

THE RIPON

# FORUM

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## THE VIEW FROM HERE

### A LESSON IN PARTY ORGANIZATION

#### A Ripon Report on the Republican State Legislators' Association

Since Ohio's Ray C. Bliss assumed the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee, "organization" has become the official ideology of the Republican party. A year after Bliss' selection, a political analysis featured in *The Reporter* evaluated his "middle-of-the-road, brick-by-brick, non-ideological approach" as having accomplished a "minor political masterpiece."

This special Ripon report focuses on some of the most important organization bricks in the Republican party — the state legislators. It is a candid analysis of the Bliss approach in action and is printed in the FORUM to call to the attention of Republican leaders a valuable Republican resource that has hardly been tapped.

#### OUT OF DISASTER A NEW HOPE

Perhaps no group of Republican officeholders across the nation felt the impact of the Goldwater-Miller ticket more disastrously than Republican state legislators. Whole legislative majorities were wiped out by the Goldwater "undertow." For example, in Maine, Republicans controlled the State Senate by a margin of 29 to 5. After the election there were 29 Democrats and 5 Republicans! A 69 seat plurality was wiped out in the other house. In Iowa Republicans lost control of both houses as Democrats won an amazing 101 of 124 lower house seats and 35 of 50 state Senate seats. Over the entire United States Republicans lost some ninety upper house and almost 450 lower house seats. (See *Election '64: A Ripon Society Report*, January 1965.)

In the wake of this electoral disaster, the Republican State Legislators' Association was formed last year at the annual National Legislative Conference in Portland, Oregon with staff assistance from Frederick H. Sontag, a public relations and research consultant, through a grant made possible by Republicans for Progress (see FORUM, September-October 1965). RSLA attempted to fill an organizational void which the Republican National Committee had allowed to grow through its inattention for 18 years. For the first time, a mechanism was available for coordinating and exchanging legislative and practical campaign ideas among Republican state legislators. To Republicans concerned with rebuilding a shattered party, here was a priority

area for major investment. For it is from the ranks of state legislators that future Congressmen, Senators, Governors and national Republican leaders will and can come. It is these men who reflect, in the long run, which party truly is gaining grass-roots support.

#### SOLID PROGRESS

The energetic President of the Republican State Legislators' Association, Oregon House Speaker F. F. "Monte" Montgomery, moved deliberately to insure wide support within the party for the new association. He requested \$100,000 financial assistance and a three man full time staff from Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss as well as other Republican sources. At first no help was forthcoming from the RNC. During the past winter RSLA held a second meeting in Chicago. Congressmen Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.) and Donald Rumsfeld (R-Ill.) attended the sessions, lecturing, exploring mutual legislative concerns, and offering guidance to the state legislators. Chairman Bliss only telegraphed his best wishes on the closing day of the convention!

Montgomery took the initiative and then petitioned Bliss for membership on the top-level Republican Coordinating Committee. "Since our legislators make up the largest group of elected Republicans in the nation, we are eager to be more directly involved in the policy decisions of our party," he argued. The request was granted after national Republicans supported the idea. The Republican National Committee finally offered the Association limited staff and financial assistance and announced the establishment of a new State Legislators Division.

#### UNDER THE "ORGANIZA- TION" TENT

One continuing problem that concerned Speaker Montgomery was the woefully inadequate staff resources available to Republican state legislators in most of the country. Acting on his own initiative Montgomery circulated a draft proposal to members of the Coordinating Committee for the pooling of legislative staff across state lines, supported by local fund-raising efforts. When word of the memo reached Bliss, he promptly read Montgomery the riot act. There would be no independent fund raising. The state legislators were now to be under the RNC organ-

ization tent. All substantive policy and organization decisions would be made in Washington by Bliss or his aides.

On August 17, 1966 the Republican state legislators gathered at the Portland Club in Portland, Maine on the eve of the bi-partisan 1000 delegate National Legislative Conference. Ripon members were on hand to size up Speaker Montgomery and his legislators and to observe the sessions, that day and later in the week. The Republican National Committee lent its "full prestige" and organizational "muscle" to the first half of the first day of the meetings. Chairman Bliss headed the delegation, joined by John Hunger, newly appointed Director of the Arts and Sciences and the State Legislators Divisions, and Richard Fleming, Associate Director of Research. Also on hand was Thomas W. Benham, Vice President of Opinion Research Corporation, the firm which handles most of the RNC's polling.

### OUT OF TOUCH

The team delivered a series of speeches, Chairman Bliss and pollster Benham met with the press, and then departed before lunch. The overriding impression left by the National Committee staff was one of *a total lack of awareness of the practical problems of electing state legislators*. Chairman Bliss discussed Vietnam and national issues, citing frequently the pre-packaged policy statements of the Republican Coordinating Committee, but passed up an excellent opportunity to discuss inflation, referring the bewildered reporter to a position paper he had not seen. One New England legislator remarked, "I enjoyed the speech, but what has Vietnam got to do with my campaign?" On the organizational level, Bliss urged a new effort to win and register professional people, doctors, teachers and others with incomes over \$6000. He offered the state legislators no advice on how to get the vote of minority groups, labor, and suburban and city dwellers. One Republican Senator from a large city volunteered privately, "If I listened to Bliss I would be out of office in November." It took a blunt conservative state legislator, Rep. Don Ball of Lexington, Kentucky, to point out the importance of Republicans winning the Negro vote — citing the 1965 Republican win in Louisville.

The new Director of the RNC's State Legislators Division gave a few general remarks about his as yet undefined role and the possibilities for enlisting academic support for state legislators. Under the budgetary arrangements with the RNC, some \$5000 of the only \$12,500 allocated for RSLA support are earmarked for part of the Director's salary. It would seem logical for the Director to stay on hand for the entire four days of meetings — to meet and interview state legislators, to provide Republican legislators additional staff assistance and to learn from those who worked in Portland, Oregon in 1965. But, without explanation, he left before lunch to accompany Chairman Bliss back to Washington.

The Associate Director of Research for the RNC delivered a largely theoretical talk on organizational problems during the afternoon session. In the whole day of meetings the only presentation that emphasized practical local issues and how to sell them to voters with widely differing backgrounds was given, not by the National Committee staff, but by guest speaker Frederick Sontag. He discussed press relations, minority staffing, civil rights, and effective organization with the legislators.

### DEMOCRATIC JUGGERNAUT

The National Legislative Conference convened the next day, and the Republican state legislators absent any national staff or administrative support were pressed to the wall. Following the same strategy used at the National Governors Conference in Los Angeles in July (See FORUM, July, 1966) and the meeting of state attorneys general, the Democrats introduced a resolution of all out, whole hearted support for Johnson-Humphrey administration policies in Vietnam.

The Democrats came well prepared. Democrat Representative Ben Barnes, Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives, flew in a full staff of skilled aides and his own press men — occupying an entire set of suites — who kept the xerox machine humming. On hand to "guide" the Democratic legislators from Tuesday through Friday were National Administration leaders like former Governor Farris Bryant, Director of the Office of Emergency Planning of the White House staff and Budget Bureau officials. The Democratic juggernaut pounded out a barrage of statements, resolutions, and press releases.

RSLA leaders caucused for breakfast on the final day of the conference and approved a set of their own resolutions, drafted with moderate Republican assistance, on such topics as tax deductions for campaign contributions, improved mental health opportunities, highway safety programs, improved local-federal financial relationships, Selective Service reform, and increased minority staffing.

### REPUBLICAN COUNTER ON VIETNAM

The general Conference debate on Vietnam was the emotional and political peak of the four days of meetings. Republican leader Montgomery fought courageously to keep the resolution off the agenda on the grounds that it had no place in a conference of legislators discussing state issues — the same position taken by Governor George Romney of Michigan at the Los Angeles Governors Conference. Montgomery was subjected to a bitter personal attack by Oklahoma Democratic House Speaker J. D. McCarty, who accused Montgomery of bringing "petty Oregon politics" to this conference. In a ranting, demagogic speech, McCarty, as reported by the press, berated the "beatniks with long hair, the bearded guys, . . . and some of the eastern finks you send out to us because we have a low rate per hour at our colleges. . . . Too few people are ready to stand up and say 'I love America.'" Many came up to Montgomery and said they wished they had had the courage and freedom to speak and vote as he did but their local situations did not permit it.

Three Republican legislators; Rep. Rodney E. Ross of Bath, Maine; Sen. Robert R. Rigler, Iowa minority leader; and Lt. Gov. John Crutcher of Kansas; introduced a substitute resolution which avoided endorsing the Johnson Administration but called for reduction of waste, curtailment of public works, and holding down spending to help finance the war and stabilize the cost of living. The substitute Republican resolution was defeated and the Democratic resolution shouted through on a voice vote. Even striking reference to President Eisenhower's role as a supporter of the Vietnam war was blocked by the Democrats.

### AN OBJECT LESSON FOR REPUBLICANS

The Republican National Committee performance at Portland raises some serious questions that cannot lightly be dismissed. In spite of the well advertised public commitment of the

Republican National Chairman to the organizational efforts of the Republican State Legislators, most vital ingredients to success were missing. RNC staff were clearly not attuned to the interests and requirements of the state legislators. Their efforts, whether intended or not, appeared more for the purpose of staking organizational claim to the new association than for giving it meaningful assistance. One of the first principles of party organization is that of building a strong and dedicated base. Chairman Bliss did little here to help strengthen it.

The whole tone of the National Committee visit seemed geared to passing down the vague national organizational "word" rather than establishing a creative dialogue. The Chairman gave no indication that the state legislators might be able to give the National Committee and Republicans in Congress useful ideas and advice. This they could indeed do, Ripon found! The Republican legislators obviously feel that this is an important role. New Hampshire Senate President Stuart Lamprey advanced the idea of a Congress of legislative leaders through which the states could take an active role in advising the Congress what state leaders felt. Other legislators favored semiannual meetings of the national Republican leadership of each Congressional committee and the majority or minority House and Senate Republican leadership from the various states.

The Portland meetings revealed that there is a serious gap in the organizational efforts of the Republican national leadership — a gap in communications, in understanding, in sensitivity to the local base of the party, and in purpose.

Only fifteen years ago Republicans overwhelmingly controlled the state legislatures of the nation. Today the picture is reversed. While some gains will probably be registered by Republicans in the off-year state elections, this was the area of potentially the greatest Republican gains. It is now too late to mount the 1966 campaign effort that should have been at the top of the agenda for a creative, dynamic Republican National Committee.

Any gains Republican state legislators make this year can hardly be ascribed to the organizational genius and assistance of the Republican National Committee. It will be a tribute to the resourcefulness of individual state representatives and their local Republican organizations.

## PARTY RESPONSIBILITY

We should like to raise an interesting question prior to the November elections. Who is accountable for the performance of the out-of-power party during off-Presidential election years? During Presidential years the answer is clear. Each party has its convention nominees who, in turn, normally select their chief party deputies. In off years the President leads his party, but who answers for the performance of the opposition? Who are the guardians, the trustees of the party's heritage, resources, and most importantly, its future?

### ELECTION FORECAST

The authoritative, non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* has estimated, subject to all the uncertainties of Vietnam and other volatile issues, that Republicans will probably gain 2 Governorships, 2 Senate seats, and 27 House seats. If these estimates prove true the Republican party will have suffered, in perspective,

a defeat at the polls. Republicans start with 17 out of 50 Governors, 33 out of 100 Senators, and 140 out of 435 Congressmen. There is nowhere to go but up.

In *Election '64*, the Ripon Society analysis of the 1964 elections, we forecast that a revitalized Republican party could win in the 1966 elections 7 Governorships, 4 Senate seats, and 67 House seats. Since the Ripon report was published, President Johnson's popularity has taken a sharp drop and Vietnam and inflation have become major points of vulnerability for the Democrats. By most standards 1966 should be a big Republican year.

However, a gain of 27 seats in the House will not even restore the net 38 seat loss under the Goldwater-Miller ticket. The normal bounceback, out-party gain during off-Presidential years is 40 seats.

### A RIPON PROPOSAL

We propose that a top-level party committee composed of Republicans who have established their credentials at the polls review the organization and staffing of the various Republican campaign committees and the Republican National Committee immediately following the election and be empowered both to accept the resignations of these staff and to make appropriate replacements. The probable performance of 1966 is not an isolated event. In many ways it will be a repeat performance of 1964, 1962, 1960, and 1958. We believe that a full, open, and fair inquiry into the election machinery of the Republican party is essential. We are amazed at how a party that seeks to govern America more effectively and responsibly has so far avoided a fundamental examination of the staff organizations it has created to achieve this end.

## THE VOICE OF THE PARTY

In many ways *The New York Herald Tribune* has been the voice of the Republican party, an enlightened spokesman for a responsible, internationally oriented Republicanism. It has preserved the global vision and commitment of a Dwight D. Eisenhower. In its domestic reporting it has not hesitated to expose scandals in Albany that might hurt Republican legislators or a Republican administration. During the Kennedy and Johnson years, it has been one of the most effective Republican critics of the New Frontier and Great Society.

The passing of the *Trib* is a deep loss to the Republican party and to all Republicans. Former Ambassador John Hay Whitney has given much to the Republican Party but nothing more important than the intellectual power and devotion of time and energy that sustained the voice of the *Trib* for many months against the heaviest of odds.

The question remains now: who will assume the role — the authority and responsibility in Republican party affairs — that the *Tribune* has filled for decades without equal? Republicans in Congress have had no comment on the passing of the *Trib*. The pages of the *Congressional Record*, but for Democrats, are silent. Where, we ask, is the voice of the Party?

● A recent Gallup poll shows Governor George Romney of Michigan favored by more than 2 to 1 of the nation's college students over his closest rival for the Republican presidential nomination, Richard Nixon.

# POLITICAL SCENE

## C. R. O. SURVEYS 1968 CONVENTION

The Council of Republican Organizations has released the findings of a nationwide survey and analysis of potential "conservative" strength at the 1968 Republican National Convention. The survey was undertaken shortly after former Senator Goldwater predicted on national television that between seventy-five and eighty percent of the delegates to the 1968 convention would be conservatives.

"On the basis of the evidence from the past two years," CRO concludes "there is little reason to believe that the Republican party of 1968 and its national nominating convention will look much different from 1964. Whatever the justice of the situation, the burden of producing change in the Republican party after 1964 rests with moderate Republicans. We have forfeited fully one half of the time available to reshape the Republican party of 1968. Unless the performance of the next two years is dramatically improved, moderate Republicans will have failed once again to bring leadership to their party and their nation. The costs will be far greater than those incurred in 1964."

The Council of Republican Organizations is a coordinating and policy group for ten moderate Republican citizens, academic and professional, Negro, and labor organizations. CRO was founded in November 1964 to advance progressive Republicanism and strengthen the Republican party. The Ripon Society serves as the Secretariat for CRO.

The Council based its evaluation on ten major findings of the survey and coupled it with a call for a national conference of moderate Republican leaders following this November's elections.

### 1. NO MODERATE LEADER

No moderate Republican of national stature had exerted leadership or a sustained voice in national Republican affairs since 1964. On the other hand former Senator Goldwater has maintained an active national political role. Conservatives have already begun national promotion for Ronald Reagan, the Republican gubernatorial candidate in California.

### 2. "UNITY" HURTING MODERATES

The "unity" drive led by former Vice President Richard Nixon and the Republican National Committee under chairman Ray C. Bliss had seriously undercut the motivation of many moderate Republicans to fight for party control. In California, especially, the effectiveness of the moderate campaign to gain control of the state organization was fatally compromised when moderates accepted "Parkinson's Law" (State Chairman Gaylord B. Parkinson's injunction to speak no ill of a fellow Republican). Conservatives, on the other hand, have disregarded "unity" when it has served their purpose such as in the New York City mayoralty election in 1965, the New York gubernatorial contest, and some twenty Congressional races in New York state alone this fall.

### 2. PAROCHIAL CONCERN OF STATE GOP'S

Moderate Party leaders at the state level, who had been instrumental in electing Republican National Chairman Ray Bliss, had not provided continued attention and leadership to the national party organizations. "Parochialism of concern"

was seen to be one of the moderates' greatest weaknesses.

### 4. REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS FALTER

The Republican Governors' Association had failed since its reconstitution in December 1964 to develop an effective Washington office or national voice. The recent primary defeat of Governor Robert Smylie of Idaho, chairman of the RGA, by a conservative Republican was a serious blow to the Governors, who are not scheduled to meet again until mid-December. The possible election by then of Goldwater-conservative governors from California to Georgia, while small in number, would further limit the potential of the RGA as a base for moderate Republicans.

### 5. CONGRESSIONAL SETBACKS

In the Congress, moderate Republican Senators had developed no continuing liaison and Senator Thomas Kuchel's leadership position faces serious challenge. In the House of Representatives, Goldwater conservatives led by Congressman Melvin Laird of Wisconsin had consolidated control of new leadership posts gained after 1964 and threaten to gain more. The moderate Republican Wednesday Group has lost key members such as Congressmen Lindsay, Tupper, and Ellsworth. In virtually all the Congressional primary contests, with the exception of Michigan, former conservative Members of Congress attempting comebacks have defeated their moderate Republican opponents.

### 6. NO MODERATE SOUTHERN EFFORT

No moderate Republican organizational effort has begun in the South, which delivered Goldwater a nearly solid delegate vote in 1964. Two members of CRO, Republican Advance (now the Ripon Society of New Haven) and Republicans For Progress, have completed a thorough study of eleven Southern states. A preliminary report has been released and the full findings will shortly be published. The recommendations of the report have yet to be implemented by Party leaders.

### 7. CONSERVATIVE GAIN IN CALIFORNIA

The California delegation of some 100 votes is now all but delivered to the Reagan-conservative wing of the California Republican party. The California primary in 1968 affords a much greater hurdle to moderate Republicans than it did in 1964.

### 8. MODERATE DELEGATE PROBLEM

The 1964 and 1965 Republican electoral disasters in states oriented toward moderate Republicans, such as Connecticut, Maine, and New Jersey, impose heavy initial costs in building a reliable base of moderate Republican delegate strength. In 1964 Goldwater forces succeeded in eroding considerable delegate strength from the moderate states.

### 9. CONSERVATIVE BONUS POINTS

The rules of the 1968 convention will reward those states that were most strongly for Goldwater in 1964 and penalize those states that lost votes and Republican officeholders due to the Goldwater nomination. Moderate Republicans have lost strength proportionally on important Party bodies.

### 10. WEAK FINANCIAL RESOURCES

While moderate Republicans have built continuing organizations such as the Council of Republican Organizations, they still lack financial resources that begin to compare with con-

servative Republican groups. Resources have been a critical limiting factor in almost all moderate Republican organizational efforts.

In view of the survey, CRO welcomed the affiliation and support of all Republican groups interested in fighting for an open Republican National Convention and a progressive Republican platform.

It also announced that it will endorse a number of Republican candidates in the November elections, citing in advance the importance of the New York state elections.

### CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Council called for a national conference of moderate Republican leaders following the November elections to chart effective action prior to the 1968 convention.

It urged individual citizens to speak up and act in local, state, and national Party organizations and to write to CRO (CRO Secretariat, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Mass. 02138).

## WINNING THE NATIONS YOUTH

We have read some amazing statements from national Republican organizations since the Goldwater *avant-garde* seized control of the machinery in 1964. Yet the recent report on the National TAR (Teen Age Republicans) Program by National TAR Director Fulton Lewis, III taxes even our credulity.

### ALL THAT'S FIT TO READ

The report opens: "In order to further develop and stimulate political activity in this important age group, it is essential for TAR's to offer the teenager a sensible, stimulating, and attractive program." The national TAR office then offers "useful materials" on a request basis including: "National Chamber of Commerce Debate Kits and other materials; American Conservative Union Task Force Studies; House Committee on Un-American Activities reports and publications; NAM pamphlets; information on the 14 (b) issue from the National Right to Work Committee; Free Society Association Task Force Studies; and other assorted publications and books." We assume the Republican Coordinating Committee Task Force reports fall into this last category.

### NEW MEMBERS

A national TAR membership drive will tap a number of high school leadership groups including "anti-communist schools, . . . DAR Award recipients, . . . and Youth For Goldwater."

We find it hard to believe the responsible Republican leaders at the national level can permit documents such as this to be entertained seriously by a potentially valuable arm of the Republican organization.

THE RIPON SOCIETY is a Republican research and policy organization composed of young members of the business, professional and academic communities. The Society seeks to rally the energies and talents of thinking young people to the cause of constructive Republicanism. It strives to generate creative discussion which will produce a bold and persuasive Republican policy posture.

The Society seeks a broad base of financial support for its activities. It offers the following options to those who wish to subscribe to its publications and support its programs:

- Contributing member \$25 or more annually.
- Sustaining member \$100 or more annually.

## TAKING GOLDWATER SERIOUSLY

One of the fatal errors of Republican moderates is that they have not taken Barry Goldwater, or his supporters, very seriously. We have been listening to the former Senator carefully and would urge our readers to do so as well. The following quotes are, we feel, an accurate rendition of the *Goldwater* party line.

### ON THE REPUBLICAN MODERATES

"They have no leadership yet. They have no program. Now we conservatives lost the last election, no question about it; we're not offering excuses. We were Republicans who were willing to stand aside and see what could be done. Now organization-wise, I think Bliss is doing a fine job. But Bliss is not a leader; Bliss is an organization man; he's not supposed to be a leader. We had hoped that leadership would develop some place amongst this group who were so openly critical of the '64 candidate and campaign. We were perfectly willing to stand aside and say, 'Let's see what you have to offer, boys.' We're Republicans and we want to win just as badly as you do.' But up to now, about all I've heard them do is criticize the Republican party. —Interview with David S. Broder, *The New York Times*, June 19, 1966.

"[T]he vociferous . . . pestiferous little minority of liberals we have in the Republican party aren't going any place." —"Issues and Answers," July 24, 1966.

### ON THE 1968 CONVENTION AND NOMINEE

"If [Javits] thinks the make-up of the 1968 convention is going to be any different than it was in 1964, he's mistaken. . . . Between 75 and 80 percent of the 1968 convention will be conservatives." —"Face the Nation," May 15, 1966.

"The G.O.P. is busting for a new face. They like Nixon, but they'd like to have something new, and that frankly isn't around right now, except for fellows like Hatfield, Reagan and [Rep. Melvin] Laird. . . . Hatfield is a man Republicans can buy. . . . Mel Laird is another I keep getting back to. Now, he's not known, but among our legislators he is far and away the most brilliant. He just thinks all the time. You watch him on a TV show and you can hear the wheels going around. . . . Of course the big Knocker will be Reagan. If Reagan beats Brown, hell, there's a new ball game going." —Broder interview.

### ON GEORGE ROMNEY

"I don't believe the party will forget the fact that he took a walkout in 1964. I don't care how big he wins, or loses, in Michigan. It's going to be very difficult for people who worked their hearts out for the party to forget that this man took a powder in 1964 — without giving a reason." —*Human Events*, September 3, 1966.

### ON THE MEANING OF DEFEAT — 1964

"The only reason I can give for having attracted only 39 percent of the people who voted is the fact that it wasn't Barry Goldwater who was running — it was a caricature of him built by Governor Scranton and Governor Rockefeller in the primaries, and then aided and abetted by Romney, Kuchel, Keating, Javits, etc. in the general election. . . . I don't believe 1964 settled anything relative to conservatism and liberalism." —*Human Events*, September 3, 1966.

## FACTIONISM IN THE GRANITE STATE A Party in Search of a Leader

The battle for the New Hampshire Republican nomination for the United States Senate seat now held by Democrat Thomas McIntyre has exploded into a six-man slugfest reminiscent of the 1962 debacle which saw Congressman Perkins Bass win a bloody nomination fight in September only to lose to McIntyre in November.

### LEADERSHIP VACUUM

Since the death of Senator Styles Bridges, the New Hampshire Republican party has been like a ship without a captain, floundering on the rocks. The leading luminaries of the Party have failed to give it leadership. Senior Senator Norris Cotton has repeatedly avoided active and forthright leadership of the state apparatus. In 1962, both Congressional seats were held by Republicans. First District Representative Louis Wyman lost his seat after tying his campaign to Barry Goldwater and has been more interested in a political comeback than in controlling the state party. Representative James Cleveland, from the less populous Second District, barely won a second term in 1964 over a complete unknown and has devoted most of his energies to reestablishing his position in the district. The bitter Republican gubernatorial primaries and subsequent defeats of the Republican nominees since 1962 have precluded leadership from this quarter.

### THE RISE OF FACTIONS

This vacuum in state leadership has aided the development of strong factional blocs. In the heyday of Bridges' domination, the Party's elected officials represented all factions in the political spectrum. Today, these same factions are bitterly fighting each other for the Senate seat. The six announced candidates represent every possible shade of Republicanism. State Senate Majority Leader William Johnson of Hanover is a young, articulate and attractive spokesman for progressive, moderate Republicanism. Despite his relative youth, he has served not only as Senate Majority Leader, but also as State Republican Chairman. His youthful Kennedyesque vigor has a strong appeal to people tired of the same old bickering retreads whose names have been so repeatedly appearing in Republican primaries. His major drawback is that he is relatively unknown to the voters of the First District.

Former Governor Lane Dwinell, a moderate, is making his first political venture since retiring from the governorship in 1958. He hopes to project a dignified, "Senatorial" image, unblemished and untarnished by the bitter infighting of 1962 and 1964. Whether this approach can generate real voter enthusiasm is yet to be seen. In the eight years since Governor Dwinell last served in public office, a new and powerful generation of young voters has emerged to whom Lane Dwinell is just another Governor of a bygone day.

Harold Ayre, an early backer of Henry Cabot Lodge in the 1964 primary, is a political unknown who is given only an outside chance of winning the nomination.

Ex-Governor Wesley Powell (1958-62), who once entertained Vice-Presidential aspirations, is one of the most colorful and controversial men to have entered New Hampshire politics. His following, loyal but ever diminishing, is centered in the seacoast region. In a

six-man field, however, a strong turnout by pro-Powell people could give him the nomination. His appeal has always been a highly personal one, cutting across ideological lines. However, the bruises from his many bitter Republican primary fights have created so many enemies that a Powell victory might be a Pyrrhic one.

Retired Air Force Brigadier General Harrison Thyng is the protege of ultra-conservative editor William Loeb of the *Manchester Union Leader*. The General, a World War II and Korean War air ace, was given a tremendous build-up by the Loeb paper, the only statewide daily, but this has rebounded against him to some extent. There is a strong anti-Loeb feeling among a good many Granite State Republicans of all political shades. Furthermore, General Thyng hardly matches the Loeb-projected image of a tall, burly general in the MacArthur or Patton tradition. Many a voter might mistake him for a Manchester textile merchant. A great weakness which Thyng has yet to overcome is his lack of knowledge of matters specifically affecting the state.

The General's chances of victory appear to be diminished by the emergence of a sixth candidate, Dolores Bridges. Mrs. Bridges, widow of Senator Styles Bridges, is a conservative who will clearly draw support away from General Thyng. Anti-Loeb conservatives now have a choice in the primary. While it is unlikely that Mrs. Bridges will win the 30,000 votes she garnered in 1962 when she finished second to Congressman Bass in the Senatorial primary, the votes she does attract could, in this splintered field, mean the difference between victory and defeat for General Thyng.

### VIEWS ON VIETNAM

The Ripon FORUM was fortunate to obtain lengthy interviews with the two morning-line leaders, State Senator Johnson and General Thyng. Their policies differed sharply on several issues — most noticeably on the Vietnam conflict.

General Thyng, a pure bred "hawk," believes that the war "can be won with the proper application of United States air and naval power. . . . It can be done by conventional weapons in a short period of time. Military targets in Haiphong should be neutralized by the destruction of dock and harbor facilities. . . . Put out an ultimatum. Any ship (British or Russian) in the harbor after ten days will be subject to destruction." The General assured the FORUM that all Allied and Russian shipping would have been removed, but would not answer the question, "Do we sink them if they are not removed?" The General said he disagrees violently with politicians (i.e. constitutionally elected officials) running the war and he wants to see "military decisions put in military hands. We should have as competent people in the State Department and Congress as we have in the armed forces."

Senator Johnson considers himself an "owl," one who believes in looking cautiously at the situation before taking hasty action. He feels that the decision to escalate without consulting our allies was a mistake. "The minute we think we can stand alone in the world, we are mistaken and in serious trouble." Senator Johnson feels that there is no quick way to win the war. The Senator blasted the Johnson Administration's handling of the war, both in Vietnam and in the United States. He said, "The President has failed to provide us with strong leadership. . . . Never before in our history have the American people rejected a war where de-

cisive leadership was shown. The President has not told us the truth about our commitments or the truth about what is occurring in Vietnam."

## MCINTYRE VULNERABLE

At this point the political pundits are agreed that no one can forecast accurately who will come out on top of the Republican field. The winner will face Senator McIntyre, a vulnerable target. The Republican party, if it unites behind a candidate who can appeal to a majority of voters and not to only a small clique, can win back the Bridges seat. All the candidates have promised to support the nominee. What is needed is a strong campaigner whose programs are attuned to the 1960's and 1970's. While such a candidate may offend ultra-conservatives, he can accomplish the one thing that the New Hampshire Republican party has lacked for four years: victory in November. Republicans in other states would do well to watch New Hampshire for the lessons it will provide.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** More than one news commentary interpreted the Ripon FORUM July feature article on Republican Presidential politics as an endorsement of Ronald Reagan. Regular readers of the FORUM will know that we have received Mr. Reagan's "moderate" credentials with some disbelief. Before the Society makes any formal statement on his political future we shall have to be satisfied on a number of still unanswered questions about his basic commitments.

**SOUTHERN REPUBLICANISM AND THE NEW SOUTH**, a major report and analysis by John C. Topping, Jr., John R. Lazarek, and William H. Linder, is scheduled for release in September. The preliminary findings, which drew high editorial praise from columnists Evans and Novak, the *New York Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, among others, is described by Peter Lisagor of the *Chicago News* as a "blunt analysis of the Republican role in the South."

The book presents not only a broad overview of Southern politics and recommendations for creating dynamic Republicanism, but also a state-by-state analysis of the historical and present role of the local Republican party, its future prospects for electoral success, and its probability of adopting a racially moderate line.

Copies of the book are available from the Ripon Society office at a cost of \$2.00 per copy, plus 3 percent sales tax. Please make checks payable to "Southern Republicanism and the New South" and send them to the Ripon Society, P.O. Box 138, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

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## POLITICAL NOTES

● The national travels and organizational briefings by Robert Price, New York City Deputy Mayor and Lindsay political strategist, have stirred more than the usual amount of speculation. Informed observers read the Price peregrinations less as the beginnings of a Lindsay Presidential drive than as an effort of Price himself to build organizational support for the Republican National Chairmanship, when Ray Bliss steps down.

● The Delaware Republican Party has voted strong support for an open-housing law. Its new platform states, "We are firmly pledged to the principle of equality of opportunity in housing, guaranteed by law. We will continue to strive for meaningful and broad coverage legislation with provisions for injunctive relief by the courts and administration by the state."

● The Goldwaterite "syndicate" faction of the Young Republican National Federation has launched a major challenge to the leadership of Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss. At an August 13th meeting in Chicago the syndicate-controlled YRNF Executive Committee passed a resolution introduced by Peter Kohler of Wisconsin which dismissed the RNC's concern with the anti-Negro, antisemitic behavior of the New Jersey Rat Finks as "a weakness in . . . perspective." The resolution scored the "vacuum in leadership in the Republican Party" and suggested the RNC "should reward us by increasing [YR] representation to a minimum of three."

A special meeting of the YRNF Executive Committee for October 1st has been petitioned by 19 Southern YR's who want to reinstate Richard F. Plechner, self-admitted leader of the Rat Finks, as YRNF Vice President. The Southerners reportedly want to oust the two RNC senior members appointed by Chairman Bliss to sit *ex officio* on the YR Board.

● A little noticed Republican amendment to the current civil rights bill may prove to be one of the major accomplishments of the new legislation. The Mathias amendment {developed by Congressmen Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.) and Charles "Mac" Mathias (R-Md.)} would require the Attorney General to submit to Congress and to the President an annual report on enforcement of and activities undertaken pursuant to all civil rights legislation passed by Congress. Effective enforcement has been a new major concern of civil rights leaders.

● The August Gallup poll shows a startling shift of support from Johnson to Robert Kennedy. Johnson held February margins of 52 to 27% among Democrats and 30 to 27% among Independents. Current figures are Kennedy *over* Johnson 40 to 38 and 38 to 24 respectively. GOP tipsters now figure it an even bet that Kennedy will bid for the nomination in 1968.

● White House aide Robert E. Kintner, former president of NBC, will be the President's chief idea man and campaign coordinator this fall.

● The Reagan Republican unity campaign in California has run into serious trouble from unexpected quarters. Since the California primary, right wing financial backers of Reagan have fought a running battle with political-public relations advisors Spencer-Roberts for control of the campaign. Campaign staff hiring has been paralyzed and valuable weeks lost in co-opting key Christopher staff into the Reagan organization.

● A secret meeting of Richard Nixon with leaders from several conservative political organizations made the front page of *The Washington Post* on August 25th. "Lines of communication were opened that should be helpful later on," remarked one participant. Among the twenty-five or thirty attending were Rep. John Ashbrook (R-Ohio) from the American Conservative Union, Lynn Mote of the Free Society Association, Tom Huston of YAF, and William Rusher, frequent Nixon critic on *The National Review*.

● Democratic Congressman Ronald Brooks Cameron (D-Calif.) has labeled the Democratic National Committee "lazy, greedy and irresponsible" for accepting a \$12,000 contribution from J. Edward Martin of Los Angeles, a prominent John Birch Society chapter leader in Southern California. Martin and his brother Albert, big engineering contractors with the Federal Government, are listed as members of LBJ's elite President's Club.

● From the *Washington Star*, on the defeat of moderate Governor Robert Smylie: ". . . unmistakable evidence that the mastodon that led the party to ruin in 1964 is still around, and still strong enough to trample the political life out of an outstanding moderate."

● Republican Representative James Martin, the party's nominee for Governor of Alabama, is trying to gain votes on what is probably a sound but politically weak abstraction. Unless you defeat Wallace now, Wallace will run as a third party candidate in '68, thus helping President Johnson. The Wallace vote would split Republican chances of carrying the South. We assume the slogan is: "If not Martin in '66, then surely Johnson in '68."

● The Democrats in New York appear to be copying a Republican *tour de force*, snatching defeat out of the jaws of victory. The nomination of Frank O'Connor, a move which has alienated the Liberals, substantially brightens Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller's chances of victory. A Liberal candidate siphoning 300,000 to 400,000 votes from the Democrats could provide the vital margin in the Empire State.

● Despite President Johnson's recent stumping of Iowa, his popularity is heading toward a new low in that state. Any prominent Republican save Goldwater could now carry the state by a 3-to-2 margin.

● It appears that the war in Vietnam is dividing not only responsible opinion in the country, but the radical right as well. Slobodan Draskovich and Dr. Revilo P. Oliver, members of the Council of the John Birch Society, resigned from the JBS due to Robert Welch's all-out "win" and/or "withdraw" position.

● Strange, while Bobby Kennedy prepares to stump the nation for Kennedy Democrats, Vice President Humphrey is planning to help the divided and faltering New York Democratic Party.

● Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine plans to challenge one more Senate tradition — she aspires to become the first woman chairman of the Conference of all Republican Senators.

● Steve Hess, in his new volume *America's Political Dynasties*, concludes, "The precocious Brothers Kennedy will be a factor in politics for many years to come," and to drive home the point provides the following chart:

Presidential Election Years	Bob's Age	Ted's Age
1968	43	36
1972	47	40
1976	51	44
1980	55	48
1984	59	52
1988	63	56
1992	67	60

● According to *Congressional Quarterly* (see editorial above) "the Republicans' best chance to improve on the 27-seat gain currently projected would be to sweep the states with unusually large numbers of doubtful seats — Iowa with six, New York with five, the states of Georgia, Michigan, New Jersey and Ohio with four each, and California and Pennsylvania with three each." Congressional Republican strategists, however, are still whistling Dixie.

● Four conservative organizations will pool their efforts for 1966 and 1968. Barry Goldwater has sparked the new alliance by the Free Society Association, Americans for Constitutional Action, the American Conservative Union and the Young Americans for Freedom. "Continuing efforts will be made," according to Goldwater, "to provide over-all direction and purpose to the American conservative movement."

## QUOTE OF THE MONTH

Hugh Sidey in *Life Magazine*: "The tidal wave of young people which already has inundated education, altered fashions and literature, affected morals and music, changed our economics, is now being felt in presidential politics. Most of the impact comes directly and indirectly through Robert Francis Kennedy, the junior senator from New York, who is 40 but often acts and always looks younger. He has discovered the vast horde of young now marching on life, and like Balboa coming upon the Pacific, finds them beautiful and promising as far as the eye can see. He proposes to adopt them all for his very own and he pursues them from Oxford, Mississippi to Cape Town, South Africa. In the crowds along the streets he seeks them out, ignoring their parents if necessary. Onstage he literally turns his back on the adults to address the "future citizens" who crowd up to him with delight and devotion. . . . There is about all of it the smell of excitement and danger. Some political engineers of both parties go even further. There is a belief, now only vaguely formulated, that we have entered a unique no-nonsense era. That bumper crop of war babies which is just beginning to finish college and reach the traditional voting age of 21 — with its frightening amount of knowledge and its experience and its burning desire to set things right — wants more from the candidates than the familiar platitudes. "They don't want any more bull," says a somewhat troubled old politico.

"Population projections show that this country in the next half-dozen years is in for what may be the most profound change in the American electorate in a similar period in modern history. . . . By 1972 . . . 23.4 million will have passed the 21 year old mark, most of them eager to take their part in democracy's grand show. Indeed, by 1970 the Census Bureau figures show that 76% of the country's population will be under the age of 50. The country's median age of 26 or 27 will be the lowest in nearly 40 years — which is important not just for actual numbers but for the atmosphere and sense of youth it brings."