

# RIPON FORUM

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## POLITICS: THE GOP

WHAT IS THE TEAM TRYING TO DO?

The Young Republican National Federation has been run in recent years by "The Team." Until this year, former James Buckley aide David Jones, now executive director of the Tennessee GOP, was the key figure behind the Team. He was succeeded this year by Charles Black, an aide to Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and a former official of the Young Americans for Freedom, and Peter MacPherson, recently promoted to deputy director of personnel at the White House.

According to Jones, the Team represented a moderate conservative coalition which has brought greater democracy to the Young Republicans than was ever possible in the 1960's. Jones says that although the Team controls all the top positions in the YRs, it has been careful not to attempt to "dictate the resolutions or the platforms at YR conventions. "The Team is smart enough to realize that the last thing the party needs is a 1963," says Jones, referring to the YR convention where conservatives took over the organization en masse as a prelude to the 1964 Goldwater victory in San Francisco. Both Jones and his successor as "Team leader," Peter MacPherson, are proud of their attempts to achieve compromise within the organization and make room for moderates in leadership positions. Jones feels that the Team has made concerted attempts to broaden the YR leadership base and avert attempts by moderates and ultraconservatives to polarize the organization. According to Jones and MacPherson, the Team seeks to moderate the antics of some of the crazier conservatives, who are bent more on conflict than cooperation.

One method for achieving such hegemony is the "Team vote," a unit rule device which binds Team members to decisions made by the Team leadership. The second method is horse trading issues and votes to pacify various factions. Of the two current "Team leaders," MacPherson apparently represents the more moderate elements in the Team and Black the more hard-line elements. Together, they controlled the July Young Republican convention in Indianapolis. The two men sat on a raised platform at the rear of the convention hall. From that vantage point, they orchestrated the whole proceedings---including rulings by the chair and motions to adjourn. A direct phone line to the podium and a system of runners communicated the Team pleasure. Delegates were summoned to the rear platform to get the Team word and hear proposed Team compromises. MacPherson in particular supposedly represented the good guy part of the old police Mutt and Jeff routine; his suggestions to moderates allegedly represented attempts to water down more extreme conservative action.

From MacPherson's point of view, there were four critical goals for Team policy: 1) no endorsement of Ronald Reagan; 2) passage of the most watered down "open convention" resolution possible; 3) passage of resolutions with the least possible criticism of the President; and 4) no resolution critical of the Vice President. To MacPherson, his role at the convention was a success on all four points. The convention could have been a far worse disaster for the President in his view if he had not been able to exert his leadership on the Team to block stronger pro-Reagan, anti-Ford, anti-Rockefeller moves. Some moderates dispute this interpretation, however, contending that Ford's strength at the convention---as evidenced in several votes and a pro-Ford demonstration---was far greater than MacPherson acknowledged. To these moderates, MacPherson's actions---instead of buttressing the President---helped suffocate Ford support. Since MacPherson has been the Team's in-house vote counter for several years, he disputes the claims of Ford strength. He admits that he did not make a canvas of Ford support for fear of precipitating a Ford-Reagan confrontation at the convention. Avoiding such a confrontation was MacPherson's major convention goal. Moderates who have watched MacPherson count votes in the past are not impressed by his additive abilities.

To moderates, MacPherson's role is convincing them to accept "terrible" resolutions in place of the "really terrible" resolutions that more extreme conservatives might advocate. MacPherson and Jones see their role as moderating the hard-liners. Moderates see these leaders' role as manipulating the hard-line position as a threat to scare moderates.

The controversy is typified by actions surrounding a resolution calling for a balanced budget at the recent YR convention. An amendment by former Young Republican National Chairman Donald Sundquist of Tennessee (an acknowledged Team moderate) was offered criticizing President Ford's imbalanced budget. The amendment was softer than a resolution passed earlier this year by YR leaders. There was no "Team vote" on the amendment, a fact which MacPherson felt was important. An announcement of the vote was delayed because of Team consternation that it had failed to obtain a majority. Even after several vote switches, the amendment failed by one vote. The role of the Team leaders thereafter is controversial. MacPherson's position is that it became evident that the vote would carry on reconsideration. (The chair had suggested a member of the prevailing majority might want to call for reconsideration.) It is MacPherson's contention that the amendment was obviously going to pass so he attempted to salvage some small gain. He called over Margie Cook of Michigan and Clay Maitland of New York and asked them to swing their delegations behind the amendment. In return, suggested MacPherson, an anti-Rockefeller resolution would be blocked from coming to vote. "He offered to sell out the President for the Vice President," one moderate YR delegate commented recently. With MacPherson's backing, the amendment passed. He then postponed adjourning in order to get two pro-Ford resolutions passed by the convention.

To MacPherson, the budget amendment was going to pass anyway. To some moderate observers, it would not have passed if MacPherson had used his influence to block it. They complain that MacPherson did not attempt to rally the evident pro-Ford sentiment at the convention. MacPherson's interpretation of the convention mood is different, and so he can justify his position by claiming to have blocked any egregious embarrassment to the President. He points out, for example that Reagan's desire for a "contested convention" rather than an "open convention" resolution was not fulfilled.

Was MacPherson "consistently supportive of the best interests of the President?" Moderates don't think so. With friends like MacPherson, these moderates feel, Ford doesn't need enemies. But MacPherson's White House superiors must have confidence in him since they promoted him to deputy director of White House personnel after the convention. He replaced Alan Woods, who had resigned. And he brought with him to the White House Paul Manafort, another Team member elected to national office this year. The Team seems to be on the go. Several years ago, the Team---including Jones, MacPherson and several other top leaders---worked under Howard Phillips at the Office for Economic Opportunity. The way the Team calls the shots, it is hard to know whom it's playing for. ■

## DULY NOTED: STATES

Republicans appear headed for Kansas City for their 1976 Republican National Convention. The politics of who wants which city why is byzantine, but members of the Republican Women's Task Force oppose Kansas City because Missouri has yet to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Miami Beach still has too many associations with 1972 and Cleveland has too few hotel rooms. Cleveland Mayor Ralph Perk has arranged for several ships to supplement the city's limited hotel accommodations, but Republicans may not be ready for the bad headlines that would haunt them: "GOP Adrift in Lake Erie;" "Ford Still At Helm;" "Republicans Struggling to Keep Afloat;" "GOP Trying to Bail Out Party;" "Rocky renominated as Second Mate;" and "GOP Listing to Starboard" if Reagan got a place on the GOP ticket.

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● "Herb Speaks Out Against Governor." Philadelphia Observer, August 18, 1975. Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp (D) may understandably regret the day he appointed Herbert Denenberg as the state's insurance commissioner. Since then, Denenberg had won wide fame and many enemies and lost the Democratic Senate nomination as well as a seat on the Public Utilities Commission. Now a consumer journalist in Philadelphia, Denenberg has had harsh words for his former boss, who is now seeking the Democratic presidential nomination: "I was only the first sacrificial lamb. The word is out in all state departments: Shapp wants to be President; take it easy, and don't rock any boats. I'm afraid that whatever hope consumers had, especially poor ones, is down the drain." Concludes the Observer: "Ordinarily, it would be easy for Mr. Shapp and his supporters to dismiss the Denenberg criticism as the meanderings of a disappointed politician. But Denenberg, whose reputation as a consumer advocate stretches far beyond Pennsylvania, is a different animal and cannot be laughed off by the Shapp team in these times of extreme voter skepticism." Shapp has other problems. He has been called by a federal grand jury in Pittsburgh to explain what happened to \$20,000 in his 1970 gubernatorial campaign. It had been rumored that Shapp was going to make a formal announcement of his presidential candidacy the same day ---October 7---in Philadelphia.

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● "Todd Wins Control of Finance Committee." by Fred Hillmann. Newark Star-Ledger, August 13, 1975. "The Republican State Committee yesterday approved a controversial bylaws change which gives the committee and State GOP Chairman Webster B. Todd virtual control over the party's previously autonomous finance committee. The vote, 29 to 9, abolishes the existing 30-member GOP finance committee and ends both the term of its chairman, J. William Barba, and the long battle for control of the party's

finance reins that pitted Barba and his law partner, GOP National Committeeman Bernard M. Shanley, against Todd." The split between the men is attributed to differences over elimination of the 1973 campaign debt of conservative gubernatorial candidate Charles Sandman. Todd, though a party moderate in the past, has agreed that the state GOP should help pay off the debt. Moderates Barba and Shanley have not been enthusiastic, considering the state GOP's own terrible financial shape. Barba saw the effort to oust him as an attempt by former U.S.Reps. Sandman and John Hunt, both of southern New Jersey, to make political comebacks. Todd forces at the meeting revived their contention that Barba and Shanley were attempting to corner the 1977 gubernatorial nomination for Treasury Secretary William E. Simon. Shanley has denied this in the past.

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● "Ted's Specter Won't Go Away," by Robert Healy. Boston Globe, August 22, 1975. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's repeated insistence that he will run for reelection to the Senate next year has discouraged big-name Republican aspirants for his seat. There continues to be speculation, according to Healy, however, that Kennedy might accept the number two spot on the Democratic ticket with a presidential draft choice like Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who has made it quite clear that he still yearns for the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue. That being the case, U.S.Rep. Michael Harrington, of CIA controversial fame, yearns for Kennedy's Senate seat. "Harrington is not the type to stay in the House of Representatives forever. He has thought about running against Sen. Edward W. Brooke in 1978, but he does not think it is a very good idea to walk around for three years thinking about it." So Harrington dreams about all the possible scenarios for his appointment/election to the Senate.

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● "Gov't Posts Go Begging Awaiting Longley Action," by Jim Brunelle. Maine Sunday Telegram, August 24, 1975. "Friends of Second District Rep. Bill Cohen say personal matters may be a determining factor in his decision about running for Sen. [Edmund] Muskie's Senate seat next year. Congressmen and senators qualify for a government pension after serving five years in office. If Cohen runs against Muskie and loses, he will also lose his pension. Currently he's serving his second two-year term in Congress. Since Cohen is not a wealthy man by any means, it is an important consideration. The congressman has been campaigning around the First District during the August recess and is frank to admit he's testing sentiment in the southern part of the state for his possible challenge to Muskie," writes Brunelle.

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● "Brown: 'Uncomfortable' With Democracy?" by Derek Shearer. Los Angeles Times, July 28, 1975. California Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr. (D), has received a lot of favorable publicity for his no-nonsense, austere approach to running the state. Shearer, an aide to the director of employment development appointed and dismissed by Brown, puts a less favorable, disenchanted-liberal cast on his evaluation of Brown: "The governor, I fear, is not really comfortable with democracy. Consultation with the legislature, with unions and with community groups is discouraged. At the employment development agency, we tried to work with unions, small businesses and community groups. We were committed to working with the people whom our programs might help. The governor is uneasy with outside participation in government: It is often messy, and it diminishes his control over what goes on in Sacramento."

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● "Corruption In High Places In Maryland," by Wes Barthelmes. Washington Post, August 22, 1975. Federal investigations of Gov. Marvin Mandel and other state and local officials have made repeated headlines for the past two years. The problem runs deeper than the personalities involved, according to Barthelmes, who is a former Democratic official: "Maryland is a one-party (Democratic) state run out of the backroom gatherings of Eastern Shore and Baltimore area and Prince George's County legislators and gubernatorial agents. Seldom are legislators in other states watched, cajoled and bullied by the governor's men as those in the Maryland legislature. The legislature meets at night once a week, on Mondays. More Marylanders should go down to Annapolis on a Monday evening and watch the obvious shady goings-on--including call-girls from Baltimore waving from the public galleries to their 'friends' on the legislative chambers below. Committees seldom escape the governor's hand. This year, one committee adjourned after defeating by a tie vote a bill he very much wanted. But half-an-hour later, committee members found themselves reassembled, after a talking to by the governor's agents. The bill was then approved with only two dissents. The gubernatorial fist is not unknown in other legislatures, of course, but seldom, does it come down with the regularity and ferocity of Gov. Mandel's."

## POLITICS: STATES

New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R) spent a day showing former U.S.Rep. Louis Wyman (R) how to campaign, hand-to-hand, for the Senate. Acknowledging that his low-key campaigning cost him last year's election, Wyman told a GOP unity rally the next day: "We're here because I goofed off last time, and I know it."

### FLORIDA

Florida Republicans may have a hard time finding a formidable challenger to Sen. Lawton Chiles (D) next year. Three big names appear unlikely to enter

the contest. U.S.Rep. Louis Frey(R) is tied up with the Ford campaign in the state and seems unlikely to leave his House seat. Public Service Commissioner Paula Hawkins, who lost the 1974 GOP Senate nomination, is set for reelection to the PSC. And Businessman Jack Eckerd, who was the GOP Senate nominee last year, seems to have shelved his Senate ambitions. There is the possibility that former Sen. Edward Gurney(R) may seek the nomination, but the adverse publicity and \$250,000 in legal debts from Gurney's recent extortion and conspiracy trial may be effective deterrents to a Senate return. The only GOP name currently in the running is State Sen. Walter Sims of Orlando. Chiles may have a strong primary challenge, however, from Miami Mayor Maurice Ferre(D). Ferre is critical of Chiles' rightward shift since he was elected to the Senate in 1970, but because Florida's other senator already comes from Miami (Sen. Richard Stone), Ferre may have to set his sights on the gubernatorial mansion in Tallahassee rather than the Capitol in Washington. Note: Public revelations of possible conflict of interest by U.S.Rep. Robert L.F. Sikes for his business dealings with federal contractors has hardly dented his image in his district. There's been more controversy outside than inside his district.

#### ILLINOIS

Assistant House Minority Leader Celeste M. Stiehl(R) is thinking about a run for the lieutenant governorship in 1976. Stiehl is being pushed by Hope McCormick, GOP national committeewoman, who is rounding up support for a Stiehl candidacy. In the gubernatorial race, former U.S.Attorney James R. Thompson has announced that he will reveal contributions to his campaign on a daily basis. Thompson, however, will have to fight for the GOP nomination, according to columnist Edward S. Gilbreth: "The former federal prosecutor faces an increasingly determined and scrappy opponent in Richard H. Cooper, the multi-millionaire businessman from Winnetka. Cooper refuses to roll over and play dead. He is becoming a more visible presence at GOP functions, here and around the state, ingratiating himself with the party's committeemen and county chairmen (some of whom just plain don't like Thompson).

#### MICHIGAN

U.S.Rep. Edward Hutchinson's lackluster performance in last year's Judiciary Committee impeachment hearings may cost him next year if he is challenged in the 4th C. D. Republican primary. Hutchinson may face a challenge from David Stockman, former executive director of the House Republican Conference and a former aide to U.S.Rep. John Anderson (R-Ill.). Stockman is exploring the possibility and has built the nucleus of a campaign organization the district. One top Michigan GOP official rated Stockman's chance as "slim," saying, "Nobody loves Ed Hutchinson but the people." Stockman feels otherwise, believing he has a strong shot at defeating Hutchinson, who received a big scare in 1974 when his share of the vote dropped from 67 percent in 1972 to 54 percent. Richard Daugherty, the Democratic candidate in 1974, appears likely to be his party's nominee again in 1976.

#### TENNESSEE

The election of U.S.Rep. Richard Fulton(D) as mayor of Nashville opens the possibility of a Republican congressman from the 5th C.D. The possibility is viewed as a longshot, however, since the district which Fulton is vacating after 13 years is heavily Democratic. Fulton won 70 percent of the vote in the August 7 election in Nashville; the general election to replace him is set for November 25. The only Republican in the contest is Bob Olsen, who gained name recognition in the area with a viewer-help program on television before he left the media to get a law degree from Vanderbilt University. (Former Gov. Winfield Dunn ruled out a congressional race.) Metro Tax Assessor Clifford Allen may have the inside track for the October 9 Democratic primary. His populist appeal is expected to be stronger than three other competing Democrats, who have liberal and labor support. Meanwhile, Republicans in the 8th C.D. are planning a court suit to expand the boundaries of the district which Democrat Harold Ford captured last November. Redistricting proposals in the Tennessee legislature fell short of enactment this year so the GOP is taking their plan to a three-judge federal court. By adding more Republican areas to the district, the GOP hopes to recapture it in 1976. State GOP Executive Director David Jones says a GOP survey shows that a "moderate-conservative" could win the district back. Jones is also optimistic that Republicans can regain the 3rd C.D. now represented by U.S.Rep. Marilyn Lloyd(D). Former U.S. Rep. LaMar Baker(R) returns to the district regularly from his job in Washington; several young Republican legislators are also interested but are deferring to Baker. Lloyd promises to be a shrewd opponent, however, catering assiduously to constituent interests and moods. And back in Nashville, Gov. Ray Blanton(D) continues to cause controversy on several fronts. The governor has asserted that he will "absolutely ignore" a state law requiring legislative review of executive branch administrative regulations. "The last person who did this is named Richard Nixon, and he's in San Clemente. Ray Blanton ought to go out there and confer with him," suggested State Sen. Victor Ashe (R). Democratic legislative criticism wasn't much more restrained. Blanton's patronage policies are also drawing fire, particularly in the mental health area, where the firing and hiring of key personnel at state hospitals has allegedly hurt patient care. And Blanton is still under investigation for his 1972 Senate campaign; he recently suggested that the FBI might be conducting a political vendetta by investigating the finances and dirty tricks of that race.

# POLITICS: KENTUCKY

HOPPING ON THE CAMPAIGN BUS

by Eric Karnes

An otherwise boring campaign for Kentucky governor has been ignited by the recent order of a federal district judge to implement massive busing for school integration in Louisville. Prior to Judge James Gordon's ruling, most voters were apathetic about the two candidates seeking the governorship this fall, incumbent Democrat Julian Carroll and Republican Robert Gable. Now that situation, at least in the state's largest city, has changed.

Carroll entered the 1975 contest as an overwhelming favorite to win the state house for the first time in his own right. The western Kentucky attorney had assumed the governorship early this year upon the resignation of Wendell Ford to enter the U.S. Senate. Carroll won the May primary with surprising ease and was picked by all independent observers to have little difficulty in disposing of Gable, a Frankfort coal and timber operator.

The busing issue has changed all that. Louisville and Jefferson County voters seem to be overwhelmingly against the busing order. Gable jumped into the fray first, attending an anti-busing rally and blaming Carroll for "lack of leadership" in not halting the decision of the federal district court. Gable's contention was that Carroll had failed to provide needed financial support to the Louisville schools, which were consolidated with the Jefferson County schools prior to the busing order. If the money had been made available to the city schools, according to Gable, the merger would not have been necessary and cross-district busing would have been mandated. Whether the voters will buy that flimsy argument is open to question.

Carroll, however, was not about to let Gable have the bus all to himself. At first, the governor decried "outsiders" getting involved in the busing controversy. And then he came out swinging by blaming the President for busing: "The President cannot do anything about court-ordered busing, but he can put a stop to busing ordered by HEW, and I intend to call this to his attention. We have some cities in our state that have been affected by HEW orders, like Elizabethtown, for example." Carroll also demagogued the issue by pledging to arrange a meeting between Ford and anti-busing representatives if the President came to Kentucky to campaign for Gable this fall. Carroll has pledged to support a national campaign for an anti-busing amendment to the Constitution, and topped off his electioneering by spending an hour at the home of a Louisville anti-busing leader to confer about the situation.

Kentucky has traditionally been a moderate state in race relations. Louisville won national honors in the 1950s for quick and peaceful integration of the public schools after the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. Lexington's schools followed suit, and a busing plan in that city aroused little controversy. The current Louisville busing situation, however, is stirring up a tempest. Meetings of the Ku Klux Klan, long dormant in the state, have been held in Louisville and several downstate locations. Fear of violence when school opens in September is widespread in Louisville; already, two school buses have had fires set in their gas tanks although neither was seriously damaged. The development of a partisan political issue out of an already volatile social issue does not bode well for racial peace in Louisville.

Jefferson County casts about 25 percent of the state's vote, and if Gable capitalizes on anti-busing sentiment there, he could give Carroll a serious challenge. However, he may also face a backlash if violence mars the school scene in Louisville and triggers a return to racial moderation among the state's resident. Both Carroll and Gable are walking a thin line over a very restive volcano. ■

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## DULY NOTED: THE GOP

Conservatives have three options for 1976: 1) Try to nominate Ronald Reagan for President on the Republican ticket; 2) Try to dump Nelson Rockefeller in favor of Reagan or another conservative vice presidential nominee; or 3) Nominate a third party presidential candidate such as George Wallace. None of these three alternatives is likely to work, however. Even if Reagan runs, the odds are stacked against his nomination. If Gerald Ford wants Rocky, Gerald Ford will get Rocky---no matter how uncomfortable that may make conservatives. And if a third party challenge is mounted, it could defeat Ford but it would fall far short of an Electoral College victory. Conservatives could make pyrrhic defeats out of these options, but they do not change the course of government. However, if on the other hand, they cease to talk about these options, they lose their leverage with the Ford Administration. If, for example, they keep talking about an open convention, they may actually persuade Ford that he must dump Rocky to appease them. So while conservatives seem to be increasingly resigned to political realities, they still keep talking about political fantasies. As columnist James J. Kilpatrick suggested in a recent column urging Reagan to run: "Win or lose, a Reagan candidacy is important. If Mr. Ford should win the Republican nomination by default, he would enter the autumn campaign next year with an untested organization. Meanwhile, the combative Democrats would have been grabbing the headlines while the Republicans were having their snooze. The prospect holds small appeal. Up and at 'im, Reagan. Fish or cut bait! Charge the ball! Let's you and him fight! August is a dull month, and if Reagan doesn't announce, it promises to stay August for the rest of the year." Reagan continues to lose ground and the performance by campaign aides John Sears and Paul Laxalt with southern Republican chairmen in South Carolina in late August didn't help much. If Reagan continues to leave his supporters, he soon will have broken the back of any putative candidacy. In the event that Reagan declares, however, the Republican National Committee stands ready to avail Reagan of any of its support services. The same services are available to Ford---except the President's political trips are made at RNC expense in his role of party leader. No current accounting from the RNC is yet available on how much that costs the party.

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● "Reagan Must Run." National Review, August 29, 1975. No question about National Review's opinion in this editorial note. Ronald Reagan must run to wake up Ford to government "Social-experimentation" issues, push the GOP to appeal to the Wallace constituency, and "out of loyalty to the meaning of his own political career." Says National Review: "What Mr. Reagan has been saying throughout his political career is that somewhere, somehow, a line must be drawn against the expansion of state power at the expense of the individual. Proposition #1 provided a feasible answer. If in the coming months Ronald Reagan made this the central theme of a campaign across the nation, he might profoundly affect the course of the Republican Party and indeed the United States."

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● "There Are Two Rights: Old And New," by William F. Buckley, Jr. Cincinnati Enquirer, July 28, 1975. A recent exchange of columns between National Review Editor William F. Buckley and conservative theorist Kevin Phillips points up the difficulty in uniting the conservative constituency. Phillips makes the distinction between an Old Right centered on economic ideas and a New Right centered on social issues. Buckley doesn't disagree with Phillips' premise---although the two men do manage to land several well-placed digs about the other's intellectual and cultural life styles---but he does take issue with the implications. Writes Buckley: "What is new is that some of the boys are seeking means of co-opting George Wallace into the conservative movement. I do not automatically reject the effort for the simple reason that it is the people who voted for Wallace that are needed---and only George Wallace can deliver them. What is excluded is a concession to George Wallace of a philosophically disreputable kind: on the issue, for instance, of metaphysical human equality. Poor Phillips, he flounders about in a circle-squaring futility. If we give in to the worst demands of Wallace populism, we have earned ourselves exactly nothing, save possibly a constitutional amendment to prevent busing."

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● "Is A Worried Ford Preparing To Blitz Reagan," by Sydney Kossen. San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, August 17, 1975. "President Ford seems bent on blitzing Ronald Reagan even before the former governor confirms he's a candidate for President." That is the interpretation that some Reagan supporters put on President Ford's September 5 visit to the state and his successful effort to line up a 44-member organizing committee in the state in early July. In a recent column, however, Kevin Phillips put California in a different perspective, observing that based on a recent Field Poll, Ford might be hard-pressed to carry California in a three-way race with Wallace or another American Party candidate. And, notes Phillips, "No Republican has been elected President during this century without carrying California."

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● "GOP In South Renews Drive To Oust Rocky," by David Broder. Washington Post, August 24, 1975. Reporting on a meeting of the Southern Republican State Chairmen's Association in North Carolina, Broder writes: "Southern Republican leaders today renewed their drive to force Vice President Rockefeller off the 1976 ticket, declaring him a 'bugaboo' to conservatives in their region." Mississippi

State GOP Chairman Clarke Reed said:"Without him there's no problem' for President Ford in 1976." Although Reed urged his fellow chairmen to stay neutral, many state chairmen seem resigned to a one-candidate GOP race---without Ronald Reagan. As a result, southerners are preoccupied with Rocky. But, writes Broder:"...many southerners are encouraging Reagan's supporters, if only because his potential candidacy gives them their best leverage to persuade Mr. Ford to keep an open mind about the choice of Rockefeller as his running mate."

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● "A Ford-Reagan Showdown?" by John McDermott. Miami Herald, August 24, 1975. "The scurry of activity in Florida on the part of top lieutenants for Ronald Reagan points conclusively toward a showdown here between the former California governor and President Ford for the Republican nomination in 1976...even against an incumbent President, Ronald Reagan would stand an excellent chance of winning in Florida. Nevertheless, President Ford should not be counted out. He has gained in stature and popularity and perhaps could derail the Reagan campaign here. The President has good Florida organizational strength. His state campaign manager will be Congressman Lou Frey of Orlando and one Frey's closest allies is State Republican Chairman Bill Taylor of Jacksonville. The President also has in his corner former Congressman William C. Cramer. Florida's national committeeman, who also is general counsel for the Republican National Committee.

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● "Reagan Threat In Primaries," by George F. Will. Boston Globe, August 25, 1975. Columnist Will doesn't rule Ronald Reagan out of the Republican presidential nomination. Regarding primaries, Will forecasts:"Selectivity will be necessary, and will favor Reagan: he can transform the 1976 political landscape just by winning ---or even nearly winning---a few early primaries of his choosing...No President, and least of all an accidental President, can lose primaries without losing his major asset, his aura of command." Will also predicts that Reagan will show up strong in precinct caucuses which "have taken crucial---in many cases, decisive---steps toward selecting more than 10 percent of the national convention before the first(New Hampshire) primary." Writes Will:"Those who do not learn from the past, like those who do, are doomed to repeat it. So Mr. Ford's friends should note this: One theme of American politics for a decade has been the underestimation of Ronald Reagan as a political force."

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● "Baker Nips Ticket Illusion." Memphis Commercial Appeal, August 22, 1975. "Sen. Howard Baker(R-Tenn.) said Thursday he has 'no illusion' that he might be selected as a vice presidential running mate for President Ford, expressing the view that Ford will continue Vice President Nelson Rockefeller on the GOP ticket." Commenting on his earlier presidential explorations, Baker said:"I was mistaken," and said he will support Ford's reelection next year."

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Note: A recent poll by Louis Harris shows Ford hold a "commanding 55-34 percent edge" over Reagan among Republicans and a 50-35 percent lead among independents. Ford had a 22-point lead in the South a one percentage point lead in the West. Reagan even trailed Ford among conservatives by 17 percent.

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#### THE QUARTERLY

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# COMMENTARY: CONSERVATIVES

VOTERS' IDEOLOGICAL PREFERENCES

by Warren J. Mitofsky

In an article in the June 24 issue of the New York Times, National Review Publisher William Rusher laid out a pie chart in which he attempted to prove that the majority of the voters in the United States were conservatives. There are two glaring omissions from Rusher's chart, which divided the electorate into conservative Democrats, liberal Democrats, conservative Republicans, and liberal Republicans. Rusher omitted all independents and moderate Republicans and Democrats. These omissions account for over half of the total electorate, and thus they invalidate his conclusions about a conservative coalition.

The table below presents a breakdown of the electorate's political philosophy, according to party membership, as of mid-1972.

	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Republican	13	7	3	23
Democrat	15	14	15	44
Independent	14	11	8	33
TOTAL	42	32	26	100

A comparison of this table with similar data from 1964 shows a decrease in the number of Republicans and Democrats with a corresponding nine percentage point increase among the number of independents. The current information also shows about an eight percentage point increase among conservatives with the loss coming equally from liberals and moderates. The biggest gain was among independent/conservatives.

One would assume from this data that conservative candidates would fair better than they did a decade ago. However, this is not necessarily the case. The electorate will identify themselves as liberal, moderate, or conservative. However, most people are not consistent over a wide range of issues about being liberal, conservative or moderate. There is no consistent identification on public policy issues such as education, economic policy, farm issues, labor union issues, or foreign policy.

To put it another way, the lack of a consistent liberal-conservative orientation on issues makes issues unimportant for the electorate. Only a small percentage of the voters discuss either their party or the party's candidates in ideological terms—even in an election like the Johnson-Goldwater campaign of 1964. These are the findings of Angus Campbell and others in The American Voter. They have since been confirmed by other observers.

The electorate's partisanship and the personalities of the candidates have more to do with voter preferences in an election than liberalism/conservatism as related to issues. William Flanagan's conclusion in his book, Political Behavior of the American Electorate, is: "It is relatively unusual in American politics for an issue to become so important that it disrupts party loyalties for large numbers of people."

To get back to Rusher's article, I would have to conclude that conservatives will not get into a single party and abandon their current division among Republicans, Democrats, and independents. This leads me to believe that a joint Ronald Reagan-George Wallace ticket in 1976 (in which ever order is indicated) is not likely to occur. And if it does, it will not have any long-range effect on the makeup of either of two major political parties. ■

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