

## The View From Here

Perhaps Senator Dirksen is right. Perhaps inflation and Vietnam will mean manna for the Republican Party in November, with white backlash icing the heaven-sent cakes. And perhaps national Republican spokesmen need only encourage the voters in their worries on these three points to recover all the seats lost by Goldwater and to make impressive gains besides.

Trust in discontent traditionally recommends itself to a minority Party in an off-year election. Perhaps this time it will be worth seventy-five seats and a regeneration of the Republican Party.

Yet we suspect otherwise. The question before the independent voters who will decide most contests is not discontent but alternatives. And if the national Republican leadership is to bring anything more than financial support to its Congressional candidates, it must convince the electorate that it could have outdone the Johnson administration on the three issues that it has selected for the campaign.

### DECRYERS OF VIOLENCE

This it has failed to demonstrate during the past two years, and the few hectic weeks before an election is no time to begin. Thus, the revelation early in October that the leaders of the Grand Old Party had resolved to decry violence in the streets was as stirring as if the Weather Bureau had taken a strong stand against hurricane Inez. They didn't foresee it; they couldn't say where it was going; and they hadn't the ghost of a program for getting rid of it.

The announcement a few weeks earlier that the House Republican Conference had decided to hold President Johnson "personally responsible" for the war in Vietnam was similarly unedifying. Has any national Republican leader, since Goldwater, made himself politically responsible for a clearly articulated alternative to the President's policy? No, it has been an act of courage for any Republican to differ more than a little from the President in the years between elections. And it accordingly seemed an act of cowardice for Republicans in the House to dissociate themselves from action they once clamorously approved and now cannot improve upon.

### SPEECH WRITERS AS EXPERTS

As for inflation, an issue on which the sincerity of Republicans is seldom doubted, even here the national spokesmen have lacked credibility. While the President refers always to his prestigious Council of Economic Advisers, Republican leaders consult their own speechwriters. What is needed, as the Ripon Society, among others, has suggested, is a Minority Economic Council. When the President's experts put political expediency above economic prudence, only other experts can rap their knuckles convincingly.

Effective opposition these days requires more than campaign rhetoric. The Administration commands a bureaucracy that can make its leaders seem omniscient, that can give the impression that everything which humanly can be done is now being done, or planned, or considered by battalions of dedicated Ph.D.'s.

To oppose such whitewashing machinery requires a well-developed network for the formulation of criticism. And though the Republican Party has such an establishment on paper (in the form of the National Republican Coordinating Committee and its myriad task forces), it has been able to win neither publicity nor credence for its research efforts. The result, as one Republican governor has pointed out, is that "few are suggesting that Republican increases will stem from our proposals being better or our solutions more attractive."

### OPPORTUNISTIC POSES

Insofar as the party has a national image for intellectual resources, it is not one of expertise but of poll-mongering and stodgy sloganeering. These activities, necessary though they may be, cannot save the two-party system in America. Politics is, after all, about something more than pandering. It often demands not short range tactics and opportunistic poses, but substance, imagination and vision.

These latter things have been absent from national strategy this year. In consequence, most Republican candidates will have to rely more on local appeal and personal attractiveness than on the force of their party label. Republican victories this fall will thus be individual triumphs. If they hold any hope for the party as a whole it is that among the victors will be men to lay the foundations of a national Republican party worthy of the name.

—MAHOUT

### NEW BOOKS

**From Disaster to Distinction: The Rebirth of the Republican Party**, by the Ripon Society \$1.00.

**Southern Republicanism and the New South** by John C. Topping, Jr., John R. Lazarek, and William H. Linder, \$2.00. Released jointly by the Ripon Society and Republicans for Progress.

The Society also plans to issue an analysis of the 1966 election similar in scope to its **Election '64 Report**. All of these publications can be ordered from the Ripon Society offices, P.O.B. 138, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

Add 3 per cent sales tax for delivery in Mass.

# Pollsters' Rx For The GOP

Recent opinion samplings by pollsters Louis Harris and George Gallup reflect too well the now familiar Republican story — significant potential but snail's-pace progress.

Analyzing America's changing social composition, Harris stated in the October 10 issue of *Newsweek* that "the Republican Party presently has an opportunity never before afforded in modern times." Rising levels of family income and individual education are producing, Harris reported, "the newest, freshest, most vibrant force in politics: the burgeoning college-educated, essentially professional, affluent segment of this country." Although this new group naturally tends toward the Republican Party, Harris predicted it will drift away unless the GOP acts decisively by 1968.

**PERMANENT MINORITY** As Harris stated: "The shrewd, short-term way for the GOP to go is the course Richard Nixon appears to have blocked out: to straddle the middle of the road but always with a keen eye toward not offending the Goldwater right. This is a possible way to win the Presidency in 1968. But it is also a certain way to lock the Republican Party in as the permanent minority party in America."

"One thing is certain: the affluent group will not change drastically in its essentially internationalist, pro-civil rights, sympathetic to non-conformity tack . . . Although out of power, the Republicans actually hold the initiative, and have more range of choice. Right now it looks as if the GOP may go for the short run — and thus waste its best opportunity to take power since the first third of the century."

Ironically, however, while many Republican leaders appear eager to hand Nixon the nomination to avoid party squabbles, Harris's own latest polls indicate the Party would fare better in 1968 with a more moderate candidate.

**ROMNEY'S SUPPORT** In a poll conducted by Harris in September, Nixon lost to President Johnson by 14 per cent (43 to 57) while Michigan Governor George Romney trailed LBJ by only two per cent (49 to 51). In another trial run Romney defeated Robert Kennedy by two per cent while Nixon just barely drew even.

Romney's popular support — the highest any Republican has achieved since 1964 — proves the potential exists for a Republican victory in 1968. Unfortunately, GOP moderates still seem unwilling to work to turn this potential into delegate and electoral votes.

As Harris commented in another *Newsweek* article, "The more conservative, right-wing activists still appear to be far more efficient political organizers, far more diligent and far more dedicated than their moderate counterparts. . . . There is every indication that the Republican Party at the grass roots level is either under the control of or easily susceptible to the control of the old Goldwater wing."

This failure of the GOP to alter significantly its 1964 image or substance is reflected in a break-down of Harris' own Presidential poll. Two years after the Goldwater debacle and Ray Bliss's ascendancy to the Party chairmanship, the GOP's most popular contender, Romney, can still draw only three per cent of Negro votes from President Johnson and six per cent from Robert Kennedy. Among none of the other eleven voter groups

surveyed by Harris did Romney get less than 37 per cent of the votes, though his popularity with Negro voters in Michigan indicates that his national showing will improve as his positions are more widely publicized.

## GALLUP'S SOLUTION

Steps to improve the GOP's image and substance by 1968 have been suggested by George Gallup in his analysis of the Party's ills in *U.S. News and World Report* of September 19. The GOP, Gallup stated, currently lacks leadership and any basic appeal to youth, intellectuals, laborers, and minority groups. He suggested Republicans organize "long-haired lectures", begin special drives for youth, invite intellectuals to express their views, and start door-to-door campaigns in labor districts to gather information and win converts.

"The Republican Party," Gallup stated, "should set up listening and discussion groups all over the country on all sorts of subjects — farm problems, business and labor problems, education, Vietnam, and so on. Then they would have a constant flow of information on what people at the grass roots want."

The present problems facing the Republican Party, Gallup stated, are similar to those that Britain's Conservative Party successfully surmounted after it lost the 1946 election. If Republicans can now find "aggressive, imaginative" leadership and establish "effective communication with voters", Gallup indicated the GOP, like the Conservatives, could again become the majority party.

—T.A.B.

## Other Prescriptions

The recommendations of Messrs. Harris and Gallup lend statistical support to an argument which has been advanced by knowledgeable observers for some time. Just this summer, New York *Times* columnist James Reston wrote of the unwillingness of the GOP to seek out national candidates "who can deal with the growing problems and masses of the cities, candidates who can be prepared for the future political battles of the 1970's."

Reston names such Republicans as cabinet members McNamara and Gardner ("one of the most intelligent men to come into this government since the New Deal"). He adds Kingman Brewster of Yale, William McChesney Martin of the Federal Reserve Board, McGeorge Bundy, Justice Stewart and Mayor Lindsay — "all Republicans and all unconsidered."

## GREAT LEAP FORWARD

In the last month Tom Wicker of the *Times* has urged Republicans to take a great leap forward, . . . a running jump into the future . . . with attractive, younger men" like Governors Chafee, Love, and Evans ("a thoughtful student of state-local-federal relations"), Mayor Lindsay or Messrs. Percy, Taft and Brooke. "From this group an exciting, imaginative ticket could be put together. Against the increasing tired and frozen appearances of the Johnson Administration and its unpopular leader, the mere appearance of such candidates, together with their youth, might provide something of the fresh breeze that John Kennedy once brought to American politics." Emmet John Hughes also has added his voice to the chorus in a *Newsweek* column under the title "The Squandering Republicans."

But the most significant thing about all these pre-

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# A Second Chance In Dixie

When the Goldwater campaign of 1964 wrote off the Negro and civil rights vote, many observers said that the Republican Party in the South had forfeited the moderate credentials it had long been acquiring and now was irrevocably locked in a strong segregationist posture. Then, segregationist victories in Democratic primaries this year, gave southern Republicans yet one more chance to grasp their long-range interests. But to this point there is little evidence that the opening is being used as effectively as it might.

## RACIST AVALANCHE HITS DEMOCRATS

In early Democratic primaries in Virginia and Florida, moderate candidates scored victories over conservative opposition. Then, in Tennessee the tide began to turn.

Two younger and more liberal Democrats, incumbent U.S. Senator Ross Bass and Kennedy ally John Jay Hooker, were beaten for the senatorial and gubernatorial nominations by the older and more conservative Governor Frank Clement and ex-Governor Beaufort Ellington.

In the Alabama primary the verdict was even more decisive. Neither of the two major liberal candidates, Attorney General Richmond Flowers and former Congressman Carl Elliot, even made it to a run-off with Mrs. George Wallace. In Arkansas, where Republican Winthrop Rockefeller almost won the Governorship in 1964, the Democrats scrambled for months to find a successor to six-term Governor Orval Faubus. The primary winner was the outspoken segregationist, Jim Johnson.

In a Congressional primary in Louisiana, the twelve-term incumbent and racial moderate James Morrison was beaten by a dedicated segregationist, John Rarick. And in Maryland, the Democratic gubernatorial primary was won by the heretofore also-running George Mahoney, who campaigned as an opponent of the open housing provision of the civil rights bill.

## GEORGIA SURPRISE

But the biggest surprise came in Georgia where the Democratic nomination for Governor went to the notorious segregationist, Lester Maddox, who had, after a well-publicized dispute, closed his restaurant rather than serve Negroes. Maddox had run unsuccessfully for lower office several times before. He was thought to have no chance of winning the gubernatorial nomination. On election day he managed to finish in second place, just narrowly ahead of a virtually unknown racial moderate and significantly behind the leading candidate, Ellis Arnall. But Arnall lacked a majority, and in the run-off Maddox surprised everyone by gaining a decisive 70,000 vote victory. Democrats tried to blame Republicans for helping to elect Maddox. And while one well-publicized Democrat, Congressman Charles Weltner of Atlanta, withdrew from his own race rather than run on a ticket headed by the former restaurateur, a more obscure Republican State Committeeman switched to the Democratic side.

It is difficult for any party in the South to reconcile its pro-and anti-civil rights wing. In 1964 no attempt was possible for the Democrats as Senator Goldwater attracted most southern segregationists, including one Lester Maddox of Georgia. But in 1966, without the handicap of a presidential race, Southern Democrats are

trying for reconciliation once more. And despite the segregationist primary victories, they may be accomplishing it.

## TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY

The Democratic strategy first solidifies the old line, conservative vote, an easy task for a Mahoney, a Johnson, a Maddox. But the second prong of the attack involves a more difficult task. For the Democratic machine feels it must also win a part of the moderate and liberal vote. How? In a number of ways.

1. By taking advantage of the conservative or ambiguous Republican position on economic and social issues. "At least we have a program here and here and here," the segregationists can shout, "while the GOP has none." Sometimes the charge is only too true.

2. By stressing well-established lines of patronage which a Republican victory would upset. While a Jim Johnson chants offensive slogans to one group, a second team takes their more thoughtful brothers aside. "What can a Republican do for you?" they ask.

3. By using respected and venerable names to legitimize the new unpredictable candidates. Thus Senators Russell and Talmade can help Maddox look more stable and mature. Senator McClellan can aid Jim Johnson's image in Arkansas.

4. By aggressively using all available evidence to convince Negroes and liberal voters that the GOP is just as conservative on civil rights as the Democrats. Often there is much evidence to this effect and a ninth inning attempt to moderate the image of GOP candidates is having only marginal success in state like Georgia and Alabama.

The Democratic strategy cuts at Republicans from both sides and presents them with a difficult challenge. In Tennessee, Howard Baker, Jr. is making a bold plea for Negro votes. In Arkansas, Winthrop Rockefeller, whose civil rights credentials were established, took the risk of moving slightly right. In Georgia and Alabama on the other hand, Republicans have found it difficult to reverse conservative gears.

## NEGATIVE MODERATION

It is difficult to urge any single strategy on a widely varied southern battle front. But it is our feeling that the attempt at "moderation" if it is to truly confound the two-pronged Democratic strategy, must be more than an effort to avoid controversy. For example, Republican gubernatorial candidate Howard "Bo" Callaway in Georgia has tried to pick up the anti-Maddox vote by focusing his campaign on the safe issues of clean government and economic progress. He may succeed, though many think it will take a bolder Bo to reverse his present image as a Goldwater conservative.

But whether southern GOP candidates can make a go of "negative moderation" this year or not, the fact remains that in the South of the 1970's and 1980's such strategy will not be successful. Long-range success still requires a clear and bold Republican position, particularly on the issue of civil rights. Southern Democrats this year have given Republicans a second chance to stake out an anti-segregationist position which could serve them well in future years. In too many areas of the South, this opportunity is now being squandered.

—W.H.L., L.W.H.

# IDEAS FOR IOWA

Iowa Republicans are determined to erase the negative image the GOP acquired in their state in 1964. Two years ago, plagued by Goldwater's unpopularity in Iowa and the inept campaign of gubernatorial candidate Evan Hultman, the Iowa GOP was virtually annihilated at the polls. Central to the party's comeback strategy is its 1966 platform which is Iowa Republicans' most progressive statement in decades.

In 1965 the Iowa GOP created an "Ideas for a Better Iowa" committee to research the state's problems and make detailed recommendations to the Platform Committee. Prof. William G. Murray, an Iowa State University economist, organized the "Ideas for a Better Iowa" group. His prestige and backing were crucial factors in attracting the necessary personnel for the success of the project. The Platform Committee made extensive use of the "Ideas for a Better Iowa" reports and after many hours of hearings wrote a platform containing 109 specific proposals. Murray, who won the September 6 primary election to become the GOP gubernatorial candidate, is making vigorous use of this document against incumbent Gov. Harold Hughes.

## CAMPAIGN NOTES

● Maine's Republican Governor John H. Reed received unexpected campaign support while Democrats were planning a major rally for their state candidates. Robert F. Kennedy, that shrewd and omniscient campaigner, wrote Maine's Democratic leaders that he would be very glad indeed to be the featured speaker at their rally for Governor Reed. You tell them, Bobby!!!

● Jack Mills, executive director of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, will resign after the November election, according to columnist Charles Bartlett. Bartlett gives three reasons for Mills' resignation: he is discouraged by the party's failure to make long-range plans; he is dismayed by its failure to train professionals to help local candidates; he dislikes the increasing amount of time which political managers must devote to fund raising. The resignation will open a key staff position in the national Republican election machinery.

● Negro Republicans are making determined bids to unseat Democratic incumbents in Congressional campaigns in two major cities this fall. In Chicago, 25-year-old David Reed, a Drake University graduate representing a group of dissatisfied young Negroes who formed the New Breed Committee, is attempting to unseat 80-year-old Rep. William Dawson, a chief Negro figurehead for the Daley Democratic machine. Reed originally decided to run as a Reform Democrat against Dawson, but Republican gubernatorial candidate Charles Percy convinced Reed to file as a Republican.

In Philadelphia, a 50-year-old Negro lawyer, Herb Cain, is drawing national support in his effort to unseat the incumbent Negro Democrat of Philadelphia's second Congressional district. Among national figures aiding or speaking for Cain are Sen. Hugh Scott, Sen. Clifford Case, Sen. Thruston Morton, and Rep. Bob Wilson.

● Richard L. Thornburgh, a young, progressive Republican, is waging a vigorous fight for Pennsylvania's Fourteenth Congressional seat which covers two-thirds

## RIPON PLAN ENDORSED

Iowa Republicans are so pleased with their 1966 platform that they have reprinted it alongside the Democratic state platform for distribution to the press and voters. They have committed themselves to specifics and left the platitudes to the Democrats.

They recommend increasing state aid to schools to 40 per cent, more than double the present level. They advocate expansion of state educational facilities, with particular emphasis on the community college system. The party is pushing extensive governmental reorganization and the institution of a civil service system for state employees. And it strongly backs a plan for returning a percentage of federal income tax revenues to state and local governments, as suggested by the Republican Governors' Association and the Ripon Society in July 1965.

The leaders of the Iowa GOP are aware that they must work hard to restore the prestige of the Republican Party with the state's voters. The attitude of many was reflected in remarks in May by moderate state chairman Robert Ray: "Now we're not going to bounce back automatically; it's going to take hard work and outstanding candidates."  
—T.E.D.

of the city of Pittsburgh and has a three-to-one Democratic registration.

Thornburgh has campaigned strongly in Pittsburgh's Hill District and Homewood-Brushton areas to persuade voters of his deep concern for civil rights and for the problems of urban renewal. He has also enlisted the campaign assistance of Senator Hugh Scott and Arlen Specter, Philadelphia's Republican District Attorney. H. John Heinz, III, is serving as over-all campaign chairman of what is described as a "Lindsay-type" campaign.

● J. Edmund Martin, the California architect and John Birch member who was among the donors to LBJ's "President's Club", has had his \$6000 deposit refunded by the White House. The letter in which the refund was made was not released to the public, however, and did not mention Martin's political affiliations as the reason for returning the sum. LBJ, it seems, wanted the whole matter kept as quiet as possible.

● Campaign Contributions from conservative Republicans in two East Coast states have been going West and South while attractive candidates at home remain strapped for funds. In New Jersey, Senator Clifford Case has complained that large contributions are going out of state. In Connecticut, where gubernatorial candidate E. Clayton Gengras is considered to be within sight of defeating the Democratic incumbent, the Republican state finance chairman has complained that "a small but affluent group within our Party has seen fit to send more than \$400,000 out of state in support of Reagan, Senator John Tower of Texas and Representative Bo Callaway of Georgia."

● Seen at a Washington reception for Edward W. Brooke: Melvin Laird introducing his friend, Joe R. Pool of Texas, Democratic Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee to all the liberal Republicans who had come to raise funds for Brooke.

# Out West with the Birchers

Republicans in three western states are discovering that a quarantine on the John Birch Society is sound political practice. But in two others, the lesson has still to be learned.

In Nevada, Paul Laxalt, who took an equivocal stand on the Birchers in 1964 but led a fight last April at the state Republican convention to read them out of the Party, is reportedly gaining wide support because of this action and is now favored to defeat the two-term Democratic governor, Grant Sawyer.

In Washington, Governor Dan Evans has been leading a struggle since 1964 to rid the state organization of extreme rightists. The fight for control is continuing but Evans and others already credit the revamped organization as a major cause for the Party's increased appeal among youth and intellectuals.

**GOLDWATER NOW SPEAKS** In Arizona, a fight to prevent Birch gains in the state organization drew a sharp endorsement recently from Barry Goldwater. Goldwater, who refused to repudiate the Birch Society in 1964, told Arizona Republicans last month: "The worst job of politics is done in districts run by the Birch people. If you gave them control of the state organization, you wouldn't have a Republican candidate elected in this state."

In Alaska, however, Birchers seriously threaten to take control of the party apparatus. The Republican candidate for the Senate seat from Alaska, Lee McKinley,

is an admitted Birch society member. So are four candidates for the state legislature. The state party chairman, Robert A. Davenny, has stated that he is not a member of the society but that "I have studied it carefully and I can't say that I disagree with its principles."

Moderate Alaskan leaders now fear that the Society may gain even more control. Moderate state representative Theodore F. Stevens has said of the Birchers, "They've got so much money they could bury us." Stevens fears that he and other moderate-conservative Republicans, including gubernatorial candidate Walter J. Hicks and congressional hopeful Howard Pollock, might be defeated because of the Birch Society's Association with the Republican party.

**NIXON TURNS PLIANT** Richard Nixon, speaking for state candidates in Alaska last month, pointedly refused to endorse McKinley or any other Birch member.

When he came to California, however, Nixon endorsed Ronald Reagan's decision to accept Birch society support. Reagan's position was acceptable, Nixon said, because while Reagan accepts Birch support, he has rejected the Society's philosophy. This appears to be a more pliant stand than Nixon himself took in his own gubernatorial race against Pat Brown in 1962. He then repudiated all support from the Birchers, saying he would never endorse one of them for office or appear with a known Bircher on a public platform.

# Conservatives Dissect Ripon

The Ripon Society has never claimed the role of "progressive Republicanism's intellectual elite," but that was the description applied to it last month in a thirty page report by the staff of the American Conservative Union. "While the Ripon Society is small in numbers, its influence is felt at some of the major American universities," the report observes. Ripon, it predicts, "will play an important role in narrowing down the field of liberal candidates for the 1968 GOP presidential nomination."

In his introduction to the statement, Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook, chairman of the ACU, suggests that "This study of the Ripon Society and its many appendages provides an accurate picture of the current strength of the liberal Republican movement. We should never underestimate its influence and determination. Neither should we overestimate it. But we should make an effort to learn as much as possible about the group of liberal Republican thinkers which wants to remake the party in its own image."

**PLATFORM FOR REPUBLICANS** The ACU staff acknowledges that a part of its information was "gleaned" from the pages of the Ripon FORUM. But its attempts to identify Ripon personnel and to list Ripon projects are extremely incomplete and out of date. There is no mention, for example, of the Ripon book, *From Disaster to Distinction*. And despite its title, "The Ripon Society, A Study . . . on the influences of liberals within the Republican Party," the paper wanders off into a detailed history of the now defunct *Advance* magazine, and other pre-Ripon moderate efforts.

**IMPACT ON THE PRESS** While arguing that Ripon statements and papers have not always been completely original or acceptable, the conservatives note that the group has received headlines "all over the nation." They contrast this with studies published by the Republican Coordinating Committee which, says the ACU, "have had little impact on the press."

"The Ripon Society today does more effectively what *Advance* tried to do," the ACU concludes; "shape a body of thought and draft a concrete platform for liberal Republicans. Not only has Ripon been able to perform the research and development function for the party's minority wing, but it has also been effective at getting news coverage for its ideas, wide acceptance by the press as a bona fide Republican study group, and an *entrée* into the councils of the party leadership."

A criticism of the FORUM concerns the overabundance of "trite descriptive phrases" which are of "little value in molding a philosophy." But the newsletter, it remarks, "contains some spritely writing and some interesting political reporting."

The ACU staff has scored both hits and misses in its description of the Ripon Society 1966. Its inflated picture of Ripon's influence and its notion of Ripon's immediate role is both surprising and flattering. It is also a clear reminder of the great opportunities and responsibilities which face all moderate Republicans at this moment in our party's history.