consumer prices.

During the remainder of 1971, dairy political committees gave to the Republican Party approximately \$400,000. The president of Mid-America Dairymen was quoted as saying, "Whether we like it or not, this is the way the system works."

Based on available records, the Citizens Research Foundation estimates that Associated Milk Producers eventually gave \$782,000 to the Nixon campaign. Howard Hughes (Hughes Tool Company) gave \$100,000, Arthur Watson (IBM) gave \$303,000, and Saul Steinberg (Leasco) gave \$250,000. The Foundation lists large contributions from several wealthy oilmen, including J. Paul Getty (Getty Oil, \$97,000), Kent Smith (Lubrizol, \$244,000) and Richard Mellon Scaife (Gulf Oil, \$1 million). Is it any wonder that President Nixon opposes repeal of the oil depletion allowance?

A partial reform of the campaign financing system was enacted in 1971, whereby taxpayers can now designate \$1 of their taxes to help finance the 1976 presidential election. This tax checkoff system was intended as an initial effort at public financing of political campaigns to relieve candidates of the necessity of obtaining funds from special interests. Originally, the checkoff was to go into operation in 1972. However, President Nixon was opposed to any tax money being used to help his opponent in last year's election, and he announced that he would veto the bill unless the effective date was postponed until 1973.

Even after the checkoff system went into effect this year, the Internal Revenue Service went out of its way to make it difficult for taxpayers to participate. Rather than put the checkoff box on Form 1040, a separate Form 4875 was put in the back of the tax booklet, and most taxpayers were never even aware of it. Less than 3 percent of the tax returns included the checkoff form, but even at this rate some \$4 million or \$5 million will be available for each major party by 1976.

A more fundamental change has been proposed by Common Cause, the citizens' lobby. They believe that a total overhaul of the present system of financing elections is a national necessity, and have called for public financing of most campaign costs. Such

financing would include "voter's time" on television for discussion of issues by candidates for federal offices, travel funds, and free mailings for candidates to every voter in his or her district. Common Cause also favors quick enactment of a reasonable and enforceable limit on political gifts.

Action on these proposals is finally beginning. On May 2, Senate Democrats approved a resolution of Sen. James Abourezk (D-So. Dak.) calling for public financing of elections. Sen. Philip Hart (D-Mich.) introduced a bill (S. 1103) for this purpose, and Sen. Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) declared that, "public financing for federal election campaign costs cannot be put off any longer."

Perhaps the best approach is a bi-partisan bill just introduced in the House which would combine public and private funding of election costs. U.S. Rep. John Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House Republican Conference, and U.S. Rep. Morris Udall (D-Az.) have proposed that small private contributions be matched with equal amounts from the federal treasury. Specifically, candidates would receive public funds equal to each private contribution of up to \$50, with a limit of 10 cents per eligible voter in the candidate's district. At the same time, contributions from a single source would be limited to \$2500 for a presidential candidate and \$1000 for congressional candidates.

This proposal recognizes that modest financial support from the private sector provides an important and healthy avenue for citizen participation in the electoral process. It seems reasonable that a candidate's right to public funds would be measured by his ability to secure grass roots support from small contributors. At the same time, eliminating large contributions from wealthy influence-seekers would diminish the impact of special interests on government and restore the public's faith in political institutions.

It is time to adopt public financing of elections, thereby ending the pernicious influence of the fat cats on candidates and elected officials, and improving both the quantity and quality of citizen participation in politics. ■

## Power on Capitol Hill

by Charles A. Mosber

The complex imperatives of "the energy problem" cut across and into all other policy considerations — economic, social, ecological, moral, philosophical, aesthetic, political, and jurisdictional. It will be involved in and fester all other national policy issues and decisions for many, many years to come.

Thus, there is only one center of authority and power in American life capable (hopefully) of providing the innovative coordinating leadership and leverage required to begin to deal effectively with these "energy crisis" problems so innately part and parcel of all national problems — and that is the presidency.

It has been popular recently in the Congress to call for the creation of some form of new coordinating and

action mechanism in the bureaucracy, an Energy Council or an Energy Czar; but I am convinced that no such device can possibly succeed, except as a direct arm of the President right at the White House level.

And even a strong President can succeed only by enlisting big majorities in the Congress, persuading public opinion, winning some key decisions in the courts, negotiating effectively with other nations — no simple, easy assignment. Can Richard Nixon do it?

One starting point certainly must be a radical reorganization to consolidate and coordinate, to make coherent the responsibilities for energy now fragmented and often at cross purposes in literally dozens of government offices, committees, commissions, and councils.

Many of us were heartened when Mr. Nixon decided to create an energy staff in the White House and named Charles Di Bona to head that new, small, competent group. Its mission is to identify and assess energy problems and opportunities that abound in each and all of the three policy jurisdictions assigned to President Nixon's top assistants — Shultz, Ehrlichman (formerly) and Kissinger — in economics, domestic issues and national security, respectively; to coordinate energy policy in all three areas, to use the authority and powers of the presidency to pull together a coherent national energy *action* program.

Obviously, as with every other aspect of this "crisis," it is a complicated, difficult assignment for Di Bona to act as special energy consultant to the President, heading a staff that will work with all three presidential assistants and their respective staffs. I assume there is implied considerable authority to knock heads together, to begin to force all of the many scattered government energy policies and activities into a coherent system.

It is much too early to know whether this strategy will succeed. Di Bona has been there only a few weeks, and I suspect he had to concentrate all his attention until April 18 in an effort to pull together ideas for Mr. Nixon's second energy message, sent to the Congress on that date. Months before Di Bona arrived, others in the White House — Peter Flanigan and Jim Akins especially — had been study-

ing, analyzing, writing and rewriting in what must have been a frustrating, discouraging effort to produce an energy message acceptable to the President and his advisors.

Few "hurrahs" greeted the President's energy recommendations when finally announced. The message was a mixed bag and provoked mixed reaction.

Interior Secretary Rogers Morton (using excessive hyperbole characteristic of this Administration's view of its own policies) immediately declared, "President Nixon's energy program is one of the most far-reaching and significant pronouncements in recent history . . ."

Administration critics, of course, took the opposite view. U.S. Rep. Morris Udall pointed to reliance on "oil from the Arabs" and "the all-out dig-dam-drill approach" as two "unacceptable . . . nonsolutions." Hobart Rowen, *Washington Post* finance writer, called the message, "a great disappointment . . . he has produced nothing more than a dry hole . . . a bit of Pabulum."

My own personal reaction is at the "well yes and no" level. Certainly the President does for the most part point us in good directions; but I hear no clarion call, no imperative demand, no great sense of urgency at several points where I am convinced the need for greater urgency is very real.

His proposal for a new cabinet-rank Department of Energy and Natural Resources (DENR) makes good sense; but his somewhat similar recommendation to the 92nd Congress was ignored. Now, by including "energy" in the proposed department's name, he adds a welcome new emphasis; but it seems doubtful that this Congress will adopt the plan. U.S. Rep. Chet Holifield (D-Calif.) probably is one formidable obstacle. As chairman of the Government Operations Committee, Holifield will control that reorganization bill; but he also is the leading congressional champion of the Atomic Energy Commission. He is reported to be very dubious about the President's plan to transfer major energy functions from the AEC to a huge new DENR. The DENR would absorb almost all of the present Interior Department, plus parts of the AEC and several other agencies.



Pending action on the DENR concept, Mr. Nixon directed the Interior Department to establish a new Office of Energy Conservation. Secretary Morton has taken that action as part of a larger, related reorganization in his department which also creates other new offices, for Energy Data and Analysis, Research and Development, Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, and Land Use and Water Planning, respectively — all to be involved in supporting the President's energy program.

Significant changes designed to strengthen energy-related policy also are in progress in the National Science Foundation, NASA and, perhaps most importantly, in the Office of Management and Budget. (We in the Congress resent it and fight it, but OMB's increasingly powerful role in making crucial policy decisions is currently undeniable.)

The President certainly is right in abolishing the oil quota system and tariffs on imported oil. The move

should have been made two or three years ago; but it is a prime example of how an expedient solution to one public problem so often creates two or three other problems. He was forced to end the quota system, because that is the only way to obtain sufficient oil to meet the American people's demands in the next ten or so years; now, however, we have got to rely increasingly on oil from the Mideast during those years.

That also perhaps justifies the legislation he proposes for federal licensing to encourage the building of deep sea ports and rights-of-way for pipelines to carry into land the oil unloaded far out at sea.

But obviously, all those actions will encourage our increasing reliance on Mideast oil, and who wants that? Our resulting balance of payments problems, the threat of increased Arab wealth being used to disrupt world money markets, our increasing dependence on the erratic political and military situation in the Mideast or

our own increased political and military involvement there . . . all these are extremely unhappy prospects.

So, how do we manage to obtain that imported oil for the next few years when we desperately will need it, but at the same time feel confident of being able to end that reliance early in the 1980's when we will have developed adequate domestic sources?

Mr. Nixon proposes to accomplish that trick by opening the flood gates to imported oil now, but then by gradually increasing license fees on imports to be levied in the years ahead, and by a much higher fee on imports of refined petroleum products than on crude oil (to encourage increased refinery production here) — those licensing devices, plus new tax incentives to encourage oil prospecting, plus tripling the federal leasing program for offshore oil and gas exploration — plus his urgent support for construction of the Alaska pipeline, and speeding up the leasing of oil shale areas of the public lands in western states. Obviously, these are controversial plans, and it is too early to judge how readily or how far the Congress may go in accepting them.

One imperative necessity (both in the short term period of dependence on imported oil and looking to the long term availability of more domestic oil) is the construction of new, modern refineries (designed *not* to pollute) at strategically located cities especially in the northeastern states; the White House also is pushing strategies to accomplish this.

But I am so convinced that the nation (and eventually the rest of the world, too) must END entirely our dependence on oil and natural gas as energy sources and I believe so urgently in that necessity, that I tend to be very doubtful and impatient about these plans to import oil and gas in vast new quantities, and to increasingly tap new domestic supplies. No matter where they are, these resources are in the long view extremely limited and therefore extremely valuable; we have an imperative obligation not to use them recklessly, but to conserve them diligently. That is our profoundly moral and practical obligation to future generations.

Mr. Nixon did say we must achieve a "national energy conservation ethic."

I hope that a really tough-minded, strong-willed somebody, able and skilled, will be named to run Interior's new Office of Energy Conservation. There is a suspicion that considerably more than the efforts mentioned in the President's message — voluntary labeling of appliances to indicate their relative efficiency in use of electricity, for example — are needed. The President is demanding cooperation for energy conservation in all the federal agencies and major efforts are underway in the General Services Administration, National Bureau of Standards, Environmental Protection Agency, Department of Housing and Urban Development, National Science Foundation, and undoubtedly others.

Note well that many proposals for reducing energy use would require difficult, controversial adjustments in the average guy's present way of life. Guy Stever, recently named science advisor by the President and director of NSF, comments, "The pathways out of this dilemma are tortuous and complex."

Most significant of all are critical doubts about the Administration's energy research and technology development funding effort. Substantial appropriations beyond those allowed by OMB in the FY 1974 budget proposals could produce big dividends if used effectively for concentrated R & D efforts in certain energy areas. (As a matter of budgeting philosophy, I look upon all good R & D not as expense but as capital investment from which there will be profitable return.)

There were advance rumors that Mr. Nixon might recommend an added \$100 million or so for energy R & D. But his message did not offer a cent more than already proposed in his original budget. He plans to obligate about \$772 million for energy R & D in FY 1974, compared with approximately \$537 million actually used in FY 1973 — obviously a very substantial increase. And the private sector also will spend more than \$1.1 billion on energy-related R & D in 1974. But Sen. Jackson is getting a lot of attention for his bill which projects federal funding at average levels of \$2 billion per year for 10 years; and our "Energy Task Force" of the House Science Committee chaired by U.S. Rep. Mike McCormack re-

cently declared that at least an additional \$1 billion per year could be well invested for R & D in that area. I agree.

I recognize the very real budget constraints right now. I willingly accept the President's demand that federal expenditures shall not exceed a total of \$268 billion for FY 1974; in fact, most everyone in this Congress accepts that total, and it is a good guess we actually will appropriate a bit less than that. But each of us has his own vigorous disagreements with the Nixon expenditure priorities within that \$268 billion total, and perhaps a majority of us may agree on a higher priority for energy R & D.

Agreed, for the short run (10 years, maybe) we will have to scramble, using almost any expedient to try to find enough of our traditional fuels; and such expediencies are evident in the President's energy message. Yes, it really may be essential, as the President suggests, that some states will be forced to postpone (very selectively and temporarily, I hope) fully implementing their air-quality standards. Unhappily, that may be required by a genuine short term need to burn increased amounts of dirty coal. As yet, there is no adequate technology to remove the sulphur oxides in stack gases.

But for the longer period (from 1980 to 2000) surely we can have a coherent plan, and I assume that means: 1) Decreasing reliance on oil and gas; 2) A huge new reliance on coal, after we have succeeded in a crash R & D program to achieve (sulphur free) coal gasification and coal liquifaction on a commercial basis; 3) Continuing construction of a good many nuclear fission power plants, with increasing emphasis on safety and pollution abatement technologies; 4) Moving as rapidly as possible to achieve commercially successful breeder reactors — but using them only in that intermediate period.

And then, our ultimate goal (beginning in the next century) must be to diminish as quickly as possible any reliance on today's principal energy — let us forget oil, gas, coal, nuclear fission — and by that time depend on thermonuclear fusion and solar energy.

So, if the above, sketchy, oversimplified plan for 50 years of energy

progress makes good sense, then let us recognize that it can happen only if given sufficient momentum right now, only if we have the foresight, will and courage to embark NOW on a really tremendous, vigorous, urgent R & D effort, using the total systems approach.

I am guessing the prime candidates for considerably greater R & D funding immediately should be the following: 1) Coal stack gas removal. 2) Coal gasification and liquifaction, plus vastly improved techniques for mining safety and environmental protections in mining. 3) Fast breeder reactors, with increased emphasis on alternatives (gas cooled?) to the currently emphasized liquid metal fast breeders. 4) Long term nuclear waste disposal technology. 5) Thermonuclear fusion. 6) Solar energy. 7) Pollution controls. 8) Energy conservation technologies, including new concepts in building construction, more efficient storage and transmission of electricity, and surely more efficient economically feasible, productive systems for recycling wastes.

Let us acknowledge that all of the above R & D needs are recognized to some extent in the President's April 18 message, or in his executive agency planning. In fact, his 1974 budget proposes substantially increased funding for several such efforts, notably fast breeders (up \$63 million), fusion (up \$22 million), coal production and utilization (up \$28 million), and solar energy (up \$8 million). And Guy Stever of NSF, the new science advisor, assured the House Science Committee that, "When additional funds are found to be essential for proper implementation of well-conceived and designed research programs, (the President) will make every effort to see that they are provided . . . (but) it is clear that we must identify the trade-offs . . ."

Nevertheless, I am one of those who remain unhappy with the level and tone of Mr. Nixon's commitment to our national energy R & D needs . . . and in fact his attitudes in the whole realm of national policy making for science and technology; the essential sense of genuine awareness and urgency does seem lacking. I cannot help but feel that he is allowing OMB to skimp on R & D funding to an extent that produces false economies. ■

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## COMMENTARY

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# The Presi- dential Vote For Puerto Rico

by Luis A. Ferre<sup>1</sup>

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico stands in a unique position within the American federal system without statehood but characterized by strong bonds of permanent union with the United States. The expressed desire and will of our people for such union is contained in the Preamble of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and has been repeatedly ratified by more than 90 percent of our electorate in its regular elections.

It is only natural in the sequence of events of our development within the American democratic system, that our citizens should wish to attain as full a participation and enjoyment of those rights inherent in our American citizenship as possible. One such right which is inherent in citizenship is the right to vote for the President and the Vice President of the United States. The aforementioned right, however, is not enjoyed by the citizens of Puerto Rico.

Therefore, during the first year of my term in office as governor of Puerto Rico, I recommended to President Nixon the joint-designation of an *ad hoc* committee of citizens from Puerto Rico and the mainland to study the viability of the presidential vote

for Puerto Rico and to make the recommendations it deemed proper. The committee was so designated on April 13, 1970 and hearings held during March 1971 in San Juan and in Washington, D. C.<sup>1</sup>

It is a well-settled fact that the pursuit and attainment of the presidential vote for the citizens of Puerto Rico is in no way incompatible with the philosophy of its present status. Those who propound the concept of "development of Commonwealth" admit that this would be one of the forms of such development, as evidenced by Joint Resolution Number 1 of December 3, 1962<sup>2</sup> which was passed by a special session of the legislature called by former Gov. Luis Muñoz Marín.

It is evident, therefore, that the presidential vote is consistent with the development of Commonwealth status, pursuant to the authorization granted by the people of Puerto Rico in the Plebiscite of 1967.

It is my position that the will of the people should be respected even if the presidential vote entailed the so-called undesirable consequences which have been attributed to it. The fact is, however, that such is not the case.

For example, it has been stated that the right to vote for the President and Vice President necessarily entails the obligation to pay federal taxes. However, it is our contention that the presidential vote does not entail *per se* the obligation to pay federal taxes because the right to vote for the President and Vice President of the United States cannot be conditioned upon the payment of any taxes or fees whatsoever.<sup>3</sup> I must make clear, however, that this statement does not mean that the U. S. citizens of Puerto Rico wish to enjoy tax exemption privileges forever. The objective of both the federal government and Puerto Rico is to achieve the economic growth of Puerto Rico to the point that it will be able to pay taxes on the same footing with all other citizens. The people of Puerto Rico will not shirk their responsibilities once they are in a position to assume the economic burdens that are part and parcel of the American way of life.

It has also been argued that the presidential vote would result in the oversaturation of our political atmos-

phere with issues which do not concern Puerto Rico, although they may be important to the residents of the states. To me, however, this theory is unrealistic.

The fact is that most national issues affect Puerto Rico in the same way that they affect the states of the Union and will continue to do so more and more in the future. Inflation, contamination, the War, the economy, the problems of population concentration of the cities and urban areas, selective service, crime, poverty, lack of funds for education, and many other issues are as important in Puerto Rico as they are in any other area of the nation.

The basic consideration on this matter is that we will continue to be preoccupied by the local issues which affect us, but not by those local issues which have no bearing on our problems. However, the U. S. citizens of Puerto Rico must be concerned and must participate in the decisions that affect national interests with the same patriotic sense and the same social concern that demand the attention of all U. S. citizens. The freedom and progress of America is of paramount importance to all U. S. citizens, whether from Kansas, Illinois or Puerto Rico. Ours is a nation, diverse in its interests but united in the purpose of achieving equality and freedom with peace and security for all.

Furthermore, Puerto Rico, because of its cultural heritage, language and its convenient geographic location, could be the link which the United States could effectively use in its outlook and assistance to Latin America through better understanding. But it would be able to do so with greater effectiveness if its citizens had the full rights inherent to their American citizenship, which necessarily includes the right to vote for the President and the Vice President of the United States. This would place our people on an equal standing with all Americans, capable of defending the principles of our nation with the dignity which characterizes our citizens.

There is another matter which should be clarified. Granting the presidential vote to the people of Puerto Rico does not, in any way, affect or determine the question of the final political status for Puerto Rico. It does not preclude,



lead to, or affect the possibilities of statehood or independence.

The presidential vote and statehood are completely different things; the presidential vote does not necessarily mean a step toward statehood. It is obvious that the supporters of Commonwealth — specifically, the Popular Democratic Party which has never favored statehood — never would have advocated the presidential vote as a way of perfecting Commonwealth, if the vote constituted a step toward statehood. The approval of Joint Resolution Number 1 of 1962, and the inclusion of the presidential vote in the platform of the Popular Democratic Party definitely prove that the presidential vote is not such a step.

In this regard, it is also pertinent to note that the Twenty-third Amendment granted the right to vote for the President and Vice President to the citizens of the District of Columbia. There should be no need to elaborate on the fact that the District of Columbia is not a state of the Union, and that it is quite doubtful that it will be granted statehood. Certainly, the presidential vote has in no way affected the political status of the District of Columbia. It must, however, be recognized that voting for the President will give the citizens of Puerto Rico a broader experience in American political life and will make it easier for them to understand statehood as a viable alternative.

There is one way, however, in which the presidential vote will affect any future development concerning the political status of Puerto Rico. The vote will place the people of Puerto Rico in a stronger position in its relationship with the federal government. This could include a request for further development of Commonwealth or for transition to statehood or independence. By providing the people of Puerto Rico with much needed political leverage, the vote will facilitate the implementation of any future decision

regarding the status of Puerto Rico.

The vote would also serve as an assurance to a large segment of the Puerto Rican electorate (44 percent according to the polls of November 1972) who favor statehood for Puerto Rico, that someone would pay heed to their desires and hence give these careful consideration before endorsing any drastic alterations in the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States, which were inconsistent with the principle of permanent union with the United States. It is only reasonable to believe that such a large electorate (524,039) would want to have such a safeguard wherein local government, despite its substantial percentage of the electorate, only has minority representation in a one-party controlled executive and legislative branch.

The foregoing considerations regarding the political leverage also apply to our day-to-day relationship with the federal government. Regardless of what the specific matter being considered may be, the vote will grant us the power, which we now lack, to protect and advance our legitimate interests.

Many federal laws apply in Puerto Rico, or affect Puerto Rico, either directly or indirectly. The same is true of many federal administrative and executive decisions. Yet, in the making of such laws and decisions, at the present time Puerto Rico does not have the effective participation that is not only reasonable and desirable, but also necessary. A good way of implementing the participation of Puerto Rico in the making of the federal legislation and decisions that affect it, is through the presidential vote.

The geographical location of a group of loyal American citizens should be no reason to deny them the right to vote for the Chief Executive of their nation. Puerto Ricans who reside in New York, or in any other state, can vote in the election for the President

of the United States. That right should not be denied to Puerto Rico, just as it should not be denied to New Yorkers or Californians who come to live with us in Puerto Rico. The present situation, therefore, is unfair to *all* American citizens who reside in Puerto Rico, although, for obvious reasons, in practice, Puerto Ricans are most affected. No American citizen should be required to abandon the place in the nation where he was born, in order to be allowed to exercise his right to vote for the President of his nation. That, however, is precisely the unjust situation in which *all* American citizens of Puerto Rico find themselves. This unfair situation should not be allowed to continue.

The right to vote is a fundamental right of the citizen and constitutes one of the most basic elements of our democratic system. This — in itself, and putting aside, for the moment, all the other considerations which I have previously advanced — should be reason enough to grant the presidential vote to the American citizens who reside in Puerto Rico. Our citizens have fought to defend our nation and a democratic form of government, and in so doing many have lost their lives. This leads us to support only one conclusion — that the fundamental right of the vote should not be denied to responsible and loyal American citizens, as is true in Puerto Rico. ■

1. The Committee rendered its report on August 18, 1971 recommending that the citizens of the United States residing in Puerto Rico be granted the right to vote, and that a referendum be held as soon as possible to determine whether a majority of the electorate wanted such right.
2. "WHEREAS, those who support Commonwealth status conceive its maximum development, in permanent union with the United States of America, under the following principles: . . . 5. Participation by the people of Puerto Rico in the powers exercised, under the compact, by the government of the United States, in matters affecting Puerto Rico, in a measure proportional to the scope of such powers. This may include, among other ways of implementing such participation, the right to vote for the President and Vice President of the United States."
3. The Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States prescribes that, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax." The language of this constitutional amendment speaks for itself.  
Furthermore, in the case of *Harper v. Virginia State Board of Elections* (38 US 663, 1966), the Supreme Court of the United States, in holding that a poll tax imposed by the state of Virginia violated the federal Constitution, stated that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment is violated whenever a state makes "the affluence of the voter or payment of any fee an electoral standard. Vote qualifications have no relation to wealth nor to paying this or any other tax."

“I do not believe in the income tax. It has destroyed every society throughout history . . . and it is about to destroy this country.”

Vivien Kellems

Vivien Kellems.  
76-year-old tax protestor.  
76-year-old single girl.  
76 years old and entering the University of Edinburgh to get her Ph.D.

She talked to **Outlook**.

“We got along for one hundred and twenty-five years without the income tax. The Constitution specifically forbids an income tax to the Federal Government. It didn't say it in those words, but it said that any direct tax must be apportioned among the States in accordance with population. You can't apportion an income tax with people. An income tax is on income; it is not on people.”

“ . . . they've tailed me into the office in Hartford several times to get my books and papers. I haven't supplied them with books and papers because the Fourth Amendment says I don't have to. . . .”

“They take you to the tax court in Washington, which, of course, isn't a real, true court. That is the offspring of the Internal Revenue. It's not a court set up by our judicial system, and, as far as I can see, the main reason for that court is to cheat the American people out of a jury trial.”

Albert Ellis, founder of Rational Emotive Therapy, talked to **Outlook** too. So did education's super-critic, John Holt. So did atheist-anarchist-activist Madalyn Murray O'Hair. They all talked to **Outlook**. And they're just the beginning. You'll find a new and outspoken interview in each issue of **Outlook**, along with features by our regulars: Robert Baker, Jerome Tuccille, and, of course, Karl Hess.

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**OUTLOOK**

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# POLITICS: REPORTS

## SOUTH CAROLINA

COLUMBIA — Republican National Chairman George Bush paid a brief visit to the Palmetto State on April 24, swearing that, "we have an excellent chance to win these posts next year," referring to the Senate seat of Ernest F. Hollings and the governorship, and that, "we are not writing off any (congressional) district." Republicans now hold two out of the six South Carolina districts.

The GOP could very possibly win the governorship, if only the list of possible candidates would become stationary. The only man that has been consistently available is James Henderson, a Greenville advertising executive who ran unsuccessfully for lieutenant governor with former U.S. Rep. Albert Watson in 1970. Now added to the list are State Rep. C. Marshall Cain, the House minority leader, and William D. Workman, Jr., the editorial analyst for *The State* newspaper. Workman ran for senator in 1962 against Olin Johnston and was narrowly defeated, but, even though there is a draft Workman movement, he says that his political days are over.

Not many candidates have been mentioned to go up against Hollings for his seat in the Senate with the exception of Gen. William Westmoreland, a man who could very possibly take the election if he decided to run.

The Equal Rights Amendment hit a formidable stumbling block this year in the person of State Rep. Solomon Blatt (D), speaker of the South Carolina House, when he came out firmly against the bill of ratification. The final vote was 62-44 to table the bill. Blatt, who has already said he will resign as speaker this year after serving in the post for 34 years, stated that the amendment was, "a man's bill, not a woman's bill." There has been no action on the proposed "shield law" for the press yet, and the way the legislature is moving now it may never come up for consideration. The Senate did overwhelmingly reinstate the death penalty for premeditated murder by a vote of 37-5, and the bill is now awaiting action in the House, which

probably will not consider it until next year.

On John Connally's switch to the Republican Party, state GOP Chairman Kenneth Powell said, "A lot of Republicans will look on him as somebody who put himself on the line at a time like this." Powell went on to say that he, "would certainly support Connally or Agnew 100 percent in preference to the other candidate that's been mentioned, Senator (Charles) Percy." ■

## IOWA

DES MOINES — Iowa is waiting for popular moderate Gov. Robert Ray (R) to make up his mind whether to seek an unprecedented fourth term or to run against Sen. Harold Hughes (D).

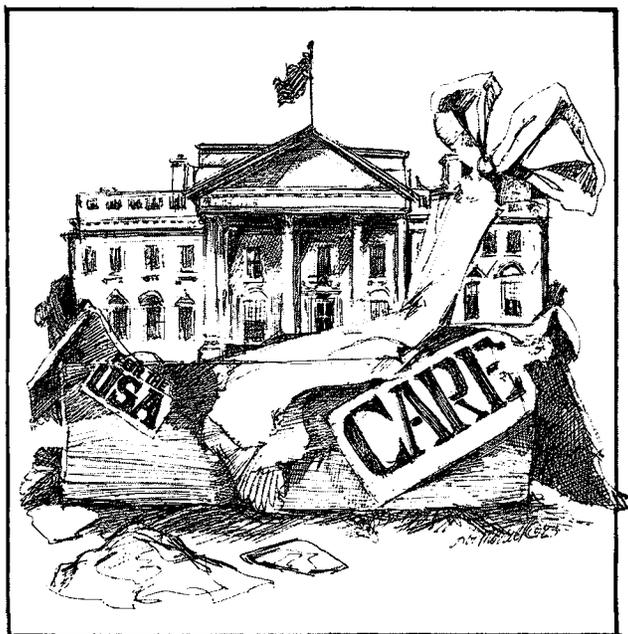
The feeling B.W. (before Watergate) was that Ray would run for the Senate, but observers are now less certain. Iowa's first election of a four-year governor will be held in 1974, and a successful campaign would make Ray the state's first ten-year governor, the longest term in Iowa's history. Ray would be then in a position to challenge Sen. Dick Clark in 1978. He could also move into "Terrace Hill," a magnificent Victorian mansion donated to the state and now undergoing restoration. In general, however,

Republicans would prefer to see Ray run for the Senate.

Among those waiting for the Ray decision is Lieutenant Gov. Arthur Neu, who in his first term in the post is working well with Ray — after four years of discord between Ray and former conservative Lieutenant Gov. Roger Jepsen. Jepsen too is awaiting developments as are a number of Republican state senators including George Milligan, a moderate, and Cliff Lanborn, a moderate-conservative who may aspire to Neu's post. Although GOP State Chairman John McDonald is thought to also have his eye on the governor's office, Neu is judged to have the inside track. State Rep. David Stanley, another moderate supporter of the governor, might also consider a race for the governorship. Stanley, however, regards himself as a legislative animal and might prefer to tackle the man who defeated him in 1968, Sen. Hughes, or U.S. Rep. Ed Mezvinsky (D). Both Democrats would be hard to beat.

If Ray decides not to contest Hughes, Veterans Administrator Donald Johnson would be the best Republican bet. The conservative Johnson was defeated by Ray in the 1968 gubernatorial primary.

As elsewhere, Watergate has hurt the GOP. The Blackhawk County GOP chairman reported that the Republicans had raised less than one-third of the projected goal on a neighborhood canvas. It was a "fiasco due to Watergate," he said. ■



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## POLITICS: PEOPLE

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● It will be Flaherty against Flaherty in the Pittsburgh mayoralty race this fall. Democratic Mayor **Peter F. Flaherty** captured the Democratic primary nomination by 10,000 votes over organization opposition. In the Republican primary, Flaherty won a write-in nomination by better than a 10-4 margin over another Democrat, **Thomas A. Livingston**, who had been endorsed by the Republican organization. A write-in effort for a "Republican Republican" flopped dismally.

● **Edward D. Failor**, who made a name for himself in Young Republican circles as a leading member of the Syndicate before he got a job as a mine safety enforcer for the Bureau of the Mines in the first Nixon Administration, is back in the news. Failor, who held a high-level position with the Committee to Re-elect the President, has been appointed director of the Social and Economic Statistics Administration in the Commerce Department. But Failor's background as a municipal court judge in Dubuque, Iowa does not impress the American Statistical Association whose president has protested Failor's non-statistical background to Commerce Secretary **Frederick B. Dent**. The Commerce Department had no comment on the protest.

● Republican Governors Conference: The nation's dwindling supply of incumbent Republican governors met in New York City for their spring conference from May 9-11. Seminars on the "Energy Crisis" and the "New Tools of Politics" — and a private day-long session at **Nelson Rockefeller's** Westchester estate — were well-nigh drowned out by the sound of Watergate. After two days of pestering from the press, the GOP governors finally broke down and issued a statement — notable only for its blandness — supporting President Nixon and deploring Watergate. Amid the lavish display of New York hospitality at its best, were heard murmurs of "Rocky in '76."

● U.S. Rep. **Barber B. Conable, Jr.** predicts that a tax reform bill will pass Congress this year. Conable, the ranking member on the House Ways and Means Committee, said in a newsletter to his constituents that he expected the tax bill to pass in the late fall. "I expect it will be a modest bill, without major increase or decrease in total taxes, but with some simplification and a tighter minimum tax for those who use tax incentives extensively."

● **Edward Mahe, Jr.**, former executive director of the New Mexico Republican Committee (1967-69), has been appointed director of political activities at the Republican National Committee to succeed **Kenneth Reitz**. Reitz was to head the "New Majority Campaign." The competent, conservative Mahe returned from Texas, where he managed a weekly newspaper, to run Sen. "Pete" **Domenici's** 1972 campaign in New Mexico. He went with Domenici to Washington, where he worked on the Senate Republican Campaign Committee. Mahe's experience also includes work on **Paul Eggers's** 1970 gubernatorial campaign in Texas and on the GOP House Campaign Committee.

● The Ohio Supreme Court has ruled that former Gov. **James A. Rhodes** is eligible to run again for the governorship. Rhodes submitted his petitions early for the May 1974 primary in order to make a court test of an ambiguous section of the state constitution which

limits a governor to two consecutive terms. Rhodes has already served two consecutive terms but will have been out of office for four years when he seeks the governorship again next year. The constitution had been amended to include the provision after **Frank J. Lausche (D)** held the governorship for five terms.

● When the FBI calls you up to make a security check on a friend, they still ask, "Would you consider him a loyal American citizen?" Sounds presumptuous of the FBI, doesn't it?

● **E. Steeves Smith**, a 34-year-old Mitchell attorney, was elected South Dakota Republican chairman on April 28, succeeding **Robert Burns**. Smith had been active in both Minnesota and South Dakota Republican politics.

● Former Michigan Gov. **George Romney** is picking up support in Utah for a possible 1974 Senate race should Sen. **Wallace F. Bennett (R)** decide to retire. Romney, who has close family ties in the state but no legal residence, has reportedly talked to several state GOP leaders about the possibility and is scheduled to be in Utah at the time of the state GOP convention on June 23. Of the three strongest possibilities to make the race, two — former GOP State Chairman **Richard Richards** and Attorney General **Vernon Romney, Jr.** (a first cousin to Gov. Romney) — have expressed enthusiasm for a possible Romney candidacy. A third possible nominee, Salt Lake City Mayor **Jake Garn**, has expressed concern about Romney's age and residency.

● On May 12, the Kentucky Republican State Central Committee unanimously elected **Charles R. Coy** of Richmond as their new state chairman. Coy, who was active in the campaigns of Sen. **Marlow Cook** and the unsuccessful Senate bid of former Gov. **Louie B. Nunn**, attributes his success to the fact that he is a proven "party loyalist."

● Former presidential assistant **John Ehrlichman** was scheduled for many months to appear at a conference on the New Federalism at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. Ehrlichman resigned only two days before the conference but he cancelled his appearance more than two weeks in advance. Conference sponsors were unable in the interim to find another administration spokesman and they finally settled on former HEW official **Richard Nathan** as Ehrlichman's replacement.

● New Hampshire Gov. **Meldrim Thomson** continues to be embroiled in controversy. Thomson visited the New England Organized Crime Intelligence System headquarters in Wellesley, Mass. on January 23 and requested files on several prominent New Hampshire politicians. He later suggested that security at the NEOCIS was lax and that New Hampshire drop its financial support of \$5,000. The State Senate nevertheless proceeded with an investigation into the visit. Thomson refused to testify before the investigating committee, touching off a new dispute.

● All in the Family Department: **National Review** has lost a columnist but gained a brother. **M. Stanton Evans**, editor of the **Indianapolis News** and chairman of the American Conservative Union, has resigned as a columnist for **National Review** and switched his talents to **Human Events**. But Editor **William F. Buckley** and Managing Editor **Priscilla L. Buckley** did not have to search far for a replacement. Their choice: Sen. **James L. Buckley (Cons-N.Y.)**.

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## The Children's Trust

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*While delinquency in Washington captures the headlines, the solution of national problems is sidelined. One of the most pressing areas for new legislative initiatives concerns the country's plethora of children's programs. But despite multitude of national programs, they are too often underfunded and unfocused. New York City Human Resources Administrator has proposed the creation of a Children's Trust Fund "to assure that a fair share of national revenues is earmarked exclusively for children's programs." Money from the fund would be used to finance programs like Head Start, day care programs and juvenile delinquency prevention projects. Money would also be allotted for innovative programs initiated by state governments. Legislation embodying the Children's Trust Fund concept will shortly be introduced in Congress. Sugarman's career has been largely devoted to child-related issues. He formerly directed the national Head Start Program, the U.S. Children's Bureau and the Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Sugarman is the current President of National Children's Lobby.*

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*by Jule M. Sugarman*

America's children are America's victims. Rhetoric, public ignorance and apathy, and a fragmented governmental structure deprive too many of their present and the nation's future.

Too many children have unmet needs: nourishing food, adequate shelter, proper clothing, continuing medical and dental care, decent education, the opportunity to develop their potential and an environment of economic and emotional security.

Americans tend to believe the national rhetoric — that we are a child-centered nation and that the private sector and government are adequately providing for the needs of our children. Such beliefs are idealistic; the facts present a different reality. There are about 70 million children under the age of 18 (1970) in the United States. Of these:

\* Inadequate diets are threatening at least five million to mental retardation and/or serious physical handicaps;

- \* Five out of seven physically and mentally handicapped children receive no care at all;
- \* Fifty percent of the nation's children under the age of 15 and 90 percent under the age of five have never been examined by a dentist;
- \* One million children are especially susceptible to disease and permanent injury because their mothers received no medical care during pregnancy;
- \* Fifty percent of all children under the age of six have severe vitamin deficiencies;
- \* Twelve million children need special care for eye conditions;
- \* Three million children need special care for speech impediments;
- \* Two million children need special care for orthopedic handicaps;
- \* Five million school-aged children with emotional problems that could be solved, receive no help;
- \* 2.4 million mentally retarded children who could

learn to feed and dress themselves, receive no special education;

- \* The United States ranks only 13th among major developed nations in infant mortality rates; for every 1,000 babies born, 21 die. Sweden, which ranks first, has a mortality rate of 12 deaths for every 1,000 live births;
- \* The rate of juvenile delinquency is rising faster than the rate of the juvenile population — by the end of 1973, one out of every nine youngsters will appear in juvenile court before the age of 18;
- \* Seven million children under the age of 18 live in families with absent fathers;
- \* More than ten million children — one-sixth of the nation's children under the age of 16 — live in families with incomes below the national poverty level. Sixty percent of these are white;
- \* The rates of syphilis, gonorrhea, hepatitis, and tuberculosis are rising in crisis proportions among children under the age of 15;
- \* The rise in the rate of battered children is growing alarmingly. The seriousness of this horrifying syndrome cannot be adequately measured because many children are not brought to doctors and hospitals while others have "accidents" which cannot be proved to be beatings or abuse.

At present, there is no unified national policy for helping children. What we do have is a variety of well-meaning programs — public and private. Some of these are effective, some are not, but in total they do not measurably improve the lot of children.

Public ignorance has contributed to this lack of national policy and to a great extent this ignorance has been developed and perpetuated first by the movies and more

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**Americans tend to believe the national rhetoric — that we are a child-centered nation and that the private sector and government are adequately providing for the needs of our children.**

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recently by the mass media. The authority of television, particularly, is so powerful that most Americans fail to question whether the portraits of American life depicted in situation comedies and commercials truly reflect reality. As personified on the air, an overwhelming majority of the 51.9 million American families are white, middle-income, suburban, two-parent, and have two children, two cars and a dog. Occasional deviations from this norm are also idealized: grandparents, nannies and butlers who care for children while a widowed (never divorced or abandoned) parent pursues a glamorous and lucrative career. More recently, an occasional homogenized professional black family appears — but their life style is identical to the ideal, only the color is different.

Where are the poor minority families? Where are the white ethnic families? Where are the single-parent families of moderate income? Where are the urban families? Where are the working mothers? Where they are *not* is on television.

These idealized families need no special education because no children are handicapped; need no day care because no mothers work; need no counselling because no children take drugs; need no medical care because no father earns less than needed to pay Dr. Welby's bills; need no support services because no children are juvenile delinquents.

The viewer who does not question the present television treatment of American families is worthy of indictment, too. It is possible for programs to be both realistic and entertaining, but it is the public's obligation to demand them. For as long as the viewer accepts no responsibility for separating the ideal from the real, producers will continue to fill the air waves with stories about romanticized American families.

Public ignorance is also nurtured by the well-publicized successes of one or two children's programs, such as Head Start, which engender a feeling that government is indeed guaranteeing that children's needs are being provided for. Unfortunately, these success stories provide a false sense of security since funding for the six major children's programs has been drastically reduced. For instance, the intent of the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act was that each state would be entitled to at least \$1 million in funds to conduct community-based preventive treatment and control programs. The FY 1973 authorization for the Act was \$75 million. The FY 1974 appropriation was \$10 million. This is fiscally irresponsible in a year when the rate of juvenile delinquency is rising faster than the rate of the juvenile population, and when there is a marked increase in the rate of suicides, drug addiction, shoplifting and reported cases of VD for teenagers. These increases affect all races, income levels and geographic locations.

During the past two years, funds were also reduced for the Handicapped Children's Early Assistance Act and for Follow Through. Last year, the Javits-Mondale day care bill was vetoed. The ill-considered effects of such actions will fall most heavily upon the middle and lower-income families and their children. Consider the following statistics:

- \* Women are the sole support for four million families, affecting ten million children under the age of 18;
- \* In 1970, 50 percent of all married men had working wives of whom one in four provided over 40 percent of the family's total income; 2½ million families rely on the wife's earnings for over half the family income;
- \* As of March 1971, 25.7 million children had working mothers;
- \* Thirteen million children, of whom six million children are under the age of six, need quality day care;
- \* One million children are "latch-key" children — they receive no care at all while their mothers work. A majority of these children are under the age of ten.

Ideally, all Americans would like to be able to raise their children without relying upon any organization outside the family, public or private. Unfortunately, circumstances and economic conditions often determine that out-

side support is imperative. For example, there are few families with the total economic, educational and emotional resources that enable them to provide completely for the needs of a blind, a retarded, an emotionally disturbed or a physically handicapped child.

There are also many women who would prefer to stay at home and care for their children themselves but are forced by divorce, death of their husband or the high cost of living to enter the labor force.

Again, statistics are illuminating. In March 1971, of the 4.3 million working mothers with children under the age of six, 2.15 million were widowed, divorced or separated, or had husbands whose income in 1970 totaled less than \$7,000. During this same year, day care facilities were available for only 900,000 children. Considering that there are 5.6 million children under the age of six with working mothers, this would seem to indicate that contrary to the day care veto message, both "the immediate need and the desirability of a national child development program" has been demonstrated. The FORUM has carried several articles debating the pros and cons of the Javits-Mondale bill and the subsequent presidential veto, so to rehash them would be counter-productive. What is important is that there is a demonstrable need for day care which is still unmet.

America has not been intentionally insensitive to the needs of her children. In the past, Congress has enacted legislation which has promised much — but most of these

promises have been broken because appropriations have been substantially less than authorizations. The executive branch has also hindered the implementation of the legislation by refusing to release money for projects and by the imposition of rules and regulations which make it impossible for states and localities to qualify for monies available.

The fragmentary structure of the government is partly to blame. Children's legislation is scattered among several departments and it is therefore heard by many different legislative committees. Appropriations for children's programs are tacked on to major bills as afterthoughts. No one of prominence or congressional clout testifies on behalf of children's special needs. Nowhere is there a comprehensive "children's budget" presented for consideration. The result is that despite good intentions, funds for children are continuously subordinated to other public programs.

It is time to put away our idealized image of American family life and face reality. It is time to mandate a clear public policy of commitment to all America's children. For children who are poor and for all children who need service, help should be readily available. It is time to protect the interests of all America's children just as we now protect the interests of highways, defense and social security beneficiaries.

Children comprise 25 percent of our total population. Yet their share of our national revenues is disproportionate-



ly small: we spend \$9.00 of our national budget annually on each adult; we spend only \$1.00 annually on each child.

This is not the time to reduce the funds available for children's programs — it is the time to build upon the gains we have made. What we now need is legislation which clearly allocates a fair share of national revenues exclusively for children's programs. Such legislation must have two hallmarks:

1. It must protect existing programs;
2. It must offer flexibility to the states to determine priorities and create necessary services.

For the past year, I have been working with a number of legislators and professionals to assure that America safeguards a portion of federal revenues in a National Trust Fund for Children.

The Trust Fund would act very much like a weekly bank deposit. The President would direct the secretary of the Treasury to pay into a fund 75¢ per week for all persons under the age of 18. This money would be taken from the presently existing general personal and corporate tax monies and would be saved exclusively for children's programs. The total annual estimated deposit for 1974 would be \$2.75 billion.

Each state would have an account with deposits based upon two factors:

1. Fifty percent based upon the number of children under 18 (general population);
2. Fifty percent based upon the number of children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (the best method we now have of locating large concentrations of poor children).

The President would recommend and the Congress would appropriate money from the Trust Fund for the following programs: Head Start, Follow Through, Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act, Maternal and Child Health (Title V of the Social Security Act), Child and Youth Services (formerly Title IV-B of the Social Security Act) which would now include innovative, state designed programs as well as day care and child development services, and the Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act.

Amounts spent for these programs in each state would be deducted from each state's account. To the extent that balances remain, a state would be able to use such funds to increase any of these programs. A state would also be able to use 20 percent of its funds for innovative programs not now authorized by any present federal program. These programs could be open to children of all income levels and could incorporate matching private funds and sliding scales of fees for various services.

Every state would be required to establish state and local commissions on children's programs, with parents holding 50 percent of the seats. Each state commission would be required to hold public hearings on the distribution of the funds.

A national advisory commission, comprising the same proportion of parent-professional membership as the local and state commissions, would monitor activities under the Trust Fund and recommend changes in the level of the weekly contribution when required.

The Children's Trust Fund is constituted so as to consider several important political realities.

The powers of congressional committees are not affected. Congress and its appropriate committees would continue to prescribe program policies. They would also determine the amounts available to the secretary of HEW for a specific program. This amount could be exceeded for a particular state if the state decided to use the flexible features of the Act, but it would still have to follow the policies prescribed for each program. This includes approval by federal agencies where current policy requires such approval. It is possible that as states increase spending for particular programs, they might exceed current statutory authorizations on the six programs; however, these limitations would be waived in such a case.

The Trust Fund would impose no new taxes. It would simply earmark a portion of existing tax receipts for children's programs. Any increases over current expenditures could be offset by reductions in other federal expenditures. The figure of 75¢ per week per child permits a modest expansion of children's programs within limits that would be programmatically feasible.

Title IV-B of the Social Security Act is renamed "Child and Youth Services" instead of "Child Welfare Services." This is to make absolutely clear that the program is for all children and youth who need services regardless of economic conditions. These services would no longer be related to welfare recipients, and states could set fees for those who could afford to pay them. Further, this would also finance child development programs for non-working mothers who could use them at their convenience, thus permitting a mix of home and center day care and child development.

Opposition to the concept of any Trust Fund has traditionally centered upon the contention that the funds are not responsive to changing needs. The example most cited in this argument is the Highway Trust Fund and the problems in releasing monies to finance urban mass transit. The Children's Trust Fund has been particularly constructed so as to avoid that rigidity; the 20 percent flexibility in spending for a variety of non-specific programs and the wording of the Title IV amendment to the Social Security

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**What we now need is legislation which clearly allocates a fair share of national revenues exclusively for children's programs.**

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ty Act provides great adaptability in program selection and financing. The kinds of services that could be provided under the 20 percent flexibility and Title IV include (but are not limited to) adoptions, foster care, child protection, parent education and preparation for parenthood, prevention of neglect and abuse, special education for pre-school handicapped, child dental care, family counselling, and child care research and development.

Since the Trust Fund would also permit 75 percent federal financing for day care and child development services, the Social Services limitation could be reduced from \$2.5 to \$1.9 billion, the difference being approximately

the amount now being spent for day care.

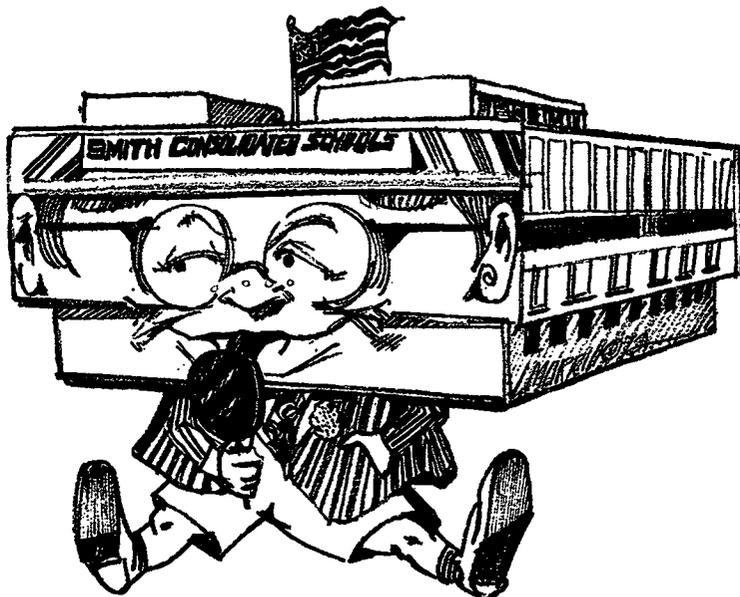
Under the Trust Fund, for example, the state of Florida would benefit as follows:

A. Deposits to State Account		
Children Under 18: 2.98% of \$1,375,000,000	\$41,106,895	
ADC Children: 3.22% of \$1,375,000,000	\$44,417,517	
<b>Total Deposits</b>	<b>\$85,524,412</b>	
B. Charges Against State Account <sup>1</sup>		
Head Start	\$11,926,000	
Follow Through	1,000,000	
Child Welfare Services (Title IV-B)	1,412,878	
Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act		
Maternal and Child Health (Title V)	3,297,000	
Juvenile Delinquency Prevention	100,000	
<b>Subtotal of Charges</b>	<b>\$18,235,878</b>	
C. Available for Distribution (Deposits Less Charges)		
	67,288,534	
Head Start	} Distribution at Option of the State	
Follow Through		
Child Welfare Services (Title IV-B)		
Handicapped Children's Early Education Assistance Act		
Maternal and Child Health (Title V)		
Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Social Services (Title IV-A)		

1. Figures based on FY 1973 budget estimates.

Those favoring the Trust Fund argue that:

1. It leaves in the hands of the states the basic question of what elements of children's programs will be expanded.
2. It allows states to use 20 percent of the money to carry out programs of their own design.
3. It provides the opportunity for significant expansion for day care and child development by moving these programs out of a direct welfare relationship. States would be able to devise their own administrative arrangements and have as much — or as little — child development as they wished within their overall ceiling. Similarly, they could set their own fee policies.
4. The Trust Fund makes it unnecessary for states to wait for additional legislation to meet special needs of their children and youth. If there is real interest in new programs, states can constitute them within their 20 percent flexible authority.
5. It will force states into a comprehensive planning process because of the competition among programs for a limited pot of dollars.
6. It will meet real needs among middle-class as well as poor kids, e.g., children with physical or emotional handicaps.
7. While it costs more, the total cost (including the present spending) is just about *one percent* of the national budget.
8. The amount of increased money available to states is enough to make an impact in meeting special needs for children and youth without giving any state or program a windfall.
9. It is not an open-ended expense — as the population of children under 18 decreases, so do the funds in the Trust.



People committed to the needs of children are beginning to mount a grass-roots effort to see that the Trust Fund is established. There is every reason to believe that a bill will be introduced in Congress before the close of the 1973 session. Such a bill might be the catalyst for a coalition of legislators from both parties and holding various ideological view points — all committed to the concerns of children.

The gap between what we want for our children and what they now receive must be closed. Every American child is entitled to at least good health and care from conception, and to minimum standards of food, shelter and clothing, and to effective education, in an environment of economic and emotional security. I submit that the creation of a Children's Trust Fund affirms in a very tangible manner this country's contention that it is a child-centered nation. In the meantime, our children are *still* waiting. ■

**"A CALL TO EXCELLENCE IN LEADERSHIP"  
THE RIPON SOCIETY, 1964**

*"The moderates of the Republican party have too long been silent. None of us can shirk the responsibility for our past lethargy. All of us must now respond to the need for forceful leadership. The moderate progressive elements of the Republican party must strive to change the tone and the content of American political debate. The continued silence of those who should now seek to lead deserves our party and nation alike. The question has often been asked, "Where does one find "fiery moderates?" Recent events show only too clearly how much we need such men. If we cannot find them, let us become them."*

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## BOOK REVIEW

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# Throwing The Bums Out

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IMPEACHMENT: THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

by Raoul Berger

Harvard University Press, 1973, 345 pages, \$14.95

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by Robert G. Stewart

The constitutional provisions for impeachment are muddled, and the questions they raise have recently become a good deal more than academic. For what can a President be impeached? The Constitution says, "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." What are "high crimes and misdemeanors?" What about judges who are to serve only during "good behavior?" Can they be impeached for misbehavior or only for "high crimes and misdemeanors?" Or are they synonymous?

These legal issues and surprisingly many other ones are the subject of Raoul Berger's latest bout with the mazes of legal history, *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems*.

In arguing that legislators can be impeached, that the Supreme Court can review convictions, that impeachment is not a *criminal* proceeding and in advancing several other theories on impeachment, Berger is certain to prompt fresh scholarly debate on a subject which is all too often discussed only in the context of emotional outbursts against specific individuals and policies.

Berger's major contribution to current dialogue will be his views on the elusive expression "high crimes and misdemeanors." He persuasively rejects the notion that indictable crimes are required for impeachment, but just as strongly rejects the view that impeachable offenses are whatever both Houses of Congress deem them to be.

To be sure, political offenses are grounds for impeachment, according to Berger, but, at least as far as the President is concerned, only certain kinds of "great offenses." "High crimes and misdemeanors," he argues, is a technical common law term, encompassing only limited types of official misconduct such as abuse of power, neglect of duty, corruption and a few others.

But, as evidenced by these very categories from English history, even the term "great offenses" disguises a broad spectrum of conduct which Berger fails to narrow to a workable range. The eighteenth century ratification period dialogue he cites offers little assistance. James Madison, for example, felt that a President would be impeachable if he were "connected, in any suspicious manner, with any person and there will be grounds to believe he will shelter him."

Nor does Berger's discussion of the Andrew Johnson affair narrow the spectrum. His conclusion that the episode was an abuse of the impeachment process, an attempt to "punish the President for differing with and obstructing the policy of Congress," does at least indicate one lower bound on impeachability. But the bulk of his discussion is a tightly reasoned legal defense of Johnson's dismissal of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, the culmination of his feud with Congress.

Berger's thoughts on judges are his most novel. Judicial breaches of "good behavior" should not, in his view, lead to impeachment, but to removal by a congressionally-established process within the judiciary itself, in order to preserve judicial independence. Impeachment should only be employed for "high crimes and misdemeanors." But, he cryptically suggests, such offenses in the case of judges are not as limited in kind as the "great offenses" required to impeach the President, since, unlike the removal of a President, removal of a judge does not "create shock waves that can rock the very foundations of government."

Here, however, Berger does offer an historical example of what he has in mind — the "oppressive and illegal" judicial conduct of Justice Samuel Chase. While previous historians have tended to dismiss the impeachment of Chase as a case of brash partisanship, Berger views his *acquittal* as a miscarriage of justice. In what seems more a diatribe against Chase than an analysis, Berger looks upon Chase as more a hangman than a judge, and suggests that his removal would have served as a "standing reminder that there is no room on our bench for an implacably prejudicial judge."

While Berger's theory of impeachable offenses is enlightening, as is his entire book, his "great offense" theory will not be easy to apply. Should, for example, Congress finally forbid the use of appropriated funds for bombing Cambodia and the President ignore it, would that be a dispute over policy or a "high crime and misdemeanor?" If the President should be implicated in the Watergate, Ellsberg or Vesco affairs, would that be a "great offense?" While Berger seems to exclude guilt by association, the reader will retain most other preconceived notions of impeachable conduct.

But the answers to these questions, despite Berger's cautions, will be political, since they will come from political people, and Berger has not purported to write a political book. A legal scholar can only offer so much, and the rest is up to the practitioners.

Berger calls, in essence, for statesmanship, a seemingly historical commodity, in matters as delicate as impeachment of a President. It can only be hoped that should that unhappy moment come, latent statesmanship will prevail. ■

## DULY NOTED: BOOKS

● **War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams**, by Michael T. Klare. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1972, 464 pages, \$10.00) This book commends itself in its introduction as "an attempt to examine in detail one aspect of the Vietnam conflict — the development of new strategies and techniques for counter insurgency — while contributing to the broader assault on the assumptions of American foreign policy." This is the mildest description of the book's intent available in the foreword, introduction or text. The book is otherwise best (and self) described as a radical left interpretation of American foreign policy. It should only concern academic types who desire to see all outlooks on present U. S. international relations and those of the radical left who desire a place to hang their foreign policy hats. As a radical work, it is far better than average in its readability. The book is typical of radical (right or left) productions in its attempt to use out-of-context documents and remarks, misdirected foreign policy statements and failed or out-of-date military strategy outlines and contingency plans to draw general policy interpretations. Unfortunately for the author, the Pentagon Papers were published prior to its release. He quotes them to substantiate certain of his points. He proceeds for page after page to "demonstrate" that in the United States, "the making of foreign policy has been for all practical purposes, the exclusive prerogative of the business elite, . . . which cannot allow the Third World to undergo genuine, self-sustained economic growth." The book takes the stance that a conspiracy exists of U. S. financial interests, foreign "mercenary" regimes and university science professors to dominate the world which will inevitably fail in light of the heroic resistance of the "Third World." In the opinion of this reviewer, the potential reader is better off spending some additional time on the Pentagon Papers. Reviewed by William P. Matthews.

● **Games Students Play (and what to do about them)**, by Ken Ernst. (Celestial Arts Publishing, 1972, 127 pages, \$3.95) The cover blurb describes Ernst's book as a "transactional analysis of problems in schools among students . . . parents . . . teachers and administrators." So it is . . . a theoretical but practical analysis, in the style of *Games People Play*, of classroom guerrilla warfare complete with counter insurgency tactics for teachers and students. Reviewed by Dick Behn.

● **Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing**, by N. J. Habraken (translated by B. Valkenburg). (Praeger, 1972, 97 pages, \$7.95) As it has become painfully obvious that the massive troublesome cloisters of public housing are evidence of our inability to house our lower income citizens, a reaching-out process is again taking place both to shape "new" ideas and to further discredit "past" policies. Little of what is written on alternative methods of non-private housing for these citizens is free from promotional or defamatory ideology. From "235 to survive" to "scatter site — instant blight," we are led to a corner where any proposed solution to housing is viewed either as a hopeless reaffirmation of discredited approaches, or a heartless denial of many who could never derive benefit from more conventional approaches. Habraken's work is remarkably free of ideology in the normal sense but it attacks the sterility of mass (project type) housing in a zealous fashion. If "supports" is defined as a type of construction wherein each dwelling unit can be built, altered, or removed independently of others, the danger of mass housing can be somewhat neutralized since the potential resident will be able to participate in designing his module and therefore, in theory, is not as likely to kick out the walls. No empirical proof is offered by Habraken, although it sounds reasonable; so, in its day, did Pruitt-Igoe. Once this point of involving the resident in designing his module is made, the book is over; but, like an Ebbinghaus rote memory exercise, the theme repeats itself over and over. Why this translation was not capsulized into an excellent pamphlet as opposed to a flabby (if semi-short) book is a mystery. It may be the inability of housing theorists to summarize their ideas briefly that contributes to the inattention paid their arguments by housing producers, thus making the second-guessing by theorists all the more vehement. "Hell hath no fury, etc., etc." Reviewed by Ralph E. Thayer.

● **The Rise of Radicalism: The Social Psychology of Messianic Extremism**, by Eugene H. Methvin. (Arlington House, 1972, 584 pages, \$9.95) Eugene Methvin's book bears an engagingly scholarly title. A need exists for a comprehensive look at the reasons for the development of radicalism in human society. The subtitle, however, foreshadows the limitations of Methvin's work that prevent it from fulfilling that need. His interest lies primarily in examining the personalities of influential advocates of violent revolutionary radicalism. This exploration, Methvin hopes, will enable his readers to better understand the social psychology of present violent radicalism. Methvin attempts to justify his approach by defining radicals as "those who believe that they can get to the root of things and change them only through violent revolution." Others with broader definitions of radicalism are "ideological hairsplitters." His definition allows him to ignore all non-violent periods of revolutionary change. Methvin is also able to choose the men who best serve his primary thesis, that radicalism corrupts natural idealism, without considering non-violent revolutionaries who also wrought radical change. He attacks his chosen targets (from Rousseau through Marx to the New Left) as idealistic utopians gone bad, and most often mad, because their utopias did not develop immediately and their egos demanded vengeance on the wrongdoers. Methvin's definition eventually becomes a tautology. All radicals worth the appellation, he argues, believe in violence. All radicalism, he then concludes, inevitably leads to violence because radicals are by definition violent. Therefore, all radicalism is evil because it leads idealists to violence, and their idealism destroys the world it seeks to perfect. If you accept Methvin's ideology, you will accept his definitions and his argument. Reviewed by James T. Stensvaag.

● **World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators**, second edition, by Charles L. Taylor and Michael C. Hudson. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972, \$15.00) This book, primarily intended for students and scholars engaged in political research, would be a useful addition to the reference shelf of journalists, speechwriters, public officials, and others who seek reliable comparative data on the countries of the world. The *World Handbook* includes 56 tables (encompassing 107 data series) which present data from 136 countries on a wide variety of political, social, and economic indicators. Each table includes a ranking of countries with respect to that variable, and is accompanied by summary statistics (showing means, medians, etc.) and pie graphs. While the authors present some suggestions for analysis of the data, their primary purpose is rather to make data available and interpretable to persons with hypotheses to test. A great amount of scholarly use was made of the first edition of this handbook. This new edition, with its newer (mostly from 1965-1967) and more complete data and wider range of political variables included, should prove to be a valuable resource to professional researchers. If they take care in studying the clearly explained and only slightly technical commentary, more general readers can also make profitable reference use of the vast amount of data presented in this handbook. Thus, for example, one might learn that while the United States ranks first among the countries of the world in per capita GNP, in volume of letter mail per capita, in number of radios, TVs and telephones per capita, in scientific capacity, and in proportion of the male work force engaged in professional and technical occupations, it ranks 92nd in voter turn-out (as a percentage of the eligible electorate), next-to-last in foreign trade as a percentage of GNP, 20th in infant mortality, and among the world's leaders in reported instances of protest demonstrations, riots, and government sanctions. It is up to the reader to supply the explanatory hypotheses, but the possibilities are limitless! Reviewed by Robert H. Donaldson.

● **Black Africa: A Comparative Handbook**, by Donald G. Morrison and others. (New York: The Free Press, 1972, \$29.95) For specialists in African politics (or for those whose appetite for comparative data is only whetted by the *World Handbook*), this immense volume makes available masses of quantitative data on the 32 independent states of "Black Africa." Together with 172 comparative tables, the book includes country profiles and an intelligent discussion of the methodological issues involved in comparative analysis of Africa. Reviewed by Robert H. Donaldson.

● **New Republican Politics**, by Arthur R. Kudart. (Schuyler Colfax, 1972, 124 pages, no price indicated) The title of the book, *New Republican Politics*, is not as descriptive a phrase as it is anticipatory. Kudart describes, in great detail, the grass-roots party organization of Linn County, Iowa, particularly as compared to that of the Democratic Party. The conclusions drawn from this comparison are by no means unusual to Republicans. In Linn County, as in most areas, the Republican Party organization is consistently out-performed by the Democrats, primarily with the help of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education. The Democratic advantage, the author states, is one of basic organizational education on the part of the party workers. Democrats know what to do to get out the vote; Republicans do not. After working in Iowa Republican politics for several years and failing to find any answers to the question of Republican organizational inferiority, Kudart went to Washington to try and get the whole story from the party leadership. He found no one, however, who could tell him anything more than he already knew. It was this experience, combined with a book on political organization within the British Conservative Party, which prompted him to formulate plans for a Republican Political Academy. After returning to Washington to present the idea to the national chairman and receiving no more than a two-minute interview with the director of education, the book was written to help educate Republicans to the needs of their own party. Kudart gives a very clear picture of the problems facing Republican workers, and in the process provides an interesting profile of one Republican's rise through the party ranks. Reviewed by Bryan Curtis Harvey.

● **The Military and American Society: Essays and Readings**, edited by Stephen E. Ambrose and James A. Barber, Jr. (The Free Press, 1972, 322 pages, \$10.00) This collection of essays is a valiant attempt to bring under one roof a variety of subjects normally treated at greater length elsewhere. With something for almost everyone, the subjects range from the military industrial complex to the draft and the relationships between the military and foreign policy, race relations, civil disorder, and even ecology. The authors and styles include some typical polemics from I.F. Stone on "The Bomber Boondoggle;" General James Gavin's inside account of the military's role in Dwight Eisenhower's decision not to commit U.S. forces at Dien Bien Phu and after Geneva; a tightly constructed argument by a Rand economist that the military industrial complex is no different from other government industrial complexes; two sociological examinations of the military environment; and an interesting, if frightening, plan for the use of the approximately 10.5 million young people who would be involved under a universal service alternative to the draft. The shortcomings of such a potpourri could be expected. Almost every selection is too short for anything but a cursory treatment, and many of the essays are lifted from larger works by the same author. Editing problems are only partially solved by the heavy hands of military historian Ambrose and his coeditor, who author nine of the book's 23 selections. But as an interesting and readable primer, it serves a valuable myth-debunking and interest-piquing purpose. One finally wonders, however, whether all of this really belongs together in one place, whether the fantastic leviathan which has grown up in our midst is not after all several institutions posing separate problems. At any rate, do not count on this effort to enable you to understand how to control the beast. Reviewed by Kent W. Faerber.

● **Ed Brooke: A Biography of a Senator**, by John Henry Cutler. (Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1972, 410 pages, \$12.00) Readers will be either fascinated or bored with numerous anecdotes that reflect some of Edward W. Brooke's peculiarities. Author Cutler naturally emphasizes the Brooke years as Massachusetts attorney general and as United States senator but there is ample coverage of Brooke's unsuccessful bids for state representative (twice defeated) and for secretary of state. The author notes that President Nixon admires Brooke because he votes out of conviction not political opportunism, an attribute which may be one reason Brooke is a frequent guest at the White House while other liberal GOP senators have been excluded. Cutler argues that Brooke's career has not peaked and concludes, "It is completely comforting for Brooke to know that when GOP leaders draw up a list of blacks who are of presidential calibre

his name will be high on the list." If "Americans" were substituted for "blacks," the statement would be more accurate. Reviewed by James Harrington.

● **Technology for Developing Nations**, by Rutherford M. Poats. (The Brookings Institution, 1972, 255 pages, \$7.50) Refraining from comments on the political nature of foreign aid, which has served to obscure rational assessment of this country's aid programs, the author is able to take a penetrating look at new thrusts within the programs themselves. Using recent achievements in agricultural programs as prototypes and analyzing current and future needs of the "have-not" nations, he proceeds to catalogue various strategies by which assistance could be made more beneficial to the poor two-thirds of the world's people. Successful programs will possess several shared characteristics. Not only will they effectively utilize technological changes, but the programs themselves must be innovative and must succeed in developing appropriate means of achieving maximum use of available resources no matter what the constraints of particular localities. To support this premise, the author presents an array of existing and potential problems in the less developed countries. Each problem is formidable, taken together they seem all but insurmountable. Solutions will continue to evade us unless some systematic approach is taken, alternatives are conceptualized, and a realistic viewpoint concerning the costs and benefits of different types of aid is taken. In providing insights on how to achieve better management of research in the field of technological assistance, how to raise the effectiveness of international technical cooperation, and how to set priorities, the author makes the implicit assumption that the United States will indeed experience a renewed zest for international cooperation. Should this occur, the types of approaches advocated by the author would prove to be worthy of implementation on a broad scale. Reviewed by Donald Greene.

● **Getting Elected**, by Chester G. Atkins with Barry Hock and Bob Martin. (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973, 202 pages, \$6.95) Massachusetts State Sen. Chester "Chet" Atkins (D) has written a book. It is not the typical politician's book — and that is appropriate because Atkins is not the typical politician. At 21, Atkins was the youngest person ever elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives when he won a tough primary and a relatively easy general election contest because of a woeful Republican nominee in a traditionally Republican suburban district in 1970. Atkins is a product not of the bruising brawls of ward politics, but of the cathartic crusades of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in 1968. And in 1972, Atkins's star rose again when he won a seat in the State Senate. Atkins sets out to "demystify political campaigning." And his hope is that by doing so, he will encourage "liberals and activists" who have focused primarily on national issues and national campaigns to turn their sights to state and local government and to running for office themselves. In his book, however, Atkins vacillates between simple-minded naivete and some serious but general insights into the mechanics of a campaign and the responsibilities of candidacy. Virtually every aspect of a campaign is touched upon. And some helpful rules are provided for the complete novice. In that sense, he has accomplished his objective — if you are planning to run for office and have never been closer to a campaign than your high school civics text, *Getting Elected* may help you in doing just that. The book is frustrating precisely because State Sen. Atkins has run excellent campaigns and his writing seems to reflect little of the nuances of the decisions which he must have made along the campaign trail. Atkins himself has run two of the most lavish and heavily personally financed campaigns in Massachusetts history. In the state representative primary in 1970, he ran against Gerald Bush, a Ph.D. in political science who had served on the White House staff of President Kennedy. Bush was married with four children and had lived in the district for only two years. Atkins was 21, single and had lived in the district all his life. Atkins spent all his time on the effort from January and made full-time representation an issue in the campaign. Beyond that, Bush invested a few hundred dollars of his own and spent a total of \$2,715. Atkins spent over \$10,000 and he and his family gave or loaned \$3,700 of that to the fund. In two campaigns for the state legislature, the Atkins clan has invested \$62,211.35 in Chet's good works, in both cases well over half their cost. *Getting Elected* does talk about money.

Fourteen pages, one of the shortest chapters in the book, is devoted to what is probably the most frightening aspect of the whole process. And he has some advice — for instance, “A campaign should hold at least one event which not only raises money but which becomes the major social event of the year in his community.” (His emphasis.) Good advice. And . . . uh . . . make sure that you invite the Atkins family. Reviewed by Martin A. Linsky.

● **Victims of Groupthink**, by Irving L. Janis. (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1972, 276 pages, \$7.95) In the wake of Vietnam, Monday-morning quarterbacking of foreign policy decision-making has become an ever-more appealing and profitable enterprise for journalists, scholars and commentators. In an attempt to get a piece of the action, these observers have dragged every ideology and academic discipline imaginable into attempting to answer why the United States seems to consistently bungle its foreign affairs. Sometimes the approach works; witness Francis FitzGerald's adroit use of anthropology in *The Fire In The Lake*. In the case of *Groupthink*, Janis's use of social psychology falls flat on its face. His thesis that “groupthink” — “a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing and moral judgment that results from in-group pressures” — contributes to generally lousy foreign policy-making is hard to deny. But when the Yale professor argues that poor decisions — the Vietnam experience, the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the decision to cross the 38th parallel in Korea and complacency in the defense of Pearl Harbor — happened “because of the grossly inadequate way the policy-makers carried out their decision-making tasks,” he has gone too far. Method has been confused for substance. Janis places the blame for these policy disaster on such processes as collective rationalization and illusions of group unanimity. But the decision to land a rag-tag army of exiles onto the beaches of Cuba in 1961 was not as much a result of poorly-structured talks in the White House, two weeks prior to the invasion, as it

was a set of attitudes and assumptions that existed even before Castro came to power. By the 1960's, a fiasco of the Bay of Pigs sort was bound to happen — in Santo Domingo, Saigon or elsewhere. The role of group dynamics in foreign policy-making deserves study, but it should not obscure the real components of policy — national interests, political values and luck. Reviewed by Richard Burt.

● **New York Is Very Much Alive: A Manpower View**, by Eli Ginzberg and the Conservation of Human Resources Staff, Columbia University. (McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973, 296 pages, \$6.95) Those of you who live in or occasionally visit New York City will be pleased to know that living and working in New York is not all that bad and is in fact getting better. In many ways this is a classic Eli Ginzberg book, in that it is really a series of essays by different individuals that, in this case, vaguely relate to one another because they consider the problems of employment in New York City. The book's early essays present an interesting analysis of how and why New York City grew into the nation's largest metropolitan area and, in particular, of how various minorities were brought into and then upgraded in the labor market. The bulk of the book presents an analysis, often in statistical fashion, of the manpower problems which New York faces and the efforts presently underway to solve them. After fourteen chapters of analysis by assorted academics, Ginzberg pulls the mass together through a series of largely optimistic predictions, and concludes with a series of reasonable, if uninspiring policy recommendations (e.g., “The support of business, trade unions, and governmental and non-profit employers should be elicited to strengthen the linkages between the schools and the world of work.”). The optimism of the book may partially be explained by the absence of any real discussion of housing, transportation, and crime problems within the City. The detailed analyses and conclusions in *New York Is Very Much Alive* will only be lively to serious students of the urban scene; others will find it deadly. Reviewed by Richard W. Rahn.

## 1972 Ripon Ratings

The following ratings of Democratic congressmen were omitted from the 1972 Ripon ratings which were published in the May FORUM. (A key to the ratings may be found in the May FORUM.)

HOUSE DEMOCRATS	14	16	29	34	131	129	229	237	246	248	265	275	288	415	428	448	Tally	Rating
Patten, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/12	33
Patten, N.J.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/12	37
Pepper, Fla.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/14	34
Perkins, Ky.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	10/15	33
Pickles, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/15	31
Pike, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	7/15	47
Poague, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	5/15	33
Podell, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	12/15	30
Proyer, N.C.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/15	33
Prize, Ill.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	21/18	76
Pryor, Ark.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	3/6	50
Putnam, Ill.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	5/7	53
Parrell, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/10	40
Randall, Mo.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/14	34
Rangel, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/15	30
Rarick, La.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	2/16	13
Rees, Calif.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/14	34
Reuss, Wis.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	13/18	31
Roberts, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	3/18	28
Rodino, N.J.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	11/14	70
Roe, N.J.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/15	36
Rogers, Fla.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/15	33
Romualdo, Wyo.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	7/13	34
Rosen, Pa.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/15	30
Rosen, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	5/9	38
Rosenblatt, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	11/15	35
Rostenkowski, Ill.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/13	32
Roubal, Ind.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/13	33
Roy, Kan.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/15	33
Roybal, Calif.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/18	34
Rumels, N.M.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	2/14	16
Ryan, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	7/10	70
St. Germain, R.I.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	10/18	37
Starnes, Md.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	10/15	37
Satterfield, Va.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	3/18	19
Scheuer, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/13	39
Selberling, Ohio	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	11/13	34
Shapiro, Ill.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/15	31
Sikes, Fla.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	6/10	30
Slak, Calif.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/15	33
Slack, W. Va.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/14	29
Smith, Iowa	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/11	32
Staggars, W. Va.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/13	32
Stanton, J.V. Ohio	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/18	30
Steed, Okla.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	7/18	44
Stephens, Ga.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/15	33
Stokes, Ohio	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/13	33
Stratton, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	11/14	78
Stubblefield, Ky.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	5/12	42
Stacy, Ga.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	5/13	33
Sullivan, Mo.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	6/15	40
Symington, Mo.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/14	34
Taylor, N.C.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/18	50
Tegors, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	3/15	29
Thompson, N.J.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/10	39
Thornsen, R.I.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	12/15	30
Udall, Ariz.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	10/13	77
Ullman, Ore.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/11	73
Van Deuzen, Calif.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	13/18	73
Vanzil, Ohio	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	11/15	33
Vigorito, Pa.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	6/12	50
Waggoner, La.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/14	29
Walsh, Calif.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/11	32
White, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	6/18	38
Whitten, Miss.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	1/18	6
Wilson, Charles, Calif.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	9/18	30
Wolf, N.Y.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	10/12	33
Wright, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	7/12	33
Yates, Ill.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	11/14	78
Yatron, Pa.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	4/12	33
Young, Tex.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	8/13	38
Zablocki, Wis.	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	O	O	10/18	33

# LETTERS

## Commended

I am a senior in high school and a new FORUM subscriber. You are to be commended for your attempts to establish an effective *via media* between an increasingly elitist and radical Democratic Party and the unacceptable "know-nothing" right wing of the Republican Party. These attempts are especially important to the political needs of my generation with the Republican Party. Continue on with your vital task.

JAY W. McCANN  
Clifton, New Jersey

## Different Jobs

**Robert C. Odle** is NOT the executive director of the Republican National Finance Committee.

**Robert P. Odell, Jr.** IS the executive director of the Republican National Finance Committee, and it is he who came to speak to a cities and towns Finance meeting that we held in March.

You did not do your homework before writing your comments for the April FORUM. There are **two different men**, and **two different jobs**. The mistake you have made in confusing them is particularly distressing because of your accusations and insinuations.

Also, I might add that the tenor of our meeting was on a much higher level than your writer was evidently aware of. The 150 people who crowded into the room to hear the very constructive talk given by Bob Odell, all left with enthusiasm for the party and felt encouraged to help, each in his own area.

It seems too bad that when positive action within our organization takes place, it is not reported as such.

ANNE WITHERBY  
Chairman  
Massachusetts Republican  
Finance Committee  
Boston, Massachusetts

## Error

It is amazing to me how in 16 lines of copy in the April Ripon FORUM so many factual errors could be made.

Although it has been possible for the national media to avoid confusing Robert C. Odle, Jr. and me, Robert P. Odell, Jr., it is apparent that your shoddy reporting and editing fails to measure up.

I am the executive director of the Republican National Finance Committee but did not serve as director of personnel and administration for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President and have never been interviewed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other investigatory agency of the government concerning the Watergate incident.

During an address to the towns and ward chairmen in Massachusetts (not the Massachusetts State Republican Finance Committee), I did observe that the \$1.00 political tax check-off was a disaster ... the tax check-off is falling far short of expectations. Of the first 45.3 million returns, 3 percent of those filing returns have asked that \$1.00 of their tax dollars be used for funding the 1976 Presidential Campaign.

I also indicated that the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act "took a lot of the fun out of political fund-raising." I did not say that full disclosure had taken the fun out of fund-raising inasmuch as our entire organization has supported the concept of full disclosure for years. We have been revealing all expenditures of \$10 or more and all contributions of \$100 or more since the Federal Corrupt Practices Act became law in the 1920's. This Act, for a national party committee, required greater disclosure than does the present Federal Election Campaign Act.

Further, the ponderous and confusing reporting aspects of the 1971 election law make it difficult for volunteers to handle the treasurer's function for candidates seeking federal office. The national campaign committees

with professional staff will be able to fully comply with the law, but for the housewife attempting to help a congressional candidate by serving as campaign treasurer, the record keeping and reporting requirements become an enormous burden.

It would be my hope that the Ripon FORUM in the future would make a small attempt to check the facts before printing articles such as the one in the April issue.

I also fully expect a retraction and clarification of the confusion and irresponsible reporting which is contained therein.

ROBERT P. ODELL, JR.  
Executive Director  
Republican Finance Committee  
Washington, D.C.

**Editor's Note:** The error was reported in the May FORUM.

## Sickened

I am answering for my 89-year-old mother who is nearly blind and a registered Republican all her life.

The latest one — Watergate — has sickened my poor mother to the point that she is no longer interested in your party, or any party for that matter!

As for me — Nixon says he is a Quaker! I say he is a man of deceit. I have been called a Nixon hater! I guess that's right. Now it's bomb Cambodia. Now it's take the milk program away from the school kids. Why not for the good of what is left of our country suggest that he resign?

You will never regain control of Congress now. And there is ITT; what a mess! I could go on and on.

HARRY B. PINKERTON, JR.  
Buffalo, New York

## Justice Rehnquist

One point that was established during the ordeal of Mr. Justice Abe Fortas is that the Supreme Court of the United States must be completely above suspicion. The White House staff and the then attorney general took advantage of this basic American sentiment and as is now known, orchestrated and manipulated the media treatment of the revelation of some minor errors of judgment by a distinguished, Jewish, Democratic-appointed Justice in such a way as to force a resignation.

There sits now on the Court a Justice who was the special choice of John Mitchell to be assistant attorney general and to be head of the Office of Legal Counsel, specially entrusted with Justice Department matters of White House concern. In that capacity, William Rehnquist drafted the memorandum that promulgated the notion that wiretapping, "bugging" as it is popularly known, was moral, legal, and within the sole power and judgment of the President in matters involving the incumbent's notion of the requirements of foreign affairs and internal security.

The appointment of his assistant attorney general to the Court was the special choice and responsibility of the then attorney general, John Mitchell. Once there, and contrary to most attorneys' ideas of propriety and decency, Mr. Justice Rehnquist declined to disqualify himself in litigation involving principles of repression and inquisition that he had approved and helped to institute.

The idea that wiretapping for the sake of an end thought to be highly important to the nation's future is morally and legally justifiable might well be called the "Spirit of Watergate." The climate that produced the worst scandal that has afflicted us since Teapot Dome was generated by the Justice who, in his work on the Court, has sat as the prime force moving to undermine the First and Fourteenth Amendments. The Court, dominated in effect by this and three other Mitchell recommended and Nixon-appointed Justices, will be passing upon the civil and criminal litigation arising from the actions at Watergate.

Would it not help encourage national unity and trust for Mr. Justice Rehnquist voluntarily to resign from the Court? If he does not do so, should he not be "encouraged," as was Justice Fortas, to resign under fire?

HOWARD N. MEYER  
Rockville Centre, N.Y.

# 14a ELIOT STREET

● In line with Ripon's recent turn toward modern management techniques, the Society has now acquired four national vice presidents. At the April NGB meeting in New York City, Paul F. Anderson was elected vice president of finance; Robert "George Ball" Behn, vice president, FORUM; Robert H. Donaldson, vice president of research; and Anne Marie Borger, vice president of public information. Several new officers were also elected. Patricia A. Goldman is now chairperson of the National Governing Board; Werner P. Kuhn, secretary; Chris Topping, special projects chairperson; and Dick Zimmer, policy chairman.

● Georgia FORUM correspondent Steve Livengood has been elected vice president of the Student Government Association of Emory University.

**THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC.** is a Republican research 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 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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 Lech Thayer  
 Chris Topping  
 \*\*Peter Wallison  
 R. Quincy White  
 Lyndon A.S. Wilson  
 Richard Zimmer

● The Boston-Cambridge Chapter's luncheon meetings, held at the offices of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, featured in April Arnie Cole, a former inmate who is presently heading the new careers program at ABCD (Action for Boston Community Development), and in May Miles Mahoney, former Massachusetts Commissioner of Community Affairs who was forced to resign by Gov. Francis W. Sargent when he rejected the Park Plaza redevelopment program for Boston. At the chapter's evening meeting in May, held at the Harvard Business School, Ripon heard William I. Cowin, secretary for Administration and Finance, speak on "managing state government."

● Two members of Boston-Cambridge Ripon, Otis M. Porter, Jr. of Falmouth on Cape Cod and Robert D. Behn of Cambridge, were recently elected to the Massachusetts Republican State Committee.

● The Washington, D.C. Chapter held a discussion of "China Policy: 1973" on May 23 at the Capitol Hill Club with Winston Lord and Les Janka of the National Security Council staff. Keith Hartwell has been appointed the chapter's new research director.

● The New Haven Chapter officers for 1973-74 are Jeffrey Miller, president; Frank L. Huband, vice president; and Melvin Ditman, secretary. Outgoing chapter president Peter Baugher will clerk next year for Federal District Court Judge Philip W. Tone in Chicago.

● Reliable sources deep inside Europe have reported that Ripon's former political director, Daniel J. Swillinger, was thwarted in his recent attempts to continue his census of Republican expatriates behind the Iron Curtain. Czechoslovakian border officials refused to admit Ripon's ambassador-at-large because of his resemblance to our distinguished mentor, the Hon. Abraham Lincoln. Unconfirmed reports allege that Swillinger retorted, "It's my beard. Love it or leave it."

● The Chicago Chapter has recognized Bernard Carey, the newly-elected state's attorney for Cook County, as its Illinois "Republican of the Year." By espousing a sane, professional, no-graft, law and order position, Carey unseated Democrat Edward Hanrahan from this key position. Chapter president Jared Kaplan will award Carey a plaque at a reception in his honor on May 24.

● U.S. Rep. Matthew J. Rinaldo discussed the limits of executive privilege at a meeting of the New Jersey Chapter at Newark State College on April 8. Rinaldo is sponsoring legislation to clearly define executive privilege.

## Mother Goose

### NIMBLE DICK

Dick be nimble,  
 Dick it's late,  
 For jumping clear  
 Of the Watergate.

### PUSSY CAT PROBE

Pussy cat, pussy cat, where have you been?  
 I went to the White House to look at Nixon.  
 Pussy cat, pussy cat, what did you there?  
 I scared several aides hiding under his chair.

### DIDDLED GOP

Hey diddle, diddle,  
 The Watergate riddle,  
 Food prices jumped to the moon;  
 Democrats laughed  
 To see such sport  
 Made of bugs that stung them last June.

### HOLLAR DOLLAR

A hillar, a hollar,  
 An impounded dollar,  
 Why does Congress act so blue?  
 It let the President make a war.  
 Can't he have spending powers too?

### THIN CONSUMERS

Jack Sprat could eat no fat,  
 His wife could eat no lean,  
 And meat prices rose so high,  
 They boycotted meat and ate beans.

W.K. WOODS

## DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Why is Reagan Mum on Watergate?"** by Dennis J. Opatrny. *San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle*, May 20, 1973. "After two months of defending President Nixon against Watergate scandal innuendo, Gov. (Ronald) Reagan has suddenly silenced himself on the subject." Reagan is allegedly downplaying his relations with the Administration to insulate his presidential ambitions from Watergate corrosion. In his latest press statement on the subject, the usually voluble Reagan said, "Now that the Watergate controversy is under investigation, and is before a grand jury, the courts, and the Senate, I will make no further statement regarding any of the allegations or any of the individuals involved." Reagan is reportedly positioning himself to pick up the conservative mantle should Vice President Agnew's association with the Administration make him unpalatable as a 1976 nominee.

● **"Southern GOP and Goldwater Critical of Nixon on Watergate,"** by Bill Kovach. *New York Times*, May 17, 1973. About 25 southern Republican leaders met privately on May 16 in Washington to discuss the impact of Watergate on the GOP. Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed, who in the past had expressed confidence that President Nixon was in control of the situation, expressed some doubt after the meeting. Reed said, "We have been banging on the door too long. We hope the President will be with us, but if he isn't and he shows he isn't; if he doesn't change now, after all that we've seen — then we're going to have to go about our business and just not worry about the White House." Reed said the leaders felt the White House had a maximum of 30-60 days to restore confidence in the government.

● **First Monday**, May, 1973. Believe it or not, RNC's Monday editor John D. Lofton, Jr. devoted an entire issue to non-Watergate issues. Topics: OEO "scandals," POW's, "soft-headed judges," the decline in crime, a national press council and Sen. George McGovern's welfare proposals. There were no statistics on recent Washington-based crime. One might question, however, Lofton's selection of recipients for his "Dupes of the Decade" title. Named were "Ramsey Clark, Jane Fonda and Company." By contrast, the May 14 issue of *Monday* was devoted almost exclusively to Watergate; mostly a denunciation of press coverage.

● **"Both Parties Point Fingers; Watergate Bolsters Democrats While GOP Probes Adams,"** by Charles F. Hesser. *The Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, April 29, 1973. "The first statewide poll in Florida in connection with next year's elections indicate (Sen. Edward J.) Gurney's chances for re-election are good. The same poll rates Democratic Gov. Reubin Askew even higher." The poll, commissioned by the *Orlando Sentinel*, indicated that State Insurance Commissioner Tom O'Malley was the top Democratic prospect to challenge Gurney and GOP National Committeeman William C. Cramer was the top Republican candidate to challenge Askew, "with Congressman Lou Frey, R-Fla., and former Gov. Claude Kirk close seconds." Both Gurney and Askew were the choices of more than 60 percent of the poll respondents.

● **"Walker and Daley fight, but we lose,"** by Charles Nicodemus. *Chicago Daily News*, April 28, 1973. Democratic warfare between Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and Illinois Gov. Daniel Walker continues. The Illinois State Senate has rejected — at Daley's behest — Walker's nominations for director of the Environmental Protection Agency and Corrections commissioner. And Walker has held up approval of Daley's man as chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority. Meanwhile, writes Nicodemus, Walker's image as a "reform" governor is quickly becoming tarnished. Nicodemus accuses Walker of "lying" to the press about the dormant CTA appointment and authorizing his staff to make other deceptions about his budget and campaign debt. Walker's appointments' policy is also at odds with his stated commitment to quality, writes Nicodemus.

● **"GOP Pressures Heinz To Run For Governor,"** by Joseph F. Lowry. *The (Philadelphia) Evening Bulletin*.

"Pressure is building on Congressman H. John Heinz 3rd to prepare himself for next year's gubernatorial campaign," says Lowry, including requests by Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, House Speaker Kenneth Lee and Republican State Chairman Clifford Jones that Heinz "consider" the race. One possible factor in such pressure, Heinz indicated, was that Pittsburgh's Heinz would balance Philadelphia's Schweiker in the 1974 campaign. Although the liberal Heinz's possible opponents include moderate Arlen Specter and conservative Frank Rizzo (if he becomes a Republican), Heinz is demonstrating increasing popularity among Republican conservatives. A highlight was Heinz's speech to 1,000 conservatives in Lancaster County on April 6.

● **"How Should We Finance Elections,"** by Arlene J. Large. *Wall Street Journal*, May 10, 1973. Large, a Washington bureau correspondent for the *Journal*, argues against federal government financing for political campaigns. "Campaigns have the sole purpose of manipulating people to obtain their votes, which is a questionable service for the government to bankroll. The public would subsidize not only the lies told during campaigns, but all the inane paraphernalia that infuse them with color but little substance." Large argues that government financing would necessitate a "maze of rules" and another government bureaucratic apparatus. "It's true that the 1971 law did not prevent the ugly mess we have now. But much of the problem can be traced to the attempts last year by both donors and solicitors to shuffle huge sums around before the April 7 start of the disclosure rules. That one-shot inducement for corner-cutting has vanished. Also, people have not started going to jail yet for the financial violations related to Watergate and other 1972 campaign didos. Watergate is ruining reputations right and left, a fate which ought to scare other big operators into better future behavior." Large says some politicians hope that Watergate will help launder the fundraising system. He quotes Sen. Charles Percy, "By exposing it we can use this case to dispose of these practices one and for all."

● **"U.S. Fires GOP Spy's 'Paymaster,'"** by Lou Cannon. *Washington Post*, April 26, 1973. George K. Gorton ("Getting College Republicans Out of the Closet," March FORUM), director of college operations for Young Voters for the President last year, was fired from his Interior Department job as the result of "adverse publicity" stemming from press reports that Gorton had hired a George Washington University student to spy on a White House peace vigil. Gorton had been appointed to his job at the Bicentennial Commission as the result of the influence of former YVP Director Ken Reitz, who recently resigned as director of the Republican National Committee's New Majority Campaign in order to become business affairs assistant to the president of MGM records.

● **"The First Kansas Cavalry Is Introduced,"** by John Petterson. *Wichita Eagle*, April 22, 1973. Gov. Robert Docking (D) has announced the formation of the, "First Kansas Cavalry, Big Bold One, a group of business leaders from throughout the state who will work within this administration's economic development program." Columnist Petterson wrote, "It was not quite clear whether the state would dress its officer corps in blue and yellow uniforms, complete with floppy hats, and send it galloping off into the sunset to capture industrial prospects." According to the Kansas Department of Economic Development, "It will cost each of the cavalrymen (it did not say anything about cavalrywomen) \$100 a year for the privilege of representing Kansas. For \$50, a member could be placed on the semi-retirement rolls after completing two tours of three years of active duty." New recruits would serve for a year as a "Kansan 1st Class" before promotion to "Brevet Colonel." Charge!

● **"Nixon, GOP Survival Depend on Conservative Course,"** *Human Events*, May 26, 1973. The conservative weekly, *Human Events*, warns against a leftward turn by the President. "There is now a major effort inside the Administration by both liberal ideologues and accommodationists to collapse the President's course." Having lost "moral superiority" as a campaign issue, *Human Events* argues that, "the philosophical and policy differences (the Republicans) have with the Democrats" are the GOP's only campaign asset.