

# RIPON FORUM

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## POLITICS: REPORTS

### NEW YORK

After 15 years in the state's number two job, the current Republican governor is fresh from obscurity, but he might have to relinquish the Executive Mansion in January to a Democrat nicknamed "Howie the Horse." To make matters worse for the GOP, the Republican speaker of the Assembly, who just a few months ago was seriously considering a gubernatorial run, might well become the Assembly's new minority leader in January 1975.

From 1939 to 1959, Malcolm Wilson served as a moderately conservative Republican assemblyman from Yonkers (a city in Westchester County just north of New York City). Nominated for the state ticket in 1958, he drove all around the state, introducing to GOP leaders a former HEW under-secretary and presidential assistant by the name of Nelson A. Rockefeller.

From that time until the past December, Wilson served as lieutenant governor, dwarfed by Rockefeller. (There were giants on the earth in those days.) Rockefeller's resignation was in part a recognition of his gratitude for Wilson's years of faithful and effective service; Rocky's departure enables the latter to run for governor as the governor. Wilson ascended to the position of chief executive in late December with a 12 percent name recognition, according to one GOP poll. Since then, he has committed no major blunders — although he was a little slow in initiating gas rationing — and in fact seems to be growing in favorable public estimation. While in private he is a warm individual, with a dry sense of humor, in public Wilson seems colorless and conservative. His white shirts, thin

latinate phraseology, recondite allusions, and complicated answers to simple questions are nightmares for campaign managers. Wilson, who is 60, has an encyclopedic knowledge of the state and its government, much of it acquired while he skillfully presided over the State Senate for the past 15 years. As governor, Wilson has worked and will work well with the legislature, unlike his predecessor, who did not work at all with the legislature but merely informed that body of his bidding.

Wilson's people were too busy setting up shop in January and February, and they have been too preoccupied with the legislative session for the past three months to worry about the campaign. Insiders in the governor's office report that Wilson's campaign operation will commence in early summer with the all-but-certain selection of R. Burdell Bixby and Fioravante G. Perrotta as campaign directors. The singularly successful team of Bixby and Perrotta (having directed Rockefeller's 1970 re-election and Nixon's 1972

New York campaign) will make extensive use of the well-polished Rockefeller campaign machinery. Wilson's press secretary, Harry J. O'Donnell, a former assistant to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey who handled press for Mayor John V. Lindsay and Rockefeller's last re-election campaign, will also play a key role in the campaign.

Wilson's Democratic opponent will not be determined until either June 13 or September 10. The first date is when the Democratic State Convention will be held to select the Democratic ticket, and the second date is state primary. If a candidate gets 25 percent of the votes at the convention, he is automatically on the September ballot; if any candidate receives over 75 percent of the votes, he immediately becomes the Democratic nominee, obviating any primary. However, any Democrat can get on the September ballot by collecting a massive number of petition signatures after the convention. That option seems unlikely this year.

The Democrats' four announced gubernatorial candidates are former Off-track Betting Chairman Howard J. Samuels, 54; Brooklyn U.S. Rep. Hugh L. Carey, also 54; Westchester County U.S. Rep. Ogden R. Reid, 49; and Queens Borough president Donald R. Manes. Although he has been campaigning for 12 years and is a three-time loser — most recently to Arthur Goldberg in the 1970 Democratic primary — Samuels is clearly the front-runner this time. An upstate millionaire-industrialist who now lives in New York City, Samuels has the support of 18 of the 51 upstate county leaders, plus the backing of the powerful Rockland and Nassau County Democratic chairmen. Samuels does not have the support of labor and the influential teachers union, nor that of the five big-city Democratic leaders: State Chairman Joseph F. Crangle of



Malcolm Wilson

Buffalo (Erie County), Meade Esposito of Brooklyn, Patrick Cunningham of the Bronx, Dan O'Connell of Albany, and Matthew J. Troy of Queens. Samuels is Jewish, and although that is not widely known, it will help him in the September primary where 40 percent of the voters will also be Jewish. The Offtrack Betting operation sequestered much of Samuels' profession campaign staff, which is now headed by Kenneth Auletta. By mid-spring Samuels had raised over \$250,000 in contributions and had himself "loaned" his campaign nearly \$100,000.

The other millionaire in the race is the former liberal Republican and former president and editor of the old *New York Herald Tribune*, "Brownie" Reid. Reid's campaign is strikingly similar to the congressman's speaking style, which is wooden. He has put a lot of his own money into the campaign, which has in turn desperately dispensed over \$120,000 to numerous political consultants, including Matt Reese, Paul Corbin, and Joseph Napolitan. In spite of, or perhaps because of the money and the consultants, Reid's campaign has gone nowhere very quickly. Reid did serve as ambassador to Israel (1959-61), and this will be remembered by Jewish voters if there is a primary.

Carey's campaign is well financed too, with \$150,000 in bank loans guaranteed by his brother Edward M. Carey, president of the giant New England Petroleum Corp. While Samuels and Reid are liberals, Carey is a moderate. He has been in Congress for 4 years, and as a powerful member of the Ways and Means Committee has worked closely with the Rockefeller-Wilson Administration. He has a respectable campaign staff headed by Jerome Wilson, a former TV news-

caster and state senator, and is using Dave Garth, who was John Lindsay's old television advisor. The big-city Democratic leaders are predisposed to Carey, and as a fellow Irish-Catholic, he would be Wilson's most formidable opponent. At the moment the governor can relax, for it seems that Carey will repeat his 1969 performance when he lost the Democratic primary for New York City Council President.

Manes, the fourth candidate, is supported by — in addition to his immediate family — his county leader, Matt Troy. He may end up as the candidate for lieutenant governor, or he may have to wait until 1978.

"Howie the Horse" Samuels may well become the Democratic nominee in June at the Niagara Falls convention, or he may have to wait until September. Reid and Manes are almost sure to withdraw before June. Though Samuels is the Democratic frontrunner, most GOP strategists paradoxically believe that he would be the easiest candidate for Wilson to beat. Wilson will also run on the Conservative Party line. The Liberal Party, whose convention also convenes in June, would like to nominate the Democratic standard-bearer, but that person might not be selected until the September primary. In that case, the Liberals would nominate a stand-in candidate who would be replaced by the Democrat selected on September 10.

Samuels will try to campaign against Rockefeller and Nixon, but that might not work. True, neither Wilson nor Rockefeller has strongly castigated Nixon; whether that failure translates into Samuels votes is another question. To hang all the sins of the Rockefeller Administration around Wilson's neck will be unprofitable

for two reasons. First, in the public's mind, Wilson is not identified with Rockefeller; he is simply a new face. Second, there really were not that many sins of the Rockefeller Administration. His administration was honest, efficient, and had many significant achievements, including, for example, the development of the largest state university system in the country. In any case, Wilson will steer clear of Rockefeller during the campaign. In addition to the Democrats, the Conservatives have continued to attack the former governor: the February issue of the American Conservative Union's *Battleline* contained a particularly vapid, anti-Rockefeller article by New York Conservative Party Chairman J. Daniel Mahoney. Rockefeller's presence has not completely vanished however: a few weeks ago one of Wilson's press releases, issued by a former Rockefeller staff member, accidentally began, "Gov. Rockefeller announced today the appointment of..."

While Wilson has a slightly better than 50-50 chance of holding onto the Executive Mansion, Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R) is sure to remain the state's senior senator, despite Watergate. The 69-year-old liberal Republican, who was re-elected in 1968 with a million-vote plurality, will not have any Republican opposition. Several months ago, U.S. Rep. Jack Kemp and State Sen. James H. Donovan, both upstate conservatives, were considering opposing Javits but have since thought better about it. The Javits campaign will spend about \$1,000,000 (Wilson will spend \$2-3,000,000) and be managed by a triumvirate of John Trubin, the senator's confidant and former law partner; Jud Sommer, his executive assistant; and Jean McKee, his administrative assistant. There will be a Democratic primary to determine

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Javits' opponent. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and former U.S. Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein have already started campaigns, neither of which seems to be getting off the ground. Clark has pledged not to accept any contribution over \$100. Democratic Party officials are not happy with these two, who are regarded as too liberal, and would prefer that former New York City Consumer Affairs Commissioner Bess Myerson enter the race. The popular Ms. Myerson is content, however, to continue writing her newspaper column. Party leaders are also unenthusiastic about John Dyson, Abraham Hirschfeld, and Arnold S. Saltzman, three politically unknown businessmen who have declared their candidacies. Javits will also appear as the candidate of the Liberal Party, as he has in the past. The Conservatives will put up their own candidate, who is likely to have as much success as did their recent nationwide anti-Javits mailing — which had a poor response.

The Republicans, faced with the luxury of no primary, will be able to play ethnic politics at their June 11-12 convention in Nassau County. GOP strategists would like to see an Italian Catholic as the lieutenant governor candidate: Associate Court of Appeals Judge Domenick L. Gabrielli, Nassau County Executive Ralph Caso, and State Sen. Ralph Marino, also of Nassau, are under consideration. The popular Gabrielli, who is from upstate Steuben County, does not want to leave the bench (his term expires at the end of 1982). Other names prominently mentioned include: Sens. John R. Dunne (Nassau), Roy M. Goodman (Manhattan), H. Douglas Barclay (upstate), Ronald Stafford (upstate), Erie County Executive Edward V. 'Ned' Regan (Buffalo), and former Rochester Mayor Stephen May. Democrats will have to pick, either at the convention or the primary, among Queens attorney Mario Cuomo, State Sen. Mary Anne Krupsak, and Assemblymen John J. LaFalce (Buffalo) and Antonio G. Olivieri (Manhattan).

A 74-year-old Democrat, Arthur Levitt, is now in his twentieth year as state controller, and is likely to remain as an untouched institution.

Republican Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, who was on the original 1958 Rockefeller ticket, is popular en-



Jacob Javits

ough to overcome a challenge from either Robert R. Meehan, the Rockland County district attorney or Robert Abrams, the Bronx Borough president.

A shift of just six seats in the State Assembly would put the Democrats in control (it is now 80-70; the Senate is somewhat safer for the GOP (37-22 with one vacancy). Senate Majority Leader Warren Anderson of Binghamton is sure to be re-elected but Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea is a little worried. Duryea's indictment last year in connection with alleged election law violations was dismissed on constitutional grounds (which the state is appealing), but he faces new problems regarding the exclusion of some of his land from a Suffolk County park. However, Duryea has done a good job in the Assembly and in his district and is likely to be elected to an eighth term.

There are two congressional contests of interest, since the incumbents are not running. Millionaire investment banker John L. Loeb, Jr. will be the GOP nominee to recapture Reid's seat (24th C.D.). Loeb, 43, the chairman of the State Council of Environmental Advisors, was going to be opposed by liberal Republican Michael Roth, who had run last year for Westchester County executive. Roth did not enter the race this year, but was instead appointed chairman of the State Liquor Authority. Republican State Sen. Joseph R. Pisani also decided not to enter that race, but to run for re-election instead. Loeb will face former U.S. Rep. Richard Ottinger, who was the 1970 Democratic Senate can-

er, a liberal Republican who became a Democrat last year, challenged Ottinger for the congressional nomination, but withdrew. It just seems that most liberal Republicans who switch to the Democrats do not meet with much success (e.g., Reid and John Lindsay).

The dean of the state's GOP delegation, U.S. Rep. Howard W. Robison (R-27th) is retiring after 16 years. Democrats will have a primary among several unknowns to determine their nominee. Two Republicans have announced their candidacies: Broome County Executive Edwin E. Crawford, a moderate, and Binghamton Attorney Franklin P. Ressiguie, a conservative. However, GOP leaders would like to persuade Assemblywoman Constance E. Cook to run for Congress rather than re-election. Mrs. Cook, a liberal, is popular and highly respected. In spite of the esteem in which her colleagues hold her, she was unable to secure the passage of a bill she had recently sponsored, which would have allowed pharmacies to display contraceptives on open shelves. After assemblymen voted down her bill saying it would cause promiscuity among youths, Mrs. Cook sarcastically commented, "I'm surprised they allow people to sell beds in this state." ■

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### Contributor Notes

David Warnick ("Northwest Regional Presidential Primary") is chairman of the Idaho Republican League. Tanya Melich ("The Case Against Resignation") is chairperson of the Ripon National Governing Board and a member of the FORUM Editorial Board. Mark Frazier ("Putting 'People' in Programs") is a FORUM contributing editor, former intern to columnist Jack Anderson, and senior at Harvard University. Glenn Gerstell (Politics: Reports — New York) is Ripon vice president for public relations and a contributing editor to the FORUM. John Gardner (Politics: Reports — Delaware) is a FORUM correspondent and an associate professor at Delaware State College.

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## NEW JERSEY

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New Jersey Democrats are gleefully talking about converting their 8-7 edge in New Jersey's congressional delegation into a 15-0 shutout this November. They are probably too optimistic — but not by much.

As of the April 25 filing deadline for the June 4 primary, virtually all of New Jersey's incumbent Democratic congressmen were in good shape, and most GOP seats were shaky. (New Jersey will have no elections for statewide offices this year.)

Democratic U.S. Reps. James J. Howard, Frank Thompson, Robert A. Roe, Joseph G. Minish, Dominic V. Daniels, and Edward J. Patten all are favored to retain their seats.

House Judiciary Committee Chairman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., is a shoo-in now that no black primary opponent has filed in his Newark-based district.

Liberal Democrat Henry Helstoski's convincing 1972 victory seemed to have established him as a political fixture after a decade of hard-fought battles in predominantly Republican Bergen County. However, just before the filing deadline, word leaked to the press that his office was being investigated by the United States attorney in connection with alleged pay-offs for sponsoring bills allowing aliens a permanent residence in the United States. In November Helstoski will face conservative Republican Harold Pareti, who was assured the GOP nomination when moderate former State Sen. Harold C. Hollenbeck announced he was withdrawing his candidacy in the interests of party unity.

The retirement of moderate Republican Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen has precipitated a lively fight in both parties in the well-to-do exurban 5th C.D. Frelinghuysen, a 22-year veteran, consistently has won by substantial margins and probably could have been re-elected this year. However, his retirement has made a Democratic victory quite possible. The Republican candidate will be either Thomas H. Kean or Millicent Fenwick, either one of whom would make a stellar member of Congress.

Mrs. Fenwick is supported by the

GOP organization in Somerset County, which comprises the heart of the district. As a member of the New Jersey Assembly, she was responsible for the abolition of so-called "protective" work requirements for women which kept them out of high-paying jobs. Nevertheless, the pipe-smoking former *Vogue* editor denies being for Women's Lib. "I'm for everyone's lib," she says. As a legislator Mrs. Fenwick was recognized as an authority on criminal justice reform and children's rights. She was appointed State Consumer Affairs Director by former Gov. William Cahill, a post she vacated in order to run for Congress.

Thomas H. Kean is presently the leader of the tiny GOP remnant in the State Assembly that survived the 1973 landslide defeat of Republican gubernatorial candidate Charles Sandman. As majority leader and speaker of the Assembly during the Cahill Administration, the 38-year-old Kean brought competence and dedication to a body often dominated by mediocrities. He skillfully maneuvered an impressive array of progressive measures through the legislature, including a number of trail-blazing environmental bills that were vigorously opposed by both organized labor and industry. Kean, whose father represented suburban Essex County in Congress for 20 years, lives in Livingston. He has lined up organization support in the scattered parts of the four counties other than Somerset which are included in the 5th C.D.

The Democrats also have a hotly contested race for the nomination in the 5th C.D. Public television executive Fred Bohlen, Frelinghuysen's 1972 opponent, will face strong competition from Nina McCall, former state League of Women Voters president, and former U.S. Rep. Paul J. Krebs, who was drubbed by Sen. Clifford P. Case in 1972.

New Jersey's most vulnerable incumbent Republican is 65-year-old John E. Hunt. A staunch conservative who represents a predominantly blue-collar district in the Camden area, Hunt narrowly escaped losing to Assemblyman James Florio (D) in 1972. Hunt has been an unswerving defender of Richard Nixon, and the 36-year-old Florio intends to capitalize on that fact in this year's probable rematch.

Bergen County's William B. Widnall, a 24-year incumbent, has been suffering of late from ill health and declining victory margins. One sign of Widnall's vulnerability is the entry of five opponents in the GOP primary. Although Widnall will probably lead the primary field, he will have a tough fight retaining his seat in November. A strong Democratic opponent for Widnall is likely to emerge from a crowded primary, which includes Ford Foundation executive Andrew Maguire, 27-year-old Assemblyman Edward Hynes, former Motor Vehicles Director Ned Parsekian, and County Surrogate Gil Job (a popular conservative who switched parties in a feud with Bergen's Republican leadership).

Another Republican in trouble is freshman Joseph J. Maraziti. Maraziti drew the lines for his western New Jersey congressional district when he was a state senator, but still was given an unexpectedly strong 1972 challenge from Mrs. Helen Meyner, the wife of a former governor. Early this year Bill Bradley of the New York Knickerbockers looked like a sure bet to be Maraziti's opponent. He had locked up the support of the Democratic organization even before he moved into Maraziti's district with his bride. But, at the last minute, Dollar Bill chose not to take what looked like an easy shot, and Mrs. Meyner decided to run again. Bradley gallantly escorted Mrs. Meyner to the secretary of state's office to help her file her primary petitions. After the filing, Mrs. Meyner passed out some of the 5,000 "Madly for Bradley" buttons that she ordered in anticipation of Bradley's candidacy. Mrs. Meyner is expected to beat four primary opponents including Joseph O'Doherty, the winner of the 1972 Democratic primary. O'Doherty had to withdraw from the 1972 general election when it was learned that he had not been a United States citizen long enough to be constitutionally eligible to run.

Probably the safest incumbent Republican is freshman U.S. Rep. Matthew J. Rinaldo, who represents most of Union County. Rinaldo has followed up his smashing 1972 victory in a normally "swing" district by building a decidedly liberal house voting record and assiduously wooing his con-

stituents. He is favored to beat his likely opponent, Adam Levin, a University of Michigan law student. Levin received the backing of the Democratic organization in exchange for his commitment to kick in \$25,000 toward his own campaign.

Right-wing U.S. Rep. Charles W. Sandman, Jr., is running scared this year despite his 2-1 1972 victory margin in his South Jersey district. Sandman's district rejected his 1973 gubernatorial bid and voted instead for Democrat Brendan Byrne. This year Sandman's likely opponent will be William J. Hughes, a law-and-order Democrat who came within 4,000 votes of upsetting Sandman in 1970.

Moderate Republican U.S. Rep. Edwin B. Forsythe was another big winner in 1972, taking 63 percent of the vote in a district which snakes through Camden, Burlington, and Ocean Counties. However, he also faces a rematch with a strong 1970 opponent. Forsythe will probably be running against Democratic Assemblyman Charles Yates, a well-respected young legislator who held Forsythe to 55 percent in 1970. ■

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## DELAWARE

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In the increasingly strident politics of Delaware, one issue has become more important than personalities. Seeing the defeat of environmentalist GOP Gov. Russell W. Peterson (now chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality) by Sherman W. Tribbitt (D) in 1972 and the energy crisis as a new opportunity, the oil companies have been exerting great pressure on Delaware's officials and citizens to amend the Coastal Zone Act of 1971 to allow a deep-water unloading facility for supertankers and its attendant refineries in Delaware Bay.

The Coastal Zone Act forbids new environmentally destructive industry within two miles of the coast, but does allow expansion of existing facilities. Some observers believe that the oil companies are concentrating vast efforts in the state not only because lower Delaware is considered ideal for such a facility, but also because Delaware is strongly environmentalist. If big oil can get its way in Delaware, it can get it anywhere. It appears Delaware is being used as a test case for other states. The issue has divided the entire state and has widened the chasm which already existed in the Republican Party.

There are Republicans and Democrats on both sides in the controversy. The most active citizens' group in support of the Coastal Zone Act and opposing a superport has been Delawarians for Orderly Development, in which former Gov. Elbert Carvel (D) and the widow of ex-Gov. Charles L. Tery (D) are leading figures. Still, the major leaders on both sides of the issue are Republicans. The leading defenders of the existing Coastal Zone Act among currently active politicians have been Peterson, State Reps. Andrew G. Knox (R), Harry E. Derrickson (R), and Hudson Gruwell (D), U.S. Rep. Pierre S. du Pont IV (R), and Sens. William V. Roth (R) and Joseph Biden (D). Knox has been the most active spokesman for the Coastal Zone Act within the state.

The leading advocates in the General Assembly for changing the Coastal Zone Act have been State Sen. Robert J. Berndt and State Rep. Kermit H. Justice, both Republicans. The oil interests have gained a useful convert in Lt. Gov. Eugene Bookhammer (R), the only declared candidate for governor in 1976. Since Bookhammer was Peterson's lieutenant governor and is a powerful figure in Sussex County, where Delaware's statewide elections are usually decided, the political im-

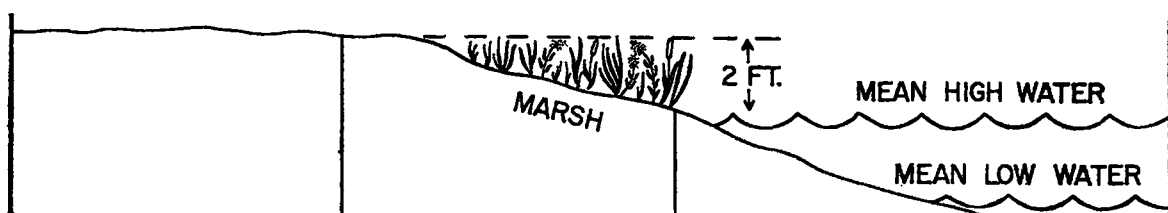
portance of his supporting a superport cannot be minimized.

Although the Building Trades Council favors construction of a superport, most other labor unions do not. Richard Legates, chairman of the Conservation Committee of the Delaware United Auto Workers, has been a visible and outspoken advocate for the present act and for protection of the environment in general. In a recent televised debate on the superport issue Legates and Knox presented much stronger evidence than their opponents.

The business community has also been divided on the superport issue, but in a less visible manner than the unions. Although the oil companies and the Chamber of Commerce have taken public stands against the present act and in favor of a superport, many businessmen are believed to favor retention of the act in its present form because southern Delaware's relatively unspoiled environment, low population density, and low taxes make it a pleasant place to live. The important chemical industry has not taken a clear stand on the issue, although Charles B. McCoy has publicly supported the superport since retiring as president of Dupont. The agricultural interests seem to favor the present Coastal Zone Act, but have not taken a strong position on the issue.

In his campaign for election, Gov. Tribbitt supported the Coastal Zone Act and even advocated strengthening it. He has since reiterated his support. In office, Tribbitt has proposed no amendments to the present act, but may yet do so. He has sponsored one highly significant piece of environmental legislation, the Wetlands Act of 1973, which regulates "dredging, dumping, filling and like activities" in the marshes and rivers of the state and provides heavy fines for violation of the act. Support for the Wetlands Act in the General Assembly was bipartisan.

The Tribbitt Administration seems



to be in difficulties. Several of the governor's appointments have proven embarrassing. One cabinet secretary has considerably undercut Tribbitt's credibility on coastal zoning with a public statement the Coastal Zone Act has given Delaware an "anti-business" image. Several other members of the administration have been under fire for various reasons. Little significant legislation has been enacted or even introduced while Tribbitt has been in office. Tribbitt's principal advantage has been the division in the Republican opposition, which ranges from extremely reactionary to highly progressive, but he has seemed uninterested in utilizing Republican disunity and Democratic unity to present any kind of program whatsoever.

The political situation in the General Assembly has become more complicated than ever. The Democrats have gained an 11-10 majority in the Senate through the election of Nancy Cook to fill the vacancy created by the death of her husband and by the decision of State Sen. Anthony Cicione to change his registration from Republican. Democrats have reorganized the Senate, but the Republicans maintain a one-seat majority in the House of Representatives. ■

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## WASHINGTON

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The publicity gained by Washington Secretary of State Ludlow Kramer (R) in supervising the People in Need food give-away for the Hearst family may be a mixed blessing in Kramer's campaign this fall in Washington's 3rd C.D.

Republican officials feel that, on balance, Kramer's participation may be a slight plus in the upcoming campaign, though they admit that some negative comment has resulted from Kramer's role. Kramer, who is seeking the seat being vacated by retiring U.S. Rep. Julia Butler Hansen, is given the best chance in the state of picking up a new GOP congressional seat.

His widespread name recognition has been partly based on his extensive activity on citizen task forces, including chairmanship of groups which recommended new legislation in the areas of rural, urban, aging, electoral,

race, and youth affairs. His official announcement of candidacy is not expected until late May, but his campaign organization — under Jim Dooliver, Gov. Daniel Evans' top assistant, and Herb Hadley, a former GOP state fund raiser — was geared up in February.

Three Democrats are seeking to oppose Kramer: Clark County Auditor Donald Bonker, who unsuccessfully opposed Kramer for secretary of state in 1972; State Sen. Robert Bailey, who has been Hansen's representative in district; and State Sen. R. Ted Bottiger, an attorney.

According to Kramer, "I'm going to run a person-to-person campaign, and I personally plan to doorbell 67,000 homes within the district."

U.S. Rep. Brock Adams (D-7th) may also face a stiff challenge for a change. In 1972, J. J. "Tiny" Freeman contested Adams' re-election in a barroom campaign. This year, Adams will be opposed by Glenn Frederick, a former deputy assistant secretary of HEW for education planning who hopes to do considerably better than Freeman's 12 percent. Frederick is a young moderate Republican with experience in engineering and international corporate affairs. He hopes to run an "I Care" campaign capitalizing on Adams' inattention to his district. (The race will have important statewide overtones if Sen. Henry Jackson (D) runs for President in 1976, opening up his Senate seat. U.S. Rep. Tom Foley (D-5th) is regarded as Jackson's chosen successor, but Adams might like to challenge him for the nomination.) Although Frederick has an uphill race, GOP State Chairman Ross Davis acknowledges that he is "one of the most committed, hard-working fellows I've met." If energy can win a campaign, Frederick has a chance.

The GOP also hopes to launch a serious challenge against U.S. Rep. Mike McCormack in the 4th C.D. Hoping to capitalize on McCormack's lack of sensitivity to agricultural issues will be Clark County Commissioner Dick Granger (R).

In any other year — a phrase which is as characteristic of 1974 Republican politics as "expletive deleted" — U.S. Rep. Joel Pritchard (R-1st) would have little difficulty seeking re-election.

However, the Democratic opponent whom Pritchard defeated with absentee ballots in 1972 has scented Watergate and announced his candidacy. Democrat John Hempelmann is expected to have heavy financial backing from friends of his former boss, Sen. Henry Jackson (D).

Hempelmann had originally stated that he would oppose Pritchard only if he did not vote for impeachment. He grew impatient for a vote, however, and announced anyway, leading Pritchard to comment, "If somebody wants to run, they'll find an excuse." Although Hempelmann lost by less than 300 votes in 1972, he will be handicapped in two ways this year. He was fired as acting consumer protection chief by Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman (D) for "misleading the public" in a pharmacy investigation. Furthermore, Hempelmann's divorce will make it more difficult for him to rally Catholic support to his candidacy on the abortion issue.

Republicans have long acknowledged that a race against Sen. Warren Magnuson would be a gargantuan task. No one has talked for some time of John Ehrlichman's challenging the powerful chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, but the state GOP has also eliminated a number of other possible candidates — including professor David Kirk Hart and John Mundt, director of the state college system.

The GOP now appears to be ready to field Arthur A. Fletcher, an unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor in 1968, who was an assistant secretary of labor in the first Nixon Administration. Fletcher later was executive director of the United Negro College Fund and is now minority affairs consultant to RNC Chairman George Bush. The big GOP problem in the Senate race is money. ■

### Research Needed

The Ripon Society will be operating a research consortium this year for GOP candidates. Persons interested in preparing research papers for the consortium, or with knowledge of candidates who might be interested in contracting for research assistance, should contact Richard W. Rahn, 509 C St. N.E., Washington D.C. 20002.

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## POLITICS: PEOPLE

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● The entry of Boston City Council president **Gerald O'Leary** (D) into the Massachusetts gubernatorial race is expected to hurt Attorney General **Robert H. Quinn** (D) and help liberal former State Rep. **Michael Dukakis** (D). O'Leary is expected to siphon Irish Catholic votes away from Quinn in the September Democratic primary. Republican strategists, however, hope Gov. **Francis Sargent** (R) faces Quinn in November; they feel he would be an easier opponent than Dukakis. Meanwhile, the 1975 Boston mayoralty race opened up recently with contests between supporters of Boston Mayor **Kevin White** (D) and State Sen. **Joseph Timilty** (D) for control of Boston Democratic wards. White, who has one eye on 1976, has said Sen. **Edward M. Kennedy** ought to hurry up and make up his mind if he's running for President.

● While competition in the California Democratic gubernatorial primary has narrowed to the two top contenders, Secretary of State **Edmund G. Brown, Jr.**, and House Majority Leader **Robert Moretti**, California Pollster **Mervin Field** suggests that GOP hopes are better than the Democrats would like to admit. According to Field, although State Controller **Houston Flournoy** trails both Moretti and Brown in his polls, he remains within striking distance (10-12 points). Field maintains that Democrats may find it harder to heal their wounds than Republicans after the June 4 primary.

● There are 17 candidates for the 34th C.D. seat being vacated by California U.S. Rep. **Craig Hosmer**. State Assemblyman **Bill Bond** (R) is favored to replace Hosmer in the Long Beach district, but his nearest primary competition will probably be from Long Beach City Councilman **Don Phillips**. The probable Democratic frontrunners are 28-year-old **Dennis Murray**, director of university relations at Cal. State University, Long Beach, and Long Beach City Councilman **Russ Rubley**, a Nixon supporter whose Democratic credentials are occasionally questioned. The Republicans themselves are not running as Nixon loyalists. Says the conservative Bond, "I had nothing to do with getting (Nixon) elected and have had nothing to do with his Administration. I'm not running on the record of a political party."

● When California's congressional districts were redistricted earlier this year, Republican U.S. Rep. **Victor V. Veysey** was put through the meat grinder. Veysey as a result moved to Claremont in the new 35th C.D. He should have little trouble winning the GOP nomination June 4, but 10 Democrats want to oppose him in November. The front-running trio includes West Covina City Councilman **Jim Lloyd**, former U.S. Rep. **George A. Kasem** (who was defeated by U.S. Rep. **John Rousselot** in 1960), and Claremont attorney **Bob Stafford**. Kasem is using Lloyd's lack of support for **George McGovern** in 1972 to question his Democratic credentials. The Democrats have a slight edge in the suburban district and hope it will be one of several new Democratic seats in the California delegation next year.

● U.S. Rep. **Glenn Davis** (R-Wis.) has withdrawn his name from consideration for a federal judgeship. Lack of ABA approval for Davis had blocked his appointment to the post since 1971. Wisconsin Attorney General **Robert Warren** (R) is now expected to be nominated for the vacancy.

● U.S. Rep. **Samuel H. Young** (R-Ill.) should have received a 71 percent rating in the 1973 Ripon Ratings. Young's votes on two issues were incorrectly recorded in the source material used to compile the ratings, thereby leading to a rating 14 points lower than what it actually should have been. Ripon regrets the error.

● Tennessee will have one of the most populous gubernatorial primaries in the nation this year. Because of Knoxville Mayor **Kyle Testerman's** decision not to enter the race, only three Republicans (**Dortch Oldman**, **Nat Winston** and **LaMar Alexander**) will be entered. Democratic candidacies have been more prolific. At last count, at least 12 Democrats were possible runners including former state Treasurer **Thomas A. Wiseman**, Attorney General **David M. Pack**, Waverly Mayor **Jimmy Powers** (like the incumbent, a dentist by profession), former U.S. Rep. **Ray Blanton**, former State Sen. **Stanley Snodgrass**, former state official **Hudley Crockett**, and Nashville attorney **John Jay Hooker** (who lost to Gov. **Winfield Dunn** in 1970). Perhaps the most exciting platform belongs to former State Rep. **Jack Comer** (D), who announced, "I'm going to run on a platform to legalize horse racing, dog racing, and make parlay sheets open all across the state." In the past, Comer has been in both the Republican and Democratic parties.

● The entry of State Sen. **Madeline Harwood** (R) into the Vermont GOP congressional primary threatens the campaigns of Lt. Gov. **John Burgess** and former Attorney General **James Jeffords**, two moderates who are also seeking the congressional nomination. Mrs. Harwood, the GOP national committeewoman, might find enough conservative votes to win the primary.

● Massachusetts GOP National Committeewoman **Eunice Howe** resigned last month as chairman of the National Consumer Advisory Council because of the subsistence level of Nixon Administration support for consumer issues. Mrs. Howe is not out of the consumer field, however; she was subsequently nominated for a post on the Massachusetts Public Utilities Commission by Gov. **Francis W. Sargent** (R).

● One offspring of the Great Society appears to have survived disownment by the Nixon Administration. Although the Office of Economic Opportunity may not survive the year, Community Action Programs may be taken under the wing of HEW, or Congress may even set up separate housekeeping for the CAPs, if necessary. Although the White House appears determined to kill CAPs, there may be enough votes in Congress to override a veto — especially if former U.S. Rep. **William Cramer** (R) is successful. Cramer, whose reputation is untarnished by bleeding-heart liberalism, is hard at work (at \$25,000 per month) lobbying for CAPs. The former congressman, Florida GOP national committeeman, and RNC counsel in the Ripon delegate allocation suit has been close to Vice President **Gerald Ford**.

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## COMMENTARY: POLITICS

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# The Northwest Regional Presidential Primary

by David Warnick

In 1972, two secretaries of state co-hosted a Pacific Rim Regional Presidential Primary Conference in Seattle. Clay Myers (R-Ore.) and Ludlow Kramer (R-Wash.) held the meeting to discuss with representatives from Idaho, Montana, and Nevada the possibility of cooperation between the northwest states in a regional presidential primary.

The participants even produced a draft bill which provided for a presidential primary on the same date as Oregon's—the fourth Tuesday in May. That same year Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Ore.) along with Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Ala.) introduced a bill in the Senate providing for a national system of regional primaries.

Support for the idea of a Northwest regional primary which would probably cut campaign costs and make more effective use of candidates' time

has come from many sources. Idaho U.S. Rep. Orval Hansen (R-2nd) has pointed out that this is the "best way to give the rank-and-file party members a share in the presidential nominating system." Sen. James McClure (R-Idaho) supports "the concept of regional primaries, held on the same day in each state in the region . . . as a means of increasing the influence of small states in the selection process. For example, if all states in the Rocky Mountain region were to hold their primary on a single date, the consensus candidate (if one emerged) would be given quite a boost toward the nomination."

McClure also pointed out that the responsibility should rest with the individual states. This was the thrust of the Pacific Rim Conference: that a regional plan should not be imposed by the national government, but that each state should retain autonomy and control of its own election procedures.

In line with this, the 1973 Nevada Legislature enacted presidential primary legislation much like the Pacific Rim proposal, providing for a primary on the same date as neighboring Oregon.

This year, the Idaho College Republican League developed a presidential primary proposal which they have put into initiative form. If the group can collect 25,000 signatures, the proposal will go onto the general election ballot this November. The proposal generally follows the Pacific Rim and Oregon primary law language, except for a couple of significant innovations.

The first innovation is in the selection of delegates and alternates to the national convention. This aspect of the proposal is based upon several guidelines. These include the need for representation of all parts of the party, by using the proportional allocation of delegates/alternates among the candidates. (This also puts the proposal in compliance with predicted new Democratic national rules.)

In addition, the College Republicans believe that a state should send supporters to a convention, not just "paper votes," and that these supporters should have some skill in working at conventions.

To meet these guidelines the pro-

posal provides that prior to the primary, each presidential candidate must file a list of nominations for delegates equal to at least the number of delegates/alternates that his party is entitled to at the national convention.

After the primary, the secretary of state delivers the results to the state chairman of each party. Each presidential candidate is then allotted a number of delegates/alternates in proportion to his primary vote. (However, to receive any delegates, the candidate must garner over 5 percent of the party's primary vote.)

Next, the state convention selects the number of delegates and alternates to which he is entitled from the list that he submitted. This will leave the delegates in a somewhat flexible position, since their obligations are to act as supporters rather than legal contractors. If the candidate suddenly advocates something contrary to the state's interests or if he releases them, the national delegates can support another candidate.

The proposal will also ensure that delegates sent to national conventions are bonafide supporters. This will circumvent the problem encountered at the 1972 GOP Convention, where one New Mexico delegate was legally bound to vote for U.S. Rep. Paul McCloskey even though all the delegates were really Nixon supporters. Idaho delegates would be *real* supporters.

In addition, they would not be "lost" at the national convention as some delegates selected through a primary presently are. They would have to have some convention "skill" after working through the state convention.

The second innovation would provide that only 80 percent of the delegates would be selected in accordance with the primary vote. The other 20 percent of the delegates/alternates would be selected entirely by the convention — to provide openings for party officials and elected officials unwilling to get involved in presidential primary contests.

The Idaho College Republican League contends that such a primary in conjunction with the primaries of Nevada and Oregon would actually blend the convention and primary systems in such a way as to strengthen both. ■



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# COMMENTARY: NATION

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## Putting "People" In Programs

by Mark Frazier

"You could take the whole Public Health Service," a young McGovernite on the evaluation staff of HEW said recently, "and abolish it or put it on the other side of the moon tomorrow. Out in Danville, Ohio, it could be three years before they noticed the difference."

The evaluator's cynicism was underscored by the release last February of a government report titled, *Social Indicators*. In this 250-page survey, the Office of Management and Budget evaluated Americans in terms of health, employment, housing, education, and safety. The charts revealed that the tens of billions of dollars spent since 1960 by the Public Health Service, Medicare, and Medicaid have had a negligible impact on the health status of the nation. Average life spans have hardly budged from 68 and 72 years for men and women, respectively.

Had they traced the trends in reading achievement for the same period, the charts would have been even more frightening. Scores of reading and math skills have been sinking steady,

particularly in urban schools, despite injections of federal aid, lower teacher-student ratios, and a plethora of educational gimmickry. Recently, the National Center for Health Statistics reported that a million American youths aged 12-17 are illiterate — incapable of reading even at the fourth grade level. Similar governmental failures are evident in the areas of drug addiction, crime control, and criminal rehabilitation.

A tempting impulse is to blame the bureaucrats. Yet primary guilt lies not with the bureaucratic agents but with the makers of policy. A policy-making body such as Congress, which declines to judge programs in terms of performance, invites bureaucrats to stress form over content. Buildings and new programs are the "body counts" of the war on social problems.

In rational government, policy-makers should be as explicit as possible in setting goals. For programs, this does not mean that goals should be defined as construction of a certain number of schools in the ghetto or a set amount of neighborhood health centers across the country, but rather in terms of the desired public consequences of such actions. Schools and health centers have no intrinsic value; their sole worth is the changes they produce in the people they serve. Therefore, to enhance the probability of public aid from policy aims, Congress should specify "people goals" for the funds it appropriates. A program whose objective is defined as a 2-percent decrease in infant mortality or a 2-percent annual rise in reading scores *might* not build either schools or neighborhood health centers — to the chagrin of some special interest lobbies. Such efforts would nonetheless have a better chance of improving the conditions of those in whose names the programs were initiated.

Setting goals of programs as a measurable change in the condition of target groups would not be an easy reform to effect. The expertise required to set realistic performance objectives surpasses that possessed by congressmen or their staffs. When medical specialists disagree on the extent to which death rates from stroke can be reduced for a given fiscal appropriation, how can Congress decide? Congress also has been fond of avoid-

ing language which creates controversy. It is often happy to be specific about program procedures, because these can be used to demonstrate the policy-makers' noncontroversial "good intentions." Explicit criteria for program performance only spur legislative headaches, however. A bill which cites specific statistical performance goals will only divide those who think them too high and those who find them too low.

Citizens who are uneasy about the performance of government can work for a reform, however, which weakens both of these objections. Rather than set measurable performance goals itself, Congress could insist that the bureaucrats specify and submit them for congressional review. The onus of setting a feasible goal would be left with the experts in the bureaucracy, while Congress would act as a watchdog to see that the goals were worth spending money to attain. Furthermore, this system would shortcircuit congressional bickering over numerical goals.

In the end, the success of reforms which spotlight program performance will rest on the relative strengths of the special interest lobbies and citizen interests. Somewhere in the bureaucratic jungles, the focus of social programs — people — must be rescued from the paperwork predators. ■



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# COMMENTARY: POLITICS

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## The Case Against Resignation

by Tanya Melich

Under our governmental system, the President is held accountable by the public for the acts of his Administration and is charged by his oath of office to execute faithfully the laws of the land. If he were to resign, this doctrine would be seriously damaged since future Presidents would no longer feel that they must answer to the public for their actions — except at election time.

The Constitution provides a procedure for determining whether a President has committed crimes or abused his power to the point that he should be removed from office. If President Nixon were to resign before this process were completed, the entire constitutional system would be severely weakened. Impeachment could then no longer be considered as an effective deterrent against those who might abuse the public trust.

The whole impeachment process was established to give accused officeholders and the public an opportunity for a peaceful, legitimate inquiry into the facts and a resolution of the questions those facts raise. It is the *only*

fair method by which an accused President can have his "day in court," and the public can have its unanswered questions on the subject satisfactorily answered.

If the President should resign, he would not have an opportunity to properly defend and vindicate himself. The people's representatives would not have the opportunity to make judgments within a calm, judicial atmosphere. Questions would remain unanswered and would be debated in a less reasoned environment. The search for justice would be sidetracked.

Furthermore, if Nixon should resign, a dangerous precedent would be set: Presidents could be hounded out of office without constitutional protection.

The United States is strong enough to go through the impeachment process, for it is the pursuit of constitutional processes which gives a sense of continuity and institutional balance to the nation, particularly in time of crisis. The nation's stability is enhanced because there is a peaceful, legal means for settling major losses of confidence in its leaders without resort to lawlessness and violence. Such flexibility constitutes one of the fine qualities of the American system of government.

Nixon's resignation, however, would aggravate national tensions, and de-



prive the country of an opportunity to purge itself of Watergate. The debate over the President's guilt or innocence would continue unresolved.

The conduct of the President is a model for the nation's morality. When the President's morality is challenged, it contributes to the erosion of the country's moral core. Such a challenge can only be properly evaluated and answered by a serious discussion of the nation's values. The discussion must come through an open and fair confrontation of the accused.

It is Congress's obligation to articulate the nation's morality in its impeachment actions, thus reinforcing the values upon which America's governmental morality is primarily based: the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with its all-important Bill of Rights. ■

## Ripon on Watergate

At its annual meeting in Memphis, April 7, the Ripon Society reaffirmed its support for the progress of impeachment proceedings against President Nixon and repeated its call for full presidential cooperation with the House Judiciary Committee. Although Ripon did not formally advocate presidential resignation, it acknowledged that the national interest might be aided by such resignation at a future date. Ripon was particularly critical of any congressional lobbying which perverts the judicial nature of the impeachment process. "The Nixon Administration has attempted to solicit congressional support against impeachment by, in several cases, crippling legislation which it had previously endorsed. Backers of strong consumer advocacy, of the establishment of long-needed land use directives at the federal level, and of expanded legal services programs, can only interpret unexplained Administration withdrawal of support as evidence of bartering. We believe that these attempts to influence the process indicate the Administration has embarked upon a course that invites abuse," said Ripon.

# •Margin Release

**BUNKER HILL** — Personally, I've always hated making decisions. Menus are a particular abomination. That's why I was gratified recently to read about the ice cream parlor that advertised "one flavor, no decisions." That's my kind of place!

There is no more exquisite agony than selecting blueberry cheesecake ice cream only to wonder if you should have invested your quarter instead in a strawberry bisque cone. That dilemma has all the ingredients of a good presidential radio address: "My fellow Americans, I could have chosen blueberry cheesecake, but that would have been the easy way. Those who would advocate blueberry cheesecake forget my solemn obligation to uphold strawberry bisque. I was elected to eat strawberry bisque and I will not be dissuaded from that task, arduous though it may be . . ." Anyway, strawberry bisque is probably tax-deductible.

Republican members of Congress are familiar with the blueberry cheesecake/strawberry bisque controversy. If they vote for blueberry cheesecake, they lose the strawberry bisque voters. If they vote for strawberry bisque, they lose the blueberry cheesecake voters. Either way, they will end up out of the ice cream.

It's no wonder that many of these congresspeople are praying for a new soda jerk who will relieve them of this responsibility.

What I could never understand is why Congress continued to pass laws giving the soda jerk more power to dish out whatever ice cream he wants when they don't like him or his ice cream. The problem, of course, is that it is difficult for 435 members of the House and 100 temperamental palates in the Senate to agree on one flavor of ice cream. If you look at it that way, you understand why the country's in such a mess. Even Ho-Jo's, the heist of the highway, has only 26 flavors.

Wouldn't everything be simpler if the whole world were vanilla or chocolate or maybe fudge ripple? But school busing is a whole different problem. db.

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## 14a ELIOT STREET

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● **John A. Cairns**, former president of the Minneapolis City Council, was elected president of the Ripon Society April 7 at the Society's annual meeting in Memphis, Tennessee. **Tanya Melch**, a political writer and consultant from New York, was elected chairperson of the National Governing Board. Key speakers at the three-day meeting were **Neal Peirce**, author of *The Deep South States of America*, and **Samuel C. Jackson**, former assistant secretary of HUD. Peirce told Ripon that the southern GOP would be better off seeking slower, long-term gains through pursuit of progressive policies than seeking short-term victories through imitation of "bourbon Democrats." Jackson urged Ripon to increase its minority recruitment efforts. Other new national officers elected at the meeting were **Larry Finkelstein**, vice chairperson of the NGB; **Richard Rahn** (who resigned May 1 as Ripon's managing director) chairman for finance; **Werner Kuhn**, vice president for administration; **Glenn Gerstell**, vice president for public information; **Robert Stewart**, vice president for publications; **Robert Donaldson**, vice president for research; **Richard Carson**, treasurer; **Jared Kaplan**, secretary, **Linda Miller**, chapter development chairperson; and **Ann O'Loughlin**, program chairperson. Arrangements for the NGB weekend were coordinated by Memphis members **Jerry Katz**, **Happy Jones**, **Urania Allsandratos**, **Jocelyn Wurtzberg**, **Bill Whitten**, and **Linda Miller**.

● **Sen. Jacob Javits** (R-N.Y.) delivered the keynote address at the New York Chapter's "Building for the Future" conference on April 27. Javits' speech on strengthening Congress as a counterbalance to the presidency will be highlighted in a future issue of the FORUM. Other featured panelists and speakers included Nassau County Executive **Ralph G. Caso**; State Sen. **John R. Dunne**; **Evelyn Cunningham**, director of the Women's Unit for Gov. **Malcolm Wilson**; **Henry Diamond**, executive director of the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans; **Joseph L. Forstadt**, president of the Association of New York State Young Republican Clubs; former Sen. **Charles Goodell**; Professor **Andrew Hacker** of the City University of New York; State Attorney General **Louis Lefkowitz**; former City Finance Administrator **Floravante Perrotta**; former Rochester Mayor **Stephen May**; **Jean McKee**, administrative assistant to Sen. Javits; former State Sen. **Thomas Laverne**; former New York City

Commissioner of Investigation **Robert K. Rusklin**; Attorney **Robert M. Pennoyer**; Eric County Executive **Edward V. Regan**; former deputy mayor **Robert W. Sweet**; and **Philip H. Weinberg**, appointment officer to Gov. **Malcolm Wilson**.

● Recent speakers at meetings of the Boston-Cambridge Chapter have included Massachusetts Gov. **Francis Sargent** and Lt. Gov. **Donald Dwight**.

● National Associate Member **Theodore Curtis, Jr.** is a candidate for the Maine State Senate. Attorney Curtis has been a state representative since 1971.

● **Constantine Sidmon-Eristoff**, former New York City transportation administrator, has been appointed Northeast regional chairman of the Ripon Society. Eristoff was also recently appointed a member of the Metropolitan Transit Authority.

● **Richard W. Rahn** was elected president of the Washington, D.C. chapter at its April meeting. Washington Post columnist **David Broder** spoke at the meeting on "The Republican Party and the '74 Elections." Other new D.C. officers are **Larry Finkelstein**, vice president; **Nat Semple**, treasurer; **Anne Sherwood**, membership; **Al Schimmel**, program; and **John Dirlam**, research. **Winfred Mundel**, **Shella Greewald**, and **Howard Nellhaus** were appointed to the executive committee.

● **Walter Klen**, an aide to Sen. **Peter Dominick**, spoke to a March meeting of the Colorado study group on the upcoming Senate campaign.

● **Alice Heyman**, New York Ripon member, has been elected as the Empire State's representative to the National Women's Political Caucus.

● The Memphis Chapter recently elected new officers. They are **Jerome Katz**, president; **Urania Allsandratos**, 1st vice president; **Mary Robinson**, 2nd vice president; **Harry Johnson, Jr.**, researcher; **Linda Miller**, secretary; and **William Whitten**, treasurer.

● Both the Minnesota and Detroit chapters held issues conferences May 11. **Washington Post** political writer **Lou Cannon** and Minneapolis City Councilman **Walter Rockenstein** were the speakers at the Minneapolis conference which featured discussions on the state legislature, expanded ownership and the energy crisis. Participants in the Detroit meeting included Iowa State Sen. **John Murray**, former Minnesota GOP Chairman **David Krogseng**, former RNC co-chairman **Elly Peterson**, Michigan GOP Chairman **Bill McLaughlin**, and pollsters **Fred Currier** and **Bob Teeter**.

## DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Is the Republican Party Irrelevant?"** by Allan C. Brownfeld. *New Guard*, May 1974. "Conservatives, because they tend to think of themselves as bound intrinsically to the Republican Party, have overlooked the fact that with the advent of the Nixon Administration, the Republicans are abandoning their traditional anti-Communism and the Democrats who, in many instances, had adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the Soviet Union and Communist China are picking it up," writes Brownfeld in this critique of the Nixonization of the GOP. Writing in the *Young Americans for Freedom* monthly, he argues that loyalty to the President has led conservatives to stomach policies they ought not to have digested. "Most Republicans who call themselves 'conservatives' have supported statism at home, weakness abroad, and a host of policies they find objectionable under Administrations of the other party. They defend their support for such outrages as 'party loyalty.' This, as we have seen, has caused them to defend the machinations of Watergate as well." He concludes, "A critic should tell the truth as he sees it, and the truth today, unfortunately, seems to be that the Republican Party is irrelevant to the nation's real problems and most irrelevant of all to conservatives."

● **"The Making of a Diaster,"** by Hamilton Rogers. *New Guard*, May 1974. "The party of Nixon, which is what the Republican leadership has made it and continues to insist that it is, cracking under the pressures of Watergate, immense economic dislocations, and political ineptitude." The failures are not simply Republican, however, argues the YAF writer. "The issue, or more correctly the development, is the complete failure of a conservative politics. The cause is not Nixon, for he was only a catalyst. The cause runs directly to the failure of conservatives, especially those in elective office, to transcend the narrow party loyalty which is so much a part of Nixonian politics. . . With their integrity gone, with their political positions reduced to opportunistic convenience and with their party facing oblivion, conservative Republicans fumble at the edges. There is no strategy for conservatives because there are no conservatives; only Republicans. There is no identifiable political position for many conservatives because they are supporting the President. There is no movement because there is only caution among those with safe seats in the Congress who desire not 70 percent of their district vote, but 80, and who would never run the risk of upsetting the Republican establishmentarians whose minority habits and dislike for issues will probably be with us for all the party's time. Come to think of it, the end of that time may be near. That is probably the real issue for 1974."

● **"Nixon Didn't Really Say Anything,"** by Wayne W. Weidie. *Clarksdale (Mississippi) Press Register*, May 2, 1974. After President Nixon's speech before the Mississippi Economic Council in late April, he spoke to about 500 state Republicans in a "private" meeting (to which Weidie says he gained entry by posing as a Nixon tax accountant). "Afterwards, I couldn't see why the White House wanted to keep the press out of the reception. Nixon didn't really say anything. In fact, what he did say and do irritated a few of the state GOP's 'key leaders.'" Weidie writes that the President fumbled introduc-

tions of U.S. Reps. Trent Lott and Thad Cochran and congressional candidate Ben Hilburn. Then, "In an attempt to boost party hopes for 1974, Nixon commented that in good years (Nixon's 1972 sweeping victory?), the party tended to put forth 'turkeys' as candidates. Top candidates came out in years with dismal prospects. Republican senatorial candidate Gil Carmichael, who in 1972 found Nixon-Agnew on the Eastland team, looked a little pale when 'turkeys' (were) mentioned. Maybe Gil, one of the best statewide GOP candidates in years, was afraid that the government would exterminate 'turkeys' like they did chickens in Mississippi. Former State Sen. Bushy Wise, a 1966 GOP congressional candidate, saw his wife turn towards him and say, 'Gobble, gobble.'" According to Weidie, at least one top state Republican was mouthing expletives on the "bipartisanship" of Nixon's comments after the Mississippi GOP's efforts to support him.

● **"Democrats Are Rebuilding Party,"** by Bob Wiedrich. *Chicago Tribune*, April 2, 1974. According to Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss, ". . . we've paid too much attention of the rare minority, who are in business for themselves. They have no power base. They're trying to hang on to what little they've got. However, their interests aren't in the best interests of either the Democratic Party or the country." Strauss claims he's been successful in uniting the Democratic Party and giving it a more moderate outlook, as represented by the "United Democrats" in the House of Representatives. These moderate Democrats banded together last year to provide an alternative for House Democrats to the liberal Democratic Study Group. "The 1972 convention and election taught a lot of people that the ultra-liberal position wasn't the route the party should take. If the Democratic Party is to remain the party of the people, it must regain what attracted voters to it in the past. United Democrats is part of the answer," according to U.S. Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.).

● **"Ford Can Offend Hard Core — And Win,"** by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. *Boston Globe*, April 29, 1974. Vice President Gerald Ford's appearance at a seminar on the future of the Republican Party sponsored by U.S. Rep. Paul McCloskey infuriated California GOP leaders, but failed to damage Ford's party popularity. Ford spoke at a meeting held in San Jose the weekend of a state GOP central committee meeting there. Appearing with McCloskey, U.S. Rep. John Rousselot, and moderate congressional candidate George Millias (who's seeking to succeed U.S. Rep. Charles Gubser), Ford said the GOP was big enough for both the progressive McCloskey and the conservative Rousselot. Meanwhile, Republican big-wigs fumed — and said nothing. "The reason is explained by a conservative congressman with no love for McCloskey: 'Nobody is about to knock Jerry Ford. He's all we've got.' That spells boundless opportunity for the Vice President, in sharp contrast to Spiro T. Agnew and Richard M. Nixon, to embark on a mission of conciliation within the Republican Party."

● **"Sidelined Finch Vows to Stay Alive Politically,"** by George Skelton. *Los Angeles Times*, March 25, 1974. Although many California Republicans think former HEW Secretary Robert Finch is "washed up politically," the former lieutenant governor disagrees: "I've been written off before by people with very short memories. I just think it enters another phase. I've had kind of a cyclical view of careers. I don't pursue the 'ladder theory,' that you go one rung at a time up a single course."

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