

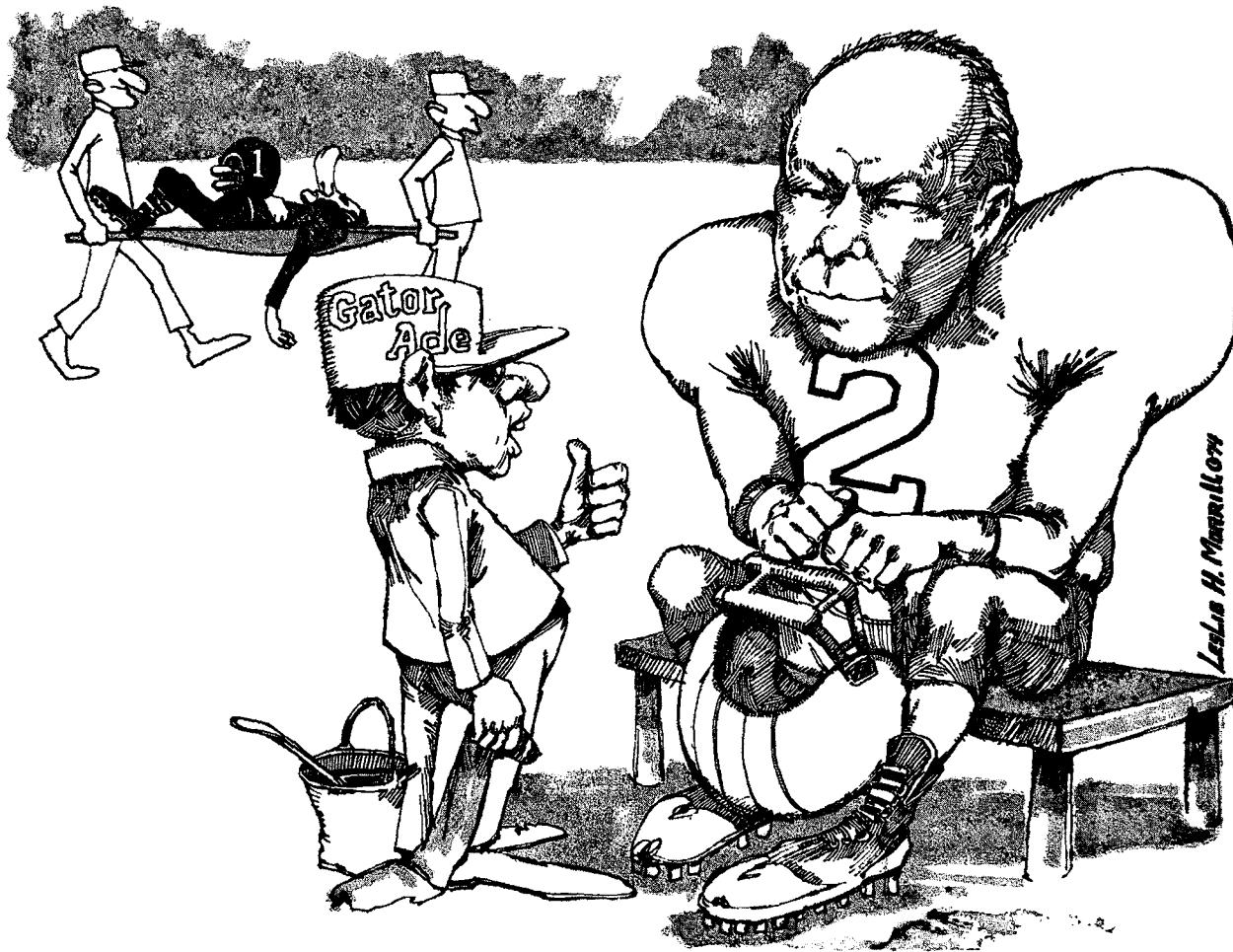
Will Somebody Tell The President To Stop Bombing The Party?

RIPON
FORUM

MARCH 1, 1974

Vol. X, No. 5

ONE DOLLAR



"HIS TRICK KNEE IS ACTING UP AGAIN!"

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In an age of political doublespeak, the ritualistic compilation of party platforms seems ripe for reform. Michigan State Rep. Michael Dively (R) proposes that a "statement of the majority" be submitted for the quadrennial platforms. Dively served as the chairman of the Revision and Development Committee of the Michigan GOP, which recommended a similar step for that state party.

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Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) has been co-chairman, along with Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), of the Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency. According to Mathias, the laxity of controls over emergency presidential powers applies equally to other legislation, and he urges that the principles behind the forthcoming National Emergencies Act be applied to other congressional actions.

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Editorial Board member Tanya Melich recalls that the Republican Party has traditionally had a strong civil rights stand ... until 1964, that is. Ms. Melich contends that the Nixon Administration has neglected the Civil Rights Commission and that the time is ripe for a new Republican commitment to civil rights matters, particularly the problems of women.

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BREED'S HILL — Consider the following states: Oklahoma, New Mexico, Idaho, Kansas, and Alabama. It may be my effete eastern upbringing, but I have never associated those states with governmental scandals and dirty politics — at least not the way one associates scandals with the likes of New Jersey and Massachusetts.

(I can make nasty cracks about the Garden State, having been reared in that paradise for diligent U.S. attorneys. In Massachusetts, where I spend the bulk of my time, the acknowledged stepping stone for ambitious politicians is the office of attorney general. From that position, the aspiring servant of the people can arrest fellow statesmen who were impolitic enough to get caught with a hand in the till. Edward Brooke and Elliot Richardson found the office to be highly rewarding.)

The aforementioned states do have problems. Or rather, the Democrats have trouble in Oklahoma, New Mexico, Idaho, Kansas, and Alabama. The newest synonym for scandal is "mini-Watergate," and the Democratic governors in all the above states are afflicted with varying degrees of political turpitude in their administrations. It is enough to gladden the hearts of Republicans sorely in need of gladdening.

As one Kansas Republican commented recently at a reception for Sen. Robert Dole, "It's amazing what a little misery in the other party can do for the spirit."

Republicans this year ought to seek out the telephone operator I ran into (telephonically) the other day. After I gave her the necessary information regarding my call, she countered with a complete non sequitur. "Have a good day," she said.

Shocked, I mumbled, "No operator ever said that to me before." Her comment had seemed almost a sacrilege, an offense against the nation's crises, and an affront to the national shortage of "good days." It might even be again t the law, I thought later. I've probably exceeded my allocation of good days. db



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COMMENTARY: POLITICS

Weasel Words and Party Principle

by Michael Dively

In December, 1831, a group of men calling themselves National Republicans met in Baltimore, Maryland to hold the first political party convention. Now, 142 years later, proposals abound in major political parties for reforming party conventions: changing the delegate selection process, re-examining presidential primaries, and, most recently, for finding a new way to select a vice-presidential nominee. But little is said about the party platform.

A few months after that 1831 convention in Baltimore, some of the delegates adopted a list of "resolutions" — in effect, the first political party platform. Many now believe that political platforms, particularly of the two major parties, are unnecessarily long, evasive, equivocal. As President Theodore Roosevelt once noted, they are all too often couched in "weasel words." In recent years the platforms have more often than not ignored the issues of chief concern to voters. They have had no binding effect on the national candidates and seldom have been read by state and local candidates and office holders. It has been said their most useful function is to provide a quick reference for the student writing a term paper on what a political party stands for.

Yet presumably there must be some valid reason for going through the risky process of developing a platform. The platform has been the source of many bitter floor fights at past national conventions. In several instances the fights in writing the platform established an image in the voters' minds that led to defeat at the polls in November, and on a few occasions the fight divided a party so badly that the losers left to hold their own convention and write their own platform. No platform probably ever elected a President, but some have insured a candidate's defeat.

Certainly for the party in office, the platform is a way to praise what has already been done and to set forth what more will be accomplished in the coming term. For the party out of power, it is a way to point out what the incumbent has not done, and what, if elected, the out-of-power party would accomplish. But surely we don't need platforms to do this — the individual candidates do this anyway, and far more meaningfully.

On recent major issues, such as changes in abortion laws or the war in Southeast Asia, there was never anything approaching unanimous agreement within each party. The nature of American political parties is such that each is an umbrella for a mixed bag of political viewpoints. The governors of California and New York both run as Republicans but are far from agreement on many major issues. The same is true within the Democratic Party for the governor of Alabama and the senior senator from South Dakota. To produce a platform that says there is, in fact, agreement between such varied viewpoints is not only unrealistic, but perpetrates a fraud on the voters.

Consider, for example, the two party platforms of 1956. They must have set a record for length — together they ran over 30,000 words. The list of promises was sufficiently comprehensive to cover every possible voter interest, but few promises were carried out. Even where both parties agreed, as in home rule for the District of Columbia, the promise was still unfulfilled over a decade and a half later. The balance of these platforms contain, as one might expect, praise by the Republicans and criticism by the Democ-

rats of the Eisenhower Administration.

As the political parties seek to change the 142-year-old convention system, maybe it is time for the platforms to go. The Michigan Republican Party recently adopted a proposal to eliminate party platforms because "the final party platform is a meaningless piece of paper, ignored by the party, the candidates, and the public."

The proposal goes on to say that "the party platform, as we know it, is coupled with the misguided notion that the Republican Party must present a consensus policy to the public — a compromise that makes our basic philosophy meaningless." The proposal suggests that in place of the platform there be at the local, district, and state levels "statements of the majority" on major issues of concern. Following debate on a major issue statement, a vote of the delegates would be taken and recorded. This would allow both sides to be heard as well as reflected in the vote. As an example, prior to the recent Supreme Court decision relating to abortion legislation, this issue could have been debated at party conventions and a vote taken to determine a "statement of the majority." All delegates, candidates, or elected officials would not necessarily be expected to agree with it, but each point of view could present arguments and have an opportunity to signify its position.

Certainly, there is need to look again at the party platform. The proposal Michigan Republicans have adopted is one approach which would allow a serious discussion of issues by a political party without trying to achieve a consensus that does not exist. The time has come for both Republicans and Democrats to realize that the voters are not really interested in 15,000 word documents full of "weasel words" or meaningless promises. ■

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COMMENTARY: NATION

Constitu- tional Imbalance

by Charles McC. Mathias

A major cause of the imbalance in our constitutional system is the failure of the Congress to carry out its constitutional responsibilities to make the law. The work of the Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency, of which Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) and I are co-chairmen, has documented a pattern of law-making which has adversely affected the strength of constitutional government in the United States.

The committee has studied over the past year more than 470 laws passed since 1933 delegating extraordinary powers to the President for use in time of war or national emergency. Almost without exception, these laws were drafted not by the Congress, as the Constitution prescribes, but by the executive branch. In addition, these laws allow the executive the greatest possible leeway and generally do not provide for oversight or termination.

It is an understatement to assert that in the past 40 years the legislature has developed bad habits. In any case, it has transferred to the executive many of the difficult tasks and responsibilities of law-making that should be done by the President in the critical areas there has been great dissatisfaction with many of what the legislators regard as arbitrary policies of successive administrations. There have been no usurpations of power; there has been, however, a failure of the Congress to assume its responsibility to make the laws. As a consequence of several policy failures such as Vietnam and Watergate, a growing number of Con-

gressmen have come to recognize that law-making is policy-making, and that if constitutional government is to work, Congress must do its job to make the law.

The Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency is in a unique position to provide a new model of law-making for the Congress. I have come to the conclusion that our present emergency powers statutes are not atypical. Most laws confer on the executive branch the authority to carry out some policy goal either by authorizing funds or by giving authority to require certain actions by individuals or groups. The studies made by the Special Committee reveal that in the body of emergency powers statutes there are very few provisions for effective oversight and virtually no provisions for accountability of the executive for actions taken pursuant to these statutes.

Over the past year, the Special Committee has also concluded that despite the existence of the Federal Register Act, a good portion of the directives by the President in both critical areas of foreign policy and defense as well as politically sensitive areas are not recorded in the *Federal Register* nor in any other listing that is available to the Congress or the public. The Congress has, in short, no real means to

determine whether many important actions taken by the President are in accord with the law. We do not have the procedural means to know fully enough what the executive branch does with public monies or how national policies are carried out.

The Special Committee is extremely fortunate to be able to suggest statutory guidelines in which the Congress can maintain effective oversight in the future. What the Special Committee's legislation will do is to place over 470 statutes, conferring extraordinary powers to the President in times of war or national emergency, under both active and passive oversight procedures. When it completes its work, the Special Committee will recommend to the Congress an omnibus National Emergencies Act. This would specify that when the President declares a national emergency, he must notify the Congress immediately, specify which statutes are being called into force to meet the emergency, and state the reasons for his action. At any time within six months, Congress can then affirm or withdraw the President's statutory emergency powers. If the Congress does not act within six months, the emergency authority lapses automatically. Extensions of six months require an affirmative action on the part of the Congress, thus creating an active oversight procedure.

In addition, the President would be required to record in the *Federal Register* all executive actions made directly or indirectly under the expressed or implied authority of the Constitution or any act of the Congress. The Congress would then be in a position to know what actions have been taken and could move to withdraw authority if it chose to do so. ■



COMMENTARY: NATION

The Party's Neglect is Not Benign

by Tanya Melich

This year marks the tenth anniversary of the national Republican Party's embrace of a racist electoral strategy. While many Republicans worked hard for civil rights in 1964, they did it in spite of party policy and because of their dedication to a set of deeply held values.

Spawned in 1962 by the Goldwater tacticians as "the way to win," the southern strategy blossomed in 1964 as the keystone of Goldwater's presidential campaign. His disastrous defeat seemed to presage an end to the strategy, and with the exit of Dean Burch and the entry of Ray Bliss, the national party in 1966 appeared to be headed in a different direction, both morally and electorally.

The Republican National Committee organized an active program for attracting minorities, and Republican candidates sought and won minority votes. Votes were solicited from all groups, and to the surprise of many,

the party elected a healthy number of governors, senators, and congressmen.

Then in 1968 the strategy of the new majority took form, proving to be an expanded version of the southern strategy aimed at racists all over the country. "Return to law and order" was the popularized phrase of the campaign. For many it meant, "slow down the civil rights movement."

Americans were told that a Nixon government would tolerate no more violence of the sort which swept the nation's cities after the murder of Martin Luther King. The implication was clear: supporters of the civil rights movement — not civil rights grievances — were the primary cause of the violence. Stop the movement and the violence will end; the strategy won Nixon the nomination but nearly lost him the election.

Ensconced in the White House, the New Majoritarians discovered there were still Republicans — many of them former members of the Eisenhower Administration — who considered civil rights a "decent" issue for Republicans. (A tradition of 100 years does not easily disappear.)

It was not surprising, therefore, that conflicts arose between Robert Finch's HEW and the White House over school desegregation. No less astonishing were the battles over confirmation of Clement Haynesworth and G. Harrold Carswell, suburban housing policies, and, within the Justice Department, civil rights law enforcement.

Because these conflicts were instigated as an outgrowth of the New Majority strategy, they were essentially collisions between those who believed that government policy should aim to protect constitutional rights and those who considered policy a tool for winning the next election.

Considering the hostility which the White House directed toward Republican supporters of civil rights causes during Nixon's first term, it is to their credit that so many remained within the Administration to pursue these worthy ends.

The White House profited politically from the attempted assassination of George Wallace in 1972 and no longer seemed to feel the need for a racist electoral strategy. At least, that

was how it appeared.

The President would aim to win the entire nation. He would seek votes from all the people, and so the slogan of the "party of the open door" was fabricated in time for the 1972 National Republican Convention. This ingenious and innocuous catch-all phrase would appear as an expression of universal presidential concern.

But the "open door" was open only to some. It quickly became apparent during the convention that the White House was encouraging Mississippi Republican chairman Clarke Reed's efforts to water down any wording in the rules that would effectively ensure black and other minority participation within the party.

This same duplicity had appeared consistently during the campaign. The Committee to Re-Elect the President intentionally ignored or diluted issues having special appeal to women and minorities, while it proclaimed the president's concern for them.

Aided by an unprecedented majority, Nixon began his second term ready to battle those opposing his civil rights policies. He immediately fired Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh as Chairman of the Civil Rights Commission. The widely-respected president of Notre Dame had served with distinction under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. He had always maintained his independence from the White House, and under his leadership the commission had gained a reputation for acting as the conscience of the nation.

During Nixon's first term, the commission had continued its tradition of criticizing the federal government when it was not effectively enforcing the civil rights laws. On a few occasions the commission's criticism had been strong and pointed.

For over a year Nixon failed to appoint a replacement for Hesburgh, substantially hampering the commission's work.

Republican Stephen Horn was its cochairman and logically should have been appointed to fill Hesburgh's seat. Nixon chose not to designate him. Some observers surmise that Horn, a moderate with solid, strong views similar to Hesburgh's on civil rights, was thought by the White House to be too independent. He was also under

45 years of age and a Californian. His political views might have made him a threat for some, particularly Californians, planning to pursue anti-civil rights strategies.

The impasse was finally broken a few months ago when 68-year-old Arthur Flemming, Eisenhower's former secretary of HEW, was appointed. Fleming's views on civil rights are not well-known, but most observers believe he will be a fair and just chairman. His confirmation is expected soon.

Watergate has changed the atmospheric at the White House. Perhaps now the Administration will want to improve its meager civil rights record, particularly women's rights.

Assuming that Flemming is confirmed, the commission will be composed of four white men and one black woman. All but one are over 50 years old. The President should certainly consider appointing a young woman to the remaining seat.

In 1972 the Congress enlarged the commission's jurisdiction to include problems of sex discrimination, and in line with this new authority, the commission established a women's rights program unit. The commission recently widened its criteria for membership on its state advisory committees to include a greater representation of women, minorities, and various age groups. But neither the membership of the commission nor its executive staff has changed to fit these new criteria.

The executive staff is composed of eight senior offices; three are headed by black men and three by white men. The other two positions, general counsel and director of research, are vacant. The vacancies should be filled by women, one or both from a minority group. An organization charged with acting as "watchdog" for America's civil rights should be a model of internal fairness.

While the Civil Rights Commission operates in a bipartisan manner and prides itself on staying away from politics (as it should), the active moral leadership of an identifiable Republican such as Arthur Flemming would be a small step toward returning the Republican Party to the cause of civil rights. It is hoped that former Secretary Flemming will be able to reform such a role without harassment from

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the White House.

Yet, appointing more individuals from minority groups and women to governmental positions and maintaining a strong Civil Rights Commission are only meager steps on the long road back to civil rights leadership.

First, the party and its candidates must accept the fact that political strategies which offer short-term electoral gains at the risk of ignoring or destroying basic ethical and constitutional principles damage not only the integrity of the party but the nation as well.

The United States needs moral leadership to combat racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination. It needs such leadership from Congress, from its political parties, and from its traditional ethical institutions. But more

important, the President is the nation's primary proponent of public values, and he more than any other individual sets the nation's ethical tone.

Watergate offers the Republican Party an opportunity to cleanse itself and start again. Whether it has the integrity and strength to do this is yet to be seen. The party did not need the southern strategy in 1964 nor Kevin Phillips' backlash strategy in 1968. It does not need them this year or in 1976. What it needs are ethical standards, candidates, and strategies which reflect concern for all.

Both the Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates must respect the civil rights and liberties of all Americans and be willing to implement programs to guarantee their protection. ■

POLITICS: REPORTS

FLORIDA

TALLAHASSEE — Sen. Edward J. Gurney (R) is vulnerable for re-election, and a growing list of Democrats are anxious for the opportunity to oppose him.

Five Democrats have already announced, while the incumbent shows no signs of yielding to Republican pressure to resign and let Republican National Committeewoman Paula Hawkins, who was elected to the Florida Public Service Commission in 1972, run in his place. Had Mrs. Hawkins decided to challenge Gurney, her favorable reputation as a consumer champion would have meant a stiff primary for the incumbent, who has had troubles with a fundraising scandal involving his aides.

Leading the list of Democratic challengers is State Senate president Mallory E. Horne, a 48-year-old lawyer from Tallahassee. Horne is one of three conservatives given a chance of getting into an expected runoff with the lone serious liberal in the race, State Sen. Richard Pettigrew, 42, a Miami attorney and former president of the Florida House of Representatives. Some of Pettigrew's Dade County support may be siphoned away by Secretary of State Richard Stone, who was also a Miami attorney and state senator before election to his state position in 1970. Stone and U.S. Rep. William Gunter (D) will compete with Horne for conservative support.

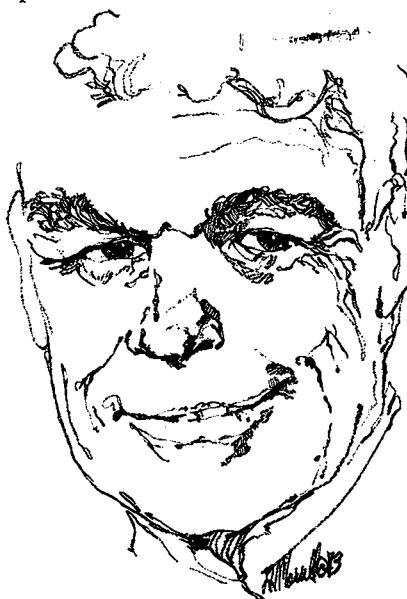
(Horne's Democratic predecessor as state senate president, Jerry Thomas of Rivera Beach, is virtually assured of the Republican nomination to oppose Gov. Rubin Askew (D).)

Although Gurney had originally postponed an announcement of his candidacy pending appearances before two grand juries, the appearances have now been postponed until March. A spokesman for his Senate office said the senator fully expected to be cleared and everything to be "fine." He said Gurney had received no pressure from Florida Republicans to step aside ... "absolutely none." Florida

GOP chairman Tommy Thomas has been quoted by reporters as observing that Gurney faces a "mighty rough" campaign. The incumbent's campaign headquarters, led by a former director of the RNC's political division, is already operating in Orlando.

One of Gurney's 1968 campaign slogans may come back to haunt him. As headlined in one brochure six years ago, "It's about time Florida had a United States Senator who will represent us — and not be just a yes-man for the Administration in Washington." The brochure included the obligatory denunciation of lawlessness: "Ed Gurney says that there is no cause that justifies violence and disregard for law and order; we must stand firm against those who would destroy our institutions and way of life — and the federal government should help us in our fight. Criminals must be treated as criminals."

An old political ally of Gurney's, meanwhile, reappeared in the news recently. According to *Miami Herald* political writer John McDermott, former Republican Gov. Claude Kirk has considered changing parties but rejected the idea "because we spent four years building up the party, and I feel it is my responsibility to help rebuild it now no matter who is tearing it apart." ■



Edward J. Gurney

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY — The withdrawal of Attorney General Vernon B. Romney from the Republican senatorial race February 3 leaves Salt Lake City Mayor Jake Garn as the GOP's logical choice to succeed retiring Sen. Wallace Bennett (R).

In announcing he would not make the race, Romney cited his desire to keep his family in Utah, his obligation to remain in his state post until 1976, and two important legal cases which his office has pending. Romney's announcement followed an earlier non-candidacy announcement by former U.S. Rep. Sherman P. Lloyd, now teaching political science at Utah State University.

In a copyrighted statewide poll by the *Deseret News*, Democratic U.S. Rep. Wayne Owens was the clear leader. Owens was favored by 34 percent of the voters surveyed, compared to 14.5 percent for Romney, 13.7 for Garn, and 10.3 for Lloyd. The favorite of the Utah Democratic establishment for the nomination, Salt Lake City attorney Donald B. Holbrook, was favored by only 9.3 percent of the voters. Commenting on the poll, State Utah Democratic Chairman John Klas said it showed that "regardless of who the Democratic nominee is he should be elected senator in 1974." Klas' Republican counterpart, T. William Cockayne, added up the combined percentages of Democratic and Republican candidates mentioned in the polls and termed the results "highly encouraging." Five Republicans were favored by 41 percent of the respondents compared to 43 percent for the two Democrats.

The GOP had less reason to be encouraged by a poll taken by the *Salt Lake Tribune* which showed that "the Republican Party has suffered a severe loss of esteem among Utah voters, while at the same time, regard for the Democratic Party has risen sharply."

On January 18, three former GOP state chairmen wrote state Republicans: "We need to unite behind Jake (Garn) ... to encourage his candidacy ... to enlighten other Utahns regarding his qualities and qualifications ... and to optimistically spread the

awareness of the excellent chance he has to win the seat in November." As one Garn strategist described the effect of the Romney-Lloyd withdrawals, "It will be helpful in two ways: (1) we will avoid the rupture of an intra-party fracas; and (2) we can move early to the middle while Owens and Holbrook compete for the favor of the left." Garn has hired Bailey, Deardourff, and Eyre to work on his campaign; Richard Eyre, the newest member of the Washington-based political consulting organization, is a native Utahn.

The congressional situation, meanwhile, is still unclear. John Birch Society member Joe Ferguson will make another run for the Republican nomination to oppose U.S. Rep. Gunn McKay (D). House Speaker Howard Nielsen (R) has backed away from the race, but Ogden Councilman Alex Hurtado might enter it, making inroads among Democratic Catholic and Spanish-surnamed voters.

The race to succeed Owens in the 1st C.D. spot promises to be crowded, at least on the Republican side. Announced GOP candidates include State Rep. Lynn M. Hilton, a Salt Lake businessman; Assistant Attorney General Robert Hansen; and libertarian Karl Bray. Other possibilities include John Dwan, a former candidate for the Salt Lake County commissioner, and Doug Decker, a member of the State Aeronautics Commission and 1970 campaign manager for Lloyd. Hansen could receive John Birch support in this race and might win a multi-candidate primary. ■

RHODE ISLAND

NEWPORT — The Rhode Island GOP goes into 1974 facing as bleak a future as it has confronted in many years. The traditional unpopularity here of President Nixon has mushroomed in the wake of Watergate and other scandals.

Rhode Island has no Senate race in 1974. This is just as well for the Republican Party. There does not appear to be one candidate of any stature available to run for so high an

office. No prospective congressional candidates have yet appeared. Dissatisfaction with the Administration's closing of almost all Rhode Island naval facilities should assure easy re-election for Rhode Island's two listless Democratic congressmen.

Former Republican Lt. Gov. (1967-1969) Joseph O'Donnell appears ready to challenge incumbent Gov. Phillip Noel (D). Noel will be hard to beat. He is a conservative largely lacking in foresight, which guarantees the support of union bosses. O'Donnell lost three out of four elections for lieutenant governor in the 1960's, but he is a hard campaigner and will hopefully keep the governor busy enough so that Rhode Island's only Republican office-holder can stay in office.

Although former Gov. John Chafee, now practicing law in Providence, has ruled out running for the House, there is still speculation that he might seek the governorship.

Attorney General Richard J. Israel (R) seems certain to seek a third term. It will probably be Israel's most difficult race because of the inability of the GOP to field a strong ticket. An attractive Democrat could possibly unseat him. Fortunately, the Democrats have not run an attractive candidate for this post since the 1950's.

A year of discussions about reorganization of the Republican State Central Committee culminated in January with a vote to add Republican city and town chairmen to the committee and to reject automatic membership for Republican state legislators. The vote was the culmination of a long intra-party struggle.

Party leaders had been split over the committee reorganization plan, which had been the subject of a task force commissioned last January by State GOP Chairman Thomas E. Wright. Several proposals had been made, including one backed by Wright under which state committee members would have been elected from Senate districts. State legislators had pushed for their inclusion on the committee, arguing that they were the "winners" in the party. Prior to the meeting, Republican National Committeeman Frederick Lippitt (who is also the House minority leader) said, "Many of the city and town committees don't elect dog catchers. If you are going to

have a party dominated by that, you have a problem."

Wright feels confident that the party has been strengthened by the committee change and that its base has been broadened. The committee's size will jump from 154 to 193 members. ■

NEW MEXICO

ALBUQUERQUE — The impending departure of former Gov. David Cargo to Oregon to practice law will leave a three-man Republican field for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

The three are former State Sen. Joe Skeen, the frontrunner in the polls, former State Sen. Jack Eastham, an Albuquerque attorney who runs second; and former Air Force Lt. Col. James Hughes, who has established only a brief residence in the state and runs a poor third.

Cargo says he's decided against another gubernatorial race despite polls giving him a 3-1 lead over Skeen for the nomination.

Although personal factors enter into his decision, Cargo is frankly fed up with fighting the Republican Party in New Mexico and is dismayed at what he considers to be its current disarray. Cargo points out that eight New Mexico counties do not even have a remnant of GOP organization. Although Sen. Pete Domenici (R) was elected in 1972, the number of Republican office-holders in the state actually declined. Democrats outnumber Republicans in the House of Representatives 51-19.

Although both the CREP and Domenici organizations spent huge amounts of money (over a half million dollars each) in 1972, Republicans will have to scratch for cash this year. As Cargo points out, "Periodically, elections are bought in New Mexico but seldom won by Republicans without huge amounts of money. I spent \$14,000 to win both the primary and general (election) in 1966 and not much more for re-election. I might add that in both my successful runs the Republican Party contributed exactly zero to the effort in funds."

According to Cargo, who was defeated in the 1972 Senate primary, "This is not the year to run for of-

fice, and you can expect little or no help if you are an honest progressive Republican in spite of the fact that Watergate was brought to you by the fellows on the other side of the fence."

The Skeen-Eastham campaign is marred by a personal incident which injures both men. When Skeen announced his candidacy, he did so from the poolside home of his Albuquerque campaign manager, Hester Eastham, who is Eastham's former wife.

The Democratic frontrunners are State Senators Tibo J. Chavez, the majority leader, and Jerry Apodoca, the Democratic caucus leader and a former Democratic state chairman. Another top contender among the large field is State Senator Odis L. Echols, Jr. There promises to be almost as many candidates as Democratic factions — maybe even more.

Interneceine war is not the only Democratic problem. Outgoing Gov. Bruce King (D) is not too popular these days, and the Democrats are falling into disrepute. The state highway department is under investigation, and four Democratic legislators will soon have to stand trial on charges ranging from receiving stolen goods to bribery.

New Mexico Republican Chairman Murray Ryan feels the GOP's chances of electing a Republican governor are "very good" this year, primarily because of the Democratic disarray and voter ennui with the lackluster performance of Gov. King. The one-term incumbent is noted for saying that although he may have given a commitment, it wasn't a promise.

Ryan contends that 1974 fundraising should "not be too difficult" for the GOP. He hopes that the party will be able to increase its House minority from five to seven members — maybe more if there is a strong performance by the Republican gubernatorial candidate.

While Democrats face prospects of a ticket which may be top-heavy with Spanish-speaking names, Republicans may have the disadvantage of an all-Anglo ticket. Perhaps the only Spanish name may be that of U.S. Rep. Manuel J. Lujan (R), who faces a tough fight from Lt. Gov. Robert Mondragon (D).

In the 2nd C.D., where conservative Democrat Harold R. Runnels has

been entrenched, Republicans will run Donald Trubey, a young speech pathologist at Eastern New Mexico University at Portales. ■

OHIO

COLUMBUS — By 4 p.m. February 6, Ohio candidates had to file for the May 7 primary — and hopefully the November general election. In the unsettled atmosphere of 1974 politics, candidacies were more ephemeral than winter sunshine until fish-or-cut-bait time — 4 p.m.

What finally emerged is the guarantee of rough primaries in both parties, a spate of unknown candidates, and a headache for anyone who seriously tries to predict what the scene will be May 8.

Despite Gov. John J. Gilligan's continuing (and occasionally inept) attempts at party unity, the Democrats will have the roughest primary: recently-appointed Sen. Howard Metzenbaum vs. John Glenn. Glenn "blew" the 1970 Senate primary to Metzenbaum, then an unknown Cleveland parking and publishing millionaire, who in turn narrowly lost to Sen. Robert Taft, Jr. (R). Gilligan appointed Metzenbaum to fill Attorney General William B. Saxbe's unexpired term. Glenn charged "bossism," gained the endorsement of several county central committees, including Franklin (Columbus) County, and may come close to or even defeat Metzenbaum.

Awaiting the bloodied victor is Cleveland's GOP mayor, Ralph J. J. Perk, a practitioner of ethnic politics and a master of malapropisms, who is unopposed in the primary. Drafted to run as other Republican possibles dropped out (notably U.S. Rep. Clarence "Bud" Brown, Jr., and Lt. Governor John W. Brown) because of the difficulty of raising money and other Watergate-related plagues, Perk should run a strong race and might win, particularly if he can stay close in metropolitan Cleveland. Ohio party polls reportedly show that Metzenbaum could be very vulnerable to a Perk candidacy.

Former Gov. James A. Rhodes (R) had no serious opposition until a week before the filing deadline, when maver-

ick State Rep. Charles Fry of Springfield announced he would run, because "I'll say what everyone is afraid to say — that in a year when credibility counts, Jim Rhodes will be a drag on the ticket." Fry, the leader of the conservative bloc in the State House, is given little chance to beat Rhodes but might garner a sizable protest vote from Republicans who remember the state house scandal. That fiasco, which destroyed the GOP ticket in 1970, was attributed to Rhodes, although he was never directly implicated.

In the 8th C.D., north of Cincinnati along the Indiana border, conservative Republican Walter Powell is retiring after two terms. He has been under fire from local GOP organizations for lack of attention to the District. James Ruppert, the Democrat he defeated in 1972 by only 7,000 out of 153,000 votes cast, was favoredness of Hamilton. However, he withdrew.

GOP Congressman William E. Minshall is retiring after 10 terms from his suburban Cleveland 23rd C.D. He narrowly won in 1972, defeating 27-year-old Dennis Kucinich by 4,000 out of nearly 200,000 votes cast. Kucinich is back, this time to take on State Rep. George Mastics, a good candidate facing a tough race in an increasingly Democratic district. A potentially rough Democratic primary and Kucinich's overly aggressive personality may give Mastics a chance. ■



Howard Metzenbaum

POLITICS: PROFILES

ALBERT QUIE

SOUTH ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

— Minnesota's First District Congressman Albert Quie (R) refers to himself as one of the "few dirt farmers in Congress," but he is one of the most respected and powerful Republicans in the House of Representatives and is his party's leading authority on educational legislation.

The grandson of a Norwegian immigrant, Quie still farms the dairy farm settled by his grandfather. The farm is located in Minnesota's prosperous 1st C.D., which is predominantly rural and agricultural, the most populous area being the city of Rochester with its world-famous Mayo Clinic.

Quie's interest in education and elective politics was first demonstrated when he was elected to his local school board while still a student at St. Olaf College in Northfield. Elected to the Minnesota State Senate in 1954, Quie continued to demonstrate his interest in education by serving on a legislative interim commission investigating the education of exceptional children. His work on this commission resulted in the enactment of extensive legislation for the education of handicapped children.

In 1958, he was narrowly elected to Congress in a special election to replace U.S. Rep. August H. Andresen. Re-elected by a comfortable margin in the fall of 1958, Quie has easily won re-election ever since.

As a freshman congressman from an agricultural district, Quie was quite logically assigned to the House Agriculture Committee. However, he continued to express his interest in education, and Minority Leader Charles Halleck, in a precedent-setting move, appointed him also to the Education and Labor Committee. Quie retained seats on both committees until 1967, when he gave up his seat on the Agriculture Committee since he felt his farm background would allow him to continue to have an impact on agricultural issues. It was his belief that

he could best serve the interests of his constituents by utilizing the expertise he had acquired in the field of education. Quie has since risen to the position of ranking minority member of the committee.

Quie theorizes that the federal government has usurped many of the governmental functions that are more appropriately exercised by state and local governments. Yet he believes also that within specifically defined areas of education, the federal government does have a legitimate function, e.g., education of the handicapped, vocational and occupational education, and instruction of the educationally disadvantaged. Higher education is another area in which he feels the federal government has a legitimate albeit limited function, and he was a major force in the adoption of the Higher Education Facilities Act in 1963 and the Aid to Higher Education Act in 1972.

In particular, Quie is critical of the present trend whereby elementary and secondary schools are becoming increasingly isolated from the community. He stresses the need for more coordination of the schools with the community. He believes that insulation of the schools from the community has caused students to lose their own sense of identity and that the schools have failed to transmit the nation's value system to its youth. While the impetus for changes in the educational system must come from the community itself, Quie deplores the tendency of the government to stand in the way of innovative concepts in education. He feels that future legislation must account for and correct this tendency. Quie also believes that secondary-school systems have done much to stifle the vocational education of students. He favors enactment of a youth differential in the labor laws which would permit exceptions in the minimum age law so that students could work as part of their vocational training.

Quie's position as the ranking minority leader of the Education and Labor Committee during the Nixon Administration has proved to be a mixed

blessing. He is frequently consulted by the President and Administration officials on education legislation, but Quie believes that the Administration has placed a low priority on educational legislation and that the Office of Management and Budget has more decision-making power in this area than does the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As a result, Quie has frequently differed with the Administration on many issues.

The Minnesota congressman has been a supporter of President Nixon in his stand on the Vietnam war, despite his initial reservations about the wisdom of the war effort. During the Johnson Administration, Quie questioned the justification for our involvement, our lack of objectives, and the general wastefulness of the war effort. When President Nixon took office, Quie supported his position on the war and defended the President's war policies. It was only during the latter part of the President's first term that he indicated his frustration with the President's inability to end the war. His criticism took the form of a request for a speedier withdrawal of troops and a reduction of the massive bombing attacks.

In Congress, the eight-term incumbent is generally identified with the moderate wing of the Republican Party. He was a leader, along with fellow Republicans Robert Griffin, Charles Goodell, and Donald Rums-



Albert Quie

feld in their successful effort to replace Minority Leader Charles Halleck with Gerald Ford. Quie's voting record in the House has become more progressive in the past few years, and many observers cite as a reason the changing make-up of his district from one which was predominately rural to one which contains a substantial suburban population. However, Quie gives the clear impression that he is comfortable taking progressive positions on many issues, especially environmental protection and legislative reform.

Quie's own sensitivity to other people and their ideas has earned him the reputation as an excellent legislative mediator. As the reason for his success as a mediator, he cites his ability to reduce tensions in debates on issues at hand and then to work out a rational basis upon which the parties can come together. Quie cites his relationship with U.S. Rep. Andrew Young, a black Georgia Democrat, to explain the sensitizing nature of his own strong religious convictions. Quie explains that whereas he and Young might ordinarily find little common ground on which to relate, their mutual religious efforts have been a strong basis for communication.

Congressman Quie has been a leading advocate for congressional reform. As a ranking Republican on the House

Education and Labor Committee, he has taken the lead in opening all executive committee meetings to the public and is very careful to see that the minority staff of the committee is used for committee work and not co-opted for use by individual committee members. He was a leading advocate of the modification of the seniority system by House Republicans whereby senior committee members must be subjected to a "yes" or "no" vote of committee members before they can assume a leadership position. He believes that the present committee structure needs to be thoroughly revamped but is optimistic about the ability of the Select Committee on Committee Structure to come up with mechanism to enable Congress to deal effectively with contemporary problems.

Congressman Quie does not indicate any interest in seeking higher office, and it is likely that he will attempt to remain in the House. In 1966 he very nearly ran for the governorship of Minnesota, but facing the prospect of a contest for the Republican nomination, he decided against entering the race. In 1969 there were indications he would seek the seat vacated by Sen. Eugene McCarthy, but again he decided not to seek higher office. It is widely believed that his prime considerations were the pros-

pect of spending less time with his family and his desire to maintain his prestigious position in the House.

Married and the father of five children, both family and religion play a very important part in Quie's life. His wife Gretchen is an accomplished artist, and her paintings are on display in the congressman's office and in the homes and offices of many of his constituents in Minnesota. Once an expert pilot (Quie is reputed to have flown his Navy fighter plane upside down at an elevation of 30 feet over St. Olaf College while courting his wife) he has recently given up flying and devotes most of his free time to the training of quarterhorses. He is often up at dawn and at work training his horses or those of a friend for entry in western shows. One of the highlights each year in his congressional district is a western trail ride which the congressman sponsors.

In the past few years Quie has faced only token Democratic opposition in his district. With the rejuvenation of the Minnesota DFL he will likely face much stronger opposition in the coming election. Any potential opponent will, however, have to overcome the formidable obstacles of Quie's broad base of bipartisan support in his district and his reputation as an effective and powerful Congressman. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Donald Elliott, former chairman of the New York City Planning Commission, former liberal Republican and associate of John Lindsay, will seek the Democratic nomination for the Brooklyn House seat not being relinquished by U.S. Rep. John Rooney (D).

● The retirement of U.S. Rep. Julia Butler Hansen (D-Wash.) should improve the chances of Washington Secretary of State Ludlow Kramer (R) in his bid for the 3rd C.D. seat. The energetic progressive Republican has held the secretary of state's office since 1964; he lost the Seattle mayoralty race in 1969. Kramer's likely Democratic opponents are Don Bonker, whom he defeated for secretary of state in 1972, and State Sen. Robert Bailey, who has been a Washington aide to Hansen. Washington Republicans have not yet settled on a candidate to oppose Sen. Warren Magnuson, although the most recent name to surface was that of Arthur Fletcher, former assistant secretary of labor and unsuccessful 1968 candidate for lieutenant governor in Washington.

● Alex Ray, executive director of the Maine GOP, has resigned his party post to officially join the gubernatorial campaign organization of former attorney general James S. Erwin. Last September there was an unsuccessful attempt in the state committee to oust Ray because of his alleged pro-Erwin activities. The committee's legal counsel also resigned recently to join the Erwin campaign; Charles Morsehead, a past GOP state chairman and former legislator who has the respect of GOP loyalists, will become chairman of the Erwin campaign.

● The New Hampshire Merrimack County Republican Committee did not listen to Gerald Ford, John Connally, Ronald Reagan, Nelson Rockefeller, Charles Percy, Elliot Richardson, or anybody else at its Lincoln Day dinner. "We have had enough speechmaking for a while, and we'll be getting more of the same very soon," according to Mrs. Richard Worth, the organizer.

● David Eisenhower has explained that his father-in-law is "a strange man. He can get to the heart of things. He's really brilliant. No one can deny that." If Richard Nixon is really brilliant about getting to the heart of things, however, how come it took him a year to get to the heart of what his staff was doing?

● Prior to the special congressional election to choose a successor to the late U.S. Rep. John P. Saylor (R-Pa.), RNC Chairman George Bush said, "After this election, the people may stop asking me if Watergate will wipe out the Republican Party." Although Democrat John Murtha beat Republican Harry Fox by about 220 votes, the margin was so close that neither Republicans nor Democrats can use the result to buttress contentions regarding the impact of Watergate. Ironically, a bigger factor than Watergate in the outcome may have been the impact of the gasoline shortage on voter turnout. The Watergate factor was at work in Michigan, however, where Democrat Richard VanderVeen defeated Republican Robert VanderLaan. VanderVeen's predecessor, Vice President Gerald Ford, blamed the economy, but Republican State Chairman William McLaughlin blamed Watergate.

● North Carolina State Rep. Margaret Keese has introduced a bill to outlaw corporal punishment in the state's public schools. The 28-year-old GOP legislator, who teaches at an elementary school in Greensboro, maintains that there is "no cutoff age for constitutional rights" and offers data to demonstrate lower dropout rates for states and cities that have stopped spanking students. The North Carolina School Principals Association opposes the legislation, as do many teachers. GOP Gov. James E. Holshouser, Jr. recently predicted that the bill would not pass, declaring that the legislation could produce serious disciplinary problems. It has provoked a vociferous reaction among Keese's constituents, some of whom charged that Keese was now "washed up" politically. An alternative to the Keese bill would make spanking a local option.

● John Finlator, former deputy director of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, told a committee hearing of the Vermont legislature that he favors decriminalization of marijuana possession. "Furthermore," said Finlator, "I don't mind telling you I use marijuana."

● Key supporters of California Gov. Ronald Reagan are falling in behind the gubernatorial candidacy of Controller Houston I. Flournoy. On January 30, Flournoy's office released a "Who's Who of California Republicans," consisting of 100 Reagan-backers now backing Flounroy. The move followed public declarations of support from former Defense Undersecretary David Packard and Los Angeles millionaire Holmes Tuttle. The new list of backers includes some of Reagan's "kitchen cabinet," and its disclosure must be a crushing blow to Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke, once Reagan's protege. San Francisco Chronicle reporter George Murphy quoted one politician as observing that Flounroy's backers constitute "the broadest Republican coalition I've ever seen in this state. It looks like he's got the party wrapped up."

● Former Deputy Secretary of the Navy James Johnston (R) is reportedly considering a run for the 39th C.D. seat in California. The conservative black former veterans affairs director under Gov. Ronald Reagan had been mentioned as a possible Senate candidate against Sen. Alan Cranston (D).

● Former California Republican National Committeeman Thomas C. Reed has been named director of telecommunications and control for the Defense Department. Although the 39-year-old Reed has an en-

gineering background, most of his career has been in business and politics and includes a close association with Gov. Ronald Reagan (R-Calif.). Commenting on Reed's new job, Washington Post reporter Michael Getler observed, "Reed's appointment also marks the first time that an official with considerable political experience — rather than a career scientist — will handle such matters."

● Vermont House Speaker Walter Kennedy has established a dress code mandating coats and ties for male legislators and dresses, skirts or pantsuits for females. "I'm a little concerned. This dress code only requires a coat and tie. What about pants?" asked State Rep. E. Franklin Phillips. Kennedy assured Phillips that that part of the anatomy would be covered by the obscenity bill then pending before the Vermont legislature. The legislature was also considering a nudity bill sponsored by Democratic State Rep. Robert R. Emond, who has been concerned about the skinnydipping in the Brattleboro area. Emond's bill, which bans nudity in public places was so explicit that the legislator suggested that children might have to be barred from the House while it is read. Nudity and sex are particularly rampant, according to Emond, at the Harrington Reservoir. When one legislator asked Emond why Brattleboro had more nudity than Burlington, the sponsor replied that, "Because you've run out of trees in Burlington."

● Say it again, Barry. In a copyrighted interview in the U.S. News and World Report, Sen. Barry Goldwater was asked, "Is Mr. Rockefeller now acceptable to you and your 'conservative followers?'" Replied the victor of the 1964 GOP wars, "Oh, he was never really unacceptable. He just had to live long enough to find out I was right."

● The Equal Rights Amendment will probably not be ratified this year, but with approval from 33 of the required 38 state legislatures, supporters hope that the amendment will become law in 1975. Ohio, Maine, and Montana most recently ratified the amendment. The target states for ERA backers are Louisiana, Florida, Illinois, Virginia, and Missouri.

● Second Monday Department: The new editor of Battle Line, the monthly publication of the American Conservative Union, is syndicated columnist John D. Lofton, the former editor of Monday for the Republican National Committee.

● The country's deposed energy czar, former Colorado Gov. John Love, has been named senior vice president of Ideal Basic Industries, a Denver-based cement and potash producer.

● Charges of "vote siphoning against New York Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea (R) were dismissed January 24 by New York State Supreme Court Justice Burton B. Roberts, who ruled that the State Election Law was unconstitutionally vague on the charges involved. Although Duryea has not ruled out running for governor, he has been campaigning diligently for re-election to his Assembly seat. One casualty of the case appears to be a raise for Republican Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, who approved processing of the complaints. Duryea has had trouble finding an Assembly sponsor for the bill to raise the salary of Lefkowitz, who is not one of Duryea's admirers.

● Tennessee Sen. Bill Brock has become increasingly independent of the White House. Commenting on Watergate in a broadcast interview recently, Brock said, "I don't know how many shoes there are to fall ... I feel like I've been dealing with a centipede this last year. We keep getting hit with new shoes." Brock, chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee, said, "Obviously, as a Republican, I have to be concerned because I think the principal damage has been done to my party. We've been wounded severely." Brock's comments drew the ire of a fellow Tennessean, U.S. Rep. Dan Kukendall, who criticized "some Republicans" who have "chosen this time to 'separate from the President and the party.'" According to Kukendall, "The latest revelations have been just more circumstantial evidence. Those who have taken this opportunity to reject the party are like the man who turned down 14 counterfeit bills and then accepted the fifteenth, saying, 'After all, there have been so many.'"

● The Republican National Committee's Rule 29 Commission is either a one-woman or a 49-person operation, depending on your point of view. Mary McInnis, the commission director, is the sole paid employee. She does not even have a secretary, but instead draws on the resources of the rest of the RNC. Ms. McInnis asserts that the commission is unusual in that the "nitty-gritty work" of the commission is done by its members rather than a paid staff. The first drafting session of the commission is scheduled for Washington in April.

● State Rep. Dempsey McDaniel (R) has asked the North Carolina legislature to crack down on massage parlors. Apparently an out-of-towner who "slipped in under the cover of darkness and established one of those unholy massage parlors" across the street from a Baptist Church in Horneytown. Said McDaniel, "I believe in free enterprise but that horrible place is the epitome of inflation. The rates they charge those strangers — for dilly-dallying on them they tell me — are \$15 for 15 minutes, \$20 for 30 minutes and \$30 for one hour."

● Investment Banker John Loeb, Jr., (R) will seek the Westchester County congressional seat being vacated by U.S. Rep. Ogden Reid (D) in his race for governor. Loeb faces a possible primary against Mike Roth, a wealthy lawyer who was an unsuccessful Republican candidate for Westchester county executive in 1973, and a probable general election contest against former U.S. Rep. Richard Ottinger (D), who made unsuccessful races for the Charles Goodell's Senate seat in 1970 and for U.S. Rep. Peter Peyer's congressional seat in 1972. Reid's gubernatorial campaign may have been aided meanwhile by a study showing the New York City Offtrack Betting Corporation has stimulated the growth of illegal gambling in the city. That study may discourage the smart money which had been resting on the nose of "Howie-the-Horse" Samuels (D), former president of the Offtrack Betting Corporation.

St. Patrick,
Where are you
Now that Washington needs you?

LETTERS

They Still Like Him

As president of the New York Ripon Society, I must write to take strenuous issue with the tone and thrust of the Editorial Board commentary on "The New Rockefeller" (January FORUM), by Robert D. Behn.

The tone is highly reminiscent of that of our local New York "reform" Democrats who regularly destroy each other over the slightest different of degree in a candidate's response to the latest catechism of the New Democratic Coalition or its bedfellows. It has been at least partly through their beneficence that the Republican Party has remained strong in this state.

The article's thrust is equally disturbing. It implies that seeking a broader base within the party is per se a reprehensible act. Well, at least it can be no more unsuccessful than the seemingly acceptable strategy of seeking support from only the admitted minority in the Ripon end of the party.

We in New York have been around long enough to be able to put in proper perspective the Murray Kemptons and other journalists who need to find trends in order to write stories. From our perspective, Nelson Rockefeller has continued to epitomize the progressive Republican, ever willing to seek human solutions, untied to ideologies of right or left, and willing to change approaches which, notwithstanding the "experts," have proved ineffective. If this be deemed a "rightward swing," then God save us from being buried under our ideas which in practice have not worked.

If Rockefeller has fooled Kevin Phillips — good for our side. He doesn't fool New York Ripon and we still like him.

LEWIS BART STONE
President
New York Ripon Society
New York, New York

Square Meals

We Republicans in Maine are not having the internal problems that, as I read in your periodical, the Republicans in Massachusetts are having. Our inward harmony is one of the greatest reasons that we Republicans are optimistic that this November we will elect our first Republican governor since John H. Reed was re-elected governor in 1962.

With respect to my own political ambitions (see January 15 FORUM), although I personally want very much to run for Congress, as indicated in your commentary on Maine — and I was urged by many leading Republicans to run for Congress — I feel that my abilities and experience can best be put to use in a second term as speaker of the House. Further, my wife and I have been blessed with five children ranging in age from 10 to 18 years. They need the fatherly guidance which a candidate for Congress could not give them. Also, they need three square meals each day.

RICHARD D. HEWES
Speaker of the House
Augusta, Maine

Site Tax

I was most impressed with Richard W. Rahn's "The Site Tax," article in the December 1973 FORUM. The thing that impressed me the most was the relative simplicity in impartially arriving at the assessed value of land. It is the one form of property which is always visible and incapable of being hidden. The assessor by simply traveling through or above an area can very easily determine the comparative value of property, taking into account all of the elements that create value such as the commercial potentials, transportation potentials, social amenities, and similar elements of value. This advantage is all the more highlighted by the disadvantages an assessor faces when he tries to determine the value of an improved parcel and is required to take into ac-

count whether the bathroom floor is of vinyl or ceramic covering, or whether the premises have a fireplace or air conditioning, or a finished basement. It would be physically impossible for any assessor ever to make a full and accurate determination of all the elements of value that constitute the value of an improvement.

Another distinct benefit to the community is the fact that the taxpayer has a readily identifiable basis of comparison. As things stand now, the poor taxpayer is so confused by the disparity in assessments that he does not bother to try to understand why his assessment differs from his neighbors.

Another problem is the fact that assessors are not assessing properties at 100 percent of their full value, but at some variable percentage of full value. The taxpayer should insist on all properties being assessed at 100 percent of market value, but if this is not possible at least every parcel of property should be assessed at the same percentage of full market value.

JEROME S. MEDOWAR
Freeport, New York

Flattered, but . . .

The flattering reference by the Brothers Behn ("Breaking the Candidate Trust," FORUM, February 1, 1974) is greatly appreciated.

Before the effort to make "U.S. Attorney Richard Thorndike in Pittsburgh" a household word gathers too much steam, however, one matter should be noted.

The name remains "Thornburgh" — as in "Pittsburgh" — unless some impostor has lately usurped my office!

RICHARD L. THORNBURGH
United States Attorney
Pittsburgh, Pa.

14a ELIOT STREET

● Robert Kabel was recently elected president of the Nashville Ripon Chapter. Kabel is on Gov. Winfield Dunn's staff.

● Dr. Nat Winston, a potential Tennessee gubernatorial candidate, spoke to the January 24 meeting of the Nashville Chapter. Winston was the first of three Republican gubernatorial candidates to address the chapter. Doreen Oldham and Lamer Alexander were scheduled for the February and March meetings.

● Lee Huebner, former president of the Ripon Society, has left his White House position as special assistant to the President, to join the Whitney Communications Corporation in New York. Fan mail may be sent to Room 4600, 110 West 51st St., New York, N.Y., 10020.

● Anne Marie Borger, Ripon vice president for public information, recently resigned as special assistant to Jule M. Sugarman, former head of the New York City Human Resources Administration to become director of public relations of the American Shakespeare Theater in Stratford, Conn.

● Bobbi Kilberg, vice president for academic affairs at Mt. Vernon Junior College in Washington, D.C. and Ripon NGB member, recently testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth in Connection with the Women's Educational Equity Act (S. 2518 in the Senate and H.R. 208 in the House). The bill was introduced in Congress by Sen. Walter Mondale (D) and U.S. Rep. Patsy Mink (D). Appearing on behalf of Mt. Vernon College and the national Women's Political Caucus, Kilberg commented on the sexual track system in our schools that directs women from the outset to anticipate second-class status in the economic and sociopolitical mainstreams of our country. She noted, "Politics is one of those aspects of American life in which sexual stereotyping remains rampant. The cover picture of the October 15 New Yorker magazine illustrates all too well the prevailing role of women in politics: They stuff envelopes for male candidates."

● The Boston-Cambridge Chapter's Executive Committee met with Elly Peterson, former RNC co-chairman, in January. Discussed in detail was the formation of a Cambridge Neighborhood Impact Center, modelled after the former Detroit prototype which Peterson and John Martilla directed in the mid-1960's. A cocktail party was held February 1 honoring the effective work and integrity of Frank Hatch, Massachusetts House minority leader; Anne Witherby, State GOP Finance Committee head; and Roger Woodworth, policy assistant to Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.). Half of the profits were contributed to the 1974 GOP legislative candidates fund. About 200 people attended, including many of the GOP's aspiring statewide candidates.

● Paul F. Anderson, Ripon vice president of finance, is campaigning for the State Central Committee in the 9th District of Illinois. Contributions to his campaign may be sent to Anderson for State Central Committee, 2440 Lakeview, Chicago, Ill. 60614.

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

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DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Dwight Awaits Call to Go Fence-Mending," by Rachelle Patterson. *Boston Globe*, February 10, 1974. The alienation of Gov. Francis Sargent from the Massachusetts Republican organization serves to increase the importance of Lt. Gov. Donald R. Dwight as an intermediary between the governor and his party. "Since he became Gov. Sargent's runningmate, Dwight has assumed a subsidiary position. His immense loyalty to Sargent and conscientious avoidance of upstaging him in any way has kept 42-year-old Dwight pretty much out of the headlines. He has been further relegated backstage and out of the major policy-making decisions by Sargent's coterie of advisors." However, Dwight will take a major role in co-ordinating the gubernatorial campaign; he has hired Steve Crosby, former campaign manager to Martin Linsky, as campaign administrator. Furthermore, according to Patterson, Dwight can usefully be the governor's ambassador to dissident Republicans and businessmen who might otherwise be tempted to support a primary opponent to Sargent. She also suggests that Sargent would do well to promote his top Democratic aide, Al Kramer, to a judgeship, thereby surmounting some of the business and GOP antagonism to his Administration.

● "Baker Must Shift From Watergate," by Tim Wyngaard. *Knoxville (Tennessee) News-Sentinel*, February 3, 1974. According to Wyngaard, Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr., has exposed three sides of himself to the national public during the Watergate controversy: first, the "unbiased inquisitor"; second, the "cautious neuter, treating ... (John) Dean gingerly"; and third, an "Administration defender in private committee jockeying." But as Baker embarked on a seven-day western speaking tour, Wyngaard theorized that he must shift his focus "if his initial presidential explorations flourish. By late spring, or summer, or perhaps fall, Baker will have to start to discuss the continuing, traditional, and vital issues of a presidential campaign. The economy, international relations, welfare, agriculture — a host of issues weigh in the balance in presidential years. They will continue to be important in 1976, on top of or despite Watergate."

● "State GOP Plans May Primary," by Don F. Watson. *Montgomery Advertiser-Alabama Journal*, January 27, 1974. In a meeting January 26, the Alabama Republican Executive Committee voted to hold a May primary rather than choose candidates in conventions or caucuses. "The primary decision came as no surprise, the party having decided in 1970 to move into open competition with the Democrats and throw off the blanket indictment by Democrats that GOP candidates in the general election had been picked 'in smoke-filled rooms.'" The Republican Party, which now holds two seats in the 106-member House of Representatives and none in the 35-member Senate, will probably enter candidates in 15-20 legislative races and some local contests. "It does not expect many, if any, candidates for statewide offices, but there was talk Saturday that Tom Norman of Goshen, a prominent rancher and member of the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee, will seek the nomination as commissioner of the State Department of Agriculture and Industries."

● "Gerald Ford: Planning for the Future," by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. *Washington Post*, February 7, 1974. "... Almost everything (Vice President Gerald Ford) has done strongly supports the conclusion that his total presidential disclaimer when Richard Nixon picked him to succeed Spiro T. Agnew last October is now inoperative." Evans and Novak cite reaction to Ford's now infamous speech on Watergate in Atlantic City. "The private reaction of Ford and his chief of staff, Robert Hartman, was instantaneous: instead of trying to operate with a small staff as a White House appendage, face the hard truth that Ford is fast becoming the operating political head of the Republican Party whose nominal chief is not welcome across the country. Pressing Ford hard toward a similar conclusion was George Bush, Republican national chairman, who forcefully urged Ford to hire

an experienced politician as a go-between with the National Committee, the House and Senate campaign committees, and the state party organizations. That led to the hiring of national committeewoman Gwen Anderson of Washington state as Ford's full-time political adviser."

● "Reagan Miffs Washington Appearance," *Human Events*, February 9, 1974. "California Gov. Ronald Reagan, the conservatives' first choice for the Republican nomination in 1976, didn't fare too well with a number of his stout supporters when he came to Washington a little over a week ago to appear on NBC's "Meet the Press" television show. What upset many of his backers was not only the ill-prepared nature of his responses to some of the reporters' hot-to-handle questions, but the content of those responses as well. The governor, who is normally superb in fielding queries from the press, had clearly not been adequately primed by his political advisers. Reagan, for instance, fumbled for answers when conservative columnist James J. Kilpatrick probingly asked him why in one year he had failed to pay the California income tax, whether his age would affect his nomination, and what sort of foreign affairs experience he had had." Not only did Reagan displease *Human Events* with his praise for Nixon's foreign policy, but the conservative weekly also gave low marks to the former actor's address to the Conservative Political Action Conference the same week. "Reagan's muffed opportunities on national TV and at a key conservative conference, however, were by no means catastrophic. But they did demonstrate that the governor needs important help from those who are well aware of the Washington scene and who could familiarize him with national issues. The governor needs assistance, say political observers, and unless he receives it, he will find it extremely difficult to maintain his No. 1 position within the conservative Republican camp."

● "Re-election Outlook Brighter for Dole," by Ray Morgan. *Kansas City Star*, January 27, 1974. Sen Bob Dole's re-election prospects are decidedly better than they have been any time in the past year. The indictment of George R. Docking, brother of Gov. Robert Docking (D), on charges of conspiracy to commit bribery is the latest step in Dole's upswing, according to Morgan. "Before the indictments political observers were saying that only Governor Docking had a chance to match Dole as the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in the November general election and that hard work on the part of the former GOP national chairman was giving Docking an uphill fight. In the congressional recess Sen. Dole appeared in courthouses and city halls in almost all of the 105 counties, talking to fellow Kansans about the problems of the day and shaking hands up and down the main streets from the Colorado to the Missouri borders." The indictments, which were returned by a Shawnee County grand jury January 22, charged 24 persons including a former Docking aide in connection with the award of an architectural contract for the expansion of the University of Kansas Medical Center in Kansas City. Although Docking was not implicated in the scandal, Attorney General Vern Miller, a Democrat and potential probable successor to Docking, needed to be prodded by Republicans to pursue the inquiry. U.S. Rep. William Roy (D) had dropped out of the senatorial consideration last year when it became obvious that Docking would seek the nomination. According to Morgan, "Many Kansas political observers felt the Topeka doctor-lawyer had to get a lot more exposure across the state to have a shot at Dole and that Roy's voting record was too liberal to make him popular with a majority of Kansas voters." According to George Hart, the only announced Democratic candidate for the Senate seat, "Bob Dole is getting to be like cow manure. Everywhere you look in Kansas there he is." Regarding the indictments, Docking has said, "Despite the official and personal hurt, I will insist, as I have in the past, that the chips should fall where they may so justice can be done."

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