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Commentary

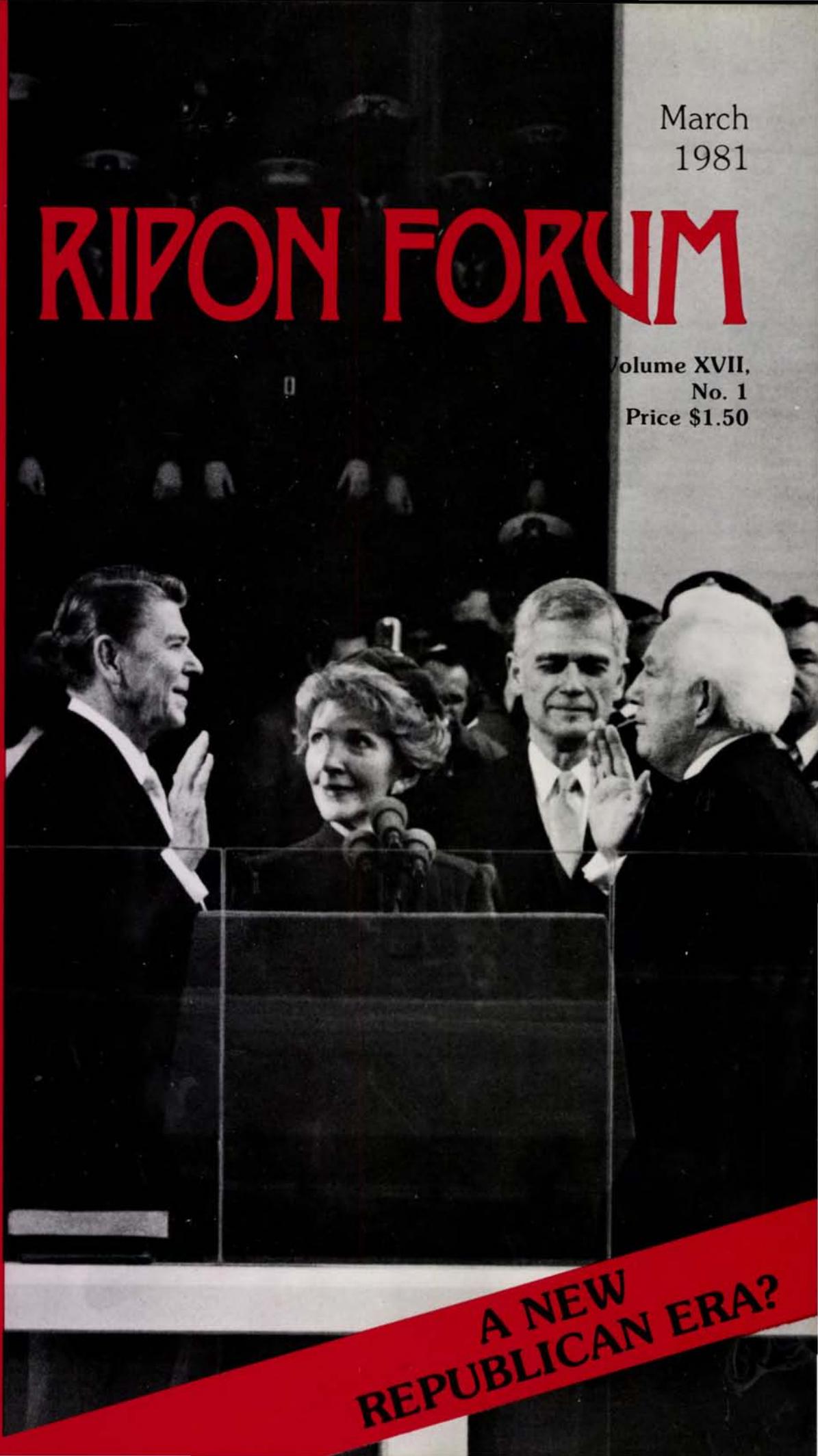
Reagan's Historic
Opportunity

The Cabinet: Not A
Bad Start, Generally

Senate: Republican
Sweep Could Mean
GOP Control For Rest
Of Decade

An Open Letter To
Moderate Republicans

House: The Hope For
A GOP Majority



**A NEW
REPUBLICAN ERA?**

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RIPON FORUM

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COMMENTARY

Reagan's Historic Opportunity

From the viewpoint of the Republican Party, Ronald Reagan has won the most impressive Presidential victory since Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 election. Not only has Reagan run impressively in all regions of the country, he has contributed to the Republican capture of the U.S. Senate and to the strong Republican showings in gubernatorial and state legislative races. Two individuals deserve primary credit for the 1980 party building success — Ronald Reagan and Bill Brock. Unlike the successful Republican Presidential nominees in the 1952 and 1972 landslides, Reagan tied his campaign closely to the efforts of other Republican candidates. The result was a party building success unmatched since Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 victory.

Besides Reagan and, of course, Jimmy Carter whose policy drift helped to fuel the Republican triumph, Republican National Chairman Bill Brock deserves enormous credit for the top to bottom Republican triumphs. Shortly, after assuming the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee Brock began a party building effort to strengthen the party at the grass roots and to win control of legislatures and governorships in order to guarantee a fair shake in reapportionment and redistricting to follow the 1980 census. Brock also played a central role in the brilliantly conceived "Time for a Change" national television advertising campaign which appears to have conditioned the climate for the unexpected Republican successes of November 4.

Reagan has a historic opportunity to transform our political landscape but to do so he must interpret his mandate accurately. The Reagan triumph was a mixture of affirmation of trust and hope in the principles espoused by Reagan and of rejection of the policies of his major party opponent. This mixed mandate is nothing new—such was the case with both Lyndon Johnson's 1964 landslide and Richard Nixon's 1972 victory. Yet both of these Presidential winners misread their landslide victories as carte blanche endorsements of their policies.

Analysis of the election day exit polls and the returns themselves reveals that Reagan has a mandate for considerable change in some areas.

The 51 percent of the voters who chose Reagan for President on Nov. 4th differed widely on a number of divisive social issues such as the equal rights amendment and abortion. Yet they have virtual unanimity on several key issues which moved them to support Governor Reagan. First, they desire competent and consistent management of the economy and a reduction in the rate of inflation. Second, they desire a more rational incentives and rewards system, which will reward savings and investment, entrepreneurial innovation and hard work. Third, they believe that government must be made accountable to the citizenry. Fourth, they desire a consistent and strong foreign policy which commands respect from our allies and adversaries alike.

To capitalize on this mandate for economic and structural reform, Reagan should act boldly and be willing to make sharp departures.

To arrest inflation he will have to be willing to incur the wrath of powerful and vocal interests. This will require action to cut back inflationary indexing of many entitlements programs, courage to resist the short term political temptation of economic protectionism, willingness to curb the growth of subsidies to politically powerful producer interests and a commitment to deregulation to benefit consumers and reduce barriers to entry for new businesses.

Such pro-competitive and fiscally prudent policies can provide a climate for the significant cuts in marginal tax rates

advocated by Ronald Reagan. Thus, the Reagan Administration can begin to overhaul our incentive structure without fueling inflation.

Reagan's mandate for a stronger and more consistent foreign policy hardly requires that he begin a massive buildup of strategic weapons. The Administration's first military budget priority must be to create a climate to attract and retain talented men and women into our armed services. Second, we must build up our depleted conventional inventories which have been drained ever since our involvement in Vietnam. Increases in military pay, improvements in our conventional forces, and bolstering of our strategic systems will require some increases in real defense spending, but the test of Reagan's leadership may well be his ability to persuade our allies to share the burdens of any defense buildup.

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The Reagan Administration must in the next few months reach out in a dramatic way to blacks who remained overwhelmingly outside the winning coalition on November 4. Reagan's success in governing will depend on his being perceived as President of all the people. More important than some symbolic high level appointments, important though they be, is President Reagan's ability to build on the imaginative agenda set forth in his speech to the National Urban League. The creation of enterprise zones, the adoption of innovative approaches to combat youth unemployment, and the fostering of minority economic development and community self-help initiatives offer appealing alternatives to the pale paternalism which is the offering of the current Democratic Party.

Reagan can also reach out to the Americans who supported the Anderson independent candidacy or the Clark Libertarian candidacy. Those voters, the great bulk of whom are distressed with the bankruptcy of the current Democratic Party, can be attracted by a program geared to incentives, entrepreneurship and community initiative. While generally social issue libertarians repelled by the politics of the Moral Majority, many of the Anderson and Clark voters and sympathizers who peeled off in the closing weeks of the campaign to the two major party candidates can be attracted to support the structural changes which the Reagan mandate can produce.

Unlike his Republican predecessor, Dwight Eisenhower whose successful governing style Reagan seems likely to emulate, President Reagan would do well to tend to the structure of the Republican Party. Reagan has won an impressive national victory and in a manner unprecedented for a Republican Presidential challenger, has carried a plurality of the Roman Catholic vote. Reagan's success in building the Republican Party into a long-term majority will depend to a considerable degree on his initiatives to attract the participation as well as the votes of historically non-Republican groups. Bolstered by his strong showing among historically non-Republican groups concentrated in the urban industrial states, Reagan should move to eliminate the significant bias in the current Republican National Convention delegate apportionment rules against those large states in which Roman Catholics, Jews and Hispanic Americans are especially heavily concentrated. Such an initiative could begin to translate the growing interest of such voters in supporting Republican Presidential candidates into voting participation and activism in the party at all levels.

Following this election the Republican Party has a strategic position unmatched by either major party since the Roosevelt era. Barring some economic calamity Republicans can expect to control the Senate through most or all of this decade. Their breakthrough to virtual parity in the Southern Senatorial delegations is unlikely to be reversed. In fact, the ace card of Southern Democrats, their greater likelihood of succeeding to committee and subcommittee chairmanships, has now been snatched away. Moreover, the Senate results may pave the way for a similar change in the House of Representatives as early as 1982. Democratic incumbents who have secured significant funding from ideologically disparate special interests concerned only with their committee positions may become increasingly vulnerable. This fact coupled with the gains Republicans can expect from reapportionment and the likely post-election bickering of Democrats could pave the way for a Republican sweep in 1982 or 1984.

A Republican majority is, however, now only a possibility not a reality. Republicans are still only a small minority of the voters in party identification. Ronald Reagan's ability to reach past the constituency that nominated him and even that elected him may determine whether the 1980 election is remembered as a referendum on Jimmy Carter or as a sea change in American politics. ■

The Cabinet: Not A Bad Start, Generally

From a Ripon Society perspective there is hardly cause to do handstands over the Reagan Cabinet. This should not be surprising as our membership with a few exceptions has tended to be grouped behind Ronald Reagan's intraparty rivals in his three Presidential runs - 1968, 1976 and 1980. What is surprising and at the same time heartening is the moderate and constructive quality of most of the Reagan Cabinet nominees.

Alexander Haig's role as White House Chief of Staff during the hunker down days of the Nixon Administration was sure to ignite controversy during his confirmation hearings but this mixed record of six or seven years ago seems far less consequential than the potential the Haig nomination may have to reassure our Western European allies and to signal the Soviets of a stern U.S. resolve to counter Soviet adventurism in Eastern Europe. Haig may not be a man for all seasons, but he appears to be the man for the winter of 1981 as the peace stands poised on a knife's edge in Poland. His speed in taking power from a rambunctious State Department transition team portends strong leadership of our foreign policy now in disarray.

The choice of Caspar Weinberger as Defense Secretary seems to signal that the Reagan Administration, although committed to a strengthening of our defenses, will not give a blank check to the generals and defense contractors to construct their weapons wish lists. Besides his keen bud-

getary understanding, just as essential at DOD as at HEW, Weinberger has a grasp of the personnel issues which even more than hardware may dominate Defense Department planning. Weinberger's predecessor, Harold Brown, was one of our most brilliant weapons theorists, yet he managed to preside over a loss of many of our most highly skilled noncoms and junior officers.

The choice of Donald Regan as Treasury Secretary and David Stockman to head the Office of Management and Budget are a strong indication that the Reagan Administration like the Ripon Society will champion entrepreneurial competition in preference to cartelization and corporate bailouts. Regan pushed Wall Street toward more competitive practices during his leadership of the Merrill, Lynch brokerage firm while Stockman has been Congress's most courageous champion of free competition and market economics. The presence of Regan and Stockman should help inoculate the Reagan Administration against the flare-up of "me-too Republicanism" that seemed to strike Reagan during mid-campaign as he sought the support of auto workers, steel workers, Teamsters and maritime unions. The success of Reagan's effort to restore U.S. economic dynamism may depend on his opposing strong political thrusts for protectionism, corporate bailouts, and continued cartelization of transportation.

The choices of Richard Schweiker to head Health and Human Services and Samuel Pierce to head Housing and Urban Development indicate a continuing commitment to compassionate public policies, although, we hope, far better managed delivery of public services than was often true of their Democratic predecessors who frequently allowed good intentions to substitute for results. In his leadership of Scovill Industries Malcolm Baldrige distinguished himself as one of the nation's most creative businessmen and thus brings considerable promise to the Commerce Secretaryship. A knowledgeable transportation hand as trustee of the Reading Railroad, Drew Lewis possesses the political acumen and knowledge of state government issues which can prove crucial to the success of a Secretary of Transportation. The selection of Terrel Bell to head the Department of Education indicates that the administration is sensitive to the concerns of the education communities although committed to reducing federal intrusions into academic policy making.

There are four Cabinet appointments on which we must register demurrers of one degree or another. William French Smith is a highly skilled lawyer and a man of acknowledged high integrity, nevertheless his extreme closeness to Ronald Reagan and his long time leadership role in the Kitchen Cabinet could prove a double edged sword. The Attorney General would have been a superb choice for White House Counsel although the likelihood of his taking such a post would have been modest at best. The Attorney General as the nation's chief law enforcement official needs to have a degree of independence from the political fortunes and calculations of a national administration. This is difficult for a political intimate of a President, no matter how great his integrity and courage. At a minimum it would seem desirable for Smith to curtail his involvement in the Kitchen Cabinet lest this body assume an institutionalized role which might conflict with the function of the consti-

tionally confirmed Cabinet.

Of considerably more concern than the Smith nomination are the nominations of James Watt to be Secretary of Interior and James Edwards to be Secretary of Energy. The political rationale for these appointments is understandable—the other Cabinet nominees are generally of a moderate cast and the conservative movement to which Ronald Reagan certainly owes a large debt could hardly be shut out of the Cabinet. Moreover, the heart of the Reagan movement has been Western states deeply resentful of Interior Department anti-development policies. Thus, the philosophical thrust of the Reagan Interior nominee should have been readily foreseeable just as it would be predictable that the Reagan Energy nominee would be a champion of nuclear power and virtually total petroleum deregulation.

Yet in choosing Watt with his pronounced and very clearly defined pro-development positions on virtually every Western public lands issue Reagan has chosen to wave a red flag at the environmental movement. We can only hope that Watt like an earlier Interior Secretary, Walter Hickel, will prove to be a pleasant surprise to those who give a high priority to preservation of the environment.

The nomination of Edwards is less understandable than that of Watt. Unlike the Interior Secretary, the former South Carolina Governor lacks any detailed knowledge of the substantive responsibilities he has been chosen to head. His principal qualifications appear to be the fact that he is a Southerner and an articulate movement conservative and that he generally shares Reagan's philosophy about energy production. Yet it is hard to believe that there are not hundreds of similarly inclined Southerners with far greater knowledge of the energy field. We will feel far better about the appointment of Ray Donovan as Labor Secretary when we see evidence that he is moving vigorously to root out Teamster Union pension fund fraud.

While the Watt and Edwards nominations are perhaps politically justifiable as a necessary symbolic concession to the hard right, it is unfortunate that the Administration has thus far been fairly slow in symbolic appointments among two at least equally important constituencies, women and Hispanics.

Although Reagan carried a narrow plurality of female voters, women were noticeably less enthusiastic than men about the Reagan candidacy. Their doubts centered around a combination of factors - Reagan's support of a constitutional amendment banning abortion, his opposition to ratification of the equal rights amendment, and his image as a bellicose candidate. The Republican Party has a reservoir of top-flight potential female appointees, yet the only woman appointed to Cabinet level rank was Jeane Kirkpatrick, a Democrat, and as U. N. Ambassador designee a nominee to a post with *de minimus* policy influence. A more aggressive recruitment of women to the Cabinet might have allayed some of the widespread misgivings among women about their importance to the Reagan Administration. This political oversight is unfortunate for an Administration intent on building an enduring Republican majority, as women from the time of enactment of the Nineteenth Amendment until relatively recently exhibited stronger Republican voting patterns than did men.

The oversight with respect to Hispanics is of perhaps even greater consequence. Reagan's greatest gains and the Democrats' greatest losses in 1980 came among Hispanic voters who registered a 36 percent Republican President vote, a stunning tally considering that Reagan lacked any of the advantages of incumbency. The growing Republicanism of the exploding Hispanic population may well move Florida, Texas and California into the reliably Republican column if the GOP can consolidate the Reagan gains. The potential nomination of Philip Sanchez as HUD Secretary would have ensured a remarkable breakthrough had it not fallen through. Now the Reagan dilemma is to meet the high anticipations of the Hispanic community with the diminished pool of unfilled high level policy posts. Failure to capitalize on the still enormous opportunities among Hispanic voters would seem to suggest that the Reagan Administration shares the business-as-usual Republicanism that allowed the Eisenhower, Nixon and Ford Administrations to pass up opportunities to forge a lasting Republican majority. While not universally enamored of all Reagan policy commitments, the Ripon Society can certainly hope that our Fortieth President shows greater political perspicacity than his recent "more moderate" Republican predecessors. ■

Republican Sweep Could Mean GOP Control of Senate for Rest of Decade

The startling news of election night 1980 was less the breadth of the Reagan electoral vote landslide than the almost totally unexpected Republican takeover of the U.S. Senate. Irrespective of the factors to which this dramatic turnabout is attributed—Reagan's coat tail effect—Carter's undertow, a general anti-incumbency mood or a repudiation of big government—liberal Democratic approaches—the 1980 Republican sweep may have long lasting effects much like the Democratic Senate-sweep during the 1958 recession.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Senate elections was the GOP's attainment of virtual parity in the South for

the first time since the Reconstruction Era. The 22 Senators of the eleven states of the former Confederacy now break out as follows: 10 Republicans, one independent (Harry Byrd of Virginia) and 11 Democrats. Republican success may feed on itself by snatching away one of the strongest selling points of Southern Democrats, the argument that they would be more likely than Republicans to succeed to powerful committee posts. With the likely retirement during the 1980s of such Democratic Senatorial stalwarts as John Stennis, Russell Long and independent Harry Byrd, Republicans have an extraordinary opportunity to move into a dominant position in the Southern Senate delegations. This is particularly

true if Republican Senate incumbents emulate the example of former Dixiecrat Senator Strom Thurmond who has won partial acceptance from black voters by vigorous constituent service and championship of black appointments.

Together with its growing Southern Senate base the GOP can shore up its dominant position by holding an already strong Western edge. Ever since the Democratic victories of the mid '50s, fueled by discontent over the Eisenhower Administration hydroelectric, agricultural and economic policies, the Democrats have enjoyed a strong Western Senate base. This position together with their upper hand in the South has virtually ensured Democratic control of the Senate.

It is conceivable that the post-election 53-47 GOP Senate edge could grow even further prior to the 1982 elections. Two possible party switches could result if maverick Democrat Edward Zorinsky of Nebraska, only a few years ago a Republican mayor of Omaha, and independent Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia were to affiliate with the GOP. While the chances of either switching are speculative at best, both Zorinsky and Byrd appear able to make such a switch without destroying their home state political base.

Barring some cataclysmic economic or foreign policy disaster, the GOP seems likely at least to hold its own in the Senate in 1982. Of the at least 33 Senate seats that will be at stake in 1982, 20 are now held by Democrats, 12 by Republicans and one by an independent. Even under adverse conditions, Republicans would seem unlikely to suffer a net loss of more than one or two seats. A more likely outcome, particularly if the Reagan Administration gets a handle on inflation, would be a net GOP gain of a couple of seats. The November/December 1978 *Ripon Forum* in a state by state forecast suggested that Republicans would have a decent shot at capturing control of the Senate in 1980. Hence another fearless forecast of the 1982 Senate outlook:

Arizona — Dennis DeConcini (D) must rate as an early favorite for reelection. The moderate Democrat has managed to maintain considerable popularity in this Republican trending state. Nevertheless, he could have a real fight on his hands if the Republicans can locate a strong challenger.

California — This promises to be a free for all whether or not aging Republican incumbent S. I. Hayakawa chooses to retire. Hayakawa has not been helped by press reports of his public snoozing. In view of the fate of other septuagenarian Senators in 1980, Hayakawa may voluntarily retire. The ensuing scramble for the Republican nomination could involve super conservative Congressman Robert Dornan, First Daughter Maureen Reagan, and moderate Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey. If he is the only moderate in a crowded primary field, Pete McCloskey could slip through and be a strong general election favorite. The Democrats, however, stand a fair chance at snatching this seat, particularly if the winner of the GOP primary is an ultraconservative.

Connecticut — Although maverick Republican Senator Lowell Weicker retains considerable popularity with the Connecticut electorate, he has in the past year sorely tried the patience of party regulars. Even if he chooses to run for reelection, Weicker may face a serious primary challenge

which, if successful, would probably throw the seat to liberal Congressman Toby Moffett, the likeliest Democratic nominee. The GOP's best chance of holding this seat would seem to depend on an entente between Weicker and the Connecticut party organization.

Delaware — Bill Roth (R), backed up by a resurgent state party, ranks as a strong favorite for reelection.

Florida — Lawton Chiles (D) has done a far better job than Dick Stone of tending to the home folks. Although he could conceivably face a serious challenge in his Republican trending state, Chiles stacks up as an early favorite.

Hawaii — Spark Matsunaga appears to be a solid favorite for reelection in this heavily Democratic state. Only a well funded GOP foe would seem to stand much chance of overcoming Matsunaga's party registration and name recognition advantage.

Indiana — Republican Senator Richard Lugar should romp to an easy reelection. The only Democrat who would seem likely to present a formidable challenge is the just defeated Senator Birch Bayh.

Maine — This Democratic held seat would appear to be leaning Republican, unless Ed Muskie decides to return to the Senate. It appears far more likely that Muskie will choose a lucrative job with a law firm and that interim appointee George Mitchell will do battle against the winner of a Republican free for all. Possible Republican nominees include the state's two young Members of Congress, Olympia Snowe and David Emery, and Muskie's 1976 opponent, Robert Monks. A significant economic upturn would probably tip Maine to the Republicans who have been on the resurgence for the last several years.

Maryland — Incumbent Democrat Paul Sarbanes would seem a solid favorite in this Democratic leaning state. Reagan's moves to trim federal employment may not sit well in the Terrapin State with its huge federal employee population. Even without this handicap, Sarbanes' prospective Republican opponent, popular Congresswoman Marjorie Holt, would appear the underdog. The very cerebral Sarbanes, however, is hardly invulnerable; his Achilles heel may be his abrasive personality which has produced a near record staff turnover.

Massachusetts — Don't waste any money betting against Ted Kennedy's reelection.

Michigan — An aggressive campaigner who has an uncanny ability to land on his feet, Democratic Senator Don Riegle would seem a strong favorite except in the unlikely event that Michigan's popular Republican governor William Milliken chose to run for the Senate.

Minnesota — The outcome of this race may depend on how Walter Mondale calculates he can best advance his 1984 Presidential ambitions. Should he decide to run for Senate in 1982 as a warmup, Mondale would be a solid favorite over incumbent Republican David Durenberger. Otherwise Durenberger would seem to stand at least an even chance against a spirited Democratic challenge.

Mississippi — In view of his advancing age, uncertain health and loss of the chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee, Democratic Senator John Stennis would seem likely to retire in 1982. Republicans would appear to have an even shot at the Stennis seat. The likeliest contenders would be Congressman Trent Lott and Meridian auto dealer Gil Carmichael who has waged several strong statewide races.

Missouri — Republican Senator John Danforth appears to be a strong favorite for reelection.

Montana — Montana has a long tradition of a solidly Democratic Senate delegation. At the same time the state has been going increasingly Republican in Presidential races and like most of the West has become a hotbed of anti-federal sentiment. The Democrats' loss of the White House may be a boon to incumbent Democrat John Melcher who will no longer face the albatross of an unpopular President of his own party. Melcher rates as a slight favorite but will have to run scared for the next two years.

Nebraska — Edward Zorinsky, the incumbent maverick Democratic Senator, should be a safe bet for reelection in this increasingly Republican state. The biggest question centers on whether Zorinsky, a one time Republican mayor of Omaha, will revert to his earlier party affiliation. His conservative voting record has been not too dissimilar from what one would have expected from his Republican Senate predecessors.

Nevada — Stripped of his Commerce Committee Chairmanship by the Republican sweep, Howard Cannon (D) could be particularly vulnerable. Aside from Republican Senator Paul Laxalt, however, the most popular Nevada politician may well be Democratic Congressman Jim Santini. Should Santini be the Democratic Senatorial nominee, this seat will probably not shift. Otherwise, count on Laxalt to produce an all Republican delegation.

New Jersey — The outlook here is murky depending on the fate and actions of ABSCAM indicted Democratic Senator Harrison Williams. Williams has been scarred enough by the scandal that even an acquittal may leave him vulnerable. Should he be forced to resign his seat, the governor, a Democrat for at least the next year, will make the interim appointment. At this point the Democrats appear to have a slight edge if Williams is not their nominee, but this is a battleground state with a real prospect of a GOP pickup.

New Mexico — Harrison Schmitt, the incumbent Republican, ranks as an early favorite for reelection. Republicans seem to be moving into a dominant position in this former Democratic stronghold.

New York — Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the moderate Democrat, should coast to reelection. There is an outside possibility that he could face a kamikaze primary challenge from the left. Only in the unlikely event that such a challenge succeeded, would the GOP seem to stand much chance of a pickup.

North Dakota — The incumbent Democratic Senator, Quentin Burdick, has won his last two Senate races each

time with over sixty percent of the vote. Burdick, however, will be 74 in 1982. This seat appears to have moved to the marginal category. Wheat prices two years hence could prove decisive.

Ohio — Howard Metzenbaum, the Democratic incumbent, can expect a vigorous challenge. Among the Republicans reportedly eyeing this seat is conservative Congressman John Ashbrook. Republicans have a decent shot at this seat, their greatest handicap, however, is the lack of an obvious challenger with a statewide political base. The strongest GOP challenger may be highly respected GOP Congressman Clarence (Bud) Brown, Jr.

Pennsylvania — Republican Senator John Heinz should coast to reelection unless Reagan fails to come to grips with the economy. The only Democrat who would seem able to give him a serious challenge is Philadelphia Mayor Bill Green, his 1976 opponent. If Green runs statewide, however, he seems more likely to challenge Republican Governor Dick Thornburgh. The victory of Philadelphia Republican Arlen Specter in this year's senate race would appear to make a Senate race even less attractive to Green, as Western Pennsylvania would not warm to the prospect of two Senators from Philadelphia.

Rhode Island — John Chafee is a fairly popular incumbent but Chafee remains a Republican in a strongly Democratic state. The moderate Republican Senator could benefit if Reagan succeeds in spurring an economic upturn. Rhode Island would also be a likely beneficiary if Reagan moves dramatically to bolster spending on the Navy.

Tennessee — Democrat Jim Sasser should rank at least an even bet for reelection. Sasser's greatest problem in this closely contested state is the strong crop of potential GOP opponents. Sasser's strongest challenger might be Republican Governor Lamar Alexander, although Alexander appears more likely to run for reelection as governor. Other strong GOP challengers would include Republican National Chairman Bill Brock who held this seat for one term, former Governor Winfield Dunn and Congressman Robin Beard.

Texas — Democrat Lloyd Bentsen should have the edge for reelection, but he is likely to face a well funded challenge in this increasingly marginal state. In 1976 Bentsen employed a 2-1 spending advantage and a record (Democratic) Presidential turnout to beat back a stiff challenge from Republican Congressman Alan Steelman. Republican Governor Bill Clements seems certain to insure that Bentsen's 1982 GOP foe will have full campaign coffers. The crop of GOP hopefuls ranges from former Dallas Cowboy quarterback Roger Staubach to more established politicians.

Vermont — Republican Senator Robert Stafford, soon to chair the Committee on Environment and Public Works, seems now to be wavering in his earlier inclination to retire. Stafford would be a strong reelection favorite if he is renominated. Stafford could, however, face a serious intraparty challenge from the right. Should Stafford retire, moderate Republican Congressman Jim Jeffords should rank as a strong favorite to win this seat.

(continued on page 10)



"These are the best of times, these are the worst of times," wrote Charles Dickens in his classic, *The Tale of Two Cities*. Those haunting words of Dickens could equally sum up the current state of moderate Republicanism.

In the fall of 1978 The Ripon Society suggested that a 1980 Republican Presidential victory could best be attained by a Heartland Strategy built around a sweep of the traditionally closely contested and moderate Great Lakes States, nearly all of which have Republican Governors. This was almost precisely the general election strategy implemented by Ronald Reagan who, consistent with the advice of the Great Lakes GOP governors, hammered away at economic issues to carry handily every Great Lakes State except Fritz Mondale's home state of Minnesota.

- For most of the decade and a half moderate Republicans have tended to view Ronald Reagan as the spokesman for a narrow ideological faction. Yet President Reagan holds that office precisely because he was able to score stunning breakthroughs among blue collar voters and past his right wing base. The breadth of the Republican sweep was in large part attributable to the party building strategy Reagan pursued in contrast to that of his predecessors Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. While pursuing a party building strategy reminiscent of the early Franklin Roosevelt, Reagan happily appears to be emulating the Presidential style of the moderate Republican Eisenhower.

- For nearly a decade The Ripon Society fought a lonely struggle for fair delegate apportionment and in 1980 told the Republican Rules Committee that this malapportionment against the most populous states also severely restricted representation of Hispanics, Roman Catholics and Jews in Republican decision making. While the Convention deferred action on the Ripon proposals until the 1984 Convention, the Republican Presidential nominee, Ronald Reagan, made a concerted effort to reach past the traditional GOP constituency. The largest GOP percentage pickup between 1976 and 1980 came among Hispanics from whom Reagan received a startling 36 percent of the vote. Reagan became the first Republican nominee in generations to carry a plurality of the Roman Catholic vote. His proportion of the major party Jewish vote was higher than for any Republican Presidential nominee of the last century.

- The Republican capture of the Senate saw the victory of a host of New Right and Moral Majority backed candidates and a rightward shift within the GOP Senate caucus.

Yet the news was not all bleak for moderates - the impressive GOP Senate victory was registered by the progressive Charles Mathias of Maryland and the ranks of Republican moderates were augmented by the victories of Sheldon Whitehouse in Washington, Frank Murkowski in Alaska, Mark Andrews in North Dakota, Arlen Specter in Pennsylvania, Warren Rudman in New Hampshire. Moreover, the breadth of the Republican Senate sweep has meant not only the elevation of Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms to Senate chairmanships it has caused a similar accession for some progressives as Mark Hatfield, Charles Percy, Charles Mathias, Robert Stafford, Robert Packwood and Lowell Weicker, as well as elevation of Howard Baker and Ted Stevens, by moderates, to the Senate majority's top two posts.

- A lavishly funded, well organized New Right network has developed at the same time that Republican moderates have seemed to abandon collective political activity. Millions of dollars, many of them tax deductible as charitable contributions, have gone to fund such groups as the Heritage Foundation, the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, the Moral Majority, the Religious Roundtable, the Eagle Forum, the American Conservative Union and a host of legal foundations and other tax exempt bodies. The sole moderate Republican national organization is the Ripon Society which for the past 18 years has existed on an annual budget averaging less than fifty thousand dollars per year. Despite this precarious existence Ripon has been a trail blazer for Republican Administrations. Ripon was the first Republican group to surface the revenue sharing, voluntary military, minority entrepreneurship and China initiatives later implemented by the Nixon Administration and the neighborhood revitalization focus of the Ford Administration. Ripon has also played a whistleblower role in Republican and Democratic Administrations alike. In January 1979 Ripon documented John Mitchell's politicization of the Department of Justice and that same year played a pivotal role in the defeat of the G. Harrold Carswell Supreme Court nomination. In 1977 Ripon blew the whistle on Jimmy Carter's maritime cargo preference scandal. Yet Ripon's role as voice of Republican moderation and innovation in nearly two decades is threatened as the group's finances are bled dry. There has been a six month hiatus between the last issue of the Forum and the current issue.

- Meanwhile the forces of the New Right are beginning to exert tremendous pressure on the new Congress and the Reagan Administration on controversial social issues. Very strong pressures are building in Congress for passage of the Human Life Amendment which could make any woman obtaining an abortion or any doctor performing one subject to prosecution for first degree murder. Despite polls showing that registered Republicans by a margin of almost 3 to 1 favor a woman's right to choose whether to have an abortion, dozens of Republican Members of Congress seem willing to violate their personal convictions to placate the well organized Right to Life Lobby. Similarly, despite the well publicized shootings of John Lennon and Dr. Michael Halberstram and the daily carnage on our streets, New Right groups are massing to detooth our already weak gun laws.

- Yet the political position of moderates is hardly

peak as it seems at first blush. All the public opinion polls indicate that moderate Republicans are on the crest of the wave of public sentiment. The public is becoming increasingly favorable to deregulation, government decentralization, greater incentives for entrepreneurship and investment, and reliance on market forces, all central tenets of moderate Republicanism. It should not be forgotten that the massive capital gains rollback of 1978, secured over the opposition of Jimmy Carter and Ted Kennedy, was the culmination of the efforts of the late Wisconsin Congressman Bill Steiger and other Ripon activists.

● Despite all the sound and fury over the Moral Majority it is clear that the Reverend Jerry Falwell and his legions present a distinctly minority viewpoint. Well organized and, like the National Rifle Association, skilled in the tactics of bullet balloting, the Religious Right is, nevertheless, riding against the tide of public opinion. Just as public opinion polls have shown over the past decade a consistent rightward drift on economic and government structure issues, they have shown a more tolerant or libertarian thrust on such issues as a woman's right whether or not to terminate pregnancy, assuring nondiscrimination on grounds of race and of permitting adults free choice of reading materials.

● Inept as moderate Republican efforts to organize nationally have been since the Eisenhower era, two Presidential campaigns showed that there is nothing inherent to insure failure in future moderate Republican effort. Perhaps the most skillfully organized of all the Presidential nomination campaigns was the George Bush effort whose fund-raisers and grass roots support were largely moderate Republicans. The Bush campaign fell short not because of organizational deficiencies but because of Bush's split second reactions at the Nashua debate and his excessive early focus on political momentum. Notwithstanding its November 1980 7 percent showing the Anderson campaign, nomination and general election, was an even more poignant example of unrealized opportunity. Not since Dwight Eisenhower has a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination attracted equivalent support among independents and youth. No Presidential candidate in American history has realized equivalent success from direct mail fund-raising. Moreover, the subsequent Anderson independent campaign which The Ripon Society counseled against beforehand, failed less because of institutional obstacles favoring major party nominees and of weak national organization, than because of its virtual capture by liberal Democrats who sought to apologize for Anderson's moderate Republicanism as they slavered after support of the Democratic left. The courtless ballet with Ted Kennedy, the seeking after a liberal Democratic Vice Presidential nominee at all costs and the disastrous overseas trip all managed to sink the most articulate progressive Republican spokesman since Teddy Roosevelt.

● The last few years have been replete with disappointments and missed opportunities for moderate Republicans, yet rarely have moderates possessed the strategic position to become not merely more than "a minority within a minority" but "a majority within a majority." Although only about a fifth of the Senate, moderate Republican senators hold the balance of power and a majority of the

key posts within that body. Virtually all of the Great Lakes governorships are held by moderate Republicans. Even Ronald Reagan, long the bete noire of many moderate Republicans, is becoming a rapid disappointment to his supporters on the far right. On economic issues he is showing the boldness and innovation long needed while tempering the something for nothing hyperbole of some supply side political economics with necessary, but politically painful, proposals. His foreign policy and defense team of Haig and Weinberger seem intent on restoring a consistency to our foreign policy so lacking under Carter without resorting to the bellicosity clamored for by the far right.

● Yet these hopeful signs can not paper over the fact that there are still significant differences on some issues between Ronald Reagan and most moderate Republicans. Perhaps foremost among these concerns the concerted thrust to criminalize virtually all abortions. This and other attempts to rewrite the Constitution to implement Moral Majoritarian social objectives must be strongly resisted by moderate Republicans if they are to be blocked. Although the Reagan Administration appears to place a higher priority on enactment of economic and government structural reforms, most of which can be endorsed by Republican moderates, one would be foolhardy to overlook the fact that Reagan owes a considerable political debt to the New Right which finds conservative social issues far more significant than economic issues. If the only organized voice within the Republican Party on these social issues comes from the New Right, it may be only a matter of time before the Reagan Administration adds its considerable political weight to the already strong Congressional momentum behind the Moral Majoritarian agenda.

It is time for Republican moderates to do more than wring their hands. The Ripon Society provides a vehicle to galvanize action to preserve the Constitution and to counter the influence within our party of the proponents of a new theocracy. With a track record of nearly two decades of often successful activism in behalf of limited government and individual liberties. The Ripon Society is prepared to step into the present vacuum. But Ripon can be successful only with your wholehearted financial and personal support. Without it our party may soon be the province of only Terry Dolan, Jerry Falwell and other committed activists of the New Right.

I wish to continue my support of Ripon and the Forum and am enclosing:

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OUTLOOK *continued from page 7*

Virginia — Independent conservative Harry Byrd, Jr. will be 67 at the time of the 1982 election. Virginia politicians see a real prospect of a Byrd retirement. Republican Governor John Dalton whose term expires in another year appears interested in this seat. If Byrd retires, Dalton would be a clear favorite for the Senate. For years Republicans have given Byrd a free ride in the hope that he would switch parties. Recent indications that Byrd may still vote with the Democrats could sorely try the patience of the Virginia GOP. In this case, even if Byrd were to run for reelection, he could anticipate for the first time a stiff GOP challenge. The result in such a three way free-for-all would be hard to predict. The odds are that Byrd will retire allowing this seat to go to Dalton.

Washington — The GOP's only shot at this seat will come if incumbent Democrat Henry Jackson decides to retire or take a Reagan appointment.

West Virginia — Robert Byrd, soon to be minority leader, is not about to be retired by West Virginia voters. The only Republican who could make a respectable run against Byrd is former governor Arch Moore and Moore is hardly likely to undertake such a quixotic chore.

Wisconsin — Maverick Democratic Senator William Proxmire is a heavy favorite for reelection. The only Republican who seems capable of providing a serious challenge is popular Governor Lee Sherman Dreyfus who does not seem likely to run for the Senate.

Wyoming — Malcom Wallop should win easy reelection. This state is rapidly becoming a GOP stronghold.

Assuming modest success in reducing inflation and a Republican ability to recruit attractive challengers, the GOP should emerge from the 1982 Senate elections with a Senate total in the mid- to high-fifties. This could provide a buffer for Senate control even if the 1984 and 1986 elections show gradual attrition.

A major plus for Republicans will be a reversal of the seniority and incumbency factor as far as corporate and trade asso-

ciation PACs are concerned. These Republican leaning PACs have been diverting much of their growing coffers to incumbent Democrats on the ground that they will still control the high ground in the hope that he would vote with them to align the Senate if the GOP got within striking range.

Aside from the problematic state of the economy there are two principal vacuums in this otherwise optimistic GOP Senate outlook. First, a serious backlash against Republican Congressional candidates could develop if the Reagan Administration and its Congressional allies begin to press for enactment of the Human Life Amendment banning all abortions and making women and doctors participating in them subject to prosecution for murder. Until now the abortion issue has largely revolved around the issue of federal funding. On this issue the Right to Life forces have the upper hand. Public opinion is closely split and those feeling most intensely are largely opposed to federal funding. Yet once the focus shifts to an outright ban on abortions the issue begins to cut in the opposite direction. According to a national poll taken by the *Detroit News* at the time of the GOP convention registered Republicans are even more pro-choice than the general electorate favoring by a 3 to 1 margin a married woman's right to choose an abortion. Even the Reagan supporters in a series of pre-election polls disagreed with the Reagan support of the Human Life Amendment by a margin of more than three to two. Anderson and Carter voters were even more lopsided in their opposition. There is probably no action that could do more to dissipate the Republican opportunity to become a majority than to press vigorously for the enactment of the Human Life Amendment.

The second cloud over the Republican hopes is the fervid conservatism of a number of GOP Senators elected in 1978 and 1980. Several of these Senators swept in on either anti-Carter protest or Reagan coat tails are substantially to the right of both their home state constituencies and of Ronald Reagan. If they adapt their positions to represent the majority views of their constituencies, Republicans may consolidate their majorities in 1984 or 1986. If the opposite is true the Republican domination of the Senate could be ephemeral with the GOP advantage evaporating after Reagan's forthcoming term has ended. ■

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1982: The Hope for a Congressional Majority*

by Samuel A. Sherer

The 1980 election not only elected a Republican President and a Republican-controlled Senate but also saw a gain of 33 seats in the House, bringing Republicans back to 192 seats- the same total that they enjoyed after the 1968 and 1972 elections and 26 seats short of a majority. It is the highest total of seats for Republicans since they had 201 seats following the 1956 elections. It was the largest House gain by an incoming Republican President since Warren Harding in 1920 and the largest gain for any incoming new President since Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. Most impressive was the broad nature of the gains- 11 seats in the East, 6 seats in the Middle West, 7 seats in the Far West, and 9 seats in the South. (see Table 1). Republicans gained four seats in New York, three seats each in California and Virginia, and two seats each in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Missouri, North Carolina and South Carolina. They defeated 27 Democratic incumbents while only three Republican incumbents were defeated. In all, Republicans gained victories in 37 Democratic-held districts with Democratic wins in four districts previously held by Republicans.

The Republican percentage of the two party Congressional vote increased from 45.0% in 1978 to 48.6% in 1980,¹ with a slim majority of just over 50% if the South is excluded. Thus the 1980 election was the first election since 1956 in which the GOP carried the majority of the Congressional vote outside of the South. The Republican percentage increased as follows in the major regions of the country:

East	44.1% to 47.9%
South	40.0% to 44.4%
Middle West	48.3% to 51.0%
Far West	46.9% to 51.3%

The Republican Party polled over 50% of the Congressional vote in a major region of the country for the first time since it had 51.3% of the vote in the Middle West in 1972, and it achieved in 1980 majorities in both the Middle West and Far West. The GOP position is much stronger than in 1972 when only 45.9% of the total Congressional vote produced 192 seats. This time 48.6% of the vote produced 192 seats. The Republican vote, however, was far less strategically concentrated in House contests than in Senate races. In the House, the GOP's 48.6% of the total vote produced only 44.1% of the total seats. In contrast, the GOP's achievement of a twelve seat gain in the Senate and majority status with victories in 22 of 34 races was accomplished with only 48.5% of all votes. Despite these gains, however, a close analysis of the returns indicates that it will be very difficult for Republicans to win control of the House in 1982 but that even a modest increase in the off-year election would significantly enhance the chance of achieving such control in 1984 or 1986.

The reasons why Republicans will find it difficult to gain control of the House in 1982 hinge upon past history, the nature of our present domestic economic situation and international uncertainties, and upon the nature of the seats that would have to be taken to achieve such a majority.

First, it is very difficult for the party holding the Presidency, especially the Republican Party, to make gains in the House in off-year elections. No Republican President since Benjamin Harrison in 1890 has seen his party gain seats in an off-year election at the expense of the Democrats. That election in which Republicans gained 23 seats was the only off-year election in which Republicans gained control of the House while holding the White House. In recent times and excluding the Watergate year of 1974, Republicans lost 12 seats in 1970, 18 seats in 1954 and 10 seats in 1926. Since the present economic situation is one of the most difficult ever faced by an incoming President, one cannot expect gains to be made quickly. Thus it is unlikely that there will be concrete achievements to show to the voters by November 1982. Based on past experience then, one would expect a loss of 10-15 seats in 1982.

Second, even if the Reagan economic program is immediately successful, or is perceived as successful enough to aid Republican candidates in 1982, party gains will be difficult given the nature of the seats required to be won.

This point can best be demonstrated by a review of the record over the last decade and by an analysis of seats held by Democrats after the 1980 election:

1. *Over the period 1972-1980 only 112 of 435 House seats changed parties while only another 25 seats changed hands and then returned to the Party initially holding the seat. Thus 298 seats (68.5%) did not change affiliation. The greatest stability (75.2%) was in the South where Republicans made their greatest net gain- six seats- over the decade. Republicans also gained three seats in the Far West while losing seven seats in the Middle West and two seats in the East. Thus Republicans made no net gains but did climb back from the Watergate debacle of 1974.*

During the period, major losses were in Michigan (4 seats), Ohio (3 seats), Maryland (3 seats), and Tennessee and Indiana (2 seats each). The Party battled back to identical positions in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Illinois and gained one seat each in California and Texas. No gains were made in Florida. Major gains were made in Virginia (2 seats), West Virginia (2 seats), and Missouri (3 seats). Thus more ground was lost than gained in the largest states, particularly in the Middle West.

* This article is a shortened version of a paper available from the Society.

1. These percentages are based on two party vote and upon allocation of votes where there was no opposition based on past performance.

2. Further, less than one-third of the Congressional races in 1980 were won with less than 60% of the vote. Only 133 seats fall into that vulnerable category- 70 won by Republicans and 63 won by Democrats. Fifty-three seats were uncontested by the other major party- 38 won by Democrats and only 15 won by Republicans. Thirty-eight of those seats were in the South or Border States. Of the fifty-three uncontested seats in 1980, twenty-seven were also uncontested in 1978. Only four in the latter category- the seats of William Whitehurst and Caldwell Butler in Virginia plus those of Robert Livingston and Henson Moore in Louisiana- are Republican seats.

Of the 63 seats won by Democrats with less than 60% of the vote, only 38 seats appear vulnerable in 1982. In these cases, incumbents saw significant drops in their winning percentages in 1980 or a new Congressman won a seat with 55% or less of the vote. However, of the 70 Republican seats won with less than 60% of the vote in 1980 30 appear vulnerable to Democratic challenge using the same criteria. Thus a net gain of 10-15 seats in 1982 would be a major Republican victory.

In addition, this point is reinforced by an examination of the 71 Congressional seats now held by Democrats but won by Republican Presidential candidates in the last three Presidential elections. Only 34 of those seats, or less than one-half, were won with less than 60% of the vote in 1980. However, in 12 of those cases incumbents improved on their winning percentage of 1978. Thus only 20 of these seats are considered vulnerable in 1982. Most of those seats are in the East and Middle West, 7 in the East and 7 in the Middle West as compared to 5 in the Far West and one in the South, the areas where gains were made by Republicans in the 1970s and where the basic ideological philosophy of the Reagan Administration has its deepest support. In addition, many of these marginal seats are the same seats lost by Republicans during the 1970s, including two seats each in New York and Maryland in the East, and three seats in Indiana and two seats in Michigan in the Middle West. Also included are three seats in California.

Thus only 21 seats now held by Democrats and won by Republicans in the last three Presidential elections appear winnable in 1982. An additional 15 seats appear in a possible category as incumbents saw their percentages drop in 1980. These 36 seats fall out geographically as follows:

East- Connecticut (2), Maryland (1), New Jersey (1), New York (3), Pennsylvania (2), Massachusetts (1)= 10 seats

Middle West- Indiana (3), Michigan (2), Ohio (2), Illinois (1), Iowa (1), Wisconsin (1)= 10 seats

Far West- California (5), Washington (2), Arizona (1), Oregon (1)= 9 seats

South- Texas (2), Oklahoma (2), North Carolina (2), Missouri (1) = 7 Seats.

However, these estimates are based on present district patterns and not on reapportionment. Table 2 presents the more cautious estimate of probability within this realm of possibility- a gain of only 7 seats exclusive of reapportionment.

Third, however, the one bright spot for Republicans is gains due to reapportionment. But the net of 9-10 seats is not enough to create a Republican majority without substantial shifts in the congressional delegations of the key states of Florida and Texas. The shift of 17 House seats due to reapportionment provides a significant opportunity for immediate Republican gains. Of the gains, over one-half will be in three states- Florida (4), Texas (3), and California (2). Of the losses, 11 seats will be in four states- New York (5), Ohio (2), Pennsylvania (2) and Illinois (2). Table 3 gives an analysis of the shifts which indicate that Republicans have a good chance to gain at least 12 of the new seats while losing only three of the old seats for a net gain of nine seats.

The losses will occur primarily in the old central cities. Only in New York City is it likely that Republicans will lose such a seat as they presently control two center city seats. Both of the Illinois seats will be lost from the City of Chicago where Democrats presently control all seats. Single seats will be lost by Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Newark/Jersey City and Cleveland under similar circumstances. Only the second seat loss in Pennsylvania and Ohio are difficult to ascertain and thus dependent upon the lines drawn by reapportionment. In Pennsylvania reapportionment is done by a commission appointed by the Republican Governor and by what is expected to be a Republican-controlled legislature. In Ohio the reapportionment is done by a Board which is controlled by the Democrats by a 3-2 margin. Thus Republicans are likely to take a split in both states with regard to the lost seats. In South Dakota, Democrat Tom Daschle appears stronger than Republican newcomer Clint Roberts when the state drops from two to one congressional seats.

The states that will pick up additional House seats are more difficult to predict, although again gerrymandering against Republicans will be difficult given the patterns of population growth. In California, the two new seats will probably be in San Diego County and Orange County in the south, both strong Republican areas. Republican prospects in California have also been boosted by GOP assistance in the election of State Representative Willie Brown as Assembly Speaker. In Texas, two of the three new seats are likely to be in the Houston and Dallas metropolitan areas and both have a good chance of being held by Republicans. In Colorado (Denver Metropolitan Area), Tennessee (Knoxville/Chattanooga), Arizona, Nevada and Utah the new seats are likely to go Republican based on past voting patterns. In Oregon and Washington the situation is more difficult to assess. In both states Republicans have increased their percentage of congressional votes in recent years but still are in a distinct minority in the House delegation. In Washington the Governorship and the State Legislature are now under the control of Republicans. In Oregon there is a Republican Governor but both Houses of the Legislature are controlled by the Democrats. Thus one might expect a greater likeli-

Table 1.
State Congressional Delegations, 1972-1980

(Republicans listed first)

State	1980	1978	1976	1974	1972	Diff.	State	1980	1978	1976	1974	1972	Diff.
EAST	49-68	38-79	36-81	38-79	51-66	-2	MID-WEST	63-58	56-65	53-68	52-69	70-51	-7
Conn.	2-4	1-5	2-4	2-4	3-3	-1	Illinois	14-10	13-11	12-12	11-13	14-10	0
Delaware	1-0	1-0	1-0	1-0	1-0	0	Indiana	5-6	4-7	3-8	2-9	7-4	-2
Maine	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0	1-1	+1	Iowa	3-3	3-3	2-4	1-5	3-3	0
Maryland	1-7	2-6	3-5	3-5	4-4	-3	Kansas	4-1	4-1	3-2	4-1	4-1	0
Mass.	2-10	2-10	2-10	2-10	3-9	-1	Michigan	7-12	6-13	8-11	7-12	12-7	-5
N.H.	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	2-0	-1	Minn.	5-3	4-4	3-5	3-5	4-4	+1
New Jersey	7-8	5-10	4-11	3-12	7-8	0	Missouri	4-6	2-8	2-8	1-9	1-9	+3
New York	17-22	13-26	12-27	12-27	17-22	0	Nebraska	3-0	2-1	2-1	3-0	3-0	0
Pa.	12-13*	10-15	8-17	11-14	12-13	0	N.D.	0-1	1-0	1-0	1-0	1-0	-1
R.I.	1-1	0-2	0-2	0-2	0-2	+1	Ohio	13-10	13-10	13-10	15-8	16-7	-3
Vermont	1-0	1-0	1-0	1-0	1-0	0	S.D.	1-1	1-1	2-0	2-0	1-1	0
W.Va.	2-2	0-4	0-4	0-4	0-4	+2	Wisconsin	4-5	3-6	2-7	2-7	4-5	0
SOUTH	43-78	35-86	30-91	30-91	37-84	+6	FAR WEST	37-39	29-47	25-51	25-51	34-42	+3
Alabama	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-4	3-4	0	Alaska	1-0	1-0	1-0	1-0	0-1	+1
Arkansas	2-2	2-2	1-3	1-3	1-3	+1	Arizona	2-2	2-2	2-2	3-1	3-1	-1
Florida	4-11	3-12	5-10	5-10	4-11	0	Cal.	21-22	17-26	14-29	15-28	20-23	+1
Georgia	1-9	1-9	0-10	0-10	1-9	0	Colorado	2-3	2-3	2-3	2-3	3-2	-1
Kentucky	3-4	3-4	2-5	2-5	2-5	+1	Hawaii	0-2	0-2	0-2	0-2	0-2	0
Louisiana	2-6	3-5	2-6	2-6	1-7	+1	Idaho	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0	2-0	0
Miss.	2-3	2-3	2-3	2-3	2-3	0	Montana	1-1	1-1	1-1	0-2	1-1	0
N.C.	4-7	2-9	2-9	2-9	4-7	0	Nevada	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0
Oklahoma	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	1-5	0	N.M.	2-0*	1-1	1-1	1-1	1-1	+1
S.C.	4-2	2-4	1-5	1-5	2-4	+2	Oregon	1-3	0-4	0-4	0-4	2-2	-1
Tenn.	3-5	3-5	3-5	3-5	5-3	-2	Utah	2-0	1-1	1-1	0-2	1-1	+1
Texas	5-19	4-20	2-22	3-21	4-20	+1	Wash.	2-5	1-6	1-6	1-6	1-6	+1
Virginia	9-1	6-4	6-4	5-5	7-3	+2	Wyoming	1-0	1-0	0-1	0-1	0-1	+1
NATIONAL TOTAL	192-243	158-277	144-291	145-290	192-243	0	Notes: * Elected as independents but aligned with party caucus (1D-Pa.; 1R-N.M.)						

hood of favorable drawing of district lines in Washington. However, recent trends in Oregon indicate that either the new seat or the present Weaver seat is likely to go Republican in 1982. Finally, Republicans would appear to have an uphill fight to pick up the new seat in New Mexico given past voting patterns and the 1980 shift of one traditional Democratic seat to the Republican column.

with three of the four seats likely to be in Central and South Florida. Careful drawing of district lines should allow the Democrats to pick up two to three of these seats. Republicans cannot be certain of picking up any seats although a Republican of Cuban descent could probably be elected in Miami and Republicans will stand a reasonable shot in several other of the new districts.

An Overall Assessment

Table 2 gives a comprehensive picture of possible gains for Republicans in 1982 by state, broken down by gains or losses due to reapportionment and gains of vulnerable

seats. It indicates that the best opportunities are in the Far West where a possible gain of 12 seats can be made, with five of those seats in California. Expected further gains are three seats in the East and two seats in the South with an expected loss of one seat in the Middle West for a net gain of 16 seats.

This estimate is very optimistic. It assumes a successful beginning for the Reagan Administration in its program of economic reform and thus a continuation of the electoral trends of 1978 and 1980 when Republicans did not have to face the accountability of power. It assumes the holding of most of the vulnerable seats held by Republicans in 1980.

Even given these assumptions it leaves the party 10 seats short of a majority. Even if the projected Republican gains in the West materialize, a GOP majority is likely to come in the 1980s only if there are major breakthroughs in the states of Texas and Florida in which a net gain of three seats in the 1982 election would still leave Republicans with a deficit of 22 seats (12-34) in the congressional delegations. In addition, gains must be made to attain majority status in the congressional delegations in the East and a status quo must be maintained in the Middle West where Republicans are expected to increase their majority from five to eleven seats based upon reapportionment.

Table 2.
Expected Changes in Congress in 1982 Elections

(Based upon reapportionment and past trends)

State	Reapport. Change (R seats)	Vulner- able Change	Net Change	1980 Rep. %	1982 Seats	State	Reapport. Change (R seats)	Vulner- able Change	Net Change	1980 Rep. %	1982 Seats
EAST	-1	+4	+3	47.9	52-56	MID-WEST	-2	+1	-1	51.0	62-51
Conn.	---	+1	+1	47.7	3-3	Illinois	0	+1	+1	54.6	15-7
Delaware	---	0	0	62.0	1-0	Indiana	0	+1	+1	50.3	6-4
Maine	---	0	0	73.0	2-0	Iowa	---	0	0	49.3	3-3
Maryland	---	+1	+1	38.4	2-6	Kansas	---	0	0	56.2	4-1
Mass.	0	+1	+1	34.5	3-8	Michigan	0	0	0	46.5	7-11
N.H.	---	0	0	51.2	1-1	Minn.	---	-1	-1	52.3	4-4
New Jersey	0	+1	+1	50.6	8-6	Missouri	0	0	0	45.7	4-5
New York	-1	0	-1	49.3	16-18	Nebraska	---	0	0	72.9	3-0
Pa.	0	0	0	50.4	12-11	N.D.	---	0	0	42.9	0-1
R.I.	---	0	0	44.8	1-1	Ohio	-1	0	-1	51.4	12-9
Vermont	---	0	0	85.9	1-0	S.D.	-1	0	-1	45.6	0-1
W.Va.	---	0	0	43.0	2-2	Wisconsin	---	0	0	49.6	4-5
SOUTH	+4	-2	+2	44.4	45-84	FAR WEST	+8	+4	+12	51.3	49-36
Alabama	---	0	0	39.7	3-4	Alaska	---	0	0	74.2	1-0
Arkansas	---	0	0	49.7	2-2	Arizona	+1	0	+1	53.1	3-2
Florida	+1	0	+1	45.5	5-14	Cal.	+2	+3	+5	53.1	26-19
Georgia	---	0	0	26.7	1-9	Colorado	+1	0	+1	55.0	3-3
Kentucky	---	0	0	42.8	3-4	Hawaii	---	0	0	7.7	0-2
Louisiana	---	0	0	36.2*	2-6	Idaho	---	0	0	56.1	2-0
Miss.	---	-1	-1	43.1	1-4	Montana	---	0	0	47.5	1-1
N.C.	---	+1	+1	45.2	5-6	Nevada	+1	0	+1	27.6	1-1
Oklahoma	---	0	0	38.5	1-5	N.M.	0	0	0	51.5	2-1
S.C.	---	-1	-1	49.2	3-3	Oregon	+1	0	+1	40.1	2-3
Tenn.	+1	0	+1	48.5	4-5	Utah	+1	0	+1	60.2	3-0
Texas	+2	0	+2	43.7	7-20	Wash.	+1	+1	+2	49.1	4-4
Virginia	---	-1	-1	63.2	8-2	Wyoming	---	0	0	72.9	1-0
NATIONAL TOTAL	+9	+7	+16	48.6	208- 227						

Thus a Republican majority will have to be broadbased, following the election returns of 1980. The best way of achieving that result is through emphasis on economic policy and reduction of government. The social issues can only be divisive as they are more likely to be popular in the Far West and South than in the suburban areas of the East and old Middle West which are gradually gaining power from the old central cities. One of the greatest benefits of Bill Brock's term as Republican National Chairman was his emphasis upon mechanics and financing, rather than upon ideological purity. Ray Bliss had followed a similar policy during his successful tenure following the 1964 election. A continuation of this policy plus an

active and successful Republican administration will be required to achieve a Republican House majority in the 1980s. ■

EDITORS NOTE: Immediately after the preparation of this article, poll results from several national polls began to show a dramatic and seemingly unprecedented short term shift in party identification with the nearly 2-to-1 Democrat to Republican ratio narrowed to a gap of only a few percentage points. If this phenomenon persists there is a very real chance that the GOP could defy the historic odds and capture control of the House in 1982.

Table 3.
Expected Changes Due to Reapportionment in 1982 in States Whose Number of Seats
Changed Due to 1980 Census

State (and change of seats)	Expected Republican Gain Due To Reapport.	Expected House Delegation 1982	House Delegation 1980	% Republican Vote 1980	1978	Governor (Party)	State Legis. (Party)
WINNERS (17)							
Florida (4)	+1	5-14	4-11	45.5	41.6	D	D(2/3)
Texas (3)	+2	7-20	5-19	43.7	39.1	R	D(2/3)
California (2)	+2	26-19*	21-22	53.1	48.5	D	D
Arizona (1)	+1	3-2	2-2	53.1	46.8	D	R
Colorado (1)	+1	3-3	2-3	55.0	52.0	D	R
Nevada (1)	+1	1-1	0-1	27.6	25.1	R	D
New Mexico (1)	0	2-1	2-0	51.5	49.1	D	D
Oregon (1)	+1	2-3	1-3	40.1	30.5	R	D
Tennessee (1)	+1	4-5	3-5	48.5	42.3	R	D
Utah (1)	+1	3-0	2-0	60.2	55.9	D	R(2/3)
Washington (1)	+1	4-4*	2-5	49.1	47.1	R	R/D
TOTAL	+12	60-72	44-71	49.3	45.0		
LOSERS (17)							
New York (5)	-1	16-18	17-22	49.3	45.2	D	R/D
Illinois (2)	0	15-7*	14-10	54.6	51.1	R	D/R**
Ohio (2)	-1	12-9	13-10	51.4	53.4	R	R/D
Pennsylvania (2)	0	12-11	12-13	50.4	48.7	R	R
Michigan (1)	0	7-11	7-12	46.5	44.4	R	D
Indiana (1)	0	6-4*	5-6	50.3	45.4	R	R
Missouri (1)	0	4-5	4-6	45.7	37.3	R	D(2/3)
Massachusetts (1)	0	3-8*	2-10	34.5	31.6	D	D(2/3)
New Jersey (1)	0	8-6*	7-8	50.6	44.5	D	D
South Dakota (1)	-1	0-1	1-1	45.6	53.0	R	R(2/3)
TOTAL	-3	83-80	82-98	48.9	45.9		
NET GAIN	+9						

Notes: * Includes gains of vulnerable seats.

** As of January 20, 1981 it appeared that Republicans might be able to successfully organize the Illinois State Senate, thus controlling both houses of the Legislature. A subsequent court decision dimmed this possibility.

**Ripon 1981 Issues Conference
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Table 4.
Republican Congressional Vote by State, 1972-1980

State	1980	1978	1976	1972	% Change	State	1980	1978	1976	1972	% Change
EAST	47.9	44.1	41.8	47.9	0	MID WEST	51.0	48.3	48.0	51.3	-0.3
Conn.	47.7	41.7	48.9	51.2	-3.5	Illinois	54.6	51.1*	48.5	50.6*	+4.0
Delaware	62.0	58.6	51.9	62.9	-0.9	Indiana	50.3	45.4	47.4*	53.8	-3.5
Maine	73.0	59.7	67.5	47.1	+25.9	Iowa	49.3	39.8	42.6	48.0	+1.3
Maryland	38.4	36.7*	37.5	45.7	-7.3	Kansas	56.2	56.7*	61.0	67.5	-11.3
Mass.	34.5*	31.6*	33.7*	39.9*	-5.4	Michigan	46.5	44.4	44.1	52.7	-6.2
N.H.	51.2	52.2	46.3	70.4	-19.2	Minnesota	52.3	47.8	49.5*	45.8	+6.5
New Jersey	50.6	44.5	44.4	50.5	+0.1	Missouri	45.7	37.3	39.7	40.3	+5.4
New York	49.3	45.2*	39.8*	47.0	+2.3	Nebraska	72.9	62.8	63.7	66.0	+6.9
Pa.	50.4*	48.7	43.8*	51.2	-0.8	N.D.	42.9	68.5	63.4	72.8	-29.9
R.I.	44.8	43.4	29.5	36.3	+8.5	Ohio	51.4*	53.4*	51.0	55.1*	-3.7
Vermont	85.9	79.6	68.6	65.0	+20.9	S.D.	45.6	53.0	75.3	46.9	-1.3
W.Va.	43.0	36.3*	33.6*	33.8	+9.2	Wisconsin	49.6	46.8	41.6*	43.1	+6.5
SOUTH	44.4	40.0	42.7	45.9	+2.7	FAR WEST	51.3	46.9	44.1	47.1	+4.2
Alabama	39.7*	32.2*	27.4*	41.4	-1.7	Alaska	74.2	55.5	71.0	52.0	+22.2
Arkansas	49.7*	36.2*	40.8*	22.4*	+27.3	Arizona	53.1	46.8	48.9	52.2	+0.9
Florida	45.5*	41.6*	35.9*	42.7*	+2.8	California	53.1	48.5*	43.9*	48.3	+4.8
Georgia	26.7*	20.0*	23.2*	24.2*	+2.5	Colorado	55.0	52.1	54.1	52.9	+2.1
Kentucky	42.8*	42.2*	43.0	34.0	+8.8	Hawaii	7.7	16.5	29.7	44.1	-36.4
Louisiana	36.2**	46.8**	34.5*	10.8*	+25.4	Idaho	56.1	58.6	52.6	63.4	-7.3
Miss.	43.1*	41.1*	42.1*	31.6*	+11.5	Montana	47.5	49.3	43.8	39.5	+8.0
N.C.	45.2*	42.0*	36.6*	43.9*	+1.3	Nevada	27.6	25.1	13.8	52.2	-24.6
Oklahoma	38.5*	36.0*	35.3	38.4	+0.1	New Mexico	51.5	49.1*	53.7	41.9	+9.6
S.C.	49.2	41.3*	40.1*	42.7*	+6.5	Oregon	40.1	30.5	31.2	47.6*	-7.5
Tenn.	48.5*	42.3*	38.6*	50.2*	-1.7	Utah	60.2	55.9	48.6	43.9	+16.3
Texas	43.7*	39.1*	35.3*	25.4*	+18.3	Washington	49.1	47.1	41.7	33.8	+15.3
Virginia	63.2*	48.1*	48.1*	50.1*	+13.1	Wyoming	72.9	58.6	42.7	48.3	+24.6
NATIONAL TOTAL	48.6	45.0	42.7	45.9	+2.7						

Notes: * Indicates includes allocation of vote based on preceding and succeeding election for unopposed seats.

** Based on Louisiana primary results.