

RIPON FORUM

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POLITICS: REPORTS

NEW YORK

New York Democrats appear to be on the verge of ending 16 years of Republican rule. The potential disaster is endangering the entire Republican ticket, including an incumbent senator and attorney general who were considered unbeatable only weeks ago.

A poll by Long Island *Newsday* and the Gannett newspaper chain shows the GOP with a 49-28 percent handicap in the gubernatorial race and leading by only a 39-32 percent margin in the senatorial contest. Although the Democratic lead for governor has recently eroded somewhat, the strength of the Democratic ticket appears likely to sweep in a Democratic State Assembly and sweep out a few veteran Republican congressmen.

Accentuating the new political turn-out is the Democrats' ability to reverse their usual fortunes. They have an ethnically and geographically balanced ticket that has the full support of all factions of their often chaotic party. The state's voters in the September 10 Democratic primary rejected the candidates officially designated by the Democratic State Committee back in June.

Brooklyn U.S. Rep. Hugh Carey defeated the early favorite, former Off-Track Betting Corporation president Howard Samuels, by a surprisingly wide margin. Upstate State Sen. Mary Anne Krupsak beat her two male rival to become the state's first woman candidate for lieutenant governor. Syracuse Mayor Lee Alexander produced less-than-lackluster campaign and was defeated by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark for the Democratic senatorial nomination. The aggressive Bronx Borough president, Robert

Abrams, was selected over Rockland County District Attorney Robert Meehan, for the right to challenge popular Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz in November. Arthur Levitt, the venerable state comptroller who was the only statewide elected Democrat during the Rockefeller reign, did not have primary opposition.

As the *New Yorker* writer Andy Logan has observed, all the winning Democratic statewide candidates fought hard to get organization endorsement for their campaigns, failed to get the endorsement, then ran against "machine" candidates, won the primary anyway, and thereby laundered their own organization credentials. Observed Logan: "It seems clear that, at least from now until after the election, the Democratic candidates' theme will be their independence of the party organization, whose endorsement each one of them, including Clark, tried very hard to get. Meanwhile, the regular party leaders, most of whom by late summer were freely allowing their district captains to support Carey, may not be as dismayed as had been advertised over the fact that the Democratic candidates for governor and lieutenant governor came up through their party organization instead of being rank outsiders such as Samuels and endorsed lieutenant governor candidate Mario Cuomo were. However, there may be no truth to the rumor that the whole thing was rigged and had been planned that way all along."

Carey's victory can be attributed in large measure to his brother, Edward, the president of the New England Petroleum Company. The excess of one million dollars in loans and contributions the Carey campaign received from the congressman's wealthy brother helped finance a blitz of TV commercials that turned Hugh Carey into a household name within a period of three weeks. The state's new election

law puts a limit on the amount a candidate's family can contribute, so the Carey campaign has had to repay the bulk of Edward Carey's loans and is now feeling the tight money squeeze that all candidates are feeling this year.

Carey will definitely prove to be a more difficult — if not impossible — man for Republican Governor Malcolm Wilson to beat than Howard Samuels would have been. Wilson, who assumed his new position after Nelson A. Rockefeller resigned 10 months ago, probably knows more about state government than any other person, having served as an assemblyman for 20 years and lieutenant governor for 15 years. Both Wilson and Carey are Irish Catholic, but Carey has a first lien on this group since they are generally Democratic. In mid-October Carey appeared to be the frontrunner, but Wilson campaign strategist (generally old Rockefeller professionals) hope that their saturation radio and TV campaign will push Wilson ahead in the final days.

The Wilson campaign is an unlikely candidate to become the 1974 political version of "The Waltons." A more likely comparison could be made to the "Sonny and Cher" show without Cher.

Wilson, an unknown and colorless conservative, has moved sharply to the right, meanwhile trying to paint the Carey-Krupsak ticket into the far left. Wilson's harsh rhetoric on crime in the streets is designed to appeal to the predominantly Catholic, blue-collar New York City Democrats for whose loyalty Carey is fighting. Wilson's managers are counting on Nassau County Executive Ralph Caso, the GOP's candidate for lieutenant governor, to attract suburban and Italian votes. The governor's chances rest on winning Republican and upstate suburban areas with a plurality greater than a half million votes while losing New York City by a lesser amount.

The state's senior senator, Jacob K. Javits, is expected to be successful in his bid for a third term. Nevertheless, Ramsey Clark, with his image as an honest man who is not afraid to speak his mind and who refuses contributions over \$100, has proved to be a stronger opponent than originally thought. Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz is another progressive Jewish Republican from New York City, who will benefit from sizable Democratic crossover voting.

While Javits and Lefkowitz seem confident of victory, the other progressive Republican on the ticket, former Rochester Mayor Stephen May, is unlikely to unseat Comptroller Levitt. However, May's expected loss is not likely to hamper his political future, since he is young, attractive, and intelligent.

The state's congressional delegation will undergo its most extensive turnover in years. In New York City, conservative and powerful Brooklyn U.S. Rep. John J. Rooney (D) has retired; Carey's seat will probably be assumed by Democrat Leo C. Zefferetti, the president of the Correction Officers Benevolent Association. Two other Brooklyn congressmen, Frank Brasco (recently convicted of receiving bribes from the Mafia) and Bertram Podell (who just pleaded guilty in another bribery case), are to be replaced by former U.S. Rep. James H. Scheuer (D) and State Assemblyman Stephen Solarz (D), respectively. Upstate, the dean of the delegation, Republican Howard Robison, is retiring, as is U.S. Rep. Henry P. Smith III (R).

In a close race for Robison's seat, Binghamton Mayor Alfred J. Libous (R) handily won a five-man primary and now faces attorney Matthew F. McHugh (D), a former county district attorney. Smith's administrative assistant, Russell A. Rourke, is facing a spirited Democratic challenge for the

Buffalo area district.

Also in tight upstate races are U.S. Reps. Barber Conable (R) and Carleton J. King (R). Conable is being opposed by the vice mayor of Rochester, Margaret Costanza, who has hired professional political advice from Canada and is getting substantial labor help. The conservative and aging King made a weak primary showing against a young GOP moderate; he now faces Rensselaer County Treasurer Edward "Ned" Pattison (D), whose county job is being abolished in January. Pattison amassed 43 percent of the vote against King in 1970.

Two other vacant Democratic seats should remain Democratic. Former U.S. Rep. Richard Ottinger (D), who gave up a House seat to run for the Senate in 1970, is seeking the seat being vacated in Westchester County by former Republican Ogden Reid. In Buffalo, former Erie County Controller Henry Nowak is a popular Polish Democrat in a Polish Democratic district now represented by a Polish Democrat, Thaddeus J. Dulski. The Republican candidate, Lackawanna Mayor Joseph R. Bala, is also Polish, but he's not a Democrat.

The State Senate is likely to remain in Republican hands, but the State Assembly should swing Democratic, depending upon the magnitude of Wilson's loss or win.

Should Wilson lose but the Republicans maintain Assembly control, most politicians believe that Speaker Perry Duryea would become the state's unofficial Republican leader. First, however, Duryea must win his own tough reelection campaign. ■

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R) may yet lose the New Hampshire gubernatorial race. If he does so, it will not

be because the Democratic candidate, former State Sen. Richard Leonard, is a dynamic candidate.

Leonard is not such a candidate and is now handicapped by the repudiation of *Manchester Union-Leader* publisher William Loeb, whose endorsement in the Democratic primary probably provided Leonard's margin of victory in the three-way race.

Loeb was particularly successful at kingmaking this year. As he editorialized after the election: "On the whole it seems to this newspaper that the voters showed great and good judgment in their selections of the various candidates to oppose each other in the final election on Nov. 5th." Translated, that means the voters did as Loeb wished: renominated Thomson over moderate State Senate president David Nixon; awarded Leonard the Democratic gubernatorial nomination over two, more liberal candidates, and nominated David Banks (R) to succeed U.S. Rep. Louis Wyman (R) in the 1st C.D. GOP primary. Banks was the most notable example of Loeb's political imagination; he defeated former Governor's Executive Councilor John Bridges (whose late father was a senator) and former State GOP Chairman David Gosselin.

Banks, who is distinguished only for his endorsement by Loeb, now faces Manchester attorney Norman D'Amours, who won a three-way Democratic primary.

Loeb was disappointed by the voters in the state Democratic Senate primary; they nominated former State Insurance Commissioner John Durkin over three other candidates. The one anointed by Loeb ran second.

Lurking in the Senate campaign background all summer has been former Gov. Wesley Powell (R), an ultra-conservative who bears the loeb stamp of approval — which Wyman lacks. Powell decided not to contest

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Wyman in the Senate primary but consistently muttered about the possibility of an independent Senate candidacy if a younger independent could not be induced to take on Wyman.

According to Loeb, "The people of New Hampshire now are faced with a very miserable choice between Wyman, on the one hand, and Durkin, on the other. This should not happen to *any* state, let alone the great Granite State, but if the voters aren't more careful in the primaries, this is what happens to them."

Wyman's candidacy has been endangered by a controversy over his role in the nomination of Ruth Farkas as ambassador to Luxembourg as a consequence of a large contribution by her to CREEP in 1972. Wyman hoped that a letter from Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski clearing him of any wrong-doing would end the Farkas issue, but Durkin has continued to harp on it.

Wyman, Thomson, and Banks normally would be favored for election this year, but the controversy concerning their candidacies may drive many progressive Republicans and independents into the Democratic column.

Thomson's behavior since the September 10 primary certainly has not served to unite the party. When State GOP Chairwoman Shirley Hodgdon showed up at Thomson's office the day after the election, she asked the governor what she could do to assist in his campaign. The governor's answer was brief: "resign." Mrs. Hodgdon refused and the governor pointed out where the door was. A week later, a GOP state committee meeting was held, and the members, outraged by Thomson's rude behavior, refused to replace Mrs. Hodgdon with a Thomson-picked candidate.

Thomson went on to change the date of the state GOP convention because it was inconvenient for him. His ultraconservative heavy hand is amply reflected in the state GOP platform.

Perhaps it is understandable. As Loeb explains it, "The governor's problem is that he is so conscientious himself, and so hard-working, that he doesn't realize that his organization is neither as dedicated nor as efficient as himself. Had the governor a better organization, his margin over Nixon

would have been very much larger."

Be grateful for small miracles. ■

FLORIDA

"The apathy is terrible. That alone could determine the races," says one Florida GOP spokesman.

The apathy generated by Watergate is compounded in Florida by scandals surrounding Sen. Edward J. Gurney (R) and the administration of Gov. Reubin Askew (D). Three of Askew's cabinet members have been the subjects of intensive investigations. Gurney was forced to quit the Senate race in order to defend himself against criminal indictments.

The price of apathy has already been felt by one state politician who had good reason to believe he was headed for the U.S. Senate. After one term in representing a conservative Republican district in the House of Representatives, William Gunter (D) won first place in the eleven-man Senate primary on September 10. He had 29 percent of the vote, compared to the runnerup, Secretary of State Richard Stone, who had 21 percent. Gunter seemed a reasonable bet to win the October 1 runoff. Instead, Stone plugged away at Gunter's record of absenteeism in Congress and concentrated on his home base in populous Dade County. Gunter ended up on the wrong side of a 51-49 percent upset.

Now, the moderate Stone faces a conservative Republican who engineered his own upset in the September 10 primary. Drugstore millionaire Jack Eckerd (R) had no handicaps of name recognition in his primary campaign against Public Service Commissioner Paula Hawkins. He had waged an unsuccessful primary against Gov. Claude Kirk (R) in 1970. At that time, he changed newspaper ads for his drugstore chain to include a large picture of himself. The ads no longer carry his visage, but the "Eckerd" name still is never far from any Florida newspaper reader.

Eckerd's win in the primary surprised is shaded by his image as a progressive business and civic leader. For instance, he gave \$10 million to Florida Presby-

terian College. It is now known as Eckerd College. That is the sort of recognition that money *can* buy.

Eckerd's win in the primary surprised many Republicans who thought Hawkins' record as a consumer advocate would be a strong campaign asset. Indeed, the prices charged by Eckerd's drug stores became a GOP primary issue. Some Republicans may have voted for Eckerd in part to keep Hawkins as a consumer advocate on the PSC. (She is also a Republican national committeewoman.)

Because of the Democrats' own scandals, Republicans do not feel Gurney's legal troubles will affect the Senate race. The primary issue will be the economy. At this point, Eckerd has two advantages: the relative unity of his own party, and a campaign organization directed by conservative strategist F. Clifton White.

In the gubernatorial race, Gov. Askew may be in some trouble, but not much. He crushed his Democratic opponents in the primary, but he has residual problems with Democrats who have been alienated by his positions on busing and state spending. Former Democrat Jerry Thomas, now the Republican gubernatorial candidate, hopes to capitalize on these alienated Democrats. He will be helped to some extent by the withdrawal of American Party Candidate J. P. Revels, who has announced his support for Thomas. Thomas is not, however, getting the media exposure he needs to make a credible race.

One of the more interesting races on Florida's long ballot is for secretary of state. Former Hillsborough County Elections Supervisor James Sebesta (R) will oppose State Sen. Bruce Smathers, who created a controversy when he solicited the support of the Ku Klux Klan for his nomination. Sebesta is widely acknowledged to be one of the GOP's strongest candidates; Smathers is the son of a former Sen. George Smathers (D).

Republicans also hope to take over Gunter's 5th C.D. seat. Richard Kelly, who has had a controversial career as a circuit court judge, is the Republican candidate against Jo Ann Saunders, a moderate Democrat and feed supply company manager. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

liberal Democrats and independents will return to the Sargent column. Dukakis has already ruffled liberal feathers with his vacillation on the busing issue. Sarge is still down, but no longer out.

● Words of wisdom, Utah variety: "For reasons unbeknownst to me, election years seem to affect politicians in almost exactly the same fashion as full moons are alleged to affect werewolves. Under this election year spell, ordinary, decent, rational human beings — good citizens, parents, and neighbors all — become raving maniacs, and liars and cheats to boot. The Tenth Commandment is relegated to the city dump. Invective pours forth. The mere identification of a candidate as a member of the opposition party invites slander or worse." So wrote former Utah GOP State Chairman Kent Shearer in a letter to the Salt Lake City Tribune.

● One man who undoubtedly was displeased by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's withdrawal from presidential politics was U.S. Rep. Michael J. Harrington (D-Mass.). Harrington was waiting for 1976 in anticipation of an open shot at Kennedy's Senate seat.

● Virginia Republicans have elected State Del. George McMath to succeed Richard Obenshain as Republican state chairman; Obenshain has succeeded Mary Louise Smith as GOP national co-chairman. McMath was selected for the post by Gov. Mills Godwin (R) after a contest developed between moderate-conservative and ultra-conservative factions of the party. McMath, however, has dubious party credentials for his new job. A former Democrat, he joined the GOP only in 1973 and has continued to sit with his Democratic friends in the legislature.

● Three New Jersey Republicans appear in deep congressional trouble. Democrats believe that their best shot is at U.S. Rep. John Hunt, who may be unseated in the 1st C.D. by State Assemblyman James Florio (D). They also think they have good chances of replacing U.S. Rep. Charles Sandman with attorney William Hughes (D) in the 2nd C.D. and replacing U.S. Rep. Joseph Maraziti with Helen Meyner (D) in the 13th C.D. Still vulnerable is U.S. Rep. William Widnall (R-7th), but U.S. Rep. Edwin B. Forsythe now appears relatively safe in the 6th C.D. Furthermore, in the race to succeed U.S. Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R-5th), Republicans now appear favored to elect Millicent Fenwick (R). Her Democratic opponent has had trouble raising sufficient funds for the race.

● Massachusetts Gov. Francis Sargent has shed his Hyde and donned his Jekyll. In the first of a series of televised debates with his Democratic opponent, former State Rep. Michael Dukakis, the old Frank Sargent — calm, likable, fallible, trying hard to balance fiscal restraint with human compassion — emerged. The governor's performance was a far cry from his straw-man beating primary style. The re-emergence of the old Sargent is not enough to win, but another odd twist has developed in the campaign. This is emergence of a new Dukakis; belying his liberal, reformer image, Dukakis appeared on TV as a slick, cold, budget-slashing administrator, spewing platitudes about productivity in government and bringing industry to Massachusetts. Should these images solidify, it is no longer impossible that

● Ronald Reagan-George Wallace: The 1976 Odd Couple? Conservative Republican direct mail expert Richard Viguerie has reportedly gone to work on George Wallace's direct mail solicitations. Ronald Reagan is promoted weekly in some conservative journals as the conservatives' 1976 non-Republican hope. Kevin Phillips writes like Reagan's candidacy is a fait accompli. Human Events engages in a lot of wishful thinking. Meanwhile George Wallace is acknowledged by many observers as a possible Democratic king-maker in 1976. The stranger-than-life possibility is for a Reagan-Wallace independent ticket; there reportedly have been some preliminary conversations on the possibility.

● Unfeminist comments have gotten two Democratic candidates in trouble recently. In Tennessee, the Public Service Commission chairman was sharply criticized after he referred to his Republican opponent, Jane Hardaway, as "Governor (Winfield) Dunn's little woman." Hardway is a former state personnel commissioner now seeking a seat on the Public Service Commission. In Nebraska, Wayne Ziebarth, Democratic congressional candidate in the 3rd C.D., implied on a radio interview that women have no place in politics. Ziebarth's Republican opponent, Mrs. Virginia Smith, trailed the Democrat, 46-40 percent, in a newspaper poll. Ziebarth subsequently apologized for the statement, saying "I've never thought that I was a male chauvinist at all." The two politicians are vying for the seat being vacated by U.S. Rep. David Martin (R).

● According to an August Field Poll in California, Gov. Ronald Reagan (R) has a relatively favorable job approval rating from the California electorate. Although his August rating of "good" is only 35 percent, it is higher than his rating for the past two years and only seven points lower than his high point of 42 percent in February 1969. By comparison, former Gov. Edmund Brown (D) generally received "good" ratings from 21-26 percent of the voters and former President Richard Nixon left office with a "good" job approval rating of 16 percent among California voters.

● Ohio Republicans hope to unseat the entire Ferguson family in this year's election for state auditor. The current Democratic auditor, Joseph T. Ferguson, is an octogenarian who is attempting to turn the \$25,000 office over to his son, who is now on the auditor's payroll for \$23,546. Four Ferguson grandsons are on the payroll for salaries ranging from \$7,571 to \$12,938. Altogether, the family take is \$88,000. Former State Rep. Roger W. Tracy, Jr. is the GOP candidate against the Fergusons.

● Connecticut Republicans are in trouble. A poll by the New Haven Register and the Hartford Times shows Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D) leading his GOP opponent, State Rep. James Brannen III, 50-16 percent. In the gubernatorial race, U.S. Rep. Ella Grasso (D) is leading U.S. Rep. Robert Steele (R), 48-30 percent. Grasso pumped life into her own campaign with a scurrilous remark comparing herself to Helen Gahagan Douglas, by implication inferring that Steele could be compared with Douglas' 1950 Senate opponent, Richard Nixon.

◆● Even as a lame-duck, Connecticut Gov. **Thomas J. Meskill** (R) has a way of attracting controversy. Meskill's nomination to a vacancy on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals has been opposed by the American Bar Association. Now, Meskill's nomination of former Connecticut Republican Chairman **Brian Gaffney** to a vacancy on the State Superior Court has been opposed by the Connecticut Bar Association. The Bar found both Meskill and Gaffney, a longtime associate of the governor's, to be "unqualified" for their judicial nominations.

● Correction: An article in the September 1 newsletter inadvertently misquoted a campaign statement by **Jim Blanchard**, who is the Democratic candidate opposing U.S. Rep. **Robert J. Huber** in Michigan's 18th C.D. In a pre-primary brochure, Blanchard used the slogan: "1/2 the people in this country think that high prices is our biggest problem. The other 1/2 are Republicans." The statement, which was misquoted in the FORUM, did not appear on billboards as the FORUM had stated.

COMMENTARY: FISCAL ECONOMY

Knee- Jerks And Knuckle- Heads

by *Peter Berg*

In recent years, there has been a growing public disenchantment with liberals who instinctively respond to a social problem by throwing money at it.

Indiscriminate applications of funds, combined with a paucity of successes, or, more accurately, publicized successes in those programs, is one part of the problem. Another difficulty is the knee-jerk reflex of many liberals, caustic in their response to even the most inoffensive and innocent inquiries aimed at the social worth of favorite liberal programs.

A sizable portion of moderate America is tired of providing fodder for political sacred cows; that goes for the herd of sacred cows at the Pentagon as well as the sacred social cows of liberals. Unfortunately, the spectre of letting down our national defenses for lack of funds is personally more threatening to the average citizen than is

discrimination or illiteracy for a class of people. As a result, proponents of social programs have to work harder to justify their positions.

Moderate America does have a heart. All it wants to see is some proof that its tax dollars are being spent effectively. And "effective" is the key word.

Those of us who like to think of ourselves as progressives can only regain public support for domestic social programs by proving their ultimate worth to moderate America, and we can only do that by showing how effective they can be.

Program managers, particularly at the state level, are developing innovative ways of gauging the effectiveness of their programs. They've been forced to as state governments are becoming more aware of modern budget techniques that point out wasteful spending areas and more reluctant to part with dollars for programs that aid criminals, the poor, and other marginally popular groups.

This talented corps of managers is not trying to make silk purses of the ears of sacred cows. They're using their new measuring sticks to weigh the effectiveness of different approaches.

One good example is the politically exploited area of corrections, where, conservatives are chilling their audiences with the horrors of murderers out on furlough.

The traditional liberal counter-attack cites recidivism rates. More effective arguments involve analyses of the rehabilitation techniques which compare crimes committed by repeat offenders. Some techniques not only are better than others at lowering recidivism but also result in repeat offenders committing less serious crimes. Psychological studies which check the attitudes of criminals toward society, authority, and themselves are another measure of the effectiveness of reha-

bilitation programs. To gauge fiscal impact, the managers are checking to see if per-inmate costs are ultimately less at pre-release centers than at the prisons. (They are.)

Housing programs are another area where managers, pressured to justify their appropriations, have outgrown a conventional yardstick — the number of units constructed — which is a misleading index because it tells nothing of the quality of the units.

Housing managers now compare the cost of construction plus bond interest in prior years with present replacement costs. To gauge the impact of "scattered site" housing, they have utilized the number of home improvement loans and data from building code inspections in various neighborhoods where "scattered site" housing has been built. And they conduct tenant surveys and geriatric studies to help determine how to establish the most efficient and effective housing.

The managers of our sacred cows have made analytical advances. If progressives hope to convince moderate America that we want to make fiscal resources stretch as far as possible, then we must match citizen skepticism with skilled evaluative criteria.

Knee-jerk reflexes can then be left to more spasmodic politicians and to the caustic criticism of cocktail commentators. ■

CONTRIBUTOR NOTES

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COMMENTARY: ENERGY

Over- Pricing Inde- pendence

by Donald Weeden

Based on what the people have seen to date, Project Independence looks and sounds like a public relations gimmick. There is little reason to believe that goal of energy self sufficiency by 1980 is economically and technologically feasible or ecologically sensible. Indeed, many of us question whether the goal is desirable, even assuming it is attainable. There is something disturbingly jingoistic about the United States bending itself out of shape trying to be economically independent in a world that is so clearly interdependent.

More important, there is something quite reckless in proposing vast expenditures of public and private funds — more than 20 times what we spent to put a man on the moon — when the country's primary problem is inflation.

The new Ford Administration seems very unlikely to approve the kind of appropriations and tax concessions implicit in Project Independence. Wisdom lies in re-examining what the Federal Energy Administration (FEA) can reasonably do and ought to try to do in view of the present economic crisis.

As an immediate step, the Administration should present Capitol Hill with a well-reasoned bill imposing steep, luxury taxes on automobiles based on weight and horsepower. The country needs to know how much gasoline it could save if it copied the European and Japanese systems for en-

couraging small car production by taxing the hell out of big cars. The Administration should re-enlist George Romney to lecture the engineers and managers in Detroit about the folly of their gas guzzling dinosaurs. Motor vehicle consumption of petroleum products equals our total oil imports! We can save three million barrels per day by switching to smaller cars.

The Administration should enlist that new tough-minded bunch at the Federal Trade Commission. Get them to focus on the consumer fraud involved in endless TV commercials which con consumers into believing that Buicks, Pontiacs, Oldsmobiles, Chryslers, and Mercurys are compact cars that somehow save gas because they are a few inches shorter. Still worse are the Cadillac and Lincoln commercials which speak of "range" because they have 26 gallon gas tanks!

Equally important is a campaign for more efficient use of existing motor vehicles. A switch of half our urban commuters from private cars to buses would save over 500,000 barrels per day.

One way to begin getting the private car versus mass transit picture in proper focus would be for the FEA to discuss with the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department the inherent conflict of interest in permitting General Motors to be at the same time the leading producer of passenger cars and the leading producer of buses and locomotives. Buses and locomotives account for less than one percent of GM's sales. Yet, one bus can do the job of 50 Oldsmobiles and one passenger train the job of 1,000 Chevrolets. When push comes to shove, the pressure on the most public-spirited, well-meaning corporate manager at General Motors is to prefer and promote private cars over new mass transit vehicles — in research, in development, and in advertising. Consideration ought to be to having General Motors spin off its bus and locomotive divisions.

Given the current energy shortage, our private cars are improperly designed and operated. For example, Detroit's stock passenger cars make lousy taxis and use a lot of gasoline. What we need is a United States-manufactured, London-type cab — meaning a durable, short wheel-based, low-powered vehicle, easy to enter and leave,

with plenty of head room, able to accommodate four-five passengers in comfort.

On its own, Detroit will never make a decent taxi cab. It prefers the production profits of taking ordinary passenger cars and just spraying them with yellow paint. To use the marketing lingo, we can no longer rely on the manufacturers' push to give us the products we need. The FEA must organize consumer pull.

There are more than a dozen major cities which have worked out detailed energy conservation programs — worked them out because they had to comply with the Clean Air Act.

The Federal Energy Administration could be — and should be — the decisive force in bringing about prompt implementation of these programs.

I am not talking about imperfectly designed pollution control devices for automobiles. I am talking about basic strategies already mapped out to reduce the staggering numbers of private cars caught in traffic jams each morning as workers, one to a car, struggle to get to and from work. I am talking about strategies that save energy by prohibiting needless cruising by taxi cabs. In Manhattan, 52 percent of all taxi mileage is without a passenger — just empty cruising. Responsible experts estimate three million gallons would be saved each year by reducing cruising 40 percent.

The Federal Energy Administration will prove its mettle when it has the guts to enter the Highway Fund fight and help reverse the foolish policies which give us highways we do not want and deny us the mass transit we need.

In times of inflation and raw material shortages, conservation has a far higher priority than the expansionistic exotica most of us associate with Project Independence.

The best strategy for the Federal Energy Administration is to take the lead in bringing about those conservation efforts needed to keep demand down by avoiding waste and a repetition of last winter's miscalculations and misallocations. ■

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EDITORIAL

THE ECONOMY

President Ford has presented Congress and the American people with a courageous, fair, and realistic program for attacking the menace of inflation. We look upon the President's proposals as a substantive *beginning* in our war against inflation, realizing that the proposals in his economic message are probably insufficient in themselves to *cure* inflation.

We are particularly pleased with the President's proposal to "end restrictive practices whether instituted by government, industry, labor or others." The Ripon Society has consistently advocated stronger antitrust legislation and enforcement, and deregulation of the American economy. We are hopeful that the President's message, coming just after Federal Trade Commission Lewis A. Engman's charge that the nation's regulatory machinery is fueling inflation through "government-sanctioned price fixing," will finally mean a serious attempt to curtail those regulatory policies that kill competition, breed inefficiency, stifle innovation, and cost the American consumer billions of extra dollars.

Particularly noxious have been such regulations as the Jones Act which forbids foreign competition in the shipping business between U.S. ports; the Davis-Bacon Act which requires contractors to pay more than competitive construction wages; and laws that give the U.S. Postal Service a monopoly over first class U.S. mail.

It is most gratifying to see that the President has called for "inflationary impact statements" for the Administration and Congress (which were first proposed in the October 1973 Ripon FORUM). These statements should do much to prevent the type of short-sighted economic policy-making and legislation which we have been exposed to in recent years.

Even though we are in substantial agreement with the President's program, we suggest the following modifications which we believe would do much to bring inflation under control at an earlier date:

1. To reduce gasoline consumption, that a surtax be placed upon every gallon of gasoline sold (as originally proposed in the December 15, 1973 FORUM). The surtax should be coupled with a uniform fixed-income tax credit to all taxpayers, or a social security tax credit for those who are too

poor to pay for income taxes; the credit would be equal to the average increase in taxes resulting from the gasoline tax surcharge. In addition, recipients of social security benefits should have their benefits increased by an amount equivalent to the tax credit. The enactment of this program would do much to reduce our dependency on foreign oil and yet would largely mitigate the effects of the increased price on lower income persons.

2. To encourage savings in saving and loan associations and commercial banks, and to help the average American to reduce the inflationary erosion of his savings, it is proposed that the first \$1,000 of interest received by an individual in a qualified thrift institution be made tax-exempt. Such a program will encourage and reward savers and provide more investment capital for the housing industry and American business in general.

3. To make tax reform legislation the priority item of the next session of Congress. Like most Democratic congressional criticism of President Ford's proposals, the attacks on the income tax surcharge were largely hogwash. The proposal's impact on the middle class would be muted, but the prospects for passage of such legislation are so dead that discussion would be equally moot. With prospects for new leadership from the Congressional Budget Committee, the President should push Congress to enact legislation closing many of the loopholes in the existing tax structure, impose higher minimum income taxes on the wealthy, and eliminate federal income tax deductions for such items as state gasoline taxes.

4. To restore some sanity to the budget, Congress ought to evaluate the next federal budget proposal on the basis of objectives set by the federal departments and offices during the past two years. These departments ought to be evaluated on the basis of their success in meeting performance goals; future budget allocations should be made on the basis of government productivity. If the government cannot produce, it cannot reasonably expect the public to sacrifice. And if a Democratic Congress cannot evaluate the bureaucracy, then what can it do . . . besides carp?

We believe that with the above mentioned changes, that President Ford's program will do much to curtail and mitigate the effects of inflation while at the same time minimizing the hardships to any particular group of Americans. ■

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "President Hopes to Push GOP Leftward." *Human Events*, September 14, 1974. "A number of southern Republican chairmen, including Florida's L. E. (Tommy) Thomas have told *Human Events* that Ford is by no means a cinch to be nominated by the Republicans in 1976, and that Reagan was still in the running. Moreover, they said that Reagan's chances have been improved by Ford's stunning gestures to the left. A number of other important Republicans have expressed similar sentiments. In short, Ford, who was neither nominated by Republicans at convention, or elected nationwide, is probably not going to have as easy a time of pulling the party to the left as he may think."

● "Politics And the Kennedy Factor" by Richard J. Whalen. *Washington Post*, September 29, 1974. Commenting on the withdrawal of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) from presidential politics, author Whalen writes: "The Republicans, who face extremely serious reverses in the November elections, are even more accustomed than the diehard Kennedyites to taking Teddy as a fixed point of reference. They will be slow to realize the implications, especially after the off-year elections, of the deprivation, probably once and for all, of Chappaquiddick as an issue. The Republicans are confronted with the necessity to offer the voters a positive, specific program rather than the Nixon-era slogans."

● "Ford Scores With Obenshain Choice," by Helen Dewar. *Raleigh News and Observer*, September 15, 1974. "Selection of Virginia's Richard D. Obenshain as co-chairman of the Republican National Committee may well

help mollify lingering southern displeasure over some early moves of President Ford, including selection of Nelson Rockefeller for vice president. Obenshain, who [was] the Virginia GOP chairman, is a bona fide, true-blue, all-out, 100 percent, super-enthusiastic southern conservative," writes Dewar. "Obenshain has many critics in Virginia, in both parties, but few if any deprecate his political skills. There are several retired officeholders who can attest to his craftsmanship. While some Republicans as well as many Democrats are turned off by his Goldwater-vintage ideology, the 38-year-old Obenshain transcends this limited base also by virtue of an affable, open manner — which, apart from doctrine, suits him for the Ford team."

● **"The Republican State Committee Struck Out By Not Pushing Erna Ballantine's Candidacy,"** by A. A. Michaelson. *The Berkshire Eagle*, September 28, 1974. Michaelson argues that the Massachusetts Republican State Committee badly missed the boat by not pushing harder for a ballot position for state treasurer candidate Erna Ballantine. Ballantine failed to amass either enough signatures to get on the primary ballot or enough "sticker" votes to get on the general election ballot against the now-unopposed Democratic incumbent. According to Michaelson, "State Treasurer Robert Q. Crane showed surprising weakness in the primary when he won the nomination by only 13,000 votes. . . . For another, Mrs. Ballantine has qualifications. She is neither a token black nor a token woman candidate. She has earned master's and doctor's degrees in educational administration at Harvard. She headed a department of the Boston Five-Cent Savings Bank, one of the largest savings institutions in Boston, for three years. She was secretary-treasurer of the Massachusetts chapter, American Institute for Banking. She was chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination for three years. In addition, she is chairman of the Massachusetts Council of Churches." In short, she was the sort of candidate the GOP desperately needed.

● **"Texas GOP Hits Ford's Liberal Drift." Human Events**, September 28, 1974. "In his latest manifestation of rank-and-file GOP dissatisfaction with the Ford Administration's jolting lurch leftward in its first months in power, the Texas Republican state convention . . . passed a resolution denouncing such actions as the President's amnesty decision, his support for expensive new programs like national health insurance, and his designation of Nelson Rockefeller as vice president. These moves, said the resolution, reflect 'the compromising atmosphere of Washington' which 'is undermining the conservative mandate so loudly proclaimed by Texans and all Americans in the election of 1972.'" **Human Events** quoted one Texas GOP official as threatening a GOP rejection of Ford unless he abruptly switches ideological directions.

● **"The Republicans,"** by Kaye Northcott. *Texas Observer*, October 4, 1974. Except for the resolution condemning the liberal excesses of the Ford Administration, the Texas GOP convention was not exactly an exciting affair. Less than half the allotted delegates and even fewer alternates showed up at the convention. "This dearth of delegate enthusiasm no doubt had something to do with the Republicans' lackluster slate this year. Two years ago, Henry Grover came within 100,000 votes of matching Dolph Briscoe's total. Grover is popular among the rank and file conservative voters, but he's not on the [Sen. John] Tower team. This year he was virtually driven out of the race by the state party establishment." Former Lubbock Mayor Jim Granberry is the party candidate; he is campaigning against Gov. Dolph Briscoe (D) for making "Texas passes" the hallmark of the Briscoe administration. Briscoe's leadership has been as ineffectual

at the state level as it was at the 1972 Democratic National Convention when Briscoe made the "Texas passes" phrase a standard response to rollcalls. According to *Observer* Editor Northcott, one highlight of the convention was the presentation of a pingpong paddle to George Bush, the new U.S. ambassador to China.

● **"Times Are Tough But the Governor Gets Around,"** by John McLaughlin. *New York Daily News*, September 30, 1974. "You remember (New Jersey Gov.) Brendan Byrne. He's the fella who tried to give us the income tax, failed in July, and then promised the legislature he would be a good boy and never mention the term again for the next two years. Since then he has occupied himself by canoeing down the Delaware, exchanging lobs and backhands with Bobby Riggs, Althea Gibson and assorted Kennedys, presiding at a motorcycle hearing, playing a little golf, taking a T.V. bow at the Miss America contest, and then negotiating and eventually withdrawing from a three-round match with that noted amateur boxer, Jersey Ken Gibson of Newark." But columnist McLaughlin is not impressed by the Democratic governor's leisure: "Still, all these recreational activities have done little to curb the growing impression that things are adrift here [in Trenton]. Ever since he took office with a majority of historic proportions and overwhelming majorities in both houses, Byrne has allowed the legislative leaders and his own state chairman, [State] Sen. James P. Dugan, to kick sand in his face — on campaign financing, new congressional districts, the income tax, the right of citizens to bring environmental suits, and more."

● **"Don't Count Kennedy Out Beyond 1976, Friends Say,"** by Stephen Wermiel. *Boston Globe*, September 25, 1974. "In taking himself out of the 1976 presidential race, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy may well have enhanced his status as a senator and made himself a formidable candidate in the future. No fewer than a dozen aides, friends, and associates of the Massachusetts Democrat in interviews [September 29] insisted that Kennedy 'is far more powerful today, politically, than he was last week.'" Writes Wermiel: "Virtually all of those interviewed yesterday said Kennedy in no way intended to remove himself from any presidential race beyond that of 1976."

● **"Dems Headed for Trauma-Filled Convention in Kansas City,"** by Ben Cole. (Phoenix) *Arizona Republic*, September 26, 1974. "Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), the darkest of dark-horses in the forthcoming presidential sweepstakes, keeps reiterating that 'new faces' are needed. As an effort in this direction, he is going about the country trying to make his 'new face' as familiar to the party workers as the 'old faces' of other politicians. It is one of the paradoxes of politics."

● **"GOP's Ace In The Hole,"** by Richard Grimes. *Charleston Daily Mail*, September 12, 1974. Joe Laurita is the West Virginia GOP's best chance to elect a Republican to Congress since Arch A. Moore, Jr., was elected governor in 1968. Laurita, a former prosecuting attorney, was injured in an explosion tied to the rackets, lost a close race to Attorney General Chauncey Browning in 1972. Laurita might have won had he not run out of money in the closing months of the campaign. But things are happening for him and word we hear is that incumbent Robert Mollohan is in for a fight in the first district." Even if Laurita loses but gives Mollohan a close race, Grimes sees the young Republican as a prime 1976 gubernatorial candidate. Laurita already has supporters — both political and financial — and might be able to bridge the gaps between Republican adherents of Moore and former Gov. Cecil Underwood.

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