

RIPON FORUM

Help sneak the FORUM
Into the Ivory Tower;
Give a FORUM gift subscription
To your alma mater's library.

DECEMBER 15, 1974.

VOL. 10, NO. 18

50 CENTS

COMMENTARY: REFORM

"ME AND MY CONSPIRATORIAL ALLIES..."

On December 7, 1974, Robert Strauss was in Kansas City presiding over his rebellious associates. Mary Louise Smith was in Washington, observing the deliberations of the GOP's Rule 29 Committee. And George Bush was in Peking, reportedly happy and relaxed in his new diplomatic role. Surely, Strauss and Smith must have occasional reason to envy Bush. These days, the Chinese may be easier to deal with than members of one's own political party.

By comparison with the assembled Democrats in Kansas City, the crowd at Washington's L'Enfant Plaza Hotel was amicable, docile, and small. Less than a hundred persons attended the two days of meetings held to complete the Rule 29 Committee's report to the Republican National Committee. The committee was working under a January 1 deadline for submission of their report and hopes to have it prepared by December 20.

The moderates and conservatives were split fairly even on the committee, and key votes tended to hinge on the proxies of absent members. On one key vote—the official representation of Republican auxiliaries on the Republican National Committee, the vote switched three times. The hand tally originally showed a 22-22 tie on Saturday, but the tie was broken by Rule 29 chairman William Steiger, who voted in favor of auxiliary representation. Conservatives demanded a rollcall on the issue, however. Voting lines took strange shapes with representatives of the Young Republican National Federation, the College Republican National Committee, and the National Federation of Republican Women opposing inclusion while representatives of the National Black Republican Council and the National Republican Heritage Groups Council supported inclusion. Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed warned that if these groups were included, he might press for special representation for rural southern whites; Florida GOP National Committeewoman Paula Hawkins suggested she might ask for special consideration for Mormon women who were also state public service commissioners. The rollcall vote was 22-21 against inclusion of the auxiliaries and representatives of Republican governors and congressmen.

On Sunday, however, a third vote on the issue was taken after New York GOP Chairman Richard L. Berman reversed his opposition to the proposal and moved to reconsider the proposed change in party rules. This time, the moderates won a 24-19 victory. They had argued that inclusion of the auxiliaries on the National Committee was needed to set an appropriate example for broadening the base of state parties. As Virginia National Committeewoman Cynthia S. Newman observed: "We were appointed to this committee to broaden the base of the Republican Party, and I would be ashamed to go home without doing so. Observed John Wilkes of the National Black Republican Council, "I can't understand the fear of having additional help." To conservatives, however, the principle of the GOP National Committee as a collection of state parties would have been violated by inclusion of the auxiliaries as voting members of the RNC. Moreover, argued Wyoming Attorney General David Kennedy, broadening the base of the party must begin at the grassroots, not with window dressing at the top echelons.

The tone of the discussion was generally amicable though emotions heightened on auxiliaries issue. Clarke Reed, Mississippi's master of understatement, provided the conservative wit. At one point, the leader of the committee's conservatives observed: "This argument crosses philosophical lines. Most of my arguments don't."

Moderate humor was often provided by Peggy Spurrier, GOP national committeewoman from Tennessee who served with Gov. James Holshouser as a vice-chairperson of the committee. Through much of the Saturday session, College Young Republican Chairman Karl Rove was the spearcarrier for Reed

on conservative positions. Rove attempted to soften his disagreements with Spurrier by referring to her as his "adopted aunt." He was disowned for his apostasy by the astute national committee woman, who announced, "I have ended the family relationship."

One of the other key debates revolved around recommendations for how "positive action" and "endeavor" in the party rules would be defined. Since the guidelines provided the core of potential GOP efforts to broaden its base, the wording was crucial. Of particular concern to conservatives was the degree of "compulsion" implied by words like "shall" and possible interpretation of the guidelines as the basis for challenges to convention delegations. Original guidelines had been drawn up by two subcommittees of the full Rule 29 Committee and a compromise had been devised by Iowa GOP State Chairman John McDonald. The final version was worked out by McDonald, Holshouser, U.S. Rep. Margaret Heckler (R-Mass.), Sen. Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.), and former Nixon aide Robert J. Brown. The accepted version was watered down as "shalls" turned to "shoulds" and language limiting possible application to convention challenge inserted, but the laundry list of program objectives was adopted. In the words of the original proposal, it is "an effort to be of assistance to the various states in meeting their obligations to take positive action and endeavor to assure greater and more equitable participation of women, young people, and minorities in the political process, and to increase their representation at the 1976 National Convention."

The Rule 29 Committee split along non-ideological lines when it encountered a proposal which would require approval from the Republican National Committee chairman on any expenditure over \$1,000 by the campaign of the party's presidential nominee. Although most of the committee agreed with the principle underlying the proposal—insuring the accountability of presidential campaign staffs and prevention of future Watergates—many committee members objected to provision as unworkable. Republican National Chairman Mary Louise Smith was one of those rising to oppose the motion. Argued Mississippi's Reed, "If this had been in effect in 1972, the party would have been CREEPized from the bottom to the top."

The original proposal passed on Saturday, but was amended considerably under a proposal made Sunday by Sen. Domenici. Under the Domenici plan, a seven-member Select Committee on Presidential Affairs would be appointed by the Republican national chairman. The chairman would be one of the members and one of the members would be one of three "designated agents" who by federal law have responsibility for overseeing campaign expenditures for a presidential candidate. The RNC committee would review all disbursements and the candidate's expenditure plan. Under an amendment proposed by Michigan GOP Chairman William McLaughlin, all Republican presidential candidates would be forced to agree to this rule in writing before their names could be placed in nomination at convention.

One important assumption made in the Republican rules which clearly differentiates the GOP from the Democrats is the notion of "states rights." As McLaughlin observed, the rules earnestly tried to safeguard the rights of states to determine how delegates will be chosen and how members of the national committee will be chosen. The GOP rules do not attempt to overrule state laws.

The proposed rules must now be considered by the Republican National Committee, where moderate strength is weaker than on the Rule 29 Committee...and where, as Clark Reed observed, "myself and my conspiratorial allies" can do pretty much as they please. ■

COMMENTARY: WOMEN

A TALE OF TWO WOMEN WINNERS (REPUBLICAN)

by Josephine Cuevas

Between them, Washington State Senators R.R. Greive (D) and Fred Dore (D) had served 50 years in the state legislature. While Democratic legislators all across the country were handily winning reelection, Greive and Dore were summarily retired from office November 5 by two moderate Republican women.

Nancy Buffington, who defeated Greive, and State Rep. Lois North, who defeated Dore, demonstrated the political drawing power of Republican women in a conspicuous fashion. And in doing so, they removed two troublesome thorns in the side of Gov. Daniel Evans (R).

Buffington ran for office only because no other Republican could be found to oppose Greive. On the final day to file candidacies, she received a phone call imploring her to run. "That was 4:15 that afternoon. I went down and filed. And I was the last person to file for any office that day."

Her campaign caught fire, as did the campaigns of many female legislative candidates this year. Of the 1195 women seeking legislative posts this year, 585 were elected. Freddie Wechsler, a staffer for the National Women's Political Caucus, calls the gains a 26% increase in female legislative representation and a hopeful sign for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"In the past, political women have been forced to set their sights lower than men ---that now history," commented NWPC Chairman Frances "Sissy" Farenthold after the election.

There were 50 female candidates for statewide posts in the United States. Only U.S. Rep. La Grasso (D-Conn.) won a gubernatorial election, while two Republicans, Shirley Crumpler in Nevada and Louise Gore in Maryland, both lost. Women won ten contests for secretary of state, seven races for state treasurer, and one post as lieutenant governor (Mary Ann Krupsak in New York).

More attention was paid to congressional contests. Three women had major-party designations in Senate contests, but all three lost. Two Democrats challenged progressive Republican incumbents. In Maryland, Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski attempted to link Sen. Charles McC. Mathias with "Republican" economics, but she won only 44% of the vote. Oregon state Sen. Betty Roberts used similar tactics against Sen. Robert Packwood; she did slightly better, receiving 45% of the vote. In South Carolina, however, Republican Gwentyfred Bush was crushed by Sen. Ernest Hollings (D), winning only 29% of the vote.

Women now hold 18 seats in the House of Representatives, compared to 16 in the current Congress and 11 in the previous one. Republicans doubled their female representation with the election of Millicent Fenwick in New Jersey and Virginia Smith in Nebraska. Smith's Democratic opponent may regret his suggestion that "women do not belong in politics" after his narrow loss in Nebraska's 3rd C.D. In New Jersey's 5th C.D., where progressive U.S. Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen is retiring, voters showed they were not ready to elect a Democrat, particularly when they could vote for a classy Republican like former state Consumer Affairs Director Fenwick. Although her Democratic opponent attempted to Watergate on her, she evaded that ploy and identified herself effectively with working men and women.

Republican women challengers fared less well. Seven were defeated, including Arkansas' Judy Petty in her celebrated race against House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills, now returning to Washington for his 19th term. The GOP's only black female candidate, Mildred Morris in Wisconsin's 5th C.D., was overwhelmingly defeated by U.S. Rep. Henry Reuss.

Two Democratic women were able to oust Republican incumbents. In New Jersey's 13th C.D., U.S. Rep. Joseph Maraziti (R) was handicapped by his unimpressive performance in the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings and his temporary disappearance when the New York Daily News disclosed that a no-show female employee had received \$20,000 in congressional remuneration. Maraziti was defeated by Helen Meyner, the wife of a former New Jersey governor who reversed her 1972 defeat by Maraziti.

In Tennessee, Marilyn Lloyd was nominated to oppose U.S. Rep. Lamar Baker (R-3rd) after the nominee, her husband, died in a plane crash. Pushing hard on economic issues, she upset the chairman of the conservative House Steering Committee by a margin of 60-40%. The seat was once held by Tennessee Sen. Bill Brock.

Three races found Republican women facing Democratic incumbents, all of whom were victorious (Patsy Mink of Hawaii, Lindy Boggs of Louisiana, and Lenore Sullivan of Missouri). The most formidable and promising Republican challenger was Hawaii GOP State Chairwoman Carla Moray. Her late entry into the race against Mink worked to her disadvantage, however, though she may be a viable candidate in 1976, particularly if Mink runs for the Senate. ■

POLITICS: REPORTS

Dentists come and go. Gov. Winfield Dunn (R-Tenn.) is retiring, but he is not going back to the dentist's office whence he came. Instead, he is setting up a management consulting business, specializing in hospitals. Gov.-elect James B. Edwards (R-S.C.) has mixed feelings about leaving oral surgery for budget cutting: "It tears me up inside. I love it. I'll miss it. There's no question." Edwards vows he will return to the teeth business in four years.

ALASKA

A recount of the recount cut into Republican Jay Hammond's lead, but it allowed him a 287-vote victory over Gov. William Egan (D). Egan, who had done everything within his power to stay in office, left the new governor with less than a week to

make the transition to power after the ballot-counting finally stopped. Hammond, who was sworn in as governor on December 2, was more gracious than his predecessor; he indicated he had been considering a place for Egan in his administration.

ALABAMA

Lt.Gov. Jere Beasley(D) had no difficulty winning reelection this year over a Republican (who had refused to endorse the GOP gubernatorial candidate) and two independent candidates. His overwhelming victory was not as great as Gov. George Wallace but it was sufficient to make Beasley a prime contender for governor in 1978, a post for which he almost challenged Wallace this year.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

One day it is John Durkin(D). The next it is Louis Wyman(R). The results of the New Hampshire Senate race change almost daily, but other changes have also been in the works in Granite State politics. Republicans have nominated State Rep. George B. Roberts, Jr. to be the new House speaker and State Sen. Alf E. Jacobson to be the president of the State Senate. Republicans control the Senate, 13-11, because one new Democratic senator joined the Republican caucus. Jacobson was elected unanimously while Roberts was elected overwhelmingly in the House when Gov. Meldrim Thomson(R) threw his tacit support behind Roberts. Thomson had encouraged two conservative candidates, State Rep. Elmer L. Johnson and State Rep. James A. Sayer to enter the speakership race, and the two men were angered by the governor's betrayal. Apparently, Thomson was attempted to head off progressive State Rep. Susan McLane, whose husband had opposed Thomson as an independent Republican in the 1972 gubernatorial race. McLane came in second but fell short of her expected vote total when conservative and moderate votes switched to the Roberts bandwagon. Both the new legislative leaders have the potential to oppose Thomson on his quixotic witchhunts. Thomson's current target is the director of the division of welfare, whose crime has been to oversee what Thomson regards as an intolerable "error" rate in welfare payments. No matter that the governor last year vetoed the new "quality control" positions proposed for the department. The governor has sharpened his ax. Thomson also has his ax out for State GOP Chairwoman Shirley Hodgdon, whom he hopes to replace at a January meeting of the State GOP Committee. The committee was recently revised to provide more equitable representation on the basis of population.

NORTH CAROLINA

When Rufus Edmisten(D) was elected attorney general of North Carolina November 5, he still faced charges of failing to file state income tax returns in 1972 and 1973. Edmisten pleaded innocent to the charges but he was subsequently convicted in district court. He ultimately decided not to appeal the conviction and instead paid the \$177 fine. Edmisten has paid the back taxes he owed for the years when he was a congressional staffer living in Virginia; he apparently decided it was easier to live with the misdemeanor conviction than continue the controversy and publicity with an appeal: "As a private citizen, I would have elected a different course. I would prefer to seek vindication because I still feel there was no willful violation of the law on my part."

TENNESSEE

U.S.Rep. LaMar Baker(R-3rd) is going to try to regain the congressional seat he lost this year, but U.S.Rep. Dan Kuykendall(R-8th) has abandoned any thought of trying to recapture the seat he lost to State Rep. Harold Ford(D). A final tabulation showed Ford defeating Kuykendall by 744 votes with Kuykendall picking up 91% of the white vote and Ford picking up 96 percent of the black vote. Although whites outnumber blacks in the district, Ford's showing among whites was sufficient to elect him. After the election, Kuykendall maintained that the district will continue to be a marginal one: "Any candidate back home is going to beat any candidate in office up here in Washington for the next several years at least." His analysis is at variance with that of reporter Tim Wyngaard, who postulated in the Memphis Press-Scimitar that the 8th C.D. is now safe for the Democrats. Wyngaard cites as evidence the reelection of U.S.Rep. Andrew Young(D), another black who won a close race for his racially-balanced district in 1972. The Georgia district went overwhelmingly for Young this year. Both Baker and Kuykendall have been looking into the possibilities of Ford Administration jobs. Flushed by the success that their own unity inspired, Tennessee Democrats are now looking forward to 1976 and the seat of Sen. Bill Brock(R). Two top Democratic aspirants are Lt.Gov. John Wilder and House Speaker Ned McWherter. Sidelight: State Rep. Victor Ashe(R-Knoxville) sought a State Senate seat this year, but Tennessee courts threw out his candidacy because he did not turn 30 until after election day. Ashe's mother, Martha Ashe, ran in his stead, won, and presumably will be replaced by her son as soon as he meets the constitutional age requirement.

VERMONT

To put it mildly, the chairman of the Vermont Republican Party and the party's national committeeman do not get along. According to Vermont GOP State Chairman Stewart Smith, GOP National Committeeman Roland O. Seward has been leading a move to oust him from his party post. Shortly before the party's executive committee voted to remove Smith, the chairman announced: "It's time for Mr. Seward to step forward. This whole thing is a clash of personalities. It's very obvious he's leading the move to oust me." According to

Smith's detractors, opposition to him has grown as a result of his disregard of the executive committee and tendency to make unilateral decisions: e.g., closing the party headquarters and firing the staff, changing the headquarters location, allocation of party funds, and lack of communication with the party's executive director. The accumulation of grievances resulted in the executive committee vote November 26. Smith, however, has claimed that the tendency of the executive committee to make unilateral and secretive decisions has been a problem of the GOP in the past and he has tried to counteract that problem. Smith's tenure in office was not brought to a final vote at the December 7 meeting of the Republican State Committee. The motion was tabled, but Smith hurt his cause with a tirade against Seward's role in the party. Such attacks annoy committee members like GOP State Vice Chairman Constance Johnson, who has observed: "It disturbs me that they make Roland a terrible Machiavellian prince of darkness who plots and who tells everybody else what to do. That simply is not so."

POLITICS: REPORTS

THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

The struggles for leadership within the Republican minority in the House of Representatives have not been as sexy as those of the Democratic majority, and so the recent leadership elections captured less publicity than the seniority struggles on the Democratic side of the aisle.

A threatened campaign to oust House Minority Leader John Rhodes (R-Ariz.) failed to develop when House Policy Chairman Barber Conable refused to challenge him. Both men were reelected without opposition.

The key GOP contest was the reelection of House Republican Conference Chairman John Anderson (R-Ill.), whose moderate positions have long irritated GOP conservatives. Anderson was opposed by U.S. Rep. Charles Wiggins (R-Calif.), whose backers predicted a close race despite the losses suffered by GOP conservatives in the last election. Responding to criticism before the vote about his independent stands on key questions, Anderson said: "I have not been a divisive force in the Republican Party. I think (Wiggins and I) differ in the concept of leadership. It's not necessarily harmful for the leadership to encompass people with a somewhat different view. I don't think going into the leadership necessarily means losing your voice."

The size of Anderson's victory, 85-52, was a surprise; he had won reelection in 1970 by only eight votes. The margin of victory reflected a cross section of support for Anderson which was perhaps indicative of the reluctance of some conservatives to appear to "purge" Anderson for his outspoken comments on Watergate. Rhodes attributed the victory to Anderson's image as "very able and articulate."

The race for GOP House whip was another contest between California and Illinois with Illinois again the victor. U.S. Rep. Robert Michel (R-Ill.) capitalized on his position as chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee to win an easy victory over U.S. Rep. Jerry L. Pettis (R-Cal.) and U.S. Rep. John N. Erlenborn (R-Ill.). The strong showing by Pettis---he received 38 votes compared to 75 for Michel and 22 for Erlenborn---was a tribute to Pettis' promises to be a "communicator" if elected to the whip position being vacated by the retiring U.S. Rep. Leslie Arends (R-Ill.). Whereas Michel has been known for his ability to raise campaign funds and Erlenborn for his skills as a legislative technician, Pettis promised: "There has been too much secrecy at the top. Too many times we've been asked to support positions on blind faith. That's for the birds. If I'm elected, I'll be available (for consultation) 24 hours a day." Pettis, a member of the Wednesday group, was considered the most moderate candidate for the post.

California lost again in the race for the chairmanship of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. Four men entered the race: U.S. Rep. James Collins (R-Tex.), U.S. Rep. Pierre du Pont (Del.), U.S. Rep. John H. Rousselot (R-Cal.) and U.S. Rep. Guy Vander Jagt (R-Mich.). Only Rousselot and Vander Jagt were left after the first ballot and committee members apparently preferred Vander Jagt's experiences as a TV newsman to Rousselot's background in public relations. Rousselot probably was hurt by his membership in the John Birch Society, but that may have been offset by his warm, outgoing personality.

In the Senate, the GOP leadership contests will not be finalized until January, but moderates believe they have a shot at electing Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) as chairman of the Senate Republican Conference. The moderate, 12-member Wednesday Club needs an additional eight votes to defeat Sen. Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) for the slot. The outcome is likely to swing on one-two votes that may hinge on the recounts of Senate races in New Hampshire, North Dakota, Nevada, and Oklahoma.

The moderates have new clout in the Senate as the result of the loss of three conservative Republican seats; even Republican Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) has reportedly begun to sit on Wednesday Club deliberations.

At the moment, Sen. Robert Stafford (R-Vt.) is unopposed for the position of Republican Conference secretary, and Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Ala.) has the inside track to succeed Sen. Bill Brock (Tenn.) as head of the Senate Campaign Committee. ■

DULY NOTED: STATES

"After The Elections: Watergating Losses," by E.S. Ely I
Richmond Mercury, November 13, 1974. The loss of two
Virginia congressional seats was attributed to Watergat

by Virginia GOP Chairman George N. McMath. "Privately, however, some state Republican leaders are having their doubts. While publicly much attention has been focused on the Broyhill and Parris defeats, party leaders have turned their attention to the less often discussed defeat of A.R. "Peter" Giesen of Staunton in his bid for the State Senate seat vacated by H.D. Dawbarn," writes Ely. While Giesen was losing the Republican district, his House seat was also lost. The recent losses in the state legislature weaken the validity of recent Republican strategy in the state. "Key to that strategy has been the sales pitch the party has used successfully to recruit conservative Democrats---go Republican and get in on the ground floor of a future Republican majority...But, as (Delegate Ray) Garland points out, the strategy only works when party ranks are growing. Facing a status quo, with no opposition, conservatives will hardly be inclined to switch over." According to Garland, the moderate Republican candidate against Sen. Harry Byrd(Ind.) in 1970, the legislative defeats will lead to a "relaxation of extreme conservatism in state party politics." One measure of Republican problems is the analysis of Virginia Democratic Chairman Joseph T. Fitzpatrick: "The Republicans will apparently swallow anything. First they swallowed a former Democrat for governor (Mills Godwin). Now they've got a former Democrat as party chairman (McMath). I just wonder how long before old-line Republicans will say, 'Now wait, this is our party and we're going to lead it.'"

● "Florida Fact: Askew's No.1," by Malcolm B. Johnson. Miami Herald, November 9, 1974. "Most obvious conclusion from the whole election is that Reubin Askew now is undisputed no.1 political ly in Florida---both with his own Democratic Party and the general electorate." Askew easily whipped his GOP opponent, earning him "undisputed leadership of the Florida Democratic Party, with a whole lot of heft if he wants to exercise it (which he has not indicated in the past he was much interested in)." Together with moderate Sen. Lawton Chiles(D), Askew's leadership will put a strong brand of moderatism on the Florida Democratic Party.

● "And Now It's The Mapmakers' Turn," by Robert Comstock. (Hackensack, N.J.) Record, November 10, 1974. U.S. Rep. Peter Rodino(D-10th) is still trying to sell some of his black, urban real estate and flee to the white suburbs of Newark. Trouble is, Rodino's interests in redistricting run counter to the interests of New Jersey's four new Democratic congresspersons, who would like to see redistricting to help him. There are a limited number of Democratic voters who can be shuffled around --- particularly since the four new Democrats represent normally Republican areas. Rodino's seniority in the party guarantees redistricting priority so the other Democrats will have to be content with whatever Democrats are left over. "A similar redistricting to help Democrats elected in the 1964 landslide was instrumental in saving the seats of Henry Helstoski(D) and James J. Howard(D) in 1966. Both now win elections handily, but they hung on by their fingernails in their first reelection campaigns," writes Comstock.

● "Republicans Need Good Grassroots Candidates," by Jack Zaiman. Hartford Courant, November 17, 1974. Talk of "restructuring" the Connecticut GOP is off base, according to Zaiman. What the GOP needs is a strong registration effort, a consistent image, and a strong candidate recruitment effort. "It's in the area of image, ideas and candidates, especially in this era of television that the GOP must operate. It has lost five of the last six gubernatorial elections, and it was lucky to win the one that it did in 1970. It must be doing something wrong."

● "Rockefeller Likely to Keep Top Role in State's GOP," by Frank Lynn. New York Times, November 29, 1974. "Nelson A. Rockefeller, who has dominated the state Republican Party for 16 years, will continue to control it from Washington if his nomination as Vice President is confirmed," writes Lynn. A November 25 meeting of Republican leaders in Albany reaffirmed Rockefeller's leadership and the stewardship of Rockefeller's aides: GOP State Chairman Richard M. Rosenbaum; GOP State Treasurer James Hellmuth; and Republican National Committeeman George L. Hinman. Rockefeller will be the main speaker at a January fundraiser intended to erase GOP debts from this year's gubernatorial campaign. Three other major Republicans in the state --- Sen. Jacob Javits, Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, and State Senate Majority Leader Warren M. Anderson---are not considered major rivals to Rockefeller's political dominance, according to Lynn. Sen. James L. Buckley(R) would have to improve his party credentials before he could become a major challenger for party leadership, and Assembly Speaker Perry Duryea(R) suffers from GOP legislative defeats both statewide and in his own Suffolk County. The situation was apparently summed up by one GOP official who said, "Rockefeller is gone, but he isn't forgotten."

DULY NOTED: MODERATES

"Centenarian." Lincoln Evening Journal, November 6, 1974. In a post-election editorial brief, the Journal noted: "A hundred years ago Thursday, Thomas Nast published the cartoon which first used an elephant as the symbol of the Republican Party. Elephants in captivity don't often live beyond 100 years, the encyclopedias say. (For additional information, see Tuesday's election results.)"

"Party in Wreckage: GOP Liberals Doused," by Richard Rodda. Sacramento Bee, November 6, 1974. California's Democratic landslide all but wiped out whatever voice of liberalism remained in the Republican Party. Not only that, it dealt the GOP its most humiliating defeat of the 20th century. "Party," concludes Rodda. Particularly devastating to GOP progressives was the defeat of gubernatorial candidate Houston I. Flournoy(R) and secretary of state candidate William T. Bagley(R) in the general election and lieutenant governor hopeful John G. Veneman(R) in the earlier primary. Thus the conservatives, who came into power in the minority party in the 1964 Goldwater year and rose to heights with the election of Gov. Ronald Reagan in 1966, now are in charge of the wreckage. The task ahead is to rebuild, and at this point it is hard to tell who will emerge as the leader. Flournoy will be the so-called titular head of the party, but it is doubtful he can put the pieces back together." Former Reagan aide Paul Haerle is in line to become GOP state chairman in January. It is perhaps significant that progressive State Sen. Peter H. Behr(R-San Rafael) was not defeated in his Democratic district—as had been widely predicted.

"Both Parties Need Restyling for the Political Road Ahead," by A. James Reichley. Fortune, December, 1974. Commenting on the paradox of the growth of self-identified "conservatives" in public opinion polls as contrasted with the defeats of Republican conservatives in recent elections, Reichley observes: "The most likely beneficiaries of the voters' growing identification with conservatism are the political moderates... Moderates are found, of course, in both of the major parties, but the Republican moderates—or progressives, as some of them prefer to be called—have enjoyed the political advantage of being able to attract substantial support from independents and moderate Democrats against an extreme liberal running on the Democratic ticket, or alternatively, to win backing from many liberals when the Democratic candidates have been moderate or conservative. In other words, many members of both the moderate and liberal Democratic factions have preferred to vote for a progressive Republican rather than for a Democrat from the other faction." Reichley warns that losses by progressive Republican gubernatorial candidates threaten to move the party to the right in several states, but he holds out hope for a Republican resurgence if Republican moderates can capitalize on the party's history of opposition to big government and support for local governmental initiatives. He quotes former Attorney General Elliot Richardson(R) as observing, "Republicans have all along been talking about the responsiveness of government, the dispersion of power, the decentralization of responsibility, the role of the community and of the state and of voluntary organizations, and the ultimate responsibility to the individual."

"GOP Moderates Stay," by Charles Bartlett. The Chicago Sun-Times, November 8, 1974. "The lesson of the election for Republican is that the truck hit almost no one who was standing in the middle of the road. The best armor for any Republican in (the November 5) elections was a record of independent judgments. The party's most liberated spirits escaped the damage of Watergate and inflation. Republicans running on moderate records won crucial struggles for the votes of middle-class suburbanites," writes Bartlett. "Republican conservatives, congenitally stubborn, will be the last to concede the survivability of Republican moderates. They will blame the Tuesday results on President Ford's deemphasis of conservative dogma and his 'mistake' in nominating Nelson A. Rockefeller as vice president. They will argue that the moderates who won sold out to the unions. They will continue to talk wistfully of a conservative bolt behind Ronald Reagan, another high adventure in futility. Meanwhile, the case for moderates grows more convincing. Mitts, Percy, Mathias et al. demonstrate it is possible to be a Republican, to believe in the efficacy of private enterprise and the inefficiency of an expanding central government without coming into touch with the major voting blocs." The problem with the moderates, concludes Bartlett, is a perennial one. They have yet to fill the vacuums of leadership and organization.

"The '76 Game," by Loye Miller, Jr. Miami Herald, November 10, 1974. Commenting on possible 1976 political personalities, Miller writes: "On the other side (from the Democrats), since the crushing suffered by the Republicans across the board certainly did not enhance President Ford's political reputation, tentative questions have to be raised about his potential for leading the party back to better days in 1976. And in the case Ford should not run, last week's outcome would prove very heartening for such moderate Republican potential successors as Sen. Charles Perot of Illinois. But it is bad news for such conservative GOP hopefuls as California Gov. Ronald Reagan."

DULY NOTED: CONSERVATIVES

"The Presidency: Shifting Conservative Perspectives" by Jeffrey Hart. *National Review*, November 22, 1974. *National Review* Senior Editor Hart debunks the conservative tradition lauding a weak Presidency opposed by strong Congress.

Governmental forms have sufficiently shifted in the past two decades, argues Hart, that a conservative Congress can no longer be counted on to counter-balance a liberal President. The key check on the Presidency is the liberal media, which is engaged in a constant battle with the President for influence over the electorate. The key task of conservatives is to regain control of the massive federal bureaucracy. Argues Hart: "At the present juncture, as a matter of fact, the only way these agencies can be diverted, cut back, or eliminated is through the action of a powerful President who is willing virtually to go to war within his own executive branch in order to carry out his mandate. Therefore, 'if conservatives wish to get the 'executive branch' behind policies they deem desirable, they can do so only by supporting a powerful and activist Presidency.'"

● "The Two-Party System, RIP?" *National Review*, November 29, 1974. Commenting on the prospect of a proposed third party uniting old GOP conservatives with blue collar populists of the Walla stripe, *National Review* observes editorially, "Since conservatives and neopopulists are said to have the same views on the social issues, the alliance is made to appear not only possible but 'natural.' But even if social issues now have priority over economic issues (about which this month's election must raise renewed doubt), the economic issues are still neither trivial nor irrelevant. And on most of the economic issues the view of the traditional conservatives and the ethnic and blue collar voters have long been sharply, often diametrically, opposed. A lasting alliance cannot be glued together with pretense and evasion."

● "Voters Shot Away GOP's Right Wing," by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. *Miami Herald*, November 15, 1974. "The upset defeat of Rep. Lamar Baker in Tennessee last week dramatized the single most surprising element in the Republican debacle: the dominant right wing was hurt much worse than other Republicans, casting implications far into the future for both the party and President Ford," write Evans and Novak. "Out of 36 incumbent Republican congressmen defeated for reelection 25 were members of the Steering Committee. Add at least another 10 Republicans who retired and the total membership drops from about 70 down to 35. The Steering Committee can be written off as an effective force in the House." The pattern of the November elections offer moderate Republicans "their first faint signs of hope since 1964."

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 Associates 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., 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage rates paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing houses. Contents are copyrighted © 1974 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

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, \$3 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: Dick Behn
 Editorial Boards:
 Robert D. Behn, Chairman
 Robert H. Donaldson
 James Manahan
 Tanya Melich
 Robert G. Stewart
 Ralph Thayer

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, William A. Koelsch, Daniel J. Swillinger, Josiah Lee Auspitz, Richard W. Rahn, John A. Rehfuss, Thomas A. Sargent, Richard Cleveland, Mark Frazier, Peter Berg, Martin Sours, and William K. Woods.

Technical Editor: Brian McCarthy
 Art: Leslie Morrill and Annie Greene

THE RIPON SOCIETY.
 509 C Street, N.E.
 Washington, D.C. 20002

I wish to subscribe to the Ripon FORUM through use of one of the following options:
 Contributors — \$25 or more
 FORUM — \$15
 FORUM (Student Rate) — \$7.50

Name
 Address
 Zip Code
 Please send a \$ gift subscription in my name to:

1.

 2.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices.