

Conservatives Capture Virginia GOP

At its June 3 State Convention, the Republican Party of Virginia rejected the moderate leadership of the state's first GOP Governor since Reconstruction by electing Richard D. Obenshain of Richmond as State Chairman. By almost a three-to-one margin, Obenshain ousted the incumbent Warren B. French, Jr. who has run the state Party's machinery since Linwood Holton was elected Governor in 1969. Holton had wanted French to be re-elected but, with so little political capital remaining within the Party, the Governor decided not to support openly his own candidate.

The Convention also nominated conservative Congressman William L. Scott to oppose Democratic Senator William B. Spong, Jr.. Although Virginia liberals who supported Spong in 1966 are disenchanted with his Senate performance, they will still back the incumbent, who has built a broad following in Virginia that should easily overwhelm Scott.

Since January, Obenshain had campaigned for State Chairman virtually full-time, promising to do a better job at the nuts-and-bolts aspects of the Party post. But the real thrust of Obenshain's campaign was ideological. Obenshain pledged that he would be a leading spokesman for more "traditional Republicans" and his campaign drew substantial financial support from conservatives and, it is rumored, Byrd Democrats. Stories circulating at the Convention put Obenshain's campaign expenses at \$40,000; certainly there was evidence — sophisticated mailings to the delegates and convention courtesies such as free transportation between downtown Roanoke and the convention hall — to indicate a large budget.

While Obenshain's stated objective is to attract to the GOP all Virginians who venerate the state's cherished traditions, his real goal is to capture the partisan support of the Byrd Democrats who have lost control of their own Party. (At the Democratic State Convention on June 9, liberals took over from conservatives the three main Party posts: State Chairman, Na-

tional Committeewoman and National Committeeman.) Republican moderates also fear that Obenshain will not run GOP candidates for all state offices and that he may use the chairmanship to launch another bid for public office. He has been defeated twice, in 1969 as the GOP nominee for Attorney General and in 1964 as a Congressional candidate.

But French and Holton were also in trouble because of their inability to repeat their 1969 state-wide victory in either the 1970 Senatorial campaign or the 1971 off-year election for Lt. Governor. In both cases, Holton was able to win the GOP nomination for a political friend and moderate, but independent candidates won the two elections and each time the Republican nominee placed a poor third.

Converting Byrd Democrats

In 1970, Democratic Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. decided not to seek his Party's nomination — he might not have gotten it — and ran for re-election as an independent. Republican conservatives wanted to nominate no one and to give the Party's informal support to Byrd; the objective was to convert Byrd Democrats to Republicans in Virginia and Byrd himself to a Republican in the U.S. Senate where, it was reasoned, his vote might produce a Republican majority. But Holton prevailed against Virginia conservatives and White House meddling, and the GOP nominated Ray Garland who won only 15 percent of the vote. In 1971, Henry E. Howell ran an independent, populist campaign for Lt. Governor winning with 40 percent of the vote, while GOP candidate George P. Shafran managed only 23 percent.

In addition to these defeats, some Republicans felt that Holton paid insufficient attention to the GOP's patronage needs and to general liaison work with the Party.

GOP conservatives were unhappy with Holton on ideological grounds as well. While President Nixon was appearing to promise a reversal of Supreme Court demands for de-

segregation of the public schools, Holton was attempting to soothe the way for an orderly transition. He sent his children to an integrated school in Richmond — even walking one of his daughters to the first day of classes — and publicly rejected a Constitutional Amendment to prohibit busing. In reality, even if he had wanted, there was little Holton could have done as Governor to halt the progress of integration in Virginia, and it was his refusal to engage in demagogic rhetoric that cost him conservative support.

A constitutional limitation preventing Holton from seeking a second term next year complicates the GOP future. Lt. Governor Howell will run for Governor — probably as a Democrat — and is considered the man to beat. The Republicans have several options: to run a candidate, such as conservative Congressman J. Kenneth Robinson or even Obenshain himself; to endorse the probable independent candidacy of former Democratic Governor Mills E. Godwin, Jr., as some Republicans recommend; or, in an any-price effort to defeat Howell, to support the Democratic nominee if the Lt. Governor runs as an independent.

None of these strategies has any significant hope of retaining the Governor's mansion for the GOP. Combined with Scott's senatorial defeat this fall, this could place the Party's conservatives in the same defensive posture that plagued Holton and French this spring.

Holton's dilemma is symptomatic of the problems facing moderate GOP Governors who really seek to govern their state in a responsible and progressive manner. Their political base within the Party is constantly under attack by conservative ideologues whose major interest is in controlling the Party, not winning elections. Further, their success in government and at the polls requires a moderation of tone and a willingness to accept realities. The tragedy in Virginia is that a Republican Party, with little real experience in government, was unable to come to grips with the responsibilities of holding public office. ■

People in Politics

● The Republican National Committee, through its counsel **Fred C. Scribner, Jr.**, has filed a notice of appeal on the District Court decision ruling unconstitutional the "bonus system" for allocating delegates to Republican National Conventions and ordering the 1972 Convention to adopt a new formula for 1976. The National Committee is appealing every preliminary motion as well as the substance of the decision which resulted from a law suit filed by the Ripon Society. The Society has filed a cross appeal, seeking a further clarification of the constitutionality of the state-wide (all-or-nothing) victory bonus.

A sampling of National Committee members indicates that they had not been consulted on the decision to appeal. This includes those on the "Rule 30" Subcommittee who have specific responsibility for developing the formula that will be presented to the Convention in Miami Beach this summer.

* * *

● On June 5, National Chairman **Bob Dole** sent a letter to members of the Republican National Committee cancelling the RNC meeting that had been tentatively scheduled for June 27 and 28 in Washington, D.C. and the meetings of the Rules and Arrangements Committees the day before. Dole indicated that since the RNC had held an emergency meeting in late April to change the site of the National Convention, many members felt it would be an additional hardship to hold another meeting so soon. (The April meeting was attended by less than one-third of the RNC members.) This means that the Rules Committee, which must consider delegate selection reforms and develop a new formula for allocating delegates to the 1976 National Convention, will not meet until August 15 in Miami Beach.

* * *

● Utah State Chairman **Kent Shearer** has summoned GOP leaders from other mountain states to a caucus in Salt Lake City on June 17 to discuss the formula for allocating delegates to the 1976 Republican National Convention. In his letter to GOP leaders in Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado, Shearer writes that, "I believe it imperative that representatives from Mountain States... meet to attempt to forge a strategy both legal and politically acceptable." Wyoming Chairman **David B. Kennedy**, who joined with Shearer in issuing the invitation, will chair the meeting.

Shearer has calculated that, unless his group can come up with a new formula, "representation from the Mountain States could shrink as much as from 110 to 74 delegates — a loss of 46 (sic) representing well over a one-third diminution." Looking ahead to 1976, Shearer is concerned: "This lessened impact would adversely affect our region's influence, not only upon the platform, but also upon the selection of a presidential candidate to succeed President Nixon." Because "any legal substitute for the present formula must, practically speaking, be advanced in Miami," Shearer has concluded that one "must be developed and sold to a majority of delegates as soon as possible."

* * *

● Virginia Congressman **Richard H. Poff**, who asked President Nixon not to nominate him to the Supreme Court because of the consequences of a bitter confirmation fight that was looming in the Senate, was nominated to his own state's Supreme Court by GOP Governor **Linwood Holton**. Poff is Holton's first high court nominee and will be the first Republican to serve there since Reconstruction.

* * *

● Manhattan Republican **Roy M. Goodman** was one of four New York State Senators to receive a perfect rating from the New York Civil Liberties Union. Goodman scored 100 percent on the 12 Senate roll calls on which the New York C.L.U. based its ratings for the 1972 legislative session. Governor **Nelson A. Rockefeller**, whom the C.L.U. said "almost single-handedly prevented the session from being a true civil-liberties disaster," was given a 75 percent rating.

● Rating the Governors in the largest ten states, **Neal R. Peirce**, author of the recently published book *The Megastates of America: People, Politics and Power in the Ten Great States* ranked Republican Governors **Nelson Rockefeller** of New York and **Richard Ogilvie** of Illinois first and second respectively. **Ronald Reagan** of California was edged out for the lowest spot by Democrat **Preston Smith** of Texas.

* * *

● The May 15th FORUM newsletter reported that in the Washington, D.C. GOP primary for non-voting delegate to Congress, **Dr. William Chin-Lee** lost to City Councilman **Jerry Moore** by 44 votes. The final ballot certification on May 23rd, however, gave the nomination to **Dr. Lee** by 17 votes.

* * *

● At his confirmation hearing before the Senate Finance Committee, Treasury Secretary **George P. Shultz** testified that he still favored a tariff on oil imports rather than the existing quota system. In the early years of the Nixon Administration, Shultz headed a cabinet level task force, whose recommendation to replace the quotas with a tariff was rejected. Shultz also indicated he was more concerned about the environmental complications of transporting oil than he was about the need to provide the oil industry with incentives to explore for new reserves — this objective being the basis for the oil depletion allowance.

* * *

● **John Mitchell** has said he expects Southern Democratic Congressmen "turning over and joining the Republicans under certain circumstances" this year. If the President runs a right-wing campaign against **George McGovern**, this might well be possible, though the losses of GOP moderates across the country will more than offset these gains.

* * *

● **Arthur Finkelstein** is the newest conservative political theorist advocating the revolving door strategy for the GOP. An apprentice of **F. Clifton White**, Finkelstein introduces himself as "the **Kevin Phillips** of 1972." Currently he is working for the Committee to Re-elect the President and advocates that the Republican Party discard its traditional constituency of moderate, upper and middle income front-lash voters, for conservative working-class Catholics.

* * *

● Ohio Republicans have finally selected a chairman to head the Nixon re-election campaign in the state. The appointment of **Charles D. Ross**, the able Montgomery County (Dayton) Chairman, was announced in Washington in late May at a unity session attended by Senators **Robert Taft, Jr.** and **William B. Saxbe**, former Governor **James A. Rhodes**, National Committeeman **Ray Bliss**, and Nixon Campaign Chairman **John Mitchell**. Although Ross was Taft's preference for the post, he was accepted by Rhodes, whom Taft defeated in the bitter 1970 senatorial primary.

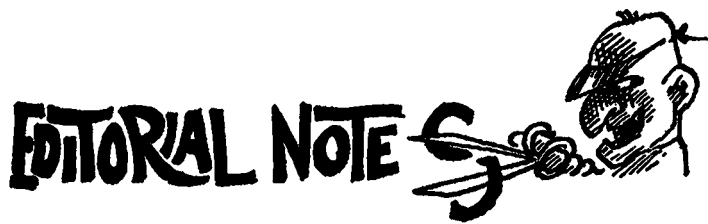
* * *

● Before he dropped out as an active contender, Congressman **Paul N. McCloskey** received the highest rating among presidential candidates from the League of Conservation Voters, a national non-partisan campaign organization. The League said that McCloskey's "major domestic concern has always been protecting the environment and despite low seniority he has shown an impressive ability to influence environmental legislation." The President received a mixed report with good ratings on park and wildlife issues, but a poor rating on water and air pollution, solid-waste, pesticides, energy problems and inner city deterioration. The report said Senator **George McGovern** "can be counted on to take the right position on virtually every environmental issue, but he often misses committee hearings and most conservationists feel he could do more than he has."

* * *

● New Haven Ripon chapter president, **Peter V. Baugher**, has joined the White House staff for the summer as assistant to **John W. Dean**, Counsel to the President. Baugher expects to do some campaign speaking for President Nixon after he returns to Yale Law School in the fall.

Detroit chapter president, **Dennis L. Gibson, Jr.**, is one of the area co-chairmen for Michigan on the National Black Committee for the Re-election of the President.



Party Reform

Republicans have been smugly watching as the party reforms enacted at the 1968 Democratic National Convention encourage fierce intra-party battles in 1972. George McGovern, who wrote the rules, is on the verge of capturing the Democratic nomination to the consternation — and in some cases over the dead political bodies — of most party regulars. The legitimacy of Richard Daley's Chicago delegation is being challenged as is the Mayor's attempt to add more at-large delegates to the Illinois delegation. But no one is immune. In California, Hubert Humphrey partisans are questioning whether, under the McGovern Commission guidelines which outlaw the unit rule, candidate McGovern can win all 271 delegates when he captured only 45 percent of the Democratic primary vote. And in New York, the Democratic State Committee's Primary Commission has criticized McGovern's delegate slates for having too few women, blacks and Puerto Ricans.

In 18 states, unhappy Democrats have filed delegate credential challenges or notices of challenges. By next month the Democratic Party's Credentials Committee may be forced to rule on credential challenges for half the states. Still, given that the McGovern rules were adopted only two years ago, the Democratic Party's efforts to have the 50 state parties comply with the new procedures for selecting delegates have gone well. The Democratic Convention may appear tumultuous, for in the eyes of Republicans they always are and this one will be no different.

But Republicans ought not be too smug. For the new rules have opened the Democratic Party in a way that has attracted legions of voters across the country. The Democratic Party has been "where the action is," not merely because it had a real decision to make on its presidential nominee, but also because there was a real opportunity to influence that decision.

Here the caucus system was ingenious. It got people involved in selecting the Democratic presidential candidate at the grass-roots level. Even if their name wasn't mentioned in a wire service story covering a precinct caucus in a Des Moines living room, thousands of people across the country felt they were part of the nominating process and, as a result, became committed to the Democratic Party.

In California, between January 1 and April 13,

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 Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen 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., 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid at Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1972 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine 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 Republican 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 \$10 a year, \$5 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$10 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: George Gilder
Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, Howard Reiter.
Circulation Dept.: Judith H. Behn.
Art: Leslie Morrill, David Omar White.
Special Editor for this issue: Robert D. Behn.

those registering to vote opted for the Democratic Party in nearly a three-to-one ratio. During these three-and-a-half months, 400,000 more people selected the Democratic Party than the GOP, a margin that is nearly double President Nixon's 1968 winning California plurality of 223,000 votes. Clearly, being "where the action is" has not hurt Democratic registration.

Republican delegates watching the Democratic Convention on their televisions in July, will recoil in horror at the disorder the McGovern Commission's reforms have brought. They will go to Miami Beach in August even more determined not to repeat the "mistakes" made by the Democrats.

But the Democrats have not made a mistake. They have been willing to risk the difficulties of diversity and conflict for the benefits of involvement and commitment. If the Republican Party is ever to become the majority party, it must first become an "open party." The 1972 GOP delegates may feel comfortable in the controlled environment of the Republican Convention. But unless these delegates can send a message to the electorate that they welcome grass-roots participation in the GOP and will respond to it, the Party they control will continue to dwindle. ■

Building the GOP

While the McGovern presidential campaign is making headlines with the thorough and successful fundraising it has done through the mails, the GOP has quietly built its own direct-mail operation. In 1971, for example, the Republican National Finance Committee received 250,000 contributions, averaging \$16.

Those who contribute \$25 or more, receive a subscription to the Republican National Committee's weekly newsletter *Monday*. If, after you have read *Human Events*, *Battle Line* and *National Review*, you still have questions about the official conservative line, *Monday* is just the thing. But if you are a moderate Republican, *Monday* may only convince you not to contribute to the Party next year. It is appropriate for political parties to have publications to rally the troops — but *Monday's* editors are only interested in rallying conservatives.

A separate fundraising operation is run by the National Republican Congressional Committee — though they have been less subtle about their ideological preferences. Indeed, they are advertising that it is all right to contribute to conservative candidates even if they aren't Republicans.

A recent fundraising appeal from Congressman Bob Wilson, Chairman of the Committee, is headlined, "You may be helping elect liberals . . . (without knowing it)." Not an unusual pitch for the conservative-dominated Congressional campaign committee which makes extensive use of conservative mailing lists and which has been less than generous in its support of progressive Republican candidates.

But this letter carries the ideological emphasis even further: "You have a right to help conservative candidates, not Republican, of course." That is, the Republican Congressional Committee isn't too concerned if you give to the Democrats as long as they are conservative Democrats. The only point that Wilson's letter hastens to add is that "you are not realistic if you do." After all, asks the mailing, "How many Democrats would vote to oppose busing?"

In 1964, the voters sent the Republican Party a message. They said that when the GOP attempts to win elections by using a narrowly conservative ideological line, the result will be a Democratic landslide. Some have never learned. ■

posed upon the Massachusetts Republican Party a series of State Chairmen whose job was to maintain the GOP in hibernation. In sharp contrast to the well-funded Sargent Committee, the Republican State Committee has been continually in debt since Sargent became Governor, and has neither recruited candidates, nor provided those who decided to run with any meaningful technical or financial assistance. Last fall, Sargent was unable to get his candidate for State Chairman elected, but the Committee was deadlocked and many weeks later Sargent pushed another candidate through. In May a new and more hostile State Committee elected a conservative, and very anti-Sargent Chairman.

Many conservative Republicans are, of course, angry with Sargent because of his disagreements with President Nixon and his progressive stands on state issues. But the progressives are unhappy too. While Sargent has been the titular head of the Massachusetts GOP for over three years, he has done nothing to build a viable Party that can nominate and elect Republicans who will support his progressive policy proposals.

No Deep Party Loyalty

After his 1970 election triumph, Sargent toured the state by helicopter, pledging to the Party faithful that he would work to rebuild the Party and introducing his Lt. Governor, Donald R. Dwight, as the man to do the job. But Sargent is not a man who labored many years for the GOP or came up through the Party ranks. Before Volpe had Sargent nominated as Lt. Governor in 1966, Sargent's only experience with elective politics was a defeat suffered in a primary for the State Senate. Both Sargent and Dwight were appointed to their first administrative positions in state government by a Democratic Governor. Thus Sargent holds no deep loyalty to his Party, nor an appreciation for the role of political parties in the governing process.

Sargent's staff is composed primarily of Democrats who have no interest in building the GOP. Several of his cabinet Secretaries are Democrats, who continue to engage in partisan politics, and at the Assistant Secretary level, where one might expect to find Sargent building the GOP of the future, Republicans are also scarce. In fact, one Assistant Secretary is the man who did the anti-Sargent research for Kevin White during the 1970 campaign. Certainly, Sargent is providing little incentive for those interested in politics or state government to become Republicans.

(Recently, to refute the charge that he was appointing too many Democrats, Sargent released a survey showing half of his appointments since January 1969 going to Republicans and one-third to Democrats.)

This year, the GOP leadership in the House of Representatives has organized an effort to elect more Republicans to the legislature. Francis W. Hatch, Jr., the Minority Leader, is recruiting candidates and providing them with technical and financial assistance. In neither house do the Republicans hold the one-third of the seats necessary to sustain a gubernatorial veto. Consequently, the GOP campaign is named SAVE, for "Sustain A Veto," though the Governor has demonstrated little interest in the project.

The failure of the Governor to provide any meaningful support for the Republicans in the legislature has cost him support in return. Last month, for example, Hatch spearheaded a successful effort to reduce some items in the Governor's recommended budget for fiscal 1973. In Massachusetts, the Constitu-

tion requires that the budget be balanced; the House Republicans believed the one submitted by the Governor might have been as much as \$165 million in deficit. On the budget cuts, all but one of the 59 GOP Representatives voted with Hatch against the Governor.

This month even the usually agreeable GOP Senate delegation took Sargent to task publicly, initiating an investigation into the firing of the popular Executive Director of the Consumer's Council, who had charged the Sargent Administration with misrepresenting the public interest in a telephone company rate hike case.

Sargent now appears bored with his role as Governor. He has an easy time using the legislature to score points with the public, but there are few opportunities available, like the 1970 Convention fight to nominate Sargent's running mate, in which the Governor can use the weight of his office to twist arms, and emerge victorious. Sargent will campaign vigorously for Nixon this fall, probably looking for a Washington appointment next January. It would appear that he will run for Governor again in 1974 only if he has nothing else to do.

But dissatisfaction within the GOP has both conservatives and progressives talking about the possibility of HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson returning to Massachusetts in 1974 to challenge Sargent for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. The thought of these two Yankees ignoring the traditional GOP ethic against bruising intra-party battles is incomprehensible. But Sargent needs to be reminded of how the loss of crucial Republican support cost Governor John Volpe his re-election bid in 1962. Unless Sargent begins to mend his Party fences — unless he devotes his full resources to GOP candidates this fall — he may spend the winter of 1974-75 skiing rather than scoring points on the legislature. ■

Political Calendar

● JUNE

- 20 NEW YORK PRESIDENTIAL, CONGRESSIONAL AND STATE PRIMARY
- 24 Boston, Mass. (John B. Hynes Civic Auditorium): Massachusetts Republican State Convention.
- 25-28 Lake Tahoe, Nevada (Sahara Tahoe Hotel): National Association of Attorneys General Annual Meeting
- 25-28 Bismarck, N.D. (Holiday Inn): Midwestern Governors Annual Conference
- 27 MISSISSIPPI AND SOUTH CAROLINA STATE PRIMARY RUNOFFS
- 29-July 2 Washington, D.C. (Marriott Twin Bridges Hotel): 1972 Candidates Conference sponsored by the National Republican Congressional Committee

● JULY

- 11 ARKANSAS STATE PRIMARY RUNOFF
- 17-20 Eastern Conference of the Council of State Governments Annual Meeting (Rep. and Dem.)
- 25-28 Southern Conference of the Council of State Governments Annual Meeting
- 30-August 2 French Lick, Indiana (French Lick Sheraton): Midwestern Regional Conference of Attorneys General Annual Meeting (Rep. and Dem.)

Contributions to the calendar are welcome; please send notices of events to:

Ripon Political Calendar
Suite 5E
355 East 72 St.
New York, NY 10021

Sargent in Trouble with Mass. GOP

With the Massachusetts electorate, Francis W. Sargent maintains the same high standing that elected him Governor in November 1970. When John A. Volpe joined the Nixon Administration in January 1969, Lt. Governor Sargent moved up to become Governor. Then in 1970, Sargent won his own full four-year term by over a quarter of a million votes — the largest plurality in Massachusetts' history — even carrying Boston against its Mayor, Kevin H. White, the Democratic nominee.

One-and-a-half years later, Sargent's own polls still show his state-wide popularity matching that of Edward M. Kennedy — though it does not equal Senator Edward W. Brooke's rating nor his own popularity in 1970. (Sargent: Approve 60 percent, Disapprove 25 percent; Kennedy: 61 percent, 27 percent; Brooke: 72 percent, 11 percent; Sargent in 1970: 70 percent, 17 percent.) His continued popularity is significant because, unlike the two Senators, Sargent has the responsibility for raising taxes and administering welfare. And though a recent front-page article in the *Boston Sunday Globe* concluded that "Summer 1972 finds the Republican Governor in serious trouble," his popularity polls attest to the political skill of the easy-going, jovial Governor.

The Sargent technique for remaining on top in a state and in a State House dominated by Democrats is quite simple: pre-empt all the Democrats' issues. In 1969, for example, all the Democratic gubernatorial aspirants — and Kevin White in particular — launched their campaigns against the Nixon-Sargent Administration. But Sargent would have none of that and staked out a position independent of the Republican Administration in Washington — particularly on the War. He addressed a *Moratorium Day* rally in October 1969 and — after much silence and tension — signed the bill testing the constitutionality of sending Americans to fight in Vietnam without a Congressional declaration of war. By the fall of 1970, the Massachusetts voters had an impression of the Sargent Administration that was so distinct from their image of the Nixon Administration, that Kevin White no longer attempted to link the two.

More recently, Sargent pre-empted another Democratic issue: reporting political contributions. Even though he does not stand for re-election until 1974, Sargent has used the power of his office to raise funds, not for his Party, but for himself. Between January 1971 and March 1972, 200 individuals paid their \$500 dues to the Governor's Club. With Common Cause and other reform groups pressing for full disclosure, and with an Associated Press reporter publishing a list of judicial appointees who had contributed to Sargent's 1970 campaign, the Democrats seized the initiative and demanded that Sargent disclose who was contributing to his political fund.

So Sargent did just that. He took to state-wide television to announce that he was filing the complete list of his contributors with the Secretary of State; to announce that he would file legislation requiring full disclosure of all off-year political contributions; to call on the Democratic leadership in the legislature to speed its enactment; and to ask if anyone really thought they could buy a judgeship for \$100.

The results? First, the Democrats lost an issue; indeed they found themselves embarrassed because their own secretive fundraising seemed dependent upon State House lobbyists. Second, the Massachusetts electorate again saw their reform-minded Governor

speaking out forthrightly on an important public issue and doing battle with everyone's favorite whipping boy, the Democratic-dominated legislature.

Indeed, Sargent has become a master at using the legislature as a foil to boost his own personal popularity. Sargent picks his fights with the legislature carefully, but whether he wins or loses, he scores points with the electorate.

In 1970, the League of Women Voters undertook a campaign to reduce the number of seats in the House of Representatives from 240 to 160. Sargent cleverly sided with the reformers on the "House Cut," for the self-interest of every Representative dictated he vote against enlarging his district and the possibility of running against another incumbent. Support was needed from one-quarter of the legislators to place the question on the November ballot as a referendum item, and the Speaker of the House held the voting open while he personally lobbied on the floor of the House to switch the one last vote needed to defeat the "House Cut."

It was a high-point for Sargent in 1970, with the Democratic legislative leaders resorting to high-pressure tactics, while the Governor was waging a clean battle for reform. But, significantly, Sargent would also have won if the legislature had, instead, voted to place the "House Cut" question on the November ballot. For then the Governor would have not only won a key test of strength over the legislative leadership, but he would also have had a reform issue on which to campaign state-wide during the fall.

Exposure on the 6:00 News

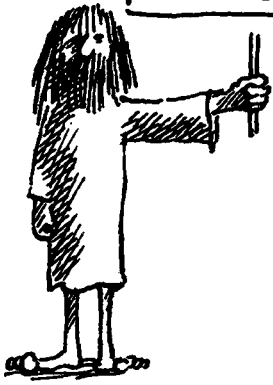
Sargent's battles with the Democrats in the legislature should not be compared with President Nixon's disagreements with the Democrats in the United States Senate. Certainly, the conflict that is inherent between the legislative and executive branches of government is reflected in Governor Sargent's clashes with the Massachusetts legislature. But these disagreements derive little from a philosophical commitment by Sargent to a strong-executive form of state government, or from his personal commitment to progressive positions on particular policy needs. Nixon clashes with the Senate doves, both Republicans and Democrats, because they disagree on how the War should be ended and on Congress's role in ending it. Sargent clashes with the legislature because it gives him good exposure on the six o'clock news.

It is because Sargent can continually and successfully take his political message directly to the people, that he has concluded that the Republican Party is a minor annoyance to be kept out of public sight, and hopefully out of the public's mind as well. In addition, Sargent has concluded that, whenever it is really necessary, he can control the vote at any GOP meeting.

In 1970, Sargent was able to switch to a new candidate for Lt. Governor only ten days before the State Convention and still see his choice nominated by a wide margin. Sargent read this Convention victory as a testimony to his own personal popularity within the Party rather than to the overwhelming power of his office. Sargent's original choice for his running mate invested over a year's work at the town and ward committee level and this organization remained to help Sargent put the second candidate across.

Convinced that his own political future did not depend upon the GOP and that whenever necessary he could use it for his own purposes, Sargent has im-

CALIFORNIA CORNER



● Rep. Paul N. McCloskey has won renomination to Congress from the new 17th Congressional District which includes only a quarter of the voters from the old 11th District which McCloskey has represented since 1967. McCloskey was opposed in the GOP primary by two conservatives: Dr. Royce M. Cole, had the endorsement of the right wing United Republicans of California; and Robert Barry, a three-term Congressman from New York who moved to Southern California, lost one Congressional race to John V. Tunney and then moved north only to lose twice to McCloskey in 1967 and 1968. During the primary campaign, Cole referred to himself as a "Loyal Republican" and Barry to himself as the "Real Republican," but McCloskey merely called them "those two turkeys."

McCloskey won 44 percent of the primary vote, and the decision of the Nixon Administration not to ask one of the two challengers to withdraw may have been crucial to McCloskey's renomination. The Democratic nominee is James Stewart, a 34 year old attorney, who is friendly enough with the incumbent to make a congratulatory speech at McCloskey's victory party. Stewart originally entered the Democratic primary just in case McCloskey did not get the GOP nomination; now, however, Stewart plans to wage a campaign emphasizing domestic issues on which, he says, McCloskey agrees with President Nixon. With voter registration in the district favoring the Democrats, 112,000 to 77,000, McCloskey faces another fight in November.

* * *

● The weekend before the primary, Los Angeles Congressman Alphonzo Bell, a vigorous supporter of President Nixon's Vietnam policies, endorsed and campaigned for McCloskey. Said Bell, "The Republican Party, if it is to continue to be strong, has got to be big enough to tolerate dissent."

* * *

● At the June 3 Convention of the California Republican League, HEW Secretary Elliot L. Richardson was surprised to see Peter Ehrlichman, son of Presidential Assistant John Ehrlichman, wearing a McCloskey for Congress button. McCloskey and the senior Ehrlichman both have homes in McLean, Virginia, and until McCloskey began attacking Nixon on the War, the Congressman would hitch a ride to Capitol Hill each morning in Ehrlichman's White House car.

* * *

● Republican State Chairman Putnam Livermore is planning a statewide, voter registration drive for the summer and fall. The reason is obvious: of the 9.1 million Californians who were registered to vote in the June 6th primary, only 3.39 million were registered as Republicans. This is down from the 3.47 million Republicans who were registered to vote in November 1970. In contrast, the Democrats have won the loyalty of 5.13 million voters giving them a 56 percent share of the electorate. GOP registration has now slipped below the low water mark of 38 percent established in 1958 when the GOP lost the governorship, a U.S. Senate seat and three Congressional seats.

The decline in Republican registration is attributed in part to the new young voters, though in 1971 when the Twenty-sixth Amendment was adopted to permit 18-year-olds to vote, it appears the GOP leadership decided to write them off. This year, between January and April 13, when registration closed for the primary, 668,000 voters registered as Democrats while only 270,000 did so as Republicans.

Primary Notes

● William P. Daley, a Republican law student from the University of California at Berkeley, and Ricardo J. Hecht, a Democrat from San Francisco have filed suit in the U.S. District Court in San Francisco seeking to prevent the California Secretary of State from certifying the results of the June 6th primary. The suit, filed by maverick Republican attorney William M. Brinton, seeks greater representation for California at both the Republican and Democratic National Conventions this summer. The claim is based on the fact that California has 9.68 percent of the nation's population but only 7.13 percent of the GOP delegates and 8.99 percent of the Democratic delegates. It is not the objective of the suit to change the number of delegates elected from a state, but to alter the voting strength of each state's delegation to be proportional to an average of the state's population, electoral college vote, and partisan voting record.

* * *

● Jess Unruh, former Speaker of the California Assembly who was unable to realize his major political ambition when Ronald Reagan defeated him for Governor in 1970, has indicated that he will run for mayor of Los Angeles next April.

* * *

● Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook has retired from the GOP presidential race after winning only 10 percent of the vote in the California primary. However, last month at the convention of the United Republicans of California (UROC) in San Jose, Ashbrook declared he would not support Richard Nixon next fall, even if the President is renominated by the Republican Party.

Joseph M. Crosby, who is Nixon's State Campaign Chairman and a former Chairman of UROC, requested that Governor Ronald Reagan be invited to represent the Nixon delegation at the convention. UROC Chairman Walter Hintzen refused, saying that Reagan is "very successful in snowing people." After UROC endorsed Ashbrook, Crosby resigned, stating that John Birch Society members "unquestionably have taken over."

* * *

● During the primary campaign, Ashbrook was endorsed by former California GOP State Chairman, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson, the author of the Eleventh Commandment: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any other Republican." Parkinson was on the Nixon delegation to the Republican National Convention but resigned to support Ashbrook, because, he said, "It is time 'regular' Republicans and conservatives alike stand up and say, 'We have gone far enough.'" Noting that he had supported Nixon and the GOP platform in 1968, Parkinson attacked Nixon because he "has reversed his position on every issue affecting our economy and national security."

* * *

● Ashbrook's only supporter among the GOP congressional delegation, John Birch Society member John G. Schmitz, was defeated in the GOP primary by Orange County assessor, Andrew J. Hinshaw. A member of Ashbrook's convention delegation, Schmitz attacked President Nixon's policies on Vietnam and his trips to Peking and Moscow.

* * *

● In a special election, moderate Republican Assemblyman, W. Craig Biddle was elected to the State Senate from a district in Riverside and San Bernardino counties. This Republican victory narrows the Democratic control of the Senate to 21 to 19.

* * *

● Governor Ronald Reagan, in an interview with a group of foreign journalists, said he doesn't want to run for public office again, but would like to retire to his ranch to be active in Party affairs.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Ma. 02138. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.