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COMMENTARY: PRESIDENCY

THE PRESIDENTIAL PULPIT

by Dick Behn

The Presidency, Theodore Roosevelt once said, is a "bully pulpit." But, as church-going has declined in recent years, so has the popularity of the presidential pulpit. Like most preachers, the public expects a certain degree of integrity from its Presidents. The notable lack of that quality in several recent Presidents has contributed enormously to the demythologizing of the Presidency and the decline of its moral stature.

The problem with presidential preacher-ship is what the Associated Press' Saul Pett recently called the "shrunken Presidency": "In public perception and measurable mystique, in aura and stature, in influence, effectiveness and usable power, the Presidency of the United States just ain't what it used to be. Both the office and the man are caught in a season of suspicion and skepticism more profound in its consequences than its loss of civility. Both are victims of the times and each contributes to the troubles of the other." Both as a preacher and as an administrator, much of the President's power rests on his moral authority. For the nation's strong Presidents---Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt---that has always been so. The President preached with the moral authority of the Constitution and the Founding Fathers. His catechism was a legacy of moral righteousness in domestic and international affairs. That legacy was naturally flawed, but most preachers can survive a sin or two so long as the church is fundamentally sound and the believers' faith runs deep.

Recently, however, the Vietnam War undermined the nation's political gospel and the Watergate Episode strained the credibility of its political adherents. When President Gerald Ford assumed his post, he inherited these deficiencies---but the hopes that attend any new preacher and reassuring rhetoric of the first month temporarily assuaged the national congregation. Richard Nixon's pardon ruined Ford's ecumenical opportunity, however. The President,

after all, is both a prophet and a practitioner. His prophecy must square with practice and vice versa. When Ford assumed the more theologically-unorthodox role of pardoner, he overstepped his moral authority. And he lost the congregation.

Since the pardon, Ford has tried to rebuild the pulpit, capitalizing in particular on the Bicentennial theme. His 1976 State of the Union address was the latest attempt. Said Ford:

As we begin our Bicentennial, America is still one of the youngest nations in recorded history. Long before our forefathers came to these shores, men and women had been struggling on this planet to forge a better life for themselves and their families. In man's long upward march from savagery and slavery---throughout the nearly 2,000 years of the Christian calendar, the nearly 6,000 years of Jewish reckoning---there have been many deep, terrifying valleys, but also many bright and towering peaks.

One peak stands highest in the ranges of human history. One example shines forth of a people uniting to produce abundance and to share the good life fairly and in freedom. One Union holds out the promise of justice and opportunity for every citizen.

That union is the United States of America.

The pardon continues to plague the President, however. The people no longer look to the White House for inspiration. The words may be majestic, but the White House no longer seems like such a bully pulpit these days. In criticizing the President's speech, the Boston Globe's David B. Wilson elucidated the reasons:

At such times, it is useful to consult original sources. The political purposes of the people of the United States are set forth with remarkable clarity in the Preamble to the Constitution.

They are 'to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings

of liberty to ourselves and our posterity...'

The phraseology, vaguely familiar from high school civics classes, retains a certain heroic ring. But how well, ask yourself, is the government doing in its attempts to accomplish these purposes?

The Union, far from becoming more perfect, is more riven by class, region, sex, generation, educational attainment and ideological disagreement than it has been since the Civil War.

Justice is as unavailable as it is indefinable. Domestic tranquility is as absent from the home as it is from the streets and marketplaces.

Provision for the common defense is not adequate and at the same time wasteful, and liberal analysts argue that it can somehow be achieved by issuing ampler welfare checks.

Instead of promoting the general welfare, the federal government is hell-bent on intervening to promote the welfare of some at the expense of others.

And as for the blessings of liberty, they are symbolized by the supermarket shopping cart overflowing with convenience foods. The notion of posterity is obsolescent, almost quaint, in a society that is elevating sterility and abortion to the status of human rights.

Those, of course, are one man's views, and though others' views of what is wrong with the republic may vary, they would probably support Wilson's contention that the Constitution's Preamble has not been fulfilled. Even President Ford noted some of these failures in his State of the Union address, e.g.:

---In our rush to accomplish great deeds quickly, we trampled on sound principles of restraint and endangered the rights of individuals.

---We unbalanced our economic system by the huge and unprecedented growth of federal expenditures and borrowing. And we were not totally honest with ourselves about how much these programs would cost and how we would pay for them.

---Finally, we shifted our emphasis from defense to domestic problems while our adversaries continued a massive buildup of arms.

Everyone, it seems, has their list of America's troubles. Those lists are considerably longer than the lists of solutions. What is more important, perhaps, is that the list of problems and the list of solutions do not jive in the public mind. Even those who may nod agreeably at presidential descriptions of hell may be equally skeptical about presidential prescriptions for heaven. The decline of the presidential pulpit has undermined such expectations.

"The people who study the electorate, not the Presidential candidates, in order to read the direction of American politics see a fog of futility setting in around the 1976 election," the New York Times' Christopher Lydon wrote recently. "Perhaps the central line on 1976 politics, in that context, is a falling curve of participation in voting. If the clear trend of modern elections continues this year, as many as half of the roughly 150 million eligible voters in the country will declare by not voting that they see no choice worth bothering to exercise." Skepticism has become a political weapon, notes Lydon: "Not for the first time but now more than ever, alienation and the anti-government theme are among the first strategic handles that candidates reach for. A practical question is whether voters are alienated by now from 'alienation' campaigns."

The President, for example, has called for "a new balance in our system of Federalism ---a balance that favors greater responsibility and freedom for the leaders of our state and local governments." To accomplish this, he has proposed a system of block grants to state governments, grouping 59 categorical grant programs into four block grant categories. The program would obviously give more latitude to state and local governments, but enthusiasm for the program is limited, and it is difficult to predict much legislative success. Nevertheless, there is little enthusiasm for any political solutions these days, regardless of their source. Skepticism is the reigning American ideology.

That skepticism benefits Ronald Reagan, who is generally considered to be without peer as a Chautauqua preacher. The fact that he has long had only one sermon is not seen as a drawback among his parishioners---who see that limiting attribute as evidence of the purity of his faith. Reagan, after all, makes up for the limits of his evangelical repertoire with the skill with which he delivers it. As the Elmer Gantry of politics, Reagan has always been strong on hell---the evils of Washington, D.C. and big government. As a non-resident of Sin City, Reagan can expound at length on the torments inflicted on the citizenry by tax-crazed bureaucrats. His advantage in the pulpit is that he is no reformed (if you discount his stint as a liberal Democrat) sinner, but a truly abstemious man who has avoided the lure of the Washington taxpots.

As a preacher to a dwindling congregation in the Republican Party, Reagan has the advantage of revivalism. He breathes fire into the faithful and the faithful say "amen." But can he convert the Democratic heathen? As the Washington Star's Jack Germond has observed: "... it has yet to be demonstrated what Ronald

Reagan offers as an alternative that might bring the Republican Party back to health. The conservatives always insist they represent the true majority that's out there somewhere. 'In your heart,' they said of Barry Goldwater 12 years ago, 'you know he's right.' But if the conservatives are right, why don't they win more elections? Why are so many of the notable long-time survivors in office the Bill Millikens and the Bob Rays and the Dan Evanses?"

GOP conservatives have argued that progressives have polluted the faith and driven out members of the congregation. The potential adherents for a conservative party, are there, they argue, but they need a strong fundamentalist institution to join. The conservatives thus ignore the theological gap between belief and practice for so-called "conservatives." Many of those who say they'd like government to exercise less control over their lives will also tremble in dismay when a decline in specific benefits is suggested.

In attempting to lure these voters, Reagan's sermonizing has three focal points: jokes on the evil life, citations of absurd government misconduct, and legions of statistics on the taxocracy running the country. No man in politics can mouth statistics the way Ronald Reagan does. Reagan's statistics somehow combine the sensuousness of pornography with the authenticity of neighborhood gossip. Reagan on statistics is like Billy Graham on sin. No matter that his statistics have a certain implausible quality when evaluated. New Republic's TRB reported the following incident in New Hampshire:

...At every appearance for two days I heard him tell audiences that the state sends '\$115 million' annually to Washington and gets back only '\$100 million' in services, so why wouldn't it be better, he asked in his frank, likable way, to just keep the money at home and save \$15 million?

At his final press conference on the trip, he was asked if that extra \$15 million didn't go into the Army, Navy, Air Force and interstate highways and wasn't it a bargain. Where did he get the statistic anyway?

Ronald Reagan registered complete surprise. He explained that he had 'never understood the thing that way' and that he couldn't remember where he got the figure. 'If I'm mistaken,' he said disarmingly, 'I stand corrected.' What more was there to say?

Reagan's hypnotic use of figures is clearest in the description he often gives of Russia as model for socialism: "a country with a land mass greater than our own, rich in natural resources, which produces more petroleum than we do, has 250,000,000 capable people and has been free to pursue the ultimate in communism the last 60 years." But, adds Reagan, to pursue

the communist model, America would have to "cut our paychecks 80 percent, send 33,000,000 people back to the farm, tear out 14 out of 15 of our telephones, 9 out of 10 miles of our railroad tracks, destroy 59,000,000 television sets and then find a capitalist country that would sell us wheat on credit so we wouldn't starve." The way Reagan tells it, his audiences can barely hold back the "amens."

Reagan's vision of hell is constructed of statistics, but his failure to produce a viable vision of heaven is his greatest failure as a possible President. At one point last September, Reagan came close---producing a plan for reducing federal spending by \$90 billion. The underlying assumption---that the path to a revitalized America lay in revitalized state-local government---was a good one. Reagan's error was not that he attempted to develop a governmental strategy to match his governmental rhetoric---but that his own governmental strategy was so superficially prepared that he was unable to defend himself to theological critics interested in procedural dogma. As a deviation from his one-sermon repertoire, the speech was ignored for months---until it became obvious that Reagan did indeed have a shot at the Presidency. Then, fueled by the intradenominational schism between Ford and Reagan, the press began to examine the doctrinal weaknesses of Reagan's plan. And they found considerable flaws---because Reagan as a political theologian lacks ideological depth. The obvious weakness of his plan is how the states will pay for the services they will now be responsible for if the Reagan plan will be adopted.

Having laid out his gospel, Reagan began to recant as he received pressure to explain it. Regarding the list of federal programs to be cut under his proposal, Reagan said: "I never did pay any attention to that list. That was just some stuff the economists gave me. I didn't even agree with all the things on that list." Added Reagan with something less than theological confidence, "You can't expect a man to have a plan all worked out in detail." Branded a heretic by the Ford camp, Reagan responded angrily: "I'm going to keep doing just what I'm doing, and put the monkey back and let those bastards in Washington tell me how they can keep on talking about decentralization and never come up with any way of doing it." The resulting confusion led Philadelphia Inquirer Editor Creed Black to write;

So there the matter rests, and anyone who is not confused must also have been able to understand the musings of Casey Stengel.

It's a pity, too, for the broad concept that I think Mr. Reagan is talking about deserves serious debate. But his weaving and bobbing have made that awfully difficult.

'It taught us a lesson,' a Reagan aide

told Newsweek. 'This is a presidential campaign, and we have to be much more cautious and carefully researched.'

Now there's a good idea. Here's hoping they don't change their minds on that one, too.

Confusingly for Republicans, President Ford's theology these days sounds unrefreshingly like Reagan's. His comments on government spending, abortion, school prayer, busing, and economic policy seem to place Ford and Reagan comfortably in the same pew. The problem for Ford and the GOP is that Ford has failed to articulate a vision of bicentennial renewal. The electorate, admittedly, is unresponsive these days, but the preacher can hardly blame the congregation for falling asleep.

Unfortunately, rather than be accused of theological pettiness, no Republican progressive entered the presidential contest this year. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller remains poised on the sidelines, long having sought the bully pulpit. Increasingly, however, Rockefeller seems like a preacher without a sermon or a congregation. For too long, Rockefeller has held tenaciously onto his position as pastor emeritus of the progressive flock, preventing more committed, less divisive politicians from rallying progressive enthusiasm. For a decade and a half, Rockefeller has told the progressive congregation that they needed him, while doing little to organize the congregation, preach new homilies, or attract new converts. As columnist Joseph Kraft commented in January on "the condition of the Republican progressives:"

...Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, the admitted leader of that pack, has been caught up in the chronic hangup of his family---the hangup between doing good and taking power.

If he were committed to doing good, he would underline his own differences with President Ford, and throw his patronage and support to another, younger Republican clearly qualified for the Presidency. That man is the Republican most forthright in asserting the weakness of the Ford Administration and the dangers of the Republican Right--- Sen. Charles Mathias of Maryland.

But the Vice President has not abandoned his own hopes for the White House. His leading political adviser keeps telling him that President Ford will be knocked out in the early running, leaving the way open for him to pick up the torch. So Mr. Rockefeller, despite truly outrageous treatment and serious policy differences, stays on as a leading Ford supporter.

Citing problems like unemployment, excesses by national security agencies, and urban decay, Mathias said of Ford's State of the

Union address: "He called on all of us to recognize both the best in our past and the best in our present, and I certainly share his vision of an America whose greatness transcends her troubles. But what is to me most remarkable about his message is not what it says, but what it leaves unsaid. Many of the most important issues of our times were either quickly brushed aside or not even referred to." Unfortunately for Mathias, he seems thus far to be a preacher without a congregation. He has the right message, but no one to whom to say it. Regrettably, what Mathias says has become decreasingly important.

Because what the President says is increasingly ignored, how the President acts has become increasingly important. The Knight and Ridder newspaper chains did a recent survey of images of presidential candidates and concluded: "But when it came to matching these images with candidates, personal appeal, decisiveness, and honesty made the most difference in determining support. They had far more to do with candidate selection than any single issue or combination of issues. The effect is so strong that many voters who do not agree with a candidate on the issues will misunderstand his position and think they agree with him---if they find him honest, appealing and decisive."

Meanwhile, the Democrats have had trouble generating their version of bicentennial revival. Their many candidates resemble so many street corner preachers, with messages so similar that it is difficult to tell them apart. The Democrats' most promising preacher is former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, who has been big on love in the country and heresy in Washington. Carter seems to believe that persistence and conviction pay off in politics as well as religion. So far, he's been right, but the thinness of his image of heaven is reminiscent of Reagan's. And if Carter falters, the Democrats can trot out their own ebullient pastor emeritus, Hubert Humphrey. Once almost excommunicated for his apostasy on Vietnam, Humphrey seems to be a chastened sinner these days. Whether even he can awaken the electorate remains to be seen.

Boredom as much as alienation characterizes that electorate. Surveying the Democratic presidential candidates in New Times magazine, Marshall Frady wrote: "Lurching out of all of this, we have struck on monotone and middling times, vacant of any great angers or passions or belief, made up of vague and meager presences, vague and meager matters having to do with little more than maintenance problems in the system. The general citizenry, one somehow senses, has lapsed into a massive ennui." ■

POLITICS: STATES

COLORADO

Colorado State Senate Chaplain Robert P. Dugan, Jr., had decided to do more than pray for the politicians. Dugan has announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination against freshman U.S. Rep. Tim Wirth (D-2nd). The 1st C.D. seat held by U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D) has drawn some less-prayerful interest. The best GOP bet is former regional ACTION director Ted Bryant, who served in the legislature before his stint as a Republican official. Also running are State Rep. Donald Friedman and rightwinger John Gonce.

INDIANA

The Indiana Senate primary looks like a three-way race for Republicans among former Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar, former Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb, and former Secretary of State Charles Hendricks. Whitcomb represents the party's hidebound conservatives who think Lugar and Gov. Otis Bowen, both moderate-conservatives, to be really "liberals." Although Bowen is apparently invulnerable to a challenge, Lugar is not. In 1974, it was then-U.S. Rep. Earl Landgrebe (R) who challenged Lugar for the GOP Senate nomination. Lugar narrowly lost to Sen. Birch Bayh (D) that year and is a better favorite this year against the much-weaker Sen. Vance Hartke (D), who is perceived to top everyone's list of vulnerable Democrats. Hartke topped arch-conservative U.S. Rep. Richard Roudebush (R) in 1970 by only 4,283 votes, a victory which was a tribute primarily to Roudebush's incompetence. Hartke could be in trouble for his own party's nomination if his organizational support crumbles. For the first time, Hartke will have a primary opponent, U.S. Rep. Philip H. Hayes (D), a freshman whose candidacy is a sign of the worry among Indiana Democrats about the effect that Hartke will have on their ticket. Despite Bowen's admitted strength in the state, three Democrats are running for the right to oppose him: Secretary of State Larry Conrad, State Sen. Robert Fair, and State Treasurer Jack L. New. Despite a sometimes-controversial and ambition-marred political career, Conrad is favored for the nomination. Sen. Bayh as the Democratic presidential nominee certainly wouldn't hurt him.

KANSAS

Kansas Republicans are sure they'll find a candidate to run against U.S. Rep. Martha Keys (D-2nd), but potential candidates keep turning the opportunity down. The GOP possibilities may be reluctant to get into the race until former U.S. Rep. William Roy (D), who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate in 1974 and is now back in the medical field, decides whether to enter the race. Roy, on the other hand, needs a good strong Republican candidate

as an excuse to get into the contest to preserve the seat for the Democrats. Keys, for her part, says, "No way I will abandon this race." Keys' divorce from the dean of the Kansas State University School of Education and subsequent remarriage to U.S. Rep. Andrew Jacobs (D-Ind.) was widely considered a potential impediment to reelection, but the marriage of divorced Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kansas) to Federal Trade Commissioner Mary Elizabeth Hanford may have blunted that argument. In fact, regarding the early efforts to dump her, Keys says, "The early publicity was very beneficial."

MAINE

Although everyone had counted on U.S. Rep. William Cohen (R) making the Senate race against Sen. Edmund Muskie (D), it looks like the GOP will have to settle for a candidate with more experience in running for the Senate. Robert A.G. Monks, who ran an expensive and disastrous campaign against Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R) in the 1972 Republican primary, announced January 22 that he would run against Muskie. Monks picked up on Muskie's reply to President Ford's State of the Union address and attacked Muskie as a big government spender: "I think the senior senator of Maine has become so immersed in the Washington bureaucracy that he hears what he wants to hear and then uses a national platform to tell the people of this country that he speaks for the people of Maine." Monks, 42, is a former state energy commissioner who now runs a corporation researching wood-based energy. Because Monks admitted in his campaign announcement that he was a decided underdog against Muskie, one reporter asked if Monks' campaign should be taken seriously. When Monks said "yes," the reporter indicated that answer was inadequate. Replied Monks: "You ask a stupid question, you get a stupid answer." Monks promises to have some freewheeling fun in running against Muskie. He was also seeking to get Hobart Harrington, an associate of independent conservative Gov. James Longley to be his campaign manager. Monks apparently intends to ape the Longley style in this campaign. Concluded Bangor Daily News political writer John S. Day: "One thing is certain. Robert A.G. Monks has loosened up his campaign style since his computerized campaign to dump former Sen. Margaret Chase Smith fizzled like a burnt out transistor four years ago. The last time reporters caught Monks' act in August, he was making solemn but dull speeches about energy, accompanied by his own television taping crew. Things are more free and easy now. If you're the overwhelming underdog, with nothing to lose except a little money, why not have a few laughs along the way?"

MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts GOP has solicited the candidacies of about 30 Republicans to run against Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D).

All but two decided they had more constructive occupations. The two still thinking about knocking Kennedy are former Rockefeller Foundation President John Knowles, formerly head of Massachusetts General Hospital, and Avi Nelson, a conservative radio talk show host, busing critic and television host who ran for Congress unsuccessfully in the 4th C.D. GOP primary in 1972. His media exposure garnered enough name recognition that Nelson was tempted to run for mayor of Boston in 1975.

NEW MEXICO Sen. Joseph Montoya is listed as number three on the GOP's list of vulnerable Democrats. At one point, the GOP was expected to choose its candidates from among astronaut Harrison Schmitt, former gubernatorial candidate Joe Skeen, retired businessman Orlando Gallegos, and former Senate candidate Anderson Carter. Gallegos has withdrawn, however, and Skeen's long delay in announcing his candidacy is seen as an indication he won't enter the race. Carter has lost the Senate race twice in the past and is now involved in Reagan's campaign as a Southwest coordinator so he is seen as an unlikely entrant. That leaves Schmitt, who retired from the space program to be a consulting geologist in New Mexico. He is now campaigning full-time and has set up an impressive organization of new political activists. Montoya's tax returns, his ineffective job on the Watergate committee, and his generally undistinguished performance in Washington make him seem more vulnerable in Washington than in New Mexico. With strong Nixon-Agnew support, Carter made a determined and unsuccessful bid to unseat him in 1970. Since then, Montoya has had six more years to build his political debts in the state.

PENNSYLVANIA In his election campaign last year, Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo promised to make "Attila the Hun look like a faggot" after his reelection. If he is trying to keep his promise, Rizzo isn't looking very macho these days. First, Rizzo has had to admit that the current budget contains a whopping \$80 million deficit, requiring a hefty hike in the property tax rate. But Rizzo himself did not make the announcement---leaving the bad news instead to an assistant to explain. Rizzo also has troubles trying to run the Democratic Party---specifically in ousting arch-foe Peter Camiel, chairman of the Democratic City Committee. The mayor is apparently several votes short of the two-thirds of the city committee he needs to recall Camiel so he is setting up a rival organization to supercede Camiel's structure. Considering the erratic loyalties of its leader, the name of the new Rizzo group is ironic: the Loyal Democratic Campaign Committee. The idea, according to a Rizzo aide, is that "Cam-

iel will preside over a splinter party with no money and no power to win elections." If Camiel manages to win reelection in June, Rizzo will be able to ignore him. He will also be in a position to demand concessions from a Camiel ally, Gov. Milton Shapp(D). Rizzo has already fielded his own, uncommitted slate of delegates in Philadelphia, thus threatening Shapp's goal of controlling a large majority of the Pennsylvania delegation to the Democratic National Convention. Rizzo's new organization is also in a position to threaten the senatorial ambitions of the U.S.Rep. William J.Green(D) of Philadelphia, who has announced for the seat held by Sen. Hugh Scott(R). With Lt.Gov. Ernest Kline and Auditor General Robert Casey out of the race, Rizzo might throw his support to another maverick mayor, Pittsburgh's Pete Flaherty(D). Meanwhile, Shapp seems to be cutting back his presidential campaign. He has problems enough in Harrisburg, where his state police commissioner faces perjury and conspiracy charges concerning altered records of state troopers charged with drunken driving.

TEXAS Once upon a time, a suit was filed in Federal District Court challenging the constitutionality of school prayer. The suit was filed on behalf of Bill Murray, son of Madalyn Murray O'Hair, and led to a Supreme Court decision banning school prayer. Now, the son of the controversial atheist is again in the news, this time as a conservative Republican candidate against U.S.Rep. J.J. Pickle(D-10th). Murray is billed as "a conservative, responsible businessman who is aware of the problems and the needs of those in Travis County." The Supreme Court may be unhappy to hear that Murray doesn't like busing.

UTAH Sen. Frank E. Moss(D) is one of those Democratic incumbents viewed as vulnerable this year. Lined up to challenge Moss is former Assistant Secretary of the Interior Jack W. Carlson, 42, who has also served as an assistant secretary of the air force and the defense department. Carlson's job in the Interior Department---concerned with energy and mineral policy---may offset a long absence from the state where he was a former student body president at the University of Utah. Carlson, however, may be joined by two other candidates, former U.S.Rep. Sherman Lloyd(R) and former White House assistant Desmond J. Barker, now an advertising executive. The GOP also believes it has its first realistic shot at the governorship in recent years if Gov. Calvin L. Rampton(D) decides not to seek a fourth term. Attorney General Vernon Romney(R) is considered a likely candidate, and U.S.Rep. Gunn McKay(D) is considered a possible one for the Democrats. State GOP

Chairman Richard Richards recently predicted that Republicans could capture the 1st C.D. seat with Davis County Commissioner Stan Smoot (R) and the 2nd C.D. seat now held by U.S. Rep. Allan T. Howe with State Sen. Douglas Bischoff (R).

WASHINGTON The GOP gubernatorial race is beginning to look like a three-way contest. Gov. Daniel Evans (R) is expected to announce in March whether he will seek election a fourth term. "The odds are strongly against" such a possibility, according to Seattle Times political writer Richard W. Larsen, but other observers aren't so sure. Already announced are two longtime antagonists in Seattle area politics: King County Executive John Spellman a moderate, and King County Assessor Harley Hoppe, a conservative. Prospects are for a bruising GOP primary. On the Democratic side, prospects include former Atomic Energy Commission Chairman Dixy Lee Ray, Lt. Gov. John Chersberg, Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman, and Everett Mayor Robert Anderson—as well as former Democratic gubernatorial aspirants Al Rosellini, Martin J. Durkan and James McDermott. Meanwhile, State Attorney General Slade Gorton (R) is not expected to wait and see if Sen. Henry Jackson (D) wins the Democratic presidential nomination to declare his Senate candidacy intentions. Gorton's announcement is due about the same time as Evans'.

WYOMING Attorney General Robert L. Woodahl (R) has announced his long-expected intention to run for governor against incumbent Thomas L. Judge (D). Woodahl, 44, who has served as attorney general since election in 1969, will be joined by running mate Antoinette Rosell for lieutenant governor. State Sen. Rosell, a Billings school guidance counselor, has served in the legislature for 16 years. Woodahl and Judge have long been at odds over the attorney general's investigation of a scandal in the state

workmen's compensation fund, a scandal which has touched Judge. Woodahl, however, was embarrassed in January by a mini-scandal involving his special prosecutors in the case. The chief prosecutor in the case placed a \$100 bet in a keno game where the legal state limit is 50 cents. The county district attorney, who is now an announced candidate for Woodahl's job, decided to press charges in the case. As a result, the chief prosecutor and his deputies were suspended from the workmen's compensation case, which even Woodahl admits is wearying the public. Judge himself has yet to announce his intention to seek reelection, perhaps waiting for an official declaration of Sen. Mike Mansfield's reelection candidacy, which is now expected to come in March. Meanwhile, former State Rep. John F. Tierney, 39, president of the Trust Corporation of Montana, has declared his candidacy for the Republican nomination. In 1975, Tierney created some controversy by organizing the Independent Movement in Great Falls in order to support candidates whose "independent thinking" was not represented by the two major parties. Asked what impact this flight from orthodoxy would have on his campaign, Tierney said, "Now, at least, in the Republican Party in Montana, there are openings for a divergence of opinion, which is essential for any political structure...I hope the Independent Movement was something that helped bring about the change in the Republican Party." Assuming that U.S. Rep. John Melcher (D) is blocked from a Senate run by Mansfield, he will be opposed by GOP businessman-rancher, Ron Marlenee, 40. And breaking another tradition, the Montana GOP replaced its Lincoln Day fundraiser with a rock concert program. Said State GOP Chairman Florence Haegen, "People have the impression that Republicans are a bunch of starchy old fogies, but we're not. And we are just trying to branch off into something a little different. This business of Lincoln Day dinners where everybody gets all duded up and you go and sit and hear a speech doesn't appeal the way it did 30 or 40 years ago."

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A poll by Darden Research Corporation of seven Deep South states in January gave Reagan a 43-38 percent lead over Ford. A January survey by NBC News reversed Reagan's 43-40 percent lead of December and gave Ford a 50-38 percent lead. Other recent developments follow.

Alabama: GOP convention delegates will be chosen in a May 4 primary, according to a recent decision of the GOP state committee—a move that is expected to help Reagan's drive in the state.

Florida: The Ford campaign in the state seems to have received nothing but negative publicity in the past month—with special criticism directed at U.S. Rep. Louis Frey's direction of the campaign and charges that Frey's gubernatorial ambitions have misdirected the campaign. As in the state as a whole, Ford and Reagan are said to be running about even in Miami's Dade County. Reagan forces have been concentrating on reregistering Democrats in congressional districts with sparse GOP registrations, reasoning that such efforts will have a high payoff in delegates on primary day.

Idaho: The state's attorney general, secretary of state and U.S. Rep. Steve Symms (R) are leading the Reagan drive in the state whereas Sen. James McClure and U.S. Rep. George Hansen have yet to announce their public preferences. Nevertheless, with the state's elected leadership leaning to Reagan, the voters seem to be leaning the same way. A radio station poll showed Reagan with a 3-2 lead over Ford.

Indiana: Neither a Ford nor a Reagan organization has really surfaced for this state's first presidential primary, but there are reports that Reagan's grassroots effort has a better start. The state leadership has so far been quiet.

Kansas: U.S. Rep. Larry Winn, Jr. (R) commented in late January that Reagan was leading Ford in Kansas because of a superior organization, led by former state GOP Chairman Don Concannon. Both GOP senators, Robert Dole and James Pearson, as well as Gov. Robert Bennett support Ford, however, and former Lt. Gov. Dave

Owen (R) is a Midwest Ford coordinator and has set up the state organization. There is some feeling among the state leadership, however, that the delegation might be primarily uncommitted.

Maine: Reagan is given the lead the February-March caucuses in the state, based on the organizational lead built up by Reagan chairman Charles Moreshead, a former state GOP chairman. Maine Republicans were so angered over the Ford Administration's treatment of former Gov. John Reed (R) that the state Ford chairman threatened to quit and U.S. Rep. David Emery (R) was reportedly tempted to back Reagan. Reed was ousted as a member of the National Transportation Safety Board and only later found a spot as ambassador to Sri Lanka. To add insult to injury, a former Democratic opponent of Reed's was appointed as a consultant in the Agriculture Department. (The Reed ouster may have been an effort to contain New Jersey Republicans since Webster Todd, Jr., son of the New Jersey state GOP chairman, was appointed to replace Reed.)

Massachusetts: The result of the Massachusetts primary may well hinge on the primary turnout, which is expected to be abysmally low. The results of the New Hampshire primary may generate needed momentum for Ford or Reagan. Organizationally, the Reagan campaign is near-nonexistent in the state, but it benefits from the existence of the conservative Republican REGRO organization. A 40-45 percent piece of the Republican vote is easily possible for Reagan. Had Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) left his name on the GOP ballot, he might have easily picked up 20 percent of the vote.

New Mexico: Both Sen. Pete Domenici (R) and U.S. Rep. Manuel Lujan (R) back Ford while state GOP party leaders are officially neutral. At present, the convention selection system is expected to produce a delegation which is about 2-1 for Ford.

Tennessee: Sen. Howard Baker, Jr., the honorary Ford chairman in the state, says he'll back Ford "so long as he is a viable candidate." A recent survey of the state GOP executive committee showed a 24-13 edge for Reagan. However, a straw vote of conservative Knox County Republicans showed Ford leading Reagan 328-262.

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