

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

for 73 percent of black households. But the percentage of black two-parent families dropped to 54 percent in 1980. [Fifty percent of black families headed by women are on welfare.]

By one measure, LBJ's War on Poverty was a success. If poverty is calculated counting income, transfer payments, *and* in-kind benefits (food programs, medical care, housing), the rates were 10.1 percent in 1968, 6.2 percent in 1972, and 6.1 percent in 1980. But, says Murray, the goal of the War on Poverty was to help people escape "the dole."

In retrospect, he concludes, economic growth proved to be the only real antidote to poverty. "If the War on Poverty is construed as having begun in 1950 instead of 1964," he says, "we were winning . . . until Lyndon Johnson decided to wage it."

The Balanced Ticket Myth

"The Electoral Significance of the Vice Presidency" by Danny M. Adkison, in *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Summer 1982), Center for the Study of the Presidency, 208 East 75th St., New York, N.Y. 10021.

Presidential nominees traditionally pick running mates on the basis of geography, ideology, or religion to boost their own chances on election day. But Richard Nixon, for one, did not put much stock in "balancing the ticket." "The Vice President can't help you," he asserted in 1968. "He can only hurt you."

By and large, Nixon was correct, argues Danny M. Adkison, a political scientist at Oklahoma State University. Using opinion surveys conducted by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, he analyzed voters' responses to the six major party tickets in the 1968, '72, and '76 elections. In four of the six cases, no more than 15 percent of voters who were unimpressed by a presidential nominee but pleased with his running mate voted for the party's ticket. Both exceptions involved Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew. The first occurred in 1968, when 28.5 percent of voters who disliked Nixon but found Agnew appealing voted Republican. Yet, says Adkison, the Republicans triumphed in 1968 precisely because Nixon bucked the usual logic of ticket-balancing and found a running mate so unknown that voters simply had no initial reaction to him.

And Vice-Presidents can definitely hurt a ticket. Three-quarters of voters who liked both candidates on a ticket in the three elections voted for them. But only 46 percent of those who favored the presidential nominee but disliked the vice-presidential nominee cast their ballots for the ticket. Thus, a presidential candidate can cut his support by as much as 30 percent by picking an unpopular running mate.

One kind of ticket balancing—the "Home State Strategy"—does work. Since 1900, the winning presidential candidate has carried the Vice-President's home state 85.7 percent of the time. But the home state vote was decisive only once: In 1916, former governor Thomas R. Mar-

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

shall helped Woodrow Wilson carry Indiana and win the election.

Only a running mate who has his own national constituency can improve a ticket's chances. Ironically, the best example is Spiro Agnew, who was again a major Nixon asset in 1972—this time because of his own intensely loyal following. But, notes Adkison, politicians who bring such strength to a ticket rarely settle for second place.

Reagan's New Federalism

"Who Will Care for the Poor?" by Walter Guzzardi, Jr., in *Fortune* (June 28, 1982), 541 North Fairbanks Ct., Chicago, Ill. 60611.

President Reagan's proposal to turn over major federal programs to the states has been attacked as an attempt to institutionalize "benign neglect" of the nation's poor. Guzzardi, a *Fortune* editor, offers two cheers for Reagan's New Federalism, though he doubts that the states should be given all the responsibility the President intends to assign them.

Today's statehouses are peopled by professionals who manage money far better than do their Washington counterparts. Every state constitution except Vermont's requires a balanced budget. Thus, Guzzardi argues, it makes sense to give the states control of more than 40 federal programs worth \$40 billion—school lunches, highway maintenance,



Steve Kelly/San Diego Union.

Few cartoonists have applauded President Reagan's New Federalism.