



# 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 how 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, in common parlance, is associated with the left wing of politics, and conservatives on the right side.

Because the English -reading 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 Observerland 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 13th 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 1965.

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

70—George W. Romney, Republican governor of Michigan, 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 1966.

83½—Richard M. Nixon, former vice president, based on partial ratings of his record as Republican congressman (1947-50) and senator (1951-52) 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.

## 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

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.

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 HOEISEL

Kennedy-McCarthy backers in the 19th Congressional District will go to the state Democratic convention this weekend to force a coalition against a slick Humphrey organization. They called for allies among Democrats to go to the convention to build support for their merged group. 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 the state shows an edge.



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 slate showing 26 for Humphrey, 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 some COPE minds.

Peterson and Sipher said their Wayne 19th coalition was an attempt to "get the people involved, the grass roots people, not to cut people out."

They 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.

SIPHER SAID both Kennedy and McCarthy campaigns are issue-oriented and there would be no hard swallowing to vote for either one.

"We're issue-oriented," he said, "The Kennedy and McCarthy sound alike on the issues."

The Wayne 19th fight will be settled in caucus probably the night before the convention.

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