

# RIPON FORUM

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## COMMENTARY: THE GOP

THE CALLAWAY CONNECTION

by Dick Behn

Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign is bearing increasing resemblance to the weather. Lots of people talk about it but few—with the exception of Lyn Nofziger and John Sears—have done anything about it. And talk will not change the political realities; Hurricane Ronnie is being quickly downgraded in its storm status.

If Reagan runs, he would have to make a creditable showing in New Hampshire and Florida. Reagan strategists claim these are not "make-or-break" states, but their importance is recognized. New Hampshire continues to be a problem for Ford because the party is fractured between conservatives led by Gov. Meldrim Thomson and moderates led by Republican National Committee representatives. Reagan has allegedly promised Thomson he'll enter the primary. A Reagan-Ford primary could be bloody if Thomson makes his usual outlandish statements.

Florida is another matter. Reagan's prospects are steadily deteriorating. A Cox newspaper survey in late July concluded: "Ford emerged with a surprisingly strong lead among key party leaders in Florida, where an early and possibly crucial Ford-Reagan primary contest looms next spring." An old House associate of Ford, Florida GOP National Committeeman William Cramer says: "I think Ford will carry Florida whether it's a two-way or a three-way contest." According to Florida GOP Chairman Bill Taylor, "Time is passing [Reagan] rather rapidly." Potential Reagan supporters have defected to Ford because of Reagan's indecision. "If he waits til after Labor Day [to make his candidacy decision], he may be tapping the bell."

According to the Cox newspaper survey: "Some of the President's key political operatives regard Florida as a center of Reagan strength and a dangerous hurdle that Ford must vault next spring if he is to move smoothly toward the nomination. Thus, the widespread support for Ford among top Florida GOP officials reflects either unnecessary concern at the White House or the possibility that the state's GOP leadership does not mirror the viewpoint of the party's rank-and-file." Grass roots support does exist, but Reagan has yet to construct the kind of political organization he would need to evict an incumbent President. The Reagan Committee organized by Sears and Nofziger professes to be unconcerned by the delay in Reagan's announcement—even professing that there are advantages to the delay. Clearly, the Reagan Committee will give the former California governor the necessary financial base for a potential campaign. And admittedly, the President Ford Committee has been equally slow to organize on a state level. But the difficulties to be faced by a Reagan organization are larger. Outside the South, Republican professionals may like Reagan but they are more pragmatic than Nofziger and Sears about Reagan's chances.

Key states like Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio have already professed their loyalty to Ford. Sen. Charles Percy—who only two months ago revived speculation about his own presidential chances—is hard at work lining up convention support for Ford in that state. The state has traditionally provided support for conservative positions at GOP national conventions so that is a bad omen for Reagan. According to columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, conservative House members are unhappy about Reagan's indecision. The Reagan Committee is headed nationally by Nevada Sen. Paul Laxalt, the biggest Republican name in that state's GOP. But Laxalt's position has not changed those of other top Republican leaders in the state, who remain basically uncommitted. Former Kentucky Gov. Louie Nunn(R) may be more successful in rounding up Reagan support in that commonwealth, but Reagan organizers realize that it is unrealistic to expect "big names" to back an undeclared candidate.

Ironically, Reagan headquarters reports that they've been told "Bo Callaway is the best thing you've got going for you." The comments by Ford campaign manager Howard "Bo" Callaway about Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in July were apparently meant to appease southern conservatives. Florida GOP Chairman Taylor, for one, found the comments comforting. But in other areas of the country, among GOP moderates, and in the columns of many political commentators, the Callaway com-

ments about the dispensability of Rockefeller backfired. One top Kansas Republican called the statements "ill-advised." Some Republican moderates were incensed. U.S.Rep. William Cohen (R-Maine) expressed "moral indignation over the treatment being dispensed to the Vice President. Administration officials insist that they are not trying to cut the Vice President's political throat, but Mr. Rockefeller would do well not to turn his head too quickly." Like several political columnists, Cohen indicated that Callaway's statement detracted from Ford's forthright image.

So, although Rockefeller's proposed immolation may have served some small function, it cost Ford ground with other possible supporters. Callaway's statements had more rhetorical value than substance—a fact which was realized by some Republican moderates who remained unperturbed. "It doesn't mean that much," says New York Republican Chairman Richard Rosenbaum. What has been obscured by the Callaway controversy is the slim possibility that a "Dump Rockefeller" move would be effective. If Gerald Ford is designated as the GOP presidential nominee, even an "open convention" would be hard-pressed to dump his self-appointed nominee. The only viable option for conservatives, therefore, is to keep the pressure on Ford in a low-key manner. Slow erosion, some of these conservatives hope, may do what a palace revolution could never accomplish: dump Rockefeller. In other words, conservatives can't dump Rockefeller, but perhaps they can get Ford to do their dirty work.

Moderates have been justifiably concerned about the President's "move right." Recently, Ford assured the Associated Press that he was not going to go further right: "May I assure you that we are not going to give up the middle ground." If Ford is steadfast in that determination, he will continue to garner moderate support. What is increasingly worrying moderates is that Ford may do for conservatives what they are obviously unable to do for themselves. ■

<b>RIPON POLL:</b>	RATE THE REPUBLICANS: RESULTS
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President Gerald Ford did considerably better than Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in the July 15 FORUM reader survey. Ford's performance was favorably rated by 67 percent of the respondents while Rockefeller's overall performance was rated favorably by 56 percent of the respondents. Ford's best ratings came in the areas of foreign policy and GOP leadership where he was rated favorably by 65 and 75 percent, respectively. Rockefeller's highest rating came for GOP leadership where he received a 56 percent favorable rating.

Ford was the first choice of 51 percent of the respondents for the 1976 presidential nomination. Sen Charles Percy (R-Ill.) ran second with 9 percent. Former Attorney General Elliot Richardson ran third with 12 percent while Rockefeller and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan tied for fourth with 7 percent. Rocky did rate as the readers' first choice for Vice President with 32 percent. Sen. Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) and Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) tied for second at 14 percent each.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Attorney General Edward Levi received the highest marks of all cabinet members, but Kissinger's unfavorable marks were much larger than Levi's. The worst cabinet rating easily went to Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz. GOP National Committee Chairman Mary Louise Smith was favorably rated by 63 percent of the respondents.

Questions and poll results follow. All figures are percentages.

1. How would you rate President Ford's performance:

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
OVERALL	16	45	34	5
FOREIGN POLICY	25	41	25	8
ENERGY	9	36	34	21
ECONOMICS	8	43	34	15
DOMESTIC	11	46	28	15
GOP LEADERSHIP	32	43	20	5

2. How would you rate Vice President Rockefeller's performance?

	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
OVERALL	18	38	30	14
CIA INVESTIGATION	16	36	28	23
DOMESTIC COUNCIL	21	33	31	15
GOP LEADERSHIP	15	42	29	16

3. Who is your first choice for the Republican nomination for President in 1976?

Gerald Ford 51%	Howard Baker 3%
Nelson Rockefeller 7%	Charles Percy 19%
Ronald Reagan 7%	Elliot Richardson 12%

4. Who is your first choice for the Republican nomination for Vice President in 1976?

Nelson Rockefeller 32%	Edward Brooke 14%
Ronald Reagan 5%	Daniel Evans 8%
Howard Baker 14%	Elliot Richardson 6%
Charles Percy 11%	James Buckley 3%

5. How would you rate the following cabinet members (from 1, poor, to 5, excellent)?

CABINET MEMBER - DEPARTMENT	LOWEST	1	2	3	4	5	HIGHEST
Henry Kissinger—State		11	18	9	30	32	
James Schlesinger—Defense		5	18	30	27	20	
Carla Hills—HUD		13	18	34	31	3	
William Simon—Treasury		11	15	26	30	18	
Edward H. Levi—Justice		7	8	23	31	31	
Earl Butz—Agriculture		35	23	23	9	10	
Rogers C.B. Morton—Commerce		10	16	42	24	7	
John Dunlop—Labor		7	10	45	28	11	
Casper Weinberger (resigned)—HEW		10	21	29	33	9	
William T. Coleman—Transportation		14	10	35	33	7	

6. How would you rate the performance of Republican National Committee Chairman Mary Louise Smith:

EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
24	40	21	15

## POLITICS: STATES

The resignation of Iowa Republican National Committee man Charles E. Wittenmeyer after nearly 20 years in that post has led to the appointment of GOP State Chairman John C. McDonald to that post. McDonald, the able chairman of the Republican State Chairmen's Advisory Committee, will in turn be replaced by Tom Stoner as state chairman. Stoner, a business and broadcasting executive, managed the last two campaigns of Iowa Gov. Robert Ray. In the aftermath of the resignation of Interior Secretary Stanley Hathaway, Ray is being pushed as a possible nominee for that cabinet position.

**DELAWARE** Prospects for the Delaware GOP are "better than any year since 1968," according to one GOP leader. Leading those prospects is U.S. Rep. Pierre du Pont. IV, who has declared his candidacy against incumbent Gov. Sherman W. Tribbitt(D). Lt. Gov. Eugene D. Bookhammer(R) had declared his own gubernatorial candidacy before du Pont did so in early July, but Bookhammer is thought unlikely to stick in the race through a primary. Republican prospects are also brightening in the Senate race where Sen. William Roth(R) was thought to be in early trouble. Roth is now campaigning hard and Wilmington Mayor Thomas C. Maloney(D) began to reevaluate his own Senate candidacy after du Pont indicated the House seat would be open. Although a House race might be technically easier for Maloney, it would be much more difficult to raise the out-of-state campaign funds that would be attracted to a Senate race. Possible Republican congressional nominees include State Senate Minority Leader Michael N. Castle, former State Sen. Andy Foltz, and GOP National Committeeman Thomas Evans. Meanwhile, the Democrats have more than their share of problems. Tribbitt's administration has had more than its share of controversy over taxes, scandals, budgets, and Democratic legislative behavior. A key embarrassment to the Democratic governor has been the behavior of a former Republican, State Senate president pro tempore Donald Issacs(D). If Delaware were blessed with a television station, suggests one Republican politician, his behavior would not be tolerated. But without a boob tube, Delaware voters can't see the boob. Du Pont was earlier thought to be leaning away from a gubernatorial race in favor of a 1978 Senate race. Apparently the lacklustre record of the current Congress and the opportunity to head a united GOP ticket changed his mind.

**ILLINOIS**

For Richard Cooper, president of Weightwatchers, Inc. running for the Republican gubernatorial nomination may be a losing proposition. Bad puns may be the least of the hazards which Cooper will face. Cooper had announced that he would run for Congress before he switched to the gubernatorial race where he will face former U.S. Attorney James Thompson, who announced in early July. Thompson made a political name for himself with his aggressive prosecution of political corruption in Illinois, convicting scores of top Democrats and Republicans. Although those prosecutions irritated some Republicans, Thompson is regarded as a shoo-in for the GOP nomination. There is speculation that Cooper may withdraw well before the primary. Thompson was sharply critical of the administration of Gov. Daniel Walker in his candidacy announcement. "We need politics to make government work and not politics for its own sake. We need a partnership between the executive and legislative branches of government and not a hit and run relationship." Although Walker's leadership is certainly wide open to criticism, the incumbent is still a formidable candidate. Indeed, he has always acted more like a candidate on a perpetual campaign tour than like a governor. He has quarreled with almost everyone in both political parties, particularly legislative leaders and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley (D). Democrat Walker has even lost the support of his own home county party chairman. Nevertheless, Walker is a media master who is righteously effective in championing "people" causes for television, but woefully ineffective in implementing policy back in Springfield. As a result, he is despised by a large number of journalists. Walker may face a stiff primary fight of his own—from State Treasurer Alan Dixon. Chicago Tribune columnist Michael Kilian has written: "The smart money in Illinois is betting that the 1976 gubernatorial race is going to be between Republican superstar U.S. Attorney James Thompson and one of the Democratic Party's brighter (if older) boy wonders—State Treasurer Alan Dixon." Dixon, a proven votegetter, topped Walker in a recent survey in bellwether Will County, 55-45 percent. Another viewpoint, however, holds that Walker would be helped by a bitter primary which might generate the momentum he needs to win the general election. The imponderable, as always in Illinois politics, is the position of Mayor Daley. Unquestionably, Daley would like to unseat Walker, but whether he will go to the trouble is unknown. Walker, however, is confident: "I can beat any announced Democrat in the primary and any announced Republican in the general election." The Republicans' real problem may be top Walker aide Victor DeGrazia, a brilliant and devious political strategist whom many consider the power behind the Walker chariot. The GOP will have to muster campaign expertise of equivalent talent.

**KENTUCKY**

State Sen. Clyde Middleton has been elected to succeed Charles R. Coy as Kentucky GOP state chairman. Referring to his trying two years as party leader, Coy said: "I don't guess there was a day while I was chairman that I didn't think about resigning." Coy has resigned for personal reasons, but is under consideration for a federal judgeship—as he has been U.S. Rep. Gene Snyder (R-4th) on an on-again-off-again basis. The Kentucky gubernatorial race is still an uphill fight for Republican Robert Gable, but Republicans are hoping to gather support from Democrats who voted for Gov. Julian Carroll's Democratic primary opponent.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

It is almost as hard to tell the tourists from the state voters in August as it was to determine the intentions of disputed ballots in last fall's Senate election between Republican Louis Wyman and Democrat John Durkin. The difficulty in campaigning in tourist-rich New Hampshire compounds the difficulty of predicting the result of the upcoming special Senate election September 16. Both candidates seem to realize that the balance of political power is held by moderate Republicans and independents. "They will decide the election and they are the people I'm going after," Durkin has said. To reach these same groups whose support for him has been lukewarm at best, Wyman has to moderate his conservatism and downplay the support of arch-conservative Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R) and Manchester Union-Leader Publisher William Loeb. Loeb adopted a plague-on-both-your-houses attitude during last year's Senate election, but now has moved solidly into Wyman's corner. Although Loeb's support may be influential among conservative and Manchester voters, it may frighten moderate Republican and independent voters. Wyman has been assiduously wooing moderate Republican leaders, assuring them that he will be receptive to their views. He identifies himself as a "moderate-conservative": "I'm strong on defense and cautious on detente, and I'm in favor of a strong fiscal policy. But on other issues, on women's rights, on the environment, on equal opportunity for the aged, I'm as liberal as they come." Thomson didn't contribute to Wyman's image-building when he announced that former California Gov. Ronald Reagan (R) would campaign for Wyman—without first consulting Wyman. Wyman welcomed Reagan's support—but within 24 hours issued a statement announcing his unequivocal support for President Gerald Ford (R) in 1976. A Ford visit to New Hampshire might help neutralize Reagan's detrimental impact among the target voter groups. Wyman's campaign management is even balanced ideologically—between conservative campaign professional George Young and New Hampshire moderate Robert Turner. The campaign strategies to be taken by Wyman and Durkin are pinpointed by the Concord Monitor's Rod Paul: "From an organizational viewpoint, Wyman's campaign bosses must pinpoint their effort to getting out the reliable Republican

vote in the smaller communities in the state and work to cut into Durkin's city margins." More important for Wyman, there are some communities where he has to disassociate himself from Gov. Thomson if he wants to increase his vote." Meanwhile, Gov. Thomson has virtually announced his gubernatorial candidacy for next year. In late July, Thomson said: "I am not now a candidate for a third gubernatorial term, but the chance is good that I shall be an official candidate by next July." At the same time, Thomson said: "I am not now, have not been and do not plan to be a candidate for President or Vice President." Apparently Thomson is confident that Reagan will indeed be a presidential candidate. The incumbent governor already has a GOP opponent—former state Welfare Commissioner Gerald Zeiller, who is a former aide to two former New Hampshire senators. Zeiller will apparently carry the moderate GOP banner against Thomson that David Nixon carried in 1974. His success will depend primarily on Thomson's ability to alienate new segments of the electorate during the next year. Three Democrats have already indicated their gubernatorial intentions; former State Sen. Harry V. Spanos, Hugh J. Gallen of Littleton, and James A. Connor of Manchester. If liberals Spanos and Gallen cut themselves up the way they did in 1974, conservative Connor may squeak through the way conservative Democrat Richard Leonard did in 1974. Footnote: GOP National Committeeman Robert Bass has spent the summer sailing from Newfoundland to Ireland. His viewpoint may be the most rational one possible on the state of New Hampshire politics.

#### RHODE ISLAND

The election of 26-year-old H. James Field, Jr., as chairman of the Rhode Island GOP has been instrumental in revitalizing the emaciated GOP in the state. In local and special elections, Republicans won striking victories in Glocester, Lincoln, South Kingstown, Block Island, and Cranston. One key part of the former aide to Donald Rumsfeld's success has been the formation of a new GOP youth organization, which has been trained to provide campaign assistance to candidates in various state races. The response has been "incredible." The enthusiasm of party elders at the committee level has increased as well. A new headquarters, a new newsletter, a new legislative research project, and a new party outreach committee have helped rejuvenate a state party which has been left reeling by the last three gubernatorial elections.

#### TEXAS

If Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen's presidential bandwagon falters this winter, he may find Texas voters ready to dismantle the remains. Bentsen's Senate term expires in 1976 so the Democratic incumbent will have to decide whether to take advantage of the state's Lyndon Johnson law and run for senator and president simultaneously or stick to the presidential campaign. Inevitably, Bentsen will have to take presidential campaign stands which will hurt him in Texas—making him vulnerable to a Republican campaign from U.S. Rep. Alan Steelman(R). Steelman's Dallas district has been gerrymandered to make his reelection as difficult as possible. A Senate campaign would present no greater difficulties for Steelman than a congressional effort, but offer a bigger reward. Steelman, who has indicated he will make up his political mind later this year, might face a primary challenge from the GOP's ultraconservative faction. That group finds even Sen. John Tower(R) too moderate for their tastes. One of the group's leaders, Houston's Nancy Palme, has resigned her post as Harris County GOP chairman, and indicated she might run for mayor of Houston next year. Although the Tower-supported candidate, State Rep. Ray Hutchinson(R), won the recent election for state GOP chairman, he promises to be more independent of Tower—by reason of his legislative record and accomplishments—than most other recent chairmen.

#### VERMONT

Vermont Gov. Thomas Salmon(D) doesn't do much to camouflage his case of Potomac fever. Sen. Robert Stafford(R) is up for reelection next year and Salmon wants the job. Salmon has been plagued by budget problems, however, and not all Vermont observers think he will risk the Senate campaign. "I don't think he has got that much courage," remarks one leading Republican. Salmon himself professes not to be worried by last year's \$9.6 million deficit, saying he doesn't think the red ink will affect his candidacy, whatever that candidacy may be. The governor has ruled out, however, a congressional campaign against U.S. Rep. James Jeffords(R). Stafford has already signed up former GOP State Chairman Elbert G. Moulton to run his campaign. That choice has reassured many Vermont Republicans who regard Moulton as the best nuts-and-bolts politico in the state. Stafford does face the threat of a conservative primary challenge from attorney Bruce Graham of Morrisville. Even State GOP Chairman Walter "Peanut" Kennedy has suggested that some of Stafford's stands may be too liberal for the Vermont GOP. However, Graham's candidacy has been undercut by the formation of a committee of conservative Stafford backers, chaired by a leading Republican in Graham's home county. Moulton, meanwhile, is hard at work on the job of recruiting 5,000 volunteers to work on the state's 200,000 voters. No clear Republican candidate has emerged for governor next year, but one potential Democratic candidate got himself in a bushel of trouble by buying a \$1,300 desk for his office. Lt. Gov. Brian Burns(D) claims not to regret his purchase, but the voters may not be so generous. State Treasurer Stella Hackel(D), a possible gubernatorial opponent, has already suggested the state investment was no bargain.

## DULY NOTED: STATES

The confirmation of Kansas State Senate president Richard Rogers as a federal district judge has led to the resignation of his wife, Beth Rogers, as Republican National committeewoman. She will be replaced by GOP Vice Chairwoman Maryknell Reece.

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● "White Leads Timilty In Mayoral Poll." Boston Globe, August 8, 1975. The Boston mayoral race has narrowed down to incumbent Mayor Kevin H. White and State Sen. Joseph F. Timilty. That leaves the city's strident anti-busing forces without their own champion. Although both White and Timilty have made the obligatory genuflections to the anti-busing standard, neither is the type to lie down in front of the buses this fall. Timilty is the recipient of lukewarm support from two strange groups: whites who think White is too soft on busing and blacks who think White has waffled on busing. As a result, according to the Globe poll, White leads Timilty by a margin of only 49-30 percent. Much of the support for both candidates is soft. While White has tried to stress opposition to 100 percent property reevaluation in his campaign, he has been plagued by a series of embarrassments regarding his administration and campaign financing. Both candidates have high-priced liberal campaign consultants, but the direction of the campaign may come from the streets of Charlestown and South Boston this September—where much ugliness is unfortunately possible.

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● "Who's Who's In GOP Senate Line-Up," by George Murphy. San Francisco Examiner, July 26, 1975. Former California Controller Houston Flournoy has decided not to run for the Senate next year; he is apparently content with his teaching job at the University of Southern California and the possibility of becoming president of that institution. Flournoy's decision boosted the likelihood that U.S.Rep. Alphonzo Bell(R) will enter the Republican primary; Bell is using the August congressional recess to tour the state before making an announcement. Former San Francisco State College president S.I. Hayakawa has said he won't make up his mind until later in the year. Meanwhile, former peace activist Tom Hayden is campaigning hard for the Democratic nomination. Wife Jane Fonda often accompanies Hayden in his quest to unseat Sen. John Tunney(D).

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● "Legislature May Be Worst In History," by Ted Bryant. Birmingham Post-Herald, August 4, 1975. "The current session of the Alabama legislature, with every potential of being the best in Alabama history, is now showing signs of becoming the worst ever." For the first time, the legislators represent single-member districts and a record 75 percent of them are freshman. "Because that left the power concentrated in the hands of a few veterans, that handful, especially in the Senate, have managed to gain near absolute control. It's not control over just the Senate, but the House as well. A large amount of legislation has been delayed as a result. Part of the blame is attributed to allies of Lt. Gov. Jere Beasley(D), whose gubernatorial ambitions may be hurt by the legislature's non-performance.

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● "The Political Conversion of Keith Schonrock," by Bob Conrad. Hartford Times, August 3, 1975. The new Republican public relations director in Connecticut knows his subject well. Keith Schonrock formerly performed the same functions for state Democrats for about 10 years. He was responsible for a good deal of Republican grief during that period. But, according to Conrad, "The political re-education of Keith Schonrock will be easier than most Republicans think. So much will be a labor of love when it comes to jabbing at the biggest Democratic target of all in his new role as public relations expert for the state GOP. Keith doesn't like [Gov. Ella Grasso(D)] very much...That is common knowledge in the political arena, and it added some extra bouquet to the psychological impact when the Republicans hired Mr. Schonrock this week."

## COMMENTARY: FAIR HOUSING

LAND USE POLICY AND INTEGRATION

by John Rehfuss

Open housing backers have been worried about their enemies in suburbs and middle class areas so long that they seem blind to the damage that their friends, the environmentalists, are proposing behind their backs. This damage to the movement toward fair housing is disguised as a national growth policy, and ironically, its supporters number many liberals who most want open housing. Anthony Downs, who notes the contradiction in his book, Opening Up The Suburbs, demonstrates that curtailing suburban growth will create a "backpressure" on older housing in the central city, raising rents and making low- and moderate-income families suffer.

The model for a national growth policy comes from the Senate Land Use Policy and Planning Assistance Act of 1973. This bill would have authorized the secretary of the interior to make annual grants of \$100 million to states for drawing up statewide land use plans over a three-year period and developing a data base and professional staff. The bill dealt particularly with environmental concerns, key facilities such as airports and traffic interchanges, development of regional facilities, and land sales for development projects. It required states to be prepared to regulate local land uses and review local land use policies in conflict with the state plan. Although the House

defeated the bill 215-196 in June 1974, it is likely to be considered again in 1975 or 1976. (Rural congressmen were generally opposed to the original bill and urban/suburban congressmen generally opposed it.)

The Senate action was in response to an odd assortment of groups, none of which are really interested in the same things. Environmentalists want to preserve open space and reduce pollution. The Democratic Party's 1972 platform was concerned with better planning for housing and integration policies. Many want the creation of planned "new towns." Republicans want to decentralize power to local units so that growth decisions are made locally. The American Institute of Architects is interested in "developing the capacity to build and rebuild at a neighborhood scale."

None of these groups seem to realize that any national land use policy will work against fair housing in suburbs and exurbs by guaranteeing more open space and green belts at the expense of low- and middle-income housing. Liberals, including many congressmen, will find that a national land use policy is at best a bittersweet victory. It will soon be apparent that fair housing efforts are destined to take a back seat to the acquisition of open spaces. States will be encouraged to complete comprehensive land use plans. Physical planning will overshadow desegregation efforts. State and local officials will not pursue desegregation and traditional planners will play it safe and ignore social questions. This result is not preordained, of course, but past practice at the state and local levels make its a pretty safe prediction.

Thus, a national growth policy is likely to have two major impacts. First, it will increase the land use control and zoning powers of states and local governments. If these powers are not actually increased, they are more likely to be used because of the grants-in-aid "carrot." Second, it will emphasize the acquisition of green belts and open space for public uses, thereby resulting in a general reduction of population density in suburban and urban areas.

The interest in a national growth policy has, unfortunately, come at precisely the same time that housing integration progress by the federal government, although limited, has been made. Groups such as the American Jewish Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and the Suburban Action Institute are getting long-delayed federal support initiated in 1973 when former Attorney General John Mitchell sued the city of Black Jack, Missouri, for its zoning laws, which allegedly denied housing to individuals on the basis of race. Since a federal court of appeals has now upheld this position, the federal government has the tools (and maybe even the will) to move against housing discrimination by directly attacking exclusionary local zoning laws.

Sadly, Uncle Sam seems bent on a policy which directly contradicts another vital policy. On the one hand, the national government attempts to weaken the power of local units to exclude poor or minority citizens by class zoning, by attacking in court the abuse of local land use powers as in the Black Jack case. On the other hand, it prepares to dispense grants which will strengthen land use powers of state and local government and encourage them to exclude these same people by maintaining low densities and open spaces.

In theory, the choice need not be between green belts and fair housing. In practice, it probably will be. Thus, those who support open housing must make a choice. This means abandoning the naive notion that if the market makes poor land use allocations (abetted by local abuses), a national planning process will make better ones. It also means that Congress should accept the logic of federalism, letting state and local governments develop their own growth and land use policies, without throwing federal dollars at them. Finally, it means reserving federal action for truly national programs such as vigorously enforcing civil rights and fair housing programs. ■

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Contributor Note: John Rehfuss is a FORUM contributing editor and governmental studies director at Northern Illinois University.

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## **BOX 226, CHARLESTOWN**

Clifford Brown, Ripon vice president for publications, has been appointed to the FORUM Editorial Board. He replaces James H. Manahan, who has resigned.

● Treasury Secretary William Simon spoke to a July meeting of the Washington, D.C. Chapter about inflation, energy and regulation. Speaking about the GOP and the nation, Simon said: "I believe that the time has come to choose—to choose between a continuation of the last 40 years, a trend that will eventually mean that our society is run and managed by the same free spenders who have brought us the worst inflation in our peacetime history and the worst recession in more than a generation, or as an alternative, that we restore our basic freedoms as Americans, revive our private enterprise system, and reassert America's sense of destiny in the world."

- Michael F. MacLeod, former executive director of the Ripon Society, has been appointed executive director of the House Republican Conference by Conference Chairman John B. Anderson(R-Ill.)
- Three Ripon members have been elected regional vice chairpersons of the Young Republican National Federation: Joe Forstadt of New York for Region II, Karen Brewster of Michigan for Region V, and Peggy Rehder of Minnesota for Region VIII.
- The FORUM's 1976 Reagan-Ford convention survey brought some interesting conservative response. While columnist Kevin Phillips suggested the survey was on target, National Review Washington correspondent George Will indicated that Ford's lead in the poll was meaningless because if the convention were held in Greenland, the delegates would also probably catch cold. In Mississippi, State GOP Chairman Clarke Reed took exception with the FORUM analysis of his state and his the Mississippi correspondent for the FORUM was "out of touch."
- The Nashville Chapter released its third annual ratings of the Tennessee legislature this year. Leading the House were State Reps. Tom Jensen(R-Knoxville) and W.C. Carter(R-Hamilton County) with 92 percent ratings. The Senate leaders were State Sens. Leonard Dunavant(R-Shelby County) and Ernest Crouch(D-McMinnville) with 83 percent ratings.
- National Governing Board member Bobbi Greene Kilberg has moved from her post as vice president of Mt. Vernon College in Washington, D.C. to the White House as associate legal counsel. Kilberg recently completed a term as vice chair of the National Women's Political Caucus.
- The Colorado Chapter blasted Gov. Richard Lamm in June for his stand in opposing construction of I-470 around Denver. "Not only are you jeopardizing all federal funding of highway projects in the state, but you are establishing a precedent which undermines the decision-making process established by land-use legislation," chapter president John F. Head wrote Lamm. He charged that the governor was circumventing the land-use planning which went into the highway.
- Former FORUM Editor George Gilder has been involved in a number of controversial incidents. One of the latest occurred this spring when Gilder's invitation to speak and then cancellation of said invitation became a civil liberties issue at Dartmouth College. The trials and tribulations and eventual speech by the author of the Naked Nomads are detailed by Jeffrey Hart in the July 4 National Review.
- Daniel Swillinger, former national political director of the Ripon Society, has been appointed deputy general counsel of the Federal Elections Commission.
- Wisconsin State Sen. Thomas E. Petri(R), former executive director of the Ripon Society, has been named a fellow (specializing in the politics of regional planning) at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.
- Josiah Lee Auspitz, former president of the Ripon Society, has been named an independent research fellow for the National Endowment for the Humanities to complete a book on political philosophy. Auspitz contributed to a foreign policy symposium on "America Now: A Failure of Nerve?" in the July issue of Commentary Magazine.
- Recent speakers at meetings of the Chicago Chapter have included Clifford D. Carlson, the state GOP national committeeman, and Jerry McMahon, head of Sen. Charles Percy's Chicago office.
- Richard W. Rahn has been reelected president of the Washington, D.C. Chapter. Other new officers include Waring Patridge, executive vice president for program and planning; Nat Semple, vice president for politics; Marc Rosenberg, vice president for research; Steven Martindale, vice president for finance; Carol Ann Woods, vice president for membership; Ronald Strouse, treasurer; Sue Kloos, secretary; Fred Kellogg, counsel. Committee chairpersons are Suzanne Hatcher, newsletter; Eileen Nicosia, promotion; Joseph Schneider, arrangements; Jody Hamberger and Marcie Powers, publicity; and Dan Hall, D.C. affairs.

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