

RIPON FORUM

THE RIPON SOCIETY HAS MOVED.
THE NEW ADDRESS IS:
1609 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009

JUNE 15, 1975

VOL. XI, No. 12

50 CENTS

COMMENTARY: DEMOCRATS

PINNING THE CANDIDATE ON THE DONKEY

by Dick Behn

Sen. Vance Hartke(D-Ind.) must be running for President. Why else would he be so civic minded as to put the faculty of Concordia Teachers College in Seward, Nebraska on the mailing list for his constituent newsletter. At that rate, more congressmen may enter the presidential sweepstakes—in order to take advantage of the free newsletters, telephone and staff allowances which House Administration Committee Chairman Wayne Hays awarded his fellow congresspersons before the Memorial Day recess. Presumably, the additional staff will additionally crowd already crowded congressional office space and add impetus to congressional calls for another marble mausoleum for House offices.

Hays is the sort of Democrat that may fuel President Gerald Ford's reelection campaign in 1976—and provide ready comparisons with Truman's denunciations of a do-nothing Congress. While the Congress was unable to enact an energy policy before recessing, it could under Hays' aegis pad congressional benefits. When U.S.Rep. Millicent Fenwick(R-N.J.) had the temerity to question the wisdom of Hays' unilateral action, she was subject to a savage attack from Hays. The Ohio Democrat later deleted his more offensive remarks from the Congressional Record.

The Democrats are embarrassing themselves by demonstrating a fundamental inability to provide policy alternatives to those of Gerald Ford. As Richard Reeves observed recently in the New York Times: "There is no such thing as the Democratic Party, at least nothing that can be identified any more as a functioning, coordinated, cohesive political organization that can be led or surrendered. President Ford now faces no Loyal Opposition. There have never really been shadow cabinets in the United States; now there is no opposition leadership and few alternative programs." Even the House Republican Leadership under John Rhodes is putting together its own congressional program.

About half the nation's fifty states harbor a native who has been mentioned as a possible Democratic candidate for President or Vice President. Despite the extensive list of Democratic possibilities, the Gallup Poll shows that Sen. Edward Kennedy(D-Mass.) is still far and away the top choice of Democrats for the presidential nomination. Alabama Gov. George Wallace(D) is the first choice of only 15 percent of the Democrats, compared to 36 percent for Kennedy. Four other stale names—Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, Edmund Muskie, and George McGovern—are the only other Democrats to be the first choice of more than one percent of the Democrats polled. The prophecy of House Majority Leader Thomas "Tip" O'Neill that Kennedy will be the Democrats' 1976 standard-bearer is beginning to seem as plausible as it is wishful.(O'Neill's desire to be House speaker would be boosted by this wishful wisdom).

ABW sentiments (Anybody But Wallace) seemed to spread like spring pollen in May. Wallace spurred a spate of nasty media coverage with his comments about the American role in World War II, but he was also the subject of a series of unfavorable critiques of his leadership as governor of Alabama. Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford joined former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter as a vocal southern critic of Wallace. And up in New Hampshire where Manchester Union-Leader publisher William Loeb has already forsaken Ronald Reagan for Wallace in 1976, Sen. Thomas McIntyre(D-N.H.) said:"Any Democratic presidential candidate who says he could live with George Wallace as his running mate will also have to live with the stain of that betrayal," referring to the World War II comments.

Second only to the sudden wave of denunciations of the Georgia governor was the continued praise in the national media which has characterized California Gov. Edmund "Jerry" Brown's short term in office. His leadership style contrasts sharply with the verbose posturing of the Senate presidential club. Brown is intent on calling a garbage dump a garbage dump rather than a sanitary landfill—something most senators would hardly be able to do. A Kennedy-Brown ticket in 1976 is conceivable though both men would have to take more heat from the press than they have shown themselves willing to accommodate in the past. It is enough to sadden the White House and gladden Democrats, but it still remains an unlikely Democratic dream. ■

COMMENTARY: FEDERAL AID

THE FATE OF GENERAL REVENUE SHARING

by Charles W. Whalen, Jr.

Before the closing session of the 94th Congress, the fate of general revenue sharing will be determined. Since the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 expires in December 1976, the buck stops at Capitol Hill, and Congress must decide whether it wants to continue to pass GRS bucks to 39,000 units of state and local government.

At face value, general revenue sharing appears to be an overwhelming success. Governors, mayors, city managers, county commissioners and every other elected representative of a jurisdiction that receives general revenue sharing vocally demand a speedy renewal of the law. These spokesmen testify that they could have operated their services and programs without GRS allocations and that the present economy makes conditions doubly critical for financing public expenditures. According to the embattled local officials, an automatic extension of the program is needed just to keep their governments afloat during a high tide of inflation and economic recession.

The GRS issue, however, is more complex than reflected merely in sampling the opinions of mayors and county commissioners. The fact that large cities are in worse fiscal shape today than they were when GRS was first enacted demonstrates that revenue sharing did not become a panacea for the ills of urban America. This situation raises a question about the distribution of GRS fund and about whether the allocation formula is really adequately based upon the goal of providing the most help to communities with the greatest needs. Furthermore, general revenue sharing represents only one of numerous federal programs aimed at aiding cities and alleviating specific urban problems. Faced with a federal budget crunch and an economic situation that especially hurts urban residents, Congress must ask how general revenue sharing compares with other policies which attempt to deal with urban problems.

Still other subjects need to be addressed in the revenue sharing debate. Besides measuring GRS against urban-oriented categorical grants and gauging its place within the mosaic of domestic policies, Congress must examine the original goals of the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act. Various proponents rhetorically tied sweeping claims to the general revenue sharing concept. Not only was GRS to provide fiscal relief, but it was supposed to strengthen local government and usher in an era of citizen participation. The New Federalists also added the issue of governmental decentralization while pitting GRS against highly specific federal programs.

Congress needs to look carefully at these goals: How close did the program come to achieving any of these aims and was the law suitably drafted to produce such ends. How realistic were these goals and how much importance do we ascribe to them now. Such an analysis of ends and means appears to be crucial because by the time it was enacted in 1972, revenue sharing had come to mean many different things to many different people.

The fiscal issue is a complex one. GRS constitutes between five and eight percent of most municipal budgets, and officials claim that they cannot operate without it. However, revenue sharing began at a time when certain categorical grants aimed at central city problems were cut or eliminated. During the GRS debate, advocates talked about revenue sharing as additional and not replacement money. Nevertheless, the Nixon budget cutters began slashing away at Great Society programs almost immediately after the passage of the State and Local Assistance Act.

The most drastic cuts came from social programs for the poor and elderly. Although certain communities have used GRS to replace these losses, the bulk of the evidence indicates that local government have not opted to fill these gaps. Financially strapped major cities choose to utilize GRS to maintain the status quo or to provide fiscal relief while many solvent middle-sized municipalities allocate revenue-sharing funds for one-shot capital expenditures. At a time when the economy especially hurts the poor and the elderly, this information stands as an indictment of the program.

One problem with the GRS formula is the fact that the very strapped central cities don't receive allocations that really fit their needs. Under the law, all general purpose governments qualify for GRS, and 39,000 units receive revenue sharing checks. Furthermore, the per capita ceilings and floors drafted into the law, give even more money to small, limited, and "do-nothing" jurisdictions. Not only do these provisions take money away from the problem-ridden and financially-crippled central cities, but they prop up and perpetuate moribund or ineffective governmental units. This phenomenon directly contradicts the goal of strengthening local government. Instead of promoting efforts to consolidate small units or to modernize the fragmented governmental systems that ex-

ist in urban regions, revenue sharing funds give a feeling of independence to many of these obsolete jurisdictions. Although some evidence exists that governmental cooperation has occurred with GRS, these examples do not constitute a trend among even a minority of the local governments surveyed. Clearly new legislation must provide more aid to effective governments while also encouraging jurisdictional reform.

Practically every study concludes that revenue sharing failed to invoke a lot of citizen participation at the local level. Because of the simultaneous cut in categorical grants, certain black and low-income organizations in large central cities did focus more attention on spending at city hall, but few local governments actively sought a meaningful dialogue with citizens concerning GRS allocations. No mention of citizen involvement was made in the 1972 law, and the planned and actual-use reports that governments were required to publish in the newspaper were neither well publicized or truly informative.

In short, revenue sharing failed to measure up to any of the major goals that were tied to it. Since this is the case, should Congress merely let the program expire? Or, is the law redeemable through amendments. A good case can be made for a substantially amended program. Not only do many local governments desperately need this revenue, but it seems appropriate to give this less restricted method of federal aid a longer trial period. After reviewing the actual uses of revenue sharing, many congressmen will probably ask for tighter restrictions on spending. However, instead of drafting rigid requirements, it might prove wiser to write a general clause that says that Congress wishes to maintain the flexibility of the 1972 law but that it will closely monitor the program to see if local governments utilize GRS to aid those citizens with the greatest economic and social hardships.

The goals of strengthening local government and of providing more money to communities with the greatest needs would both be enhanced by limiting the number of governments that receive GRS. Thus, Congress should implement the Brookings Institution's recommendation that calls for the removal of the per capita floor and ceiling provisions of the old law and for the creation of a minimum stand of governmental activity based upon a community's population and the number of non-school public employees in full time service. This would certainly eliminate numerous limited-purpose or do-nothing units that still come under the definition of general purpose governments.

Since states are constitutionally responsible for local governments within their borders, a portion of a state's revenue sharing should be earmarked for governmental modernization efforts. Furthermore, in order to produce reform in urban regions, Congress could increase general revenue sharing funds sufficiently to allocate GRS money to state-recognized regional councils and commissions.

In terms of citizen participation, several steps should be taken. First, GRS public hearings should be mandated. Further, the law should require these meetings to be publicized and held prior to a government's regular budget session. More informative planned-used and actual-use reports must also be given wider circulation within the various jurisdictions.

These amendments could bring GRS goals and realities closer together while giving Congress additional time to study this approach to state and local government. Over the next several years, Congress needs to assess general revenue sharing and all other policies that affect cities and urban regions. Only then will we know how effective, ineffective, or contradictory all these efforts are, and only then will we be able to construct a moral rational urban policy. ■

Contributor Note: Charles W. Whalen, Jr. has represented Ohio's 3rd C.D. since 1966 and was the only Republican congressman elected without Democratic opposition in 1974.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in District of Columbia, chapters in fifteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 1609 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Second class postage rates paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. Contents are copyrighted © 1975 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the editor is welcomed. (Ripon FORUM, Box 226, Charlestown, Mass. 02129.)

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the

Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$15 a year, \$7.50 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$6 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: Dick Behn

Editorial Board:

Robert D. Behn, Chairman
Robert H. Donaldson
James Manahan

Tanya Melich
Robert G. Stewart
Ralph Thayer

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, William A. Koelsch, Daniel J. Swillinger, Josiah Lee Auspitz, Richard W. Rahn, John A. Rehfuss, Thomas A. Sargent, Richard Cleveland, Mark Frazier, Peter Berg, Martin Sours, and William K. Woods.

Technical Editor: Brian J. McCarthy

POLITICS: STATES

U.S. Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. (R-Cal.) has been quoted in the California and Washington press as indicating he may not seek reelection in 1976. "It's just fine," was his reaction when asked about a possible candidacy by Vietnam War protestor David Harris against him. He said his nine years in Congress was enough: "After that, you feel you are entitled to all that power and acclaim." A McCloskey spokesman indicated, however, that no decision was final. If he did retire, McCloskey, who recently hired Egil "Bud" Krogh for his office staff, reportedly would return to California to practice law.

CONNECTICUT

GOP State Chairman Vincent Laudone is resigning, effective June 17, to return to the full-time practice of law. Laudone, who was selected by Sen. Lowell Weicker (R) as a compromise chairman during last fall's gubernatorial race, had been expected to resign for some time. This time, however, Weicker's office indicates he expects to stay out of the selection process. Possible successors include former business executive Joseph B. Burns, former House Speaker Francis J. Collins, and former GOP State Chairman J. Brian Gaffney. The choice may depend on the availability of a salary for the new chairman. Note: State AFL-CIO head John J. Driscoll has resigned from the Democratic National Committee because of a pay freeze for state employees. Driscoll has charged Democrats with renegeing on platform promises. Like most of her gubernatorial brethren, Gov. Ella Grasso (D) has budget problems.

DELAWARE

U.S. Rep. Pierre S. du Pont IV (R) is being pressured by GOP State Chairman Herman C. Brown to seek the Republican gubernatorial nomination against Gov. Sherman Tribbitt (D) in 1976. Brown's pressure has been insistent, despite du Pont's reluctance to leave his congressional seat next year. Brown would like to avoid a fight for the nomination and has predicted: "If the election were held right now between du Pont and Tribbitt, [du Pont] would get the greatest majority in the history of the state." Du Pont, however, would like to wait until 1978 and run for Sen. Joseph Biden's seat. He foresees more opportunities for effective leadership in Washington than in Dover and anticipates that Democrat Biden would be unbeatable unless challenged by du Pont. On the other hand, du Pont's staff has leaked poll results that show Tribbitt would be vulnerable to a number of Republicans with statewide recognition. Brown would like to avoid a nomination fight with a du Pont candidacy. Interested Republicans include Lt. Gov. Eugene Bookhammer, Insurance Commissioner Robert A. Short, Jr., former House Majority Whip Daniel E. Weiss, and former Senate Minority Whip George Jarvis. Du Pont, however, believes the GOP would forfeit a senatorial seat for a gubernatorial one if he ran for governor. Du Pont might now have Biden's post if the Nixon White House had not interfered in the state's politics in 1972 and convinced Sen. Caleb Boggs (R) to seek reelection. Boggs lost. So did Gov. Russell Peterson (R) to Tribbitt. But politics has not been good to Tribbitt this year; he has been beset by budgetary problems, controversy over a special refinery tax, a statewide teacher strike, the failure of the state lottery, the controversial nomination of former Attorney General David Buckson as a family court judge, and the arrest of Senate President Pro Tem T. Donald Issacs after an altercation with New Castle County police. Moreover, the Democratic state organization is in disrepair and labor union allies are disaffected. New Castle County Democratic leader Edward F. Peterson has predicted renomination trouble for Tribbitt, but that is viewed as unlikely. Du Pont's staff has leaked results of a poll which shows that Tribbitt is vulnerable—even to a lesser Republican than the congressman. Meanwhile, in the 1976 Senate race, Wilmington Mayor Thomas V. Maloney (D) is gearing up to challenge Sen. William Roth, Jr. (R). Roth looks good in the polls, but the GOP remembers that former Sen. Boggs enjoyed a similar lead in 1972.

FLORIDA

Vice President Nelson Rockefeller was originally slated to be the speaker at the Dade County Lincoln Day dinner February 22. Rockefeller was dumped, however, as too liberal and replaced with former U.S. Rep. Charles Sandman, who attracted only 200 guests. The county GOP paid for two round-trip tickets for Sandman and his wife, hotel accommodations for five days, long distance phone bills, and car rental. Sandman's wife didn't come for the dinner and instead used the ticket for a later vacation. The dinner was a bust financially and 25-year-old county GOP chairman Mark Benson was blamed. He was subsequently busted as chairman in May, ostensibly because he had moved from his district, but in reality as a result of the organization's indebtedness. The GOP group hopes another fundraiser will bring in more money than Sandman did.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Mayor Kevin White has already lost two of his opponents in this year's mayoral election: State Rep. Ray Flynn, an anti-busing activist, and Suffolk Sheriff Thomas Eisenstadt (D). He still faces State Sen. Joseph Timilty and may face State Sen. William Bulger, another South Boston anti-busing hero. If things get tough for the mayor, who has been badly embarrassed by fundraising techniques used on city workers, City Councilwoman Louise Hicks (D) may enter the race. Mrs. Hicks twice lost to White, but she has become personally close to the mayor in her new City Council role. A Hicks candidacy would preempt all other anti-busing candidates and ensure White's reelection.

NEBRASKA In making his retirement announcement, Sen. Roman Hruska(R-Neb.) endorsed U.S.Rep.John Y. McCollister(R-2nd) for the 1976 senatorial race. McCollister may have opposition, however. Among his possible opponents are Omaha Mayor Edward Zorinsky(R), former State Senate president Richard Proud, Omaha City Councilman Monte Taylor, and Douglas County Commissioner P.J.Morgan. The Democratic nominee will depend on the political intentions of Gov. J. James Exon(D), who would have to pit his own enormous popularity against Nebraska's traditional "Omaha Senate seat" if he decided to run.

NEW MEXICO Buffeted by a series of staff problems, an ineffectual chairman, and a losing effort in 1974, the New Mexico GOP gathered in Albuquerque April 26 to select new leaders. For the first time in over six years, there were contested races for the top two party positions. Jack Stahl, a former state legislator and prominent Albuquerque realtor, easily defeated John Budagher for the state chairmanship, 210-60. The race for vice chairman narrowed from three to two candidates on the morning of the vote. Former GOP Executive Director Dennis Stevens of Las Cruces defeated Bill Cortez, former administrative assistant to U.S.Rep. Manuel Lujan(R), 194-79. Both men are viewed as potential candidates for the candidate-poor GOP organization. A third potential candidate, May Ann Gomez, who ran unsuccessfully for secretary of state in 1974, was elected state GOP vice chairwoman. The personable and articulate Gomez is touted as a winner in her next race by GOP officials. Note: Sen. Joseph M. Montoya(D) may be on shaky political ground when he comes up for reelection in 1976. An unattributed poll was recently leaked to the news media which showed Montoya well behind both U.S.Rep. Lujan and U.S.Rep. Harold Runnels(D); Montoya even ran behind Joe Skeen, the defeated 1974 gubernatorial candidate, in the alleged poll. Montoya has held public office, with a gap of only two years, since 1936. A 1976 defeat could end a 40-year career.

TENNESSEE The aunt of Gov. Ray Blanton(D) was hired to manage a state-owned inn in Pickwick State Park in early May; to make the appointment of Blanton's aunt, the incumbent inn manager was forced out, six qualified candidates were ignored, and a high-ranking state personnel official admitted that the woman was "marginally qualified." Publicity from that appointment is one of the least of Blanton's worries. Scripps-Howard Newspapers reporter Tim Wyngaard reported in late April that an intensive FBI investigation of Blanton's 1972 Senate campaign against Sen. Howard Baker, Jr.(R-Tenn.) was underway. Under investigation are dual sets of financial records and alleged dirty tricks, including a proposed attempt to grease the tracks in an attempt to slow or stop Baker's campaign trail. The statute of limitations will shortly go into effect on the campaign financing irregularities, but the train pranks---about which Blanton allegedly knew---are not subject to a three-year prosecution limit. Wyngaard said Blanton aides were "jumping out of their skins" about the investigation. Agitation within the Blanton Administration was reportedly so intense that a deal with Sen. Bill Brock(R-Tenn.) was suggested whereby Brock would be spared significant campaign opposition in 1976 in return for slowing down the investigation. Blanton was also embarrassed by revelation that he received \$4000 from trucking industry sources in late 1973 to help pay off his 1972 campaign debt; as governor, Blanton has advocated larger load limits on state trucks. Blanton has had little better success with the heavily-Democratic state legislature, which has refused to pass his pet party registration and party lever bills. Blanton's failure to carry Shelby County in 1974 has also been linked to a state assessment of back taxes against Cook Industries, Inc., a Memphis-based corporation dealing heavily in international agricultural sales. Cook Chairman E.W."Ned" Cook threatened to move his corporation out of state unless some tax relief was granted on the out-of-state business done by Cook. Although Cook is a Democrat, he supported Blanton's 1974 Republican opponent, Lamar Alexander. Although both men denied it later, Blanton allegedly told Cook to have a nice trip when Cook threatened to leave Tennessee. Based on gross sales, Cook Industries is the state's largest corporation.

DULY NOTED: STATES

Nevada Lt. Gov. Robert Roe(D) was elected to his post in 1974 on a platform which called for greater responsibilities for that office. When the legislature passed a bill which appointed him to the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, however, Rose said he couldn't possibly do that job justice and still have time to practice law. Rose was also apparently afraid the position might prove controversial in a possible 1978 gubernatorial run. Note: An appreciation dinner" for Nevada Sen. Howard Cannon(D) May 9 was interpreted as the kickoff for the 1976 reelection campaign of the Senate Rules Committee chairman.

● "Arkansas GOP Is Very Lively Corpse," by Robert Fisher. Arkansas Democrat, May 18, 1975. "Those who thought the Arkansas Republican Party died and was buried along with the late Winthrop Rockefeller are beginning to have second thoughts." Fisher perhaps too optimistically cites Republican suits against a state constitutional convention and dual office-holding as well as moves to end open-ended legislative expense accounts as indications of GOP life. However, referring to the GOP's difficulty in electing candidates, Fisher writes:"When given the choice, the public will opt for charm over ability every time, and, sad to say, the Republicans(for the moment, at least) are woefully short of charm."

● "Glenn Faces Dilemma: Which Road For Him in '76," by Richard G. Zimmerman. Cleveland Plain Dealer, May 27, 1975. Freshman Sen. John Glenn(D-Ohio) is facing pressure to become involved in presidential politics to hold the Ohio delegation together for the 1976 Democratic National Convention and maximize the state's influence while minimizing the possibility that Gov. George Wallace(D-Ala.) will receive the nomination. According to Zimmerman, Glenn has three possibilities: 1) do nothing; 2) launch a favorite-son candidacy solely in Ohio; and 3) enter other states' primaries with serious presidential intentions. Glenn is disinclined to take any of the alternatives and is moving away from a July deadline on announcing his intentions. "Complicating Glenn's moral dilemma is that, to stay out of other states' primaries where all announced candidates are placed on the ballot, he must state he is not a bona fide candidate outside Ohio. Fibbing is not a part of John Glenn's Boy Scout handbook," writes Zimmerman. "The longer Glenn waits, the greater the indication he will choose to become a favorite son or a serious candidate and the greater the national pressure will become on him to join a Stop Wallace movement."

● "Castro's Quiet Style Puzzles Legislators," by Stephen Tragash. (Phoenix) Arizona Republic, May 11, 1975. "After four months in the statehouse Gov. Raul Castro's personality, politics, style and administrative abilities remain a mystery to the Arizona legislature...Some legislators are wondering when, if ever, the former ambassador will seize the reins of state government, put his own stamp on the administration, and abandon his 'on-the-job training' approach. Going beyond matters of style, some critics say Arizona's first Democratic governor in eight years has failed to deliver on his campaign pledges to bring 'forceful' and 'decisive' leadership to the state." Castro's critics include many Democrats as well as Republicans. Tragash quotes one GOP legislative leader as observing, "I'll give him high marks for being personable and fiscally conservative. But once you get into the driver's seat, you'd better start driving the car."

● "Bayley 'Seriously Considering' State Office Race," by Maribeth Morris. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, May 13, 1975. If Sen. Henry Jackson(D-Wash.) abandons his Senate seat to seek the presidency, Attorney General Slade Gorton(R) is expected to seek the GOP Senate nomination. Jackson, however, will have a grace period between the Democratic National Convention and his own Senate filing deadline in 1976 in which to set his sights again on the Senate. If Jackson runs, Gorton won't contest him. And if Gorton runs again for attorney general, King County Prosecutor Christopher Bayley(R) won't contest him. Bayley has been speaking extensively in the state this year and is expected to run for attorney general or another statewide office in 1976.

● "Pete's Political Star Shines Bright in Wins," by Dave Lehrer. Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, May 21, 1975. Last year, Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty(D) was decisively beaten in the Pennsylvania Senate race. He now appears to be headed toward another Senate run, this time for the seat held by Sen. Hugh Scott(R) in 1976. According to Lehrer, "Tuesday's election results [in Allegheny County] did nothing to discourage political prognosticators who saw in those returns magnificent political scenarios for the Pittsburgh mayor's future. They pointed to victories by Pete's brother Jim for a Democratic county commissioner nomination and by Robert Colville, the Democratic district attorney nominee who also was backed by Flaherty, as their inspiration for those scenarios." There is speculation that Flaherty may assume a more influential role in state party politics. Flaherty's legal moves to oust a Pittsburgh state senator convicted of extortion has also boosted the mayor's political prominence. Meanwhile, at the other end of the state, a potential Democratic Senate rival to Flaherty, U.S.Rep. William Green(D) was hurt by the renomination of Mayor Frank Rizzo(D) in Philadelphia. Green has been allied with the Philadelphia Democratic organization against Rizzo.

● "Potential Candidates Eye Md. Senate Race Early," by Edward Walsh. Washington Post, May 24, 1974. U.S.Rep. Paul Sarbanes(D-Baltimore) may hold the key to next year's Democratic Senate nomination for the seat now held by Sen. Glenn Beall(R). Sarbanes is actively exploring possible support for a Senate run, although the liberal Democrat is described as "supremely cautious" about making the race. He would have to contest former Sen. Joseph D. Tydings(D), who lost the seat in 1970 and possibly Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski, who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1974. But since Sarbanes is widely regarded as the most formidable Democratic possibility, Sarbanes' entry into a Senate campaign might encourage Mikulski to seek Sarbanes' then-vacant House seat. Walsh suggests that Gov. Marvin Mandel has not foreclosed a Senate run, despite the almost-weekly embarrassments his administration has suffered in the press this year. At best, some of Mandel's friends have been indiscreet in their relations with his administration. Mandel may still have enough popularity for a tough primary campaign, however. Alternatively, Mandel might encourage the candidacy of Edward Bennett Williams, whose law career, presidency of the Washington Redskins, and post as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee have all given him considerable political exposure. Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss looks favorably on such a race by his friend Williams.

● "Demos Power Presents Problem," by Reid Beverage. (Madison) Wisconsin State Journal, May 11, 1975. After the 1974 elections, Wisconsin Democrats gained complete control of the state government by winning a majority in the State Senate. "In the fall campaign, the plea for one-party control as a way

of gaining party responsibility was laced through many of their appeals to the electorate. Now that they are trying to put together a budget, the issue is being renewed, and some Democrats have expressed concern that the answer could be embarrassing to the party. Worse yet, it could be reflected adversely in the November, 1976 elections." One of the Democrats' problems is the issue of party caucus secrecy since most of the major budgetary decisions were expected to be made in caucus.

● "Toasty Warm In The Big Machine," by Jerome Watson. Chicago Sun-Times, May 11, 1975. "Mayor [Richard] Daley and Sen Adlai E. Stevenson III(D-Ill.) seem to be enjoying an unusually toasty-warm relationship these days. This was dramatized by Daley's provocative move in inviting Stevenson to address the Cook County Democratic Party's annual fund-raising dinner...By picking Stevenson, Daley departed from a tradition of importing big-name outsiders to harangue the party faithful and faithful contributors," writes Watson. He suggests that the possible meaning of Daley's invitation may be Daley support for a Stevenson presidential candidacy. Daley may be sincerely interested in a Stevenson candidacy—perhaps as part of a Kennedy-Stevenson ticket—but he also may be interested in frustrating the presidential hopes of rival Gov. Daniel Walker(D).

● "I'd Do It Over Again,' Says Nonchalant Noel," by John Hackett. Providence(R.I.) Journal, May 25, 1975. In 1974, Gov. Phillip Noel(D) defeated his Republican opponent by a 3-1 margin. Considering his plurality, however, Noel did poorly in the legislature this year and perhaps critically alienated key groups such as state employees, teachers, and police on budgetary issues. "Seldom has a governor with such an electoral mandate as Phil Noel been so manhandled by the General Assembly. Seldom has a governor cared less about it. Regardless of his cavalier disregard for the shellacking he took on several issues, Noel, if he's aiming at a third term—and there's some speculation he may chuck it all—has to be concerned about the damage to his standing with a number of influential groups." If Noel does run again and faces an "equally tough actor like Mayor Jim Taft(R) of Cranston," the governor may be in political trouble, concludes Hackett.

● "Governor's Program Got Modest Legislative Support," by Bernie Shellum and Steven Dornfield. Minneapolis Tribune, May 25, 1975. As in several other states where Democrats found themselves in the unusual position of controlling both the legislature and the governorship, the Democrats had difficulty figuring out what to do with their new-found power. As in other states, Democratic legislators showed more caution about possibly alienating key interest groups than did the Democratic governor. And as in other states, the GOP is expected to make at least a partial comeback in 1976. "Regardless of the results of next year's legislative session, political observers in both parties agree that the Republicans will gain seats in both houses in the 1976 election. Estimates of Republican gains in the House next year run as high as 30 seats. The Republicans could, in the judgement of some observers, take control of the Senate," write Shellum and Dornfield.

● "Legislature Plays 'Get-the-Governor,'" by Claude Sitton. Raleigh News and Observer, May 4, 1975. The 1974 elections left Gov. James Holshouser(R) with a pitiful handful of Republican legislators. The new Democratic legislature seemed bent on stripping Holshouser of any vestiges of political potency. Holshouser's own inept handling of a proposed repeal of the state sales tax on food did not improve his position. But the Democratic legislators have carried their games to extremes, as even former Democratic Gov. Robert Scott has observed. Writes Sitton: "It is only a slight exaggeration to say that North Carolina appears on the way to becoming the only state whose governor is elected by the people but serves at the pleasure of the legislature. A series of legislative moves to turn the governor into a figurehead permits no other conclusion...[Former Gov.] Scott feel that the voters resent this game of get-the-governor and view it as a Democratic effort to strip a Republican." The North Carolina governorship has always been innately weak, but recent moves to limit the governor's budget and appointive powers have attempted to further emasculate the office.

● "It's Danforth Vs. Hearnes, Symington, Litton, Or..." by Fred W. Lindecke. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 11, 1975. Sen. Stuart Symington(D) will not run for reelection and the expected three-way race among former Gov. Warren E. Hearnes, U.S.Rep. Jerry Litton, and U.S.Rep. James W. Symington is upsetting Democrats who fear that the result will be the reelection of Gov. Christopher S. Bond and the election of Attorney General John C. Danforth for the Senate. Republicans hope and Democrats fear that the federal grand jury investigation into Hearnes' past campaign financing will hurt the former governor—not enough to lose the primary but enough to lose the general election. "Some Democrats who foresee this line of attack have suggested that Litton should drop out of the Senate race, and run for governor. They believe that a Democratic ticket led by Hearnes for the Senate and State Senator William J. Cason of Clinton for governor would be defeated. They envision a ticket of James Symington for the Senate and Litton for governor as having a good chance to defeat Danforth and Bond. But Litton is reported to be unreceptive to this suggestion..." write Lindecke. Strict campaign financing laws mean all three candidates will have to husband their resources carefully for the primary while the GOP concentrates on the general election.

14a ELIOT STREET

The full, nine-member U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia heard oral arguments in the Ripon Society's suit against the Republican National Committee on May 30. A relatively speedy decision from the court on the delegate allocation suit is expected since an appeal to the Supreme Court is expected next fall and the call to the 1976 Republican National Convention will be issued in December. Joining Republican National Committee Counsel William Cramer in arguing for the defendants was former U.S. Solicitor General Erwin Griswold.

● Alexander P. White, regional director of the U.S. Department of Labor and a former aide to then-Gov. Richard P. Ogilvie(R), was the speaker at a May 29 meeting of the Chicago Chapter.

● Sen. Jacob Javits(R-N.Y.) told the New York Chapter's Second Annual Conference April 26 that the GOP must make sure that "every member of our party who holds high public office rallies behind the ticket of Gerald R. Ford as President and Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President." Javits denounced right-wing criticism of Ford: "I don't believe that most Republicans are ready to sell out their reliance on the principles of Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, Tom Dewey, Wendell Wilkie and Dwight Eisenhower. And I don't believe that most Republicans are ready to sell out their reliance on the team of Ford and Rockefeller... There is every reason for us to presume that if we permit a neanderthal wing in our party to dominate its processes, we can count on only one outcome---defeat, defeat, defeat!" Javits defended the GOP as the party of business, saying, "That fact is that I believe the Republican Party is and should be the party of business, provided, that we sustain the responsibility for getting the American business system to operate in the public interest." Javits spoke at the dinner which concluded a day of workshops on politics and issues, including the utility industry, privacy, penal reform, taxes, and transportation. Javits' speech drew a bitter rejoinder from syndicated columnist Patrick Buchanan, formerly of the Nixon White House: "The world has indeed turned upside down. A Javits speech on party loyalty is like an ode to virginity by Madame de Pompadour. That the address was made under the sponsorship of the Ripon Society makes it, ipso facto, a collector's item. For the Ripon folks are the copperheads of the Republican Party." Perhaps that is Buchanan's way of calling Ripon members "pointy-headed intellectuals."

● Former Colorado House Speaker John Fuhr(R) was the speaker at the April meeting of the Colorado Chapter. New officers for the chapter are John Head, president; Willie Anthony, vice president; Bob Phillips, treasurer; Dick Ostberg and Paul Smith, membership chairmen.

● The annual reception and auction of the District of Columbia Chapter was held May 12 at the home of U.S. Rep. and Mrs. John Heinz III. The highest-priced item was a painting donated by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and bought by U.S. Rep. Millicent Fenwick(R-N.J.) for \$600. The runnerup in cash value was a \$300 lunch with former Attorney General John Mitchell at the Palm Restaurant. That was purchased by Maurice Rosenblatt, a founder of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. A painting donated by U.S. Rep. Fenwick, who in turn had received it from former Cambodian President Lon Nol, was sold for \$118. Jill Gibson, currently an aide to U.S. Rep. David F. Emery(R-Me.) bought lunch with London Ambassador Elliot Richardson for \$156. Gibson plans her England trip for August. U.S. Reps. Silvio Conte(R-Mass.) and Bill Frenzel(R-Minn.) did the auctioneering. Frenzel let lunch in the White House mess go for \$65, observing, "It's been heard everybody would like to see the mess in the White House."

● A provisional chapter in Maryland had its kickoff May 9 with a "Depression Dinner" in Anne Arundel County. In an effort to drive home the point, the menu featured bread and soup, and 60 guests lined up at the kitchen door to receive their portions. Participants saw movies of the 1920s and 1930s and heard District of Columbia president Richard Rahn explain both Ripon and economic issues. "We organized this group because we believe the GOP must be sensitive to human needs and broaden the base of its membership if it is to continue as a viable party," said dinner chairman Jan Jurgronje.

● Edward D. Goldberg was elected president of New York Chapter; Glenn S. Gerstell is the new chairperson of the chapter governing board. The executive vice presidents are Robert Wechsler, administration; Nancy Hunt, policy; Carmen Steele, political action. New vice presidents are Loring Swasey, finance; Jerome Medowar, governmental affairs; Raymond Knowles, member services; Lugenia Gordon, membership; Phyllis Weinberg, program; Doris Fitzgerald, publicity; and L. Scott Miller, research. Marijane Shaw is the chapter secretary and Joseph Francis is the new treasurer.

● The Minnesota Chapter held its fourth annual issues conference June 7-8 at St. Olaf College. Discussion topics included: "Minnesota Republican Party: Distinction or Extinction?"; "Is Free Enterprise Alive in Minnesota?"; and "Is Peace Possible in the Middle East?" The keynote speaker was V. Lance Tarrance, Jr., co-author of The Ticket Splitter and a former director of research for the Republican National Committee.

● The Minnesota Chapter held its fourth annual issues conference June 7-8 at St. Olaf College. Discussion topics included: "Minnesota Republican Party: Distinction or Extinction?"; "Is Free Enterprise Alive in Minnesota?"; and "Is Peace Possible in the Middle East?" The keynote speaker was V. Lance Tarrance, Jr., co-author of The Ticket Splitter and a former director of research for the Republican National Committee.

● The Minnesota Chapter held its fourth annual issues conference June 7-8 at St. Olaf College. Discussion topics included: "Minnesota Republican Party: Distinction or Extinction?"; "Is Free Enterprise Alive in Minnesota?"; and "Is Peace Possible in the Middle East?" The keynote speaker was V. Lance Tarrance, Jr., co-author of The Ticket Splitter and a former director of research for the Republican National Committee.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 1609 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.