

RIPON FORUM

PACKWOOD
ON
EDUCATION

NOVEMBER 15, 1977

VOL. XIII, No. 22

50 cents

Politics: New York

THE LESSONS ACROSS THE HUDSON

Hugh Carey is vulnerable. But any optimism the GOP may feel about its chances of ousting the enigmatic Empire State governor must be cushioned by the 1977 election results from across the Hudson River. There in the Garden State the political obituaries for Gov. Brendan Byrne (D) proved premature. As a highly unpopular governor, Byrne barely survived his own party's primary. Unfortunately for the state GOP, Byrne hired David Garth to once again do his media...and repackage his private actions for public consumption.

Garth was able to make a virtue of Byrne's weaknesses as only David Garth can do. The media man attributed Byrne's unpopularity to a willingness to make tough decisions rather than to a predilection towards incompetence. Garth transformed the income tax enacted under Byrne's leadership from a political albatross to a badge of martyrdom. The remainder of Byrne's record was a hodgepodge of public neglect, political ineptitude and legislative disdain. Like Hugh Carey in New York, Brendan Byrne showed a preference for the "good" over the "governmental" life. In the aftermath of Byrne's surprise landslide victory, former U.S.Rep. Charles Sandman (who lost to Byrne in the 1973 race) suggested that the Jersey GOP retain Garth to reenact the "same miracle for them as he did for Byrne."

In New Jersey, all the signs had pointed to voter antipathy to the state income tax as the roadmap to electoral success. The two moderate Republicans in the state gubernatorial primary felt compelled to outdo each other in opposition to the tax. Even Gerald Ford's capture of the state's electoral votes in 1976 was seen in part as a reflection of Byrne's political paralysis. But Garth

turned Byrne's defense of the income tax into a profile in courage. In reality, Byrne's performance as governor more closely resembled a profile in arrogance. By contrast, the GOP candidate, Raymond Bateman, was a profile in moderation, experience and affability. He made one mistake---over the advice of campaign aides, he released a plan which detailed his alternative fiscal proposals. Quickly, the issue of the campaign switched from Byrne and his credibility to Bateman and his. Bateman's blunder was compounded just days before the election when voters received applications for next year's homestead rebate checks in the mail. Recognizing that it is impossible to combat Santa Claus, Bateman complained after the election, "How do you fight that?"

Garth has a talent for peaking his candidates on election day. So devastating was Bateman's defeat that he lost suburban Bergen County by 40,000 votes instead of winning it, as expected, by 50,000. The rain in metropolitan New York ran up to nine inches on election day. A disproportionate amount seemed to fall on Republicans. After the watergates closed, the Democrats had retained their 2-1 margin in the Jersey legislature. Across the river in New York City, the GOP lost one of their small band of five on the New York City Council. Even former special corruption prosecutor Maurice Nadjari was decisively defeated in his bid to become Queens district attorney. An even race turned into a 2-1 debacle.

In the Big Apple, State Sen. Roy Goodman was undoubtedly the best-informed candidate for mayor. The voters were tuned off to issues, however. Goodman garnered less than half the votes received by the GOP's uninspired

candidate for City Council president, State Assemblyman John Esposito. Goodman was waylaid, it turned out, by Carey, conservatives and Cuomo. Had the city's primary been held in June as originally scheduled, the Democratic nominee would have been either Bella Abzug or Abraham Beame. Goodman would have had the Liberal Party line and been considered "the alternative" to disaffected Democrats. Instead, Carey engineered the Liberal line for Secretary of State Mario Cuomo, thereby depriving Goodman of every natural base of support in the general election. Cuomo---particularly after Carey abandoned his candidacy when Ed Koch won the Democratic runoff---was the protest candidate. One could vote for Cuomo if 1.) one was Italian-American or belonged to another ethnic group; 2) was against capital punishment; 3) felt strongly about neighborhood preservation; 4) didn't like Manhattan; or 5) didn't like regular Democratic organization candidates. One could vote for Koch if 1) one was Jewish; 2) lived in Manhattan; 3) believed in supporting Democratic primary winners; 4) was in favor of capital punishment; or 5) liked Bess Myerson. That didn't leave many voters for Goodman---who in other circumstances would have been the natural heir to some of these constituencies---and he didn't get them.

For a Republican to win a statewide contest in New Jersey, he must do well in traditionally Republican areas like Bergen and South Jersey while cutting into the urban ethnic vote. Bateman didn't. For a Republican to win a statewide contest in New York, it is the conventional wisdom that he must get over one third the city vote. Goodman got only four percent of that vote.

Elsewhere in the state, the GOP did almost as badly in urban elections. In Buffalo, the GOP candidate for mayor ran third. Republican candidates in Albany and Syracuse were soundly beaten. The GOP candidate in Utica dropped out for lack of funds. Only Yonkers Mayor Angelo R. Martinelli was a significant winner.

Martinelli's victory is meaningful in part because it illustrates the growing importance of Italian-American candidates for both parties. One of Goodman's major problems in New York City was that Cuomo cut badly into the conservative Italian-American voters who are the backbone of the city GOP. Westches-

ter voters were meanwhile reelecting Martinelli's mayoral predecessor, Alfred B. Del Bello (D) as county executive by a wide margin. But they split their tickets to reelect Republican D.A. Carl A. Vergari by an even wider margin. Losers in both races lacked Italian surnames---such names have become valuable political properties. Del Bello and Vergari were immediately touted for spots on the state tickets of their parties next year. Ethnic considerations are part of the appeal of Democrat Cuomo and Republican State Sen. Joseph Pisani as possible candidates for attorney general next year. Down in Washington, another Westchester Republican, freshman U.S. Rep. Bruce Caputo, has made a name for himself on the House Committee of Standards of Conduct---and is creating political capital back in the Empire State. And in the Big Apple, former Deputy Mayor John Zucotti is one of the few names to surface as a possible challenger to Gov. Carey.

Ticket-balancing, however, is less important than the personal and ethnic appeal of individual candidates---particularly in the suburbs where ticket splitting has become habit forming. In Nassau County, for example, the Democrats selected a "dream" Jewish-Irish-Italian candidate. Their prospects for retaking the county government were deemed excellent because the Republicans were forced to endure a bitter, three-way primary for county executive in which both GOP losers remained on the November ballot as candidates of independent parties. Nevertheless, Republican Francis T. Purcell pulled together his party, turned on the Irish charm, and pulled far out in front of Democrat Irwin J. Landes. Meanwhile, the Democratic district attorney was reelected by an even more impressive margin. In neighboring Suffolk County, a Republican with the patriotic name of Patrick Henry turned the Democratic district attorney out of office and the GOP followed him back into control of the county legislature.

In the New York suburbs, at least, the GOP is still competitive---though not necessarily dominant. Upstate, in counties like Onodaga and Monroe, the GOP has been losing its political grip. But what the GOP worries about is that the party's leading candidate for governor may not be competitive enough in New York City. In Suffolk County, Perry Duryea is known as "the Chief" and "the Big Man," but in the city, he lacks an effective ethnic base with which to ex-

exploit Democratic dissension with Gov. Hugh Carey. Carey in fact, obviously intends to exploit Duryea's residence by referring to the Suffolk legislator as "the Mandarin of Montauk." It is little wonder then that despite unanimous backing for Duryea from metropolitan New York county leaders, Duryea associates fear the candidacy of a judge who has expressed disinterest in seeking the gubernatorial post. Sol Wachtler is an associate justice on the state's highest court. He's Jewish, a former Nassau County official, a political progressive and a formidable statewide vote-getter.

Wachtler could make natural inroads in New York City's Jewish vote while contesting Carey for other disaffected urban ethnics. Carey, like Byrne, has alienated almost everyone in the state except the management of P.J. Clarke's, an East Side Manhattan restaurant where too much of the governor's time is allegedly spent. (He says he's been there only twice in the past six months.) Just as Koch had to suffer rumors of allegedly homosexuality, Carey has had recently to confront rumors that he has a drinking problem. Responding to "vicious gossip," Carey told Newsday, "Rather than have my friends and family bothered, I just will have to forego what is a very limited matter of relaxation for me. The governor doesn't have a problem, but he's not going to let anybody indicate that he does by writing it up."

Carey's political problems were exemplified by voters' strange reaction to Mario Cuomo's mayoral candidacy. Cuomo gained so quickly on Koch in the general election campaign that he might have caught the leader had the extent of Cuomo's inroads been more widely publicized --- just as Byrne's were in New Jersey. Carey's support was a definite political liability for Cuomo. But as deeply as Carey is disliked by organization Democrats in the city, the enmity is equally strong upstate. And throughout the state, he has won the animosity of teachers and labor. His political skills have been demonstrated by his choice of state Democratic chairmen. The first he ousted as a result of unsubstantiated allegations of corruption. The second had an enviable record of Democratic success in a suburban Republican county. However, since his selection, the GOP has made a remarkable comeback.

Meanwhile, in Albany, Carey's staff has largely deserted him for better-pay-

ing jobs. Most ironic, former Carey communications chief Harry O'Donnell (also a former aide to Governors Nelson Rockefeller and Malcolm Wilson) has switched back to the GOP and joined Perry Duryea's staff. Carey's remaining aides are divided into two warring camps---without visible leadership from their ostensible boss. Felix Rohatyn, Carey's most prominent ally in the New York financial community, has summarized his weakness: "I think Carey's problem is that when he's not in a crisis he kind of gets bored. He rises with the occasion. And sinks with it." Not even David Garth's involvement in next year's campaign is assured if some of Carey's associates remain close to the campaign. His relationship to one associate may have been affected by rumors of his drinking, according to the Newsday interview---his friendship with Anne Ford Uzielli. New York papers keep as close a watch on Uzielli and Carey and Koch and Myerson, but neither duo seems headed for the altar.

One of the Carey problems most heartening to Duryea is labor's possible defection from the Democratic camp. Commenting on labor's 1974 support for Carey, one Long Island labor leader said, "A lot of us felt he had a pretty good voting record in Congress... (and said) Let's take a chance. A lot of us are sorry we took a chance." As Duryea says, "Now, from what they're telling me, I can get labor support. That's what they're telling me in mid-1977. I've learned to bank on nothing." Nevertheless, Duryea is stressing the kind of economic development program that should interest both labor and business. The state's loss of jobs



and high tax rate affect both groups. Carey has already indicated, however, that he will attempt to tie Duryea to the tax increases made under Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. The state GOP has been effectively de-Rockefellerized during the past year, but the former Vice President's record may still be an economically sensitive one with the voters.

Meanwhile, Hugh Carey has let his tint-

Politics: New Mexico

DEMOCRATS IN SEARCH OF CANDIDATE

There are a lot of potential Democratic candidates for office in 1978. However, most of the prominent ones have very serious second thoughts about contesting Sen. Pete Domenici(R). The most formidable would probably be U.S. Rep. Harold "Mud" Runnels(D-2), who is unhappy with the new House limitation on outside earned income. He has said he's considering both the gubernatorial and senatorial races in addition to a possible reelection campaign.

If Runnels wants a four-year job, the governorship is a nice position. But since the governor cannot succeed himself, Gov. Jerry Apodaca(D) needs a political perch. Until early October, it looked like Apodaca might still wing his way into a collision course with Runnels. The governor has removed himself from possible senatorial flight, however; his problem is that he is considered an almost sure loser. Also barred from another term and therefore confined to a possible reelection campaign. If both state officials have entered the Senate race, it would have been a bitter fight since they have been at each other's throats over a workmen's compensation scandal in the state.

Domenici has, for example, already been endorsed for reelection by the New Mexico Education Association. The teachers group has also backed former Gov. Bruce King for a return gubernatorial engagement. Democrat King beat Republican Domenici in the 1970 gubernatorial race. He is considered like-

ed locks go gray. His white-maned GOP opponent has long been known as the "Silver Fox." It may be that the Democratic incumbent is seeking to age his swinging age. He denies the change is political and claims his daughter suggested it. But the gray fox from Brooklyn needs all the help he can get. He looks vulnerable. Then so was Brendan Byrne. ■

ly to beat Lt. Gov. Robert Ferguson in the Democratic primary next year--- along with whatever other Democrats decide to enter the race. Because the two top prospects are Anglo, it is probable that one Spanish surnamed Democrat will enter the race---such as State Rep. Raymond Sanchez or State Sen. C.B. Trujillo.

The GOP's ticket is a near certainty compared to Democratic indecision. Leading the ticket with Domenici will be Joe Skeen, the then state senator who almost won the 1974 gubernatorial contest. Because of the thinning appeal of former Gov. King and the increasing rightward turn of New Mexico politics, the GOP is optimistic. The conservative trend is abetted by the influx of senior citizens from the Midwest and Northeast. The Democrats, meanwhile are split between their Anglo stronghold in the eastern part of the state and their Spanish strength in northern New Mexico.

The Democrats' problems are summarized by the Albuquerque Journal's Dave Steinberg: "Domenici may not be made of granite but it would take a jackhammer to unseat him. Given the assumption that a Democratic opponent could not unseat him, the party of Jefferson and Jackson would want to consider a fresh new face. Someone who could make a good showing, who would be willing to hustle as U.S. Sen. Harrison 'Jack' Schmitt(R-N.M.) did last year." With hustlers and reruns, the GOP's prospects are good. ■

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., 800 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Second class postage rates paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. Contents are copyrighted © 1976 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 labeled.

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
Technical Editor: Brian J. McCarthy

Commentary: Education

READIN' AND 'RITIN' AND REASON

by Bob Packwood

On September 26, 1977, I introduced the Packwood-Moynihan Tuition Tax Credit Act of 1977 to provide a tax credit for an individual's tuition expenses or those of a spouse or dependents. The amount is 50 percent of tuition payments up to a total credit of \$500 per student. The credit will be subtracted directly from the amount of taxes owed, and it will be refundable if the credit is greater than the tax liability.

To be eligible for the credit, an individual can be a part-time or full-time student at an elementary or secondary school, a vocational school, a college or university. Included are business and trade schools which meet the basic accrediting requirements of the Office of Education.

Our educational system is a vast supermarket with a variety of educational programs and possibilities, but if too few people can educate themselves or their children, then the strength of the system itself is in danger. From the elementary level to the university, the excruciating cost squeeze of inflation is preventing too many middle class Americans from supporting our pluralistic approach. Without their support, the danger increases of our moving toward a public education monopoly.

Escalating tuition costs at the college level are hitting middle and lower-income students hard. The College Entrance Examination Board reports that between the 1970-71 school year and the 1976-77 year the average tuition and fees at private four-year institutions rose 54 percent, at public, four-year institutions by 57 percent, at private two-year ones by 52 percent, and at public two year ones by 130 percent. The Center for the Study of Higher Education at Penn State found tuition the major factor in enrollment decisions.

These costs impact directly on the lives of millions of Americans---parents who are educating their children, young Americans who are educating themselves and older Americans who continue their education part-time. The profile of a college student has changed, and many are no longer June high school

graduates who go directly to college in the fall. Many students, both young and older, are working and attending college at the same time. Much too little has been done to help these people who are working to educate themselves. They would be given encouragement for their efforts by a tuition tax credit and many who may be forced to drop out because of these continuing cost increases might be able to continue their education.

We must stop thinking in educational cliches and realize our changing educational needs and traditions. The fluid labor market, different lifestyles, economic pressures and new types of jobs all influence the educational needs of Americans. Retraining and continuing education have become an economic necessity for many. Other Americans begin or return to college in mid-life to refocus their lives or to prepare for a career. Many of these returning students are women working to re-enter the job market, and many of these women are single heads of households supporting children.

But our multi-faceted educational system cannot be sustained without enough educational consumers. The Packwood-Moynihan bill assists these consumers to make educational choices based upon individual needs in a most cost-effective approach. The tax credit method encourages individual decisions, and these personal choices are infinitely preferable to national planning. Freedom of choice is an important value to be nourished for many reasons. The very diversity of the system depends upon the availability of choices to all citizens.

The contributions of private educational institutions in American past and present have been well-documented. At every educational level, private schools offer an alternative to our public system. No value judgments on either are needed or implied because the two systems complement each other. Private institutions without the strictures of public governmental pressures sometimes speak to more select needs and interests than public institutions. A smaller constituency affords the opportunity for more specialized interests. By meeting these special needs, private institutions

fulfill an important and vital function in the educational process.

In some areas, private schools at the elementary and secondary levels offer substantial financial relief for taxpayers because these schools carry a portion of the educational burden. In Boston, Chicago, Milwaukee, New Orleans, New York and San Francisco, private schools educate approximately one-fourth of all students. In Cleveland and Philadelphia, that figure climbs to over 30 percent. To carry this share of the educational load of these cities, private schools depend upon these individuals willing to pay both taxes for public schools and tuition for private schools. I believe these individuals need help with this double burden.

Private elementary and second schools play a very useful role in educating our children. They offer parents an educational choice about the instruction of their children. Often, these schools give parents a greater voice in the educational process and a higher degree of staff accountability. Without these schools, America would have an educational monopoly with limited competition and less room for different ideas. Without these private institutions, the balance of power between governmental control and individual choice would be even more lopsided than it now is.

Since 1966, enrollment at private elementary and secondary schools has declined substantially. U.S. Commerce Department statistics indicate that private elementary schools have lost 35 percent of their enrollment in the last 10 years. Private high school enrollment also dropped 13 percent even though total secondary enrollment around the country rose by 18 percent. Although there have been some hopeful signs that this enrollment decline has "bottomed out," it is clear that any further erosion of the private school system would seriously weaken our educational system.

Private schools primarily educate lower and middle income students. In fact, 51 percent of private school students come from families with incomes below \$15,000. These middle and lower income Americans need help if private education is going to continue to be accessible to their children. But whether private elementary



and secondary schools or higher education is concerned, lower and middle income Americans need the tax relief of the measure Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan and I have proposed. At the college level, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities estimates lower and middle income student participation in higher education has dropped approximately 20 percent since 1969. That assessment, however, defines the upper limit of the middle income group as below \$15,000, a very narrow definition. The hope of a college education for their children is a rapidly receding dream for millions of Americans.

Often the middle income students are financially locked out by having too much income to qualify for federal aid and too little to afford education beyond high school without help. The American Council on Education found that students with adjusted family incomes less than \$7,500 receive about four fifths of all Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, about two-thirds of all College Work Study awards, about half of

the National Direct Student Loans and about one-third of all Guaranteed Student Loans. Obviously, lower income students need this assistance, but we must not overlook the needs of middle income students either. This legislation boosts the opportunities of lower and middle income families to finance their educational choices while at the same time reduces administrative costs and, equally important, puts the decision-making power in the hands of educational consumers.

The word "credit" in our legislation describes the tax procedure, but it should also remind us of the credit due those Americans, especially in the middle class, who continue to work to educate themselves despite the pressures of taxes and inflation. Newsweek recently described the plight of what it calls the "middle class poor," those who have watched any income boosts eaten up by inflation and higher taxes. A new home and education lead the list of hopes now priced beyond many middle class taxpayers. The numbers can be tabulated easily. They show the distressing fact that a family of four with a 1970 gross income of \$12,000, which now makes \$18,000, actually has less disposable income than seven years ago.

What cannot be figured as precisely, however, is how seriously the erosion of expectations affect the values of those whose hard work and faith keep the country going. Maybe we have talked too long and so often about inflation and its impact on people's lives that we fail to put the numbers with the facts and the names. Higher and higher price tags at colleges and universities are putting many college students out of the classroom. Despite the changing needs and expectations about a college education, the decision about college should be made on grounds other than it is too expensive.

The very rich, the very poor, and the very brilliant will be the only Americans with realistic prospects of college in a few years if the present situation continues. Those categories are too narrow to support and sustain our system of higher education. The product without the consumer is meaningless in the area of education. This legislation, by providing tuition credits for each student in the family will also ease the burden of a family forced to choose which child will receive more education.

Self help is a concept too often enshrined in our rhetoric, but absent from our legislative philosophy. The Tuition Tax Credit Act encourages self help, and it will affect the lives of millions of students directly and in a more meaningful way than monies that are administered and controlled by those unaccountable to all of us.

To put the cost of this proposal in perspective, the \$4.7 billion price tag should be compared to an estimated fiscal year 1980 budget of \$550 billion. That means this legislation is less than one percent of that projection. The tax credit approach is also only four percent of what the nation's taxpayers spend every year for public education at the local, state and federal levels. If the 7.7 million students now enrolled in private schools and institutions of higher education were enrolled in tax-supported schools, the bill would be an additional \$17 billion every year.

One of the most interesting arguments against the tax credit approach for education is that it takes control out of the hands of educational experts. That just may be possibly the best by-product of tax credits. The educational consumer is also an expert from a more practical standpoint. Parents who want to direct their children's education and students tailoring their educational decisions to their own interests and local job markets are making personal choices on a personal level. I be-



lieve they are the people who should be making these decisions, and I believe they should have the opportunity of different options.

This tuition tax credit proposal concerns millions of Americans and their personal choices about education. It will help make colleges and universities more financially feasible for middle and lower income students. A college degree whether obtained in mid-life or at 21 should be a reasonable goal for all Americans willing to work for it.

Under this legislation, retraining or continuing education at any accredited institution will be more accessible to more Americans. It specifically includes part-time schooling in order to help those who work and study at the same time. Our present tax laws which give tax benefits to companies that provide educational opportunities for employees overlook the initiative and enterprise of individual Americans who seek further education. Students at vocational schools, community colleges and in continuing education have become a growing factor in education. As the job market continues to change, educational alternatives to the traditional four year colleged must be nourished. At a time when we need more types of educational experiences, we should be

supportive of all aspects of our educational marketplace.

The legislation we have introduced is intended to preserve the variety of educational choices which individuals should be able to make. The parent who bears the dual burden of taxes and private school tuition, the 18-year-old who wants to go to a state university like his two older sisters, the single head of a household with three dependents who needs more education to get a job or the 35-year-old whose skills are outdated...these are the people this legislation can help. Don't multiply those examples by any numbers, but fill in the names of friends and neighbors. Think of individuals and their educational needs and consider how much impact these tax credits could have on their lives. ■

Contributor Note: Sen. Bob Packwood's article is adapted from a speech he delivered on the Senate floor introducing the legislation described.

FORUM CHRISTMAS GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS:

Special Price: \$4.00/four months.
Write: Ripon FORUM, 800 18th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION: 1. Title of Publication: Ripon Forum. 2. Date of Filing: October 15, 1977. 3. Frequency of issue: Twice Monthly. A. No. of issues published annually: 24. B. Annual Subscription Price: \$15.00. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 800 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 800 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. 6. Name and Address of Publisher: Steven D. Liven-good, 800 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Name and Address of Editor: Richard J. Behn, P.O.Box 226, Charlestown, Mass. 02129 7. Owner: Ripon Society, Inc., 800 18th St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006. 8. Known Bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding one percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: none. 9. For completion of Nonprofit Organizations Authorized to Mail at Special Rates: The purpose, function and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for federal income tax purposes have not changed during the preceding twelve months.

10. Extent and Nature of Circulation	Average No. of Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Average No. of Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest Filing
A. Total No. Copies Printed	2,700	4,300
B. Paid Circulation		
1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Venders, and Counter Sales	0	0
2. Mail Subscriptions	2,366	4,011
C. Total Paid Circulation	2,366	4,011
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means: Samples, Complimentary, and other Free Copies	110	90
E. Total Distribution	2,476	4,101
F. Copies Not Distributed		
1. Office Use, Left Over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing.	124	189
2. Returns From News Agents.	0	0
G. Total	2,700	4,200

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
Richard J. Behn.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 800 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.