

RIPON FORUM

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POLITICS: REPORTS

SPECIAL ELECTIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Even before the predicted disasters of November 1974, Republicans face the possibility of the loss of four congressional seats. Although the GOP has been fortunate in many post-Watergate special elections, the upcoming elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan may have less salutary results.

Intraparty bitterness may affect the outcome of the February 5 election to choose a successor to the late U.S. Rep. John P. Saylor (R) in Pennsylvania's 12th C.D. The GOP candidate, Harry Fox, 41, was chosen by district Republicans only after prolonged balloting. Fox, who was Saylor's administrative assistant, defeated State Rep. Patrick Gleason, 39, for the nomination on the fifth ballot of a district caucus. Gleason, the nephew of Cambria County Republican Chairman Robert A. Gleason, had earlier been considered the leading Republican candidate.

Fox will oppose State Rep. John P. Murtha, 41. By contrast with Fox, car-wash owner Murtha represents a united organization. Watergate is not expected to play a large part in the election's outcome although Fox is stressing "honesty in government" as a campaign theme. As in the other elections, both Republican and Democratic national organizations are expected to place special emphasis on victory in order to demonstrate a national trend. The big issue in the race is likely to be the cutbacks in Johnstown production being made by Bethlehem Steel Corp. and the candidates' proposals to attract new industry to the area.

In Michigan's 31st C.D., Republicans are in better shape. The leading Republican candidate to succeed Vice President Gerald Ford in the February 18 elections is State Senate Majority Leader Robert VanderLaan (R). Although VanderLaan, a 43-year-old former high school social studies teacher, is the favorite, he will have Republican competition from State Sen. Milton Zaagman, the president pro tem of the Senate; James K. Miller, Kent County prosecutor; and Robert Boelens, former nonpartisan mayor of Grand Rapids. Boelens, widely considered a Democrat until he decided to run for Congress, was defeated in a mayoral re-election bid in November. The Republican primary will be January 15.

Although the district has been solidly Republican, "Democrats there honestly believe they have a chance for an upset because of Watergate, inflation, high unemployment, the energy crisis, and the hope of many Grand Rapids Republicans that Ford will soon become President," according to the Detroit *Free Press's* Saul Friedman. The Democratic candidate will be Richard VanderLaan, a 51-year-old attorney who ran against Ford on two previous occasions.

In the contest to succeed U.S. Rep. James Harvey, who has been confirmed for a federal judgeship, Harvey's administrative assistant, Jim Sparling, is considered the frontrunner. The other available Republicans are State Sen. Bob Richardson, a Saginaw lawyer; Michael Gilman of Bay City; and State Rep. Bert Brennan, a Saginaw pharmacist. Although the dates of the primary and election in the "Michigan Thumb" district have yet to be set, the Democratic candidate is likely to be State Rep. J. Robert Traxler, a Bay City lawyer. Harvey consistently

won the district by 3-2 margins so Sparling should be favored.

A special election to choose a successor to William Keating, who resigned from Congress to become president of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, will be held March 5. Despite the fact that Keating won election by 70 percent in 1972, the 1st C.D. race is rated a toss-up because the most popular city councilman in Cincinnati's history is the likely Democratic candidate.

Councilman Thomas A. Luken, a former Cincinnati mayor who received the largest margin of victory in history in winning re-election to the Council in 1973, may be unopposed for the Democratic nomination. The liberal lawyer will face the winner of a five-man Republican primary on February 12.

The two frontrunning Republicans are City Councilman Willis D. Gradison, Jr., who survived a Democratic sweep in the 1973 city elections, and former City Councilman Ralph B. Kohnen, Jr., who did not. Gradison, a former mayor and a stockbroker, is considered a progressive Republican; Kohnen, a lawyer, is considered a conservative. The two men will also be challenged by three other candidates: William Flax, an arch-conservative gadfly who is always running for something in the Cincinnati area; Thomas Pottenger, a lawyer and former state representative whose political orientation was described by one observer as being a "blithe spirit"; and Henry Rollman, an advertising executive who previously has been in the background of Republican politics.

Finally, the death on January 1 of U.S. Rep. Charles M. Teague (R-Calif.) opens up a fifth vacancy. No plans on filling the 13th C.D. congressman's seat have been announced, but redistricting may threaten the safety of the seat for the GOP. ■

HAWAII

HONOLULU — Although Republicans have not a palm tree's chance in Alaska of unseating Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D) in 1974, there is an outside chance that the GOP could win Hawaii's governorship — if they can find a candidate.

Inouye, one of the recent stars of the "Watergate" television serial, is considered unbeatable and will probably lack even token Republican opposition. In the wake of Gov. John Burns' operation for cancer in October, there will be a vacancy in the governorship next year. Gov. Burns may retire even before the end of his term, opening up the possibility of fratricidal warfare between Democratic factions.

Such a retirement would aid Lt. Gov. George Ariyoshi, now the acting governor of the state, but only if it came after this year's legislative session. Otherwise, rambunctious legislative Democrats might see an opening to embarrass Ariyoshi and promote the candidacy of Senate President David McClung as the logical heir to Burns' mantle. Ironically, Burns' illness may damage his arch-enemy, Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi, who has been deprived of his prime campaign issue, Burns' Democratic machine. Fasi is further threatened by the decision of Big Island Judge Nelson K. Doi to resign to seek the nomination for lieutenant governor — as an ally of a fourth gubernatorial candidate, Tom Gill Gill, a former lieutenant governor, sought and lost the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1970. Gill still has a loser image, however, and reportedly is trailing Ariyoshi and Fasi in statewide polls. McClung is at the bottom of the scale.

State Sen. Fred Rohlfing (R), who ran a surprisingly tough race against U.S. Rep. Spark M. Matsunaga, will seek re-election this year rather than run for Congress or the governorship. Sen. Hiram L. Fong (R) reportedly has rejected efforts to get him to run for governor; Rohlfing is considered a likely candidate for the Senate if Fong retires in 1976.

Also discussed as a possible gubernatorial candidate is State Sen. D. G. "Andy" Anderson, who was narrowly defeated by Fasi for mayor of Hono-

lulu in 1972. Anderson may have to choose between the lure of the governorship and the more realistic lure of the mayoralty, should it be vacated by Fasi.

Although Matsunaga is unlikely to face any real challenge this year, former State Rep. Diana Hansen (R), 27, will again contest U.S. Rep. Patsy Mink (D), against whom she received 43 percent of the vote in 1972.

Commenting on the GOP's plight in Hawaii, one seasoned Republican said, "We just don't have enough of a 'bench' and Watergate has reduced the ranks of political 'gamblers.'" ■

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY — Attempts by the Utah Democratic establishment to anoint Salt Lake lawyer Donald B. Holbrook with the Democratic senatorial nomination appear to have been unsuccessful.

Holbrook, who resigned as chairman of the Utah Board of Higher Education when he announced his candidacy for the Senate in early December, has the support of state Democrat chieftains, including Gov. Calvin Rampton.

The odds-on favorite for the Democratic nomination, however, is freshman U.S. Rep. Wayne Owens. Although more liberal perhaps than most Utahns, the former Kennedy aide is a devout Mormon, a key attribute for an aspiring politician in the state. U.S. Rep. K. Gunn McKay is another Senate aspirant, but he lacks the firm Salt Lake base of Owens. The possibility of a Democratic fight between the popular Owens and the power-backed Holbrook gladdens the hearts of Republicans in the state, who would like to retain the seat of Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R).

The Utah seat is one of several Republican Senate seats placed in the "doubtful" or "probable turnover" category by national Republican officials. After the withdrawal of former Michigan Gov. George Romney from consideration, the leading GOP candidate is Salt Lake Mayor Jake Garn. A November 25th poll by the *Salt Lake City Tribune* showed Garn trailing Attorney General Vernon Romney in popularity among Republicans but leading Romney among the whole elec-

torate. Former U.S. Rep. Sherman P. Lloyd was third in both comparisons. Romney is expected to stay out of the race, but the possibility of a bitter Senate primary between Garn and Lloyd, who was defeated by Owens in 1972, still exists. A fourth Senate possibility, former Utah State GOP Chairman Richards has decided against entering the race. Romney, more conservative than either Garn or Lloyd, at one point had decided not to run but is now wavering again. Garn was recently elected first vice president of the National League of Cities, and Romney serves as a visiting professor at Utah State University in Logan.

Ironically, the only announced Republican candidate is Byron Rampton, a former state senator and brother of the state's Democratic governor. Rampton, a Bountiful insurance man who unsuccessfully sought the 1970 Senate nomination against former U.S. Rep. Laurence Burton in 1970, is expected to go nowhere with his campaign.

The Democratic disorder may present double opportunities for Republicans. If the Democratic establishment takes a walk rather than support Owens' Senate bid, the Republicans may retain the Senate seat. If both Owens and McKay seek the Senate, Republicans may have a chance to recapture the state's two House seats — if bitter primaries between conservatives and far right "crazies" do not develop, as they have in the past. Right now, the GOP's indifference, lassitude, and lack of organization may be the party's biggest handicap. ■

MAINE

AUGUSTA — Maine Republicans have one of the best opportunities in the nation in 1974 to wrest a state house from Democratic control. The number of Republican aspirants for the gubernatorial nomination attest to the odds of capturing the post of re-firing Gov. Kenneth Curtis.

Although U.S. Rep. Bill Cohen (R-2nd C.D.) has apparently decided to forego the race, most other Maine Republicans have not. Six candidates have already been active on the campaign trail.

The only announced candidate for the nomination is State Sen. Harrison L. Richardson, a former majority lead-

er of the Maine House of Representatives. The Cumberland environmentalist has the endorsement of two of the most influential Republicans in the State Senate, Senate President Kenneth P. MacLeod and Appropriations Committee Chairman Joseph Sewall. Richardson concedes that it might cost well over \$100,000 to win the Republican nomination but is confident that he can raise the money.

Former Attorney General James S. Erwin, twice defeated as the GOP's candidate for governor, is expected to run once again this year. The conservative Erwin, who was chairman of Maine CREP, has increased his speaking engagements in recent months; his chief support is from Republican Party workers who have worked for him in the past. Erwin's main problem may be difficulties in fundraising as a result of his previous electoral defeats. The Republicans most critical of Erwin are generally legislators who became infuriated by some of his actions as attorney general. Polls, however, show Erwin leading among GOP voters with industrialist Robert A. G. Monks a very close second. Richardson is third.

Monks, a Portland lawyer-businessman waged an expensive and unsuccessful primary campaign in 1972 against Sen. Margaret Chase Smith. Monks' critics contend that a multimillionaire, carpetbagger image (he's from Massachusetts) will undermine his campaign efforts. Monks, however, apparently decided that he had a better chance at governor than at defeating

U.S. Rep. Peter Kyros (D-1st C.D.). The former chairman of the Republican Finance Committee in Massachusetts has boosted his party popularity through voter registration efforts and party access to his highly-sophisticated computer system. Monks has also been a generous contributor to the campaigns of other GOP hopefuls.

The other three unannounced candidates are from the State Senate. State Sen. Bennett Katz, an Augusta businessman, is expected to announce shortly. Like Richardson and Monks, Katz is regarded as a moderate-progressive Republican. While Katz is known as a strong supporter of higher education, Sen. Wakine Tanous is a strong supporter of labor in his post as chairman of the Senate Judiciary and Labor Committee. Tanous and Katz both lack a strong base of support, however. Perhaps an even darker horse for the nomination is Sen. Tarp Schulten, a wealthy, gregarious, and elderly banker-farmer.

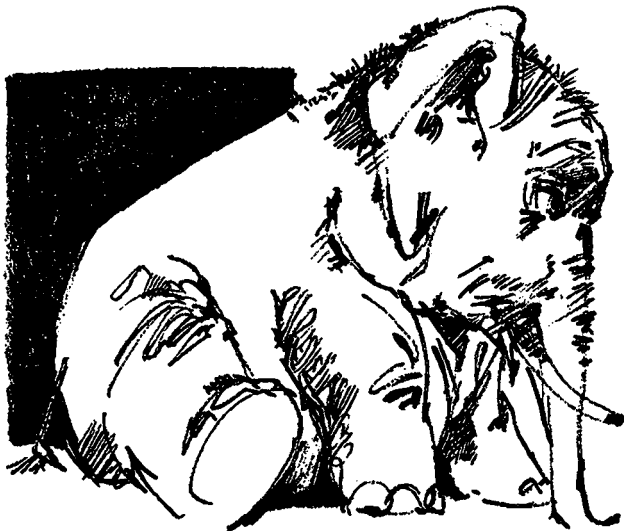
Speculation on Democratic candidates centers on State Sen. Peter Kelly, the sponsor of an unsuccessful referendum to create a public power authority; State Sen. Joseph E. Brennan, the young minority leader of the State Senate; George Mitchell, Democratic national committeeman and big Muskie backer; John Martin, Democratic House minority leader; and Severin Beliveau, Augusta attorney and former state Democratic official.

There is also speculation that Kyros

might yet decide to run for governor as well. Considering the makeup of the Democratic and Republican gubernatorial fields, it may be hard for both parties to reunite after the anticipated bitter primaries.

Cohen has indicated he will review his decision to seek re-election in February, but he is expected to stay in Washington. Although State Sen. Kelley had been expected to contest Cohen, he has now backed off — as have other aspiring Democrats.

Several Republican contenders are considering a race against U.S. Rep. Kyros. House Speaker Richard Hewes after a rough term as speaker is the leading contender. Other possible aspirants include State Rep. David Emery, a conservative from Rockland; William Lewis, 58-year-old former administrative assistant to former Sen. Smith, and Wayne Johnson, who recently resigned as field director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development after HUD initiated disciplinary proceedings against Johnson in a dispute over subsidizing housing funds. Johnson, a frequent critic of HUD policy, was charged with filing "feasibility" letters for housing projects after a moratorium on new projects was imposed January 5, 1973. The 31-year-old Johnson's biggest supporter is maverick former U.S. Rep. Stanley R. Tupper (R), who incurred the wrath of party regulars when he refused to endorse Sen. Barry Goldwater's presidential bid in 1964. ■



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Editorial Board:

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Assistant Editor: M. Victoria Golden

Art: Leslie Morrill and Annie Greene

Advertising Manager: Deborah Bowen

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KANSAS

TOPEKA — There may be some hope for Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kans.) in his re-election campaign this year if an investigation of contract awards for the Kansas University Medical Center reflects adversely on Gov. Robert Docking.

Democratic Attorney General Vern Miller originally announced that a "vigorous" investigation of the awarding of architecture contracts for the medical center had revealed "no wrong doing." But when a Republican-controlled state legislative committee continued the investigation and threatened to pursue the investigation, Miller lunched with GOP State Chairman Jack Ranson and five days later, announced a grand jury investigation on the grounds of new evidence.

Miller's sudden turnabout on the investigation raised eyebrows in the press and prompted comparisons to Watergate-generated coverups. The secretive nature of the whole affair prompted Rolla Clymer of the *El Dorado Times* to write that the Miller, himself an aspirant for the governor's office, had "lighted the fuses for some politically explosive possibilities in Kansas to explode on the eve of an election year.

Despite the decision of the Republican state convention in December to approve a convention "endorsement" system for GOP candidates, there is still a plethora of candidates considering the 1974 gubernatorial run. (As many as three candidates could be "endorsed.") Lt. Gov. Dave Owen (R) and State Sen. Robert F. Bennett (R) would probably be the strongest candidates the party could field in the opinion of many party leaders, but even they would face an uphill fight against the popular Miller. A bevy of other Republicans hopefuls appear unlikely to catch fire; former GOP State Chairman Don Concannon appears to be handicapped by his state leadership record for the years 1968-1970. As of December, the party still was \$100,000 in debt for the 1972 campaign and faces another difficult financial year in 1974.

Two Republicans are examining the possibility of seeking Miller's current job: State Sen. Robert Storey of

Topeka and State Treasurer Tom Van Sickle, a former national chairman of the Young Republicans. ■

ROCKEFELLER

BOSTON — Press comments on the resignation of New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller were varied, but notably cautious among conservative publications suspicious of Rockey's new conservatism.

Some political observers concluded that Rockefeller may have finally found the winning presidential formula. *New York Times* reporter Christopher Lydon observed that Republican politicians feel that Rockefeller may yet have learned the "rules" of presidential politics. "Most important among them (the Republican politicos), noted are that a candidate for its nomination must start running early, and that even a Rockefeller must engage a national staff on national issues — as the retiring governor will do in his Commission on Critical Choices for America — to extend his power outside New York."

Boston Globe Executive Editor Robert Healy was not convinced that Rockefeller had learned the right lessons. "In 1964 and again in 1968, he was in and out of the campaign, advancing others, such as William Scranton, then governor of Pennsylvania, in 1964 and George Romney, governor of Michigan, in 1968. In both those campaigns he was more of a hindrance than a help to those he supported, because even those who were the recipient of his help knew that he (Rockefeller) wanted to be President. In a sense that it precisely what he could do again ... If Rockefeller dabbles again with a presidential bid, he can effectively shut off support for such possible candidates as Elliot Richardson," wrote Healy.

Washington Star-News columnist Mary McGrory was critical of Gov. Rockefeller's silence on Watergate, a reticence which supposedly wins Rocky commendation as a "loyal" Republican. Comparing Rockefeller to former Attorney General Richardson, McGrory wrote, "Richardson has solved one problem that dogs Rockefeller. By his action (in resigning October 20),

he is defining his attitude towards the Watergate administration. Rockefeller cannot quite find the words. The closest he came was in a speech to southern Republicans, when he defined Watergate as a 'tragedy' for 'individuals' and, later to the press, included Mr. Nixon among the individuals."

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak obviously think that Rockefeller is finally on the right track. "Rockefeller's current tactics have outraged the New York liberal establishment (bringing down jermiads on him from columnist James Wechsler of the *New York Post* and the *New York Times* editorial board). But never has Rockefeller cared less about what New York liberals think of him. It may be too late, but after 15 years, he finally is trying to come to terms with the people who go to Republican conventions to pick the presidential nominee."

Human Events was not convinced by the "new" Rockefeller. Commenting on his resignation, the conservative weekly cited Rocky's record of tax and budget increases as governor. "Hence, in the view of many, Rocky still has a long way to go before he can make a convincing case that he has become an 'acceptable' candidate for the 1976 Republican nomination." *Human Events* later published an article highly critical of Rockefeller's evasion of Republican John Marchi's New York City mayoralty campaign in 1973.

National Review was slightly more



Nelson Rockefeller

charitable. It mentioned Rocky's crack-down on welfare recipients, narcotics addicts, and Attica prisoners and observes: "There have been a good many other aspects of the Rockefeller performance, each of them helping to shape his new political identity. He gave only nominal support to liberal Charles Goodell's senatorial campaign. His feud with John Lindsay had an inhibiting effect on Lindsay's consuming political ambitions. He has promoted the political fortunes of conservative Malcolm Wilson. He paid his party dues by campaigning for conservative Charles Sandman in New Jersey . . . No doubt Rockefeller still has liabilities. Most professionals think his staff has always been too big and unwieldy. He is associated with high taxes and big government. Many Catholics and others resent his veto two years ago of a bill that would restrict abortion. A certain innate clumsiness persists, and probably always will. . . Nevertheless, for the first time in his long and in many ways curious career Nelson Rockefeller has to be taken seriously as a candidate for the Republican nomination."

The most cutting conservative comments came from former Agnew press secretary Vic Gold in the *Cincinnati Enquirer*: "But as a chronic seeker after the presidency, Rocky should have learned by now that advertising-public relations pizzazz alone, whether in the form of television spots or phony commissions, won't cut the mustard. If it could, he would have finished his second term as President in January, 1969."

There were numerous other columns and editorials of praise and criticism of Rockefeller's record as a governor and as a politician, but the most curious comments came from New York state congressmen who were relieved by the governor's resignation. *New York Times* reporter Martin Tolchin quoted U.S. Rep. Howard W. Robison as observing, "I've seen enough anti-Rockefeller sentiment in upstate New York, where he's always done well, to lead me to think that the governor would have a difficult time getting re-elected. None of us felt that Rocky would be a plus in '74. It's possible that Malcolm (Wilson) would be a bit stronger. Malcolm's built up political credits all over the state. He's spoken in everybody's district and eaten at everybody's chicken dinner." ■

Father Nelson

"You are old, Father Nelson," the young man said,
 "And your hair has become very white;
 Yet dreams of the White House remain in your head—
 Do you think at your age it is right?"

"In my youth," Father Nelson replied with a grin,
 "For principled stands I did fight;
 But now that I'm perfectly sure I have none,
 Why, I'm running well off to the right."

"You are old," said the youth, "as I mentioned before,
 And your views have become very pat.
 Yet you turned a back somersault in at the door —
 Pray, what is the reason of that?"

"In my youth," said the sage, as he shook his grey locks,
 "I was suppler than old Ronnie Reagan;
 I see Dr. Riland for fresh spinal knocks
 To keep all my options quite open."

"You are old," said the youth, "and your jaws are too weak
 For anything tougher than suet;
 Yet you spoke to five groups around Phoenix last week —
 Pray, how did you manage to do it?"

"In my youth," said the Governor, "I argued for laws
 With an obdurate New York Assembly;
 And the muscular strength which it gave to my jaws
 Will never — no, never — dessert me."

"You are old," said the youth, "one would hardly expect
 That your eye was as steady as ever;
 Yet on Watergate you have been most indirect,
 Then what made you so terribly clever?"

"I have answered three questions, and that is enough,"
 Said the Governor, raising his voice,
 "Though I'm older than most who know how to play rough,
 I can still spot a Critical Choice!"

L*w*s C*rr*ll

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POLITICS: PEOPLE

● **Strike-out Department:** New York City Mayor **Abraham D. Beame** (D) incurred two strikes even before he took over Gracie Mansion from **John Lindsay**. **David N. Dinkins**, Beame's nominee for deputy mayor, withdrew his name because he had not paid federal, state, or city taxes for four years. **Seymour Terry**, Beame's choice for director of special programs or chief "trouble shooter," withdrew his name after the **New York Times** revealed Terry sent insurance clients a letter explaining, "My new circumstances will no doubt enable you to get even greater benefits from your association with Terry Brokerage Co. than you have heretofore."

● **Former Alabama Gov. Albert Brewer** (D), who was defeated by Gov. **George C. Wallace** (D) for reelection in 1970, is considering a race for his old office of lieutenant governor. Brewer's Montgomery law partnership has broken up, reportedly because of his political plans. Ironically, some support for Brewer to oppose incumbent Lt. Gov. **Jere Beasley** (D) has come from supporters of Wallace.

● **U.S. Rep. Barber B. Conable's** post as chairman of the House Republican Research Committee was taken by U.S. Rep. **Louis Frey, Jr.**, (R-Fla.) when Conable moved up to head the House Republican Policy Committee. However, Frey may yet run for the seat now held by Sen. **Edward Gurney** (R) if the incumbent's fundraising troubles drive him from office. If Gurney resigns or retires, there will almost certainly be a bitter primary between Frey and Republican National Committeewoman **Paula Hawkins**.

● **Bill Vaughan**, assistant press secretary to Tennessee Gov. **Winfield Dunn** (R), has resigned to work for GOP gubernatorial candidate **Dortch Oldham**. Vaughan's resignation is not interpreted, however, as indicative of Dunn's support for fellow moderate Oldham in the upcoming gubernatorial primary. Both Oldham and **LaMar Alexander**, another Nashville moderate, have been close to Dunn. A high-ranking member of Sen. **Howard Baker, Jr.'s** staff has resigned to work on Alexander's gubernatorial campaign. **Gary L. Sisco**, 28, was an executive assistant to Baker before resigning to work for Alexander, also a former Baker aide. Alexander will also be advised by conservative political strategist **Clifton White**, while the campaign of Dr. **Nat Winston** will be run by an old White co-worker from the 1970 campaign of Sen. **James Buckley** (Cons.-N.Y.), **David Jones**. **Bill Goodwin**, a former aide to Sen. **Bill Brock**, also works for Winston. Back in New Jersey, Republicans are still talking about the high-priced advice White provided for the gubernatorial campaign of U.S. Rep. **Charles Sandman** (R). White was more successful in the Venezuelan presidential campaign than with "peripheral ethnics" in New Jersey.

● **Maryland Sen. Charles McC. Mathias**, who is one of four progressive Republican senators considered safe in the 1974 congressional elections, has announced a voluntary \$100 limit on individual campaign contributions. Delaware U.S. Rep. **Pierre S. duPont** has imposed a similar limit.

● **Arizona Corporation Commissioner Russell Williams** has resigned in order to seek this year's Republican gubernatorial nomination. GOP Gov. **Jack Williams**, who will not seek re-election, has appointed State Treasurer **Ernest Garfield** (R) to succeed Russell Williams. Opposition for the Republican nomination may come from State Senate President **Bill Jacquin** of Tucson and House Majority Leader **Burton Barr** of Phoenix. The Democratic nominee is likely to be former Ambassador **Raul Castro**, whom Jack Williams narrowly defeated in 1970.

● A Massachusetts poll taken by Market Opinion Research shows Gov. **Francis Sargent** (R) defeating three possible Democratic opponents: Boston Mayor **Kevin H. White**, 42-26 percent; former Brookline State Rep. **Michael Dukakis**, 44-24 percent; and Attorney General **Robert H. Quinn**, 49-19 percent. Sargent's popularity in his party continues to decline, however. Sargent rewarded two Democratic members of the Governor's Executive Council with patronage posts and appointed two young Republicans to replace them. Such action might normally have pleased Republicans who are distressed with the governor's poor patronage record, but instead Sargent managed to infuriate the GOP. Instead of appointing the Republican opponent to the Democrat he was replacing, Sargent allowed the nomination to be vetoed by **Albert "Toots" Manzi**, a key Sargent fundraiser. The disgruntled party stalwart, **Quintin J. Cristy**, who had been nixed for the post, resigned from the Republican Club of Massachusetts, charging that "until such time as the Republican Party rids itself of our so-called Republican governor and his Worcester County coordinator, Mr. Toots Manzi, I shall have no interest whatsoever in supporting the party or any of its candidates."

● **Unlove Story:** Mrs. **Barbara Mandel** has decided to turn over the governor's mansion to her husband, Gov. **Marvin Mandel** (D). The governor moved out last July, claiming the male privilege of falling in love with another woman. Mrs. Mandel, not impressed with the legality of such privilege, stayed on. The governor persisted, a settlement was reached, and Mrs. Mandel gave up the mansion, minus a little furniture. The mansion controversy is not expected to influence the governor's re-election chances.

● As Illinois goes, so goes the nation — according to **Richard Nixon**. And he is right. In the last 14 presidential elections, Illinois voters have not only picked the winner every time, but state vote totals have deviated from the national figures by an average of less than 3 percent. If Illinois is, in fact, a reliable barometer, Republicans across the country ought to be scared stiff. Results of a statewide poll taken by one-time Senate hopeful U.S. Rep. **John Anderson** (R-Ill.) paint a bleak picture for Illinois Republicans. Anderson's late-October poll shows that a mere 22 percent of the state's voters call themselves Republicans. In mid-1970, the figure stood at a respectable 40 percent. Currently, in the vital 18-24 year-old category, a flimsy 8 percent regard themselves as Republicans. That's not all. A thumping 46 percent of the voters answered "Watergate" when asked what they regarded as the nation's most important problem. Is Watergate "one more example of GOP arrogance and deceit?" Republicans across the nation may not think so, but 45 percent of the electorate in Illinois do.

COMMENTARY: POLITICS

Emerging from Disneyland

by Dick Bebn

It is time for Republican Party leaders to withdraw from the Southern California Disneyland which animates their wishful thinking on Watergate.

Vice President Gerald Ford told *U.S. News & World Report* in a copyrighted interview in December, "My theory is that if the world is at peace, which I think it will be, and if our economy is healthy, which I think it will be, then I don't think Watergate will have much impact (on next year's congressional elections)."

Emerging from a high-level Republican strategy session at the White House December 11, in which Watergate was "never mentioned," Republican National Chairman George Bush said Watergate "isn't going to be the determining factor in the 1974 elections."

Speaking before the Republican Governors' Conference in Memphis in November, Dr. George Gallup disagreed:

Now, while many have dismissed the elections of this month throughout the nation as being

mixed, the fact is that they point unmistakably to serious problems which the Republican Party must face in 1974 and the congressional elections of next year. In the days just prior to the elections this month, the Gallup Poll carried out one of its test elections, and the results of this survey indicated that if all the members of the House were coming up for election at this time, Republican candidates would poll the lowest percentage of the total vote in the entire history of our organization, which goes back to 1935.

Several factors will be at work in 1974. First, the economic picture looks bleak. According to Foley's Law, first explained by economist Duncan Foley in the April, 1970 issue of the *FORUM*, in each election year since 1950 (with the exception of 1964), "Each one percent increase in the unemployment rate has reduced the Republican House membership by about 15 seats." Many Republican observers fear that an economic recession will be the biggest handicap of Republicans in 1974.

Second, Watergate will be a factor. The largest single block of voters in the country are independents. The ranks of independents, according to Gallup Polls, have been strengthened by defections from the Republican ranks. The local elections of 1973



Gerald Ford

demonstrated a disturbing phenomenon: Republican voters who were too disillusioned to show up and vote. A massive anti-Watergate reaction in 1974 is not necessary to doom the GOP. The apathy of Republicans can be just as lethal.

Incumbency is interpreted as a mixed blessing in 1974. It is argued that incumbents of both parties could be endangered by Watergate-inspired cynicism. Other politicians argue that the advantages of incumbency — access to media, newsmaking-potential, fundraising capabilities — will still be felt. A survey by the Common Cause has shown, for example, that in 1972 House incumbents outspent challengers about 5-3, while Senate incumbents more than doubled the spending of their adversaries. The simple arithmetic of the 1974 situation works against Republicans, however. There are 15 Republican and 19 Democratic seats up in the Senate. The GOP holds only 190 of the House's 435 seats, and only 12 of the 35 governorships at stake in 1974.

Fourth is the problem of party organization. Reports on the GOP throughout the country show the party ranks demoralizing and fundraising difficult.

Finally, there is the problem of candidate recruitment.

Republican honchos may belittle the effects of Watergate in making name Republican candidates like Missouri Attorney General Jack Danforth and Illinois Attorney General William Scott and U.S. Rep. John Anderson back away from Senate races this year. But if U.S. Rep. Robert Steele and Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar challenge respective Democratic incumbents in Connecticut and Indiana this year, they will be notable exceptions to the Republican Party's inability to attract viable opponents to Democratic incumbents. Walter Hickel may yet challenge Sen. Mike Gravel in Alaska, but Gravel's vulnerability is peculiar to his inattention to his constituents.

Sen. Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.), for example, could be vulnerable, despite his reputation as a Washington institution, albeit an aging one. But Republicans are having a difficult time finding anyone to give Magnuson a serious race. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) is unlikely to have any trouble defeating any of the three likely candidates. No formidable

Republican candidates threaten Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), James Allen (D-Ala.), Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.), Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.), Adlai Stevenson III (D-Ill.), Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisc.), James Fulbright (D-Ark.), Daniel Inouye (D-Ha.), and Russell B. Long (D-La.). Even Sen. George McGovern appears to be working another six-year magic trick in South Dakota. Democratic opportunities for Republican gains are limited to rare retirements such as those of Alan Bible in Nevada, Harold Hughes in Iowa, and Sam Ervin in North Carolina. But in all three states, popular Democrats appear ready to give Republicans stiff races.

If possible, the picture for Republican-held Senate seats is even bleaker. Republican incumbents Peter Dominick, Milton Young, and Edward Gurney will have stiff races. If George Aiken or Marlow Cook retire, their seats could fall to the Democrats. Retiring Sen. Norris Cotton's seat in New Hampshire should be saved for the GOP, but there is no certainty that Utah Sen. Wallace F. Bennett's seat will similarly be retained. The seat of the nation's new Attorney General, William Saxbe, is now Democratic and likely to remain so. The rare Republican "safe" seats belong to four progressives: Jacob Javits in New York, Charles McC. Mathias in Maryland, Richard Schweiker in Pennsylvania, and Robert Packwood of Oregon — and one conservative, Barry Goldwater (unless Goldwater too retires).

In the House, meanwhile, possible Republican losses of 60-75 seats have

been bandied about in the news media. Republican strategists deny that any such disaster is likely; an off-year loss of one to three dozen seats is possible, they concede. Searching for Republican opportunities for gain is an unrewarding pastime. Occasionally, in states like Connecticut, New York, Iowa, and South Carolina, an upwardly-mobile Democratic congressman may provide a Republican opening. But these instances are rare. Weather forecasts of that Republican tidal wave in the South are no more accurate than when they were first prognosticated in the 1960's. The GOP is still not in position to buy out the southern Democratic Party.

Perhaps illustrative of the problems faced by Republicans is the decision of State Rep. John Clark in Iowa not to seek U.S. Rep. John C. Edward Mezvinsky's seat. The 26-year-old state legislator had announced his candidacy in the spring but withdrew because he couldn't raise enough money for the race without selling his political soul to big contributors. If the GOP cannot induce attractive candidates like John Clark to oppose vulnerable Democrats like Edward Mezvinsky, then the GOP is in trouble.

The party's cause is no brighter in the gubernatorial races. New York and California could easily pass out of Republican control. Ohio, Texas, and Pennsylvania are long-shots for wresting control from Democratic incumbents. One has to remember only as far back as 1969 to remember when New York, New Jersey, Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, and Ohio were all controlled by Republican governors. Now Republican governors in the Midwest are the exception rather than the rule, and it's symptomatic of the party's status that its best shot at recapturing a governor's mansion is in Maine, once as Republican as it is rocky.

No Republican can be blind to the political portents of 1974. In a good year, 1974 would be bad for Republicans. But 1974 is a bad year, and it will be a disaster for the GOP. The Republican Party has a smelly skeleton in its White House closet. The party didn't put the skeleton there. The party isn't responsible for the stink. But, like it or not, the party has been convicted of guilt by association. ■

Dick Behn is editor of the FORUM.

COMMENTARY: WORLD

Relations

With

South

Korea

by Martin Sours

The American foreign policy toward the Republic of Korea seemed clear-cut and definitive during the 1950's and 1960's. The Cold War was on, and anti-communist allies around the globe were aided and supported as a matter of both principle and practicality. In the present state of world affairs, involving new and complicated influences and the currents of detente, the course of the interests of the United States toward "the land of morning calm" has become clouded by the strong forces which have emerged on the economic and political scene. Despite the important, attention-getting developments in the relationships between the United States



George Bush

and other Asian great powers, the combination of Korea's geographic position and rapidly growing and maturing economy warrants continued attention by American policy-makers.

The twenty years of peace have brought prosperity to the southern half of the Korean peninsula. Today South Korea is a nation of 32 million people, of whom over 6 million live in the capital city of Seoul. A once desolated, war-torn country and agrarian people have steadily grown toward an urban and industrialized society, as represented by the expansion of the port at Inchon and the growth of industrial complexes at Ulsan and Masan.

Yet aggregate economic indicators do not tell the whole story. Last October martial law was imposed on the country. This was followed by the arrest and conviction of Major General Yun Pil Yong on corruption charges; it was widely believed that potential coup activity was the real motive. This past fall the Kim Dae Jung affair rocked the country when this prominent opposition leader was abducted from his Tokyo hotel and later emerged under house arrest in Seoul. The action set off a wave of student strikes and demonstrations which culminated in the early closing of the nation's universities for vacation, the mobilization of the armed forces against an alleged North Korean threat, and a cabinet reshuffle.

While the political implications of the Kim Dae Jung affair are usually credited with sparking the student demonstration, a more pervasive cause of unrest is the feeling that the present government of Park Chung Hee is facilitating the economic domination of the country by Japanese commercial interests. A cursory examination of available data indicates the basis for concern. Japanese capital inflow into South Korea for the period 1966 through 1972 consisted of \$283 million in public loans and \$606 million in commercial loans. Further, the chronic trade deficit of South Korea became skewed more toward Japan, whose percentage of the total trade deficit went from 42 percent in 1965 to 69 percent in 1972. Finally, Japanese firms now control about 73 percent of South Korea's total investment projects, accounting for 56 percent of the total book value of all direct investments in Korea. This latter fig-

ure is significant in that South Korea is trying to promote exports to offset declines in government-to-government aid; yet the percentage of South Korean exports from foreign direct investments has gone from 1.8 percent during the 1962-68 period to 19.2 percent in 1972.



While these developments have been unfolding, the United States has continued to maintain over 40,000 troops in South Korea. During fiscal year 1972, this cost \$584 million. In addition, the United States has contributed \$155 million in aid to the military modernization program, and \$192 million in economic aid during the same time period. The issue is not so much that military aid is wrong, for it would be the height of folly to abandon a basic security commitment at this time. Rather, the question is whether military-oriented aid policies are enough. We have already witnessed the militarization of U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam and Thailand to the profit of our allies, the Japanese.

To date, the objectives of American policy toward South Korea have been oriented toward preserving the political allegiance and military security of the state. South Korea reciprocated by supporting the American involvement in Southeast Asia. Moreover, there is a basic pro-American attitude on the part of the Korean people, who tend to idealize Americans and their lifestyles. Now the time has come to implement the general foreign policy goals of promoting commercial interaction as a complement to the movements toward political and military detente.

First, explicit recognition of the strategic position of Korea needs to be implemented within policy-making circles. Korea's geographic position be-

tween China and Japan has long stimulated its role as cultural and religious bridge between the Oriental civilizations. Today, this historic role could be expanded to include commercial and manufacturing centers as well. Such a role would require additional support for broad exchanges of Korean and American business, academic, and governmental leaders, thus creating the positive side effect of opening up the Korean society as a whole.

Secondly, greater institutional interaction between organizations in Korea and the United States needs to be fostered. This will require different types of aid programs to improve living conditions and communications within Korea, so that the problems of day-to-day living for foreigners will be reduced. Continued incubation of U.S. military personnel stationed in Korea only aggravates cultural friction; yet so long as military personnel represent the vast bulk of Americans in Korea, the natural problems associated with a garrison army will continue.

Finally, effective ways need to be found to assist American businessmen who wish to operate in Korea. It is little wonder that the Japanese have had so much success in this area, for they have a 50-year colonial experience to fall back on. Certainly American policy need not be anti-Japanese. There are enough problems in the relations between the U. S. and Japan as it is; placing Korea in the arena of conflict would serve no useful purpose. Rather, the ideal of an independent Korea able to interact with all its neighbors as well the United States moves the region closer to the reduction of tensions, which is basic to the Nixon Doctrine. ■

Martin Sours is a professor of international studies at the Thunderbird Graduate School of International Management. During 1973, he was an exchange professor in South Korea.

RENEW TODAY.

TOMORROW,

IT MAY SNOW.

COMMENTARY: NATION

Vengeance

And

Vomit

by James H. Manaban

Shortly before the war of 1914, an assassin whose crime was particularly repulsive (he had slaughtered a family of farmers, including the children) was condemned to death in Algiers. He was a farm worker who had killed in a sort of blood-thirsty frenzy but had aggravated his case by robbing his victims. The affair created a great stir. It was generally thought that decapitation was too mild a punishment for such a monster. This was the opinion, I have been told, of my father, who was especially aroused by the murder of the children. One of the few things I know about him, in any case, is that he wanted to witness the execution, for the first time in his life. He got up in the dark to go to the place of execution at the other end of town amid a great crowd of people. What he saw that morning he never told anyone. My mother relates merely that he came rushing home, his face distorted, refused to talk, lay down for a moment on the bed, and suddenly began to vomit. He had discovered

the reality hidden under the noble phrases with which it was masked. Instead of thinking of the slaughtered children, he could think of nothing but that quivering body that had just been dropped onto a board to have its head cut off. . . . When the extreme penalty simply causes vomiting on the part of the respectable citizen it is supposed to protect, how can anyone maintain that it is likely, as it ought to be, to bring more peace and order in to the community? Rather, it is obviously no less repulsive than the crime, and this new murder, far from making amends for the harm done to the social body, adds a new blot to the first one.¹

Albert Camus awakened the conscience of France with his "Reflections on the Guillotine" in 1957. Arthur Koestler did the same in England the year before with his *Reflections on Hanging*. In America we are still awaiting publication of "Reflections on the Electric Chair and the Gas Chamber."

The Supreme Court's decision in *Furman v. Georgia* did not serve as the catalyst for which many reformers were waiting. The 5-4 decision freed some 600 prisoners from death row, but failed to do so with any clearly understood or morally persuasive reasoning. Indeed, only Justice William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall concluded that the Eighth Amendment prohibits capital punishment for all crimes and under all circumstances, as Chief Justice Warren Burger pointed out in dissent.

Since the Court decision, 23 states have reinstated the death penalty. President Nixon urged a new federal law imposing the death penalty for war-related treason, sabotage, and espionage and where death results from such serious federal offenses as sky-jacking, kidnapping, and assaulting a federal officer. The President asserted his conviction that "the death penalty can be an effective deterrent." Max Lerner, usually a liberal spokesman, recently suggested capital punishment for mass murderers: "If anything were to break through into their consciousness, it might just possibly be the knowledge that their own lives are on the line."

And yet there is virtually no evidence that the death penalty serves

as a deterrent at all. In the 33 nations that have abolished it, the number of murders has not increased. The truth is that the great majority of criminals simply do not consider penalties before they act, either because their act is spontaneous and unpremeditated, or because they do not plan to be caught.

As noted by Harvard Professor James Q. Wilson, "... the point is not whether capital punishment prevents future crimes, but whether it is a proper and fitting penalty for crimes that have occurred. That is probably as it should be, for such a question forces us to weigh the value we attach to human life against the horror in which we hold a heinous crime."²

It is not uncommon, even today, to hear expressed the eye-for-an-eye theory of justice. The rapist should be castrated, we are told; the thief should have his hand cut off; and the murderer should be murdered. Yet, except for the death penalty, it has long been agreed that retribution of this sort is not consistent with the level of civilization we like to think we have attained.

It is undoubtedly true, as Justice Marshall pointed out in *Furman*, that "there is a demand for vengeance on the part of many persons in a community against one who is convicted of a particularly offensive act. At times a cry is heard that morality requires vengeance to evidence society's abhorrence of the act. But the Eighth Amendment is our insulation from our baser selves. The cruel and unusual language limits the avenues through which vengeance can be channeled. Were this not so, the language would be empty and a return to the rack and other tortures would be possible in a given case."³

If capital punishment is to be abolished, then, it must come to be regarded as "cruel and unusual"; that is, as being repugnant to our sense of decency in the same sense as are the rack and the screw, castration, or burning at the stake. The Eighth Amendment, as Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote, "must draw its meaning from the evolving standards of decency that mark the progress of a maturing society."⁴ Only when Americans realize how indecent, how barbaric capital punishment is, will they insist on its abolition.

Consider the following description

of an execution, written by a newspaper reporter from accounts given her by two prison officers:

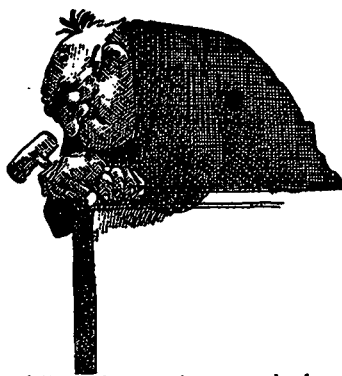
The final switch is thrown and the electricity strikes the body, which stiffens violently.

The clenched fists whiten and turn slowly upward as the current builds up to a maximum of 2,500 volts. This is a reflex action. A blister begins to rise on the lower left leg beneath the electrode.

The noise is loud. The dying man fights the straps with amazing strength. Usually, some smoke rises up from the chair.⁵

Execution by gas is no better, according to a reporter who watched Luis Jose Monge choke to death in Colorado:

The public likes to believe that unconsciousness is almost instantaneous, but the facts belie this. According to the official execution log, unconsciousness came more than five minutes after the cyanide splashed down into the sulfuric acid. And to those of us who watched, this 5-minute interlude seemed interminable. Even after unconsciousness is declared officially, the prisoner's body continues to fight for life. He coughs and groans. The lips make little pouting motions



resembling the motions made by a goldfish in his bowl. The head strains backward and then slowly sinks down to the chest. And, in Monge's case, the arms, although tightly bound to the chair, strained at the straps, and the hands clawed torturously, as if the prisoner were struggling for air.⁶

Those who support the death penalty because of its supposed deterrent effect should, to be consistent, insist upon publicizing the horror of the spectacle. As Camus pointed out:

Indeed, one must kill publicly or confess that one does not feel authorized to kill. If society justifies the death penalty by the necessity of the example, it must justify itself by making the publicity necessary. It must show the executioner's hands each time and force

everyone to look at them — the over-delicate citizens and all those who had any responsibility in bringing the executioner into being. Otherwise, society admits that it kills without knowing what it is saying or doing. Or else it admits that such revolting ceremonies can only excite crime or completely upset opinion.⁷

The Oklahoma Senate, in reviving capital punishment last year, almost approved the televising of executions. Perhaps if this were done, or at least if the news media were permitted to witness electrocutions and publish detailed descriptions, the American public, like Camus' father, would discover the reality hidden under the noble phrases of capital punishment — and would vomit. ■

James H. Manahan, a Minnesota attorney, is a member of the FORUM Editorial Board.

FOOTNOTES

1. Albert Camus, "Reflections on the Guillotine" in *Resistance, Rebellion and Death*, translated by Justin O'Brien (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pages 175-176.
2. *New York Times Magazine* (October 28, 1973).
3. *Furman v. Georgia*, 92 S.Ct. 2726 at 2780.
4. *Trop v. Dulles*, 356 U.S. 86 (1958)
5. Danielle Harris in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 23, 1961, quoted by Sol Rubin in *Capital Punishment*, edited by James A. McCafferty (Chicago, Aldine Atherton, 1972), page 254.
6. Cary P. Stiff II in *Time*, June 23, 1967, quoted by Sol Rubin, op. cit., page 256.
7. Albert Camus, op. cit., pages 187-188.

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Southern Republicans Cool to Party Reform," by Robert Walters. *Washington Star-News*, December 10, 1973. "Southern Republicans, who led the successful fight against party reform at the 1972 GOP convention, have become increasingly antagonistic toward the committee established to recommend similar reforms to the 1976 convention. Participants in the Southern Republican Conference, held here over the weekend, were polite but cool toward Rep. William A. Steiger, R-Wisc., chairman of the party committee authorized to study improvements in the GOP structure and convention process. But when Steiger wasn't looking, Robert J. Shaw, chairman of Georgia's Republican party and official host for the conference, made an effort to manipulate the responses to a questionnaire designed to elicit individuals' opinions about possible reforms." Only under great pressure did Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed allow any organized discussion of party reform efforts at the convention. The hostility to reform was not limited to Reed and Shaw. Writes Walters, "At the panel discussion (on party reform), Steiger noted that although the questionnaires had been distributed to the participants, 'We really haven't had a helluva lot back' — a situation Shaw tried to remedy in an extraordinary manner while leading a panel discussion on unrelated subjects several hours later. After determining that none of the more than 50 persons present was in favor of serious reform, Shaw distributed copies of the survey form to each participant, then dictated answers to each of the questions ... All of the answers dictated by Shaw called for minimal or no reform."

● "Bergen's Muscle Falls to Dazzle Byrne," by Neil A. Lewis. (Hackensack, N.J.) *Record*, December 23, 1973. "New Jersey Republicans probably will choose Benjamin

Danskin of Monmouth County to be the new state chairman at a meeting Jan. 11. It is a measure of how little influence Rep. Charles W. Sandman retains after his shattering defeat for governor last month that he is pushing Ann Flynn, also of Monmouth, for the spot. Mrs. Flynn, now (state) vice-chairman, is loyal and hardworking but not regarded as a leader. Mrs. Flynn would have to oppose her own county chairman, a task she considered after Sandman whispered in her ear. But she thought better of it after talking to Danskin." Sandman's previous chairman, John J. Spoltore, was stricken with a heart attack and died the day before a December State GOP Committee meeting which would probably have requested his resignation. Danskin, who would have become chairman if former Gov. William Cahill had won the 1973 Republican gubernatorial primary, is opposed for the party chairmanship by Essex County GOP Chairman Fred Remington, also a moderate.

● "Another Buckley Cheers Conservatives," by William A. Rusher. *Baltimore Sun*, December 26, 1973. Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons.-N.Y.) is going to assume a more active role as a conservative spokesman, and, according to William Rusher, publisher of the Buckley family's *National Review*, that is good. "Spiro T. Agnew is gone. Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.) is 64 and contemplating retirement. Gov. Ronald Reagan of California alone stands forth as a viable and nationally known champion of conservative causes. Lord knows he could use some help in that role, and Jim Buckley has decided to give it to him. Where, if anywhere, this decision may take Mr. Buckley personally remains to be seen. He is thoroughly content with his seat in the Senate, and may well feel that the national recognition his new role is sure to bring can only help, among other things, his own chances for re-election in 1976. But those who watch him closely are not ruling anything out."

● **"An Offer Californians Did Refuse,"** by Bruce Keppel. *California Journal*, December 1973. Opponents of California Gov. Ronald Reagan's tax reform initiative capitalized on an offhand remark the governor made on a radio talk show. When asked if he thought voters understood his proposal's "language," Reagan replied that they "shouldn't try. I don't, either." The comment was picked up and used in newspaper advertisements which proclaimed, "When a proposition's chief sponsor doesn't understand it, it's time for the rest of us to vote no on Proposition No. 1." Keppel concludes that the "ad did capitalize on one factor that a *Los Angeles Times* sampling also detected — that few people understood just what would happen if Proposition 1 passed and so were tending to decide the issue along partisan lines or in terms of trusting Reagan. If so, the no vote reflects the continued erosion of Reagan's political popularity in California, from the million-vote majority with which he ousted Pat Brown from the governor's office in 1966, a margin cut in half by Jess Unruh's weakly financed campaign in 1970." The initiative lost by over 300,000 votes.

● **"West Tennessean Expected to Run,"** by Henry Samples. *Johnson City (Tennessee) Press-Chronicle*, December 9, 1973. "Strategists for prospective gubernatorial candidates are expecting a West Tennessean to emerge for a run at wresting the Republican nomination from Dr. Nat Winston. Such a candidate, the analysts say, could set the stage for a repeat of the 1970 GOP primary, when Winfield Dunn captured his party's nomination with Middle and West Tennessee votes after East Tennessee split between Maxey Jarman and Bill Jenkins." Dr. Winston's strength is based in East Tennessee, and the other two Republican candidates, LaMar Alexander and Dortch Oldham, are both from Nashville (in Middle Tennessee). Among the possible West Tennessee candidates: U.S. Rep. Dan Kuykendall, Memphis State University Chancellor C.C. Humphreys, and former Memphis Mayor Henry Loeb. Meanwhile, although Oldham and Alexander are both moderates, Samples says that "most observers are making private bets that the (influence of Gov. Dunn and Sen. Howard Baker, Jr.) will finally jell behind Alexander."

● **"Holshouser Doesn't Quite Fit GOP 'Realignment' Pattern,"** by Ferrel Guillory. *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), December 16, 1973. Returning from the Southern Republican Conference in Atlanta, where he found all the GOP talk to be about "realignment" — i.e., the conversion of conservative southern Democrats into Republicans — Guillory observed that Gov. James E. Holshouser, Jr. "doesn't quite seem to fit in completely with this ideologically conservative emphasis to 'realignment.'" In contrast with the speeches of Gov. Mills Godwin of Virginia, former White House aide Harry Dent, and Nelson Rockefeller, Holshouser's "public remarks were not tinged with the same ideological fervor that marked so much of the other discussion." "Rather," reports Guillory, who is *The News and Observer's* chief capitol correspondent, "Holshouser has approached the matter of party-building more pragmatically. His main concern seems to be proving that a Republican Administration can manage state government capably."

● **"The Making of Patrick Buchanan,"** by Brit Hume. **MORE**, January 1974. White House conservative guru Patrick Buchanan's "brand of conservatism ... is totally lacking in the libertarian strain that has characterized much conservative thought in this country. He said there was a breach between libertarians and traditionalists in the conservative 'movement,' as he called it. He was a traditionalist," writes former Jack Anderson legman Brit Hume. Throughout his interview with Buchanan, he "spoke of himself as a member of the conservative movement. He said when he leaves the White House — which he said he has no present plans to do — he would like

to remain in the 'world of issues.' He talked of conservative sentiment in America as a 'great unharvested field.' There was no question that Buchanan considers himself as the voice of his movement in the Administration today and one of its potential intellectual leaders in the future. I wondered if that identity was compatible with his role as the Administration's hardest counterpuncher in times of trouble. It is known, for example, that Buchanan doesn't believe that John Dean masterminded the Watergate cover-up and that he doesn't consider the President — and certainly those closest to him — above suspicion in the case. Yet he carries on the counterattack."

● **"Brickley Cites GOP 'Betrayal,'"** by Remer Tyson. *Detroit Free Press*, December 21, 1973. "Lt. Gov. James H. Brickley, in a letter explaining to Republican critics why he thinks President Nixon should resign, Thursday expressed a 'feeling of betrayal by those in whom I placed my trust and confidence based on my deep conviction about integrity in government,'" writes Tyson. "During a television interview Dec. 7, Brickley became the first major Michigan Republican to say Nixon should resign in the 'best interest' of the country."

● **"A Political Giant in Retirement,"** by John Hinterberger. *Seattle Times*, December 1, 1973. "The titular leader of thousands of King County Republicans languishes daily in the smoky confines of the Central Tavern, an unsought sage, an unemployed Colossus. If the old political customs hold, then J.J. Tiny Freeman, defeated candidate for Washington's 7th C.D., is his party's spiritual district chieftain until the next candidate comes along in 1974. But the next Republican candidate to challenge Brock Adams will not be Freeman. 'The next thing I run for will be the Canadian line,' he said, and lumbered off to mooch a cigaret." Freeman, the 6'6" bar habitue who received the 1972 Republican congressional nomination because no one else applied, has fallen on hard times. "Ex-towboatman, former gyppo logger, dozer operator, bluegrass disc-jockey who prefers classics, ninth-grade drop-out, he is now sporadically employed as a \$100-a-day talent for various advertising agencies." Freeman still spends most of his time in his old campaign headquarters, which he says was "ideal." "Where else could you have two pool tables, 18 bar stools, 30 kegs of beer and 400 gallons of wine? Every once in a while somebody would say, 'It's time to go campaigning,' and we'd make the round of three more bars."

● **"Connally, Seeking GOP Base for '76 Drive, May Find It in South,"** by Christopher Lydon, *New York Times*, December 10, 1973. "John B. Connally's Republican honeymoon ended abruptly last October 10 — the day Vice President Agnew resigned — and party leaders as different as Gov. (Nelson) Rockefeller of New York and Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona moved with quiet effectiveness to head off Mr. Connally's succession to the Vice Presidency ... Melvin R. Laird, the White House counselor and no Connally fan, went so far not long ago as to tell reporters that if Mr. Connally really wanted to be a Presidential nominee, he should have stayed in the Democratic party." But at the Southern Republican Conference in Atlanta in December, it was evident that Connally was only number two in the hearts of southern Republicans. A man named Reagan is very definitely number one. Rockefeller is rated "acceptable." "After three months of barnstorming in which he often traveled alone, or with just his wife, Mr. Connally is recruiting staff help — Dr. George Willeford, the retiring Republican chairman in Texas, and Brad O'Leary, Dr. Willeford's assistant — to build a tentative national organization." Writes Lydon, "And even in the South, where Watergate has made less impression than elsewhere, Republican officials wonder publicly whether Mr. Connally can meet the standards of probity that voters are expected to apply on candidates henceforth."

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