

RIPON FORUM

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POLITICS: PEOPLE

NORTH DAKOTA

The North Dakota Senate race continues to be a tossup. The eventual outcome will be determined by the independent candidacy of a former Democratic state chairman.

The latest poll by North Dakota weekly newspapers showed Sen. Milton R. Young (R), 76, leading former Gov. William L. Guy (D), 54, by less than four percentage points. The poll, however, was taken in mid-August, did not include independent candidates, and usually reflects a five-percent bias for Republican candidates.

Guy easily crushed former Republican Robert P. McCarney in the September 3 primary, which was notable for the high Democratic and the low Republican turnout. Republican State Chairman Allan C. Young discounts the significance of the turnout; he points out that the Democrats pushed voter turnout while the Republicans did not and that many Republicans crossed over to the Democratic primary to vote for McCarney, an auto dealer and perennial gadfly loser. Those McCarney votes cannot "conceivably" go to Guy in the general election, asserts Chairman Young.

Of the two independent candidates, the most serious is former Democratic Chairman James Jungroth, an environmentalist who is basing much of his campaign on opposition to strip coal mining. GOP Chairman Young expects Jungroth to poll 5-10 percent of the vote November vote — gaining most of his adherents among liberal, environmentalist, and college constituencies which would normally vote Democratic. Young discounts the argument that Jungroth will cut deeply into the

votes of rancher-farmers in western North Dakota and thus affect Sen. Young's vote totals. In the state GOP chairman's view, Sen. Young's position has improved steadily ever since Guy left the governorship in January 1973.

The races for both Young and U.S. Rep. Mark Andrews (R) are likely to be considerably more difficult than any other they have recently experienced. Andrews has a hefty lead in the newspapers polls over State Tax Commissioner Byron L. Dorgan (D), but the young Democrat drew more votes in



MILTON YOUNG

his primary than Andrews did in his primary against an ultra-conservative state senator. Dorgan may well have his eyes on a 1976 primary race against Sen. Quentin Burdick (D), whose quiet dislike of fellow Democrat Guy is alienating some members of the party. ■

ALASKA

When Walter Hickel (R) was governor of Alaska, he was instrumental in establishing Alaska's "open primary" which allows cross-party voting and translates the primary election into a mini-general election.

This year, the open primary was instrumental in eliminating Walter Hickel from the gubernatorial race.

The open primary was not the only factor in the gubernatorial nomination of former Senate president Jay Hammond (R) over Hickel and former Gov. Keith Miller. Hammond, a poet-wilderness guide-politician-fisherman, himself cited his beard as one element in his victory. "The beard has served to create a certain distinction, and a name identification factor," said Hammond.

But an analysis of the vote totals in the Senate and gubernatorial primaries indicates a lot of Democrats must have voted for Jay Hammond in the Republican primary. Incumbent Gov. William A. Egan had 92 percent of the vote over 16,000 votes. However, in the Democratic Senate primary, Sen. Mike Gravel had over 18,000 votes and 53 percent of the vote in incomplete returns.

The preliminary results, in other words, indicate that close to 20,000 voters switched from the Democratic Senate primary to the Republican gubernatorial primary. A lot of these

votes must have gone to Hammond because he got 48 percent of the vote compared to 34 percent for Hickel and 17 percent for Miller.

Another way of analyzing the vote is to conclude that incumbent Egan is in big trouble. Alaska voters have rejected two former governors already and seem likely to reject a third in November. (Hickel defeated then-incumbent Egan in 1966.)

There were other factors in Hammond's victory: his fresh, bearded face; the support of Lowell Thomas, Jr., who won the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor with ease; the secret support of government workers who admired Hammond but could not openly participate in his campaign; and perhaps a mini-backlash to the Alaska pipeline about which Hammond was less boosterish than the other gubernatorial candidates.

The November result may now hinge on the partisan loyalties of Republicans and Democrats. If disaffected Republican conservatives and businessmen support Egan and disaffected young and environmentally-oriented Democrats support Hammond, the November election could be unpredictable.

There may also be a good deal of party disaffection in the Senate race, but it will not necessarily be the same kind.

Sen. Gravel has long been considered vulnerable. Many Republicans had hoped that Hickel would contest Gravel and beat the dickens out of the maverick Democrat. Instead the Republicans had a primary between progressive State Senate president Terry Miller, a young and attractive candidate, and State Sen. C. R. Lewis, a 58-year-old official of the John Birch Society.

Lewis outspent Miller nearly 3-1 and upset the favored Miller by a 53-

41 percent margin. Lewis, an Anchorage contractor, received more than his margin of victory from his home town. Although the White House made no endorsements, Lewis campaign ads announced, "President Ford has called for men like C. R. Lewis."

Lewis has tried to moderate his image, but the Senate race this fall may still not provide much of a choice for many Alaskans who find Gravel personally unpalatable and Lewis too conservative. Many may boycott the election.

In contrast, U.S. Rep. Don Young (R) appears to be safe in his congressional seat. Although he was unopposed in his primary, he received as many votes as both his potential Democratic opponents.

Though the Republican Party now controls both houses of the state legislature, Democrats are favored to take control of both houses this fall—based on the primary returns. Even if Hammond is elected and the legislature is Democratic, they will have a better working relationship than Egan and the current GOP legislature.

Although former governors do get defeated in American politics, it is much rarer for a state capital to be defeated. But by a crushing margin in the Alaska primary, Juneau lost to an as-yet-unnamed, more northern city, which is scheduled to take over as the seat of government in 1980. For Juneau, the defeat will mean true economic dislocation. ■

OHIO

Former Ohio Gov. James A. Rhodes (R) seems to be slowly but steadily closing the lead held by Gov. John J. Gilligan (D), moving the race

almost into the toss-up category.

Rhodes has been hitting the country fair circuit since mid-summer, hammering at what he says is Gilligan's failure to use income generated by the state income tax (passed in 1971 at Gilligan's initiative) for education. In addition, Gilligan created serious credibility problems of his own when, in the face of overwhelming contrary facts, he denied the existence of an \$83 million surplus for fiscal 1974. He continued to maintain no surplus existed even as the legislature returned for a wrap-up session in July and appropriated \$80 million for existing and new projects.

Although many Republicans were hoping that Rhodes would not run again, and despaired of his chances in a year when personal and professional integrity would have a heavy impact on the electorate, the scent of regaining the governorship is slowly generating activity at the local level and shaking some of the post-Watergate blues.

Only a monumental blunder by John Glenn (D) would seem to stand between him and the Senate seat. Cleveland Mayor Ralph Perk, the GOP candidate, has been running (if that's the word) the most inept Republican campaign since John Marshall Briley lost to Sen. Frank Lausche (D) in 1962. He has severe money problems and had to borrow \$12,000 from his campaign manager in mid-August. His staff has been cut back, and, at last report, the GOP Senate Campaign Committee had decided to take him off its priority list, meaning substantially reduced financial and other assistance from Washington. With Glenn's better-than-the-average-Democrat's ability to take Republican votes, and Perk's apparent unwillingness to cut back on mayoral duties to campaign regularly, the Democrats should easily hang on-

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to the seat temporarily gained when William B. Saxbe was appointed attorney general.

Three congressional races are of particular interest: the 1st C.D. in eastern Cincinnati, the 8th C.D. between Cincinnati and Dayton, and the suburban Cleveland 23rd C.D. Democrat Tom Luken took the previously Republican 1st C.D. in a special election last spring, and will again face moderate Republican Willis D. Gradison. Gradison is again well-organized and well-financed, and it is unlikely that the Democrats will be able to mount the all-out effort they did in the spring. Luken appears to be ahead, but it is close.

A vacancy in the 8th C.D. was created when incumbent Republican Walter Powell did not seek re-election to a third term. State Rep. Thomas Kindness, the GOP nominee, seems to have a well-organized campaign in a three-way race, and should win in this heavily Republican district, which was once represented by Donald E. "Buz" Lukens. Kindness will only be in trouble if the independent candidate siphons off a disproportionate number of Republican votes.

The 23rd C.D. is also vacant because of a Republican retirement, that of William E. Minshall. State Rep. George Mastics (R) appears to have the edge, principally because of the independent candidacy of Dennis Kucinich, who narrowly lost to Minshall in 1972 when Kucinich was the Democratic nominee. State Sen. Ronald Mottl has the Democratic nomination and is waging an active campaign, as is Kucinich. Mastics got off to a slow start, but seems to be picking up steam and is the likely winner, undoubtedly with less than 50 percent of the vote.

In the legislature, the GOP controls the State Senate, 17-16, and the Democrats the House, 58-41. After the election the House will probably be about the same, but the Democrats stand a good chance of netting one seat among the 16 Senate seats up this time and taking control for the first time in nearly 20 years. ■

Contributor Note

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KENTUCKY

Before Richard Nixon's resignation, Republicans expected 1974 to join the growing list of years of electoral defeats that started in 1969. Now, however, the picture is much brighter for the Kentucky GOP.

With Nixon and Watergate removed as issues, incumbent Republican Sen. Marlow Cook is able to campaign on those issues which are most beneficial to his reelection. Cook's opponent is Democratic Gov. Wendell Ford, who had been considered the clear favorite to take Cook's seat away from the GOP. The new political climate, however, has placed Cook on the offensive and taken much of the wind out of Gov. Ford's sails.

Ford is hampered not only by the presence of the other Ford in the White House, but also by a fairly disorganized campaign effort. The Kentucky Democratic Party has created a reputation for its ability to win elections through adequate financing and excellent organization. Lately, however, the Democratic operation seems to have slipped, while Cook has established a more aggressive organization.

Cook is known as a resilient and lucky politician who can never be counted out. Events have also bolstered his chances. The Government Accounting Office has accused the Democratic Party of violating federal and state election laws in the 1972 senatorial election, specifically implicating the governor. The state's leading newspapers are also giving Gov. Ford a hard time because of irregular state contracts and other local scandals.

One of the major issues in the campaign is the Army Corp of Engineers proposal to build a dam in the scenic Red River Gorge east of Lexington. Ford strongly supports the dam, while Cook is an ardent opponent of the plan. Proponents argue that the dam is needed to control spring floods, provide a back-up for Lexington's water needs, and allow for additional recreational opportunities in the rapidly growing area around Lexington. Opponents offer alternatives for flood control and point out that the wilderness is already a popular recreational

area for hiking, camping, and canoeing. Even Lexington Mayor Foster Pettit (D) has disclaimed Lexington's need for water at the expense of flooding the gorge behind a dam.

Ford has been badly hurt by his support for the dam, especially among conservationists who are most prominent in the Louisville and Lexington areas, Cook's stand is winning him votes which normally go to Democratic candidates. Ford is also on the defensive about a series of miniscandals in state government involving leases and contracts. A now-cancelled plan to build a chairlift through the Cumberland Falls State Park did little to help Ford's problems with environmentalists. ■

CONSERVATIVES

According to *Human Events*, which seems to predict the decline and fall of everything on a weekly basis, "Gerald Ford has been in the presidency for a little over two weeks, and while the Lairds, the Evanses and Novaks, the *Washington Posts*, and other illustrious voices for the Liberal Establishment have been rejoicing over Ford's performance, what, in truth, has the new President accomplished that is so deserving of applause?"

Not much, according to *Human Events*. "Ford's affronts to the conservatives are legion, including the endorsement of major spending programs, his advocacy of a boycott of Rhodesian chrome, his failure to fight for aid to Vietnam, his call for conditional amnesty, his effort to identify with the militant women's rights groups, his revival of the Cost of Living Council, his placating the Black Caucus which emerged from a meeting with Ford . . . all smiles, and his attempt to impose Gov. Nelson Rockefeller on the nation as Vice President."

The asperity of *Human Events* contrasted with the seeming stoicism of *National Review*, which, while acknowledging conservative displeasure with the choice of Rockefeller for vice president, also acknowledged, "Ford's nomination of Rockefeller proves his confidence in himself and, in spite of Watergate, in the unmatched authority of the office he now occupies."

Commented *National Review's* Daniel Oliver, "Even so, while to the right on most major issues, (Ford) is not Barry Goldwater, who approached America with the conscience of a conservative. President Ford is more practical politician; his Administration is not likely to be 1964 come true, but it could be better than anything we've experienced since."

Columnist James J. Kilpatrick was also rhetorically kind to Ford. "It is hard to imagine how Gerald Ford could have moved off to a better start. His swearing-in speech on the 9th was superb; his address to Congress on the 12th hit precisely the right note."

In a later column, Kilpatrick wrote, "But one would like to say to the new skipper, as he goes veering off to port: Whoa! Easy! Veer to port gently! Let us not jibe! Let us tack slowly instead. Taken one by one, Ford's leftward overtures are not so alarming . . . What mars the honeymoon is the collective impact of all these gestures coming at once . . . A few healing gestures toward the neglected right would be fatefully received."

Kilpatrick's old paper, the *Richmond News Leader*, editorialized on a tougher note on the Rockefeller nomination, "Have the conservatives lost again? First the hopes they placed in Richard Nixon were dashed; now the hope that they have placed in Gerald Ford has been diminished. The belief will not down that the conservatives are to be taken for granted by the Republican Party."

Former conservative seer Garry Wills meanwhile noted that the bitter opposition to Nelson Rockefeller among some conservatives was based on the "pre-existing misconception" that Rockefeller was a liberal when the former New York governor really was a "hard line cold warrior."

The president of the American Conservative Union, M. Stanton Evans, was particularly upset by the nomination of Rockefeller. Writing in *Human Events*, he said, "The naming of Rockefeller provides, I think, a crucial test of conservative determination. If the Republican Right rolls over and accepts so flagrant a liberal as Rockefeller, one can only conclude that its new-found 'flexibility' has passed the

point of no return. If it stands up and resists, there may be hope for its rejuvenation."

More sympathetic to Rockefeller was syndicated columnist George Will who said, "Conservatives should dry those starting tears and cheerfully welcome to Washington Nelson Rockefeller, a sobered liberal." Rockefeller, according to Will, has an invaluable "knowledge of what doesn't work . . . in government."

Even southern Republican chairmen appeared to have been mollified by a Washington meeting with the vice-president designate. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak have attributed much of the anti-Ford rhetoric to aides of California Gov. Ronald Reagan, who is reportedly perturbed by the abrupt end of his presidential hopes.

Like U.S. Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) and Robert Baumann (R-Md.), former *First Monday* editor John D. Lofton, Jr. is angry that leading conservatives did not show more backbone on the Rockefeller nomination. Lofton writes that "what is even more unfortunate than Ford's choosing of Rockefeller, is the reaction of Republican conservatives to that ill-advised choice. It's really surprising. After all, being reactionary is what we are supposed to be best at."

Rockefeller's nomination, in sum, is supposed to be a step backward, an example of what Lofton calls the "bum advice that being President means (Ford) should be more liberal."

It is annoying to some conservatives because it is a symbolic reunification of the old backbone of the GOP: mid-western Old Right conservatives and Northeast moderates.

Meanwhile, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Godfrey Sperling, Jr., says President Ford is not worried about his conservative flank, believing as Richard Nixon did, that conservatives have no choice but to support him and his policies. Sperling quoted one Ford associate as observing that "the important thing to say about our new President is that he really wants to find solutions to human problems. And if this means that he thinks he needs liberal-oriented social legislation, he will move in that direction." ■

NEVADA

Two women captured Republican gubernatorial nominations this year. Neither is given much chance of unseating Democratic incumbents in the November election, but then neither was given much chance of winning their party's primary.

In Maryland, Republican National Committeewoman Louise Gore used superior organization and Republican resentment at U.S. Rep. Lawrence Hogan's role in the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings to edge past Hogan into the general election against Gov. Marvin Mandel (D).

In Nevada, Republican gubernatorial candidate Shirley Crumpler, president of the Nevada Federation of Republican Women, got considerably less national publicity than two Democratic women: Maya Miller who lost the Democratic Senate nomination to Lt. Gov. Harry Reid, and Beverly Harrell, a well-publicized madam who won a primary for state representative.

A third Democratic woman, Olga B. Covelli, was a Democratic primary opponent to incumbent Gov. "Mike" O'Callaghan, whom Crumpler will now face in November. Covelli, notable for her Ziegfield Follies career, ten marriages, and a prison term for attempted abortion, made campaign statements like, "Honey, I'm running around but if I ever caught O'Callaghan, I'd wrestle him to the ground."

Crumpler, a tax accountant and real estate businesswoman, came from behind to defeat State Rep. William E. Bickerstaff, who represents a Reno suburb. O'Callaghan's popularity is so high that heavyweight Republican candidates declined to enter the race.

The 39-year-old Crumpler showed surprising strength on the campaign trail. As State GOP Chairman Walter O'Casey observed, "On her feet in front of a group, she really comes across." Though O'Casey admits Crumpler's battle is all uphill, he is prepared for happy surprise November 5.

Crumpler's running mate for lieutenant governor has indicated he will run an independent campaign. State Sen. Bill Raggio (R) from Reno narrowly defeated Rex Bell, a Las Vegas

official who is the son of a former lieutenant governor and actress Clara Bow. Raggio's strength in Reno should help balance Crumpler's Las Vegas base; he now faces his successor as Washoe County district attorney, Robert Rose, in November. Rose easily crushed James H. Bilbray, whose political career has gone rapidly downhill since he upset veteran U.S. Rep. Walter Baring (D) in the 1972 Democratic primary.

(Footnote: Raggio was responsible for Mrs. Covelli's prison term; asked how she would get along with Raggio if she were governor and he, lieutenant governor, Covelli said, "I'd railroad

him out of the state in five minutes.")

Republicans are more confident about the prospects of former Gov. Paul Laxalt in this year's Senate race. Lt. Gov. Reid's billboards proclaim: "He's younger. He's tougher. Nobody owns him." However, at 34, some conservative Democrats are likely to think Reid is too young; many already think he's too brash. Laxalt himself has proven his toughness and candor and seems to have escaped most of the damage of any alleged improprieties in his relations with billionaire Howard Hughes.

Republicans are not conceding an easy race, but even Richard Nixon's

pardon is not expected to disrupt their plans to replace Sen. Howard Cannon (D) with Laxalt, a former governor-turned-casino owner. Like O'Callaghan, Laxalt's popularity crosses party lines.

In 1972, U.S. Rep. David Towell (R) surprised most observers by winning the GOP House nomination and then defeating Bilbray in the general election with 52 percent of the vote. He has another tight race this year with Clark County Judge James Santini (D), 35, but GOP strategy will again be to pick up Democratic votes which went to Santini's conservative Mormon opponent in the bitter Democratic primary. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Despite persistent Capitol Hill rumors about investigations of his congressional campaign, former U.S. Rep. **George Hansen** (R) remains confident that he will be exonerated of mishandling corporate checks in his primary campaign against incumbent U.S. Rep. **Orval Hansen** (R) in Idaho's 2nd C.D. The conservative George beat the moderate Orval by 2,800 votes, but a post-primary investigation by the House Administration Committee into George's campaign was subsequently turned over to the Justice Department. Reports on the results of that investigation indicated that 18-35 felony violations and 21 corporate checks had been found. George Hansen maintains that the alleged corporate donations were from "ma and pa" businesses and were returned when he discovered them. "I've had a lot of fun being tried by the news leaks," George has quipped; he maintains that only \$1,800 in contributions is involved. Hansen, who says he has yet to be contacted by the Justice Department, faces conservative Democrat **Max Hanson** in the general election.

● Efforts by New Jersey Republicans to pay off the debt from U. S. Rep. **Charles Sandman's** 1973 gubernatorial campaign have failed. The GOP, which had officially assumed responsibility for paying off all the \$225,000 campaign deficit, reversed its position when insufficient angels could be found to assume \$7,500 shares of the debt. Now Sandman will be responsible for his \$116,000 share of debt, further complicating his present re-election effort, which reportedly also has financial difficulties.

● In South Carolina's 87th House District, State Representative Republican **Larry Koon** will be out to make State Rep. **Lucius Porth** (D) cry "uncle." Porth changed his registration from Republican to Democrat last spring and will be opposed by his still-Republican nephew in November.

● Former American Conservative Union official **Jeffrey Bell** was named in July as a political aide to California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** (R). Bell, who describes his job as keeping "on top of national political

issues and national politics," took the job only weeks before Reagan's presidential prospects plummeted. Reagan has been effectively ignored by the new Ford Administration and in turn seems to be ignoring it.

● The California Polls taken in August by **Mervin D. Field** showed Secretary of State **Jerry Brown** (D) leading Controller **Houston Flournoy** (R), 50-36 percent. Brown led Flournoy in May, 47-30 percent. Field attributes Brown's new strength to growing Democratic unity. In the Senate race, Sen. **Alan Cranston** (D) has a commanding lead, 59-26 percent, over State Sen. **H. L. Richardson**, an ultra-conservative Republican. In the top state races, only Republican Attorney General **Evelle Younger** is leading his opponent, 52-33 percent.

● The California gubernatorial race heated up in early September as Flournoy and Brown met September 10 in their first of six debates. Flournoy displayed his recently-improved speaking style and responded to Brown's charges that Flournoy would continue "recycled Reaganism" as governor by charging that he would be as much like Reagan as Jerry Brown is like "his old man;" Jerry's cold, imperious style does not much resemble that of former Gov. **Edmund Pat Brown** (D). Although both Brown and Flournoy handled themselves well in their first debate, Flournoy may be picking up the momentum he needs to overcome Brown's lead in the polls.

● According to University of Pittsburgh political scientist **Paul Allen Beck**, the New South has developed from young voters — not from the regional migrations between North and South and not from the enfranchisement of black voters. According to a paper presented by Beck at a Chicago meeting of the American Political Science Association, the migration of northern Republicans into the South and the migration of poor Democrats into the North was offset by the new black vote. However, Beck attributes the rise of the GOP in the South to northern Republicans. "Since 1960, from one-third to one-half of all southern Republicans have grown up outside the region, giving the southern GOP a distinctly 'Yankee' flavor," he said.

● **Randolph Crossley**, the Hawaii GOP gubernatorial candidate, almost backed out of the race in August when no running mate for lieutenant governor could be

found. Just in time to prevent withdrawal, **Benjamin F. Dillingham**, a businessman who moved to Australia to manage a family enterprise, was signed on to join Crossley's dormant campaign. Later, two women and a second man filed to run in the lieutenant governor primary. Also just before Hawaii's filing deadline, former State Rep. **Diana Hansen** (R) — plagued by problems with her staff and the Internal Revenue Service — dropped out of the race against U.S. Rep. **Patsy Mink** (D). Hansen instead filed for the State Senate and Mrs. **Carla Coray**, Hawaii's energetic GOP state chairwoman, filed to oppose Mink.

● Vermont Republicans appear to be in good shape in both the Senate House and House races this fall. U.S. Rep. **Richard Mallary** (R) easily won the Republican nomination to succeed Sen. **George Aiken** (R) and is the favorite over Chittenden County D.A. **Patrick**

J. Leahy (D). Former Attorney General **James M. Jeffords** (R) also won handily over two other opponents and is now favored over Burlington Attorney **Francis J. Cain** for Mallary's House seat. Otherwise the state GOP picture is not as bright. Democratic Gov. **Thomas Salmon** has alienated many of his 1972 supporters during his two years in office, but Republican GOP candidate **Walter "Peanut" Kennedy** has not demonstrated much ability to attract possible defectors. Republican candidates for lieutenant governor and attorney general also appear to be in trouble.

● There will be two familiar names in the Massachusetts race for attorney general: Democrat **Francis Bellotti**, a former lieutenant governor and gubernatorial candidate, and Republican **Josiah Spaulding**, a former GOP state chairman who ran against Sen. **Edward M. Kennedy** in 1970.

EDITORIAL

THE PARDON

President Ford's untimely and premature decision to pardon Richard Nixon is regrettable. It paints our criminal justice system as one which gives special treatment to the powerful, creates the appearance, albeit unjustified, of further coverup, and while constitutional, in a very real sense undermines the processes of law and the Constitution. But the decision and the manner in which it was made are especially unfortunate in that they set back a process of reestablishing the legitimacy of our governmental and political institutions.

Following Lyndon Johnson's example, Richard Nixon acted outside the American system by waging a war which had neither the official approval of Congress nor the support of the people. But Nixon did not stop there. He assaulted the system by conducting a vendetta against Congress and the press, by manipulating executive institutions and procedures for personal political gain and vengeance, and finally by obstructing the judicial process. The credibility of Congress, the executive, and the courts was seriously undermined.

The process of restoring this credibility began with the public reaction to the dismissal of Archibald Cox and gained momentum with the resumed prosecutions of high- and low-level Watergate conspirators, the impeachment process, Nixon's forced resignation, and finally President Ford's new spirit of cooperation with and respect for Congress as well as candor and openness in the executive. We once again had the appearance of balance in the government and a President who desired to serve the public rather than master it.

The decision to pardon and the secretive manner in which it was made, while within the prerogatives of the President, were in a real sense outside the system. An extraordinary power was exercised in lieu of, not in conjunction with, the established processes of criminal justice. While hardly comparable to the Nixon assault, the decision portends a continuation of a trend for Presidents to act outside the system. The reappearance of this trend set back the process of restoring credibility to the government.

In another sense, the manner in which the decision was made sets back the restoration of a certain legitimacy to the two party political system.

While partisanship should have had no place in this decision, Republican counsel should have been sought and considered anyway. Watergate happened because Republican Party principles were rejected in favor of strategic politics. Still, the Republican Party had to carry the Watergate burden. The desertion of party principles for strategic politics discredited the two-party system.



The process of restoring credibility to principled partisan politics began when *Republican* legislators forced Nixon to resign, putting principles ahead of personality. President Ford, elected or not, is a Republican. Observing what desertion of party principles did to his predecessor, he, of all people, should recognize the value of principled partisan counsel in major policy decisions. By failing to include party leaders in a decision of this magnitude, this process too was set back.

There is no doubt that Richard Nixon has suffered enormously, perhaps even enough. We do not prejudge his guilt, nor have we ever asked for his head. We have only asked that the constitutional processes be respected. There is room in the American system for compassion, even for one who demonstrated little and attacked that very system. But compassion for one must be balanced with other, broader considerations. We believe the other considerations should have prevailed here and that the decision-making process should have been thought out more carefully in view of past events. ■

COMMENTARY: INFLATION

The Inter- national Flow of Knowledge

by Chaim Ginsberg

The types of flows generally encountered in international trade and investment are of goods, services, or specie. An increase in the outflow of goods and services from a country, accompanied by a decrease in the outflow

of specie, produces a positive balance of payments under *ceteris paribus* conditions. To foster and maintain this sort of favorable balance is the underlying motive in much of American tariff and quota laws.

Recent economic policies designed to curb inflation, ranging from devaluation to wage and price controls, have, in the international sphere, been predominantly influenced by the items composing the balance of trade statistics. Both economic theoreticians and political practitioners have neglected the flow of *knowledge*. Like goods, services, and specie, the international movement of knowledge and ideas, measured in terms of "brain drain" or the transfer of technology, is influenced by anti-inflationary measures.

During the last decade, technologically intensive industries have become increasingly concerned over the growing superiority of foreign, basic research skills. While American research scientists have demonstrated overwhelming success in applied or developmental research, multinational corporations have had to locate their "basic" research facilities abroad to take advantage of foreign know-how. This problem was not too apparent during the period when the aerospace industry was in full bloom and the United States government poured vast sums of money into university-centered research projects. With the sudden cut-back in government support of such

projects, the situation has drastically changed.

The anti-inflationary measures of the Nixon Administration opened the floodgates to a research exodus. Such diminished support for research projects, which are the backbone for success in many crucial scientific fields, will have the effect of relegating the United States scientific community to a completely dependent position. It is not too difficult to visualize that failure to narrow the ever-widening technological gap will be detrimental to the American economic and political global role.

There is no doubt that the raging inflationary spiral confronting the free, industrialized countries is a challenge to the very fabric of capitalism and must be met. There is also no doubt that the institution of some very drastic and unpopular measures — such as an increase in taxes, a decrease in government expenditures, and reduction of the availability of credit — will result in both the successful curtailment of inflation and high unemployment. What is important to consider in any anti-inflationary policy is the system of priorities and consequences that the various alternative measures may generate. Reduction of support for basic research may seem to be an expedient short-run solution, but ten years from now the effects of this policy may be more pernicious to America than today's economic dilemma. ■

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Lemon Plus Lemon Equals Bitter Lemon," by William Loeb. *The New Hampshire Sunday News*, August 25, 1974. Between quadrennial presidential elections, it is easy to forget how horrible the Loeb newspapers in New Hampshire really are. *New Hampshire Sunday News* Editor B. J. McQuaid suggested that readers clip out the following editorial by publisher William Loeb "and save it for your children and grandchildren." It is the sort of editorial one can expect from a man who refers to the President as "Jerry the Jerk." Writes Loeb: "As predicted by this newspaper many, many months ago, the sinister, shadowy figure behind the whole attack on Nixon has finally surfaced and what you have is a Rockefeller administration with a ventriloquist's dummy taking orders as President . . . THE LEFT-WING-DOMINATED COMMUNICATIONS INDUSTRY AND ITS SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST ALLIES FROM COAST TO COAST HAVE NOW ACHIEVED WHAT WAS THOUGHT TO BE IMPOSSIBLE. THEY HAVE OVERTURNED THE DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL PROCESS OF THE UNITED STATES (emphasis is Loeb's) . . . You now have in complete control of the United States the awesome power of the Rockefeller fortune — something which should not be allowed to exist in a free country, where no man should be allowed to have the money power the Rockefellers have,

simply because their father left it to them, money they did nothing at all to create. NO AMERICAN MAN OR WOMAN WALKS SAFE TODAY WITH SUCH UNFETTERED (sic) MONEY POWER IN THE CONTROL OF THE WHITE HOUSE."

● "Little Rock Lady Vs. Kensett King-Pin," by Walter Nunn. *Arkansas Advocate*, August, 1974. In an ordinary year, Republican Judy Petty would be given zero chance of unseating House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills. But Petty is making waves this year with her attacks on Mills' 1972 presidential campaign and his conduct of the Ways and Means business behind closed doors. As Nunn analyzes the race, "Judy Petty is not to be underestimated. She's getting the media attention she needs to become recognized, she's articulate, and her enthusiasm is catching. She has an unusual amount of political experience for a first-time candidate, and she is converting liabilities of sex and age into assets. Her refusal to take positions on specific issues has gone unnoticed thus far. Most important, her timing may be on target in a year in which incumbents are on shaky ground. If so, the Judy-and-Goliath show could upstage the Bumpers-Fulbright match."

● "The 'Sun Belt' Becomes Unbuckled," by Kevin P. Phillips. *Philadelphia Bulletin*, August 12, 1974. "Five years ago, I coined the phrase 'Sun Belt' to describe these conservative-trending boom states (southern United States from Florida to California). The name stuck. I was optimistic about their future, but other commentators made

critical-to-hostile mention of the rootless, right-wing culture of aerospace engineers, Cadillac evangelists, oilmen, and cowboy financiers and real estate speculators. There was no moral or traditional framework, they said. Sun Belt society was an irresponsible, fast-buck milieu. A discouraging amount of that criticism has proved well-founded," writes Phillips, commenting on the Watergate phenomenon and its progenitors. Phillips still sees a future for his Sun Belt conservatives, however: "Not only must a new kind of Sun Belter emerge in national politics, but Southern Rim conservatives must also think long and hard about de-Hughesifying, de-Nixonburgering, and de-country clubbing their state parties. Otherwise, Sun Belt conservatism will die."

● **"It's the New Look This Fall for the GOP,"** by Robert Comstock. *Hackensack (N.J.) Record*, September 8, 1974. Bergen County has traditionally been New Jersey's banner Republican county, the keystone to any successful statewide GOP victory. This year, however, the county GOP faces possibly devastating election results, including the loss of the county government and the threatened defeat of U.S. Rep. William B. Widnall (R-7th), who, if reelected, would be the ranking Republican in Congress. "Bergen Republicans have more than Watergate rub-off working against them. Their former county leader, Nelson G. Gross, is appealing his conviction of illegal fund-raising procedures. Gross's protege and successor, Anthony J. Statile, is scheduled to stand trial on similar charges this fall. And three truckloads of party and country records are still in the United States attorney's office, threatening to burst with a new round of indictments at any time." Despite these infirmities, County GOP Chairman Richard J. Vander Plaats has managed to patch together warring GOP factions in a united campaign effort to maintain county control.

● **"Sen. Baker's Timetable Upset By Selection of Rockefeller,"** by Tim Wyngaard. *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, August 2, 1974. The selection of Nelson Rockefeller as Gerald Ford's nominee to be vice president has delayed the national political ambitions of Tennessee Sen. Howard Baker, Jr. (R). In order to better prepare himself for 1980, Baker is likely to seek a seat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "Baker's resulting immersion in foreign affairs not only would provide him with vital training in a weak area of his background, but it also would gain him headlines." Comments Wyngaard, "If they survive until then, Baker and Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois [whose presidential campaign has also been discontinued] will be among the familiar faces of the national GOP — two of their party's elder statesmen in Congress."

● **"Divided Democratic Leaders Begin Rally Around Blanton,"** by William Bennett. *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 18, 1974. Tennessee Democrats are truly concerned about the possible devastating effect the election of Republican Lamar Alexander as governor might have on their party. The election this year is being compared to that of Democrat Frank Clement in 1952. Clement and associate Buford Ellington played musical chairs with the gubernatorial post for the next 18 years. Like Ellington, Alexander managed the first gubernatorial campaign of the man who may turn out to be his predecessor, Gov. Winfield Dunn (R). And like Clement and Ellington, the gubernatorial post might revert to Dunn again in 1978 if Alexander wins this year. Commenting on the weak appeal of the Democratic gubernatorial nominee among blacks and liberals, Bennett observes, "The upshot of it all is that (former U.S. Rep. Ray) Blanton, viewed as an underdog even by many Democrats who desperately want their party's nominee back in the driver's seat, can yet

fashion a winning campaign [if he can appeal to Wallaceite voters]."

● **"Reagan Finds a Role,"** by James R. Dickenson. *Washington Star-News*, September 1, 1974. "Reports that Gov. Ronald Reagan's presidential hopes were snuffed out by Gerald Ford's ascension to the White House are turning out to be premature . . . Reagan is emerging as the spokesman for the ideological, conservative wing of the Republican Party, which believes it is the majority and the real winner in 1972. It also believes that its triumph was stifled by the prolonged Watergate crisis and now may be endangered if Ford's early actions, as they fear, mean he is taking a leftward turn. . . Every chance he gets, Reagan reminds his audiences of the conservative 'mandate' of 1972 and in his best Mr. Nice Guy manner expresses the fervent hope that Ford will heed it. In this, however, he's a bit like a nightclub comic who modestly holds up the palm of one hand to his audience to stop the applause while surreptitiously beckoning them with the other to continue," writes Dickenson. Unless Ford turns right, Reagan implies, he might challenge the President for the 1976 nomination or move to start a third, conservative party. Dickenson quotes Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed as observing, "We hope Reagan won't ever have to run," but also as expressing displeasure at early progressive gestures of the Ford Administration.

● **"Flournoy's Reaction to Conservatives' Bid,"** by Michael Harris. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 11, 1974. "Key leaders in the Republican Party's conservative wing made an unsuccessful effort early this year to win concessions from gubernatorial candidate Houston I. Flournoy in exchange for their support . . . The crucial moment at the meeting came when Holmes Tuttle, millionaire Los Angeles auto dealer who has been closely identified with all of Reagan's campaigns, asked what Flournoy was prepared to do about 1976. At that point, Peninsula industrialist David Packard intervened. Packard, former assistant secretary of defense in the Nixon Administration and Flournoy's most prominent early backer, declared there would be no discussion whatever about the 1976 campaign. The meeting would be confined, Packard insisted, to the 1974 campaign for governor of California." As a result of Flournoy's refusal to deal in presidential politics, concludes Harris, "the struggle for party leadership between conservatives, who tend to support Reagan, and moderates, who are generally more attuned to Flournoy, is expected to continue past election day."

● **"GOP Leaders Desire New Willson Campaign,"** by Vic Ostrowidzki. *Albany Times-Union*, September 15, 1974. "With few exceptions, New York Republican leaders believe that incumbent Gov. Malcolm Wilson will be soundly beaten this November by Brooklyn Democratic U.S. Rep. Hugh Carey if Wilson's low key campaign isn't drastically officials also believe that unless Wilson offers 'new, bold, and imaginative' proposals, something he insists he won't do, he will take with him scores of Republican candidates for the legislature and local offices," writes Ostrowidzki. He quotes one Republican official as saying about Wilson, "Observing him campaign is about as exciting as watching paint dry." Wilson's campaign style contrasts unfavorably with that of his predecessor, former Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and with Carey, whom GOP officials are afraid will cut heavily into upstate Republican pluralities. Republican officials are also distressed about the failure of the Wilson campaign to get off the ground, Wilson's refusal to comment on the Nixon pardon, and the governor's inability to alter his low-key image.

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