

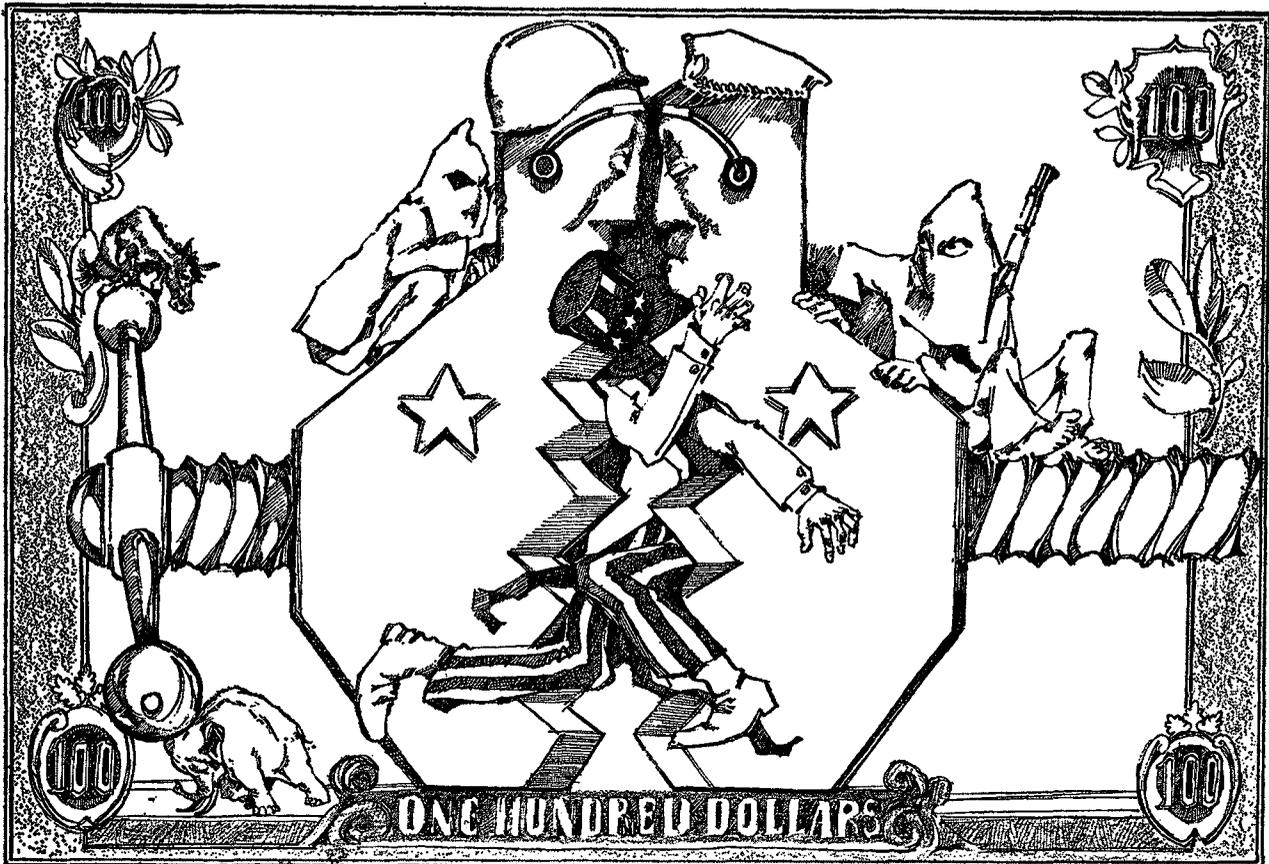
White House: Needed a Strict Construction of the Constitution

**RIPON
FORUM**

SUMMER, 1973

Vol. IX, No. 13

ONE DOLLAR



**Who Knows What Evil Lurks on the Phones of White House Aides,
New York Times Reporters and Former Rand Employees?**

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You have just received a "special double issue." Some of you will undoubtedly realize that this is a euphemism to sugarcoat the fact that we will not publish an August FORUM. Several factors have necessitated this decision including inflation, a possible strike at our mailing house, and the desirability of allowing the small FORUM staff to have a few days off to bask in something other than Watergate. This, we might add, is the true meaning of freedom of the press.

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•Margin Release

BREED'S HILL — There are those people in this world, I am convinced, who when faced with the color green, are willing to contend that green is yellow if yellow is more convenient.

Now I admit that when I see green, I may be wrong. Green, as I see it, may indeed be yellow. But no amount of sophistry is going to change the fact that I see green as green and not yellow. So I see very little reason to consider the feasibility of green being yellow if that is not an operative assumption. And I refuse to concede the yellowness of green as a diplomatic tactic in social relations.

Recently, Leggie, my friend the 15-year-old delinquent, and I had a conversation about the yellowness of green . . . except Leggie called it lying. Now I maintained that lying was bad form, just plain rotten. But Leggie, being more pragmatic, insisted, "Mr. Behn, if nobody lied, nobody would be talking to each other. Why if some dude came up to me and asked me if I liked him and I told him the truth, there'd be a fight." I could not argue with that . . . maybe that is why so few people talk with me.

Lying in state has recently been elevated to a national art. It seems that everybody is lying these days and if they are not lying then they are identifying the liars. Nobody, it is understood, likes to be lied to. Leggie, for example, has a particular sore spot for people who "b.s." him. Unfortunately, like the world, Leggie has been known to resort to b.s. himself — only in self defense, you understand.

Which is where a new book called the *B.S. Factor* comes in. The *B.S. Factor* purports to enlighten us about the state of the sophistic arts. Now, every last dab one of us could have written the *B.S. Factor* just as we all could have written *The Peter Principle* and *Parkinson's Law* (except that the latter two books are better written than the *B.S. Factor*). We knew that others have been pretending that green was yellow for some time. The daily headlines rage over the yellowness of green . . . until we are divided into warring camps. There are those who maintain that yellow is green and that to assert otherwise is not in the interest of national security. There are those who maintain that yellow is green, but that even if yellow is yellow,

they would rather not know about it. There are those who are unsure whether yellow is yellow, but are certain that the important thing is to determine the truth: is yellow indeed yellow? There are those who are convinced that at least some of the people who maintain that yellow is green are perpetrating a deliberate fraud and that they must be exposed and punished. And then there are those who are bored with the whole yellow-green debate and would rather watch "The Way the World Turns" in living, sophist color.

As usual, I opt with those who maintain that if green is being fraudulently and deliberately marketed as yellow, then the important thing is to bring the fraud to trial. Others maintain, however, that the prerogatives of Congress and the press on the yellow-green controversy are inviolate . . . and perhaps only congressmen and journalists are fit to judge the yellowness of green.

So, believe that green is yellow if you want to. But do not try to tell me to take it under advisement. Just pity those who think yellow is a team concept. db.



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Improving the Communi- cations Gap

by *Edwin D. Esbleman*
and
Robert S. Walker

Watergate, impoundment, executive privilege and the battle of the budget; these issues are the feature attractions in the developing conflict between President Nixon and the 93rd Congress.

The obvious reason for the Legislative-Executive confrontation is the political reality of a Democratic Congress aligned against a Republican White House. But this obvious source of conflict may be blinding observers to another clash that is brewing among political allies. Republican congressmen, particularly those in leadership roles, are becoming increasingly disturbed with the legislative tactics employed by their Administration.

Some indications of the hard feelings between GOP legislators and the Nixon Administration boiled over during the Capitol Hill skirmishing about the Watergate incident. Sen. Lowell Weicker's accusations against Nixon intimates were headlined, in part, because a Republican was making them. The news media then found other Republicans who willingly spoke out against Watergate and the Administration's initial handling of the issue.

But Watergate had its own special political realities and the GOP unrest

over it was not necessarily symbolic of deep-seated hostility toward the Administration. Only when Watergate is seen as one of many issues disturbing Republican congressmen does the fury of some of the attacks become significant.

What upsets Republicans on Capitol Hill is that they have little or no input into the White House's legislative program and congressional strategy. Even those most loyal to the President and his program are finding themselves embarrassed and frustrated by the unwillingness of the Administration to allow them to share in drafting legislative initiatives or even to give enough advance notice of Nixon positions so that they can be used effectively in congressional maneuvering.

Many GOP representatives and senators are beginning to feel that the tactics used by the Administration are designed to make them second-class participants in the legislative process. Instead of being consulted, they are told. Instead of being informed, they are often ignored. No place is this more apparent than in the committee considerations so important to congressional development of legislation.

Our experience with those legislative tactics has been through the work of the Select Education Subcommittee in the U. S. House of Representatives. The dealings have been limited to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, but that experience does not seem to be atypical.

Among the bills considered by the Select Education Subcommittee so far in this Congress are the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments, the Older Americans Act, the Education of the Handicapped Act, and the Environmental Education Act. In the case of each of these bills, the ranking Republican on the subcommittee was not consulted in advance regarding the Administration's position nor was he given enough advance notice of that position to be able to use it effectively in the hearings. Normally, we have received only a few hours notice of what stand HEW proposed to take regarding a given piece of legislation.

At so late a date, the Administration's position and justification for that position is next to useless. By that time, legislative compromises have

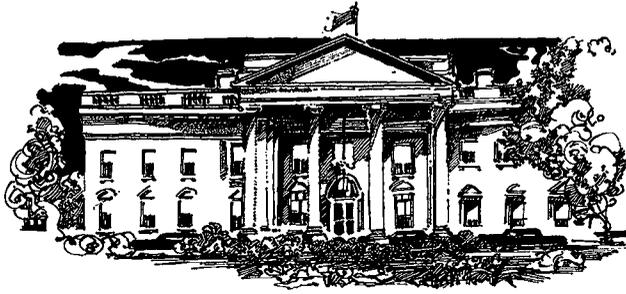
been arrived at and binding commitments cannot be overturned with such a statement as, "Wait a minute fellows, the President just told me what to do."

The consideration of the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments may serve to illustrate the point. On this bill, the only guidance available to Republicans throughout most of the hearings was that the Administration was unhappy with the funding level. The Democrats on the subcommittee were willing to compromise on the matter of the spending authorizations and the compromise resulted in a substantially lower funding level. At that point, Republicans agreed to support the bill based on the more reasonable spending commitments.

All of the above activity took place prior to the HEW presentation of its legislative package. Therefore, some Republicans found themselves locked into a position without having seen the Administration's views. But what else could be done? HEW had been asked to indicate its position weeks before the subcommittee acted and had done nothing. The subcommittee chairman, John Brademas of Indiana, wanted to move ahead on the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments. A Republican response to his desire to get moving could not be, "We can't do anything until we hear from our leader."

But once the Administration had presented its case, it refused to consider anything else. Several Republicans found themselves in an embarrassing state of limbo — caught between their previous good faith commitments and the uncompromising stand of the Administration which was heralded publicly as the only responsible position. Thus, when the bill was sent to the House for action, Republicans were split between the committee's bill and the Administration's desires.

When the committee bill carried the day, it seemed certain there would be a presidential veto of Vocational Rehabilitation. That veto came quickly, and left some GOP legislators who had supported the vetoed bill feeling somewhat embittered. They had been snubbed by HEW's refusal to include them in development of the legislation. They had been frustrated by the failure of



the Administration to get its views to Capitol Hill in time to be considered by the committee. They had been forced by that failure to settle for a compromise they regarded as reasonable, and then put in the position of having to oppose the President by defending that compromise. Finally, they were publicly embarrassed when the President vetoed the bill calling it irresponsible.

It is the fact that the Vocational Rehabilitation story is not an isolated case which is causing a rift between Republican congressmen and the White House. The same pattern, almost to the commas in the script, developed in the consideration of the Older Americans Act. Very similar problems arose on the Education for the Handicapped and Environmental Education legislation.

The complaints are not confined to the House of Representatives. GOP senators have received the same kind of cavalier treatment.

Sen. J. Glenn Beall, Jr. of Maryland related his frustrations with the Older Americans Act in a newspaper

interview. Beall pointed out that he wrote the White House after last year's veto of the Older Americans bill. In that letter, he asked what type of legislation would meet with the Administration's approval. He made the request as ranking GOP member of the Senate subcommittee handling the bill.

"I got no answer, so when Congress came back this year I sent another inquiry," Beall said.

Once again Beall got no reply. Meanwhile, a new bill began moving in the Senate that looked more expensive than what the President would want.

"The day before the bill reached the Senate floor, they sent me 25 to 30 amendments they wanted offered," Beall recalled. "I told them to take their amendments and go back downtown with them."

The point irking Beall is that Republican legislators cannot be expected to advocate and defend Administration policies — something which in most cases they would be willing and happy to do — if those policies

are not made known to them until the last minute. As Beall put it, "In the absence of alternatives, you've got to go with what you have."

Sen. Peter Dominick of Colorado is another Republican who has publicly stated his disillusionment with the Administration's legislative tactics. He was particularly bitter that the GOP members of the Senate Education Subcommittee were not consulted during the drafting of the special revenue-sharing bill for education.

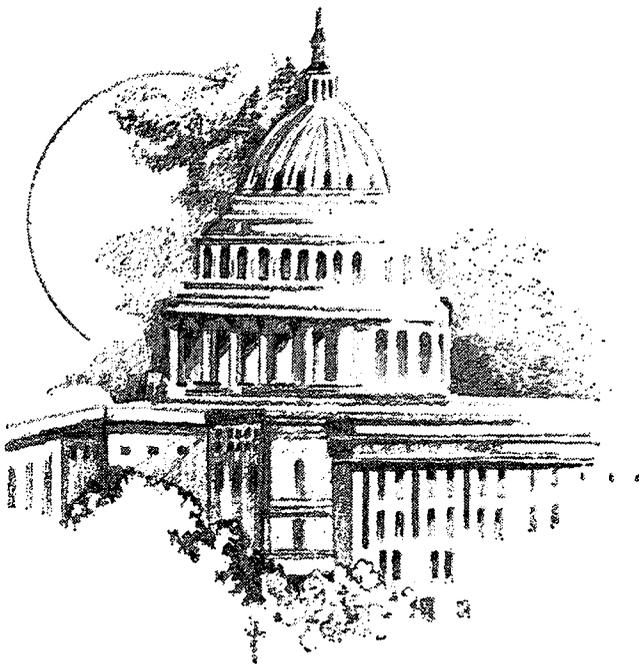
According to Dominick, he regards such treatment as "cavalier," and in a statement on the Senate floor he said he was introducing the revenue-sharing legislation only "as a matter of courtesy."

"I seize this opportunity," he continued, "to indicate my disinclination to being the passive and grateful recipient of OMB's set of priorities, devoid of any congressional input."

If it appears that all of the examples of criticism in this article stem from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the focus for blame is certainly deserved. HEW does not stand alone in this problem, but gets highlighted here primarily because it is most within the authors' realm of experience. Other departments and agencies are guilty, too, including the White House itself.

Significantly, most Republicans are not blaming the President personally for the problems. The discontent is with Administration underlings who appear to feel that Congress is no more than a bothersome necessity. GOP legislators are sure that the President, himself, does not feel this way and are willing to try to give him the support he needs. Basically, they agree with the Nixon programs, and want to see him exert the national leadership of which he is capable.

But these Republicans also know that the programs and leadership are doomed if they do not get the cooperation they need from the Administration to act as knowledgeable advocates of the Nixon policies on Capitol Hill. They want to be in the forefront of the changes that the President proposes for the nation. The only way this is possible is if the legislative tactics change, and the Administration accepts the Republicans in Congress as an integral part of the policy-making team. ■



Limiting the Balance of Terror

by Alton Frye

Returning from some weeks in the Soviet Union, the most poignant moment of the trip came at the airport. Four-year-old Emily met me with tears in her eyes, crying, "Daddy, Daddy, I didn't want you to go to Russia. I was afraid there would be a war and you didn't have a gun." This from a child insulated from television news and other forms of violence, raised in a home where toy weapons are taboo and war games unwelcome. It was a telling reminder of how pervasive are the fears in which we dwell. And it was a fitting theme for the discussions I had just completed with Soviet strategists and arms control analysts.

For both Soviets and Americans have now largely moved beyond their inclinations toward belligerence and openly proclaim a prudent fear of war. In the first strategic arms limita-

tion agreements between Moscow and Washington, the two countries testified to their understanding that an unbridled competition in strategic weapons could only exacerbate the dangers and fears of actual conflict. These may seem modest accommodations to the obvious hazards of the nuclear age, but they are prerequisite to the management of conflict between great powers.

While the concept of a stable peace built on a balance of power between states is indeed familiar, the mutual cultivation of such a balance by two nations which actually curb their pursuit of advantage in the interest of stability remains relatively alien to the practice of governments. Historic applications of the balance of power theory have usually referred to instances in which, like the invisible hand of free market economics, political and military competition has served to create a degree of international equilibrium, unreliable though it often was. Messrs. Nixon and Brezhnev seem to realize that the security of their peoples requires them to abandon outmoded notions about the automaticity of the balance of power, and to devise more explicit guidelines to regulate and insure strategic equilibrium.

Yet the task of establishing and administering even a cooperative balance will require political leadership of a character seldom seen. The cautious first steps in this direction may not be sufficient to keep ahead of the political and technological forces which threaten to undermine the entire project. It is imperative for the two countries to break out of the mental paralysis which limited the initial arms control arrangements.

Happily, there are some indications that, despite disruptions in U.S. arms control planning because of massive personnel changes, bolder prospects may be at hand. President Nixon and the National Security Council have reportedly been reconsidering a number of questions which were given short shrift in SALT I, including particularly the knotty problem of controlling MIRV (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle) systems. At the same time, the Soviet Union is understood to have indicated interest in serious explorations of the possibilities for controlling MIRV. This contrasts with the experience of SALT

I when the MIRV issue evoked no meaningful negotiations at all.

The MIRV problem is crucial because it epitomizes the kinds of qualitative change in force structure which must be controlled if the quantitative limits are to remain viable. Unless qualitative limitations can be arrayed in certain areas, the grave likelihood will persist that technological innovation will destabilize the strategic balance by allowing one side or the other the equivalent of forces several times those allowed by a nominal quantitative ceiling.

The Moscow summit conference of 1972 laid an excellent groundwork for accelerating the movement toward broader and more dependable mutual security arrangements in the field of strategic armaments. The Declaration of Basic Principles issued by the two governments placed a proper condemnation on the quest for "unilateral advantage," an emphasis repeated by Congress when it endorsed the Interim Agreement on Offensive Weapons and urged the countries to move toward actual reduction of strategic weapons.

The treaty limiting anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems not only shored up mutual deterrence by vastly simplifying the problems of retaliation for any nuclear strike; it also created invaluable precedents, among them a major contribution to qualitative arms control. It did so by restricting test activities for ABM systems to designated ranges, by prohibiting tests of anti-aircraft weapons in a so-called ABM mode, and by curtailing the number and types of test launchers which each side may maintain. In short, the ABM treaty sets significant constraints on development activities, the incubator from which springs the qualitative changes most threatening to strategic stability. Provisions like these arouse the fierce opposition of many military professionals in both Russia and America, but if they could be extended to offensive technologies, they could break the back of the arms race.

Henry Kissinger and other U.S. officials have hinted at a sympathetic view of such limitations by statements recognizing that SALT II must address the intricate problems of qualitative changes in strategic weaponry. Gerard Smith, the gifted diplomat who led

the first American SALT delegation, correctly characterized the distinctive thrusts of SALT I and SALT II when he pointed out that the present agreements aid deterrence by facilitating the capacity of retaliatory forces to penetrate in a second strike; future accords, he noted, must deal with the challenges to the survivability of deterrent forces. In the context of emerging technology, that is a recipe for building safeguards against highly accurate MIRV systems which might rob land-based weapons of their relative invulnerability and against breakthroughs in anti-submarine warfare systems which might jeopardize the sea-based deterrent.

Heretofore, Soviet strategists have been cool to limits on technological development, no doubt because of their felt need to overcome the U.S. technological lead in sophisticated missileery. One Soviet diplomat, when asked why the Soviet Union had not been more vocal in pressing for an early MIRV limit, professed that, since only the Americans had such technology, they should propose how to deal with it. Belatedly, however, the Russian community of strategic analysts has begun to express greater interest in coping with the instabilities associated with MIRV. Some Soviet experts appear willing to contemplate very far-reaching bargains.

For example, since the Soviets' increased anxiety over U.S. MIRV systems is matched by continued American distress over the number and size of Soviet land-based missiles, it might be possible to deal with both sources of potential instability by reducing ICBM inventories to 500 single-warhead missiles on each side. The Soviets would give up all of their over-sized SS-9 force and forego the option of developing MIRV systems for ICBMs in exchange for a phase-out of the U.S. Minuteman III MIRV weapons and an end to the continued testing which could refine such systems into precise counterforce payloads.

To enforce such a limit on MIRV development, a ban on multiple warhead tests and a ceiling on total missile test launches to perhaps fifteen a year would be feasible and verifiable. There is a special problem, however, because the United States also has be-

gun to MIRV its Poseidon submarine-launched missiles. If sea-based MIRVs were also ruled out, the Poseidons would have to be converted to a single warhead which, in view of the missile's sizeable payload, could be quite large; it would probably have greater lethality in the counterforce role than the current configuration of numerous small warheads. The dilemma here is severe, especially when one weighs the argument that several thousand Poseidon warheads are a potent hedge against a possible ABM breakthrough. An imperfect, but possibly workable, compromise would be to permit some MIRVs on submarines provided the warheads were very small and carried by re-entry vehicles which could not attain the extreme accuracies adequate to threaten hardened ICBM silos.



One reason for keeping an open mind regarding the Poseidon force and a parallel Soviet deployment is that Moscow might find it easier to sacrifice its SS-9 force if it could still explore MIRV technology in a less threatening, sea-based mode. But there is another, virtually unrecognized factor which might warrant a mutual agreement to retain a MIRV option at sea. It could offer the key to eventual resolution of the perplexing problems arising at the nexus of the nuclear and conventional balances in Europe. Among the severe difficulties haunting both the strategic arms negotiations and the incipient discussions of mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) in Europe is the question of forward-based nuclear systems (FBS) on the continent. The Russians consider these to be strategic weapons, since some of them can reach the western Soviet Union, while the United States and its NATO allies

see them as integral elements of the conventional-tactical nuclear defense of Europe. This dispute over the famous American arsenal of 7000 nuclear weapons in Europe is a real one. It could stymie both SALT II and MBFR.

Properly orchestrated, the Poseidon MIRV force could assume coverage of most of the target system now assigned to the large but relatively vulnerable FBS. Remote basing of such "tactical" nuclear support forces on board would help mute the possible tendency to use nuclear weapons early in a conventional struggle. This would permit the elimination of present nuclear-storage facilities on the continent, which are tempting targets for preemptive strikes by the Soviets, and would allow conversion of "dual-capable" aircraft to an exclusively conventional capability. And since Poseidons could place relatively small (Hiroshima-class!) weapons on time-urgent targets, the cost in operational military terms should be low. This is conceivable because, with no ABM to overwhelm, the Poseidon MIRV payloads alone provide a substantial surplus of warheads to the quantity needed for a strategic second strike.

Undoubtedly, the allies would have to be persuaded of the wisdom of this deployment for the tactical mission, but the progress of détente could make the concept attractive. Obviously, the Soviets would have to be willing to make comparable adjustments in their nuclear storage arrangements and their dual-capable aircraft systems. The NATO powers should also press Moscow to phase out the several hundred intermediate and medium-range missiles now targeted against western Europe, a reduction the Soviets should be able to absorb; if they, too, perfect compact MIRV systems for the large submarine fleet they plan. As an added and basic benefit of such a scheme, the modification of dual-capable aircraft would simplify some of the most complex aspects of calculating the balance of conventional forces on which MBFR will focus.

Notions like these grow out of an American perspective on the challenges of arms control. What may be most necessary for the immediate future, however, is a greater Soviet initiative to sustain the momentum toward security through diplomacy. The

United States was unwise, in the opinion of many, to begin a premature commitment to MIRV which complicates the strategic equation. But the Soviet Union has also created unwarranted impediments by a reticence which corrodes the very trust which is a principal objective of negotiation.

It would be immensely helpful if Moscow would be more forthcoming about the numbers and details of its own strategic programs, instead of nursing American apprehensions by obliging Washington to rely on unilateral intelligence estimates. Similarly, clear and repeated expressions of a Soviet strategic doctrine which gives priority to stability would relieve the unhappy ambiguity which still marks Russian military writings. If, as the ABM treaty seems to indicate, the Soviet Union perceives that a condition of mutual deterrence is unavoidable and that unilateral attempts to alter that condition are perilous folly, then it should declare that recognition unequivocally. Only by coupling clear policy with credible action to bolster mutual deterrence can Moscow hope to counter the skeptics.

The interlocking negotiations now under way afford an unprecedented chance to forge a sturdy trust between East and West. That trust can best rely on the multiplication of genuine and reinforcing commitments to each other. The art will lie in weaving a fabric of mutual obligations in which the breaking of any single strand would not rend the whole cloth, but would alert the other partners to the possibility of bad faith. Viewed affirmatively, visible compliance with a number of commitments would enhance confidence in the good faith of the parties and their dedication to the new regime of cooperative security. It is a valid purpose of arms control to encourage the proliferation of opportunities for each side to demonstrate its integrity and to detect any signal of malevolence on the part of the other. In gauging the many candidates for future arms limitations, this tenet deserves particular emphasis.

For the present, time and technology are running together in both the United States and the Soviet Union. In the interest of strategic stability, a farsighted politics had better join the race soon. ■

COMMENTARY

Avoiding a Third Wounded Knee

by Peter MacDonald

The major problem that American Indians face today is economic development and development of their own resources.

The magnitude of the problems can better be defined by various statistics, such as the extremely high unemployment rate on the reservation. At present, 65 percent of the available work force of Navajo people are unemployed. This is in comparison to a national average of 6 percent or less. This represents 30,000 or more Navajos who are willing to go to work right now, but who are unable to find employment.

The question here is what exactly would go to make up the type of economic development program that would not only meet the needs of American Indians, but also be consistent with the type of programming and development they want. At this point, priorities must be established.

At the top of the list must be self-sufficiency. This requirement is too often overlooked by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other federal agencies. Programs are instigated every year which fall short of objectives because they are not on-going or because they

did not receive enough funding to be truly effective.

Another aspect of economic development that must receive more attention is securing loans for prospective Indian small businessmen. It is almost impossible to obtain such loans at present. Until Native Americans can function in a "free enterprise situation," full self-determination is virtually impossible. On the whole, America's Indians need a more responsive government, one that is geared to their particular needs and requirements.

In order to develop reservations, for example, one must have better roads. On the Navajo reservation the roads are almost 30 years behind the current development in rural areas surrounding the reservation. (You must keep in mind that most states had few if any paved roads 30 years ago.) I am sure the conditions on smaller reservations are even worse.

We need more and better schools on reservations from grade 1 through college. This situation appears more acute when you realize that the American Indian population is increasing at twice the rate of the rest of America.

We definitely need more hospitals and clinics to serve the basic needs of the people. Again referring to my people, the Navajo, if one is sick, he may have to drive up to 150 miles or more



to receive first aid or more sophisticated medical help.

We need advances in the areas of commercial and industrial development. Commercial development centering around shopping centers, purveyors of goods and services that are currently not available on the reservations, that now feed the economy of the surrounding communities. These funds could reinforce our own Indian-owned establishments and businesses, thus creating a more stable economy centered around our own people.

In many cases, there are vast reserves of oil, gas, minerals, etc. on the reservations, but these need to be developed in such a way as to aid the economy, but not hurt or "rape" the earth.

We have land for farming and other related developments. The Navajo Tribe is currently proceeding with irrigation development of 110,000 acres of future farm land but this development hinges mainly on water rights and the determination of the government to keep its commitments on the Navajo water allotments.

All projects which could lead to "Indian self-determination" on a realistic scale will have to depend on the federal agencies for funds to implement them.

Over two years ago, I informed the White House that drastic changes would have to be implemented within the present structure of Indian Affairs if the programs were to become effective. Again last year, just after the Bureau of Indian Affairs takeover, I warned the Administration and other Washington officials of the necessity to focus on the "real issues" or similar demonstrations would again occur. The latest manifestation of frustration appeared at Wounded Knee. It is yet to be resolved.

The only true and effective way of handling Indian Affairs is to abolish the Bureau and in its place establish a blue ribbon commission directly under the White House.

At present there is too much conflict within the Department of the Interior.

Water rights are sought by land management bureaucrats while the Bureau claims to be protecting those rights; the secretary of the Interior is

charged with looking after both sides.

Lawyers call this "conflict of interest;" I call it a disastrous stalemate.

We give foreign aid to Vietnam, Korea and others while ignoring the American Indian, both on the reservation and in the city. These people should be treated at least with the same respect as outsiders.

America's Indians are slowly starting to unite. If and when organized leadership spearheads the Native American cause, the established federal leadership should be on its guard. At present, the militants are the guideline and pacesetters. But soon, more constructive forces must evolve to develop forward actions and motivate the cause.

President Nixon has proposed and submitted several pieces of legislation to Congress that, if passed, could help in small areas. But this problem must be considered on a broad scale. Navajo problems are not the same as those of eastern tribes and Apache or Seminole problems are no more the same than are Mexican-American and Afro-American problems.

The first step to so-called "Indian self-determination" is the realization by bureaucratic lawmakers and officials of one simple fact — "Native Americans must be treated according to their

particular situation, needs, traditions, religious beliefs and environmental conditions." To consider the "rubber stamp" or "Indian-type image" is as antiquated as trying to fly a dirigible around the world instead of a supersonic jet.

Most of the people charged with the responsibility of administering to the needs of American Indians cannot pronounce their tribal names, let alone feel or sense the true inadequacies of Native Americans. This, too, must change.

If the Nixon or any other Administration want to do something more than give lip service to American Indian problems, now is the time for the first step, the establishment of a White House Office of Indian Affairs with truly responsive "Indian" leadership and direction. The second step should be the establishment and funding of effective development programs that create a viable economy, not mere handouts. Third, implement these programs, and at that point embark on Phase II and you have solved most of the problems on both sides of the fence regarding Indian Affairs. Ignore the "real issues and problems" and Wounded Knee is sure to show up in history as child's play in comparison to what may follow. ■



COMMENTARY

Crime You Pay For

by Christopher T. Bayley

Last Fall, a Seattle man walked into a freezer meat store which had heavily advertised its low beef prices. A beef half was 59¢ per pound (which seems even more incredible in mid-1973!) and he asked to see the product. The salesperson in effect told him he really did not want to feed his family *that* beef, suggesting a 79¢ per pound alternative. At this point, the buyer was deeply involved in what is known as bait and switch. The store had no intention of selling the 59¢ product; it was a loss leader. If they did sell it at that price they lost money. The undesirable meat was also unappetizing in appearance and a customer was likely to "switch" once he or she saw it.

Our man, however, was persistent. He insisted, and the side was hoisted up for weighing. Unbeknownst to him the clerk then placed a weight on a lever arm of the scale which was hidden from the customer's view. When multiplied by the length of the arm, this weight added over 100 pounds to the weight of the beef. After accounts were settled at the inflated weight, the beef was returned to the back room for cutting, wrapping and delivery. The customer had no way of knowing, without reconstructing the beast, that he had been cheated. He had survived the attempt at bait and switch, but succumbed to the equally devious fraud known as "rocking" the scale.

After a cooperative investigation with the attorney general's office, it was revealed that these practices

were standard operating procedure; charges of grand larceny by trick and scheme to defraud were filed including this and other counts. The defendants (owner and manager) pled guilty and on our recommendation the court ordered creation of a \$10,000 restitutionary fund from which claims are now being paid.

At approximately the same time as the beef fraud was taking place, a young woman living in a suburb of Seattle went searching for a good used car. After scouring the classifieds, she visited the lot of a major new car dealer to look at the "top trade-ins" he offered. Since the car was for commuting it had to be reliable, and like most buyers she did not want to pay too much either to buy or operate the car. She was shown a 1968 Dodge Dart which seemed to be just what she was looking for. It had new tires, looked good, but most impressive of all it had "gone" only 23,000 miles.

No, the car did not fall apart after being driven from the lot. The only harm done was that the buyer paid several hundred dollars more than she should have, solely because the odometer had been rolled back from the actual 74,000 miles by a "specialist" engaged by the dealer. Identified by investigators from the State Department of Motor Vehicles who worked closely with us in the development of this series of cases, the buyer became a witness against the dealer. The charge: again grand larceny. The theory: that by setting back the odometer the dealer inflated the value of the automobile by more than the \$75 necessary to support this charge.

Successful prosecution of this and similar cases has created a climate of deterrence in the automobile business, cutting back what was a prevalent practice of rollbacks prior to the sale of used cars. As in the meat case, sentence recommendations have included restitution to defrauded consumers in amounts to be determined case by case.

Both of these examples are important in several ways. First, they represent the entry of the prosecutor into the already crowded field of "consumer protectors," a field in which he can do things on behalf of the public no one else has the power to do. Second, they illustrate imaginative

uses of existing (in fact quite old) legal tools to apply criminal sanctions against perpetrators of economic crimes. Third, the important point is made that government agencies must cooperate, rather than compete, in the area of consumer protection. Finally, these cases show the prosecutor's concern for the *victim*. It has often been said, and with justification, that the criminal justice system is so preoccupied with the offender that the interests of the person who has suffered at his hand are ignored.

To understand how these new efforts at prosecution have come about it is necessary to know more about the Fraud Division of this office and the theories of prosecution brought out in the examples. In early 1972, the office was awarded a federal grant through the Washington State Law & Justice Planning Office to set up a unit to deal only with "white collar" crime. Perhaps a better term for this class of crime is "economic offenses." Within this classification there is a further breakdown into:

(1) Frauds committed through the form of a legitimate business organization (securities fraud, land sales fraud and a host of other schemes).

(2) Frauds against business (embezzlement, insurance fraud, etc.).

(3) Frauds against government entities (bribery, false claims, conflict of interest, corruption, and obstruction of justice).

(4) Frauds in the marketplace (consumer fraud, auto repair swindles, weights and measures, etc.).

After an extensive nationwide search, Gene S. Anderson was chosen as chief of the Division. Anderson worked for three years as an assistant to Seymour Glanzer, Assistant U. S. Attorney in the District of Columbia (now of Watergate fame). There, special techniques of fraud case development had been refined and tested.

It is the function of the Fraud Division to develop and investigate major criminal cases in the areas defined above. Given limited resources, the Division must engage in a process of careful selection of cases that hold a high potential for conviction and which will have impact and a deterrent effect. To perform this function, the Division is not organized to receive a high volume of citizen com-

plaints, but as a major *prosecution* unit with time to target investigations in areas where there is a high occurrence of economic loss coupled with evidence of criminal conduct.

Input of complaints and other information flow into the Fraud Division from source agencies, e.g., the Attorney General's Consumer Protection Division, police departments, the regional offices of the SEC, FTC and other regulatory agencies, and the private bar. A "major" case does not necessarily mean that a long and time consuming prosecution is contemplated. The definition turns instead on the activity involved, the impact to flow from a conviction and the novel use of the criminal penalty to deter fraudulent activities.

The successful prosecution of a major fraud depends heavily on its investigation, the design of its pleadings, and the theory devised for the prosecution. The actual trial of the case is, of course, important and the prosecutor's skill in the courtroom can always make up for deficiencies in proof or preparation. But the real skill in the trial of a major fraud comes in the planning.

This is true because the nature of a major fraud is quite different than the common crime. For example, there are really very few ways to commit a robbery — use a gun, knife, force and violence, or threats (use such language as, "let's have it," "this is it," or the old standby, "your money or your life"). The defenses are standard — mistaken identity, alibi, self-defense, lack of proof, etc. Very seldom do you hear as a defense that a robbery did not occur, or that even granting what the witnesses say, no crime was committed. With the common crime, the fact that a crime may have been committed is usually established or conceded and the question is: "who did it?" In a major fraud, this equation is usually reversed. There is no dispute over who was engaged in the undertaking, the question is: "was there a crime?" The defense of "good faith," if established in a fraud case, such as consent in a rape, does not just excuse the defendant; it negates his criminal conduct.

To do this vital preparatory work we have three in-house investigators who engage in lawyer-directed inves-

tigations. Their field work, interviewing and background checks, are tied in with the lawyer's investigative work product. In this sense, the investigator is working from the outset within a prosecutive framework with his efforts being directed by the prosecutor to build evidence in a particular case. Where the fraud under investigation falls within a regulated area, e.g., securities fraud, real estate, etc., qualified personnel (investigators and accountants) are requested from the regulatory agency. In most instances, this is an offer that cannot be refused by the agency since the fraud is within their area of responsibility and the consequence of being left out of the investigation is criticism for lack of diligence.

This team of investigative personnel operating under the direction of the prosecutor then becomes a task force of varying skills that can be delegated areas of responsibility. With the prosecutor's presence in the investigative stage cases can jell much faster. For instance, in most fraud prosecutions inside witnesses become prime sources of information about higher-ups. These individuals are hesitant to confide their information to investigators for fear of prosecution. In these instances, the prosecutor can lay down the conditions for granting the witness immunity which can quickly provide the investigative leads and testimony needed for conviction.

Case development is also aided by

use of the "inquiry judge." This is an institution created by the Washington legislature in 1971 as part of the Criminal Investigatory Act, which our office helped to draft. A judge of our county court is appointed by his fellow judges to hear any matters the prosecutor brings to him that he deems appropriate for inquiry. In essence, he sits as a one man grand jury. Under his authority we can subpoena persons or documents, and the inquiry judge may grant immunity from prosecution. He does not have the power to indict. Proceedings are secret and each witness is entitled to have an attorney with him during the inquiry.

The above techniques and examples represent what one prosecutor is doing to combat economic offenses which all statistics show take more money from the public than all so-called "common" crimes against property combined. These techniques and others from other offices are now being shared under the auspices of the National District Attorneys Association, which now hopes to set up a national clearing house for this purpose. In May of this year, we made a presentation of our ideas to prosecutors gathered in Columbus, Ohio under the sponsorship of the Academy for Contemporary Problems to set up the clearing house. It is hoped that as a result of this sharing, long available criminal law tools can be imaginatively applied to help stop losses from economic crime in all parts of the United States. ■

Moderation in Politics

"... the most important structural question affecting the parties and, through them, the future of American society: Will the country be governed by a permanent or a shifting majority; which is to say, will it become polarized or moderate? A permanent majority, as one may read in The Federalist, leads inevitably to polarization. Those who are left out of such a majority become alienated and radicalized; they feel they have no legitimate access to power, so they resort to illegitimate means. The permanent majority reacts by repressing the minority; but to do so effectively, it must adopt measures that restrict the liberty of all citizens. An authoritarian spiral begins and it will continue until such time as the minority is suppressed or reintegrated into the political process. Mark well that this argument applies to any permanent majority no matter how enlightened or moderate the people in it may originally be. Hence, when Spiro T. Agnew calls for a 'new realignment' based on 'positive polarization,' he is calling for disaster."

*From "For a Moderate Majority,"
by JOSIAH LEE AUSPITZ
Playboy Magazine, April, 1973.*

COMMENTARY

Going On Four

by *Richard W. Rabn*

Under the Full Employment Act of 1946, the President is responsible for maintaining full employment as well as a non-inflationary but growing economy.

Unfortunately, these goals are almost inherently contradictory since growth and full-employment generally exist only under inflationary conditions. It is apparent that excessive inflation is economically destructive, especially to the poor and to those living on fixed incomes.

Simply stated, inflation exists when dollars are produced faster than goods or services. This situation exists when costs are driven up faster than productivity (cost-push inflation) or when the demand for goods and services outruns their supply (demand-pull inflation).

The current inflationary spiral began when the Johnson Administration began producing dollars faster than the economy was producing goods in order to pay for the Vietnam War (demand-pull inflation). The situation was quickly aggravated by a number of labor settlements far in excess of increases in productivity; e.g., construction and New York City municipal workers.

The inflationary psychology soon became so pervasive that the Nixon Administration's induced recession did not substantially curb it. According to economic texts, when workers lose their jobs during a recession, the price of labor should drop and decreased demand for goods and services should then drive down prices as a result of competition. In 1970, neither wages nor prices were driven down because the country no longer had a competitive economy. Instead, the economy was characterized by business, labor

and government monopoly units, all of which were more protected than regulated by government.

For example, municipal workers in New York City were able to achieve wage increases far in excess of their productivity and a pension plan far more generous than those found in private industry because the local politicians found it easier to milk local taxpayers than to battle with municipal unions. (Local office-holders are wont to complain that "the federal government is not giving us enough money" instead of admitting that the municipal budget has been commandeered by government unions.) Other abusive monopoly situations include a variety of hold-ups: small employers by large construction unions; federal defense contracts by aerospace giants bent on "renegotiation" and cost overruns; telephone service improvement by telephone companies bent on rate hikes. Moreover, successive federal Administrations and Congresses have spewed out an ever-increasing number of good and useless government programs which spend money that the government has not acquired through taxation.

In the current situation, price controls will be basically ineffective and perhaps harmful in the long run because the basic causes of inflation are excessive government spending and monopolistic economic units operating

outside the market system. If controls on prices and wages could be administered and enforced with perfect equity — which even the control advocates do not claim — then they could dampen cost-push inflation. However, since imperfect equity is guaranteed, two classes of goods and persons are created: the controlled and the non-controlled. Unfortunately, the non-controlled tend to be wealthier since better-educated professionals, entrepreneurs and producers of nonhomogenous specialized goods and services are the most difficult factors to control.

Under demand-pull inflation, such as the country now faces, price controls tend to be destructive because they serve to reduce supply by not encouraging production. Thus, they aggravate the basic problem and encourage the growth of black markets. Price controls have been imposed by assorted governments since Roman times; in every case they failed.

It is time for Congress to face economic reality by getting its own financial house in order. Congress must develop a coordinated and rational system for budgeting and expenditures. It must pass clear and extensive anti-trust legislation to prohibit or break-up business and labor monopolies. And it must devise means by which governmental units are forced to obey the laws of the market system. ■



The Health Care Debate

by Richard J.

Hirschman, M. D.

Although recent events involving the White House tend to distract us from other issues, the "health care debate" will undoubtedly continue in the coming months. There appears to be broad and increasing support within the Administration and Congress as well as throughout the nation for some form of national health insurance. In fact, the general concept of "universal entitlement" to health care seems no longer to be debatable. The precise meaning of "universal entitlement" and how best to achieve this goal, however, remain to be decided, and, needless to say, are the source of considerable disagreement. Stated simply, it is not agreed (A) who will be covered and to what extent, (B) what the financing mechanism will be, and (C) what impact the plan that evolves will have on health care delivery.

As is the case with most great legislative issues, the plan that will ultimately evolve will be a compromise between the "left," including in this case organized labor and consumer groups, and the "right," including most of organized medicine. What reasonable expectations, then, might a progressive have for a national health insurance?

(A) Coverage and Benefits: Although only about 20 percent of the American people are currently without medical insurance, the extent of coverage of the 80 odd percent varies considerably. Furthermore, it is precisely the uncovered 20 percent who

cannot be expected to voluntarily participate in an insurance program for reasons of unemployment, ignorance or indifference. Should our national health insurance, then, be voluntary and thus exclude a significant part of the population or should it be compulsory for all Americans? A corollary is: Should the ability to pay for the insurance determine in any way the extent and quality of medical care made available? There appears to be inescapable logic, one's sense of social justice aside, in supporting the concept of universal coverage and uniform benefits regardless of the ability to pay. The 1971 Administration proposal (we eagerly await this year's offering) is at sharp variance with this concept, based largely, it seems, on budgetary considerations. The Nixon plan, in essence, provides coverage only for the employed and some of the poor with dependent children. Furthermore, the poor who manage to be covered under this plan receive distinctly inferior benefits with limits on hospitalization and on physician visits. In contrast, other plans (Kennedy and Javits) provide for universal coverage and uniform benefits.

(B) Financing Mechanism: It has simply become too expensive for middle-income people and the poor to pay for their health care "out-of-pocket." Any form of national health insurance will, by definition, make changes in the current financing mechanism. Should the financing be through multiple private companies or through a federal income or social security tax? Should employers contribute? Should the cost be graduated depending on income or should it be uniform for all, constituting a larger relative burden on those with lower incomes? The Administration concept of "health capitalism" allows for multiple private insurers, both profit-making and non-profit, to compete for the health insurance dollars provided by employee and employer payments with the government paying the premiums for the covered poor. This mechanism, although not necessarily less expensive overall, keeps the federal budget down. The Kennedy and Javits plans, in contrast, would be financed by the federal government from general revenues and new taxes. What position one takes on this issue of financing depends

largely on one's personal philosophy. Who can perform better and more efficiently; multiple competing organizations with consequent administrative duplication or the federal government with its centralization of control and well-known penchant for bureaucratization and politicization? A combination of the two may, in fact, be the best solution; that is, multiple, private competitive carriers with standards carefully regulated by the federal government. This arrangement would provide an incentive for efficiency and innovation, avoid political manipulation and yet control the performance of the carriers.

(C) Effect on Health Care Delivery: Perhaps the most sensitive issue in the health care debate involves what impact the legislation will have upon the organization and delivery of health services. The current system (or non-system) is poorly coordinated, inefficient, fragmented, poorly distributed and characterized by a wide variation in the quality of the product. Likewise, our methods of educating health care personnel suffer from poor coordination and financing. Recognizing the need to reorganize the system, most serious legislative proposals involve plans to improve health care delivery. The Administration's plan encourages the development of private, prepaid "Health Maintenance Organizations" (HMO's) as an option to traditional fee-for-service medicine with the view that these organizations will achieve cost control and efficiency. This concept remains to be proven. Similarly, the Kennedy proposal encourages (to the point of coercion) the development of prepayment health centers throughout the country. The excessively broad and authoritarian nature of the Kennedy proposal, which is also based on unproven concepts, insures widespread resistance by health care professionals. It appears that the ultimate effect of reorganizing delivery systems according to the proposed schemes is still largely unknown and will continue to be so until further data are accumulated through experimentation with pilot studies. Whatever type of changes one favors, it seems logical to approach these changes cautiously and by stages, using the positive mechanism of incentive in place of coercion. ■

The Decline and Fall of Gang- busters

by *Richard L. Cleveland*

As the Young Republican National Federation ends its fourth decade, many progressive Republicans shake their heads and tell themselves that the organization ought to be abolished. Certainly any thinking Republican who has observed the antics of the YRNF and of some of the state federations would have good cause to wish the YRs into oblivion. In the past dozen years, the YRs have been a constant source of embarrassment to Republicans, both for the philosophical positions which aligned them with the late Genghis Khan, and for the savage infighting which marks many of their meetings. Senior party officials become apoplectic at the thought of

the bad press which a fractious YR convention can generate.

In New Jersey, Republicans have especially bad memories about YRs, for it was there that a group known as the "Rat Finks" flourished during the mid-sixties. The Rat Finks were noisily anti-Semitic to an extent which brought counter-attacks from B'nai B'rith. They published a songbook containing numerous anti-Black and anti-Semitic songs, and were so notorious that they earned a Fischetti cartoon in the late New York *Herald Tribune*. They were finally bounced from a leadership position, but not before they had thoroughly traumatized the senior party and had given YRs a bad name.

A state GOP committee can censure its YR leaders or do whatever else it chooses in an effort to disassociate itself from their actions, but one tactic which does not work is the revocation of a YR charter by the senior party. By the summer of 1967, the Rhode Island YRs had become such an embarrassment to Gov. John Chafee that the State Central Committee withdrew the organization's charter. The YRNF was notified of the action prior to the national convention, but chose instead to seat the Rhode Island delegation.

Rhode Island is cited as an example of how difficult it is to kill off an existing YR organization; it cannot be done. Any attempt by the Republican National Committee to abolish the YRNF would be met by fanatic resistance, and the bad press and bad feelings which would surely be generated by such an attempt would do nothing for the image of the GOP.

The best solution to the problem would be for progressives to take a more active interest in the YRs; some strong support from older Republicans could do wonders to rejuvenate the progressive wing of the YRs. An essential part of any progressive comeback in the YRNF has to be some serious, sustained grass-roots organizing. Here we see the similarity between the malaise which afflicts the progressive YRs and that which troubles their older counterparts. The leadership of the YRNF was reasonably progressive from its inception until 1963, when the Syndicate walked into the national convention and picked up all of the marbles. Instead of fighting back, the progressives (or Gangbusters, as the

Syndicate calls them) just rolled over and played dead. They walked out of conventions and fired off angry press releases instead of quietly organizing their forces for the next convention. The Syndicate does not work that way; they took their lumps regularly at YRNF conventions, but they saw what had to be done to win, and they did it. They organized so well that they took the national chairmanship in 1963 and have increased their margin at every convention since.

None of this is new advice; this is the sort of thing that progressives have been hearing since 1964. Whenever two or more progressives get together, they begin by telling each other that tomorrow they have *got* to do some organizational work — and then they go off for martinis and forget the whole thing.

And what of the YRs; what should they be doing in the next two years? Philosophies aside, every YR organization ought to be recruiting candidates for local offices; too many seats in state legislatures or on city or county governing boards go uncontested because the incumbent Democrat is "unbeatable." Nonsense. You do not know that the person is unbeatable unless you try, and besides, it looks good to have someone running, even if the GOP candidate takes a shellacking.

Voter registration is another area where YRs could help the party. Some statistics suggest that a person is likely to stay with the party by whom he is registered; the Democrats are great at this sort of thing, and we ought to be taking some lessons. Door-to-door work on behalf of candidates is another very necessary activity, and if the senior party people are too old and feeble to do the walking, then the YRs should be in there helping. YRs might try their hand at fund-raising, but this is an area which the senior party views as their own private preserve, so any efforts in that direction ought to be cleared beforehand and carefully coordinated with the state or local GOP committee.

These are a few modest suggestions from a veteran of the YR Wars. The YRNF *is* worth saving, and it *can* be useful, but it is going to take some cooperation between older and younger progressives to make the thing fly. ■

From the Republicans who Sued the Republican National Committee and Won,* Comes THE RIPON FORUM

The Ripon Society—the only progressive Republican organization in the country. *The Chicago Sun-Times* editorialized that Ripon members “are the voice of the GOP future—clear of thought, strong of word, compassionate of their fellow human beings. And they have the smarts which win elections.” Paul R. Wieck of *The New Republic* called The Ripon Society “a small cadre of exceptionally bright and capable young men and women.” while a column in *The Minneapolis Star* was headlined “Republican Ripon Society: Impact greater than its size.”

The Ripon Society—seeks to bridge the gap between the world of ideas and the world of politics, between the university community and the Republican party. Commented *The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*: “The Ripon Society is a Republican research and policy organization with headquarters in Cambridge, Mass. Old Guard Republicans don’t embrace it as warmly as the more modern breed, but it exercises a scholarly influence on all Republican strategy.”

The Ripon FORUM—the semi-monthly publication of the Ripon Society which *The (London) Economist* called “a sprightly and widely quoted magazine.” In fact, the Ripon FORUM is well known for its bold political commentary, its incisive analysis of public policy questions, and its advocacy of progressive policies for the Republican Party. The FORUM contains, “some of the best political analysis of recent years,” wrote James Doyle of the *Washington Evening Star*. And George Frazier, the “lit’ry life” columnist of *The Boston Globe* wrote, “I cannot abstain from entreating you to at least look at . . . heresy of heresies—the excellent magazine put out by the Ripon Society.”

The Ripon FORUM—an important magazine for progressives and for Republicans alike—an absolutely essential magazine for progressive Republicans.

THE RIPON FORUM

14A Eliot St.
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Enclosed is my check for a year’s subscription (24 issues) to the Ripon Forum.

- \$10
 \$5. I am a student, member of the military, Vista, Peace Corps

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In November of 1971, to achieve more equal representation of all Republicans in the convention process, the Ripon Society sued the Republican National Committee seeking to have the formula used to allocate delegates to Republican National Conventions declared unconstitutional. In April of 1972, the U. S. District Court for the District of Columbia declared the formula unconstitutional and enjoined the 1972 GOP convention from adopting the same one for 1976. The injunction was stayed three days before the convention by Justice William Rehnquist.

The result was the major battle at the GOP gathering in Miami Beach this past August. Reported John Osborne in *The New Republic*. The sole issue that caused a ruckus on the convention floor got there only because the party was under the pressure of a suit brought by the Ripon Society.

The case has now been remanded to the U. S. District Court in the District of Columbia where the Society is challenging the constitutionality of the formula adopted at the 1972 convention on the grounds that it grossly discriminates against Republicans in many states.

POLITICS: REPORTS

NEW JERSEY

TRENTON — In New Jersey, the nation's most urban state, the Republican nominee for governor comes from Cape May, a sleepy town of some 4,392 people at the state's southernmost tip. The nominee's hand-picked state chairman is a dry-cleaner from the rural county of Cumberland on the Delaware Bay.

Gubernatorial nominee Charles Sandman and his chairman John Spoltore have made clear their desire to reverse the activist, progressive course that Gov. William Cahill had set for the New Jersey GOP. This desire evidently is shared by the Republican rank-and-file, who rejected Cahill by a decisive 60,000-vote majority in the June 6 primary.

Cahill, who had barely edged Sandman in the 1969 primary, apparently assumed until the returns were in that his solid record of achievement and the considerable patronage he commanded would be sufficient for an easy victory. Indeed, he had been endorsed by virtually every Republican state legislator and had the coveted "organization" line on most voting machines. But, while local organization Republicans won handily throughout the state, Cahill was soundly defeated. Among the reasons for his loss were:

- * The income tax — Dreaded by politicians in New Jersey even more than in other states, this issue did not scare Cahill, who fought hard to institute a state income levy coupled with property tax reductions, but was rebuffed by both parties in the legislature. This was a political godsend for Sandman, who had ridden an anti-tax platform to two near-wins in previous gubernatorial primaries.
- * The Social Issue — Cahill had renominated Carl Marburger, a respected educator, as state education commissioner, only to have his confirmation blocked by an odd alliance of anti-busing conservatives (led by Sandman cam-

paign manager, Sen. Frank X. McDermott) and the powerful state teachers union. The Marburger fight helped crystalize conservative dissatisfaction with Cahill's challenges of New Jersey's tradition of home rule in areas such as housing and land use.

* Corruption — If Cahill's problems were solely ideological, he would have pulled through the primary, if only because of independent and Democratic cross-over voters who agreed with the Governor or who admired his guts. But Cahill's appeal among such voters was severely eroded by the unremitting stream of indictments and convictions of Cahill's closest associates on charges of political corruption. Cahill did not really confront the corruption issue except to assert pugnaciously his own integrity, which had never been questioned. His lieutenants tried to dismiss the problem as the product of a few rotten apples and a vendetta by U.S. Attorney Herbert Stern. But with the Watergate hearings on T.V. every day, that just did not wash.

The result was a significant crossover of moderate Republicans into the Democratic primary to vote for either



William Cahill

the winner, former prosecutor and judge, Brendan Byrne, or the runner-up, Assemblywoman Ann Klein.

Sandman will drop the corruption issue in the general election campaign. Not only is Watergate his problem now (along with what the Democrats are calling "Trentongate"), but his list of major campaign contributors already includes a contractor convicted of bribery and a leading Atlantic City underworld figure. His opponent, Byrne, in contrast, has had the good fortune to be the subject of a telephone conversation between two Mafiosi which was taped for posterity. The hoods referred to Byrne as a Boy Scout who could not be bought.

Sandman will continue to push the income tax issue in public while his workers exploit the social issue amongst what they like to call "P.U. E.'s" (peripheral urban ethnics), under the expert guidance of campaign manager McDermott and consultant F. Clifton White. Their hope is that Byrne, a political novice, can be put on the defensive. White's forte is to present right-wing candidates as level-headed moderates and to assert that the *other guy* is the extremist. To succeed, White will have to keep Sandman's uncontrolled public exposure to a minimum, as he did in the primary. For although Sandman comes across on T.V. as far less remote than Byrne, he has a pronounced tendency to make unguarded remarks that might give voters the impression he is a backwoods reactionary.

Another manifestation of the centrist veneer to the Sandman effort is its attempt to mollify Republican moderates. Sandman declined to use his clout to depose any Cahill loyalists as county chairmen and has made the traditional post-primary gestures of accommodation. This is mostly a matter of appearances, however, since the new state committee chairman and his staff are old Sandman employees and moderate county leaders will likely be bypassed in the general election campaign.

Barring a major blunder by Byrne, the Democrat has to be rated the heavy favorite in the general election. The liberal wing of his party has nowhere to go and the traditional organization will be dealt with on its own level by the new Democratic state

chairman, Sen. James P. Dugan of Hudson County. It was a disaffected Hudson machine that helped give Cahill his enormous 1969 general election victory, but Hudson can be counted on to give Byrne a big head start this November. The AFL-CIO will be pushing hard for Byrne, as will the Democratic National Committee. (The AFL-CIO was neutral in Cahill's 1969 gubernatorial race and endorsed Republican Sen. Clifford Case in last year's senatorial race.)

In contrast, even if Sandman averts a public split among New Jersey Republicans, many moderates will simply sit out the election.

Given this scenario, the future of New Jersey's Republican Party will hinge on the ability of moderate voters to overcome their distaste for Sandman and their revulsion with Watergate to split their tickets by voting for progressive Republican legislators.

New Jersey voters have a tendency to vote a straight ticket in gubernatorial elections, due in large part to the difficulty which legislative candidates have in achieving public recognition in the New York- and Philadelphia-oriented news media. The job of progressive Republicans will be to get the word to swing voters that the GOP has been the more progressive of the two parties in the state legislature. Some leading moderate Republicans, such as Assembly Speaker Thomas H. Kean of suburban Essex County and Sen. Raymond H. Bateman of Somerset County, come from Republican bastions that will be sheltered from all but a seismic electoral upheaval. But several progressives, such as State Sen. Joseph Woodcock of eastern Bergen County, will have to rely on massive ticket-splitting to survive. If they succumb, the Republican legislative contingent may well be dominated by conservatives from Sandman's area of the state and progressive Republicanism may well be eclipsed in New Jersey for the foreseeable future. ■

VIRGINIA

RICHMOND — Virginians now know who will seek state-wide office this November — and what a strange

field it is, with neither party nominating one of its own as a gubernatorial candidate.

Republicans, at their convention on June 9, nominated Mills Godwin, conservative former Democratic governor (1966-1970), as their candidate to succeed progressive Republican Gov. Linwood Holton, who unfortunately is limited to one four-year term. That 14 percent of the convention delegates, including 30 percent from Godwin's own congressional district, voted no or abstained in an uncontested nomination effort indicates he has less than solid Republican support.

Godwin, who has yet to declare himself a Republican, hopes to put together a conservative coalition of Republicans, conservative independents, and former Byrd Democrats who left their party last year after a liberal takeover.

Lieutenant Gov. Henry Howell, a liberal populist who split from the Democrats in 1971, is Godwin's sole opponent. Although liberals control the Democratic Party now, they did not give, nor did Howell seek, the Democratic nomination or endorsement. Howell, in the same type of situation as Godwin finds himself in, must garner the votes of many outside the Democratic fold. Among those will be Republicans who, disenchanted with Godwin and the conservative takeover of the GOP last year, believe that Howell holds out the best hope of returning viable two party politics to Virginia.

A sharply divided State Democratic Central Committee "commended" Howell's record on June 10. At the same time, they threatened to expell any Democratic committeeman caught backing Godwin. Is there any question where the Democratic leaders' sympathies lie?

In putting his coalition together, Godwin picked Carter Lowance, executive assistant to six former Democratic governors including Godwin, as state director of the Godwin for Governor campaign. Lowance will be the political strategist for Godwin; a former Republican National Committee employee will supply tactical support; and the Virginia Republican organization will hopefully do the mundane work. Godwin's campaign organization is beginning to bear a strong resem-

blance to CREP, which he headed up in Virginia.

While Lowance was a shrewd operator in the Byrd machine days, there is a question of how well the Godwin team will do against the highly personal, yet sophisticated and effective techniques of a man like Howell. Howell, for example, has made his major issue the repeal of the sales tax on food and non-prescription drugs. Godwin has opposed the apparently popular proposal.

The U. S. Supreme Court may well have been the deciding factor in the governor's race. Its split decision in the Richmond school busing case let Howell off the hook on his alleged pro-busing stand and took away what would have been one of Godwin's major issues. As one moderate favorable to some form of busing said, "Thank God for that decision. Now, hopefully, some real, solid issues will be developed during this campaign."

Godwin will run best in the former Byrd strongholds of Southside Virginia, northern Shenandoah Valley and other rural areas, and in Richmond, where people are still paranoid about busing. Howell should run well in the Norfolk area, his home base, and in Northern Virginia, where one-fifth of Virginia's voters live, because of his greater sensitivity to urban problems. In the mountains and valleys of western and southwestern Virginia, where Byrd Democrats never enjoyed great popularity, Howell can do well, and possibly win the election there.

Running with Godwin will be State Sen. John Dalton for lieutenant governor and former State Sen. M. Patton Echols for attorney general. Dalton, originally cast as a moderate, has found it politically wise to sound increasingly conservative in recent years. Echols is strongly conservative. Neither man will be an embarrassment to Godwin.

The two Democratic state-wide candidates are State Sen. Harry Michael, a thoughtful, non-ideological lawyer running for lieutenant governor, and Andy Miller, the popular attorney general, seeking re-election in preparation for his 1977 bid for the governorship.

Dalton should win the lieutenant governor's race unless he gets pulled down by Godwin. Dalton is heir to

a good deal of Holton support and is a much more experienced campaigner than the somewhat stiff Michael. Dalton put together a well-organized, and expensive, campaign for his nomination, which gives him a good start for November, and will probably be better financed than Michael.

Miller, a fairly progressive attorney general, has worked hard to build his reputation and name recognition, by continually speaking around the Commonwealth. He should easily beat Echols, who is not known outside of his Northern Virginia district.

Over 20 independents, including many incumbents who are former Democrats, are running for the 100-seat House of Delegates. Republicans now admit they have little chance of gaining control of the house this year. If enough independents are elected, they may control the election of the house speaker. If that happens, they would probably go with the present speaker, John Warren Cooke. Any deal they might strike with the Republican delegates on the speakership would almost certainly be disadvantageous to the GOP. ■

CAMPAIGN REFORM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Recent calls for campaign reform include proposals by two Republican senators.

Sen. Bill Brock (R-Tenn.), in a speech before the Senate on May 8, proposed the elimination of "cash" from political campaigns. Brock, chairman of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee, proposed that political candidates designate a bank as the repository of their campaign funds. All contributions would be funneled



Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.

through the bank and identified by the donor's name, address, and social security number. Only contributions under \$100 would be accepted in cash. All expenditures as well as contributions would be made through the bank with weekly reports to be filed with the General Accounting Office.

According to Brock, "The idea is designed to assure that campaign contributions are totally exposed to public scrutiny and are open and above-board. No more cash, no more bank accounts under various names, no more delayed reporting." He also proposed that advertising expenditures be limited by law to the 35 days preceding an election.

On June 6, Sen. Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. (R-Md.), together with Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.), introduced the Federal Election Finance Act of 1973. The Mathias-Stevenson proposal would provide for government financing of congressional and presidential campaigns while continuing provisions for small private contributions.

"A public financing system which provided adequate subsidies to all candidates for federal office would probably cost something on the order of one dollar per person per year. I believe it is worth a dollar a year to insure the integrity of our electoral system," said Mathias. (A similar bill has been introduced by Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) which would apply only to congressional campaigns.)

The Maryland Senator traced advocacy of public campaign financing to Theodore Roosevelt and asserted that, "Public financing coupled with a low, strictly enforced limit on private contributions could do a great deal to restore the confidence of the people in the integrity of the politicians they elect to govern them." ■

OREGON

PORTLAND — When Gov. Tom McCall announced that he would not contest Sen. Mark O. Hatfield for the 1972 Republican senatorial nomination, he said he wanted to preside over several new legislative reforms this year.

In a special election on May 1, Oregon voters killed Gov. McCall's

prize tax reform proposal by a 3-2 margin. Despite a switch to Democratic control in last year's legislative elections, Gov. McCall's proposal to increase state financial support to schools while cutting the property tax and increasing the income tax received strong support from Democratic legislative leaders. Among the advocates for the plan were the Democratic senate president, the Democratic house speaker, the state superintendent of public instruction, the AFL-CIO, the Grange, the NAACP, the Teamsters, the Oregon Education Association, and the League of Women Voters.

Among the plan's opponents were several key Republican legislators and business leaders. Although 80 percent of Oregon taxpayers were expected to have lower taxes under the plan, principal tax reliance would have been placed on business and personal income taxes — thereby exacting the opposition of wealthy businessmen with the money to spend on an anti-plan advertising campaign. The complexity of the plan, the fear of local control of schools, and distrust of government were also elements in the plan's demise.

The defeat of the McCall plan may have long-range implications for Oregon politics. Gov. McCall has long been known to be unenthusiastic about serving out his term. Earlier this year, he had been looking for an appointment to the Nixon Administration. (He had long been a supporter of the President's Vietnam policies.) When the appointment did not come and Watergate took over the headlines, he was one of the most critical Republican governors on the Watergate issue. Lack of Republican loyalty in Oregon combined with overzealous loyalty in Washington may have prompted the speculation at the National Governors' Conference in Nevada that McCall was considering becoming a Democrat and running against Republican Sen. Robert Packwood.

In response to Democratic urging that he switch, McCall subsequently wrote Oregon's Democratic national committeeman and committeewoman: "It's unthinkable that I should be in the position of subjecting Senator Packwood, my family (and even me) to the conjecture for a moment longer. I intend to remain in my party, to en-

dorse Senator Packwood and to work vigorously for his return to the United States Senate."

Wrote McCall: "One of the principal reasons that I'm remaining in the party of my ancestors is to restore a fully progressive outlook to the Republican image in any way I can."

McCall had strong praise for progressive politicians in both parties and admitted, "It is hard to arrive at the conclusion that one's life in elective politics is just about over." ■

MISSOURI

JEFFERSON CITY—During Christopher S. "Kit" Bond's first six months as the nation's youngest governor, he has been tested on several occasions, winning some and losing some. How well he has done in this early stage is not easy to assess. Some of the highest praise he has drawn concerns his appointments, particularly in Kansas City and St. Louis, for his police and election boards. Bond pledged during his campaign an efficient Administration, responsive to the needs and trust of the people.

Some of the criticism that Bond has drawn centers on the alleged lack of experience of his personal staff. Some of the criticism is unquestionably political carping. Bond has made a thorough search, both inside and outside



Bill Brock

of Missouri, for qualified personnel, but he has been handicapped by low state salaries. He has also appointed some qualified Democrats to state positions, rankling some Republicans. Bond has worked hard and long hours, but his staff has been criticized for shielding him from appointments with powerful members of the state senate. This sort of criticism can hurt in light of post-Watergate difficulties. Some Republicans as well as Democrats contend that Bond's legislative programs have been weak. His first message as governor to the state legislature did not contain any startling new suggestions. Much of it had already been introduced in the Democratic-controlled legislature before he took office.

The St. Louis area challenged Bond quickly with a teachers strike and a financially troubled transit system. In the teachers strike, Bond hesitated before requesting teachers to return to work in compliance with court orders. His caution won few friends. In the transit problem, Bond eventually was scolded by both of the St. Louis newspapers for his suggestions on the matter. Other opportunities for leadership have come from the U. S. Supreme Court's decision on abortion. Bond has remained on the fence in this case while the conservative legislature has foolishly considered a number of bills in defiance of the decision.

His budget recommendations increased state aid for public education, but represented a decreasing rate of increase from the last four annual budgets. His campaign speeches last year carried recommendations for a revised welfare program, penal reform and executive reorganization. To date, these have not been implemented with great imagination.

But Bond remains, along with youthful Republican Attorney General Jack Danforth and State Auditor John Ashcroft, the symbol of a new, healthy two party system in the state. After many years of mediocre Democratic leadership, Republicans are hopeful that the fortunes of his Administration will turn upward after the adjournment in June of the state legislature.

The first six months of his Administration have been busy for the 34-year-old Governor, whose time has been

occupied with both political and ceremonial duties since he took office in January. Missouri Republicans feel certain that even more constructive changes will be made in state government in the coming months. Bond has a political maturity far beyond his years and the next six months should provide clearer indications of his leadership through badly needed progressive reforms. ■

VERMONT

MONTPELIER — The Land Capability and Development Plan approved by the 1973 Vermont legislature is another in a series of environmental firsts for the Green Mountain State.

The plan, which was mandated by legislation passed in 1970, sets guidelines for a statewide land use plan which will follow in 1974. It offers a number of general statements under three headings: planning for land use and economic development; resource use and conservation; and government facilities and public utilities.

The sub-headings under these topics are liberally sprinkled with "shoulds" and "oughts;" the specifics will be provided by the land use plan. The one area in which the plan is specific, however, is in the definitions section where such terms as "development," "subdivision," "primary agricultural soils," "necessary wildlife habitats" and "floodways" are defined. These definitions will guide the State Environmental Board as it drafts the land use plan.

The Capability Plan was drawn up by the Environmental Board, aired at public hearings, rewritten and submitted to the outgoing and incoming Governors for their signatures. When the plan reached the legislature it went through some eight complete redrafts prior to winning final approval.

The major opposition to the plan came from land speculators and real estate developers in the relatively unspoiled northeastern corner of the state. Their high-pressure tactics, which consisted of newspaper and radio ads criticizing the plan and its authors, failed to influence the house, and the document passed on a 121-26 roll call. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Iowa State Chairman **John C. McDonald** has been appointed chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee. RNC Chairman **George Bush** made the appointment to fill a vacancy created by the retirement of **John Andrews** as Ohio GOP chairman.

● The ranks of California Republicans interested in challenging Sen. **Alan Cranston** (D) are thin, but recently rumored to be considering the race is U.S. Rep. **Alphonzo Bell** (Los Angeles County).

● One of the names surfacing in speculation about a Republican opponent to Sen. **Birch Bayh** (D-Ind.) is GOP State Chairman **Thomas S. Milligan** of Richmond. Milligan, a young attorney who was virtually unknown in the state before he was tapped last winter by Gov. **Otis Bowen** (R) for the party post, has improved his name recognition through appearances with Gov. Bowen on the Lincoln Day dinner circuit. Former Gov. **Edgar Whitcomb** and Attorney General **Theodore Senda** have also been mentioned as possible GOP Senate candidates.

● Georgia Republicans re-elected most of their state officers at a June 2 convention. For the first time in recent history, however, a black, Columbus optometrist **Bob Wright**, was elected as an officer. Wright, 36, was named a vice chairman. Attempts to prevent the immediate past nominees for governor and senator (**Hal Suit** and **Fletcher Thompson**, respectively) from assuming seats on the Republican State Central Committee were defeated. Although Thompson has ruled out a race against Sen. **Herman Talmadge** (D) and U.S. Rep. **John Flynt** (D), he has not closed the door on a gubernatorial race. Suit and DeKalb County Commissioner **Bill Coolidge** are also interested in the Republican nomination. Earlier, the State Central Committee elected **Nolan Murrah** to succeed **Howard "Bo" Callaway** as national committeeman. Murrah defeated **Frank Troutman** of Augusta, 102-61, although **Roy Foster** of Savannah threw his support to Troutman. Referring to the allies of Callaway who control the Georgia party, Troutman reportedly said after the meeting, "I've been done in by the Pine Mountain mafia." (Callaway is from Pine Mountain.)

● The Republican ticket lineup for 1974 has resulted in some intra-party bickering in Iowa. U.S. Rep. **William Scherle** (R-5th C.D.) announced publicly that Gov. **Robert Ray** should decide soon whether he will run for governor or the U.S. Senate next year so that the party can start gearing up. Said Scherle: "Ray is titular head of the Republican Party in Iowa and it is his responsibility and obligation to run against (Sen. **Harold**) **Hughes** (D)." Scherle, who criticized the operation of the party as a "tool of the governor," was in turn charged by GOP Executive Secretary **Stephen Robinson** with making a deal with former Lieutenant Gov. **Roger Jepsen** to protect Scherle's seat during redistricting last year. Scherle denied the charges and called for Robinson's resignation. Meanwhile, Ray backed Robinson and told the press he would announce his political decision when he was ready. Scherle has announced he will run for re-election instead of the

gubernatorial or senatorial slots, leaving Jepsen as a possibility for U.S. Rep. **Edward Mezvinsky's** seat or one of the top two jobs.

● Former Michigan State Sen. **Sander M. Levin** (D) has begun his campaign for a 1974 gubernatorial rematch with Republican Gov. **William Milliken**. Both Milliken and Levin have recently called for campaign financing reform, but Milliken took the first concrete step — by releasing the names and contributions of ticket-buyers to a fundraising dinner. (Michigan law does not require such disclosures.) Former Detroit Mayor **Jerome P. Cavanagh** is also working on the Democratic gubernatorial nomination.

● **William C. McConkey**, the 30-year-old deputy director of the Chicago office of the U.S. Commerce Department, is considering a primary challenge to House Republican Whip **Leslie C. Arends** (Ill.). Arends was upset by 1971 redistricting which dramatically carved up his old district. McConkey ran unsuccessfully in 1972 for the Republican nomination to succeed U.S. Rep. **Charlotte T. Reid** for the remainder of her unexpired term and then became executive director of field operations for Illinois CREP.

● Efforts to develop a consensus Republican candidate for governor of California have apparently failed. In an effort to avoid an expensive primary, big contributors had sought to narrow the field of potential candidates to succeed Gov. **Ronald Reagan**. One key Reagan supporter is now talking about a third term for the Governor. However, "A lot of people are talking about it. It's building up," says industrialist **Henry Salvatori**. Another prominent Californian is now being mentioned for the post as well. Electronics businessman and former Defense official **David Packard** is under consideration as a "Mr. Clean" candidate.

● Gov. **Ronald Reagan's** "workfare" plan has received low grades from federal evaluators of the program. After eight months of operation, investigators from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare said the program did little to get welfare recipients off relief and concluded that it is "impossible to determine any cost savings to date or to project into the future." As for the participants in the program, "Most of the assignments are menial, and little training or supervision is provided."

● The "California Poll" by **Mervin D. Field** shows that Gov. **Ronald Reagan's** voter rating has recovered from last year's slump. Compared to Reagan's rating of October 1972 when 29 percent of the sample said Reagan was doing a "good job," 35 percent a "fair job," and 30 percent said he was doing a "poor job," the California Governor's latest May ratings were 38 percent, good; 38 percent, fair; and 20 percent, poor. Reagan evokes stronger voter feeling than Sen. **Alan Cranston** (D) whose "good job" rating was only 27 percent, but Cranston led Reagan in a trial Senate race, 49 to 43 percent. Cranston led former HEW Secretary **Robert Finch** even more dramatically, 49 to 36 percent in a trial heat.

● Leaving a three-and-a-half hour luncheon at the Blair House with Communist Party Secretary **Leonid I. Brezhnev**, one Republican Senator commented to a Democratic colleague, "Well, we've now spent longer with Brezhnev than any of us has ever managed to spend with Nixon."

The Tragedy of the Commons

A fundamental problem in public policy is the "tragedy of the commons," according to David G. Wilson, professor of mechanical engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Like our predecessors who needed to devise a way to regulate cattle grazing on the town commons, new social problems require methods of assessing social costs. Sophisticated methods of measuring urban parking costs and noise pollution near airports are available, for example, and this technology could be adapted to put high price tags on social cost behavior. Professor Wilson, who was born and raised in England, worked his way over to the United States on a cattle boat. He received his Ph.D. at the University of Nottingham and has taught at the Nigerian College of the Arts, Science and Technology in addition to M.I.T. He is a former vice president of Northern Research and Engineering Corporation and has supervised research and the drafting of legislation on inter-urban transportation, highway safety, and solid-wastes management.

by David G. Wilson

A classic example of the need for legislation — or, more simply, the need for rules of behavior — is the "tragedy of the commons."¹ It is worth repeating here, because it illustrates many of the problems of our present national life. A village reserved an area of land for common use. Villagers with cattle could graze them on the commons without charge or challenge. To the early villagers it obviously seemed more efficient that the land should be held in common for the good of all. As long as there was more land than the livestock could graze, the arrangement worked well.

However, the villagers' rules incorporated unforeseen incentives toward destruction of the system. Each herdsman incurred no extra upkeep by adding to his livestock. Conversely, he did not benefit if he tried to conserve the pastures by cutting down his herds. By degrees the herds

grew larger and since there was no control on the number of herdsmen, their number increased too. Soon the commons was no longer adequate to support the animals, and the grass rapidly began to turn to mud and muck. But the corrective action open to each individual herdsman as he saw his livelihood disappearing with the disappearing grass was to continue increasing his stock.

This parable has such a frightening similarity with many aspects of our present national condition that it is constantly being retold. In the face of this situation, several types of legislation are most often proposed.

ALTERNATIVE 1: "The number of cattle grazed on the common will henceforth be limited to head." The number is likely to be that on the commons on the day of passage of the legislation.

The law is obviously an improvement on the previous

situation. Since the commons was already overgrazed, a further improvement might be to set the number at ten or twenty percent fewer cattle than the number it carried on the date of passage of the legislation.

Legislators who pass this type of bill overlook the inevitable consequences. First, it will be impossible to decide with equity who are the favored ones who are allowed to graze cows, and how many each herdsman may graze. Each villager might be given a quota, but this system will be unfair to the herdsmen because their quotas will obviously be much smaller than the number of cattle they own due to the allocations to the weavers and the candlestick makers. It is more likely that each herdsman will be allocated a number proportional to his herd at the time of the passage of the legislation. This arrangement favors those who were most selfish during the time of "anarchy." Either arrangement produces a stultifying effect which makes no allowance for new arrivals, even though some

Soon the commons was no longer adequate to support the animals, and the grass rapidly began to turn to mud and muck.

may be far better herdsmen than some existing individuals, and neither alternative provides incentives to anyone to improve the land or the grass.

A licensing board will be required, and its members will be open to strong pressures to favor various people or groups of people. The licenses may increase greatly in value, as has happened in the analogous case of taxicab medallions. A police force must be established, because there will be a strong incentive surreptitiously to put more than one's allotted quota on the common.

ALTERNATIVE 2: "The commons shall be divided among existing users and enclosed."

A law such as this at least removes the problem from the public arena, and, once the initial transfers are over, requires the minimum of civil servants to oversee it. It is unjust in a similar way to the method of licensing discussed above: the division of the land will probably be in proportion to existing herd size, thus rewarding the people who maximized their profits at public expense and bore the major responsibility for the need for legislation.

ALTERNATIVE 3: "The number of livestock using the commons will be controlled by compensating certain citizens for removing their cattle."

This scheme, analogous to the federal land-bank program, rewards certain individuals, again those who had the largest herds in the first place, for doing nothing. The richest receive further rewards, and have to do no work in return. The small herdsmen must continue to work under restrictions which do not reward enterprise.

These alternatives are only a few of the types of legislation which are in existence, and which are still being passed, to attack the "tragedy of the commons." They are obviously unjust, because they ignore the true economics of the situation. As a result, further public funds are in-

curred. The destruction of incentives, at least in the first and third cases, leads to stagnation and stultification. If any technical progress is to be made (e.g., in grassland conservation, fertilizers and better strains of grass) a public research agency will be needed, staffed by more public servants.

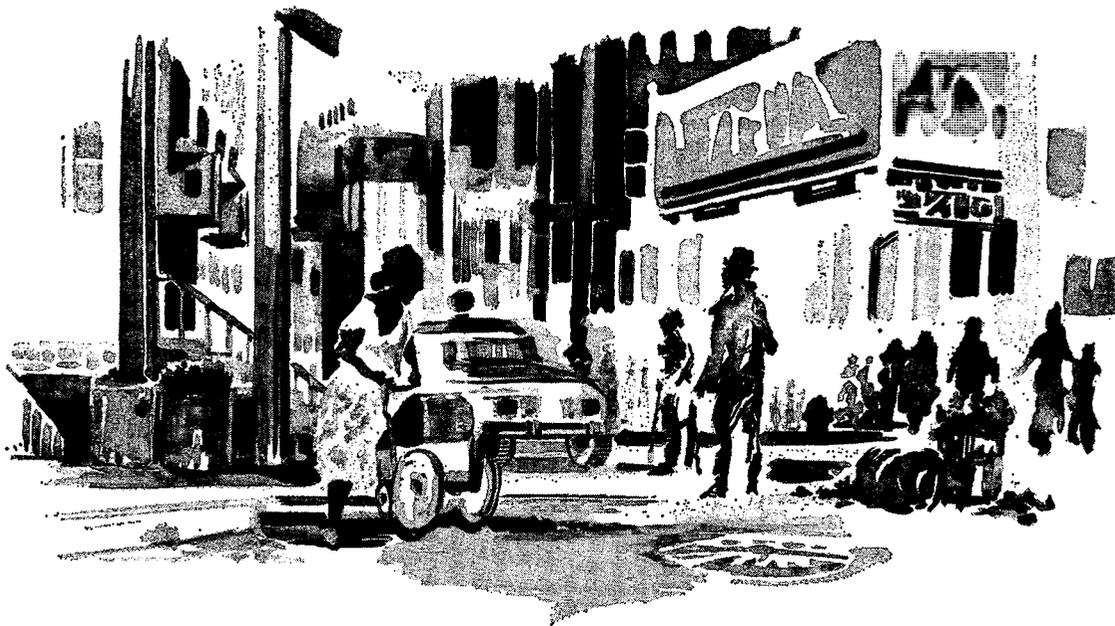
PREFERRED ALTERNATIVE: A fair solution must, by definition, reflect the economic realities of the situation. Previously, the herdsmen were profiting at the expense of the community as a whole — they were reaping an "external" profit. It could be argued that the sole function of government within a country's borders should be to take all necessary steps to transfer these externalities — external profits and losses — between the individuals or organizations who incurred them and the wider community.

The commons belonged to the whole village and its value, measured by the demand for pasture, was increasing. But these benefits were denied to all but a few herdsmen.

An economically realistic, and therefore fair, solution to the problem of the overgrazed commons is to charge each herdsman in proportion to the number of cattle, or perhaps to the total weight of the animals, he grazes. The mechanism for transferring the charges (I prefer to call them "compensations") from the herdsmen to the villagers in general could require public management (which may be interpreted as government action). Or the management could be entrusted to a (regulated) corporation which would have as one of its duties the charging and transferring of compensations, with the rates set by some form of democratic political agreement. If the principals of the corporation received their compensation in the form of a percentage of the net income from the commons, they would have an incentive to maximize the productivity of the pasture through careful husbandry, research into grass strains, and so forth. The herdsmen would be in an improved financial condition despite the compensations they would have to pay; and the villagers would be better off both because of the direct income from their share of their common inheritance, and because of the general increase in prosperity.

Our use of public roads reached a state very similar to that of the herdsmen who found that their commons was being overgrazed. Most roads are held and maintained "in common," and therefore are treated as a "free resource." Most of the mileage of our public roads is underutilized: it could carry a considerable increase of traffic without interfering with the average speed or comfort of present users. However, since over 80 percent of the present U.S. population is classified as living in urban areas, a small proportion of our public roads are completely "overgrazed" and have degenerated into the anarchy of too many people in too many cars fighting for what they consider to be their "rights."

These rights are enshrined in legislation. However, wherever there is congestion on highways, our legislative and municipal leaders exhort us to form car pools, or to leave our cars behind and travel by public transportation, or to stagger our working hours or shopping hours, all for the public good. These alternatives usually involve a



considerable degree of personal inconvenience. Use of public transportation may incur even greater personal costs. The situation is, therefore, one in which we are made to feel immoral if we follow the financial and personal incentives to move ourselves around, and conversely, if we inconvenience ourselves for the good of society, we are unrewarded (unless it is by the inner glow of virtue); we are, moreover, penalized, financially and otherwise.

It seems that most legislators are not disturbed by this type of situation. Yet it cries aloud for legislation to promote equity.

The parallel with the herdsmen on the commons can be extended to the control measures which might, and, in many cases, have, been proposed to control the overuse of public roads. Most suggestions include some forms of restrictions and permits. A general rule can be made that restrictions and permits lead to abuses and to other secondary effects which are unforeseen. For instance, on the Golden Gate Bridge, priority is given to cars carrying three or four passengers. This rule has produced a new occupation for people who offer themselves to be picked up before the check point, for a small fee, and are dropped off just after it. A system of restrictions whereby only high-priority cars would be allowed to use public roads during rush hours would inevitably lead to a mushrooming of a bureaucracy whose job was to issue permits; an attendant web of favoritism and privilege for public servants and their friends; and a large increase in police duties.

Others have proposed that tolls be charged for the use of urban roads, particularly during rush hours. This proposal comes much closer than the others to reflecting the economic reality of the situation. Under our present terminology, "economic reality" is taken to be synonymous with equity, and is therefore desirable. The economic reality of the use of public roads is widely misunderstood. Because automobile drivers are quite heavily taxed through excise and gasoline taxes, they believe that they have more than paid for their share of the roads. However, the predominant costs of urban congestion are not met by these

taxes. They are shared by the overall community. To take an example, in the congested city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a large share of the ever-increasing city budget is ascribable to the use of the roads. A large proportion, perhaps as much as 90 percent, of the duties of the police force are connected with traffic. Most of the costs of the Public Works Department are connected with highway maintenance, snow removal, etc. Even the high costs of trash removal, which average \$40 per ton compared with the national average of \$18 per ton, can be partly ascribed to the great difficulties of collecting refuse in a city where the traffic is often stalled and where there are far more linear feet of cars than there are feet of curb space available for parking.

These road-related public costs can be broken down in a number of ways. A dramatic figure which is translated with appropriate adjustments from work in Britain^{2 3} is that an automobile user in a center city during rush hour incurs public costs of \$2 per mile travelled over and above those met by the gasoline and excise taxes he pays.

It is significant that the individual making the decision of whether to use his car at rush hours or whether to travel by alternative means weighs only his personal costs, principally the increased travel time involved; most motorists believe that these personal costs are already too high. How dramatic then would be the change in the utilization of our public roads if these motorists were, in fact, charged the additional \$2 they incur for each mile of rush hour travel.

The realization of the magnitude of these inequities has led in Britain to a search for better ways for paying for roads. Some recent developments^{4 5 6} offer an exciting prospect of improvement. Road-use meters have been developed which can be inexpensively produced and stuck in a visible position on the inside of the windshield of all vehicles. These meters are advanced by the passage of the vehicle over coils let into the road surface. These coils could be placed at frequent intervals, perhaps as close as 60 feet. If the meters advanced 1¢ each time the auto-

mobile passed a coil, a spacing of 60 feet would lead to a charge of about \$1 per mile. This is the maximum presently foreseeable cost, since the figure of \$2 per mile applied to stalled and congested conditions. After the introduction of road-use meters, such congestion should no longer occur.

The congestion would be eliminated in the following way. First, since the unallocated costs resulting from the use of vehicles are very different for different roads — for instance, the unallocated or external costs per mile fall exponentially to some fairly uniform low figure as distance from a city center increases — the coils would be placed at different spacings in different roads. All roads would carry signals to indicate the rates on which their charges were based. Second, costs vary at different times of the day, being highest at times of peak demand. The 24-hour day would be divided into, say, three categories for different charge rates, similar to the variation of telephone charges. During rush hours, all road coils would be activated. At other times during the working day, perhaps half the coils would be switched on. During the night, all except one out of every four coils would perhaps be sufficient to pay for the external costs.

Such road-use meters could eliminate parking meters and all the maintenance and policing which parking regulations entail. Roads would be posted with signs indicating the current parking charges. Cars left at the side of the road would have their meters advanced by appropriately timed pulses.

Under this system, there would be need to have few absolute bans on parking. For instance, the ban on parking by a fire hydrant reflects a community's concern that a fire might be immeasurably more costly (including an increased risk of loss of life) if fire apparatus had difficulty in getting to the hydrant. This increased risk can be expressed statistically, and the parking rate for a fire hydrant might be, for instance, \$1 a minute; at a bus stop, the community cost might be assessed to be \$1 every five minutes. At places where parking is normally allowed, the rate would vary during the day.

Such an arrangement could eliminate the present gross inequities of a situation where automobile owners are allowed to use urban streets for overnight parking. In cities, the conflicts and frustrations over parking space must be reckoned to be a principal source of anger. At present, the person who uses the roadside for parking pays only the personal frustration of having to search for a place whenever the demand exceeds the supply. Road-use meters would permit the cost to be fairly allocated, and would ensure a more widespread availability of parking spaces.

Other external costs may be allocated by these means. Quarterly inspections could determine certain performance, pollution, and noise characteristics of each vehicle and could thereby adjust a conversion factor relating the meter reading to the road-use tax. A large vehicle would pay more per mile than a small one, other things being equal; and noise or polluting emissions would also produce an increased rate.

The effects of using a road-use meter nationwide would be dramatic. Strained urban budgets would suddenly become more manageable. There would no longer

be an unfair subsidy on people living in the suburbs and in country areas because such people would have to pay all their true costs of transportation. Public transportation would become much more viable. Since public transportation brings external benefits to other highway users (by keeping some people from contributing to congestion) it might be eligible for a share of the revenue from road-use meters. A very large component of everyday frustration could be removed. And the reason would be simply that government would no longer be arbitrary, but it would be fair.⁷

Public concern over the siting of new airports, or over the extension of existing airports, and over the noise and pollution of the aircraft using them, has frequently reached extreme levels in many countries. The concern is justified. The unfairness brought about by past legislation is patent and damaging. Everyone involved tends to become exasperated because of the apparent inability of either side to see the other's point of view. The facts are, however, that the incentives experienced by everyone involved have been frozen in legislation to ensure that the overall public interest will not be served — or, if it is, the benefits and costs will be distributed in a grossly inequitable manner.

Logan Airport in Boston serves as an example. Its existence within the city limits of Boston — giving a ten-minute taxi-ride access and public transportation service — confers enormous economic advantages on travellers and employees at the airport. These are external benefits which are not paid for by the recipients. The same proximity confers very great external costs on people living close to the flight paths, principally residents of East Boston. The continual noise is obviously of a disruptive nature; in addition, aircraft taking off discharge unburnt fuel and considerable clouds of carbon particles as well as invisible nitrogen oxides. There is an ever-present fear that a crash will occur.

In return for bearing these enormous external costs, the local residents, and the city as a whole, is further penalized. The Massachusetts Port Authority, the independent state agency which operates the airport and other local facilities, has certain powers of eminent domain whereby it can appropriate further land; for instance, extensions to its runways. When this happens, the residents involved receive some compensation for the value of their houses, but not for the unpriceable destruction of a once-viable neighborhood. Furthermore, the land so taken is removed

Our use of public roads reached a state very similar to that of the herdsmen who found that their commons was being overgrazed.

from its tax-paying status and becomes non-tax-paying public land. To compound the inequities, shops and restaurants operate on these public lands within the city of Boston without paying real estate taxes — the only present method of financing city services. (As an additional exacerbation, the Port Authority finances some of its airport operations through tolls collected on a bridge leading into Boston.

What should be road-use taxes expended on city services to the vehicles clogging the city streets are diverted to an airport which is destroying part of the city on a tax-free base.)

Several commissions and many committees of many groups have discussed and reported on the airport problem here and elsewhere. The usual conclusions are that the Port Authority, and the operation of the airport, should be more tightly regulated. The runways should be extended no further. Aircraft should not be allowed to fly at night or in the early morning. The number of aircraft using the airport should be reduced. General aviation (private and business planes) and perhaps cargo aircraft should be banned.

All these suggestions open up a prospect of interminable wrangling over the limits to be set. Should flying cease at midnight or one a.m.? What happens if flights are delayed by congestion elsewhere or by bad weather? What if there is a crash of an aircraft trying to land at an unsuitable field because it has been banned in Boston? Who shall decide which aircraft of which company shall be allowed to use Boston? Should the companies which have just invested in new aircraft designed to be operated as passenger aircraft during the day and cargo aircraft during the night be compensated because of these proposed new regulations? What about relocation costs of the firm and private owners who would be forced to move? One's imagination staggers under the vision of the vast new taxes, the bureaucracy, and the legal wrangles which would be bound to result.

There is, however, a rather simple solution. It is to charge each aircraft with the external costs⁸ it incurs. These costs would include noise, pollution and maybe danger. The costs would be several times higher at night than during the daytime. They would be higher for noisy planes than for quiet aircraft, and higher for those giving more measurable pollution.

The keys to charging for externalities are, first, the equitable measurement of external costs and, second, the agreement by all parties for the costs to be paid appropriately.

The tools for measurement are, in this case, readily available. Rooftop, upwardly beamed microphones could be located in a pattern in surrounding communities and could relay sound-pressure and frequency data to a central data-processing unit through telephone lines. Fifty such microphones would provide sufficiently fine coverage, though for one community alone, such as East Boston, ten would probably be enough. The signals would be tied to the appropriate aircraft taking off or landing at Logan Airport through data from the control tower. Pollution information for each aircraft could probably not be monitored as a function of each flight, but average values could be used based on F.A.A. certification tests or periodic inspections. These rates would be sufficiently accurate because the external costs of pollution would, in this instance, be small compared with the costs of noise.

Each aircraft, public and private, civil and military, would be billed weekly or monthly by the public agency (preferably the Port Authority) for these costs, which would become a variable component of the landing fees

and other port charges. They would be identifiable in a way that would provide a strong incentive to the aircraft operator to organize his flights to avoid large external costs, or to spend money installing sound-reducing equipment, or to take a penalty in engine performance or gross take-off weight.

Each homeowner in the affected region should receive a printout with his tax bill showing the share he receives from the fees charged to the aircraft, based on the computed noise exposure of his locality. Certain presently heavily penalized people might thereby live tax free or even receive a net payment in return for the burden they bear on behalf of the community.

Such a situation is obviously self-regulating for the good of the whole society. It avoids the employment of an army of enforcers and licensers, ever open to corruption. It leads not only to a condition where noise, and other pollution, is reduced, but one where it is psychologically more bearable, for a noisy take-off at three in the morning would mean a measurable payment to each person adversely affected. The aircraft operators no longer

In no event of our national life do externalities become so painfully apparent as during a strike.

need to feel torn between the desire to operate more efficiently and the wish to have more concern for their neighbors. Whichever way they choose to maximize their profits will also maximize the public good.

Some assessing of rates will be involved. Assessors are always open to charges of unfairness and corruption, and presumably the proposed assessments of noise and pollution rates will be no exception. However, there are two factors which promise a comparatively peaceable resolution of arguments. One is that the science of measurement of both noise and pollution has reached the stage at which the room for disagreement is small and somewhat academic. The second factor is that the rates are manifestly moving costs and benefits in equitable directions. The intense arguments over present regulations result from the grossly unfair directions in which costs and benefits are transferred.

The French have recently taken some steps in this direction by requiring air passengers using Orly and Le Bourget airports to pay a noise compensation tax to residents in nearby Parisian communities. The sums distributed may be used for soundproofing homes or for rebation or for other measures.

In no event of our national life do externalities become so painfully apparent as during a strike. A strike of longshoremen, or of a minor union in the railroads, can lose the country billions of dollars, throw people out of work, and even affect our relations with other nations. Even though one side or another may "win" the strike, these immense external costs do not appear as a credit on anyone's balance sheet. They are simply a mass distributed inefficiency: unwanted unhappiness visited on innocent

people far removed from the source of the conflict and usually completely without the capability of influencing it or the conditions which brought it about.

By the arguments which have been made so far in this article, the only just solution to this grossly unjust state of affairs is for the externalities to be paid by the parties which brought them about. Since there are no unions or employers capable of bearing these immense costs, strikes as we know them could no longer take place, and perhaps we would find ourselves in a new state of unfairness.

But there is no reason why strikes should be outlawed. There merely needs to be a change in the rules. The present rules are purely arbitrary. Each party tries to hurt the other, and the fact that much greater hurt is distributed among the wider public is simply due to the historical accident that present laws do not cause external costs to be transferred from the injuring to the injured parties. When they do, some new rules can be adopted. Several have been suggested from time to time,⁹ including the following.

When an industrial dispute cannot be resolved and one side wishes to strike, it announces its intentions to the Department of Labor. By agreement with both parties, during the first month of the strike the employers will pay the employees exactly 75 percent of normal salaries. The employers will pay the balance, plus another 25 percent, to the Department of Labor for deposit in a bank account. Meanwhile, work and production, or the provision of services, continue as normal. If the dispute is not settled within the first month, the rates change, with the employees receiving from then on 50 percent of their normal pay and the employers paying out a total of 150 percent of the normal wage bill (or the change may be made in several smaller steps).

This state of affairs can be allowed to continue until agreement is reached, or until one side or the other gives in. The Department of Labor then distributes the money it has been holding in escrow, plus interest and less an amount to cover its costs, to the employees and employers. The business has been harmed only to the extent that shortage of resources might have delayed plans for expansion. The employees will not have encouraged competitors to flourish at their expense. The general public will be hardly affected. It may still seem an arbitrary and uncivilized way of settling disputes, but it is obviously an improvement over the present self-destructiveness.

The examples treated in a cursory manner above by no means exhaust the areas where the laws we have passed, and many we have failed to pass, have promoted such inequities among our fellow citizens that anger, frustration and exasperation have been the inevitable result. The most urgent need in the country today is to assist legislators in drafting and passing far-sighted legislation which will above all be just. The American tradition of self-betterment will then automatically ensure that a very rapid movement in our national condition will result.

The principles developed here may be summarized as follows:

1. Present dissatisfactions with the state of the country are due principally to injustice, especially injustice brought about by government action or inaction.

2. The principal domestic function of government should be to promote justice and fairness in all dealings among its citizens and its organizations.
3. Government properly attempts to redress the injustices resulting from accidents of birth or of upbringing, although the manner in which it attempts to compensate for these unearned disadvantages are frequently counterproductive.
4. If the government now addressed itself to transferring the major classes of external costs and benefits from the injuring to the injured parties, it would reduce very greatly the amount of government intervention presently thought to be necessary in our daily lives.
5. A consequence of the establishment of a fairer state of affairs would be the removal of many arbitrary restrictions, and a resulting surging release of energy in all parts of the nation.
6. Among the problem areas which stand most to gain from the transfer of external costs and benefits are pollution, transportation, and the financial crises in the cities.
7. External costs and benefits should be transferred only when the costs of doing so are a small proportion of the costs themselves, and when the transfers can be made directly from the parties incurring external costs to those presently bearing the results. External costs should never be considered a profitable source for general taxation; nor should victims of practices which involve uncompensated social costs be helped from general funds.
8. However unsound are the economic bases of many of our present laws, they should not be changed overnight: they have encouraged living and production patterns which depend on a continuation of the present state of affairs. It seems fair to propose a gradual transition to sound "external-cost" taxation over a period of not less than ten years in most cases.
9. The determination of external costs is, and probably will continue to be, a highly inexact science. The relationships among interacting people and organizations are highly complex, and involve symbiosis as well as mutual costs. However, the inability to determine externalities with any precision should not be an excuse for not attempting to account for them. ■

FOOTNOTES

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BOOK REVIEW

The Disraeli Solution

THE POLITICS OF A GUARANTEED INCOME:
THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND THE
FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN

By Daniel P. Moynihan

Random House, 1973, 558 pages, \$15.00.

by Howard Gillette, Jr.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan has written an important book, which is almost as interesting for what it does not say about the politics of the Nixon Administration's Family Assistance Plan as for what it does say.

Taking as a model Stephen Bailey's study of the Employment Act of 1946 (*Congress Makes a Law*), Moynihan investigates the full range of activity inherent in legislative history, including the fate of earlier income maintenance proposals, the reaction to the initial Nixon proposal by various publics and FAP's reception in Congress.

Moynihan's thesis is that Republicans found, in Johnson's rejection of the negative income tax, an opportunity to take the lead in providing responsible social change:

More than any single circumstance — more than its blundering into the Vietnam war, more than its inability to get out, more than its inability to define the issue of social order in terms that would help restore it, more than its traumatized disinclination to mediate between the ethnic and racial groups which made up its electoral base — this suggests that by the end of the 1960's the Democratic party was near to having exhausted its potential as an agent of social change The Johnson Administration opposed a negative income tax not because it was politically risky, but primarily because the men in charge did not believe in boldness. The Democrats had become the party of timidity.

Starting with passage of FAP, Moynihan argues, Republicans could have replaced the stagnant liberal welfare state with a dynamic new "income strategy" approach.

Moynihan does not minimize the political difficulties in pursuing what he calls, "one of the half-dozen most important pieces of legislation in American history." Public opinion clearly opposed the concept of a guaranteed income. Furthermore, any policy of income redistribution would have to help those groups which had most consistently opposed Nixon's election in 1968 at the expense

of those who supported him. Moynihan finds an answer for each problem. A guaranteed income, he says, could have another name, and party loyalists could receive symbolic rewards while a policy like FAP might provide more "actual" awards. "With luck," Moynihan writes, "those who have lost (the election) are consoled, and those who have won are not deceived. In the events to be described in this volume Nixon had little such luck."

Indeed, the Moynihan book details how conservatives were not "deceived" by FAP, while liberals were not "consoled." In explaining this phenomenon, Moynihan describes a hard-line campaign on the Republican right against FAP, including members of the President's own staff:

The opponents of FAP never included any of the President's principal advisors . . . There was nonetheless a fair number of persons, some of whom could at least suggest they were speaking for the President, who wished to see it scuttled. These, for the most part, were new recruits to the White House staff . . . given to a fundamentalist campaign conservatism.

On the left, FAP was opposed by welfare militants and liberal Democrats who, Moynihan suggests, bitterly resented the fact of Nixon's progressive initiative and felt threatened by the challenge to the old-line "services strategy" of reform. All of this proves rather illuminating about the political process at large, but what of the President's own contribution to the bill?

According to Moynihan, the President "was unwavering in his support. Albeit his attention was usually elsewhere, whenever the matter was raised he would assert without reservation that FAP was his 'flagship,' the pride of his legislative program, the warship from which his colors flew." Even in congressional defeat of the bill, Moynihan says, Nixon "emerged rather strengthened by not having succumbed to the punishment from left and right." One wonders.

Moynihan recognizes the existence in the Administration of a divisive "Southern strategy," which would increasingly pit the President against those groups FAP was designed to aid. He notes a "growing hostility" in the civil rights community in 1969, "which was ineradicably confirmed in the winter of 1969-1970 by the nomination by the President of first one and then another Southerner for a Supreme Court seat." Still, Moynihan says, in the early months of the term "Nixon hoped for something different" in FAP, most particularly a reduction of polarization between racial and income groups. As late as August 1969, Moynihan sees the President's hope for liberal support, in a report from the Chicago *Defender*:

The gist of Mr. Nixon's remarks was that he knew his black appointees had been getting a lot of flack that the Republicans didn't care about the poor; that he as President was bowing to Southern pressure and taking the country back down the road on civil rights.

The President assured his listeners that this was not so. He said he was totally committed to ending poverty, and he believed that his proposal was the strongest, most revolutionary ever made

by any chief executive.

By pointing out that FAP would benefit poor people with the lowest level of state benefits (the South), Moynihan suggests a kind of positive "Southern strategy," along the lines of an early Nixon campaign pledge to include the new South and black militants in "a new alignment for American unity."

Moynihan never asks the tough question: why did Nixon totally eschew such a political strategy and why did Nixon not do more to take his campaign to the working poor, which appeared to be a high target group in the 1970 and 1972 campaigns? Rather, he accepts as given the fact that Nixon took political advice from other quarters:

Had Nixon desired to do so, it was probably within his power in the first two years of his Administration to displace the Democrats as the party of the center. He did not do this: he did

not even try. Rather, his political advisors, and he himself, set about narrowing rather than broadening the political and ideological base of the Republican party. This was their right, and they chose to exercise it. Inevitably the Democratic party benefited . . .

Following Moynihan's dictum that policy and politics proceeded on different levels, the President left the job of politicizing his policy positions to conservative rhetoricians who were already antagonistic to FAP.

Given the obstacles to reform that Moynihan describes and the magnitude of the change proposed, it might be sufficient to conclude as he does that it was enough for the President to survive the fight. But given also the fact that the Administration institutionalized the politics of polarization just when FAP most needed bipartisan support for passage inclines this reviewer to be less charitable in judging the President's contribution. ■

DULY NOTED: BOOKS

● **A New Isolationism: Threat or Promise?** by Robert W. Tucker. (Universe Books, 1972, 127 pages, \$2.25) Professor Robert Tucker's latest book, **A New Isolationism**, makes a very forceful case for a re-direction of American foreign policy away from intervention toward non-involvement militarily. Tucker, unlike the New Left intellectuals, does not argue for isolationism on moral grounds. Instead he concentrates on the beneficial domestic effects of a new isolationism. Tucker foresees an isolationist foreign policy creating a "modest-though still significant decline in military expenditures." Cuts in the Defense Department budget, according to Tucker, can be made in the number of conventional forces. In the age of nuclear weaponry, the United States "could exist as an island in a hostile world with consequences to her internal policy that can scarcely be compared to the internal consequences feared in the 1930's." To the question raised by defenders of current American foreign policy that the Soviet Union would dominate the Third World if the United States turned isolationist, Tucker points out that the Soviet Union cannot even control many of its communist brethren (i.e., Yugoslavia and China). Furthermore, the cost of attempting to dominate the Third World would be exorbitant. With the Third World requiring the U.S. market and technology to develop, the interventionist argument seems unconvincing. Dr. Tucker believes that the development of Soviet influence in nations such as India, North Vietnam, Egypt, and Cuba was a result not of Soviet policy but American. The American security commitment to Japan, according to Tucker, is outmoded. Our stated policy of preventing Chinese domination of Japan no longer holds water when one considers "Japan's power, actual and latent, and given the Soviet Union's interest in constraining the power and influence of China." The lone problem area is Western Europe. Europe is special because of its power, economic development and cultural ties to the United States. Tucker envisions the creation of great difficulties if the United States withdraws all its troops without Western European unification and possession of an adequate nuclear deterrent. Unlike the Far East, where Tucker argues a balance of power is already present, without the United States none exists between a divided Europe and the Soviet Union. Tucker's solution lies with an American withdrawal "staged quite gradually and . . . attended by substantial American efforts to aid in the establishment of a credible European nuclear force." To effectuate the implementation of new isolationism, the author pre-

scribes a coalition of groups each operating with different assumptions that could force the change. This isolationist coalition includes those who have a negative estimate of the United States role in the world (i.e., the remnants of the New Left); liberals who believe that America should solve its own problems before trying to solve the world's; and probably the largest group of all, Americans who think the United States is throwing away the taxpayers' money on pluralistic world resistance to American influence. Reviewed by John Brotschol.

● **Communication is Power: Unchanging Values in a Changing Journalism**, by Herbert Brucker. (Oxford University Press, 1973, 384 pages, \$9.50) Former Hartford Courant Editor Herbert Brucker left his post at the Courant in 1968, two years before this reviewer arrived at the Courant as a know-nothing. Brucker's book is perhaps some solace for having missed the man. It differs from others in the current spate of media books by concentrating more on the media than on the government's relationship with the media. In a way, Brucker's book is more practical, constituting a virtual textbook for both aspiring and established journalists. Brucker analyzes the perils of New Journalism, the pitfalls of self-censorship "in the public interest," the natural distortion of the course of human events that occurs when the media shows up, the virtues and injustices of "trial by newspaper," and the continuing controversy over a national press council. Brucker's talent for rational discourse and his ability to recall the appropriate anecdote reflects the best in journalism. His book is highly recommended: especially for the Vice President. Reviewed by Dick Behn.

● **Public Administration as Political Process**, by John Rehfuss. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973, 247 pages, \$7.95) The historic path of public administration has been fraught with pitfalls! Its life to date is best characterized as a search for identity; beyond the pale of non-recognition lies security and acceptance. Public administration has been labelled *politics* by some; others insist it is a seriously diluted version of business administration; while the great majority find such discussions not the least inspiring but harbor a deep suspicion that a ponderous organization that is unable to produce a correct water bill once a month is more truthfully portrayed as an expensive vacuum. To sort through the tangled threads from Woodrow Wilson (often cited as the founder of public administration) to the present day is the task that John Rehfuss sets out for himself with the idea of, "restoring politics to center stage as the driving force behind most administrative behavior." He does a very creditable job. Perhaps Rehfuss's major contribution is his ability to clearly and briefly synthesize and present the major peaks and valleys of public administration without theoretical obfuscation. The problem is that he

sets up a straw man in the introduction: "the existing literature on public administration rarely deals with these questions" (of politics). In fact, depending on your definition of politics, the bulk of the literature is in this area and most academic public administration departments continually struggle to escape from the political science umbrella which threatens to totally absorb them. But, once the straw man is prone, it is to Rehfuß's credit that he does not spend 246 pages dancing around the corpse. The death occurs in the introduction with only token resistance and then the author delivers a very sensible book. This would be an excellent introduction to public administration; it summarizes very adequately and fairly an enormous amount of literature. The difficulty is in correlating the book's title with its contents. In establishing the "process" promised on the cover, use is made of a series of process containers (e.g., Rigg's prismatic-sala model) in a rat-tat-tat fashion that can become tedious. As in an expanded outline of test notes, the reader is left to select the process with which he feels most comfortable. As with the outline, the reader has breadth but not necessarily depth presented in making his choice. Rehfuß generally does avoid the rather hackneyed approach of an overblown case study to make his point. In lieu, he draws upon a sequence of vignettes largely styled around the clearest portrayal of the point he wishes to make. By and large he employs the device well. A few counter arguments might have been interspersed, however, particularly in the chapter on bureaucracy which assumes a monolithic structure to the bureaucracy that could be challenged. Merely saying that the creation of the Department of Transportation unified transportation agencies is open to debate, as I think Rehfuß would agree. On balance, it is a useful and substantive book — and public administration writers bring forth damn few with these virtues. Reviewed by Ralph E. Thayer.

● **Freedom of the Press For Whom?** by Jerome A. Barron. (Indiana University Press, 1973, 368 pages, \$10.00) This book by a noted authority on constitutional law examines the traditional question of freedom of the press from a different angle. Professor Barron, of the Syracuse University College of Law, presents the thesis that, with the advent of monopoly ownership of both the printed and the broadcast media, the greatest danger of suppression of dissent lies not in government censorship, but in the more subtle exclusion of ideas practiced by the communications industry itself. In his view, the traditional approach to freedom of the press is no longer valid because it, "has operated in the service of a romantic illusion: the illusion that the marketplace of ideas is freely accessible." The book traces the history of recent efforts to expand access to the media through political advertisement, the right to reply, and the well-known "fairness doctrine." Barron notes that all such efforts have been violently attacked by industry spokesmen as a threat to the public's right to know, when in fact their aim has been to guarantee that right. His sharpest criticism is reserved for the Federal Communications Commission, which he accuses of pandering to the commercial interests of the broadcast media at the expense of the American public. Most readers will probably agree with Barron's call for greater public access to the media as a check on their monopoly powers. But in light of recent attacks on some segments of the media by Spiro Agnew and other Nixon Administration officials, one feels a certain reluctance to join in the criticism just now. Whatever the extent of media censorship of information, the prospect of government censorship — the traditional fear — is far more alarming. And the surest safeguard against it is an independent communications industry. Perhaps the period following the Watergate scandal, when the power of the media has been firmly re-established, will be a more propitious time for the critical evaluation Professor Barron recommends. Reviewed by John K. Dirlam.

● **The Company and the Union: The "Civilized Relationship" of the General Motors Corporation and the United Automobile Workers**, by William Serrin. (Alfred A. Knopf, 1973, 306 pages, \$7.95) Those who are interested in American labor relations and history will find it hard to put down *The Company and the Union*. Those

concerned with the changing American work force, and especially with the assembly line worker, should not put the book down. In his first book, William Serrin tells the story of the 1970 strike and negotiations between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers. It is more, though, than a story. Besides relating the events leading up to the strike and eventual settlement, the book is also a biography, a romance, and a study of the automobile assembly line worker. While the leading characters are the negotiators, the worker in the plant, with his restlessness, his inability to find meaning in his work, and his desire to get away from the assembly line, has a major influence over the events that happen. Serrin researched well. His bibliography is impressive. His interviews with participants seem thorough and in depth. While his sympathies seem more with the union than with the company, he presents both sides fairly and shows the individuals involved to be just that, individual human beings, with weaknesses and with strengths. There are many characters involved, but the three leading ones are Leonard Woodcock, newly-elected to the presidency of the UAW after the death of Walter Reuther and leading his first negotiation; Earl Bramlett, top negotiator for GM, playing the cards close to his chest; and James Roche, GM's board chairman, who makes the decision which leads to the final settlement. Three issues stand out: money (Woodcock wanted 51¢ as the minimum he felt the membership would accept); unlimited cost-of-living increases (the union had negotiated the provision away in 1967 under Reuther and now wanted it back); and early retirement (the highly emotional 30-and-out provision that the worker on the assembly line saw as an escape from additional years of drudgery). As a biography, the histories of the two organizations are traced both in individual chapters and as flash-backs at various stages of the negotiations. The people, the cars, the organizing drives, the dreams, all of the many forces that shaped these giant organizations are recalled. As a romance, the curious relationship between the company and the union, born in the violence of the depression years, develops into a mature relationship of mutual respect and mutual need. The 1970 strike was one of the largest and most expensive in American labor history. Serrin shows why it was inevitable, why General Motors was selected, and why the strike was necessary for the agreement to be reached. While many say that in such a strike no one wins, an anonymous and neutral observer sums it up at the end by saying, "Nobody lost; both sides won. A continuing relationship requires no loser." Reviewed by Robert B. Campbell.

● **The Prince**, by Niccolò Machiavelli. (Schrolls of Florence, Inc., 1532, 79 pages, no price indicated.) Following up his award winning *Commentary on the First Ten Books of Livy*, Machiavelli has put his historical scholarship to practical use. In what will undoubtedly be his widest read book to date, *The Prince*, he has produced, in essence, a handbook for would-be monarchs. Whether a ruler has come to power through ability, arms, fortune or crime, Machiavelli offers practical suggestions for staying there. His book does shed some light on the behavior of modern princes, but those who will attempt to follow his teaching will undoubtedly read only the good parts. Machiavelli feels that it is better to be feared than loved since fear is "accompanied by the dread of punishment which never relaxes." On keeping one's word, he suggests that while a prince's words must always contain "piety, loyalty, integrity, humility and religion," a wise leader "cannot and should not keep his word where keeping it is not to his advantage." He also suggests that foreign affairs is the only serious concern of a prince since foreign affairs and "conspiracies" are the only threats to internal tranquility. Most princely types will ignore his old-fashioned homilies that a ruler should be most careful to surround himself with only the wisest and most esteemed ministers, since ministers, in the public eye, measure the wisdom of the prince himself; that a ruler should always pattern himself after "a great man of the past who took as his model a praiseworthy and glorious predecessor;" and that the safest way to remain in power is to offer the people good government. But, then, no one pays much attention to that kind of advice anymore anyway. Reviewed by Robert G. Stewart.

LETTERS

Bibliography

This is to inform you (with mixed feelings) that I am no longer eligible for student rates to your magazine, due to the fact that on May 20 of this year I ceased to be a student.

I now have a Master of Science degree in the field of Library Science. If I weren't so lazy, I would write an article on the deleterious effects of Nixon-proposed federal cutbacks of funds to libraries. Oh, the things I would say!

However, in the midst of daily reports of further nastiness related to the Watergate bugging, I can take comfort in the fact that the Library of Congress, at least, has yet to be implicated. Unfortunately, President Nixon did not take this into account when he was naming a new attorney general and a director for the F.B.I. The Librarian of Congress would have made an excellent attorney general. Because of the nature of the materials over which he presides, he could name Sherlock Holmes as his special prosecutor and assure Holmes's safety by assigning Tarzan as bodyguard. The darkest recesses of Dante's Inferno are available as a jail for those convicted of criminal action, and 1984 is available as a model for Nixon's reorganization of the federal bureaucracy. For those interested in predicting public reaction to the Watergate hearings, a guide might be found in *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Although this started out to be a short note, it has now become a bibliography. I shall stop while I can.

PAUL W. HARVEY
Bolton, Massachusetts

Environmentalist

If Tanya Melich is "the FORUM Editorial Board's resident environmentalist," then Joseph Alsop is one of our country's great doves. Ms. Melich's April 1973 FORUM commentary, "What the Country Needs Now: Energy," arrived on my desk the same day that Joe Alsop said exactly the same thing in a column appearing in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Both Mr. Alsop and Ms. Melich make sense as far as they go. Both, unfortunately, make the same fundamentally erroneous assumption, that all that is needed is adequate exploration and development of energy resources. Unfortunately, except for attempts to develop fusion and solar energy this premise runs into the fact that fossil energy sources are finite, even including coal, although this resource has the largest existing reserve. With respect to coal, the attempt to secure it, particularly by strip mining, runs into real problems and these problems, Ms. Melich to the contrary notwithstanding, are not simply those of aesthetics but of basic habitat.

It would seem to me that the Ripon FORUM could easily afford a "resident environmentalist" who was in fact an environmentalist.

LAURENCE DAWSON
San Francisco, California

One for the Books

The mass campaign achieved its maximum effectiveness during the 1968 elections. The technology and techniques of mass campaigning had been developed, tested and refined, but not yet overexposed. Slick television spots, individualized computer letters, attitudinal polling with follow-up issue development — in short, the manipulative mass approach — had a powerful impact on a naive electorate.

A candidate in 1974 will have to decide whether to continue using the conventional mass campaign or to find another approach which can serve him better. If he or she chooses the latter alternative, the key to success lies in evaluating the latest trends in American society to find the exposed nerves, the most powerful means of bringing a message to the voters.

Madison Avenue advertisers attempt to do the same thing: they keep in touch with changing attitudes and use this knowledge to guide the style and content of their ads. Presently, a large number of advertisers have begun appealing to a "higher awareness" in the nation. Involvement, especially in ecological and consumer affairs, is the core of the approach. Trust — after Watergate — is an important commodity. Instead of simply selling a product, companies are "selling" themselves.

These "service" ads suggest a new approach to the 1974 election. Instead of the standard political campaign in which the campaign organization exerts all of its energy and resources solely for the purpose of electing one man to office, why not offer the voters something more — a positive, palpable service. Substituting for the usual campaign, the candidate could select a public service that needs to be performed, and ask his campaign workers to undertake this service. The service would, of course, be related to the office being sought. Performing the service would prove the candidate's ability to "get things done;" show his concern for fellow man; and illustrate how he can involve large numbers of people in community action. Successful completion of the project would be his proof that he deserves to be trusted with public office.

How would such a "service campaign" function?

A brief examination of a rudimentary service campaign conducted by the Republican candidate for secretary of state in Arkansas will illustrate the mechanics for such an effort and its possible benefits.

On September 12, 1972, the following statement was released to the Arkansas media:

Deploring the selfishness of most political campaigns, Jerry Climer, candidate for Secretary of State, today announced plans for a state-wide book drive to aid libraries, nursing homes, hospitals, and other public service institutions. The book drive is to be conducted by volunteers supporting Climer.

Climer, speaking to the Little Rock Optimist Club, said he thinks campaigning is definitely good and that volunteers working for a candidate represent a great American tradition. 'However,' he added, 'this basic good can be improved by the volunteers accomplishing a community service.'

Climer indicated another reason for the book drive was to show how citizens working together as volunteers can solve real community needs without bureaucracy and additional government spending...

This marked the kickoff of the "Climer — One for the Books" campaign. The idea was deceptively simple. In Arkansas, the secretary of state has the title of Librarian of the State Library. The development of libraries in the state suffers from lack of proper funding. Climer would show his concern for libraries and help ameliorate a public need by using his volunteers to gather books.

A television spot, newspaper ads and a blizzard of press releases, plus mention of the book drive in the main campaign brochure, were designed to gain the attention and cooperation of the public. Concurrent with the book drive, Climer conducted a low-cost, personal contact campaign throughout all of Arkansas.

Because of a lack of money and volunteers, the "One for the Books" campaign could not be conducted as originally planned. In a few counties with aggressive leadership, a truncated version of the "service campaign" was pursued with many people involved and good press coverage, including pictures of the candidate giving books to a local agency for their use.

With proper planning, sufficient resources for initial publicity, enough interest to attract large numbers of volunteers and good leadership, a "service campaign" could be successful. Special advantage would accrue to a service campaign used against an opponent still employing the mass approach. Pitting involvement and interest in the community against slick television ads could produce startling results.

DAN DURNING
Little Rock, Arkansas

Medical Aid

In 1969 President Nixon made a firm commitment to international relief aid when he promised to "sweep aside all diplomatic niceties" in an all-out effort to aid the starving Biafrans.

Thereafter the good intentions of the President and the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees floundered under the poor advice of U.S. "relief experts" who were unfamiliar with mass civilian disasters.

Nixon appointed as special relief coordinator, law professor Clarence C. Ferguson, who testified before the House Committee on Foreign Relations that "food was not a problem, but that the most acute problem was T.B., anemia, and hookworm." However, the war continued another year and hundreds of thousands more died from starvation.

In the last year of the Biafran secession Sen. Charles Goodell, accompanied by Harvard nutritionist Jean Mayer, made a 3-day visit to Umuahia. They advised Congress that "the shortage of materials is more critical than the shortage of trained manpower in Biafra." But the reports of international relief teams serving in Biafra differed from Mayer's recommendation, and emphasized the need for both health professionals and relief supplies. At Umuahia the British OXFAM team of 1-2 doctors was deluged with 25,000-50,000 refugees. Yet over 11,000 children were treated each month, of whom 18.7 percent suffered severe protein deficit (kwashiorkor), and 7.5 percent were victims of total calorie deficiencies (marasmus). The incidence of starvation was two to three times higher in the villages. When the OXFAM team departed one month before Sen. Goodell's visit, not one pediatrician in Britain volunteered to replace them.

Further evidence that the U.S. was poorly advised on the need for doctors and nurses in Nigerian relief is documented by the report of the Japanese Red Cross. In early post-war Iboland (1970) the Japanese relief team physician was the only surgeon for a population of half a million refugees, many in urgent need of surgery for the removal of bullets and shrapnel. The Japanese report further corroborated Sen. Edward Kennedy's charge that the U.S. underestimated by two-thirds the food needs of the Nigerian refugees (mostly women and children).

The only official U.S. report on the field trials of its Packaged Disaster Hospital (PDH) units in Nigeria remains classified as secret. Two years after the use of PDHs in Nigeria, U.S. Rep. Tom Steed's hearings revealed that the PDHs contained defective equipment and contaminated intravenous solutions. Today HEW plans to distribute 50 PDHs for use in underdeveloped nations.

When the Bangladesh refugee problem erupted, the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees repeated its mistake of sending an academician rather than professionals experienced in mass civilian disasters to evaluate medical and food needs of the refugees. Professor Scrimshaw of MIT reported to the Senate that American doctors were not needed in Bangladesh because neighboring India "has a large reservoir of medical manpower" and "foreign doctors and nurses would suffer 'cultural shock,' and be critical of all that was around them." Yet, thousands of sick refugees went unattended because of a lack of physicians and nurses.

As the U.S. gears to spend \$2.5 billion to rebuild Vietnam, the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees has again appointed the same advisors who misled them in the Bangladesh relief program.

The problem of unqualified relief advisors in international relief aid is reflected in the "gown vs. town" conflict, in which academicians (vis-a-vis neighborhood and rural health care practitioners) have nearly absolute control of governmental health consultant positions and health lobbying interests. For these reasons the health needs of large populations will continue to be neglected.

PETER MUSTELL
Berkeley, California

Correction

A "Politics: People" note in the June FORUM should have referred to U.S. Rep. Barber Conable as "a" ranking Republican member of the House Ways and Means Committee, not "the" ranking member.

14a ELIOT STREET

● During the NGB meeting in New York, April 27-29, the following chapter presidents were elected to the National Executive Committee of the NGB; **Jonathan Brown** (Washington, D.C.); **Jared Kaplan** (Chicago); and **Linda Miller** (Memphis).

● The FORUM is pleased to announce that the following Ripon members have become contributing editors: **Josiah Lee Auspitz**, **Dr. Richard W. Rahn**, **Dr. John A. Rehfus**, and **Thomas A. Sargent**. **Judith H. Behn** and **M. Victoria Golden** are now assistant editors and **Deborah Bowen's** new job description is advertising manager.

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DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Blair improves his prospects,"** by Jerome Watson. *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 25, 1973. "Not so long ago, Illinois House Speaker W. Robert Blair (R-Park Forest) was being widely characterized as politically dead, an apparent victim of his own personality and bitter factional fighting in the Republican Party." Now, Blair's political fortunes have been resurrected and he is considered a possible aspirant for the 1976 gubernatorial nomination if Attorney General William J. Scott and former Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie decide not to run. Scott apparently has not yet ruled out a 1974 run against Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III, NATO Ambassador Donald Rumsfeld also is still pondering a 1974 Senate race.

● **"Want To Be Governor? You'll Have To Get In Line,"** by James Mutrie, Jr. *New Haven Register*, June 10, 1973. "The Connecticut Democratic party is going to have its own peculiar kind of problem in 1974. So many Democrats feel that Republican Gov. Thomas J. Meskill is vulnerable that a general free-for-all for the nomination to run against him seems unavoidable," writes Mutrie. "The potentially debilitating impact of such a battle on party unity is what already has leaders from state Chairman John H. Bailey on down doing some early worrying. As much as they relish the apparent weakening of what less than a year ago appeared to be Meskill's impregnable position, they realize that political advantages frequently carry some built-in liabilities along." Among the potential Democratic candidates are former University of Connecticut president Homer Babidge; Attorney General Robert K. Killian; U.S. Rep. Ella T. Grasso; U.S. Rep. Robert N. Glaimo; Senate Minority Leader Charles T. Alfano; House Minority Leader Carl R. Ajello; and Secretary of the State Gloria Schaffer. The list goes on and on.

● **"Ogilvie says he's had it,"** by Sheldon Hoffenberg. *Lerner Newspapers*, June 14, 1973. Former Illinois Gov. Richard Ogilvie says he has no intention of running for political office again, nor is he interested in an appointive government job. He says his new residence in Chicago does not indicate an interest in the Chicago mayoralty post although he might be interested in a "non-paying, part-time post" at the federal level.

● **"Pollster Believes N.C. Tilting Toward GOP. '72 Elections: End of Democratic Era?"** by Henry Eichel. *The Charlotte Observer*, April 15, 1973. In North Carolina, "the literal end of an era of Democratic dominance that began around the turn of the century" occurred when Republicans Jesse Helms and Jim Holshouser were elected senator and governor last November. This is the conclusion of Walter D. DeVries, the pollster, former professor of political science at the University of Michigan and co-author of *The Ticket-Splitters*, who has taken up residence in North Carolina. DeVries worked for Holshouser's Democratic opponent in 1972, and then took a post-election survey of the state for which Democratic leaders decided not to pay. DeVries's 234 page report on the survey was then released to *The Charlotte Observer*; it became the basis for Eichel's article which concludes that, "North Carolina's complexion has slowly changed — from unskilled laborer to white-collar office worker, from uneducated to educated, from old to young. And in North Carolina, 1973, all these things mean Republicanism . . . Particularly dismal for the Democrats is the survey's finding that while their most loyal voters are predominantly elderly people, younger voters who will influence Tar Heel politics for many years to come are voting heavily Republican." DeVries post-election survey found: "Straight-ticket Republican voters have become the largest voting bloc" (one-third of the electorate); "The second largest group — nearly one out of three voters — split their tickets; . . . Even though registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by 3-1 . . . straight-ticket Democratic voters are fast dwindling" (only one out of every four voters last fall); "More than eight of every 10 ticket-splitters are registered Democrats."

● **"Ronald Reagan is winding up for 1976,"** by Godfrey Sperling, Jr. *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 16, 1973. "All the important signs are pointing to a Ronald Reagan run for the presidency," reports Sperling, the Monitor's national political correspondent. These signs include: the withholding of financial support for 1974 campaigns by Reagan's wealthy friends; Reagan's national

promotion effort for his tax-rebate and tax-ceiling plan in California; and the nation-wide speaking schedule Reagan is arranging for 1975 and 1976 when he will be out of elective office. Sperling concludes that Reagan, who is currently disclaiming presidential ambitions, is behaving now just as he behaved in 1965 before he announced his candidacy for governor of California.

● **"Tennessee Democrats Eagerly Eye Three Congressional Seats,"** by Null Adams. (Memphis) *Press-Scimitar*, June 2, 1973. Democrats in Tennessee next year hope to recapture three of the five congressional seats now held by Republicans. Several Democrats are interested in taking on U.S. Rep. Lamar Baker in the 3rd C.D. including State Rep. Bob Davis of Chattanooga. In the 6th C.D., freshman U.S. Rep. Robin Beard will probably be challenged by former U.S. Rep. Ray Blanton, who lost a 1972 Senate race to Howard Baker, Jr. Democrats had redistricted U.S. Rep. Dan Kuykendall last year in an effort to defeat him. Kuykendall will probably be targeted again next year; possible opponents include black State Rep. Harold Ford of Memphis. Republicans have their eyes on one of the Democrats three seats as well. The GOP would like to defeat U.S. Rep. Richard Fulton in the 5th C.D. Hopes that Gov. Winfield Dunn (R) would run have been mixed, however.

● **"U.S. Journal: The Midwest (Do The Folks Out There Really Care?),"** by Calvin Trillin. *The New Yorker*, June 9, 1973. "Most of the talk in the Midwest about how the press was making unfair accusations against the Nixon Administration began to fade when many of the accusations turned out to be true," reports the roving author of *The New Yorker's* feature, "U.S. Journal." "But one widespread view of the Watergate coverage," reports Calvin Trillin from Kansas and Missouri, "is that the press, whether fair or unfair, could at some point just shut up . . . If there is still someone in the White House concentrating on how to build the New Majority, he must be banking heavily on enraged 'As the World Turns' loyalists." Still, Trillin senses that the desire to forget Watergate is not derived solely from apathy; "The more I have talked to people in the Midwest about it, the more I believe that some of what passes for cynicism and apathy may be dread" — a dread of what will result from further investigations. "To the extent that Watergate has become a personal rather than an abstract issue for some citizens — the extent to which they think of it as affecting, say, the stock market or the Administration's ability to cope with inflation — the trouble has the appearance of having been caused by the continuing investigation and publicity rather than by the crimes themselves. The investigation now threatens to affect the stability of the government — the one issue that every citizen considers personal. When I brought up the subject of Presidential impeachment during a conversation with a young man in Missouri recently, he shook his head quickly and said, 'Things are messed up enough as it is.' Wonder whose fault that is?"

● **"California Poll: Presidential Possibilities,"** by Mervin D. Field. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 8, 1973. In a poll of California voters about the presidential potential of possible candidates, respondents gave a high "poor" rating to Ronald Reagan (36 percent); Spiro Agnew (31 percent); George McGovern (39 percent) and George Wallace (38 percent). The copyrighted poll showed that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy probably held the lead position with a combined good-excellent rating of 48 percent. Concluded Field, "The most appealing figures to Californians today are New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Senator Charles Percy (Rep.-Ill.) and former Texas Governor John Connally." Both Percy and Connally evoked a high "no opinion" response, however.

● **"View From Trenton,"** by John McLaughlin. *New York Daily News*, July 18, 1973. "It has now become an article of faith among Democrats that at noon on the third Tuesday in January some survivor of the Cahill administration will hand to Brendan T. Byrne the great seal of the State of New Jersey and the keys to Morven." In an effort to occupy Morven, New Jersey's gubernatorial residence, both Byrne and U.S. Rep. Charles Sandman (R) are appealing to new constituencies: Byrne to Republicans and the conservative Sandman to moderates. "So the great battle for the middle ground is on," writes McLaughlin. "Nobody has ever wanted to be governor more than Sandman does. No one has ever worked at it so hard. Now after 12 years of trying, he is half way there, but it is just possible that he has picked the worst year in history to make his big try."