

RIPON FORUM

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

JANUARY 1, 1975

VOL. XI, NO. 1

50 CENTS

COMMENTARY: THE GOP

RONALD REAGAN AND GEORGE WALLACE: MARITAL PROSPECTS

by Dick Behn

The incongruity of the relationship between U.S. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) and Fanne Foxe has heightened the irony of recent events in the Tidal Basin and Boston's Combat Zone. The link between Mills and Foxe, however, is hardly as incongruous as the proposed marriage of Reaganite conservatives and Wallaceite, blue-collar populists. According to the current wisdom of conservative columnists and politicians, such a union has the potential for political bliss if a few divergent ideological attitudes can be reconciled.

The proposed union is supposed to be the political marriage of the century---the realignment so long contemplated by conservatives who think that ideological virginity can be kept intact in such a union. Conservatives cite polls showing a majority of Americans identify themselves as "conservatives." They then pray fervently that these "conservatives" have enough in common among themselves that they can form their own political party. Such thinking betrays the wishfulness of the conservative matchmakers. There are semantic perceptions of the word "conservative" which divide as much as unite these self-proclaimed adherents. Though "conservatives" may perceive their ideals along similar lines when confronted by strong social issues like Vietnam and busing, they may have very dissimilar views on the oil-depletion allowance and public service employment; libertarian-learning conservatives may have great difficulty identifying with a congressman who voted for the Lockheed bailout. The average blue-collar worker may have few common economic interests with the boardroom plutocrat.

Potentially, such a movement could concentrate on a whole range of antagonisms: anti-busing, anti-abortion, anti-taxes, anti-welfare, and anti-foreigner (whether Arab, communist, or other). The accumulated frustrations of the electorate might allow a Reagan-Wallace or Wallace-Reagan ticket to avoid the necessity of constructive policy proposals for national problems (something neither governor has been particularly adept at doing anyway) and pick away at festering national sores. The careers of both men have been based on their uncanny abilities to echo popular dislikes. Wallace and Reagan would be able to appeal to what recent polls by Potomac Associates and Cambridge Survey Research have shown to be the growing pessimism of the American people.

The viability of the potential coalition was indicated by a Cambridge Survey Research poll taken just before the Nixon resignation. It showed Wallace outpolling Gerald Ford in a three-way race with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.). The situation has obviously changed in the interim, but the drawing power of George Wallace is undeniable. After recent polls, Cambridge Survey Research concluded: "Wallace is now running close to his 1968 high water mark of 30%." In a Louis Harris poll last June, 61% of the respondents agreed with the characterization of Wallace as a "man of high integrity" while 54% disagreed with the statement that "Wallace is a dangerous demagogue" and 55% disagreed that he is "a racist." Ronald Reagan has never really proven himself to have a comparable national following---at least not one sufficient to elect him President---but his support is sufficient to expand on the Wallace base.

A double standard seems to be operative for Reaganite conservatives who felt perfectly comfortable in excoriating progressive Republicans who refused to endorse Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) for President in 1964, but now are ready to abandon the GOP at the first available pretext. Conservative columnists (often the closest things to "nattering nabobs of negativism" in the American press) have been busy in the past two months explaining why the GOP is about to burn itself out and a Reaganite-Wallaceite phoenix about to rise from the ashes. William Rusher, Jeffrey Hart, Kevin Phillips, Howard Phillips, William F. Buckley, Jr., and the Human Events crowd have been busy burying Gerald Ford and the GOP.

The southern strategy has been resurrected, but the GOP has been given up for dead. In Jaws of Victory, the Ripon Society pointed out that Watergate was the logical and ultimate extension of "strategic politics" (the stress on political means at the expense of policy goals). Reaganite conservatives are carrying strategic politics still further. They are prepared, it seems, to trample the Republican Party in the pursuit of political expediency. Their "loyalty" to a disgraced President prolonged the Watergate tragedy and emaciated the GOP; now they seem prepared to abandon all party loyalty and leave the GOP entirely. It is a strange spectacle.

As Howard Phillips, former director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, concluded in a recent issue of Human Events: "What do the conservatives presently gain by running on the Republican ticket? Very little: a place on the ballot, and the habitual support of that ever-diminishing minority which votes for anything which wears a Republican label. The GOP can provide only token financial support to its candidates. When in power, Republican officeholders often dispense their patronage to the opposition (in hopes of thereby purchasing their own reelection). The Republican Party no longer provides leadership on the issues; indeed, it usually avoids issues. As for organization, there is none to speak of. Republican nominations may be easy to get, but as in the case of the proverbial lady of easy virtue, that which is gotten is of little value (and often leaves bad side effects)."

The brothers Buckley have never hesitated to bolt the GOP when their political convenience so suited them. Therefore, their current attitudes are understandable. National Review's William has been wondering in print about the possibilities of a Reagan-Wallace courtship, though William concedes some compromises may be necessary before the marriage. The comments of brother James, New York's Conservative Party senator, are more curious. In a post-election news column, he suggested darkly: "The only question facing Republicans is whether the majority of Americans, who are conservative, will find a home in the Grand Old Party---or somewhere else."

Buckley's veiled blackmail contrasts with his position on the upcoming vote for chairman of the Senate Republican Conference. Buckley announced he would support Nebraska Sen. Carl Curtis over New York Sen. Jacob Javits. Buckley claimed he had been pressured by New York GOP State Chairman Richard Rosenbaum to vote for Javits: "What I do not like, and will not tolerate, is the application of this kind of pressure." Buckley was referring to the possibility of a GOP Senate primary for his seat in 1976. Pressure is OK when the Buckley brothers apply it, but not when it is applied to a Buckley brother.

In previous crises, America's two-party system has served to unite the country behind broad-based policy programs. The free-market conservatives and progressives of the Republican Party can once again act to devise such policy initiatives founded in principles of free enterprise, civil liberties, and economic opportunity. Meanwhile, while the GOP is rebuilding, the Reaganites and Wallaceites will continue their search for the elusive New Majority. Their efforts will be for naught if President Ford acts forcefully to combat the nation's economic problems with progressive, free market solutions and acts equally forcefully to resist Reaganite pressures to bend the Ford Administration to meet Reaganite standards.

The Reaganite-Wallaceite merger is indeed thinkable, but it would be too bad if it was consummated. ■

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in District of Columbia, chapters in fifteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage rates paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. Contents are copyrighted © 1975 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the editor is welcomed. (Ripon FORUM, Box 226, Charlestown, Mass. 02129.)

In publishing this newsletter the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Re-

publican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$15 a year, \$7.50 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$6 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: Dick Behn

Editorial Board:

Robert D. Behn, Chairman
Robert H. Donaldson
James Manahan

Tanya Melich
Robert G. Stewart
Ralph Thayer

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

Technical Editor: Brian McCarthy

DULY NOTED: REAGAN

Ronald Reagan has apparently concluded that they also serve won only stand and wait, at least temporarily, and denied reports fostered by his own statements that he would run for President as the candidate of a third party in 1976. Nevertheless, the speculation about his presidential plans continues. Reagan expects to be busy on the "educational fried chicken circuit next year and on the airwaves with radio commentaries. For the record, Reagan has insisted that talk of a Reagan-Wallace presidential ticket does not interest him: "I'm not influenced by that kind of thinking. He's a Democrat, I'm a Republican, and we have philosophical differences." He intends to put his brand on the Republican Party as he travels the lecture circuit: "I think the time has come for our party, in a non-election year, for an educational program as to what we really represent and what we stand for." Analyzing the GOP's problems in a post-election news conference, Reagan said: "The Republican Party suffers from a long time false image that's been created about it, and yet when the polls come down without labels as to where do people stand on major issues, you find that the solutions presented by Republicans or offered by Republicans are almost identical with the solutions the people themselves want to the problems. And what our job has been, and I for many years---I will be critical of the Republican Party and tell you this--- that for many years I've said the Republican Party's failure has been one of communication. We have not overcome that image, let the people know this, and I think to some of you, whether we discussed it the last time we were in here or not, I mentioned---yes, we did discuss---I remember now, we did discuss the image of the study that has been made by political scientists at the Georgetown University of 1972, where they found that the leadership of the Republican Party was almost identical in its views on the problems with the rank and file membership of the Democratic Party, but we have not been able to communicate that to the Democratic Party."

● "Can Conservatives Lure Wallaceites," by William F. Buckley, Jr. Boston Globe, December 6, 1974. A fundraising letter from Alabama Gov. George Wallace(D) which appeals to traditional conservative concerns has heartened proponents of a Reagan-Wallace union, according to Buckley. The National Review editor still has doubts about the viability of such a Wallaceite-Reaganite union: "Could a conservative reach over the head of George Wallace to his constituents, and seduce them into the conservative camp? Probably not without Wallace's active cooperation. Could that be achieved? The chances are against it, but the effort should be made, and the advances to Wallace should be made privately, and very soon. The obvious man to make them is Ronald Reagan."

● "New Party Under Reagan?" by Jeffrey Hart. Denver Post, November 20, 1974. Columnist Hart has been writing extensively on the Reagan-Wallace phenomenon lately: "Reagan would crystallize the rebellion of the middle-class taxpayer, a subject on which he speaks with enormous eloquence and first-hand knowledge from his struggles in California. Wallace would bring into the coalition those millions of southern and other voters now disaffected with the Democrats, but who have not so far found a home in the Republican Party. Reagan-Wallace, indeed, would exemplify the coalition toward which the Republicans have been moving without ever getting there. Whether it still can emerge under Republican auspices remains in doubt."

● "Gov. Reagan Forced Into A Passive Role," by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. Boston Globe, November 25, 1974. "Contrary to denials, a possible new Conservative Party was indeed discussed within the Reagan inner sanctum. Other California Republicans say the principal source of third-party notions were two Reagan aides: Robert Walker, a tough, experienced political pro and top Reagan adviser since 1968, and Jeff Bell, a smart young political theoretician hired last summer to plan Reagan's fall travels." Reagan's money men, particularly Los Angeles millionaire Holmes Tuttle, revolted at the idea, and convinced Reagan to publicly sink the third party ship.

● "Conservatives Must Seek Alternatives," by Howard Phillips. Human Events, December 12, 1974. Ronald Reagan better get out his worry beads because former OEO Director Howard Phillips argues that it is dangerous for conservatives to rely on a reluctant Moses to lead them in 1976. "Conservative Republicans, understandably gloomy about the condition of their party and their nation, have apparently not yet fully learned a principal lesson of the Watergate experience: that actual events corroborate moral philosophy in teaching that we should not rely too heavily on any mortal to serve as instrument for our political hopes and expectations...It seems that Gov. Reagan intends to hold himself available for a presidential candidacy, so that if events break favorably, he may seize opportunities thus developed. But the governor has no present determination to shape such events himself." Phillips compares Reagan's deference to President Ford as akin to the deference shown former President Nixon "when conservatives, largely out of respect and loyalty, declined to be fully outspoken against Mr. Nixon's moves to the left, and failed to closely scrutinize or oppose continued liberal domination of an executive branch for whose actions they would be held electorally accountable." Since Reagan's leadership is uncertain, Phillips argues that conservatives should immediately cultivate other leaders, such as Sen. Jesse Helms(R-N.C.), Sen. James McClure(R-Idaho), Sen. Meldrim Thomson(R-N.H.), and Sen. James Buckley(Cons.-N.Y.).

● "Republicans Still Meet in Secret in Era of Open Government," by Jack Zaiman. Hartford Courant, December 15, 1974. "The Connecticut Republican organization, at the top, is still a secret society...For some reason, probably habit, meetings of the GOP State Central Committee, which is the ruling body of the state party, are secret." The closed nature of the meetings is ridiculous, according to Zaiman, because the essence of discussions usually leaks out anyway--usually from the losing side.

● "Savage Hits Closed Meet," by the Associated Press. Atlanta Constitution, December 5, 1974. "The Republican Party's defeated candidate for lieutenant governor, John Savage, walked out of a meeting of the GOP's executive committee Wednesday when the group refused to open its doors to the press." The able Atlanta legislator said the meeting should be open and that the GOP "has got to show a maturity we haven't shown in the past." Savage's walkout was supported by State Rep. George Petro of DeKalb County, who indicated he will challenge GOP State Chairman Bob Shaw for party leadership at the state convention May 30-31. Shaw argued that the meeting was closed because "we were not passing law, not spending the taxpayer's money. It was simply a political party conducting executive business."

● "Pearson Job Zeal Restored," by Roger Myers. Topeka Capital, December 5, 1974. "A source close to Sen. James B. Pearson said Wednesday it is a virtual certainty the Kansas senior senator will seek reelection in 1978, thus scuttling talk that Pearson himself had sometimes fostered that he might not run again." The Kansas Republican had been disillusioned by Watergate, but "much of the disillusionment has evaporated with the succession of Gerald Ford to the presidency and the approach of a new Congress in which Pearson will have influential seniority status." In the next session of Congress, Pearson will rank 10th in seniority among Senate Republicans although he is only 54. He stands to become the senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. Another possible factor in Pearson's decision to seek reelection is his recovery from a farm accident that nearly cost him a foot.

● "GOP Sets Sights on Cash; McMath Urges 'Think Big'" by Melville Carico. Roanoke Times, December 8, 1974. The Virginia GOP lost two congressional and two legislative seats in this year's elections and is also losing money. State Del. George McMath, the GOP's new state chairman, has loaned the party \$20,000 to cover current expenditures. "My belief in the principles of the Republican Party is so strong and my faith in the people of Virginia so great that I gladly entered into this temporary financial arrangement," said McMath. The GOP has budgeted for \$450,000 next year, but its recent fundraising ventures have been failures. Furthermore, the party's executive director has decided he would rather manage real estate than politicians and has quit. Elsewhere, it has been reported that the resignation of Kenneth Klinge, the executive director, was due to "exhaustion" rather than any disagreement with McMath. Klinge has said: "I think most people are realizing he is doing a good job. It's hard to impugn a man's motives when he's telling you what he's doing."

● "Election Wrapup," by Molly Ivins. Texas Observer, November 29, 1974. In the past three gubernatorial elections in Texas, Republicans averaged about 45% of the vote. In 1974, the GOP received only 30%. "The lopsided statewide Democratic win came in the first example of what Texas voters brought on themselves by approving, in 1972, a constitutional amendment providing for four-year terms for statewide officers. From now on, Republican statewide candidates will have to do without the coattails of Republican presidential candidates. The difference may never again be as obvious as it was between 1974 and 1972, when Richard Nixon's presidency replaced Richard Nixon's candidacy as a prime factor in Republicans' chances of success. The conventional wisdom says that low turnouts favor Republicans, and holding statewide elections in non-presidential years should guarantee a lower turnout. But off-year elections also remove the chance that a Republican presidential landslide will spread down the ticket, and the second party in a one-party state needs all the presidential landslides it can get." Topping the Democratic list of 1978 gubernatorial contenders are Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby (D) and Attorney General John Hill.

● "Lamprey Still A Force," by Rod Paul. Concord (New Hampshire) Monitor, December 3, 1974. "Former House Speaker and Senate President Stewart Lamprey intends to remain a force in the Republican Party. Gov (Meldrim) Thomson knows this and this is why Thomson blasted Lamprey, along with two women legislators last week, claiming their Republican loyalty was doubtful. Lamprey was reported to have a group of young and active GOP workers readying checklists and starting a grassroots organization within the Republican Party to wrest control away from Thomson." Lamprey, who organized a group of Republicans to oppose Thomson in this year's gubernatorial election, was one of the subjects of a Thomson escapade in which the governor illegally perused tax files. Paul quotes one Democratic observer as noting: "If (Lamprey) means to go after Thomson, it may take time but when it happens, it will come like thunder. And when Lamprey gets Thomson, it may take Thomson a month or two before he figures out what happened. But then he'll know."

● "GOP Makes Two Strategic Blunders," by John D. Lofton, Jr. Orlando Sentinel Star, November 18, 1974. "A couple of incredibly stupid strategic blunders last week show why [the conservative] wing of the GOP has not had and most likely will not have any success at all in pushing President Ford in the direction they want him to go." The first blunder, according to former First Monday editor Lofton, was Gov. Ronald Reagan's denial in U.S. News and World Report that he would run for President in 1976 as the candidate of a third party. The second blunder was the failure of southern GOP state chairmen to emerge from a meeting with President Ford with any specific promises of conservative fidelity. "All of this is not to say that conservatives within the Republican Party cannot possibly challenge Ford in 1976 and defeat him at the convention. But the possibility of this seems very remote when one considers that the success of such a movement necessarily depends on those conservative Republicans who have thus far behaved like pussycats toward Ford, suddenly becoming tigers and tearing into him...The only thing conservatives within the GOP really had going for them was the threat of a third party. They have now showed their hole card two years early and ruled this out, thereby giving up any leverage they had in trying to get the President to be more conservative." Just before the November 5 elections, Lofton had written: "After Tuesday's wipe-out of the GOP, the split among the conservatives in the Republican Party is going to be widened. The arguments between those such as Mississippi Party Chairman Clarke Reed, who has urged Reagan not to go third party but try instead to recapture the GOP, and those who favor the third party route, will intensify. Ronald Reagan has got to get himself together and decide where he stands if he is to remain the titular head of the conservative wing of the Republican Party. Up to now he has been acting like the man who got on his horse and rode off in all directions."

● "Reagan and Wallace in 1976," by Kevin Phillips. Human Events, November 9, 1974. "Put [Reagan and Wallace] together on one ticket, and you get a fusion of historic proportions, much like the first emergence of the Republican Party in the 1850's. The old coalitions---Democratic and Republican---would be greatly changed or destroyed and there would be a new presidential-level party system."

● "Under the Banner of a Conservative Party?" by William Rusher. Human Events, November 9, 1974. "All that remains is to build a bridge, if not in philosophical then in programmatic terms, between the hard-nosed economic prescriptions of traditional conservatives and the lunch-box necessities of blue-collar America. If and when that bridge gets built, the Democrats had better watch out," writes National Review Publisher Rusher. "So why not start afresh, in the year of this nation's 200th birthday, with a new party designed to bring under one roof all or most of those 59% of the people who think of themselves as 'conservative.'"

● "Aftermath of a Landslide." Creative Californian, December 1974. According to this California newsletter of the Young Americans for Freedom: "The failure of the Republican Party, obviously, is not one of being too conservative, but vice versa. The Republican Party does not project itself, on a national level, as the conservative party, and hence it suffers when the people go into the polling booths...The choice is now up to the 'leaders' of the GOP. The conservative majority exists---the only question is whether a Republican or a Conservative Party will ride that majority into power."

DULY NOTED: STATES

"Dukakis Key for Harrington, Richardson," by Cornelius Dalton. Boston Sunday Herald-Advertiser, December 8, 1974. "Congressman Mike Harrington of Beverly, a Democrat, and Elliot Richardson, a Republican, both have a big political stake in the success or failure of the administration of Gov.-elect [Michael] Dukakis. If Dukakis proves to be a strong governor, this will vastly improve Harrington's prospects of upsetting Republican Sen. Ed Brooke in the 1978 election. If Dukakis flounders as governor, Richardson will be in an ideal position to challenge him when he comes up for reelection the same year," wrote Dalton before Richardson was appointed ambassador to the Court of St. James.

● "Warning on California," by Michael Harris. San Francisco Chronicle, November 29, 1974. "We ought to be as wary of politicians who come out of California as we are of speed freaks from communes," political science professor William Bicker of the University of California argues. The lack of party and constituent accountability of California politicians contributed to the Watergate mess: "The California political syndrome is that in theory you can do anything. Nixon's behavior is the epitome of what could be expected from a man who had his political antecedents in California." California's politics are hopelessly fractured and individualized, according to Bicker, who observes: "In the case of the Watergate tapes, we can detect an absence of all political restraints. There was no discussion about how the party would be affected, or what Ike would have done or what's right."

POLITICS: STATES

"Buy a Car."

Michigan Gov. William Milliken(R) has been pushing a different brand of button from fellow Michigan Republican Gerald Ford. Milliken's "BAC" buttons stand for

ARKANSAS

Arkansas Republicans have elected a new state chairman to replace the resigning State Sen. Jim Caldwell. The party's gubernatorial nominee, former GOP Executive Director Ken Coon, probably could have been elected to the post had he so desired, but he instead backed Lynn Lowe, a 38-year-old Texarkana farmer. Coon is now set to return to his old job as executive director. That arrangement brought pre-election charges of "secret deals" from Lowe's three opponents for the state party post: Bob Scott, a Little Rock attorney and chairman of the Pulaski County GOP; Marshall Martin, a Benton businessman; and Dr. Robert Luther, dean of students at Henderson State College. The three losers charged that "power brokers" were trying to arrange Lowe's election. Party rules had to be suspended to allow Lowe's election because he is not a member of the party's state central committee. At the same December 7 meeting at which Lowe was elected, the state committee defeated an attempt by Scott to change party rules to prevent "nuts, kooks, and Democrats" from running in the GOP primary. The move stemmed from the candidacy of controversial newspaper editor John H. Weston in the GOP's gubernatorial primary in 1974.

LOUISIANA

A defective voting machine in a precinct of Louisiana's 5th C.D. has led to a new election in the district between Republican W. Henson Moore and Democrat Jeffery D. LaCaze. Moore had led LaCaze after the November 5 balloting by 44 votes, but the malfunctioning voting machine and irregularities involving absentee ballots resulted in the state court decision to hold a new election. Moore's surprise win in the first election will help in the January 7 contest, where he probably will have more money, support, and volunteers than were available to him in 1974. Moore's backing for a new election should also help his effort.

MISSOURI

Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton(D) had hardly been reelected to his Senate seat in 1974 when the 1976 Senate race began. Within days, former Jackson County (Kansas City) Prosecuting Attorney Joseph Teasdale, an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1972, announced his intention to seek the Democratic nomination. Two days later, Sen. Stuart Symington announced he would seek the Democratic nomination again despite his increasing age; he'll be 75 in 1976. Former Gov. Warren Hearnes has indicated his interest in the nomination and there is talk that U.S. Rep. Jerry Litton(D-6th) might run. There is still speculation that Symington himself might withdraw from the race at a later date in favor of his son, suburban St. Louis U.S. Rep. James Symington. The younger Symington survived a bitter primary fight this year on the abortion issue. Attorney General John C. Danforth(R) is the GOP's logical candidate to oppose Symington; he received 48% of the vote in a 1970 contest with the state's senior senator. Danforth has said recently: "I have felt for a couple of years that the real choice in 1976 for me is whether to run for the Senate or get out of elective politics."

PENNSYLVANIA

The Philadelphia Democratic organization has been having difficulty finding a candidate to oppose Mayor Frank Rizzo(D). Philadelphia Democratic Chairman Peter Camiel has vowed not to back the maverick mayor, but his prime candidate has decided against making the race. U.S. Rep. William Green(D) lost the Democratic primary to Rizzo in 1971 by 40,000 votes. That year, Green was running against the organization. Had he decided to run this year, the 36-year-old Democrat would probably have had organization blessing. In early December, he announced he would stick to Congress. That left Camiel with the following choices: State Sen. Lewis Hill, who is a son-in-law of the late Mayor Richardson Dillworth; City Council president George Schwartz, whose image is almost a caricature of a politician; and Judge Lisa Richette, a national authority on juvenile justice and one of several judges whom Rizzo attempted to purge in 1973 (she came in first in the city). Republicans are given little chance of defeating Rizzo; speculation centers on City Council members Tom Foglietta and Dr. Ethel Allen. Polls taken this fall reportedly showed Rizzo in a strong position to defeat even Green. Meanwhile, the Pennsylvania GOP is in financial trouble, having gone heavily into debt to finance the campaign of defeated gubernatorial candidate Drew Lewis.

VIRGINIA

Sen. William L. Scott(R-Va.) voted against confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President. Part of Scott's rationale centered on Rockefeller's gifts and loans to public officials with whom Rockefeller had been associated. Scott, however, still owes half of the \$200,000 campaign loan from J.D. Stetson Coleman which boosted Scott into the Senate in 1972. The loan from the conservative financier was used to finance a media campaign which was crucial in the defeat of Sen. William Spong(D). Now Scott says, "Can a public official be given more than one-half million dollars without feeling a sense of gratitude, of indebtedness, of obligation to the person who made the gift." He added: "We might also distinguish between donations to political committees during a campaign for office and a private gift to enhance an individual's personal wealth."

WISCONSIN

GOP State Chairman David C. Sullivan, who was elected with the support of the ideological conservative wing of the Wisconsin GOP, has resigned with more than six months remaining in his two-year term. Sullivan was replaced with George Parker, a former party finance chairman associated with the more moderate wing of the party represented by GOP National Committee Ody Fish and former Gov. Warren Knowles. Parker, president of Parker Pen Co., will bring to his new job a skill which Sullivan reportedly lacked: raising money. The party is still \$450,000 in debt, which although lower than the debt has been for years, did not allow any significant assistance to GOP candidates for governor and senator in 1974. The Wisconsin GOP has declined rapidly in recent years and is now reduced to two congressmen: William Steiger and freshman Robert Kasten. In 1974, the party lost two more congressmen, the office of attorney general and control of the State Senate. The GOP had lost one district in the 1972 redistricting and another one in 1969 when Melvin Laird became secretary of defense. Kasten, who ousted U.S. Rep. Glenn Davis (R) in a 1974 primary, has indicated he will take an active interest in the rejuvenation of the party. Admitting "we have a heck of a lot of work to do," Kasten said recently he would work to improve GOP "mechanics---the precinct and county organizations and the lack of efficient get-out-the-vote efforts." Kasten attributed the Wisconsin GOP's problems to two factors: the debt and the GOP's failure to provide adequate professional campaign guidance to candidates.

POLITICS: THE GOP

A lot has been said about the Republican Party in the past two months. The following collection of observations from various statements by Republican leaders.

Michigan GOP State Chairman William McLaughlin: "The people on Election Day did not embrace the philosophy of the Democratic Party---they rejected the Republican Party. Indeed, they sent us a message. They said they doubted our competence to govern and ability to solve problems."

Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kans.): "We have to broaden our base or get the hell out of the ball game. We have to accommodate people we never really have tried to accommodate...Some people don't want things to change and that would be disastrous for the party."

Washington Attorney General Slade Gorton: "We failed to face the fact that as Republicans, we elected two years ago a person as President of the United States who came closer to destroying our constitutional liberties than any predecessor in history."

Kansas Gov. Robert F. Bennett: "We've allowed the party to become a party of personalities rather than philosophy."

John W. Hushen, deputy White House press secretary: "We are trying to be of assistance [to defeated Republican congressmen] where we can, but there is no mandatory placement program for defeated congressmen."

Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.): "The voters were telling us what they do not want, and generally they do not want Republicans in office so soon after Watergate and with inflation at present levels."

William Dohr, president of the California College Republicans: "Without sweeping changes, the party is headed for extinction. We do not believe that the Republican Party ought to die... We believe the Republican Party represents the only alternatives for Americans concerned about the need for decentralized government, competition in the economy, and fiscal responsibility to control inflation. We are concerned, however, that the Republican Party has far too often obscured these basic issues with a regressive opposition to any form of economic or social progress."

Republican National Cochairman Richard D. Obenshain: "We've got nowhere to go but up."

Mississippi GOP State Chairman Clarke Reed: "The tempo here is upbeat, and we plan to keep it that way by continuing to offer attractive Republican candidates in whose integrity, ability, and philosophy the voters can have confidence."

Missouri Gov. Christopher S. Bond: "[Watergate] will not be put behind us [if the GOP endorses a narrowly conservative approach] that denies the constructive role of government in our society and limits itself to the shackles of narrow sectional or ideological viewpoints."

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.): "Unless we mend our ways and change our approaches and attitudes, our party could become extinct...I want to rebuild and I do hope we take progressive approaches...It has to be an inclusive party if we are going to succeed."

Republican National Chairman Mary Louise Smith: "We've let ourselves get railroaded into some false stereotypes, such as we are the party of the rich."

Michigan Gov. William Milliken: "The fact remains that we have not broadened our base to take in minorities and working class people."

Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.): "We reflect the majority, the middle class view. We were just out-politicked by the Democrats."

Sen. James Buckley (Cons.-N.Y.): "Where the Republican Party goes in the next two years---and beyond---depends totally on the ability of its leaders to understand that conservatism is the dominant philosophy of the American people...It seems quite clear that our nation is facing some kind of political realignment."

14a ELIOT STREET

This column, detailing activities of the Ripon Society and Ripon members, disappeared in the heat of the 1974 election campaign. The title of the column is a bit of

nostalgia referring the location of Ripon's former headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

● Vermont State Rep. Richard Cleveland, a Ripon national associate member, was involved in one of the nation's closest recounts. He lost, 1107-1106.

● National Governing Board member Lyndon A. S. "Tuck" Wilson, Jr., has been appointed assistant secretary of state by Oregon Secretary of State Clay Myers.

● Speakers at meetings of the Washington, D.C. Chapter this fall included former Federal Energy Administrator John Sawhill and columnist George Will.

● Among Minnesota's victorious Republican legislators this year---and there weren't many---were Minnesota Chapter Ripon members Arne Carlson and Bill Dean. Fellow chapter member Candy Olsen has been appointed press secretary to the Republican delegation in the Minnesota House.

● Ripon Vice President for Publications Robert Stewart was one of several Republicans interviewed recently for the post of Massachusetts Republican chairman. Carolyn Stewart, the vice president's wife, was recently appointed legislative director for Massachusetts Common Cause. She was formerly press secretary for Josiah Spaulding, another Ripon member who ran unsuccessfully for attorney general of Massachusetts this year.

● Howard Nellhaus has been named head of the new Ripon Society study group at George Washington University.

● At a meeting of the National Governing Board in Washington, D.C., December 6-8, the resignation of Michael MacLeod as executive director of the Ripon Society was accepted. MacLeod will become Ripon's vice president for political affairs. Josephine Cuevas, now political coordinator for Ripon, will become the Society's managing director.

● William Magill and Sandra Moore are Philadelphia's new representatives on the National Governing Board. Magill is currently running for chairman of the Greater Philadelphia Young Republicans.

● Excerpts from a recent Ripon statement on Nelson Rockefeller: "The unparalleled congressional hearings on the vice presidential confirmation of Nelson Rockefeller have clearly illustrated that he is uniquely and superbly qualified for that position. They also illustrate that the 25th Amendment and congressional confirmation procedures should be reexamined... Rockefeller's extensive experience with vast amounts of wealth and power could be of great service to the nation at this time. He is uniquely equipped to help guard against threatened massive shifts of our national wealth to the oil-producing countries and to deal forcefully with the leaders of American commerce and industry. He is one of the few American political leaders who can face up to the sheiks of Arab nations as well as the chieftains of Detroit auto-makers... The hearings also indicated the 25th Amendment needs to be reassessed. The wisdom of procedures permitting the President and Vice President to assume their offices without a popular election is questionable. We call upon the Congress to examine the amendment with this in mind."

● Numerous New York Chapter members were active on fall political campaigns. Ripon Vice President for Publicity Glenn Gerstell was New York City deputy campaign director for Gov. Malcolm Wilson. Also active on the Wilson campaign were Anne Heavner, chapter executive vice president; David Farber, chapter vice president; and Jo Anne Medoff, chapter vice president. Chapter secretary Carmen Steele was active in the campaign of another Ripon member, State Sen. Roy Goodman. Other chapter members helped in the City Council campaign of Riponer Nancy Hunt in Manhattan. Gov. Wilson has appointed chapter Executive Vice President Edward Goldberg to the State Manpower Advisory Council. Recent speakers at chapter meetings have included Assembly Speaker Perry Duryea(R) and Tully Plesser of the polling firm of Cambridge Opinion Survey.

● For those of you who liked Sexual Suicide, last year's book selection from former FORUM Editor George Gilder, his new book, Naked Nomads, is now available. In Nomads, Gilder details the evils of single manhood. The author recently rated an article in TIME magazine, complete with photo of the subject in his famous track shoes.

● The Memphis Chapter held a reception in November to honor Tennessee National Committeewoman Peggy Spurrier for her selection as co-chairwoman of the Rule 29 Committee of the Republican National Committee. In the fall elections, former chapter president Linda Miller was Shelby County co-chairman for Jane Hardaway's campaign for public service commissioner. Chapter member Urania Alissandratos was state co-chairman. Though the former state personnel commissioner lost her election bid, her strong campaign led to speculation she would seek election to Congress or to another PSC slot.

RIPON FORUM

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