

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 6, 1975

P. Hasner

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JERRY JONES

FROM:

FRED SLIGHT

Dissident conservative Republicans met on Tuesday of this week to discuss once again their views toward the '76 Presidential election. As reported by Lou Cannon in Wednesday's Washington Post, the so-called "St. Michaels Group" issued a statement which, in part, called for an open convention for both the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominations.

On Wednesday morning, I spoke with one of the participants at this session and it was their view that the coalition has lost a considerable amount of momentum since its founding in late February. This same source also felt that the lines of division within the group itself were so strong at this time that fundamental differences were not likely to be overcome by the areas of basic agreement.

It was my impression that William Rusher, Jesse Helms, John Ashbrook and Bob Bauman were among those who were the most ideologically rigid in their opinions and were likewise the major proponents of forming a third party. Conversely, Bill Buckley, Jim McClure, Trent Lott, Marjorie Holt, and Clark Reed were among those persons most vocal in steering the group away from Rusher's Independence Party theme as they consistently argued the need to keep whatever differences they might have within the "Republican family". Clearly, the group will continue to apply pressure to bring the President's policies farther to the right, however the formation of a separatist party appears to have appeal only with the ideologues whose clout with respected GOP leaders is realistically weak.

While I hesitate to draw conclusions based on a conversation with only one person, I have complete confidence in this individual's honesty and have no reason to question the source's motives in sharing these views with me.

Attached are two similar points of view that appeared in last evening's Washington Star that I thought might be of interest to you.

Attachments



June 5, 1975

JAMES J. KILPATRICK

This Is Not the Time For a Major New Party

The most important political book of the spring will be published next week: William A. Rusher's "The Making of the New Majority Party." Reluctantly, and with a keen awareness of my own fallibility, I have to disagree with its major thesis.

Rusher is publisher of National Review magazine. He is also a lawyer, writer, debater, columnist, and a serious student of American political history. His conservative credentials are impeccable.

In Rusher's view, the hour has come for the formation of a new major party that will unite economic conservatives and social conservatives in a coalition strong enough to compete on even terms with the Democratic party. He is not thinking of a "third party." A lifelong Republican, he is fed up with the GOP. He finds it "essentially meaningless." Rusher's idea is to displace the Republican party altogether, and to replace it with a new party that he provisionally dubs the Independence party.

He would do to the Republicans in 1976 what the Republicans did to the Whigs in 1852: Knock them out of existence.

Rusher draws on the Whig experience to suggest certain conditions necessary to the replacement of an old party and formation of a successful new party. Somewhat over-simplified, these conditions demand a basic issue, a fresh impulse regarding that issue, and "a strikingly weak leadership and organizational structure in the party to be replaced." The political picture today, as he sees it, exhibits each of those requirements.

Today's basic issue has to do with the role of government in the social and economic life of our country. Conservatives tend to oppose an ever-expanding federal involvement in welfare, health, education, consumer affairs, and business regulation. Liberals, by contrast tend to support such extensions of federal power.

Rusher's premises are sound enough. It is his conclusion that I question. The Republican party (and to a lesser extent, the Democratic party also) is indeed divided on the basic issue. The Democrats, for their part, stand for something; their liberal image is clear, consistent, and politically appealing. The Republicans, by contrast, stand for nothing.

The Whig analogy is persuasive, but not convincing. The basic issue in 1850 was the extension of slavery; it was a much sharper, more explosive issue than the basic issue Rusher postulates today. The Whigs were themselves a young party, not long established; today's Republican party, feeble as it is, has been around a long time.

The weakness in Rusher's argument, or so it seems to me, is that a new major party, if it would succeed, demands more than ideas, issues and fortuitous circumstances. It demands human leadership. Rusher's Independence party has no such leadership. He mentions Ronald Reagan, but Reagan modestly declines the honor. He also mentions George Wallace, but Wallace is no conservative. Wallace is a political Bobby Riggs, a hustler, a showman, a master of the trick shot. Without aggressive, respected, commanding leadership, an Independence party would go nowhere.

Other objections come to mind. Our national parties are structurally the sum of 50 state parties; it would take some ingenious political engineering to build a new structure from the top down. A new Independence party would start broke; a respectable national campaign would require funds not easily obtained under new limitations on political contributions. I may be quite wrong, but secession now strikes me as untimely and unwise. If today's conservatives had a Robert E. Lee, it might be a different matter.



June 5, 1975

GARRY WILLS

Ron & George as Ted & Bob

If I were a Democrat, I would be praying that something comes of the new-party stirrings on the right. If I were a Republican, I would be praying that nothing comes of them.

To see why, look back at 1912. In that year Republicans were still enjoying a dominance of national politics that stretched back over half a century — the longest majority party sway in our history. There was nothing Democrats could do about it. But two forces could bring the party down.

One was Robert LaFollette's Progressive movement, on its way to becoming a third party. The other was the Republican dissatisfaction with their own president, William Howard Taft. Theodore Roosevelt was inciting this resentment, and LaFollette tried to form a pre-convention alliance with him in a third party. But Roosevelt decided to stay inside the party, at least until the convention, and try to capture its nomination. When he failed, however, and formed his own Bull Moose party, the Progressives joined him.

On the other side, Woodrow Wilson received the Democratic nomination by the flukes of a convention that had to go 46 ballots to choose a nominee. In the process, the favorite of the delegates, Champ Clark, was blocked by William Jennings Bryan.

In the national election Wilson received only 42 percent of the votes, but that was enough to win, since Roosevelt split the rest of the votes with Taft (27 percent for the former, 23 percent for the latter). But these figures do not tell the full story. Third party votes tend to be concentrated in certain pockets — something that backers of Wallace and Reagan should remember when they

read their raw popularity polls. The central cluster of the 1912 Progressives was in the midwest, as that of today's right-wingers is in the south. Such clustering cuts down the spread of the Electoral College vote by states; so Wilson, with his mere 42 percent of the popular vote, carried 40 states, to 6 for Roosevelt and 2 for Taft. Wilson won a landslide election in the Electoral College, where he got 82 percent of the votes that count.

Wilson had leaped up to the presidency through three freak occurrences — the misjudgment of the party machine that put him in as governor of New Jersey, the success of the stop-Clark movement at the Baltimore convention, and the Bull Moose blow to Republican unity. That means that Wilson owed his career to three men who were or who became his enemies — Boss Smith of New Jersey, and Bryan, and Roosevelt. After his war term, the Republicans regained their ascendancy, delivering the Democrats the worst defeat in their history to that point. It took the Depression to end their reign ten years later.

But Wilson's victory in 1912 led to his re-election in 1916, so a Democrat was in the White House during the first World War. But for Teddy Roosevelt, a Republican would have been there, and we either would not have entered World War I or would have done so with more modest goals and realism than the totalizing Fourteen Points of Woodrow Wilson. That is the kind of indirect and undesired effect third parties normally have. Their main power is the power to destroy, exercised in spite. Reagan and Wallace can, if they want to, be the Roosevelt and LaFollette of 1976 — the Democrats would love to see that.



The Right Report

JULY 2, 1976 • Vol. 5, No. 13

Dear Reader:

NEW PARTY EFFORT HANGS OVER GOP CONVENTION. We attended a forceful lecture June 25 in Culver City, Calif. by National Review Publisher William Rusher, author of The Making of the New Majority Party. Speaking to a Western gathering of The Conservative Caucus, Rusher delivered some news which will be ignored by the GOP only at its peril.

"So help me Hanna," Rusher said, "if Gerald Ford is nominated in Kansas City there will be a major independent conservative presidential ticket on the ballot this fall in at least 40 states."

Rusher wasn't making an idle threat. For over a year, he and other "New Majority" advocates have been quietly organizing to get ballot positions for an independent conservative presidential ticket in the event that both major parties nominated unacceptable tickets. Jimmy Carter, of course, is unacceptable to these activists. So is Gerald Ford.

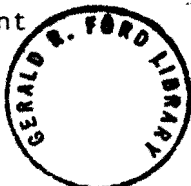
Through an organization named "Freedom of Choice, Inc., The Committee for the New Majority," (1004 Lee Lane, Leesburg, Fla. 32748), Rusher and his allies have now achieved ballot position in 28 states. They feel confident of adding at least 12 to 14 other states before the November elections. This 40-42 total includes all the major states.

Just as George Wallace did in 1968, Freedom of Choice hopes to get complete 50-state coverage through lawsuits where ballot position requirements are unduly burdensome.

As we reported on June 18, there will be an "A.I.P. Presidential Nominating Convention" August 26-28 in Chicago. This joint convention of the American Independent Party and the American Independence Party (which split with Tom Anderson's American Party) is critical to the Freedom of Choice group, which has worked closely with both "A.I.P." groups and several of the independent state groups (such as Connecticut's George Wallace Party) which already hold legal ballot positions.

Coming one week after the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, the Chicago Convention might nominate a ticket including Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R-N.H.), Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Rep. Larry McDonald (D-Ga.), Rep. Steve Symms (R-Ida.), Mrs. Phyllis Schlafly or other nationally prominent leaders.

Among the officers, board members and major contributors to Freedom of Choice are Texas oil man Lester Logue (F.O.C. chairman), Mrs. Schlafly, former Wallace staffer Eli Howell, Conservative Caucus Director Howard Phillips, former Young Americans for Freedom chairman Ron Docksai, industrialist Joseph Coors, publisher Richard Viguerie, and top leaders of both A.I.P.'s. To date the group has spent \$52,900 on its efforts.



Freedom of Choice is deadly serious. These people aren't lightweights. They are preparing for the emergence of a new major party and expect to use the presidential election as a vehicle to launch it.

A strong independent conservative effort would almost certainly doom the Ford ticket in November. With Carter already a heavy favorite, the Republicans have no margin of safety.

This 1976 effort would be quite different from the John Schmitz presidential race of 1972 which secured ballot positions in only 32 states. Then the GOP was united. Today, the GOP is untied.

On the other hand, if Ronald Reagan wins the GOP nomination, disgruntled Ford supporters seem unlikely to have any alternative open to them. It's hard to imagine many Ford supporters voting for Carter when the chips are really down. Reagan's presidential nomination, of course, would undercut the Freedom of Choice effort and delay Ruser's new-party scenerio.

In his Culver City remarks, Ruser took special pains to announce that a Ford-Reagan ticket would be totally unacceptable to him and his fellow organizers. Such a combination (see Item below) might satisfy some conservative spokesmen, but the Freedom of Choice Chicago convention would promptly proceed to nominate a ticket which would probably defeat the Republican Presidential ticket.

FORD TRIES NIXON'S "REAGAN FOR VEEP" PLOY. In 1968, Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.), a strong and early Nixon booster, went to delegate caucuses in conservative states and solemnly pledged to Reagan fans that Richard Nixon might very well name Reagan his running mate. Some folks were fooled by this possibility, despite Nixon's own pledge to pick a vice presidential candidate who would not be unacceptable to any element of the GOP. (Reagan was unacceptable to Rockefeller.)

Now Melvin Laird and many other prominent Ford supporters are suggesting Gerald Ford may pick Reagan for his running mate.

Don't count on it. We think Ford more likely will prefer a Tom Dewey-style "Northern Strategy" against Jimmy Carter. Reagan wouldn't fit into that picture.

What started as a ploy, however, is now being seriously urged on Ford by some prominent business leaders. These businessmen haven't paid much attention to presidential politics before, but they are scared by the prospect of a President Carter and whopping liberal majorities in Congress. If Ford is nominated, they reason, he must pull the Reagan supporters into his campaign or go down to crushing defeat.

Reagan swears he won't take the number two spot. (He couldn't, in fact, deliver all of his support to Ford, anyhow.)

Pros note this additional possibility: If Reagan wanted to run for VEEP on a Ford ticket, Ford probably couldn't stop him. Even against Ford's active opposition, Reagan might win a fight for the vice presidential nomination. The convention's that close.

The Polls

LIPSET STUDY WARNS "DESIRED OUTCOMES" AFFECT POLL RESULTS. "The Wavering Polls," an article by political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset in the Spring 1976 issue of "Public Interest" magazine, has just been reprinted by the American Enterprise Institute (1150 17th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036). Price from AEI: 35¢.

Dr. Lipset, whose liberal academic credentials are lengthy, has written the best critique we've yet seen on public opinion polling. He discusses the wide variations in results on similar issues turned in by different polling organizations. His discovery isn't shocking to conservatives; he concludes that results frequently depend on who's asking the questions and how the questions are worded.

For example, Lipset says, "The difference in findings between Harris and Gallup organizations with respect to approval or disapproval of Gerald Ford's record as President, or his and Ronald Reagan's support running against Hubert Humphrey, correspond to the relations of the heads of these organizations to the Democratic Party. It is generally recognized that Harris more overtly sympathetic

Humphrey, correspond to the relations of the heads of these organizations to the Democratic Party. It is generally recognized that Harris is more overtly sympathetic to liberal and Democratic causes than is Gallup."

That's pretty heady stuff coming from someone like Lipset. Perhaps you'd like to send for the whole reprint from AEI.

You're familiar with the constituent issue surveys mailed out by Members of Congress? Here are two examples from polls in current newsletters of conservative Rep. Ed Hutchinson (R-Mich.) and "moderate" Rep. Ron Sarasin (R-Conn.). Their districts, by the way, voted 68% and 62%, respectively, for Nixon in 1972.

Hutchinson's question: Do you favor added Federal control over the manufacture, sale, and possession of handguns and ammunition?
Yes: 42.46% No: 57.54%

Sarasin's question: Do you think that the private ownership of handguns should be restricted?
Yes: 60.9% No: 33.9%

Hutchinson's question: A new treaty is under negotiation with Panama which would reduce U.S. control over the Canal Zone. Would you favor such a treaty?
Yes: 18.58% No: 81.42%

Sarasin's question: Do you believe we should negotiate a new agreement with Panama on the status of the canal?
Yes: 50.4% No: 31.8%

Undoubtedly, some poll results are accurate and useful, particularly in political campaigns, but just as often polls are used to create public opinion rather than to measure it.

PREDICTIONS AND VOTE COUNTS. Don't believe anyone who claims in July to have a complete and accurate GOP convention vote count. There are enough undecided delegates to swing it either way. Despite Ford's incumbency, Reagan is gaining. Both campaigns are marred by tactical errors. Politics is even less efficient than government.



Focus

FORD POWER GRABS ENRAGE REAGAN SUPPORTERS. It's as if the President Ford Committee were deliberately playing into the hands of Bill Rusher's new-party advocates. Across the country, Reagan Republicans are doing a slow burn at the Ford tactics.

Things began to get out of hand with the Ford commercials in the final GOP primaries which concluded: "Governor Reagan couldn't start a war. President Reagan could."

Ill feeling springs from other sources as well:

1. Preferential treatment by RNC of Ford requests for hotel room allocations and convention gallery passes. Reagan was given 100 hotel rooms; the Ford committee and the Ford White House have been given 388 rooms. Reagan was accorded 300 gallery tickets; the Ford committee and the Ford White House, 650. Reagan threatens legal action for equal treatment.

2. Every top convention official has been picked, and Reagan supporters were rigorously excluded. For instance, Ford supporter Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) is to be keynoter. Ford supporter Sen. Howard Baker is slotted as Temporary Chairman. Ford supporter Rep. John Rhodes (R-Ariz.) has been tapped for Permanent Chairman. The Reagan committee told GOP national chairman Mary Louise Smith this shutout was unacceptable, but no changes were made.

3. In Arkansas, the Ford-controlled party refuses to select the 17 delegates designated by Reagan to fill the slots he won in the Arkansas primary, even though state law requires that the party send delegates designated by the candidates. A bitter impasse here.

4. Reagan supporters in Mississippi are particularly stung by the Ford decision to break the "gentleman's agreement" unit rule in order to get a handful of delegate votes. In 1968 the several Reagan supporters on the Mississippi delegation kept their word, bit their tongues, and went along with the delegation majority to vote for Nixon. The double standard is particularly galling now.

5. Reagan supporters in West Virginia believe that people close to GOP Gov. Arch Moore have already stolen two or three delegate votes. Incredibly, the results of the May 11 primary still aren't certified. New votes for Ford delegates are still being "found" in certain areas.

6. Connecticut GOP chairman Fred Biebel, who had promised Reagan supporters some delegate slots in return for cooperation in party fundraising this spring, broke his word and announced he'd see to it that Connecticut sends not one Reagan delegate to Kansas City. One long-time party activist who had relied on Biebel's commitment told TRR, "If Biebel wants to play games, we'll be happy to help him wreck the party."

In short, the Ford-Reagan 1976 convention may make the Taft-Eisenhower 1952 convention look like a picnic.

RONALD REAGAN appears on ABC TV network Tuesday, July 6 for 30 minutes following "Mobile Two" program (10:30 p.m. Eastern Daylight Time).

RON PAUL -- THE NEWEST CONGRESSMAN. On April 7 TRR reported on the special election victory of Congressman Ron Paul (R-Tex.). Conservatives who contributed to his election can be generally pleased by his record so far. He is a hardline, no-compromise advocate of free market economics. He has talked that way and acted that way since coming to Washington. Indeed, his major disappointment has been that he didn't find a larger group of conservatives pledged to no-compromise on economic issues.

Ron Paul's approach is demonstrated by the directions he gave his staff of bright young conservatives and libertarians. He asked them, in briefing him on legislation, not to advise him on how bills will affect special interests in his district or his re-election --- he just wants to know the rights and wrongs based on free-market principles.

Paul's first speech on the House floor was in opposition to revenue sharing. Introduced by the Nixon Administration with much rhetoric about decentralization, revenue sharing has actually made many cities dependent on Federal money.

Many Republicans, under pressure from local officials, have supported revenue sharing. Ron Paul opposed it, saying "any illusion that revenue sharing is a program designed to decentralize government ought to be dispelled by now, for the passage of this bill will sound the death knell for our American system of government. I will not participate in this hoax on the American people."

Calendar

- July 6: Expected Louisiana State Senate vote on proposed Right to Work Bill.
- July 11: Bicentennial Salute to Captive Nations Rally, Liberty Island, N.Y., American Council for World Freedom, 202-783-9447.
- July 11-17: Summer Seminar, Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y., Foundation on Economic Education, 914-591-7230.
- July 12-15: 1976 Democratic National Convention, New York, N.Y.
- July 31: 1976 New York State Young Americans for Freedom Convention, New York City, 212-929-0100.
- Aug. 7-8: School for Campaign Youth Coordinators, Northwestern University (Chicago), Committee for Responsible Youth Politics, 703-524-0299.
- Aug. 16-20: 1976 Republican National Convention, Kansas City, Mo.
- Aug. 26-28: 1976 A.I.P. Presidential Nominating Convention, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
- Aug. 28-29: School for Campaign Youth Coordinators, George Washington University (Washington, D.C.), Committee for Responsible Youth Politics, 703-524-0299.
- Sept. 17-19: Texas Workshop, Dallas, Tex., The Conservative Caucus, 703-893-6371.



Quickly Noted

Liberal Democratic media expert CHARLIE GUGGENHEIM secretly sent a camera crew to Illinois last week to shoot film footage of Sen. ADLAI STEVENSON III (D-Ill.) on his home turf. Could be Carter will pick Stevenson for running mate...

A source who attended closed JIMMY CARTER national strategy session following a dinner in Asheville, N.C. June 28 came home chilled. "It was a heavy session. Nobody joked at all," he reports. "They (the Carter campaign) are going to be ruthless." Senators MONDALE (Minn.) and HOLLINGS (S.C.) gave issue briefings. Source also reports Carter "fears to run against REAGAN" and hopes FORD is nominated...

Here's a surprise. ART MASON, moderate GOP nominee against ultra liberal Rep. ROBERT DRINAN (D-Mass.), recently received call from CARTER Massachusetts state chairman inviting Mason to meet with Carter. "But I'm a Republican," said the stunned Mason, "Why me?" "Because we're trying to meet with all credible candidates who have a chance to win and because Jimmy wants to work with people in both parties," Carter's man replied. Mason didn't accept, but it's clear Carter's working overtime to undercut opposition...

June 30 WASHINGTON STAR broke success story of conservative Senators CURTIS (Neb.), HANSEN (Wyo.), HELMS (N.C.), and McCLURE (Ida.) in blocking possible nomination of Dr. H. GUYFORD STEVER as presidential science advisor. Stever, these senators believe, is likely involved in cover-up of rigged National Science Foundation evaluations of at least one liberal program, the Individualized Science Instruction System. Stever repeatedly denied irregularity, but the General Accounting Office investigation, forced by Rep. JOHN CONLAN (R-Ariz.), later confirmed there was flagrant liberal rigging of evaluations...

Independent audit of D.C. government disclosed here June 9 hit the front pages last week. Auditors sent in by U.S. Senate threw up their hands, concluded that a complete analysis of where all the money went is now impossible. Mayor WALTER WASHINGTON is badly embarrassed...

Strong effort by local NATIONAL RIGHT TO WORK COMMITTEE supporters and other Louisiana conservatives has passed a Right to Work bill in state House of Representatives. State Senate approval may come July 6, Democrat Gov. EDWIN EDWARDS said he'd sign such a bill when no one, including Edwards, thought it would pass. Now it's unclear what he'll do...

Rep. ALLAN HOWE (D-Utah) implied in statement to the Utah press last week that his arrest by local vice squad is part of greater plot against him. He pointed to copy of COMMITTEE FOR SURVIVAL OF A FREE CONGRESS mailing which lists him among 100 liberals CSFC is targeting. CSFC Director PAUL WEYRICH, tongue in cheek, tells TRR it took him six months of interviewing to select undercover agents...

Morton C. Blackwell