



How Liberal [Conservative] Are They?

By TIM RICHARD

The big-time columnists give politicians labels like "left-wing," "liberal," "mildly liberal," "moderate," "moderately conservative," "right-wing" and so on.

What do they mean?

And isn't there a more precise way of measuring liberalism and conservatism?

AS A MATTER OF FACT, there is — at least on the level of men who have served in Congress. The chart at the top of this page shows the local congressmen, the current presidential candidates and the past candidates rank from "left" to "right."

We placed liberals on the left side of the chart because liberalism, a common parlance, is associated with the left wing of politics, and conservatism on the right side.

Because the English-speaking eye works from left to right, we placed lower numbers on the left, higher on the right.

The purpose is to help you, as a voter, understand the candidates, and so the num-

bers are up to you to interpret. If you consider yourself very liberal, you will favor a candidate with a low number; if conservative, a high number. That's your business.

HERE ARE THE RATINGS of the three Oberlander congressmen, Michigan's two senators, the governor, the current crop of presidential possibilities (except Rockefeller and Stassen), and some of the past presidential nominees:

2—Hubert H. Humphrey, vice president; based on his record as Democratic senator from Minnesota until 1964.

3—Robert F. Kennedy, Democratic senator from New York since 1964.

4½—Philip H. Hart, Democratic senator from Michigan since 1959.

5—Eugene McCarthy, Democratic senator from Minnesota and former representative.

5—William D. Ford, Democratic congressman from Michigan's 15th District, including Garden City, Westland and Canton Township.

8—John F. Kennedy, late president, based on his record as Democratic senator from Massachusetts until 1960.

10—Lyndon B. Johnson, president, based on his record as Democratic senator from Texas until 1960.

51½—Charles Percy, Republican senator from Illinois since 1967.

62½—Robert Griffin, Republican senator from Michigan since 1966.

66—Marvin Esch, Republican congressman from Michigan's 2nd District, including Plymouth.

70—George W. Romney, Republican governor of Michigan. Romney has never served in Congress. His rating is based on the average of his senatorial appointment, Griffin, and the five freshmen GOP congressmen he helped nominate and elect in 1968.

83½—Richard M. Nixon, former vice president, based on partial ratings of his record as Republican congressman (1947-50) and senator (1951-62) from California.

86½—Jack McDonald, Republican congressman from Michigan's 19th District, including Redford, Livonia and Farmington, since 1967.

99—Barry Goldwater, 1964 Republican presidential nominee, based on his record as senator from Arizona until 1964.

the same bills to make their ratings, but they are still pretty close. Logically, one can expect the ACA and the ADA ratings to add up to 100. For example, McDonald got 86 from ACA and 13 from ADA, adding up to 99.

To make this chart, we simply took ACA's rating of McDonald (86) and the reciprocal of his ADA rating (87), added them together and divided by two to get 86.5.

Nixon served in Congress before ACA began making ratings. His rating here is based on the ADA mark and the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), which tends to be the same as ADA although it's based on a narrower range of issues.

There may be a few minor statistical flaws.

ACA uses only a lawmaker's actual votes on a bill — not his announced intention on a roll call he missed.

ADA marks a lawmaker down for missing roll calls on issues it considers vital. Thus men running for national office — notably McCarthy and Nixon — would tend to get marked down by ADA because they campaigned while roll call votes were being taken.

Although the two organizations disagree almost entirely, they respect each other, we learned in our own research.

WHAT ARE THE RATINGS based on?

Two groups, in particular, have done fairly thorough research on their voting records. These are the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action and the liberal Americans for Democratic Action.

Looking at it from the conservative side, for the sake of simplicity, a congressman would get good marks for voting against unbalanced budgets, the creation of new federal programs, foreign aid, restrictions on business, Medicare, privileges for unions, and some civil rights bills.

The two organizations don't always pick

An ACA man recalled that in 1960 Sen. John Kennedy used his ACA rating (11) to show southern delegations he was not as liberal as Sen. Lyndon Johnson (10).

And another ACA man said he was taking ADA's ratings into consideration in compiling a rating for Nixon, who served on Capitol Hill before ACA began keeping records.

But while the numbers may have flaws, they're still a lot better than the big-time columnists' labels.

public affairs

Kennedy-McCarthy Forces Unite In 19th District

By DON HOEISHELL

Subsidy McCarthy backers in the 19th Congressional District will go to the state Democratic Convention this weekend in a coalition against a slick Humphrey organization. They called for allies among less radical Democrats to go to an "open convention" to build support for their cause.

George Peterson, a McCarthy backer from Redford Township, and Allen Sipher, a Kennedy man from Livonia, said they will go for the other's candidate at the point when each shows an edge.

A CONVENTION will select 15 delegates, four from each congressional district, to join 21 at-large delegates to the Democratic national convention in Chicago.

The party is split statewide over the three candidates with the leadership maintaining the hands-off position unswayed weeks ago. Even the state executive board is going in three directions.

With variations, district-level caucuses are divided along the same lines as the Wayne 19th, which has groups for McCarthy, while boasting substantial support, lacks the costly big guns of local leaders.

At the convention, the Kennedy and Humphrey people will be campaigning strongest among delegates, McCarthy, while boasting substantial support, lacks the costly big guns.

KENNEDY'S CAMP will send in Theodore Sorenson, co-chairman of the delegation, to lead a parade of stars such as Jackson-born Jack Paar, Detroit Lion Nick Eddy, and Basketball Ace Tom Van Arsdale.

They will have a receiving line from 2 to 4 p.m., Saturday in the grand ballroom of the Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel.

Humphrey's people are claiming 1,200 delegates now, 12 short of the number needed for nomination. In Michigan and state supporters are saying "a majority" of Michigan's votes will go to the vice president.

Rep. James G. O'Hara, leading the Humphrey campaign in Michigan, said he was optimistic before the May 17 county and district conventions.

"Now I am virtually certain that Democratic state convention delegates across Michigan will select a majority of delegates who favor Humphrey," he said.

He said that even most of the Wayne County delegates, figured to be a Kennedy stronghold, favor Humphrey. O'Hara said this was true in the 19th.

PETERSON AND Sipher claimed a maneuver by Wayne 19th Chairman Jerry Raymond for the "appearance" of strong Humphrey support.

They said the maneuver re-



VICE PRESIDENT Hubert Humphrey met several suburban Democratic leaders on his recent visit to Michigan. From left: State Sen. Sander Levin, of Berkley, who doubles as his party's state chairman; Aldo Vagnozzi, of Farmington, 19th District Democratic chairman; Humphrey, and Jerry Raymond, Livonia councilman and chairman of the 19th-Wayne party organization. To balance things, Vagnozzi met Robert F. Kennedy a day later.

defeated an "open convention" resolution by three votes and restricted the delegation to Detroit to a slant showing 26 for McCarthy, 15 for Kennedy, seven for McCarthy and two undecided.

Now, they said, the Wayne 19th state looks like 24 for Kennedy, 20 for Humphrey, nine for McCarthy and two still undecided. By pooling the Kennedy-McCarthy backers, they hope to gain control.

One major question mark is the COPE delegation, the political arm of the AFL-CIO. Some now are for Kennedy and McCarthy, but more are for Humphrey.

AFL-CIO President George Meany has already declared himself for Humphrey, but Democrats are waiting to find out for certain who UAW President Walter P. Reuther will support. His decision could alter the COPE delegation.

Sipher said Raymond's view was that party workers only should go to the state convention. The "open convention" resolution won on a show of hands, but lost by three votes on the roll call.

THE RESOLUTION said: "That all precinct delegates, elected and certified by the county clerk as delegates to the county convention, who are present at the state convention shall be delegates, each having one-half vote."

Another clause said all "Democrats who are members in good standing" shall be delegates.

"People should be alerted to the fact that their interests are not being represented," said Peterson.

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