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TERHORST

By J. F. TERHORST

Ford Means What He Says

Washington—White House watchers have become so convoluted in their political forecasting that the product comes out like a pretzel. The latest example is the spate of predictions that President Ford won't run for election in 1976.

The currently popular line in Washington is that while Ford has said he will run, he really won't because his budget and economic messages paint such a gloomy picture of the economy that he would

be foolish to try for office in two years and therefore we can assume the documents are his political obituaries and an internal signal to Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller, Ronald Reagan and Howard Baker that the GOP nomination will be up for grabs because the President surely won't want to run if he is likely to be defeated by a recession he is trying to cure in time to make the race as he would like to.

If you follow that figure-eight reasoning, you are bound to come with a twisted perspective that takes you everywhere but where you can find the answer. The answer, of course, lies with Ford. It can be stated on highest authority that he intends to be the Republican presidential nominee in 1976.

What account for all the current speculation in the Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, the news wires and on the air? The answer is a simple one. A lot of the pundits, commentators and political observers don't know

very much about Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr.

In watching other Presidents down through the years, observers have trained themselves to look for telltale signs about the political intentions of chief executives. One useful sign always has been the way they described their stewardship of the nation's economy. Ford's predecessors customarily painted a rosy picture, at least enough to hint a rainbow, a silver lining or light at the end of the tunnel. Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon were not above using accounting gimmicks and cute formulas which made spending sound smaller, deficits less than reality, and revenues higher than cold logic indicated. To be sure, they didn't paint false pictures, but they did tend to blur things in order to present them in the best possible political light.



Ronald Reagan
It looks like long wait

in so doing, they also provided the clues that White House watchers look for. And the clues generally meant that the occupant of the Oval Office was hungry for another term.

What the political prognosticators are doing wrong is attempting to read Ford the same way. He doesn't track like that.

This particular President believes in calling a spade a spade. The recession is a bad one, so he said so. Energy prices are going to skyrocket so he said so. Federal deficits this coming year will be worse than any red-ink year since World War II; inflation will continue and unemployment is going to increase for a while. In sum, the economic outlook is not rosy and there is not much good news to relate—which is precisely what Ford told Congress and the country.

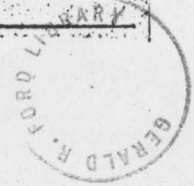
That's not telling people he won't run in 1976 but only telling it like it is. Ford may not be as politically cunning as Nixon, Johnson and Kennedy, but he is certainly more direct and more straightforward. Not because he plans it that way but simply because he is that way. Indeed, he is too blunt to be a smooth politician.

He's Aware of His Handicap

The President's candor about the state of the union may get him in trouble with his Republican Party and with voters. He has not made it easier for himself in terms of running again, at least not according to the standards of conventional political wisdom. But Ford did not become President the conventional way and he is fully aware of that handicap. Given those circumstances and his own personality, he has decided simply to play it straight by being himself. Right or wrong, he happens to believe that policy is the best politics for running as the Republican nominee next year.

There is a lot of wishful thinking among Democrats as well as presidentially ambitious Republicans on this score. One could almost taste the hope in Democratic historian Arthur Schlesinger's words the other day when he said he doubted that the GOP would permit Ford to run if the economy is still bad. After all, a Ford-Rockefeller ticket could be formidable opposition to whatever the Democrats come up with in 1976. It's always been easier to win when you are not running against an incumbent.

Ford has given the voters a cold-turkey look at the economy and believes they won't punish him for doing that. He has devised a tough, many-faceted program he thinks will start us on the road back to prosperity and challenges the Democrats to top it or support it. For a man who's supposed to have written his own obituary, he is running pretty hard.



From the desk of _____

DONALD BALDWIN

File -
Reagan, Campaign

Bob -

I hope you will
take a few minutes
to read this.
It underscores what
we were discussing
at lunch today.

The last sentence
should be especially
noted.

Respectfully,
[Signature]

2/19/75



David S. Broder

Frustration On the Right

The Republican Right is a headless horseman. If the liberal Democrats have a surplus of candidates, the conservatives have just the opposite problem. They are ready to rise against the Ford-Rockefeller policies of deficit and detente and against what one of them calls "the dingbat Democratic Congress." But unless the horseman gets a head — a candidate — the ride is going to be as futile as Ichabod Crane's.

The conservative movement in the country is stirring again; no question about it. It has picked up a new shot of moral fervor from its alliance with the anti-abortion and anti-busing activists. It has found new proof of its favorite conspiracy theory in the passage of power from Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew to Gerald Ford and Nelson Rockefeller.

The 500 conservatives who gathered here last week for a four-day strategy conference, co-sponsored by the American Conservative Union and the Young Americans for Freedom, were clearly in a mood to mobilize what they are convinced is massive public resentment against the policies and people that control Washington today.

But they left town frustrated, unable to overcome the barriers in their way.

1) The first is a basic difference in strategy between those who would attempt to "recapture" the Republican Party and those who would abandon it in favor of a third-party alternative.

2) Ever since 1964, conservatives have controlled the national Republican conventions, and they predominate in the party's House and Senate caucuses. Thus, they already "control" one of the major parties and would not seem to need any vehicle of their own. But, as speaker after speaker pointed out, that "control" is of dubious value.

The Republican Party has been so battered by Watergate and economic adversity that it may not be able to win the next election. Even if it could win, the price of remaining Republican may be higher than some conservatives want to pay.

Ever since their wild fling with Barry Goldwater in 1964, they have been counseled by most of their leaders to be "practical," i.e., agreeable to compromise. It was on that basis that they supported Mr. Nixon, despite their personal misgivings. Now, they find they are being asked to accept deficits and detente, Mr. Ford and — worst of all — Nelson Rockefeller. And they ask, "Is this the party we're supposed to control?"

Yet the third-party course is fraught with uncertainty and huge organizational problems — which were described to the delegates in vivid detail. By the end of the meeting, the *de facto* decision was to delay any breakaway movement — at least for now.

That decision was reinforced by the obvious fact that there is no conservative political figure of stature to lead a third party movement. There is an abundance of pamphlet writers and some pop-gun politicians. But the big names of the conservative movement — especially Ronald Reagan — wouldn't even wink at the idea.

Reagan is the key player for 1976, and in his visit to the convention he did nothing to discourage the idea that he would like to carry the conservative banner next year. But he also made it plain he would rather do it as a Republican than run the independent route.

The third problem for the conservatives — and one they are less willing to admit — is that the recession has deflated their rhetoric almost as much as it has car sales. When people are worried about finding a job, the idea of Big Government — that favorite conservative target — doesn't look quite as scary as it does when they are feeling fat and affluent.

While the purists of the movement made the ritualistic calls for a balanced budget, the leaders admitted privately the chagrin they felt that only eight senators and 38 representatives voted, in the year's first economy test, to support Mr. Ford's effort to cut back the cost of the food stamp program.

For those with memories of the euphoria that fed the great Goldwater myth in 1964, there was an air of nostalgia to some of the arguments being made — especially the assertion, without proof, that the millions of Americans who skipped voting in 1972 and 1974 are really just waiting for a true conservative to appear on the scene.

But with all their problems and all their dubious assumptions, it would be a serious mistake to dismiss the conservatives as a joke. They most assuredly are not.

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The country has been — by many measures — growing markedly more conservative in basic attitudes, as a response to the convulsive changes of the past decade. And there are millions of conservative Americans, upset by those changes, whose government seems incapable of controlling, who feel thoroughly unrepresented in the existing political system.

Their unfocused anger and energy, symbolized by the meeting here, is one more force that could blow sky-high everyone's assumptions about 1976 and the stability of the American political system.

It would be a mistake for anyone to take these people for granted.



WASH. Post 2/19/75

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Reagan on the Road: Easy Smile and Hard Rhetoric

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

LAS VEGAS, Nev., Feb. 19—When Ronald Reagan was forced to retreat from his oft-proclaimed opposition to withholding California state income taxes, the Sacramento press corps gave him a trophy—two shoes imbedded in concrete—together with a warning never to be quite so adamant on any future question.

The trophy now rests in the Los Angeles office of the former California Governor, a reminder to him, his staff and the political community that whatever he may say these days about his future, his views are not cast in concrete.

It was a symbol worth pondering this week as Mr. Reagan pursued his undefinable political goals in Washington, PeKin, Ill. (where he was greeted as "Dutch" and serenaded by old chums from Eureka College), Chicago and Las Vegas.

Little to Lose

At 64, Mr. Reagan is approaching retirement age. Having completed careers as a sportscaster, actor and television spokesman, having left behind eight years as Governor, having rejected the notion of running for the Senate, he would seem to have little to lose in a final Presidential bid.

But he seems curiously unmoved by that vision. He would rather not talk about Presidential politics on a flight across the country; instead, while natty as ever, with a flag pin in his lapel and an easy grin on his face, he discourses on other topics: the competence of his corporation-executive friends; the heroism of "my extraordinary generation" in World War II; the morning he got his big break—a chance to play the second lead to Errol Flynn in

"Santa Fe Trail"—and the problems of laying asphalt tile at his new ranch near Santa Barbara.

A series of questions elicits the cautious comment that he does not care personally whether he is President, but that he cares passionately about endorsing conservatism in the White House. If he could be the instrument through which that could be accomplished, he said, "then I would give up anything."

He feels a certain compassion for President Ford ("How can anyone in this country hope that he falls?"), but he is outraged by the President's economics. He is appalled by Vice President Rockefeller (whom he probably would not have voted to confirm, according to his aides. At a news conference in Chicago yesterday, he told a questioner, "I can't give you an answer" when asked whether he would back Mr. Ford for re-election next year.

In fact, Mr. Reagan said in an interview, he thinks it entirely possible that Mr. Ford will experience such troubles with the economy that he will no longer be "an electable candidate."

Might Run Himself

If the President decides not to run, or even if he decides to run in the face of "overwhelming evidence" that he is politically moribund, Mr. Reagan said, he might well run himself.

But what of a third party, favored by a majority of the rank-and-file delegates at last week's conservative conference in Washington?

What the former Governor says on that subject varies. In Washington, his comments were equivocal. In PeKin, he added to his call for a banner of conservatism the phrase "a Republican banner." Here in Las

Vegas, he answered the rhetorical question he had been asking about the need for a third party with the comment, "I don't think so."

In private, he is skeptical about the idea for three main reasons: the historical record of third-party failure; organizational obstacles placed in the path of third-party movements by the new campaign-financing law and his conviction that his constituency and that of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama would not easily fit together.

Reagan-Wallace Ticket

Contesting the judgment of conservative theorists that a Wallace-Reagan or Reagan-Wallace ticket could attract a majority, Mr. Reagan said, "We're completely different on a lot of issues, especially economics; he wants government intervention, only different, and I don't want it all."

"What's to be will be," the former Governor tells himself and, he says, his wife, Nancy. "Who can tell now?"

In the meantime, Mr. Reagan travels what he invariably terms the "mashed-potato circuit," speaking to Republican fund-raisers and at businessmen's lunches, earning an average of about \$3,500 an appearance, regaling them with conservative jokes ("John Kenneth Galbraith is living proof, in my opinion, that economics remains an inexact science").

Hard-Shell Rhetoric

They love it; the movie-star aura, the jokes and the hard-shell conservative rhetoric. Mr. Reagan tells that Government regulation has become so onerous that penicillin probably could not be licensed today, that inflation threatens the imminent destruction of American society, and that they must

fight against what he calls the "Godlessness of the socialist antheap."

He also does a weekly newspaper column for 160 papers and a daily radio show broadcast on almost 200 stations.

From a distance, it looks like a campaign. But from closer up, it does not.

Yesterday morning, for example, Mr. Reagan met at the instance of a mutual friend with Robert Galvin of the Motorola Corporation, a long-time political contributor. But they talked economic philosophy, not campaigning or fund-raising.

Mr. Reagan lives a sequestered life on the road, never mixing, sheltered by aides and chauffeurs and security men. And there is no discernible effort by his aides to collect the names of those who might be ready to help him.

A Confusing Element

The staff itself is a confusing element. Those seemingly closest to him are Peter Hannaford and Michael Deaver, former sacramento aides who now head a public relations firm. But there is also a money group, headed by Holmes Tuttle and Justin Dart of Los Angeles, and a Washington group in which John Sears, a former Nixon aide, figures prominently. Often they disagree, and none is yet planning for 1976.

And yet, after each speech, they come, the long lines of middle-aged men and women who gather for autographs below the head tables. They talk nostalgically about the Goldwater campaign of 1964, angrily about Mr. Ford and Mr. Rockefeller and reverently about Mr. Reagan.

One woman came up to me

last night and said I was so inspiring that I owed it to God and my country to run," Mr. Reagan said with some embarrassment. "About all I could do was sign my name and tell her, 'Thank you.'"

Amtrak to Halt Service

BOSTON, Feb. 19 (UPI)—Rail service between Boston and Springfield will be terminated March 1 because Massachusetts has failed to pay its debts, according to Amtrak officials. David Watts, an Amtrak vice president, said yesterday the state owed Amtrak nearly \$400,000 in subsidies. "Massachusetts is the only state not to pay its bill," he said.

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may find of interest.

Sean



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NIXONS RETURN TO VILLA AFTER PALM DESERT STAY

SAN CLEMENTE (AP) — Former President Richard M. Nixon and wife Pat were back at their seaside villa yesterday after spending five days in the desert at the estate of Walter H. Annenberg.

Nixon and his wife left Palm Desert by car Sunday morning after a dinner with friends Saturday night.

Among the dinner guests were former Gov. Ronald Reagan and his wife; comedian Bob Hope and his wife; singer Frank Sinatra and his girl friend, Barbara Marx; Mr. and Mrs. Leonard K. Firestone, and Mr. and Mrs. John Swearingen.

Mrs. Swearingen, whose husband is chairman of the board of Standard Oil of Indiana, described the three-hour affair as a "wonderful occasion."

"Mr. Nixon certainly wasn't bubbling over, but his spirits were good. He looked thin. He's lost weight. And I thought he looked tired, but he was in a very good frame of mind," she said.



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Reagan on Mission to Move U. S. Right

Says He Would Like to Spend Time at Ranch but Has Duty to Travel, Talk

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ
Times Political Writer

"If, at a time in history, growing numbers of people express belief that a particular person holds the right set of principles to be President, events will find a way of setting themselves in motion which he must accept or pass by."

—Ronald Reagan

"You've just GOT to run for President," gushed the wife of a businessman at a rally in the Grand Island, Neb., senior high school auditorium.

To the comfortably middle-class citizens of Pekin, Peoria and other mid-Illinois communities, he was introduced as "our candidate" and "the leader of the majority of the country."

When he finished his speech and left the rostrum at the ornate Grand Ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, the jam-packed crowd picked up the chant, "We Want Reagan, We Want Reagan."

Each incident illustrates the willingness—it would be unkind to suggest the eagerness—of Ronald Reagan, former governor of California, former actor, to create the "events" which he says will "find a way of setting themselves in motion."

Just turned 64, with a reasonably secure financial base including a state pension, Reagan looks somewhat longingly at a private life which permits him to spend his days on his new ranch in the coastal mountains north of Santa Barbara.

That's what he says he wants to do—rebuild an old adobe house on the ranch, ride horses, enjoy the solitude.

Then why doesn't he? Why, instead, does he find himself in drafty high

school cafeterias or at dreary businessmen's lunches, meeting airline schedules and forever changing time zones?

Because, in missionary terms, he has the call. He says the country has to move to the right, to a sort of fundamental conservatism. And he sees it as his duty to make this clear to people.

To the woman in Grand Island and to the many others at various campaign stops, Reagan responds that he is not now running for President. And, if pressed, he repeats the bit about "events" reaching the point where the job seeks the man, not the reverse.

It is a neat balancing act. He moves like a campaigner, he talks like a campaigner, he has national identity and "star" status of a campaigner, but all the while insists he is simply a missionary for political conservatism—he used the term "John the Baptist" in the conservative movement.

The balancing act also involves keeping the political machinery open to him.

A lifelong Democrat who turned Republican in 1962, Reagan now considers the GOP his political home, and as such, he seeks to mold the

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REAGAN—A MAN OF A MISSION

Continued from First Page

party into his conservative likeness. And because it is possible President Ford may not run next year, Reagan looks on the GOP as the logical way to get on the presidential ballot.

And so when Reagan talks to the Tazewell County Republican Committee in Pekin, Ill., or the Clark County Republican Committee in Las Vegas, as he did on his most recent swing, the Californian carefully develops political contacts which

may help him at the Republican nominating convention next year.

But when he talks to identifiable conservatives who are disenchanted with what they consider distressing backsliding by Mr. Ford and his Administration, Reagan hangs out the idea that conservatives must stick to basic principles and that if others—impliedly Mr. Ford—can't go along, "let them go elsewhere."

But to keep both his options open—the GOP or a third party—takes

some doing, and his most recent trip tested Reagan's skill.

For instance, to the died-in-the-wool conservatives who were clamoring for Reagan to give them the signal to start work on a third-party movement, the former governor ducked and bobbed and never gave them a clear-cut answer on the record, although he met with some of them privately and discussed the matter in more detail.

He handled his dilemma by falling

back on a rhetorical question as to whether a third party or a revitalized "second party" is the way to go.

By the time his trip ended, and it became evident to him that his position left some doubt about what he meant, Reagan had decided to make it clear that by the term "revitalized second party" he meant the GOP, and that he preferred that alternative to creation of a third party.

But having made that corrective turn in his course, Reagan then decided this was not to be construed as an "unequivocal" rejection of a third-party alternative. Who knows what the future may bring, he commented to newsmen.

But every time Reagan makes such a cross-country speaking tour, and every time he finds fault with Mr. Ford, the Californian creates new hope in the conservatives' hearts that he will challenge the Republican incumbent for the job next year, one way or another.

"I'm well aware that talk by me about President Ford and his programs will be viewed politically," Reagan said, referring to a buildup of anti-Ford, pro-Reagan sentiment.

"But rank-and-file Republicans do subscribe to conservative principles. And the image of the Republican Party has become blurred, because under the name of pragmatism, we

have too often compromised principles on the assumption this would somehow broaden the base of the party."

Reagan's voice rises and sometimes his face reddens when he contends that those who talked about the need to "broaden the party's base" after the GOP losses last November really mean they want to "fuzz up and blur even more the differences between ourselves and our opponents," until it may come true, as Alabama's Gov. George Wallace has said, that "there isn't a dime's worth of difference between the two major parties."

When voters can't tell the difference, Please Turn to Pg. 3, Col. 1

REAGA

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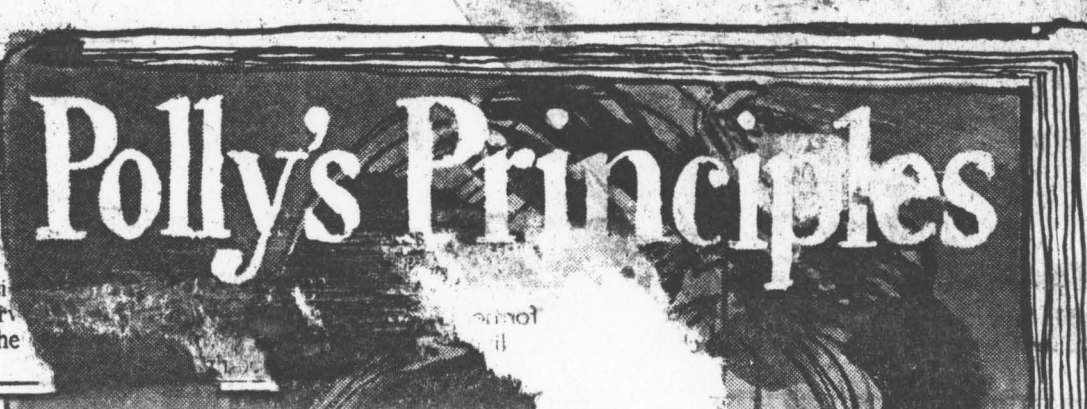
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That is the core of the Republican problem. There are so few choices because the conservatives set such rigid standards for personal and ideological conduct within the party.

The core of the Republican problem is that party leaders are not eager for change or demanding of performance from those with whom they are comfortable.

The Republican party is an organization of the comfortable and its leaders are not eager for change or demanding of performance from those with whom they are comfortable.

In many states the same men run the apparatus year after year without achieving any objective success at the polls, yet remain influential in the inner machinery. In the Republican National Committee, for example, it is far more important to have as your ally a Clarke Reed, from Mississippi, where they elect fewer Republicans than they do in the Bronx, than a Richard Rosenbaum from New York, where Republicans — of the "wrong" kind — have held sway for 16 years.

It is also a party in which the dominant segment demands orthodoxy on any issue that seems to have moral content, and to the conservatives this is almost any issue — defense spending or crime in the streets, school busing or budget deficits, welfare or land-use planning.

Nowhere is this insistence clearer than in the conservative disaffection with Ford. To those outside the Republican party, the President has always seemed as conservative as buckled galoshes and wollen mittens. But he has strayed from the true path on amnesty, on Rockefeller, on federal budget deficits.

He is not to be forgiven even if he is the party's single best hope for 1976.



So Few Choices for GOP

Wash. Star-News 3-2-75

'Party of the Comfortable' Battles Extinction

By Jack Germond

Washington Star Staff Writer

Watching the Republicans these days is enough to make the most calloused politician weep for the two-party system.

The Republicanism of 1975, as one of its practitioners noted the other day, is identified with Watergate, big business and hard times. The party commands the allegiance of only 18 percent of the voters. Its leaders are preoccupied with tortured arguments over whether they should start fresh with a new party or try to rewrite the theology of this one in a last desperate attempt to escape extinction.

And all of this is probably the good news. In politics there is nothing worse than losing the White House, and the Republican party is quite capable of achieving that next year.

The visible problem is that ultimate Republican, Gerald Ford. Whatever he does in 1976 is likely to be trouble. And the practical question Republican leaders are asking one another is which course is likely to be least destructive.

If the President runs for a full term, as he insists he intends to do, he gives his party a candidate with no record of political performance outside Michigan's Fifth District and no established constituency within his party or the electorate at large. Moreover, those things won't change even if the economy improves far more than either Ford or other Republicans foresee.

But the alternative may be more damaging. If Ford were to retire, as so many party leaders expect that he will, it is now clear he would not do so until some time next year, which

The visible problem is that ultimate Republican, Gerald Ford. Whatever he does in 1976 is likely to be trouble.

means too late for anyone but the established institutions of the Republican left and right — Nelson A. Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan — to compete for the nomination.

And, although there may be too many unknowns to assay, Ford as a political property, there are certainties about the hazard to the party if it is left to a choice of Rockefeller or Reagan.

For almost 20 years now the conservatives who dominate the Republican party have been telling Rockefeller he won't do. As the reaction against him in the Senate demonstrated again last week, this feeling has not changed since he has become vice president. The Barry Goldwaters wouldn't buy him if he wore a crown.

On the face of it Reagan is in a somewhat better position, if only be-

cause the party's progressives are, as they have demonstrated in convention after convention, both outnumbered and inept. But the Republican left is also vocal and uncompromising about those it perceives as plotters against the 20th Century and the graduated income tax.

Thus, Reagan would be the favorite in another of the classic confrontations within the Grand Old Party, but he could not hope to emerge from such competition with a united party. A divided 18 percent is hardly a promising base.

What is most telling about the health of the Republican party today, however, is that these are the only apparent alternatives — a Ford candidacy of imponderables or another blood-letting like that at the Cow Palace in 1964.

The Republicans have held the White House for 15 of the last 23 years without developing anything approaching a stable of potential presidential candidates, or at least potential presidential candidates who are not fatally flawed one way or the other in conservative eyes. Instead, advancement in the GOP has been an endurance contest, and Reagan and

Rockefeller have qualified as the alternatives to Ford available in 1976 in the same way that they have qualified for Social Security benefits.

There are, of course, similar institutions in the Democratic party. George Wallace has been running since 1964, and it sometimes seems

that Hubert Humphrey has been running since the Year of the Big Wind. But there have been other Democrats along the way. — Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in 1968, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie in 1972, Henry Jackson and a half dozen others this time.

There are other Republicans who would like to be president, but each of them has something in his dossier that might mean he will not be acceptable to the party.

Elliot Richardson, for example, would like to be president but he is somehow unseemly because of his role in bringing down Richard Nixon, too controversial even for the Ford cabinet. He has been sent to London, and the Court of St. James's is a political base with little delegate potential.

Charles Percy would like to be president, too, but he is not personally compatible with the Midwest Republican equivalent of the good old

boys. Even if he were, his record is marred by trips off the regular reservation of the kind conservatives never forget.

Howard Baker thinks he might like to be president, at least enough to be making a public "declaration of intent" that he is considering it. But Baker may expect trouble because of his prominence on the Watergate committee and simply because of his temerity in threatening to challenge a sitting President.



Baltimore News
America 3/4/75

MARIANNE MEANS



Will Reagan Run In '76?

Despite his repeated public disclaimers, former Gov. Ronald Reagan is moving slowly but steadily toward a presidential candidacy in 1976.

Because he may be tackling an incumbent of his own party, Reagan is unlikely to reveal his plans until the last possible moment. He may run into difficulty, however, if he does not establish a committee to report publicly all his fundraising activities by at least summer or fall.

"There is no ongoing planning yet," a Reagan adviser said. "But he has made it clear the decision will not depend on whether President Ford declines to run."

Reagan, according to associates, has already taken some preliminary steps. He has solicited the counsel of his former political aide, Lyn Nofziger. He has consulted Washington lawyer John Sears, a former Nixon assistant. He has been at great pains to reject the idea of a third party conservative ticket, to put potential supporters on notice that he will run as Republican or not at all.

He has also embraced former President Richard Nixon with an apparent devotion that escaped him while Nixon sat in the White House. Reagan, 64, belongs to the right wing of the California Republican party, which was responsible for Nixon's defeat for governor in 1962. Their relationship has been awkward, cagey, full of distrust.

But Reagan was one of a small band of brothers who honored Nixon at a Palm Springs dinner party recently. Bob Hope said afterward that Nixon really appreciated having such good friends.

The roughly one-quarter of the Republican party that clings stubbornly to the notion Nixon was unfairly abused is also the hard core of conservative activists from which Reagan's support has traditionally sprung.

Reagan has, according to his advisers,

rejected the strategy he used in 1968, when he pretended to be disinterested in the presidency until convention eve. He had hoped to dazzle the delegates with his last-minute blitz, but the Nixon organization, which had been publicly working for two years, had all the votes. Reagan was too late with too little.

"He's sour on that approach," an adviser said. "If he does it this time, he'll make noise." Pause. "Of course that may be the only way to force Ford (President Gerald Ford) out."

Reagan's personal interests are best served by a delay in any overt presidential activity as long as possible. He writes a profitable newspaper column, does a radio show, and collects fees on the lecture circuit. None of these projects is compatible with an open presidential candidacy. And none of the revenue is required to be publicly reported.

But the new presidential campaign reform law requires all candidates to raise \$5,000 from each of any 20 states in contributions of not more than \$250 if they are to qualify for matching federal primary monies. That necessitates seed money, organization and personpower well in advance of the primaries.

All this is complicated for Reagan by the fact that the President, should he decide not to seek election, is not apt to reveal his lame duck status until well into 1976, perhaps after several primary deadlines have already passed. Thus Reagan must formulate his own plans on the assumption that Ford will be his opposition and merely the hope he will not.

In the meantime, he is traveling a lot and staying visible, assuring himself the forum is still there should he take the plunge.



3-9-75

41.2

Keep Principles of 1972, Reagan Tells Republicans

By Arnold B Sawislak
United Press International

Ronald Reagan told more than 2,000 delegates to a party-building conference yesterday that the GOP can be revived only if it stands fast behind the principles that gave it a national election landslide in 1972.

Speaking at the windup of the Republican National Committee's two-day leadership conference, Reagan avoided direct conflict with President Ford's Friday night appeal to build the party with a "tent" that would cover voters in a broad range of opinions.

But the former California governor made clear his belief that Republicans could not expect to succeed by aping the Democrats.

"No one can quarrel with the idea that a political party hopes it can attract a wide following, but does it do this by forsaking its basic beliefs, by blurring its image so as to be indistin-

guishable from the opposing party?" he asked.

"DOES ANY Republican seriously believe that any Democrats that subscribe to the profligacy, the big government policies of the present Democratic leadership, will be won over to our side if we say these are our policies too?"

He said Republicans must broaden their base — "just as we broadened it in 1972," Reagan said.

Reagan did not utter the name Richard Nixon in his speech, but said of the for-

mer president's victory three years ago, "in the 1972 election we had a new majority — a long overdue realignment based not on party labels but on basic philosophies."

"The tragedy of Watergate and the traumatic experiences following it have obscured the meaning of the 1972 election but the mandate still remains. The people are unchanged philo-

sophically. We must make them see that what we stand for is akin to their own hopes and dreams of what this country can and should be," Reagan said.

"A POLITICAL PARTY can not be all things to all people. It cannot compromise its fundamental beliefs for political expediency or simply to swell its numbers."

Unlike most other GOP leaders that spoke at the conference, Reagan did not mention Ford or call for support of his leadership and he appeared to be taking at least a back hand slap at the administration policies when he said:

"If we give up in the fight against inflation and turn to fighting recession, we'll go right back to the inflationary spiral and eventual destruction of our system. Only by enduring a market adjustment — a recession if you will — can we stop inflation and restore the stability of the dollar."

"Inflation has one cause and one cause only, government spending more than government takes in. And there is one answer and one answer only: a balanced budget."

REAGAN GOT enthusiastic applause and several standing, cheering ovations as he attacked the Democrats for "40 years of social tinkering and economic experimentation."

But the conference delegates, told by both Ford and Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller that the salvation of their party is to "broaden its base", only listened respectfully to his warning against ideological deviation.

Reagan also repeated his rejection of proposals by some militant conservatives that they leave the GOP and form a third party.

As he did before a conservative political action conference several weeks ago, Reagan said he favored "as an alternative to a third party, a new second party — the Republican party — raising a banner of bold colors, with no pale pastels."



6 Aug 3-9-75

Reagan bids GOP keep principles

By PETER J. KUMPA
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington. — Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan told a cheering Republican leadership conference here yesterday that the GOP must stick to its conservative principles to return to its winning 1972 style.

He rejected the idea of broadening the base of the Republican party by diluting any of its traditional stands—a position that put him in opposition to President Ford and a string of other moderate and liberal spokesmen.

Mr. Ford, speaking Friday evening, urged the more than 2,000 participants in a two-day party-building meeting, to drop the Republican party's "exclusiveness" and erect "a tent that is big enough for all who care about this great country."

The former California governor did reject again as he had several weeks ago any idea of a third-party movement. His alternative was "a new second party—the Republican party—raising a banner of bold colors, with no pale pastels."

In his address winding up the GOP conference, Mr. Reagan provided strong, though indirect criticism of President Ford's policies in the economic and budgetary fields, though never mentioning the President's name. Unlike most

See REAGAN, AS, Col. I

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other speakers, the Californian avoided any call for support of Mr. Ford.

The two-day conference of the party was designed to raise ideas for the Republican direction in the future. It ended on a divided note with moderates proposing a broader and more open party, while conservatives were rejecting compromises, although GOP fortunes are at their lowest point in history. Only 18 per cent of American voters now call themselves Republicans.

Governor Reagan rejected the interpretation of the 1974 elections as a conservative defeat, though agreeing it was a Republican one, and rejected the idea of broadening the party's base through change.

He asked if the GOP could attract a wide following by "Does any Republican seriously believe that any Democrat who subscribes to the profligacy, the big government policies of the present Democratic leadership will be won over to our side if we say these are our policies too?" he asked.

"A political party cannot be all things to all people," Mr. Reagan declared. "It cannot compromise its fundamental beliefs for political expediency, or simply to swell its numbers."

As the Californian explained his GOP view, it would not take the Ford administration's deficit spending to turn the recession around.

"If we give up the fight against inflation and turn to fighting recession," Governor Reagan said, "we'll go right back to the inflationary spiral and eventual destruction of our system."

"Only by enduring a market adjustment, a recession if you will, can we stop inflation and restore the stability of the dollar," he went on.

"Inflation has one cause and one cause only: government spending more than government takes in," he said. "And, there is one answer and one answer only: a balanced budget."

Holding that the country was "increasingly alone" in a more hostile world, Mr. Reagan criticized congressional Democrats for supporting defense cuts. "The American people are hungry to feel once again a sense of mission and greatness," he said.

Mr. Reagan gave few specific proposals beyond his advocacy of conservative policies. He did ask for simplified tax procedures, no additional taxes on cost-of-living salary increases and—"most important"—a permanent limit on the percentage of taxes "that government can take without the consent of the people."

Mr. Reagan got his longest, loudest standing ovation when he rejected suggestions that this country might try socialism. He offered the example of the Soviet Union, which he said was a rich country with more people and 54 years of socialist experimentation.



3-10-75

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GOP cheered Ford, but Reagan stirred it

Baltimore

Sun

By PETER J. KUMPA

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—As the two-day Republican Party Leadership Conference that ended Saturday demonstrated, President Ford faces a formidable challenge from the right or conservative wing of his own party.

Mr. Ford might very well have won the heads of the more than 2,000 party officials and workers who cheered his moderate and pragmatic approach to politics and his determined prediction that he will win the presidential nomination and election in 1976.

But the following day, the Republican party showed that a good deal of its heart belonged to former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. He gave them the good, old traditional tough talk in the style of Senator Barry M. Goldwater (R., Ariz.) and they ate it up.

The Republican loyalists jumped to their feet, whooping it up for the Californian, the

now acknowledged champion of the conservative wing of the party.

Republicans clearly like Mr. Ford for the candid and decent politician that he is but Mr. Reagan stirs their blood.

White House political strategists publicly play down the challenge from the right wing. They say that die-hard conservatives make up a small portion of the party and note that conservatives fared poorly in the 1974 elections. They take encouragement in the fact that the incumbent President commands national attention and also controls the party organization.

But privately some Ford men worry.

The uncertainty in the picture is the mood of the country—already disturbed by the recession and deeply cynical about politics and government.

It does not take much imagination for a possible—though

at this time not too likely—scenario that could push Mr. Ford out of the 1976 political picture.

First, the economy lags on at its present desultory, stagnating condition. Or it even gets worse. The result is a deep drop in public confidence in Mr. Ford's ability as President.

Next, enter a new Republican hero—Mr. Reagan. He has simple, traditional answers. Cut the budget, cut taxes. Get rid of government waste. Cut out the drifters from government payrolls. Wave the flag and back up the military. Get tough on criminals. Keep the party pure. Down with Vice President Rockefeller. Down with liberals.

Moreover, Mr. Reagan has a style, a pizzazz, a glamour that the very average Mr. Ford does not have. When Mr. Reagan finishes with his warm-up of a GOP crowd, it lines up with shining eyes to see him close up, to touch him, to get his autograph.

Mr. Reagan, the old movie star, is a political one as well.

Of course, this sort of a scenario supposes that Mr. Reagan has the political nerve to get out and run against Mr. Ford in the primaries. It assumes that he is willing to split the party in the sort of fighting that Democrats take for granted. It assumes that

Mr. Reagan can win enough Republican votes to make President Ford's position untenable.

If we take the example of President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1968, the Reagan forces would not need a majority.

What are the chances of such a battle within the Republican ranks?

The odds depend on how well Mr. Ford performs in his main goal to get the economy moving forward. He is aware of that. His assistants are aware

of it. Most of their energy goes into this task.

Still, the conservatives might not be satisfied even if the Ford position improves, if he gets higher job ratings from the public.

For Mr. Reagan, 1976 might be his last chance to run for the White House. Age—he is 64 years old—is his enemy.

The threat from the right is an important factor in Mr. Ford's strategy in performing his office. He need not travel around the country to sell his

economic and energy programs but by moving around he gets a bonus—a chance to meet and talk with party officials around the country.

Basically, Mr. Ford is following a centrist strategy. The thinking is to hold the winning center on the assumption that if a few extremists drop out, several more moderates will move in to support him.

But if Mr. Ford shuffles to the right, then you'll know that the White House is feeling the conservative heat.



4/12
TOUGHEST CHALLENGER

Reagan: More and Less Than Meets the Eye

BY ROBERT SHOGAN

Times Political Writer

One recent Saturday afternoon found Ronald Reagan in a room in Washington's Madison Hotel in a familiar posture. Hunched over a coffee table, he scribbled barely decipherable notes on a pack of 4-by-6 cards.

A few hours later, in a banquet hall filled with 1,000 ardent conservatives, Reagan gracefully translated his cryptography into a stream of statistics, punchy anecdotes and patriotic battle cries which brought down the house.

Probably no other politician around does this so well. In 10 years, Reagan's mastery of live and television audiences has greatly helped to carry him to where he is today. With President Ford, having only a wobbly hold on his party, Reagan is widely regarded as the GOP's most likely replacement if Mr. Ford should step aside in 1976 and the most formidable challenger if Mr. Ford seeks the nomination.

But there is more—and also less—to Ronald Reagan than meets the eyes of his audiences.

He combines a gift for sensing the troublesome anxieties shared by factory hands and suburbanites with a pragmatism which has helped him, while in office, avoid the worst excesses of right-wing rigidity.

But his frequent indulgence in slogans and simplism reflects a lack of intellectual discipline. And even some of his supporters question whether he has the will and nerve to exploit the opportunity that looms before him.

Reagan is the latest inheritor of a rich political legacy, the conservative forces who form the backbone of the Republican Party. Among their modern heroes, Reagan has the broadest appeal; he is warmer and more personable than the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio, blander and smoother than Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

On the face of it, he has an impos-

ing public record. Elected and re-elected to govern the nation's largest and perhaps most diversified state, he emerged personally free of scandal, and left behind a treasury surplus, to which he can, and does, point with pride.

Liberal critics recall his early bungling in Sacramento and complain that his tax policies favored big business and the well-to-do. But Reagan's out-of-state audiences like to hear him tell of his relentless, if not always successful, efforts to hold down the size and cost of government.

Recounting his battles with liberal legislators, Reagan told the conservative group in Washington: "Unable to make them see the light, we often took our case to the people, who made them feel the heat."

Now Reagan feels that all America may be receptive to the kind of ideas and rhetoric that won him success in California.

There's certainly a polarization taking place among people and philosophical differences are becoming pretty clear-cut," he told a visitor at the Madison.

The "new majority" that reelected Richard M. Nixon in 1972 was mainly a reaction against the Democratic Party's program, Reagan said. The need in 1976, he said, is for Republican leadership and a program in which those same people dissatisfied with the other choice can say, "This is what we've been looking for."

Not all Republicans are convinced that Reagan is what the GOP and the country are looking for. Kentucky state GOP Chairman Charles Coy, no flaming liberal, once pronounced him to be "thinner than spit on a slate rock."

Reagan's record in California, and the testimony of those who know him best, suggest that his mind is quicker and keener than his severest critics believe. He worked hard in Sa-

Please Turn to Page 3, Col. 2

cramento to overcome his previous limited experience in public affairs.

But he has yet to prove that he can draw on his conservative tenets to find feasible solutions to a broad range of complex national problems.

Reagan's line that "the painful fact is we can only halt inflation by undergoing a period of economic dislocation—a recession if you will," didn't even get applause from the conservative meeting in Washington. In a time of soaring unemployment, it is not a vision likely to help build a new majority.

In international affairs, where he

has little firsthand knowledge, some of Reagan's utterances are flavored with jingoism. He remarked that Harry S. Truman, whom he otherwise admires, didn't "see far enough down the road" during the Korean war.

"He should have said at the Yalu River what the farmers said at Concord bridge: 'If they mean to have a war, let it start here. I don't think it would have started,'" Reagan added.

Reagan's temperament stirs misgiving among hot-blooded ideologues and cold-eyed politicians. Some see him as overly conventional and cautious, too concerned about allowing himself to look foolish.

Mindful of stories that Reagan prefers a quiet evening at home to appearing at a rally or strategy session, some party professionals question whether he has the drive to take on the burdens of a national campaign.

At the moment Reagan is still pondering his course for 1976. Some of

LA Times
3-16-75



his supporters argue that he should take the third-party route. They talk ambitiously of uniting old-line Republican conservatives with the constituency of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a Democrat.

But Reagan said that he and Wallace have "philosophical" differences. As for third parties, he said: "Their record of failure leads you to believe that you've got a far better chance if you take the framework of an existing party and revitalize it."

Reagan is politely skeptical about Mr. Ford's assertions that he will run next year. "I know that he says this, but we all understand that he would have to say this because of the otherwise automatic lame-duck status."

"A number of people have suggested possibilities that could have him retire at the end of this term," Reagan noted. "If that happens, or if the signs are there, then obviously we're going to be back where we were be-

★ Los Angeles Times 3
Sun., Mar. 16, 1975—Part II

fore (President Nixon resigned)."

For the time being Reagan is content to get his views across through his weekly column (170 newspapers), his daily radio commentary (200 stations) and the half a dozen or so out-of-state speaking engagements a month.

He said "there's a checkpoint down the road someplace" at which he will have to assess the prospects for his political future. It might be prudent for Reagan to wait awhile; a premature move would tip off his potential rivals and could be regarded as disloyal to Mr. Ford.

But in 1968 Reagan waited so long to announce his intentions that he lost whatever chance he had for the nomination. He is 64 now and would be 69 in 1980.

207 A
11-10-75



HOLD MEETING IN CULLMAN

Reagan, Wallace cool to third party ticket

BY AL FOX, News staff writer

CULLMAN—Two of the nation's major presidential contenders in the 1976 races Friday threw cold water on predictions of a third party ticket as they met in the north Alabama city.

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California said he was "more interested in a new second party" but Gov. George C. Wallace did hedge a bit when he said that "nothing is inconceivable."

It was a day of pleasantries for the two politicians who shared the platform at the annual meeting of the Cullman County Chamber of Commerce. Some national pollsters and news media had attached national significance to the meeting of the two as the forerunner of a third party movement.

"WALLACE IS A Democrat working actively in his party," Reagan told newsmen at a press conference at Cullman's City Hall, and "I'm a Republican working within the Republican Party."

A few minutes later when the two met at a nearby motel, Wallace confirmed Reagan's posture that the two were working within their respective parties.

But the governor warned national Democratic leaders that he didn't care how they accepted his welcome of Reagan to Alabama. He said that "the hierarch of the party I belong to doesn't like me very well and they can speculate all they want and they can worry or not worry. I don't care. I'm glad to have Gov. Reagan in Alabama."

Wallace made no speech at the Cullman High School

where the event was a sold-out crowd of 1,600 persons at \$10 per person. His task was to introduce Reagan to Alabama. In doing so, he praised the governor's record while in office for eight years.

Reagan returned the praise and said that, "Few men have ever been called upon to show the courage of Gov. Wallace."

Reagan, the former movie star who was in 51 feature films before getting into politics, is an ardent supporter of private enterprise and made a talk which any group of conservative businessmen would appreciate.

If the people are to get a "bigger share of the pie", Reagan said, "we must tell government to get the hell out of the way and let free enterprise build a bigger pie."

THE MAIN CAUSE of inflation, Reagan said, "is that the government spends more than the government takes in."

To cure it, we must have a balanced budget, he said and "that's like protecting your virtue. The government must learn to say no."

After a brief meeting with the press outside the motel, the two held a private session of nearly a half-hour but both declined to say what was discussed.

Present with Wallace at the Cullman meeting was his national campaign director, Charles Snider, who leaves Tuesday for California with a group of Alabamians to check out the position of Wallace as a potential third-party candidate in 1976. The group is not planning a third-party race, but is making sure things are in position if one develops.

Reagan told newsmen that Wallace would be a "formidable foe" if he was selected for the Democratic ticket but added

that he had his doubts as to whether Wallace could win his party's nomination.

As to himself being the nominee of the Republican Party, Reagan said that "is way down the road. Why don't you ask me about a year from now."

Reagan would not get into any details on the Central Intelligence Agency's attempt to raise a Soviet submarine from the Pacific at a cost of some \$350 million. "Only those who have access to the necessary information" would know the answer, he said.

But he was critical of the publicity given by the news media to the attempts. He said the publicity had "let the Russians know what we are doing" and it could be harmful to national security.

He said he was not proposing any form of censorship but said the news media "ought to have a code of ethics" on national security.



*file
for Calif Reagan
AAA info 2*



Birmingham News, 3-23-75

GOP elements seriously talking of Buckley as party candidate in '76

BY DEAN REED, News Washington staff

WASHINGTON — The big new name now being talked of seriously as a potential Republican presidential nominee in 1976 is Sen. Jim Buckley, the Conservative from New York.

Buckley is suddenly being pushed by right-leaning GOP elements—partly to force President Ford into a more conservative political posture, and partly because former California Gov. Ronald Reagan isn't seen as sufficiently aggressive.

One complication: Buckley is up for re-election in New York next year and wants the support of both his native Conservative Party and the GOP.

Of Reagan, one Buckleyite says. "Ronnie is waiting for God to tell him what to do."

TOURISTS FIRST-CLASS: On the White House official list of coming state visitors, it's Brezhnev maybe and Hirohito yes.

The anticipated trip to Washington by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, expected this summer, is up in the air — not only because of Brezhnev's questionable health, but also because of U.S.-U.S.S.R. differences over a Middle East settlement.

But it's now definite that Japanese Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako will tour the United States for the first two weeks in October.

The Hirohito trip will include stops at scientific stations in

the Reed Report

Woods Hole, Mass., and La Jolla, Calif. He's an expert marine biologist. On something of a technicality, Hirohito was in the United States once before. An Alaskan stopover on the way to Europe in 1971.

VACATION TIME: Congress hasn't had a long recess since February, and it's that time of year again. The House will officially begin its spring recess Wednesday — many members have already gone — and won't return until April 7. The Senate, anxious to get away even earlier, was delayed by the tax bill but will still manage a break of almost two weeks.

BOTTLE BABY: The FBI reports a nostalgic trip — confiscation of a baby's nursing bottle converted into a marijuana pipe.

LOOK WHO came to dinner. Virginia Democrats welcomed two fresh faces to their annual Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner. One was long-hair Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, retired chief of naval operations, who tried but failed to change the Navy by allowing such items as sideburns and beer. He's considering packing a carpetbag instead of a seabag and running for office in Virginia.

The surprise guest: Former White House Press Secretary Jerry TerHorst, the man who quit the Ford administration over the Nixon pardon. But TerHorst said he was visiting "strictly as a citizen" and has no political ambitions.

NAMES IN THE NEWS: Rep. Phil Burton, D-Calif., chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, is coming under fire for allowing "King Caucus" — rule by caucus majority vote — to grab the functions of House committees.

But tempers in the House of Representatives are easing toward Rep. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio, acerbic strongman of the House Administration Committee. The tart-tongued Hays is being absolutely charming these days, his critics say, after his near-defeat for the committee gavel.



AS HEAD OF STATE DEMO CHAIRMEN

Vance was too effective to suit Strauss

BY JAMES FREE, News Washington correspondent
WASHINGTON — "I shouldn't have tried to stretch a two-bagger into a home run," said Robert Vance with a rueful smile.

The Alabama Democratic chairman had just lost a hard-fought battle for re-election as president of the Association of Democratic Chairmen. He got 40 votes to 63 for Donald Fowler, the South Carolina chairman.

A week or 10 days ago Vance might have won. It appeared that a majority of the state party chairmen and vice chairmen were lining up behind the Alabamian, who had been a highly effective head of their organization during his two-year term.

But Vance was too effective to suit Robert Strauss, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who had been on the opposite side on several occasions. So Strauss went to bat for Fowler — quietly for a time but openly in the final days. In general, Vance wanted more power and influence for the state chairmen, while Strauss preferred more centralized authority in Washington.

Everything considered, Vance's accomplishments for the national chairmen's association were almost as remarkable as his contributions as chairman of the Alabama party since the period in which George Wallace ran for president on independent tickets outside Alabama and as the nominee of the Alabama Democratic Party in the state. More than any other individual, Vance held the state party together when it was threatened with being blown apart by pressures from Wallace followers on the one hand and from national Democrats on the other.

Wallace and conservatives

We speculated some weeks back that leaders of the Conservative Political Action Conference, held in Washington last month, probably invited Gov. Wallace to attend. And that it was significant that Wallace did not choose to attend, even though he was already scheduled to come to Washington a day or so later on other business.

Now comes confirmation that Wallace was, indeed, invited. Lee Edwards, who has been perhaps the top public relations adviser to conservative groups over the past decade, makes this plain in "The Right Report," which is billed as "A newsletter that tells you what is happening on the American Right."

Edwards says that both Wallace and Sen. Jim Allen, D-Ala., were invited to a "very private luncheon of three Republican governors and seven U. S. senators held at the Capitol February 20 . . . Sponsored by the Conservative Caucus, the meeting was intended to bring together governors and senators who share many common principles."

"Both (Wallace and Allen) wanted to attend," Edwards continued. "Allen was on the Senate floor for the Rule 22 (filibuster) right. Wallace had a schedule conflict but agreed to discuss these matters later with some of the participants."

We do not doubt that Wallace sent his regrets, but we find it hard to believe that he would not have come had he "wanted to." There is the definite impression hereabouts that the Alabama governor is concentrating on preparations for running in Democratic presidential primaries next year, and also is steering clear of meetings in which possible third party in 1976 is discussed seriously.

Reagan and Wallace?

Former California Republican governor Ronald Reagan not only attended the Conservative Caucus, but was the speaker who got the most enthusiastic applause.

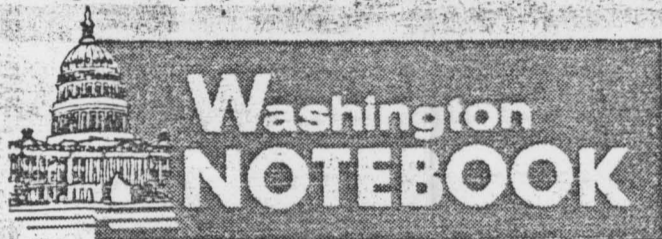
Reagan bypassed the third-party question that was upper-

most in many minds and told the caucus that it might be a "new and revitalized second party," rather than a third party, that is needed.

Edwards said that on the final day, Democratic State Rep. Louis Jenkins of Louisiana, "a member of Wallace's inner-circle" said: "Wallace is not doing anything at this time to encourage a third party. He is trying to capture the Democratic

come, invariably, from sources not at all close to Wallace. Any one even fairly close to Wallace would doubt that the Alabama governor would take second place on anything but the Democratic presidential ticket.

After making a most respectable showing at the head of an independent party ticket in 1968, Wallace would hardly be tempted to play second fiddle to anyone in another such attempt.



Washington NOTEBOOK

nomination (for President) or influence the nomination. There may be an alteration in that plan."

"The conference was not all Reagan," said Edwards, "Gov. George Wallace was much discussed, albeit more in private than in public . . . There was little talk of a 1976 Reagan-Wallace ticket at the conference."

ANY TALK OF a Reagan-Wallace third-party ticket has

Wallace hand on pulse

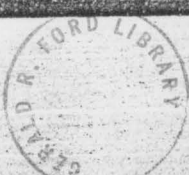
Wallace gets credit for having an observer on the 13-member Committee on Conservative Alternatives, which was formed out of the conservative caucus.

He is Eli Howell, who has been associated with the Alabama governor in Montgomery and who worked for a time last year with Sen. Allen.

Howell was identified in a Washington Star story recently as "the point man here for Wallace's presidential campaign." That may not be strictly accurate, but certainly Howell will keep Wallace up to date on any significant doings of the Committee on Conservative Alternatives.



Sunday COMMENT



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recip receipt SF - 3 1/2 hrs
trip eng / rd sit Wash / F pd
net of Rep party

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann

To: _____

Date: _____

Time _____

①. Ladies to Lit. trip

1. French msg

2. Reagan - London

3. Friedman / Thundervind
Kathy Wooten w order & Ken
Venture Inn
no faults (war among them)

~~4. Polster coming Sat~~

5. Phil Worden / Jerry Waven

6. Wessen - Reagan



Orben - grip at SD

PC - all happy - on the hoof
am plucky but am not stupid
Ron Bennett UPI photo

Vertical handwritten notes:
a.m.
p.m.
winter 74-75
Plan Spring trip coffee
first first

April 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM: JACK CALKINS
RE: Governor Reagan's visit to London

Governor Ronald Reagan and Mrs. Reagan will depart New York on Saturday, April 5, via TW 702, arriving London 8:55 p.m. that evening. Scheduled return is on Wednesday, April 9, via TW 761 direct to Los Angeles.

Governor Reagan has written Ambassador Richardson requesting an appointment with the Ambassador. Reagan's advance man, Dennis LeBlanc, arrived in London today and is staying at the Grosvenor House on Park Lane, telephone: 499-6363. He has the details of Reagan's schedule. Suggest Richardson's aide or secretary telephone LeBlanc to reach a mutually agreeable time for Reagan's meeting with Richardson.

I am informed that all of their evenings are scheduled in addition to the Pilgrim Society Dinner on Monday evening.

Bob Hartmann advises me the President would like every appropriate courtesy extended to Governor Reagan by Ambassador Richardson and his staff and this can be coordinated with LeBlanc.

The above information was obtained by me from Peter Hannaford in Los Angeles, telephone: 213-477-8231. Hannaford will accompany the Reagans to London and will remain a week following their departure on April 9.

JTC:nm

cc: RTH



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

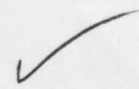
April 1, 1975

General Scowcroft: I spoke with Mr. Hartmann on the phone and he says Gov. Reagan is leaving the end of the week. Is to speak in London on April 7th.

Thinks you can surely reach the Gov. in California through the W.H. switchboard.

Neta Messersmith

Greenspan
Parlyatt
Tomorrow



a.m.

p.m.

Margaret Thatcher, new head of Conservative Party offer diplomatic courtesy



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
OFFICE
1975
APR 1 10 22 AM
GOVERNMENT

Both ways

*Greenwich
Early aft
tomorrow*

] THE WHITE HOUSE [
 WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann ✓

To: _____

Date: _____ Time _____ a.m. p.m.

London, April 7

*Apch to Pilgrim Society
has appt with
Margaret Thatcher, new
head of Conservative Party
offer diplomatic courtesy*



UP-108

(REAGAN)

FORT WORTH, TEX. (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN ADDRESSED A CROWD OF 4,500 IN THIS CITY ON THE EDGE OF THE WEST TEXAS PLAINS TODAY AND AFTER HIS SPEECH ACCEPTED A PRISONER OF WAR BRACELET FROM THE FAMILY OF A PILOT MISSING IN INDOCHINA.

"NEVER AGAIN WILL THIS COUNTRY ASK YOUNG MEN TO FIGHT AND DIE FOR THIS COUNTRY UNLESS IT IS FOR A CAUSE THIS COUNTRY INTENDS TO WIN," REAGAN TOLD SUPPORTERS IN MAGNOLIA-SHADED BURKEBURNETT PARK ON THE EDGE OF THE DOWNTOWN DISTRICT.

LATER REAGAN, CAMPAIGNING AS THE FAVORITE FOR THE STATE'S 100 GOP DELEGATES IN THE MAY 1 GOP PRIMARY, SLIPPED ON HIS RIGHT WRIST A CHROME POW BRACELET PRESENTED TO HIM BY MRS. PAULA HARTNESS, THE WIFE OF A MISSING AIR FORCE PILOT.

THE BRACELET READ, "MAJ. GREGG HARTNESS 11-26-68," THE DATE HARTNESS, WHO WOULD NOW BE 39, WAS REPORTED MISSING IN LAOS.

"HE SAID WE SHOULD HAVE DEMANDED MORE INFORMATION FROM HANOI," MRS. HARTNESS SAID, QUOTING REAGAN.

REAGAN WAS NEARING THE END OF A THREE-DAY SWING ACROSS TEXAS, THE SECOND OF THREE CAMPAIGN TOURS.

MRS. HARTNESS, HER CHILDREN AND THE MISSING PILOT'S PARENTS, COL. AND MRS. WALLY HARTNESS, TALKED WITH REAGAN AND SAID THEY WANTED HIM TO REMEMBER GREGG.

DURING HIS SPEECH, REAGAN REPEATED HIS CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT FORD'S MILITARY STRATEGY AND THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION, USING FAMILIAR LINES.

HE SAID SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER WAS "BOWING AND SCRAPING" IN HIS DEALINGS WITH THE RUSSIANS.

"THE USSR IS SPENDING 50 PER CENT MORE ON WEAPONS THAN THE UNITED STATES," HE SAID.

"IF WE WERE TO GO TO WAR TOMORROW WE COULD EQUIP ONLY HALF OF OUR 16 DIVISIONS. WE ARE NO. 2 IN A WORLD WHERE IT IS DANGEROUS, IF NOT FATAL, TO BE SECOND BEST."

IN HIS TREK ACROSS SOUTH TEXAS, REAGAN SAID HE HAS NO INTENTION OF BOWING OUT OF THE 1976 PRESIDENTIAL RACE AT ANY STAGE.

"I INTEND TO BE IN THIS RACE ALL THE WAY TO KANSAS CITY AND BEYOND," HE TOLD 600 CHEERING SUPPORTERS AT A BREAKFAST IN HOUSTON. "WE'RE IN THIS TOGETHER. I'M JUST HOPING AND PRAYING I'LL BE WHISTLING 'THE EYES OF TEXAS.'"

UPI 04-15 05:18 PES

UP-109

ETA
W
To: Chicago Tribune--New York News Syndicate, Inc.
220 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

HARRIS PUBLIC OPINION ANALYSIS

For Release: Thursday AM, April 17, 1975

Not Before

BY LOUIS HARRIS

Ronald Reagan could be the spoiler for President Ford in 1976. If the former California Governor were to bolt the Republican Party and run as a conservative candidate, he could receive as much as 21 per cent of the vote. This would destroy any chance of the President winning the White House in his own right.

When pitted in a trial heat against Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine as the Democratic nominee for 1976, President Ford ends up in a flat-footed tie at 45-45 per cent. But when likely voters were asked to choose between Mr. Ford, Sen. Muskie, and Gov. Reagan as a third party nominee, the results were: Ford - 29 per cent; Muskie - 39 per cent, and Reagan 21 per cent.

This could mean serious trouble for President Ford. If he runs on a very conservative platform and the recession is still on, he would probably not even hold his present vote. On the other hand, Republican conservatives have often said that they would punish Mr. Ford if he veers toward the liberal side and the possibility of Reagan running puts muscle behind their threats. Of course, Reagan has not yet said he would bolt the GOP and make such a run, but he has openly courted discontented Republicans on the right. He also has visited Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, sparking rumors of a Reagan-Wallace or Wallace-Reagan third party ticket in 1976.

(MORE)



While it is unlikely that Ronald Reagan could win, the 21 per cent recorded for him equals the high water mark recorded in the Harris Survey for Gov. Wallace back in September of 1968.

Between April 1 and 4, a national cross section of 1,274 likely voters in 1976 were asked:

"If the 1976 election for President were being held today, and if you had to choose, would you vote for President Gerald Ford for the Republicans or for Senator Edmund Muskie for the Democrats?"

FORD-MUSKIE TREND

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Muskie</u>	<u>Not</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Sure</u>
			<u>%</u>
April 1975	45	45	10
Nov. 1974	49	42	9
May	44	43	13
March	48	46	6

Muskie was chosen for the test, not because he has in any way indicated he would run in 1976, but because he has consistently run a strong race as a Democrat in trial pairings. A comparable cross-section of likely voters was asked:

"Now suppose in 1976, President Ford ran for President as the Republican candidate, Senator Muskie as the Democratic candidate, and former Governor Ronald Reagan ran on an Independent Conservative Party ticket. If you had to choose right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican, Muskie the Democrat, or Reagan the Independent?"

FORD, MUSKIE, REAGAN RACE

	<u>Total Likely Voters</u>
	<u>%</u>
Ford	29
Muskie	39
Reagan	21
Not Sure	11

(MORE)



The real clue to the Reagan threat can be seen in the following table which shows the Ford vote with and without the former California governor in the race:

FORD SHOWING AMONG KEY GROUPS
WITH REAGAN IN AND OUT OF THE RACE

<u>Ford Vote:</u>	<u>With Reagan Out</u> %	<u>With Reagan In</u> %	<u>Net Shift</u> %
<u>Nation</u>	45	29	-16
South	50	32	-18
West	51	24	-27
Small towns	51	31	-20
Rural	52	28	-24
Conservatives	60	35	-25
Republicans	83	57	-26
1972 Nixon voters	65	42	-23

It is clear that a Reagan run as a third party candidate would go straight to the heart of the constituency that Gerald Ford needs to win in 1976: conservative, small town voters in the South and the West, particularly those who cast their ballots for Richard Nixon in 1972. There is little doubt now that the conservative rumblings on the right are an ominous sign for President Ford as he assesses his political future in 1976.

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~~7/14~~
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
April 25, 1975

TO: Jack Calkins

FROM: JERRY WARREN

FYI

Reagan file



APR 25 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM

TO: JERRY WARREN
FROM: JON HOORNS TRA
SUBJECT: RONALD REAGAN



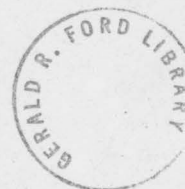
The attached is a list of cities in which Human Events pays the bills for Reagan's new broadcast commentaries.

I think it is notable that HE is sponsoring fully four stations in Florida alone--which is the second state in the series of Presidential primaries.

A bit less significant, though interesting, is that HE is carrying the program in two Ohio cities (which I think follows the Wisconsin primary) and two California cities (the last primary before the convention).

For those who believe Reagan plans to seriously challenge the President for the nomination, this looks like good supporting evidence.

Note: Jim Conroy.



Reagan Broadcasts

HUMAN EVENTS is now sponsoring former Gov. Ronald Reagan's radio commentary, "American Viewpoint," in the following cities. Broadcast times vary from place to place, so interested listeners should check with their local stations.

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB (770Kc)
Boston, Mass.	WCOP (1150Kc)
Casper, Wyo.	KTWO (1470Kc)
Charleston, S.C.	WOKE (1340Kc)
Charlottesville, Va.	WCHV (1260Kc)
Cincinnati, Ohio ✓	WKRC (550Kc)
Costa Mesa, Calif. ✓	WFOB (1430Kc)
Flagstaff, Ariz.	KIKO (1340Kc)
Hot Springs, Ark.	KGUS/FM (97.5)
Jacksonville, Fla. ✓	WQIK (1090Kc)
Knoxville, Tenn.	WSKT (1580Kc)
La Crosse, Wis.	WKTY (580Kc)
Longview, Tex.	KLUE (1280Kc)
Memphis, Tenn.	WWEE (1430Kc)
Ocala, Fla. ✓	WTMC (1290Kc)
Pensacola, Fla. ✓	WPFA (790Kc)
Pittsburgh, Pa. ✓	WWSW (970Kc)
Portland, Ore.	KLIQ (1210Kc)
Rapid City, S.D.	KTOQ (1340Kc)
San Luis Obispo, Calif.	KVEC (920Kc)
Santa Cruz, Calif.	KSCO (1080Kc)
Sterling, Colo.	KGEK (1230Kc)
Tifton, Ga.	WWGS (1430Kc)
Valparaiso, Ind.	WNWI (1080Kc)
Washington, D.C.	WAVA (780Kc)
West Palm Beach, Fla. ✓	WPBR (1340Kc)
Winston-Salem, N.C.	WKBX (1500Kc)
Yuba City, Calif.	KUBA (1600Kc)

Human Events

4-26-75



RTH
W

CHARLES G. BAKALY, JR.
611 WEST SIXTH STREET
LOS ANGELES

April 29, 1975

The Honorable Robert Hartman
Counselor to The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Bob:

Enclosed are three pieces of literature I received in one day.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Chucky

Charles G. Bakaly, Jr.

CGB:gg
Enc.



REAGAN RADIO PROJECT

OF YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION



Fellow American,

Let's put Ronald Reagan on national radio and TV!

Ronald Reagan's common sense message needs to be heard by every American. His solutions to the welfare mess, our economic woes, rising crime, and bulging bureaucracy must be aired into every nook and cranny of this great land.

The words of this man can lead this nation out of the domestic crisis we face. His wisdom can turn this nation around.

In January of this year former Governor Reagan began syndicating a national radio program. Within one month 200 stations were airing his program and 30 more stations each week are picking up the broadcast.

Unfortunately the Reagan Radio Program is still not being aired in many major cities. Millions of Americans do not have an opportunity to hear the message of former Governor Reagan.

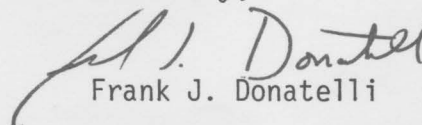
You can help Young America's Foundation put Ronald Reagan on the air in these major markets and in your local community by making a tax-deductible contribution to the Reagan Radio Project.

If we receive strong support for his radio broadcast and demand is great enough former Governor Reagan may syndicate a national TV program.

PLEASE...we must put Ronald Reagan on the air in every community across the nation including yours. In order to purchase time on 20 stations in major markets we will need nearly \$100,000.

Whatever you can send, a few dollars, perhaps as much as \$100 (or even more if possible) will be used to put Ronald Reagan on the air!

Sincerely,


Frank J. Donatelli



P.S. Be sure and include the name of your local station. Also, everyone who responds to this appeal will receive transcripts of recent broadcasts by former Governor Reagan.

IF YOU RECEIVE MORE THAN ONE COPY OF THIS APPEAL
Please understand that we are using many mailing lists in this important project
and that occasional duplications will occur.
Won't you share any extra copies you receive with a friend? Thanks for your
understanding and continued support.

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Sterling, Va.



132



THE SHARON STATEMENT

"Adopted in Conference at Sharon, Connecticut, September 9-11, 1960."

IN THIS TIME of moral and political crisis, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to affirm certain eternal truths.

WE, as young conservatives, believe:

THAT foremost among the transcendent values is the individual's use of his God-given free will, whence derives his right to be free from the restrictions of arbitrary force;

THAT liberty is indivisible, and that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom;

THAT the purposes of government are to protect these freedoms through the preservation of internal order, the provision of national defense, and the administration of justice;

THAT when government ventures beyond these rightful functions, it accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty;

THAT the Constitution of the United States is the best arrangement yet devised for empowering government to fulfill its proper role, while restraining it from the concentration and abuse of power;

THAT the genius of the Constitution—the division of powers—is summed up in the clause which reserves primacy to the several states, or to the people, in those spheres not specifically delegated to the Federal Government;

THAT the market economy, allocating resources by the free play of supply and demand, is the single economic system compatible with the requirements of personal freedom and constitutional government, and that it is at the same time the most productive supplier of human needs;

THAT when government interferes with the work of the market economy, it tends to reduce the moral and physical strength of the nation; that when it takes from one man to bestow on another, it diminishes the incentive of the first, the integrity of the second, and the moral autonomy of both;

THAT we will be free only so long as the national sovereignty of the United States is secure; that history shows periods of freedom are rare, and can exist only when free citizens concertedly defend their rights against all enemies;

THAT the forces of international Communism are, at present, the greatest single-threat to these liberties;

THAT the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace; and

THAT American foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?

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IS A DANGEROUS SERVANT
AND A FEARFUL MASTER."

—George Washington

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As an American interested in preserving America and her institutions you are invited to join the YAF Sponsor Program. Established to put Young Americans for Freedom on a continuing sound financial basis, Sponsors place their trust in YAF by giving their pledge of continued financial support.

The only way YAF can counter the tactics and projects of the radical left is to build chapters and attract members across the nation . . . and these chapters must be given services to aid them in their front lines struggle. They must have books, films, magazines and publications targeting the fallacies of radical liberalism. If you and other concerned Americans pledge your support on a continuing basis, it will insure that these young patriots will be given the supplies and information necessary to expose the doctrine of permissiveness pouring forth from America's colleges and universities.

The pressures of skyrocketing rent, oppressive taxes and an unrestrained crime rate in Washington D.C. have forced Young Americans for Freedom to move the YAF National Headquarters to Sterling, Virginia. The quiet, rolling countryside of Virginia once frequented by such great Americans as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, provides the ideal atmosphere for the patriotic efforts of Young Americans for Freedom.

Young Americans for Freedom appreciates and needs your continued support.

Young Americans for Freedom



"Building Leadership for a Conservative America"

I would like to become a Sponsor of Young Americans for Freedom. I have enclosed my monthly pledge in the amount indicated and understand that I will receive a monthly reminder and pledge envelope from Young Americans for Freedom.

\$5 \$7.50 \$10.00 \$25 \$50 other \$ _____

I do not wish to participate in the YAF pledge program at this time, but have enclosed my contribution for the area designated.

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CITY, STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make your personal, or corporate check payable to Young Americans for Freedom _____

YAF FREEDOM CENTER

A Freedom Center, created to preserve the ideals of individual liberty and constitutional government for this and future generations, is being planned by Young Americans for Freedom. Already an existing building on an eight acre tract near Sterling, Virginia has been purchased and renovated. This building now serves as the National Headquarters of Young Americans for Freedom. Much more than a physical setting, this Center will serve as the focal point for services and inspiration for young Americans. The Young Americans who are striving to maintain a prosperous and moral, free society.

The Freedom Center will increase YAF's effectiveness in thwarting plans by well financed and trained leftist revolutionaries to bring anarchy and chaos to America. These committed young Americans have won time and again, thanks directly to the services and facilities your dollars have made possible. YAF must continue to have your support as the struggle for individual freedom intensifies.

Plans call for more than existing operational facilities, but also a Freedom Library, lecture halls, meeting facilities for conservative gatherings, an expanded film library and audio-visual areas. Efforts are being made to locate other patriotic organizations in the Freedom Center, greatly reducing costs to YAF, and maximizing the talents, resources and ideas available in the tasks ahead.

You can be a part of this really exciting event by contributing to the YAF Mortgage Retirement Fund. Perhaps you would like to donate specific items such as desks, projectors, printing equipment or library furnishings. The Freedom Library or another special service area could be dedicated in honor of your family or a person you designate; a gesture that will live for decades. We need your donation now to the YAF Freedom Center, no matter how large or small, to start this dream toward reality. The Freedom Center could so firmly plant the ideals of individual freedom and responsibility that generations will pass before America is again threatened by the ideology of tyranny. You can help make that goal come true by deciding now to help establish the YAF Freedom Center.

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YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION MUST DISCON-
TINUE THE REAGAN RADIO PROJECT.**

Yes, I want to help put Ronald Reagan on radio stations in all 50 states.
I am enclosing my tax-deductible contribution in the amount of:

\$5000 \$1000 \$500 \$100 \$50 \$____other

I am especially interested in hearing Ronald Reagan on a radio station in my community. _____.

(Please make necessary corrections in address shown below.)

NOTE: Young America's Foundation may accept contributions from corporations and tax exempt foundations.

CHARLES G BAKALY JR
611 W 6TH STREET
LOS ANGELES, CA 90017

Make all checks payable to: Reagan Radio Project and return in enclosed pre-paid envelope. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE.

Conservative Conference Considers New Party



Concerned about the radical politics of the Democratic Party, and the leftward rush by the Republican Party, conservatives from virtually every state in the nation met in Washington, D.C., from February 13-16, 1975, to consider the future course of the movement and of the country.

The Conservative Political Action Conference, co-sponsored by Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union, brought together over 700 conservatives to hear the views of their national leaders and to discuss themselves what needs to be done to preserve or revamp the national political party structure.

At the opening session, Robert Bauman, former national chairman of YAF and present U.S. Representative from Maryland's first district, set the stage by pointing out the liberal track record of the Republican Party, which has, under recent and present leadership, abandoned the principles of lim-

ited government, balanced budgets, a strong national defense. He urged a realignment of the two major parties into liberal and conservative parties, ones which clearly state the principles on which they build their policies and run their candidates.

This question was considered again and again throughout the conference, by such acknowledged leaders as Congressman Philip Crane of Illinois; M. Stanton Evans, chairman of the American Conservative Union; Jeffrey Bell, former aide to Governor Reagan; national YAF chairman Ron Docksai; Mississippi GOP chairman Clarke Reed; Senator Jesse Helms; Congressman John Ashbrook; noted political analyst Kevin Phillips; F. Clifton White, architect of the Goldwater nomination victory; *National Review* publisher William Rusher; professor and party specialist Dr. Thomas Ireland.

Continued on Page 2

BOX 65, STERLING, VA. 22170

disillusion

ON LIBERTY

ure

SPRING, 1975, VOLUME V, NO. 2

a
quarterly
publication
of
Young Americans
for Freedom



Conservative Conference Considers New Party

Continued from Page 1

In addition to the debate over a new party, conservatives heard from Dr. William Schneider of the staff of Senator James Buckley and Dr. James Dornan of Catholic University on the critical state of our national defense. U.S. Commissioner of Welfare Robert Carleson, and the head of the Philadelphia Society, David Mieselman, analyzed and proposed welfare reform, and Congressman Jack Kemp and Washington economic consultant Dr. Norman Turé led the discussion of the causes and cures of inflation and recession.

At the Conservative Awards banquet Friday, February 14, Senator James Allen of Alabama, Representative Sam Steiger of Arizona, and author/editor Robert Barron were chosen as the award recipients for their outstanding and consistent contributions to the cause of freedom.

Saturday panels included Congressmen John Rousselot and Sam Steiger; economist Yale Brozen; and head of the National Taxpayers Union, James Davidson on "The Regulated American"; as well as state Senators Buz Lukens, James Inhofe, Louis Jenkins, and Donald Totten, on the role of the states in our federal system. Saturday's activities were climaxed by the banquet which featured remarks by William Rusher and James Buckley, and a major address by Ronald Reagan.

In his speech, Reagan pointed to his own impressive record in California as a model for bringing government bureaucracies under control. He also urged that the Republican party raise a new standard, a standard which affirms the principles which made this nation great, the standard of fiscal integrity, the free market, self help,

strong defense, and sound money. He closed with the admonition, "and if there are those who cannot subscribe to these principles, let us go forward without them."

At the resolutions session on Sunday, chaired by New York Conservative Party leader J. Daniel Mahoney, the conference participants passed overwhelmingly a resolution which established the Committee on Conservative Alternatives. This group, whose members include John Ashbrook; Robert Bauman; Ron Docksai; M. Stanton Evans; Jesse Helms; Eli Howell, former assistant to Governor George Wallace; Maine Republican National Committeeman Cyril Joly; James Lyon, Harris County (Texas) Republican Finance Committee Chairman; J. Daniel Mahoney; William Rusher; Phyllis Schlafly; Robert Walker, and Thomas Winter, will "review and assess the current political situation and develop future opportunities", and will "report back to the attendees at the conference and other interested conservatives and call another national meeting, if deemed necessary, to chart more explicitly the future course of conservatism".



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Spring, 1975, Volume V, No. 2

Editor: Mary Fisk

Publisher: Frank Donatelli

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DIALOGUE ON LIBERTY is published quarterly by Young Americans for Freedom, Inc., Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170. (703-450-5162)

Address all editorial matters, letters to the editor, subscription inquiries, and changes of address to DIALOGUE ON LIBERTY, Young Americans for Freedom, Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send old and new address (including either the mailing label or envelope from previous issue) with Zip Code number.

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Subscription Rates \$1.00 per year.

Every two years, YAF members hold regional conventions in the eight geographic areas of the country. At these conferences, the members have the opportunity to elect their representative to the Board of Directors of YAF, the organization's policy-making body.

In addition, they can hear key conservative leaders speak on timely issues and strategy for effective action. Workshops and seminars provide for the exchange of ideas on projects, media relations, recruitment of new members, and a host of other topics necessary for continued growth.

The first conference was that for the Southwest region, held in Houston. Featured speakers included Anthony Harrigan of the United States Industrial Council; YAF chairman Ron Docksai; and Terry Quist, editor of *Right-On*, an outstanding independent student newspaper.

The Plains Conference was held the following week, March 14-16, in Lincoln, Nebraska. Reed Larson of the National Right to Work Committee was one of the major speakers.

The Southern regional was one of the finest, with such leading conservatives as Harry Byrd Jr. highlighting the weekend's activities.

The Mid-Atlantic Convention will be held April 4-6 at the Marriott Motor Hotel in Philadelphia. The Western conference is scheduled for April 11-13 at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, with Senator Jesse Helms as the invited Keynote speaker. Bellevue, Washington, will be the site of the Northwest Convention, with John Ashbrook and M. Stanton Evans as featured speakers.

The final conference will be at Boston College in Chestnut Hill, MASSACHUSETTS, on the weekend of April 25-27. The distinguished list of speakers includes New Hampshire Governor MELDRIM THOMSON and syndicated columnist DAVID BRUDNOY. A banquet is scheduled for Saturday, April 26, at the Sidney Hill Country Club. Dan Rea is conference chairman.

YAF



Dean Clarence Manion

Holds



John Ashbrook

Regional

Conventions



M. Stanton Evans



YAF Executive Director Frank Donatelli calls to order the opening session.



Victor Gold presents an award to Representative Sam Steiger for outstanding contributions to the conservative cause.



YAF members Pat McGowan and Mary Jo Werle, and ACU member Gabe Selmezi were responsible for press arrangements for the conference.



Former YAF National Chairman Alan MacKay, New York 1974 Senatorial Candidate Barbara Keating, ACU Executive Director James Roberts, and Senator Strom Thurmond meet prior to a breakfast session at which Mrs. Keating and the Senator were featured speakers.



The third conservative leader to be given an award was Senator James Allen. His wife accepted the award on his behalf from Victor Gold.



Interested participants attend a panel discussion on conservative options.



John Fisher of the American Security Council and Admiral Zumwalt chat before a major session on national security.



M. Stanton Evans and Ronald Reagan consider courses of action for Republicans and Conservatives.



Members of the panel "The Regulated American" were Congressman Sam Steiger, economist Yale Brozen, Congressman John Roussetot, Howard Phillips, and James Davidson of the National Taxpayers Union.



Representative Phillip Crane; Daniel Joy, aide to Senator Buckley; Jeffrey Bell, formerly of the Reagan staff; and Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed offer their views of "What Are Conservatives To Do?"



Senator James Buckley, Human Events editor, Thomas Winter, and Representative Robert Bauman were among the distinguished guests at the Congressional reception.



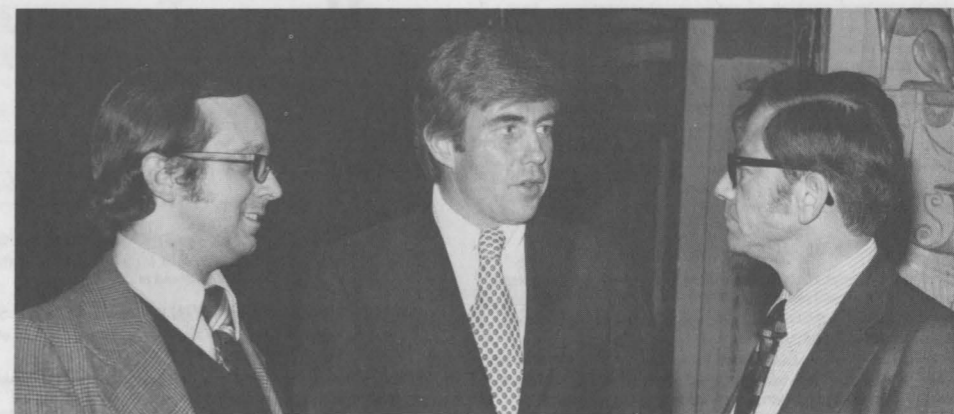
Editor and Author John Barron was honored at the Awards Banquet. He received his award from Ron Docksai as Senator Jesse Helms applauded.



Phyllis Schlafly, Dr. Charles Rice of Notre Dame Law School, Dr. Mildred Jefferson of the Right to Life Committee, and Ernest van den Haag prepare for their seminar on "The Social Issues".



Nearly 1,000 conservatives gathered to hear the major address by Ronald Reagan.



Alan Reynolds of National Review, Congressman Jack Kemp, and Washington consultant Dr. Norman Ture lead a discussion of the causes and cures of our economic ills.

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That being the case, it is important for you to know about HUMAN EVENTS, the Capitol Hill newsweekly written by and for conservatives. For nearly 30 years, HUMAN EVENTS has been fearless in confronting the issues ignored or twisted by the media.

The best way to give you a taste of the tone and style of HUMAN EVENTS is simply to list some of the bylines from recent issues:

A WHO'S WHO OF AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES

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And here are just a few of their headline articles:

- WHO IS WINNING WORLD WAR III?
- WATERGATE AND NIXON'S CREDIBILITY
- NEW DRIVE FOR ANTI-BUSING AMENDMENT
- EVIDENCE CONFIRMS RED CHINA DOPE TRAFFIC
- SECRET REPORT SHOWS SCANDALOUS O.E.O. WASTE
- RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION CONTINUES IN U.S.S.R.
- REVOLUTIONARIES' SECRET BOMB FACTORIES
- THE STATE OF CONSERVATISM
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- THE ZEALOTS BEHIND AMNESTY CAMPAIGN
- AN INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU
- UNION TERRORISM RAGES THROUGH NATION
- DEATH PENALTY ISSUE IS STILL ALIVE
- FREE ENTERPRISE CHALLENGES U.S. MAILS
- TEDDY KENNEDY'S DOUBLE STANDARD
- HOW WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES BACKS TERRORISM
- AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH JOHN SCHMITZ

The list could go on for pages. As you can see, HUMAN EVENTS corrects the facts and unscrambles the interpretations offered by the liberal media. HUMAN EVENTS gives you the insights that make people hang on your words—in any gathering.

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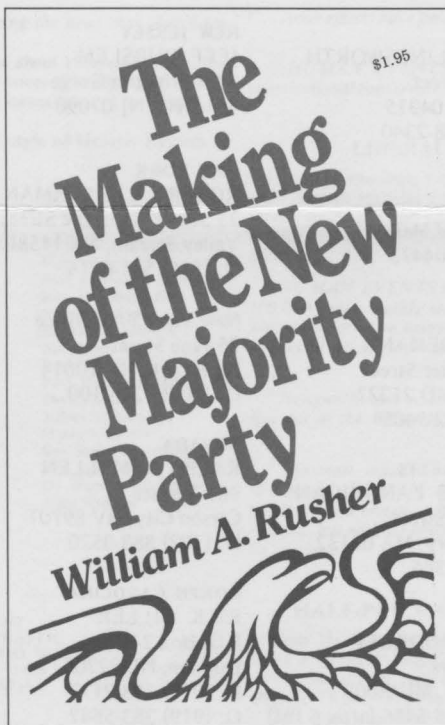
Conservatives are in a new ball game, says National Review publisher Bill Rusher—who co-founded in 1961 the successful Draft Goldwater movement. The Nixon betrayal of conservatism has been completed by Ford-Rockefeller. The Republican Party is dying... or dead. And yet, the opportunity for conservatives to capture both the Congress and the Presidency has never been greater! Conservatives are better organized, have better ideas, better leadership, and are more in tune with the American people than ever before! It is time for ACTION, and Bill Rusher, in chapter and verse, shows us exactly how we can defeat America's ruling liberal elite for the first time in forty years.

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NEW GUARD

April 1975

60¢

CHARLES G BAKALY JR
611 W 6TH STREET
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reactions & rebuttals

To the Editor:

Some misguided leftists are trying to have capital punishment ruled unconstitutional, basing their argument on the "cruel and unusual punishment" clause of the Constitution. To a careful student of the Constitution, this argument is patently specious.

The 8th Amendment indeed does state, "nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted." To determine whether capital punishment qualifies as such, it is instructive to see whether the Constitution itself gives any indication. The 5th Amendment states, "No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury. . . ." This reference in the 5th Amendment to capital crimes is an obvious indication that capital punishment is an accepted and legitimate practice. For certain crimes and for certain criminals, the death penalty is the most suitable answer.

The 5th and 8th Amendments were adopted concurrently, and therefore neither takes precedence over the other as to its Constitutional force. It is apparent that if capital punishment is to become Constitutionally a "cruel and unusual punishment", an additional Amendment will be required to abrogate the 5th Amendment's provision. Moreover, it is also apparent that, lacking such a future Amendment, the issue should be closed to judicial review.

Carl Olson
Woodland Hills, CA.

To the Editor:

The defense budget of the United States is inadequate because of inflation. Nevertheless, many members of Congress, our TV networks, and self-styled liberal papers are assaulting our entire defense system, while the military strength of Soviet Russia is increasing by leaps and bounds daily.

Wide circles of American citizens, including those of the Eastern European descent, are alarmed to see that

our machinery and wheat are sold to Soviet Russia. These sales strengthen the deficient Russian economic system and military potential.

These who advocate the detente between the United States and Soviet Russia disregard the warnings of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn that the Russian Communist leaders have no intention to honor any agreements with the United States, and that they do their very best to achieve the destruction of the United States. The facts should not be ignored that Soviet Russia has violated many international agreements and has occupied Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other countries in Eastern Europe.

Therefore, informed persons should ask the members of Congress to increase our defense budget considerably, and to do their best to oppose the selling of our machinery and wheat to our arch-enemy—Soviet Russia—and likewise refrain from making any concessions of credit to Russia. Besides, the Congress should be urged to encourage the explosive forces of nationalism of the Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, the Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians, and the other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union—the large-scale prison of peoples—and weaken the Russian imperialism, colonialism, and aggression considerably.

Dr. Alexander V. Berkis
Professor of History

To the Editor:

The few individuals who have taken up the defense of traditionalist teachings on freedom have largely come out poorly by allowing the libertarians to define the nature of the debate. "Liberty," as Lord Acton observed, "is not the freedom to do what you want, but the freedom to do what you ought." Conservatism is not an exercise in maximizing freedom qua freedom, but in defining, preserving, and incorporating the ought into individual's life.

The debate should not center around which laws infringe upon an

individual's free will. They all do. The question is that defining a certain ideal as good, which for us is the Judeo-Christian heritage, how can we maximize individual adherence so that external compulsion is unnecessary. Hence, the primacy of prejudice as defined by Burke and the central role of family and church as providing restraints in man's relations to man, not as an adjunct, but as a necessary usurper to the encroachment of the state as a parent often stands between the state and his minor child.

Secondly, traditionalist immediately lose their creditability if they decide that the issue is "decriminalization" where the issue is the elimination of the concept of sin. As the socialists emerge from the proposition that not they themselves or God was responsible for their position in society and hence developed the apologia of exploiters and the oppressed, so too do libertarians insist that the state and its historical tradition are infringing upon their personal prerogatives. As freedom is allowed to be defined as free will, we come ever closer to Sweden or Brave New World where the most acceptable and acquirable freedom among any group of men is soma and pneumatic women.

To the Editor:

In January *New Guard*, both Henry Camden and William Rusher based part of their advocacies of a "conservative" majority party on Kevin Phillips' absurd work, *The Emerging Republican Majority*.

Interesting. Some of the policies implied in that book for the aspiring majority party include:

- expansion of public power.
- continued farm price supports.
- federal 'job creation'.
- retaining and raising the minimum wage laws.
- planned inflation.
- continued compulsory collective bargaining, and possible repeal of right-to-work laws.
- a high level of public works expenditures.

To some people, such a party may be worth the efforts of forming it and getting it on the ballot. But I'll not waste my shoes and knuckles circulating petitions, nor my time and travel in its founding conventions. It has been my impression that the goal of YAF is to move the center, not move into it.

Jack R. Patterson
Roanoke, Va.

(Continued on inside back cover)

IN THIS ISSUE:

The 1975 Conservative Political Action Conference held in Washington, D.C., in February was a major political event. Participants came from across the nation to hear conservative leaders and to discuss the possible formation of a new major political party.

NG's own political analyst **Henry Camden** explains the significance of CPAC, p. 6 . . . Former YAF National Chairman and current U.S. Representative from Maryland, **Robert Bauman**, kicked off the exciting conference with a ringing denunciation of the two major parties as they are presently structured, and offered realignment as a desirable reform, p. 7 . . . American Conservative Union Chairman, **M. Stanton Evans**, explored new party options, p. 11 . . . Ohio Congressman **John Ashbrook** presented a first-hand view of life within a party which has misplaced its principles, p. 13 . . . Photographs of the highlights of the Conference begin

NEW GUARD

THE MAGAZINE OF
YOUNG AMERICANS FOR FREEDOM

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APRIL 1975

VOL XV, No. 3

on p. 16 . . . The most important task of the Conference was the initiation of the formal mechanism for exploring the alternative of a new party. The resolution which created this body and the other twelve policy statements of the CPAC participants are on p. 18 . . . North Carolina Senator **Jesse Helms** repeated his criticism of the major parties, and called for grass roots organization and a platform convention, p. 15 . . . Political analyst **Kevin Phillips** reported on the results of survey data, and found them promising, p. 25 . . . New York Senator **James Buckley** urged the return to principle, p. 27 . . . YAF Chairman **Ron Docksai** affirmed the need for the new party, p. 28 . . .

The conference was climaxed by the major address by **Ronald Reagan**, whom many view as the candidate to effect the change which is so urgently needed, p. 30.

(ED. note: because of the special nature of this issue, and the limitations of space, the *Books, Arts, and Things* section has not been included. It will return with the next issue.)

New Guard is published ten times a year, monthly, with combined issues in January/February and July/August by Young Americans for Freedom. Second class postage paid at Woodland Road, Sterling, Virginia 22170 and additional mailing offices. Copyright 1975 in the U.S. by Young Americans for Freedom. All correspondence, manuscripts, circulation orders and changes of address should be sent to *New Guard*, Woodland Road, Sterling, Virginia 22170. Telephone: (703) 450-5162. Subscription rates \$5 a year. (*New Guard* is also available in a microfilm edition from University Microfilms, 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Mich.) The editors welcome unsolicited manuscripts but request the enclosure of a self-addressed return envelope. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or of Young Americans for Freedom.

ADVICE & DISSENT

● The Conservative Political Action Conference, on which this issue of *New Guard* focuses, gathered conservatives from across America, spotlighted the growing rift between conservatives and the GOP of Ford and Rockefeller, drew over 100 reporters and received thorough impressive national media coverage. But the conference participants did more than vocalize their rejection of liberal policies which have brought this nation an economic crisis, judicial tyranny, strategic inferiority, educational egalitarianism, and a host of other ills. The attendees acted to give flesh to their repudiation—they formed the Committee on Conservative Alternatives, and authorized it "... to review and assess the current political situation and to develop future opportunities; ... and call another national meeting, if deemed necessary, to chart more explicitly the future course of conservatism."

Thus, the crucial step was taken with the creation of the formal mechanism for considering the new party option. In a post-Conference meeting, the Committee has agreed, among other things, to an organized investigation of state election laws and the requirements necessary to secure a place for a new party on the ballot.

The formation of the Committee was a crucial move; it was a prudent one as well. No reckless call for a new party to spring full-grown from the deliberations of a four day convocation of the conservative movement was passed. Rather, the Committee composed of movement leaders, Senators and Representatives, Republican Party leaders, and former aides to Ronald Reagan and Governor Wallace, and open to the inclusion of others, represents a responsible effort to study seriously all of the alternatives open, and to pursue that course of action which will offer the greatest likelihood of a viable vehicle for conservative principles in 1976 and beyond.

● Assistant Secretary of State William Rogers announced in March that the United States is prepared to recognize Panama's full sovereignty over the Panama Canal. In informing the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the status of negotiations on a new U.S.-Panama treaty, Rogers warned that if the Senate rejected the negotiated treaty, a "confrontation with Panama" could result, "in the process of which" the canal could be rendered inoperative.

What the State Department's Latin America expert seems to be proposing, or in effect commanding, is that the United States Senate subject itself to the political and economic blackmail threats of the paper tiger regime of Omar Torrijas. But many influential Senators fortunately possess the principle and courage which has been so lacking in the State Department; they do not quake at the rhetoric of a dictatorial demagogue; they will not sacrifice what is properly the property of the United States to appease the left-wing leader who seized power in 1968; they will not endanger the security of the Western Hemisphere to prop up the flamboyant policies of the Secretary of State. As the *New Guard* noted in April 1974,

"The Panama Canal was made a reality because the high price in U.S. lives, efforts, dollars and technological feats was paid by this nation. In a treaty signed in 1903, the U.S. purchased, not leased, the ten mile wide Canal Zone strip "in perpetuity". The treaty specifically gave to the U.S. sovereign rights, power, and authority within the zone. Since that time, over \$6 billion tax dollars have gone to underwrite the cost and maintenance of the Canal. In addition, the U.S. gives \$2 million annually as compensation to the Panamanian government; the prosperity, compensation, employment opportunities, and ancillary social, medical, and educational services made possible for Panama by U.S. ownership of the Canal Zone has given that small nation the highest per capita income in Central America. More than 40% of Panama's foreign exchange earnings and nearly 1/3 of its gross national product are either directly or indirectly attributable to the Canal. Furthermore, the U.S. allows ships of all countries use of the Canal, in spite of the fact that the U.S. must pay for the Canal's upkeep."

Fortunately, in our system of checks and balances, the Constitution requires that 2/3 of the Senate approve all treaties. Within a week of Rogers' report, Senators Strom Thurmond and John McClellan submitted a resolution which carried the names of 37 Senators—more than the 1/3 needed to block passage of a treaty. The resolution stated unequivocally (another quality lacking in the State Department) that the signatories are firmly opposed to the suicidal proposal which would give to a tiny and unstable country control over the jugular of the Western Hemisphere. If the Ford administration were wise, it would not add to the long list of grievances against conservative principles, and would restrain the State Department from its baser instincts.

● To the dismay of many social engineers, a convincing case can be made that the government ought not to involve itself in the sex lives of its citizens. It is a timely case, and

interesting in that precisely when the FBI is being sharply criticized for maintaining files which happen to include information of the sexual proclivities of elected officials, other government agencies should be sponsoring full scale probes into the similar activities of non-elected officials, i.e., college students.

For example, the National Institute of Health recently granted \$342,000 to University of Michigan's Dr. David Kallen to conduct an inquiry into the sexual attitudes of 1200 of the country's undergraduates, with particular emphasis on the motivation behind their use or non-use of contraceptive devices.

In one of his more commendable forays, Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) denounced the "study" as a waste of taxpayers' money, a serious invasion of privacy, and a process which involved "highly questionable" procedures. As a member of the appropriations committee which finances the NIH's junkets, Senator Proxmire pointed out that Kallen was an employee for six years of the child health division of the NIH, and charged that his research contract had been awarded on an insufficiently competitive basis. Adding insult to injury, Kallen was granted almost \$100,000 more than he had asked for.

These charges, of course, are serious, and warrant investigation. But more important is the value system which underlies the NIH grant, a value system which is antithetical to American concepts of the proper role of government, and the right of privacy which citizens ought to enjoy.

Now the NIH bureaucrats are well meaning, no doubt. They sincerely want to know *why* people are so lacking in civic duty as to refrain from properly utilizing said devices. Presumably once the motivation is uncovered (the causes of the motivation are obvious to everyone except the "scientists") they will no doubt want even more tax money to re-educate the citizenry to pursue what they deem more responsible behavior.

This entire episode, if not so serious, could provide material for a fairly entertaining farce. But when the state becomes interested in the private lives of its citizens to the extent that it intrudes itself into such a personal area, when the state would use the citizens' money to invade the citizens' privacy, when the state would tamper with the sexual attitudes and behavior of the citizens, then an ominous threat to freedom is posed. Hopefully, other Senators will be prompted to join with the Wisconsin Democrat to protest this outrage, and to set strict limits on the prurient powers of the government.

● The rationale for the filibuster is a cogent one, namely, in a democratic system it is necessary to erect safeguards to protect the views and rights of minorities from being hastily trampled by the 51% who compose, at any given time, the majority. In addition, ours is a carefully constructed system of power in which "delay and deliberation" plays a crucial role. The legislative process which grew out of the

foundation laid by the Constitution is not easily reconciled with any programs of fundamental and hasty reform.

But the ideologues of the new Congress cannot wait for their radical programs to stand the test of time to which they would normally be subject: they cannot wait first because it is not in the nature of those who believe themselves possessed of the means with which to save mankind to be patient while others more cautious subject their schemes to close scrutiny; and secondly, because their policies could revolutionize if not bankrupt the American system. Such schemes as child development, socialized medicine, deficits as high as \$100 billion, guaranteed annual incomes, will not only radically alter the fabric of American society; they will make inevitable the destruction of our already sagging economy.

Mr. Ford perceived this, and was reportedly opposed to the recent attempt to reduce the 2/3 figure (or 67 Senators) to 3/5 (or 60) needed to close off debate in that House of the National Legislature. But his own vice presidential choice either did not get the message or did not care.



" I JUST WANT TO BE QUIET AND HELPFUL ... "

Nelson Rockefeller's allegiance has been consistently to little higher than what furthers his personal aspirations; this episode proved to be no exception, as he provided the parliamentary rulings necessary for the liberal victory.

Whether Kevin Phillips' interpretation of Rockefeller's tack—to deliberately polarize the conservatives and outrage them sufficiently to bolt the GOP and leave him with the remains of that party and maneuvering room with the liberals in the Democratic Party—is a correct analysis remains to be seen. The alternative, that he will ignore the wishes and principles of conservatives and make liberal programs his own, is certainly unpalatable. Either way, by his filibuster ruling, Rockefeller has served notice to conservatives that he plans no major part for them either in his role as vice president or in his drive for higher office.

President Ford, too, stated in the wake of the anti-Rockefeller sentiment expressed at the Conservative Political Action Conference that he would not seek another running mate in 1976 "merely" because the conservatives who make up the bulk of his own party require it. The choice for us is becoming increasingly clear.

Capitol Commentary

by Henry Camden

Any analysis of the 1975 Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) must necessarily be complex. With one exception, a general statement will prove inherently inadequate. The one unqualified factor is, the conservative movement has finally pulled off a major media event. In 1971, at the YAF National Convention in Houston, young conservatives came very close with the mock presidential nominating convention. But in Washington, as the press has reported, the conservative movement came of age politically.

However, CPAC was more than a media stunt; it had serious political substance. Political reporter David Broder of the *Washington Post*, said as much when he concluded a report with the observation that as confused as the conservatives might presently be, they cannot be ignored. The substantive point which arose out of the Conference is that conservatives have to a large extent come to terms with a political "reality" which has proved strategically fatal for so many years. The Republican leadership has consistently been able to conclude that conservatives have had nowhere to go. Once beyond the nominating process, the leadership whether Nixon or Eisenhower, correctly perceived that the strategic challenge was to prevent the defection of the Republican left to the Democrats. There has been, simply put, no viable alternative for conservatives, especially when the Democrats come up with the likes of George McGovern.

The emerging reality which has created the additional possibility for conservatives is the strong sentiment for a national conservative party. Even if the idea is totally impractical in terms of potential success, as some say, the consequences of such a political development would be the end of the Republican Party. Without almost undivided conservative attention in the precincts, the Republican Party is not a viable political organization. Interestingly, of all the leaders who spoke at the CPAC, including Ronald Reagan, none except Clarke Reed, Mississippi GOP Chairman, explicitly rejected the alternative. Most of the leaders counseled that *at this time* conservatives should remain within the Republican Party; that, in Cliff White's words, the standing Republican structure is still too attractive to throw it over *prematurely*. Whether the time will come to do so is not a question which can presently be answered without qualification. But clearly, the possibility was not rejected, and in that there is political importance.

As a practical matter, the trigger for a new party remains with those outside conservative circles. Should Ford move

hard to the left and Rockefeller continue his association with liberal political causes, exemplified by his parliamentary rulings in favor of those trying to kill off the Senate filibuster and his insults to Alabama Democrat, Senator James Allen*, then a political challenge outside the Republican Party becomes more credible. Much depends upon the political role of George Wallace, without whom there will be no new party. A new majority party will require a movement from within both existing parties. To suggest that the conservative wing of the Republican Party, which cannot exercise governing control within the Party, should establish itself a separate party organization is self-evidently inadequate.

However, as everything that went on at the Conference suggests, conservatives are restive. As a mid-wife to the future the Committee on Conservative Alternatives (COCA) was created, composed of 15 conservative political leaders including Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Congressman John Ashbrook (R-Ohio), Robert Bauman (R-Md.), Steve Symms (R-Id.), William A. Rusher, Governor Meldrim Thomson (R-N.H.) and others, two of which come from the political camps of Ronald Reagan and George Wallace. COCA was directed to review, assess and develop alternative strategies for conservatives and to consider calling another national meeting if the political situation warrants.

As is the tendency in practical politics, personalities play the central role. The Conference was no different. The key figure was, of course, former California Governor Ronald Reagan. Attendance at the Ronald Reagan-James Buckley banquet was about 50% greater than any other session. While Reagan was the conferees' favorite, there was a strong undercurrent of impatience with the Reagan political method. To be sure, the Californian was critical of the Ford-Rockefeller administration, but the criticism was at best tepid and restricted to traditional Republican points, i.e., the budget deficits. During his press conference he had the opportunity to be critical of the expected next-day announcement by Gerald Ford that Rockefeller would be the President's 1976 running-mate, but he ducked the question. One observer wondered how a Republican establishmentarian, after eight years of Nixon and Ford, can expect to be elected President whether as a Republican or Conservative.

Others thought Reagan to be moving with about the right timing. A more aggressive posture, they feel, would place him in a position of premature political exposure.

There is no question about Reagan's desire to be President. But an all-important question looms, just as it did at the Conference. Should Reagan run as a Republican or seek to establish a new party? At this time, he seems tilted toward a challenge to Ford from within the Party. He has given no indication that his running depends upon Ford's withdrawal. One Republican state leader attending the Conference is convinced that Ford's support is so "thin" that a challenge within the Party would have a good chance. The opinion came from a Republican who is scared of a new party, is not a Ford supporter and will not likely be sympathetic to a Reagan candidacy. A GOP Congressman, a certain Reaganite, holds to the view that Ford will not run, setting up a showdown between Reagan and Rockefeller.

*Senator James Allen received an award from the 1975 CPAC for outstanding Senate service.

The Conference witnessed the emergence of two additional persons who want to figure into the picture as conservative presidential alternatives. Both are members of COCA; and both seem inclined to think they can play a significant role, especially if Reagan does not move forward. The two are Senator Jesse Helms and Governor Meldrim Thomson. While Helms was more coy about any inclination he might have regarding his presidential candidacy, Governor Thomson was explicit. He announced a few days after the close of the Conference that he is thinking about entering the New Hampshire primary.

In all candor, the potential of either candidacy looks, at this time, very limited. Neither has the experience nor

stature to realistically enter Presidential politics. Whether the conditions will develop which would alter these circumstances is anybody's guess.

Senator James Buckley noted in his speech that conservatives are coming of age politically. He noted that the reform element in American politics is political conservatism. He also noted that as a political movement with answers to some of the problems facing Americans that the conservative movement has something to say. And therein lies the long range value of the 1975 CPAC. Conservatives cannot afford to forget what they are all about. Notwithstanding the glitter of the Presidential star(s), answers are what this Conference and those of the future are all about.

"The Present Party System Has Failed . . ."

by Robert Bauman

We have assembled for this conference because in this time of moral, political and economic crisis, we as free Americans are compelled by a duty to ourselves and future generations to reaffirm certain eternal verities which transcend any of the immediate and palpable problems facing our nation: and from that reaffirmation of abiding principles must come solutions to what are serious but relatively transient problems.

Indeed, we seek not only solutions, but a new and vital political means by which to translate our beliefs into effective and responsible action.

Gibbon, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, postulated the historical theory that the average republic manages survival for no more than 200 years, give or take a few imperial or presidential administrations. Gibbon, mind you, had never met Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Nelson Rockefeller, George McGovern, or even Scoop Jackson; nor had he to suffer the excruciating pain of contemplating the prospects of the 94th Congress of these United States. Gibbon mercifully lucked out by dying in 1794, two years before American political parties emerged.

But as we approach that 200 year benchmark of this republic, as we celebrate and extol those extremists of liberty who two centuries ago fought and died to give form to a new concept of human rights, our national leadership less than ever before shares their faith or respects the legacy bequeathed to us. We commemorate the heroism of those provincial patriots, who abandoned plow and desk in order

to smash the old world's orthodoxy, but their spirit is alien to our official business and foreign to our social concerns. Today, places of command, in and out of government, once filled by idealists, sacrificing their all to build a new order of the ages, now are held by professional pragmatists who fear any change that might lessen their influence or imperil their annually escalated pensions.

If the framers of the Constitution could return to inspect the present state of their enterprise, what horrors would they not see? Judicial edicts tear children from parental supervision. Appointed hirelings assert, and courts confirm in the name of a specious equality, control over every transaction in business, in employment, in social intercourse. Even our highest tribunal has disavowed the Judeo-Christian heritage which once provided the rationale for the rights of the individual, decreeing instead a radical definition of human life which legalizes the murder of hundreds of thousands.

What is needed is a basic realignment of the two political parties and an end to politics as usual.

The powers which the framers of the Constitution so carefully separated and balanced among the branches of government now pale beside the authority of faceless

agencies so broad and reckless in their jurisdictions that the average citizen can neither comprehend their activities nor hope to resist their usurpations. Can you imagine the author of the Bill of Rights, James Madison, arguing with an OSHA inspector?

The costs of government have expanded as ravenously as its powers. Raising the national debt has become a quarterly occurrence. A Republican President suggests a \$349 billion budget and an admitted deficit next year of \$52 billion, which will undoubtedly rise to a more realistic \$80 billion. As "a reasonable and moderate response", a Democratic Congress clamors to up the ante and berates these amounts as paltry, insignificant, and in need of even greater expansion. Indeed, national bankruptcy is now a bipartisan affair in which the issue is not who will be blamed, but as Will Rogers suggested, "Who will get to play Santa Claus?"

The time has come, as De Toqueville suggested it would, when the support of the electorate is a biennial commodity to be bid for by politicians offering ever increasing doles of governmental largess in exchange for votes and power.

The extravagances and venality, the placeholding and padding of the royal establishment in Georgian Britain was petty compared to the lusting after the public purse which rules official Washington and holds our nation's economy in slavery to the ever growing number of public employees who even now demand the right to organize and strike against the public welfare, a right which as Governor Calvin Coolidge noted, does not, and should not ever exist.

We are the people who, in Boston and Baltimore, resist judicial tyranny over our neighborhoods and children. We are the parents who demand, in West Virginia, Maryland, and everywhere, that our youngsters not be subjected to texts and teachers hostile to their values . . .

And over all there rules an unholy alliance between bureaucrats, publicists and academicians which goes almost unchallenged by spineless politicians who fear the establishment's influence and appreciate their electoral assistance; political pigmies who place greater value on the advice and adulation of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* than on the bitter lessons of history. They therefore make demands upon the income of the industrious, the frugal, and the unorganized more arrogantly than the minions of George III who slapped new stamp taxes on the distant colonists. And they should be rejected just as decisively.

Too many of us have grown accustomed to the dissipation of our wealth and the dissolution of our rights by public officials, or at least we have become resigned to our collective inability to stop them. But a despairing people cannot hope to reassert their common principles or restore their diminished values. We must not despair. It was the voice of the Lord, himself, which came down from the vaults of heaven, speaking to Joshua before the Battle of Jericho: "Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and be of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed."

Poor as their prospects were, the rebels of Lexington and

Concord at least possessed the nerve to take a stand, the will to run the risks of freedom. We must ask ourselves: are we as well armed as they were, equipped only with muskets and a passion for liberty? But now it is time to restate their faith—our faith—and apply its strictures to our troubled country. Nothing can be more painful as the consequences of our continued silence. We cannot continue to tiptoe around the great issues of our day, seeking political advantage: we must speak: we must lead.

Our plight seems in many ways as desperate as that of the rebel militia. Their choices were clear cut and equally drastic; either hopeless submission to those in power or violent action to depose them. Both alternatives are unthinkable today. For we have what the colonials did not; a constitutional system for the transfer of power. It alone offers us reliable means to right political wrongs. That is why participation in the political process is as necessary as it can be ennobling. It is not dirty work. It need not be an avenue for greed and personal advancement. The founders of the republic considered it an honor to sacrifice their careers and fortunes in the thankless effort of organizing voters, standing for office, and administering the apparatus of government. Those tasks are no less onerous today and can be equally honorable, if those who assume them are as worthy as the Constitution they serve.

Only when citizens take into their own hands the machinery of politics can significant changes be effected in public policy. It is, therefore, heartening that although Americans have been told for two generations to look to Washington for their salvation, economic and otherwise, most of them have learned anew from experience the maxim their grandparents never forgot: that no man's life, liberty, or property are safe while the legislature is in session. The people have learned, moreover, that the bureaucracy never adjourns! The people now realize that power is safest in their own hands, that decisions are wisest in their own neighborhoods, that laws are soundest in their own communities. How appropriate it would be if, during America's bicentennial, in election year 1976, the people were to surprise those who govern them with a display of independence as swift and forceful as that which trapped Burgoyne at Saratoga and drove Cornwallis to surrender at Yorktown as the military band played "The World is Turned Upside Down".

Parties—Temporary and Disposable

That is more easily recommended than accomplished. For since the ratification of the Constitution, intermediary organizations have developed to stand between the people and public authority: these groups are called political parties. Sometimes serving the popular will, sometimes thwarting it, they are no more than instruments, temporary and disposable, by which like-minded citizens can express their views. Whenever in our past the electorate has been fragmented, a multiplicity of parties has guaranteed the expression of a broad range of opinion, thereby including in the political process those who might otherwise renounce it. And when long established parties have neglected to represent the voters' interests, others soon sprang up to replace them. The process is both historically normal and politically healthy. The alternative to it is an ever increasing discontent with, and consequent disuse of, our electoral

system. That is already occurring. More and more Americans are absent from the polls. Forty percent of the electorate chose the dangerously radical 94th Congress. They have been casting ballots of no confidence in both major parties by refusing to vote at all. They are not shirking their civic duty; they are eloquently expressing their disgust with candidates whose debates concern trivialities and ignore questions of substance.

There is nothing in our country's past to suggest that this sorry state of affairs can long continue without the formation of new channels for the people's will. At least this was the case until both major parties last year joined together to make the federal treasury support their campaigns, an inane and unconstitutional proposition I opposed. They thereby freed themselves from all reliance on the electorate's financial support. They no longer need to ask for our money. They can take it, legally.

. . . We are the workers in factories and mills who will not have our labor drained to support the indolent and improvident. We are the taxpayers who will not be driven from our property by exactions more onerous than those which hastened the break with Britain.

Perhaps, in the long run, it is good that the major parties have failed us: for their disruption can remind us that our government is based not on transient organizations but on enduring principles. As those rich and satisfied political clubs fail to address the most vital concerns of the nation, independent Americans have a splendid opportunity to reaffirm the conservative values which party leaders have forgotten and to face the issues they have avoided.

This cannot be an enterprise for a few. Those who would together bail out the ship of state must not squabble about the size and shape of their buckets. They must set aside old rivalries, traditional enmities, hereditary suspicions, and must learn to compromise everything but their principles. Moreover, they must set forth, both as a unifying bond among themselves and as a rallying point for the general public, a clear statement of what those principles are and of the way they can be translated into a reformation of American government.

It is our intent to do so here.

The Means to Our Ends

Having defined the problems, we must now turn to consideration of the political means to achieve the ends we know to be right.

We can, I think, dismiss the Democratic Party as a vehicle for our expression for obvious reasons. The house of Thomas Jefferson is today populated by special interest groups, power blocks, union bosses, and assorted leftist kooks, the latest generation of which has temporarily occupied perches in the Congress of the United States.

I turn then to an examination of what has become to be known as "the other party".

To discuss the Republican Party is at best a delicate and sensitive task. It is always difficult to speak publicly of a loved one, perhaps an aging uncle, who is suspected of

suffering from terminal illness. You recall the good times. You remember what he was like in his robust youth, all the while harboring the sinking suspicion that the end may be near.

In one of Mr. Gallup's more titillating polls last year only 24% of the voters classified themselves as Republicans, 42% still clung to the Democrats and 34% listed themselves as independents. But asked to describe themselves as conservatives or liberals, the results were heartening—38% said they were conservative, 26% liberal and 36% undecided. Once the undecideds were forced to choose between conservative and liberal, the total showed that 59% of the American people consider themselves conservative and 41% liberal.

Now that is a rather amazing statistic after all that has happened in this country in recent years.

Let's slide a different glass under the microscope and recall the fact that in 1964 nearly 62% of the American people voted for a Democrat for president. Four years later the largest single reversal in electoral voting power occurred when 57% of the 73 million voters casting their ballots voted against the traditional leftist party in America—the Democrats. To be sure the vote was split between Nixon and Wallace, but the message of the 1968 elections was clear. Again, in 1972, Mr. Nixon having plied the electorate with conservative words for four years won an overwhelming mandate of 60.7% of the votes crushing the prairie radical, George McGovern.

If Richard Nixon committed an impeachable offense, that crime is probably not connected with the shady operations of Watergate or the stupidity of the 1972 campaign operation. His lasting legacy, however, will be that under his leadership the Republican Party systematically turned its back on the very things that an overwhelming majority of Americans had elected them to provide—national defense strength, balanced budgets, limited government and a firm and effective foreign policy which recognizes communism for the evil it is and will always be. Richard Nixon reversed almost every position he enunciated in the 1968 campaign and except for a few brave men who stood alone—men such as John Ashbrook of Ohio—few Republicans objected.

Ford Administration's Record

Today we are confronted with an administration which in a short six months has frittered away potential national support by adopting policies of amnesty for draft dodgers and deserters, the biggest budget deficit in peacetime history, relentless pushing of detente, and a succession of presidential appointments culminating in the elevation to the high office of vice president of the single most unacceptable nominee one might contemplate—Nelson

The present party system has failed us all. Its functionaries have debased the currency of public debate through the glib gimmickry of expensive advertising campaigns. Its masters have made the Congress a stage for preening demagogues and the presidency an imperial prize. It no longer deserves the allegiance of a free people.

Rockefeller. I ask you, is this what we are to stand and fight and die for in elections to come?

The day of compromise and appeasement within our own ranks is over. We have compromised once too often and the result has been rampant national liberalism. Even as the Apostle Paul wrote centuries ago, "If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for battle?" The time has come for us to place the trumpet to our lips and sound advance.

I am of the opinion that this country does not need a third party: but by any objective analysis it badly needs a second party.

By that I do not necessarily mean that the Republican Party is that second party. Those who in recent months have been talking of a cosmetic name change are dallying with trifles which will fool no one. We need an effective vehicle for political success which will forge the national alliance already brought together in the elections of 1968 and 1972—an alliance of southerners and northerners, of professionals and blue collar workers, of housewives and young people, all of whom seek freedom to live their lives without the interference of government.

What we do not need are new splinter groups which cannot win votes or offer ideas but exist to satisfy the egotism of would be leaders.

What is needed is a basic realignment of the two political parties and an end to politics as usual.

What we need is a serious national movement and those of us here tonight can play an important part—a movement to realign the political parties of our country. As my courageous colleague from North Carolina, Senator Helms, has suggested, this will give the conservative majority the opportunity to unite and work together for the principles in which the majority of people do indeed believe.

Immediately the Republican leadership in the Senate and the House should make specific overtures to conservative Democrats, seeking their agreement to switch from the left to the right side of the aisle. These men and women should be guaranteed their full seniority and similar committee assignments in return for the allegiance to the new conservative party.

The President should put an end to the naming of non-entities and reformed liberals to public office and



Robert Bauman

instead appoint qualified conservatives to every major post; and minor as well. He should immediately announce drastic cuts in federal spending, a revision of the bloated budget, a thorough reconsideration of Mr. Kissinger as well as Mr. Kissinger's policy of detente, and he should make perfectly clear that Mr. Rockefeller will not control our domestic policies and is not acceptable for nomination as Vice President in 1976.

If this new conservative party is to succeed in the form I suggest, we must follow the example set in the Goldwater nomination of 1964: bring into the local caucus, the county meetings, and the state party conventions conservative delegates who are willing to take back the machinery of what was once their party; so that the 1976 national convention will represent them as they have not been represented for many years. This development of a political structure operating at the local, state, and national level is of the greatest importance.

We should and we must seek other men who can rally our cause. There are such men who deserve our support and who can, I predict, command the support of the majority of Americans, but now is not the time for such men to hang back. If we learned one lesson from the previous administration, it was that there are longstanding conservatives who find it expedient to remain silent while a president perverts the philosophy in which we believe. They cannot be considered as worthy of our support. Those who remain silent on the grave issues raised by the President's repeated espousal of liberal programs and policies hardly deserve the adulation of those who hold principle to be the supreme standard for public conduct.

We must realize that what I have suggested will be as difficult as it is urgent. But it can be accomplished. The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord. The next and most urgent council is to take stock of reality. The remedy for past human folly is future human wisdom and just as our country's problems gradually grew through decades of evasion and incompetence so too these solutions will take time.

After our principles have been declared in the abstract, elected men and women must still be the instruments through which they are applied in specific matters of state.

If our political system is to be reformed, then we must bring to public service those educators and laborers, housewives and scientists, thinkers and shopkeepers whose knowledge and talent have maintained America's prosperity and preserved her virtue despite the pressures of official Washington.

In this way we look again to the lessons of the Revolution. Its battles were won by city folk and frontiersmen and we are unworthy of their example if we discriminate against anyone eager to serve the republic. Those men who secured independence were as disparate as we are now. On occasion they opposed one another as we will continue to do. But their common ground was liberty and standing together thereon they were unmoveable. Their unity need not be ornamented with our praise. It must be emulated with courage.

Times have changed: and some suspect that, at its aging heart, America is no longer the youthful champion of freedom which gave its blood and treasure to shield the weak and save the helpless. So much is over, we are told: the era of our power, the springtime of our idealism. It is not true. Those who spread that melancholy judgment

through the mass media are more likely speaking only of themselves. Their secular gods have failed them. They rightly despair of the decadent liberalism which reached a dead end in the violence, drugs, and moral squalor of the 1960's.

But they are not America. Their attitudes are as alien on family farms and in venerable towns as they are in urban ghettos and suburban shopping malls. For we are still the people who, usually unthanked, guard the rights of man on every continent. We are the people who, in Boston and in Baltimore, resist judicial tyranny over our neighborhoods and children. We are the parents who demand, in West Virginia, Maryland, and everywhere, that our youngsters not be subjected to texts and teachers hostile to their values. We are the workers in factories and mills who will not have our labor drained to support the indolent and improvident. We are the taxpayers who will not be driven from our property by exactions more onerous than those which hastened the break with Britain.

Children of the Revolution

We are, in short, still the children of the Revolution, although our rulers may be embarrassed by our fidelity to it. That loyalty must be our unifying standard. To it can rally all Americans who want their country returned to them: the lowly, terrorized by crime; business men, harassed by bloated federal agencies; distraught parents; students, horrified by the impersonal greed that rules within the academic community; the ripped-off taxpayer; the unemployed mechanic; the driver without gasoline; the farmer without profits.

"Reaching The Conservative Constituency . . ."

by M. Stanton Evans

There are many different avenues of approach for conservatives attempting to be effective in American politics. First, while the problem before us seems technically difficult, conceptually it is not difficult at all. The problem is very simply stated. There is a latent conservative constituency in the country shown in every opinion survey available to us. It does not matter which it is—Harris or Gallup or Sindlinger or you name it. All of these polls show that the American people are increasingly conservative and that that conservatism consists in major part of discontent with the mounting social costs of the liberal welfare state: the taxes; the inflation; the intrusion into local and community and personal life; the mounting difficulties that everyone is encountering because of the big government system which is certainly not working, not solving their

It is not America which has failed in her commitments. Our country remains great and good. All the patriotic clichés are still true. This is indeed the last best hope, the home of opportunity, the liberator of nations, the land we love.

Nor have the people failed in their civic responsibilities. Indeed, perhaps they have been overly respectful, overly obedient, overly faithful to regimes which have abused their trust.

The Constitution has not failed us. Time and again we have learned to appreciate its wisdom by suffering the consequences of ignoring it. It never sanctioned the travesties of law by which liberal theorists have sought to control every aspect of our lives. It did not, and still does not, usurp state authority over education, abortion, welfare and zoning.

What, then, has failed? What has alienated young Americans from their heritage and torn their elders from their traditions? What enables official Washington to continue policies denounced by the voters in the last several national elections? What allows a congressional faction to kill every anti-busing bill and permits an unelected president and his unelected substitute, like twin consuls, to give power to the very politicoes who have been dismissed from office by their angry constituents?

It is the present party structure which has failed us all. Its operatives have demeaned a noble electoral system. Its functionaries have debased the currency of public debate through the glib gimmickry of expensive advertising campaigns. Its masters have made the Congress a stage for preening demagogues and the presidency an imperial prize. It no longer deserves the allegiance of a free people.

problems. Our job is to reach that constituency; to reach out to it in comprehensible terms and to energize it in behalf of conservative office holders and conservative programs. How do we do that? The issues are there. The issues are suggested by these polls; they are suggested by the protests of the people. They are taxes, busing, welfare, abortion, energy problems, inflation and so on. These are issues that have spontaneously arisen in the various communities around the nation and if candidates come forward and speak credibly on these issues they can reach this constituency. Many conservatives argue that we've got to stop talking in generalities and have conservative answers. In a sense I do not agree with that. I think that it is a kind of rhetorical trap to get yourself in a psychology where you are going to try to invent answers to problems as they are

generally defined in American politics, because that means inventing answers to problems as defined by liberals. What we need to do is redefine the problems. We do not need to invent our answers to the liberally defined problem of poverty or pollution or whatever. We need to break through the tissue of superficiality that the liberals have imposed upon our politics and talk about the things that matter to us and that matter to the American people. This means above all going on the attack. It means constantly criticizing, holding out to obfuscation all of the things the liberals themselves are doing; most elections really are decided on that basis. They are decided on the basis of somebody's discontent and the ability of the candidate or party to reach that discontent and to convince the people who share it that your opponent is responsible for it. This is what has happened to the Republican party. It has been saddled with the blame for most of the things, in some cases fairly and in some unfairly, that distress the American people.

We do indeed need practical linkages by which we can put our program into operation: legislative formulae policy proposals in the executive branch if we ever had a conservative president, ways in which to move from the condition we are in to the condition we would like to be in. For example, Governor Reagan's Proposition I in California to put an absolute lid on the level of taxation is something that should be pressed all over this country. The welfare reform that Bob Carlson has enacted at the national level; a youth wage; tax credits. Things of this type that can indeed move us from where we are to where we want to be. But I think that those things, although they have some utility in the electoral context, are less important in getting yourself elected than they are in functioning after you are elected. Essentially, elections are decided not on technical questions but on visceral questions. They are decided on these root issues of public discontent with the cost of government as it is being conducted today.

On this question of the vehicle for reaching the public, there are affirmative points to be made in behalf of the Republican party and negative points to be made against it. The affirmative points are these: First, a lot of people in this country over the last decade and indeed over the last generation, a lot of people have invested a good deal of time and energy in the time and battle to keep the Republican party on a conservative course. In addition, I think that it is true that most members of the Republican party are conservatives. I would say that 80% of the members of the national Republican party are on the conservative side on most issues. Third, I think that there are many very good conservative Republican office holders. There are good conservative Republican Governors, Senators and Congressmen, and these are not considerations to be lightly dismissed. So those are all affirmative points in behalf of the Republican party. While there are many negative points, it seems there are three of particular relevance. One, the Republican party has a low and declining level of public identification. 18% of the American electorate today affirm Republicanism according to the Republican party's own poll. In addition, if you are looking at '76 in all realism any candidate on the Republican ticket is going to inherit the obliquity of Watergate and everything that has happened in these last two terms. I find it very difficult to believe that even the best candidate in the world



M. Stanton Evans

can undo a great deal of that tremendous damage.

And finally, again in all realism, if you are talking about the Republican ticket in 1976, you are looking at an incumbent Republican President and Vice President, Mr. Ford and Mr. Rockefeller. And I for one find that while there are some specific things that Mr. Ford has done, the essential thrust of this administration is not a conservative one. It is a continued drift in the same confused direction that the Nixon administration was following which was in turn an extension of what the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were doing and I cannot support that. One or the other of those gentlemen will be the candidate in 1976 of the Republican party. Given these positive and negative factors, a couple of things need to be done simultaneously. Given the affirmative factors I would say "yes"; those of us who are concerned and interested should continue to work to keep the Republican party as conservative as possible. We should work for good candidates within the Republican party at the Congressional, Senatorial, and Gubernatorial levels. We should also do that in the Democratic party, I might add, where the option exists. We should not simply abandon the Republican party at any of these levels in the states and localities to the Ripon Society liberals who would like to take it over.

But we must do something rather different at the Presidential level and I am speaking personally, not for

ACU. I personally believe that in 1976 we need a new political party at the presidential level. How one goes about doing that, what the options are in terms of candidates; these are the things that need to be discussed. I realize talking to my Republican friends that this presents many terrible difficulties because if there is a national conservative party, whatever one wants to call it, running at the presidential level this puts a conservative Republican or indeed a conservative Democrat in a bind at the Congressional or Senatorial level. But I would suggest to you the example of the state of New York where there is a successful conservative party which has elected a U.S. Senator. That party has been able to coexist with the Republican party of the state of New York and with some conservative Democrats in the state of New York by running at the state level and cross-endorsing Republicans and some Democrats at other levels of government, as well as in some cases running its own candidate. Nonetheless

that kind of symbiosis is possible between a conservative party candidate at one level and candidates of another party at other levels. This is not something to be lightly considered. The whole project is one of immense significance not only in an immediate political sense but historically. I personally believe that we are in an axial period in American politics. The enormous discrepancy between the level of conservative affirmation in the country which is a high and rising level, and the level of Republican affirmation which is a low and declining level, suggest that there is an enormous opportunity here for some new political entity to reach out without all of this inherited difficulty from Watergate, without all of the policy confusions that have been imposed upon the Republican party by these last two administrations, to reach out to that latent constituency to transform a potential majority into an actual majority and lead us as conservatives and Americans on to victory in 1976.

"The Issue Is Survival"

by John Ashbrook

We know how liberals act, whether they are Democrat liberals or Republican liberals. We know what to expect of them; we know what they have done. We know all about the liberals, but what are the conservatives going to do? What can we expect from them and have they really done enough? Have they held up our standards and will they do the job in the future that needs to be done?

I fully expect the liberals to act just like they have in the past. It did not surprise me a bit that the very first thing that the newly organized majority of the House of Representatives did was to get rid of the Internal Security Committee. I expected it. They had been working for that goal for years.

As I have always told every audience, I am an American first, a conservative second and a Republican third. Unfortunately, I do not think Republicans can be too proud of our record on the internal security in our country.

The previous administration, a Republican administration, saw to it that the Subversive Activities Control Board was phased out, saw to it that the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department was eliminated, saw to it that the average American would start thinking that detente and "hands across the caviar" with the Soviet Union was as American as apple pie. It was not just the so-called radical Democrats coming to the Congress that set the stage for

phasing out the Internal Security Committee. In the Congress I am on two interesting subcommittees which have started hearings on gun control and public sector labor unions. Of the seven members of the Crime Subcommittee of Judiciary who are hearing gun control testimony, I am the only one opposed to it, Democrat or Republican. On the other subcommittee, I am the Ranking Republican. We are considering a bill for the unionization of all teachers and state, municipal, and local government employees. 15 million employees are out there just waiting to be unionized. Union leaders will have just about everything if they can organize state and municipal employees and teachers and get dues money each year from them. The unions are going to be an even more potent political force than they are now. I think I am a realistic conservative who recognizes that these are challenges.

I was the Ranking Republican on the late Internal Security Committee, so I saw that particular steam roller flatten things out a bit. I suppose in the next few months on both the issue of gun control and on the unionization of government employees—so-called public employees—that the same steam roller will run over us.

I fully expect the liberals to carry out what they consider their mandate. What I wonder about sometimes though, realizing they are going to act the way they do,

why do so many of us (and I use the word "us" fairly loosely) act like them and not like conservatives are supposed to. That is one of the basic differences between the liberal and the conservative. The liberal acts like he is supposed to, except of course at election time.

I take a step back now and then and ask myself, if the liberals are winning so often isn't it just entirely possible that Phil Crane, Sam Steiger, Bob Bauman, myself and the rest of our fine conservatives are wrong? Then I get out on the election trail and I see the liberal candidates for the U.S. Senate becoming very conservative. I see the Adlai Stevenson's wearing little flags in their lapels; I see John Tunney running in California with a hard hat and in a police cruiser, trying to relate to our issues. I cannot help but wonder why it is that they can run more effectively on our principles and win.

To me the answer is that there are too many of our people trying to run on their side, which obliterates the issues. There are entirely too many people that loosely pass themselves off as conservatives who often run with a Republican label but are not really set for the battle.

The fundamental issue for conservatives is simple—the survival of this country. The survival of our system is the most basic issue of all. Every conservative should be able to rally around that.

The Republican Party started out being conservative. When I first started out in Young Republican politics, it used to be so simple. You could stand up and say, the Republican Party stands for sound money, free enterprise, limited government, economy in government, the private sector over the public sector, anti-Communism, a strong military—all those things we believe in. But you had to be a broken field runner to be a Republican running in the last election.

I will never forget one time I was opposing a bill which the Republican Administration favored. The Republican leadership asked me for my support for a guaranteed annual income. I said this is not the kind of program that we want. I was told that when your quarterback has the ball you don't tackle him. But you know there is one time in football when you do. And that is when he is running for the wrong goal. That is two points in anybody's book and there has been too much of our Republican quarterbacks running for the wrong goal line. Some figure that somehow it is a victory when the opposition only gets two points instead of six. That kind of football is going to put you in the bush league and that kind of football is putting the Republican Party, in my opinion, just about out of business.

As I have stated, there is one basic issue. It is the survival of our country, the survival of our system. It is hard for me to understand how Republican conservatives can advocate trade with the Soviet Union and yet we see it all the time. It is hard for me to understand how Republican conservatives can be for a guaranteed annual income and yet we see Republican conservatives promoting one. I see Republican conservatives supporting Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. I wonder how in the world they can do that. There are certain litmus tests that can be given. The first is that if Secretary Kissinger were really on the conservative side, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Time* and *Newsweek* would not be hailing his virtues almost every week of the year.

I'm a small town midwesterner and I remember hearing

that the old law of the prairie dictated that anything caught in your trap is yours. The problem, as I see it in the Republican Party, is that it operates on the old law of the prairie. Anything caught in your trap is yours. If it is a Javits, he is in your trap, he is a Republican. If it is a Kissinger, he is in your trap. It is about time that we recognize whether we be Democrats or Republicans, or whatever we call ourselves, that not everybody who calls himself by the same label is one of us, and that applies to conservatives too.

I said a little earlier that being a Republican in the last election was like being a broken field runner. What has happened to all the traditional Republican issues? Law and order, draw a line through that; economy and government, draw a line through that; anti-communism, draw a line through that; limited government—right down the line. Most of the issues that we used to think were important all of a sudden have been obliterated. I ask one basic question. Where were the conservatives when this was happening to their party? Where were our conservatives when the



John Ashbrook

Republican Party was being remolded in the image of Jake Javits, Charles Percy, Clifford Case, Nelson Rockefeller and those who never could go directly to a Republican national convention to capture the votes, and yet are held out to Republicans as being the leaders, in fact the only leaders of our party.

The only question we can ask is how long are we going to put up with this? How long are we going to allow the so-called leaders of our Party to speak in an alien tongue? The rank and file, I am convinced, knows and believes in the basic Republican principles that most of us have. The Republican Party has not had the courage to stand up for these principles and, in my judgment, because of this basic fundamental cowardice we are in a very difficult position to lead.

I'll be very honest with you; I'm not one of those who is ready at this point to say "let's chuck the whole works." If

a bonafide movement comes along that can put some real meaning and spirit into what we believe in, I will be one of the first to join.

The six hundred of us here know what we believe in. But the realities of life are such that there are two hundred million people out there who are not necessarily jumping at the same things we do. Unless we have two things—an easily recognized leader and several basic clearly understood issues that can unite people—we are just kidding ourselves. I could have thought in 1972 of many, many good reasons why people would not necessarily jump *on* our bandwagon, but I kept thinking there were an awful lot of reasons why they should jump *off* the other one. I can think of many criticisms I have of myself, many reasons why it should have been someone else. But the point is there were several million people in this country locked into the party structure, locked into Republicanism, locked into the leader—whatever he did, whatever he stood for, no matter what he did to our platform, no matter how many basic campaign promises he turned his back on, no matter how many principles he reneged on. There was a basic built-in inertia. I say that because it has to be recognized as a fact of life. If we are going to mount an effective political movement, it is going to have to be done with the realization that it is an uphill battle.

While I believe that we are the only effective political force that can save this country, I sometimes doubt that we have the tenacity and the realism to do something with it. There is no doubt in my mind that the people are far ahead of us, that the people yearn and desire a potent political force, a leadership that will throw off this yoke.

The liberal up to now has captured most of the effective social issues of the day. Not issues that we have particularly agreed with: the issues in the civil rights field, the environmental field, in the so-called anti-war field, in the consumerism field. The liberal captured the effective political and social momentum of the sixties. Now it is moving the other way.

The effective momentum in our country is in the direction of taking the government off your back, of being left alone, of having some privacy, of keeping big brother out of your everyday life, out of your schools, out of your home, out of every activity you have. This is what the people are thinking. The social movement of the 70's is in our direction.

The question is whether or not we as conservatives—by whatever vehicle we choose—are going to have the leadership and tenacity to give real feeling to this particular movement. If we are intelligent, if we are effective, and if we have strong forceful leaders, the issues are such that we can mold the most potent political force at the very time in history that it is needed. This is a challenge to all of us. We can argue what the vehicle will be. Some of us are going to say let us take the Republican Party back over. Let us make it what the rank and file want. Some are going to say realign the parties, some are going to say chuck it and go down the new party route.

Whatever we do, let's remember one thing. History is telling us that this time we cannot fail. So let's take it very carefully, choose very carefully, and let's be together. I myself am confident that with leadership like we see here tonight we can win. So let's go out and do it. We can argue about the vehicle. But be sure of one thing—when we decide, I am going to be with you.

“Back

To The Two-Party

System . . .”

by Jesse Helms

Almost a year ago, I had the privilege of speaking at a gathering similar to this—a gathering of men and women dedicated to the future of this nation and the principles that made it great. Some of you, I know, were at that meeting to join in paying tribute to the distinguished American patriot, Dean Clarence Manion. At that time, I raised a question—I raised it in a tentative way for comment and discussion. I asked whether it was not time for a realignment of our political parties into a liberal party and a conservative party.

My view of political parties, and how many there are, raises the question of whether they should not be constructed around principles and philosophies. In that light, I think that what I am really proposing is that we go *back* to the two-party system.

Historically, it has always been considered that the Republican Party began as a third party movement. But we know that changing conditions had already brought about the demise of the Whig Party long before the Whigs had ceased to elect candidates to office. The Whig Party was dead, even though it was still winning elections. When the Republican Party arrived on the scene, the Whig Party disappeared. Most of the Whig politicians who remained active became Republicans.

I am reminded of the accounts we received some years ago of the archeologists who opened an ancient tomb in Outer Mongolia to find a body, thousands of years old, in an apparent perfect state of preservation. But as they stood there around the richly gilded corpse, the fresh air poured into the open tomb and they watched in horror as the mummy disintegrated into dust before their very eyes.

As we look back at the 1974 elections, I think it is a fair question to consider honestly and objectively: Is it time to open the tomb and let in some fresh air?

(Continued on page 22)



YAF Executive Director Frank Donatelli calls to order the opening session.



Victor Gold presents an award to Representative Sam Steiger for outstanding contributions to the conservative cause.



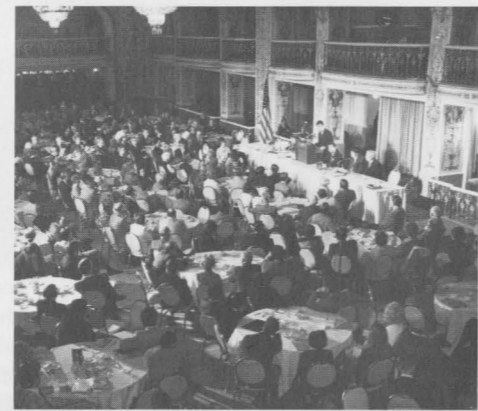
YAF members Pat McGowan and Mary Jo Werle, and ACU member Gabe Selmezi were responsible for press arrangements for the conference.



Former YAF National Chairman Alan MacKay, New York 1974 Senatorial Candidate Barbara Keating, ACU Executive Director James Roberts, and Senator Strom Thurmond meet prior to a breakfast session at which Mrs. Keating and the Senator were featured speakers.



The third conservative leader to be given an award was Senator James Allen. His wife accepted the award on his behalf from Victor Gold.



Interested participants attend a panel discussion on conservative options.



John Fisher of the American Security Council and Admiral Zumwalt chat before a major session on national security.



M. Stanton Evans and Ronald Reagan consider courses of action for Republicans and Conservatives.



Members of the panel "The Regulated American" were Congressman Sam Steiger, economist Yale Brozen, Congressman John Rousselot, Howard Phillips, and James Davidson of the National Taxpayers Union.



Representative Phillip Crane; Daniel Joy, aide to Senator Buckley; Jeffrey Bell, formerly of the Reagan staff; and Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed offer their views of "What Are Conservatives To Do?"



Senator James Buckley, Human Events editor, Thomas Winter, and Representative Robert Bauman were among the distinguished guests at the Congressional reception.



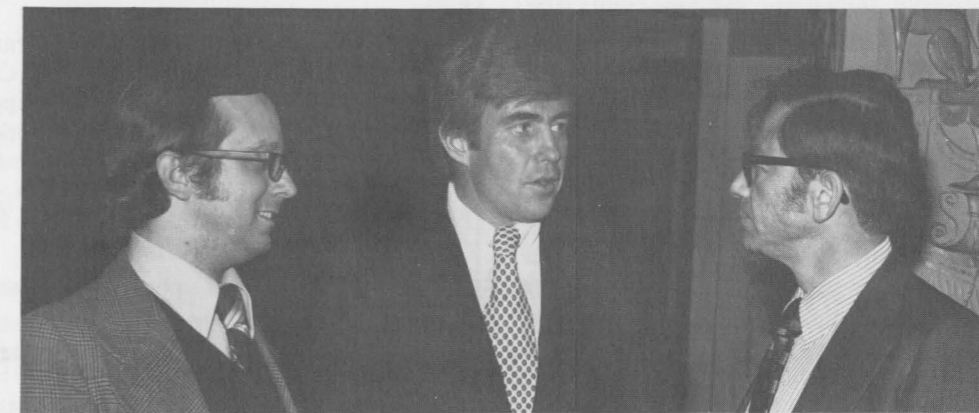
Editor and Author John Barron was honored at the Awards Banquet. He received his award from Ron Docksai as Senator Jesse Helms applauded.



Phyllis Schlafly, Dr. Charles Rice of Notre Dame Law School, Dr. Mildred Jefferson of the Right to Life Committee, and Ernest van den Haag prepare for their seminar on "The Social Issues".



Nearly 1,000 conservatives gathered to hear the major address by Ronald Reagan.



Alan Reynolds of National Review, Congressman Jack Kemp, and Washington consultant Dr. Norman Ture lead a discussion of the causes and cures of our economic ills.

BIG GOVERNMENT

WHEREAS our Constitution instituted a structure of limited government and a federal system that insures liberty, and

WHEREAS that system of limited government and federalism has been perverted by the growth of big government, which by its very existence restricts the liberty of citizens and the efficiency and productivity of the American system, and

WHEREAS big government has grown through the formation of a multitude of agencies and departments whose regulations and bureaucracies interfere in every aspect of American life, sapping and destroying the strength of private institutions, and

WHEREAS bureaucracy and its regulations result in inefficiency in the private sector and a subversion of the rightful role of the governmental sector, and

WHEREAS the costs of such inefficiency are paid by the American citizen both in the increasing share that government takes of the national income and in higher prices for and less choice of goods and services in the market place.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the continuing growth of big government must first be stopped and then be reversed by such actions as the following:

1. an immediate freeze on the hiring of federal employees.
2. the abolition of regulatory agencies such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Environmental Protection Agency, which add cost to production, restrain trade, and/or take powers that belong to the states or to citizens individually.
3. the repeal of all legislation that requires the states to fund and participate in "voluntary programs" that, if not undertaken, results in the automatic penalization of the states in other programs and funds.
4. a complete review of the most expensive department of the Executive branch, the department of Health, Education and Welfare, in order to reduce its powers, size and costs.
5. the removal of the first class mail monopoly of the Post Office.

ENERGY

WHEREAS the "energy crisis" is in reality a protracted period of chronic and growing deficiencies in the supply of domestic fuels, and

WHEREAS fuel shortages are being experienced throughout the United States, adversely affecting jobs and production, and

WHEREAS the demand for energy has been artificially stimulated by decades of government policies which subsidized the price of energy and ignored the environmental costs, and

WHEREAS federal price controls and regulatory policies have discouraged investment in the exploration for and development of domestic reserves, and

WHEREAS the growing dependence of the United States on imported fuel from unreliable foreign sources poses a real threat to our economic strength and jeopardizes our ability to fulfill our responsibilities as a Western superpower, and

CPAC

WHEREAS the United States is still fortunate to have large reserves of oil and gas and vast reserves of coal within its jurisdiction which can be discovered and developed with the proper incentives to private entrepreneurs, and

WHEREAS certain environmental regulatory policies have exacerbated the shortages of available fuels in recent years, and

WHEREAS conservation of energy by industry and consumers can be made cost-effective not through mandatory federal controls but through the free and full pricing of fuels to reflect real economic and environmental costs.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

—That 75 CPAC supports a national energy policy which stresses the development of domestic energy resources and encourages energy conservation through reliance on private, free, competitive enterprise.

—And that to achieve this the federal government must:

- deregulate natural gas prices
- abolish price controls on domestic oil
- adopt tax policies which will encourage the development of new supplies
- accelerate leasing on the Outer Continental Shelf
- accelerate leasing of coal on federally owned lands
- accelerate approval of nuclear power plant construction

COMMITTEE ON CONSERVATIVE ALTERNATIVES

WHEREAS the severe problems facing America constitute both a challenge and an opportunity for conservatives, and

WHEREAS conservatives have been forced into a political position which leaves us without a serious leadership role in either major party, and

WHEREAS the question of our allegiance to these political parties is a matter of increasing doubt to conservatives, and

WHEREAS the present national leadership of the Republican Party has not effectively articulated or represented the conservative sentiment of the vast majority of Republicans, and

WHEREAS millions of Democrats are alienated by the increasingly radical orientation of the Democratic Party, and

WHEREAS a growing number of independent voters reject both major parties.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

—That the Committee on Conservative Alternatives be formed to provide a formal mechanism to review and assess the current political situation and to develop future opportunities;

—That the Committee initially be composed of the following members:

- Representative John Ashbrook
- Representative Robert Bauman
- Ronald F. Docksai, Chairman, Young Americans for Freedom
- M. Stanton Evans, Chairman, American Conservative Union
- Senator Jess Helms
- Eli Howell, political consultant and former assistant to Governor George Wallace
- Cyril Joly, Maine Republican National Committeeman
- James Lyon, Harris County (Texas) Republican Finance Committee Chairman
- J. Daniel Mahoney, Chairman, New York Conservative Party
- William Rusher, Publisher, *National Review*
- Phyllis Schlafly, Chairman, Stop-E.R.A.
- Robert Walker, former political aide to Ronald Reagan
- Thomas Winter, Editor, *Human Events*

—That the Committee membership be increased as time goes along by a majority voting of the members named herein;

—And that the Committee on Conservative Alternatives periodically report back to the attendees at this conference and other interested conservatives and call another national meeting, if deemed necessary, to chart more explicitly the future course of conservatism.

RESOLUTIONS

—revise pollution control policies to permit the adoption of a least-cost strategy rather than uniform national standards.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

WHEREAS the very concept of financing political campaigns with tax money is inherently dangerous and contrary to the spirit of a free democratic society, and

WHEREAS the legislation passed by the Congress and signed into law last year establishes such a system at the presidential level and, in addition, imposes restrictions on campaign spending and the free expression of political opinions, and

WHEREAS a number of Republican and Democrat Senators have introduced a plan in the current session of Congress that would extend this so-called public financing system to the Congressional and Senate levels.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we condemn the current law as an unconstitutional and cynical attempt to utilize Federal funds to guarantee the job security of incumbent officeholders, and

—that we support the efforts of those citizens who have joined together to challenge these schemes in the courts, and

—that we urge the Congress to refrain from the extension of this system to senate and congressional campaigns and, indeed, urge repeal of the legislation passed in 1974, and

—that we urge all taxpayers to protest the concept of public financing by refusing to participate in the so-called tax "check-off" which will provide money to finance major party conventions and Presidential campaigns in 1976.

WELFARE REFORM

WHEREAS the growing dependence on welfare constitutes a major threat to the continued well-being of society, and

WHEREAS the Federal Government is considering changes which would make the welfare problem significantly worse.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

—that conservatives are opposed to a guaranteed annual income, whether it be in the form of the Ford Administration's Income Security Plan (FAP revisited) or any other form,

—Further, welfare as presently administered must be reformed based on the following criteria:

1. Welfare should be administered on a state or local level.
2. Welfare should be administered to those, who through "no fault of their own" cannot support themselves.
3. Responsibility for self and family should be required plus relative responsibility laws should be enforced by the appropriate law enforcement agency.
4. Welfare for those physically able should be considered temporary with all welfare resources and policies directed towards enabling and requiring self support.
5. No welfare funds should be available to able-bodied and childless persons between the ages of 18 and 65.

THE NATION'S ECONOMIC CONDITION

WHEREAS the proximate cause for the inflation and recession is irresponsible fiscal and monetary policies which if left uncorrected will threaten this nation with an economic crisis of Great Depression potential, and

WHEREAS the staggeringly high deficits are dangerous to our economic future by threatening the nation with even greater inflation and a massive dislocation within the private capital markets from which our citizens get jobs, and

WHEREAS that Government constitutes the single greatest threat to a prosperous economic future and our drift toward state capitalism must be stopped, and

WHEREAS the response to the current economic problems presents the nation with a most serious challenge, the importance of which cannot be overstated.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED

—That the Congress of the United States bring the growth of the government budget and growing deficits under control through significant reductions in spending, including changes in the so-called uncontrollables;

—That the Government of the United States stop pursuing fiscal and monetary policies which have put the nation into a deepening cycle of inflation and recession.

THE SANCTITY OF HUMAN LIFE

WHEREAS on January 22, 1973, the United States Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* drew the cloak of privacy over the destruction of unborn human life, and

WHEREAS the laws of the several States with regard to criminal prosecution of actions involving abortions were struck down in contravention of the established interpretations of said laws and the mores to which the people of those states were accustomed, and

WHEREAS the Declaration of Independence set forth our national ideals that all human beings are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which is the right to life, and

WHEREAS the right to life of each human being shall be preserved and protected by every human being in the society and by the society as a whole, and

WHEREAS the life of each human being shall be preserved and protected throughout every stage of biological development, beginning at the moment when the ovum is fertilized, and

WHEREAS the life of each human being shall be preserved and protected from the biological beginning throughout the natural continuum of that human being's life by all available ordinary means and reasonable efforts, and

WHEREAS the life of each human being shall be preserved and protected at each stage of life continuum to the same extent as at each and every other stage regardless of state of health or condition of dependency, and

WHEREAS the life of each human being, born or unborn, should receive equal protection to the right to life according to universally applicable principles.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we recommend and urge the adoption of an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America to protect the life of the unborn child from the moment of conception.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

WHEREAS the House Committee on Internal Security has effectively investigated and exposed the activities of subversive revolutionary and terrorist groups such as the S.D.S., K.K.K., the Symbionese Liberation Army, and the Communist Party U.S.A., and

WHEREAS recent international and domestic events amply demonstrate the continuing need for such a committee, and

WHEREAS the abolition of House Committee on Internal Security and the transfer of its jurisdiction to the House Judiciary Committee will almost certainly mean the end of its effectiveness as an anti-communist and anti-subversive unit.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the House Committee on Internal Security be restored as a standing committee of the House of Representatives.

NATIONAL SECURITY RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS the United States continues to face a growing threat to its physical security and diplomatic freedom from a combination of the buildup of Soviet strategic and general

purpose forces, and accelerating disinvestment in military forces by the United States, and

WHEREAS today the United States is spending one-third of the amount it spent on strategic nuclear forces in 1960, and has only half as many Naval combatant vessels afloat as in 1964; and fewer men under arms than prior to the Vietnam war, and

WHEREAS we can no longer afford the luxury of complacency about our security; we must make the effort necessary to insure that there exists adequate strategic and general purpose forces in-being to enable President Ford or any future President to support our national interests with military power when necessary, anywhere in the world.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that modernization of the U.S. strategic bomber and nuclear powered missile-launching submarines be accelerated; specifically the B-1 bomber and the Trident missile and submarine,

—that the U.S. military research and development budget be increased \$2-3 billion annually for the next five years to allow our research and development efforts to "catch up" for the last several years of neglect,

—that our military assistance program to friendly nations such as the Republic of China and the Republic of Vietnam emulate our military assistance policy to Israel; small nations under attack by a proxy nation(s) for the Soviet Union or by the Soviet Union or Communist China should be supplied with the military hardware and expertise in the form of training which will permit them to effectively resist subversion or direct attack,

—U.S. General Purpose Forces have been allowed to deteriorate as a consequence of inflation, and timid requests for budget support from the President. In an era where our nuclear advantage has waned, we cannot afford to rely on forces for conventional warfare which allow for "no margin for error" should the international climate take a turn for the worse,

—the present authorized strength for U.S. General Purpose Forces and their supporting equipment is less than adequate to meet many contingencies in areas of the world where we have explicit defense commitments. Specifically, we have reduced our tactical airpower and naval strength far below their pre-Vietnam War levels. This level of readiness takes undue risks with U.S. security interests.

EDUCATION

WHEREAS it is our common goal to foster quality education for all citizens of the United States of America, and

WHEREAS such quality education is best nurtured in an environment of academic freedom devoid of any centralized control, and

WHEREAS sound discipline and constructive supervision are essential to the mental and social development of students.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that we embrace the concept of local control of schools and school systems as the only guarantee of academic freedom,

—that we favor the selection of textbooks and other educational materials by the citizenry of the local community,

—that we endorse the voucher system of student assignment as a practical means of maximizing individual freedom in the assignment of students to schools,

—that we oppose the forced busing of students for the purpose of achieving a racial balance in a school or school system as destructive and interruptive of the ordinary educational process, and

—that we advocate the restoration of voluntary, non-denominational prayer in public schools.

THE JUDICIARY

A concentration of political power is dangerous to liberty and the public welfare. In recognition of this fundamental truth, the people of the United States established a Constitution which presupposes a government of limited powers that is accountable to them. Through federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances, political power is diffused and thereby restrained.

But the Federal Judiciary, especially the Supreme Court of the United States, has usurped the powers of the States and of the other branches of the National Government. It has invaded the domains of State and Congressional power, especially in the fields of education, criminal law, commerce, taxation, and civil rights. It has repeatedly shown contempt for self-restraint. It has expanded the scope of its authority beyond the sphere of interpreting law and has entered that of making the law. It has become a second legislature of our National Government. It has established a long train of abuses.

Under these circumstances, the basic design of the Constitution has been undermined. The threat of a judicial tyranny looms ominously across the land. Judges who are appointed for life and are accountable to no one have seized the authority and power of the elected representatives of the people. This is contrary to the basic design of the American system of government and to the spirit of American democracy.

Now, therefore, let it be resolved, that the Federal Judiciary be reformed and that Congress be encouraged to exercise its constitutional authority by regulating the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to restore the balance of power.

FOREIGN POLICY

WHEREAS the major purpose of the American government in global affairs is to defend the legitimate interests of the American people from the hostile initiatives of foreign powers, and

WHEREAS the United States is threatened by the continued hostility and aggression of the Communist global enterprise, which by its repeated statement and performance aspires to conquer the whole of the non-Communist world, and

WHEREAS the American government under the influence of liberal doctrine has failed to grapple with the reality of the Communist challenge and thus defaulted the most essential defensive functions of the political state.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the President and Congress of the United States should reject the spurious notion of detente with the sworn and implacable enemies of our national sovereignty, and maintain diplomatic relations with our proven friends and allies, especially the Republic of China;

—that every effort be made to strengthen our defensive arsenal and to that needed weapons within our technological capability no longer be sacrificed to the illusion of detente;

—that we cease at once the transfer to the Soviet Union and other Communist powers of vital technology employed in the construction of the Communist war machine;

—that deployment of American aid throughout the world be guided strictly by criteria of effective anti-Communist action, and that provisions of such aid be limited to proven anti-Communist powers and friends of the United States;

—that our Caribbean flank must be guarded from hostile encroachments, by rejecting efforts to appease the Communist regime of Fidel Castro and by asserting, in unmistakable terms, American sovereignty over the Panama Canal; and

—that the conduct of our national policies no longer be subjected to the global embarrassment known as the United Nations, and that American financial support for that peculiar agency be withdrawn until such time as it is capable of civilized conduct and performance of its chartered function as an alliance against aggression.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

WHEREAS the proposed 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, commonly known as the Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.), will constitute a leap into legal darkness and a radical alteration of traditional relationships affecting family, home, and community, and

WHEREAS this year alone six states have rejected the E.R.A., while only one state has ratified it, and

WHEREAS the U.S. Constitution specifies that ratification of amendments is a matter for the individual state legislatures, in which the Executive Branch has no part, and WHEREAS the Department of Labor's Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, with an annual budget of \$80,000, is lobbying at the expense of taxpayers in the state legislatures for the ratification of the E.R.A., and

WHEREAS White House employees are lobbying on behalf of E.R.A. in the state legislatures; and while we recognize Mrs. Ford's right to her private views, we find that her lobbying on behalf of the E.R.A. to be both unethical and an abuse of her position as First Lady.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the 1975 Conservative Political Action Conference urges the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment and the rescission of the Amendment in those states where it has mistakenly been passed;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that lobbying for the E.R.A. at the expense of the U.S. taxpayers be halted immediately, and a Committee of Congress be empowered to investigate the misuses of federal funds to lobby for E.R.A.

Helms

(Continued from page 15)

Traditionally, our parties were based on sectional interests—interests that were not merely economic, but philosophical as well. The party candidates which a voter selected were more often correlated with the voter's geographic location than with any other factor. Because of this homogeneity of the social systems in the various sections, the voters did not have to think about issues very deeply to get a man and a party generally representative of their interests.

But as we know, economic issues became a major factor with the advent of the great depression. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, by using the economic issue in the north and the west, and combining it with the geographic tradition of the south, was able to put together a social coalition that has had a profound impact upon modern life ever since.

The success of the philosophy of offering a helping hand to those who deserved help quickly led politicians to see the potential of also giving hand-outs to those who did not need help. The result was to pull the Democratic Party further and further to the left. Naturally, the competition also drew the Republican Party to the left, almost always keeping a respectful distance.

But in 1964, the geographic element in the coalition began to break up. People began to be aware that their personal interests and the interests promoted by the politicians were beginning to diverge. People began to get interested in issues. They looked around for a candidate who was speaking the things that were in their hearts. We know that 27 million people found him, but it was not enough.

In 1968, an overwhelmingly conservative Republican Convention nominated Richard Nixon. The Democrats nominated an old-fashioned candidate depending upon the social coalition. Between the combined onslaught of Nixon and Wallace, the old-fashioned social coalition began to disintegrate. Both Nixon and Wallace attracted voters because of their stands on specific issues; the Democratic candidate was a creature of party structure and organization, and that structure could no longer deliver. I am therefore putting forth what may seem to be a novel thesis. Although Nixon was nominated by party machinery, he was elected not because he was a Republican but because he articulated views that appealed to a majority of voters without reference to party affiliation. What I am saying is that neither party, Republican or Democrat, was able to elect a President through party loyalty and organization. The national party, as an umbrella for state organizations, was becoming meaningless.

The ineffectiveness of both parties was further revealed in 1972. The President abandoned the Republican Party for all practical purposes and ran as the candidate of the Committee to Re-elect the President, with separate funding, separate strategy, and, to say the least, some rather unorthodox campaign practices. The President ran as a national candidate who was pleased to accept support from any source, including Republicans. In the end, he got 61% of the vote, even though polls early in 1972 had showed that the majority of the electorate considered the Democratic Party better equipped to handle the problems facing the nation.

But the Democrats, as we know, had fractured badly. The liberal Democrats seized the national party structure and adopted rules guaranteeing that the convention would be unrepresentative of the local party structure. They nominated a candidate who was perceived as adhering to a radical ideological platform, thus destroying the social-geographical coalition. All that the Republican candidate had to do—or perhaps I should say all that the candidate of the Committee to Re-elect the President had to do—was to adopt the positions on social issues held by the majority of the people. He was thus perceived as the conservative candidate. His views were not perceived as Republican views, although, as a matter of fact, they were the views held by most Republicans.

Then in 1974, the voters stayed home. They stayed home in droves—Republicans, Democrats, and independents. Only 38% came out to vote, and they were angry. The hopes of 1972 had not been vindicated. The image of rectitude had been shattered and the issues which had influenced the voters to vote for Nixon in 1972 never found fulfillment. They felt twice-cheated—and they either became disillusioned and stayed home, or they took revenge by voting with those who never wanted Nixon anyway.

Does this not indicate the final collapse of the two-party system? With no "issues-candidate" in a national forum, the voters stayed away in droves, disappointed with both parties, with broken promises, and with broken illusions. Only the left-wing Democrats came out in substantial numbers, confirming that the Democratic Party, by and large, was operating largely as a cohesive liberal faction—a liberal party, as it were—while the regular Democrats, the Democrats by geography, joined the Republicans and independents in apathy. The national control by the minority liberal faction was again demonstrated in Kansas City, and by the inability of the Democrats in Congress to come up with a coherent set of policies.

It is no coincidence that the 60 or 61% of the voters who have lost faith in government is exactly equal to the percentage of the voters who supported Richard Nixon in 1972.

The Republicans, however, are in no shape to rejoice over Democratic difficulties.

In a survey taken after the election for the Republican National Committee, 70% said they favored the party system, but 50% could find no difference between the two parties.

There was a dramatic increase in alienation from the political system for the past 10 years.

For the first time, a majority felt that the average person did not have any say about what the government does.

For the first time, the feeling that the people running the government did not know what they were doing exactly equalled the feeling that they did.

For the first time, the feeling that quite a lot of the people running the government were crooked surpassed the feeling that not many were crooked, and the belief that a few big interests were running the government went as high as 70%.

In fact, nearly 60% of the sample thought that public officials did not care what the people thought, and that the government could not be trusted.

Indeed, all of this is very discouraging to those of us who are Republicans, and who want to think of the Republican Party as the party of principle.

I joined the Republican Party after 28 years of being a registered Democrat, because I believed that it stood most clearly for our heritage of individual freedom and national strength.

Yet only 12% of the people think the Republican Party is patriotic.

I joined the Republican Party because I felt that it stood for free enterprise, competition, and hard work.

Yet only 17% of the people think the Republican Party stands for hard work.

No amount of communications specialists can hide the soaring Federal deficit, or the failure of the Republican administration to respond to the social issues upon which we were elected. We cannot preach honest economics, and then bring forth a budget proposal calling for a \$52 billion deficit . . .

I joined the Republican Party because I believed in fiscal responsibility and honesty; yet, 60% of the people look on the Republican administrations and see nothing but waste and corruption.

Was I wrong in joining the Republican Party? I do not think so, because I look around and I see the rank and file of my fellow Republicans who believe as I do. The vast majority of Republicans are conservative. They are not rich. They are not unpatriotic. They believe in honesty, frugality and hard work.

If the Republican Party cannot stand for these principles, then it stands for nothing at all, and cannot long survive. Its members will desert or simply stay home, or they will look for those who do articulate those principles. The party which is based on geographic or social division is dead.

The Republican Party today carries with it the burden of a total misunderstanding of the feelings of its members by the majority of the American people. And the Republicans cannot blame all this misunderstanding upon the press or a lack of communication. The people all too often correctly understand what the leadership of the Republican Party is doing.

No amount of communication specialists can hide the soaring Federal deficit, or the failure of the Republican administration to respond to the social issues upon which we were elected. We cannot preach honest economics, and then bring forth a budget proposal calling for a \$52 billion deficit, that optimistically assumes spending cuts of \$17 billion that a Democrat-controlled Congress will never approve—a budget that fails to mention another \$10.6 billion in agencies that are separately funded—for a total deficit of \$75.5 billion. We cannot hide what is going to happen when the government goes into the money market to borrow this money—a sum that is greater than will be raised by all borrowers, public and private, in the current year.

We cannot counteract the public's distrust of the government and suspicion of mismanagement when we fail to point out that the social security system is bankrupt, even though at present more than half of the wage-earners are paying more in social security taxes than in income taxes.

We cannot build confidence in our national leadership when we continue headlong in our national giveaway policy that threatens our strategic security, that undermines our dollar, and destroys our international leadership.

Is there any reason why, under a Republican Administration, foreign aid is projected to rise from \$3.6 billion in FY 74 to \$6.3 billion in FY 76? If ever foreign aid had any validity, the United States should be receiving foreign aid in our present economic crisis, not giving it.

Is there any reason why, under a Republican Administration, food stamps are presently costing \$4 billion a year and are projected to go up to \$8 billion a year?

Is there any reason why, under a Republican Administration, we should be negotiating to give away strategic U.S. territory in the Canal Zone to a country that has less population than metropolitan Washington?

Is there any reason why we should be proposing billions to develop energy resources in Siberia when we cannot even agree on unleashing private enterprise to develop our own resources?

I know that we have a Congress that is opposed to the President's program. But too often the President's program is so bad that even Republicans have difficulty supporting it.

Under the Republican Party's present course, the Party is out of tune with its own rank and file membership, and out of tune with the growing conservative majority. It is out of tune with the majority that is fed up with both parties, and is looking for politicians who will stand on issues and deliver what they promise.

Is there such a majority?

Of course there is.

Polls show that 31% of the people would support a conservative party. We have half those people already in the Republican Party.

Nineteen percent of the people would support a liberal party. They have their party already. Let them have their mini-conventions and let them have their mini-impact upon the country.

The rest of our majority must be put together from the 16% who reported that their support would depend on future decisions, the 19% who reported that they were fed up with parties, and the 14% who just didn't know. If we get just half these three undecided categories we have an overwhelming majority approaching the 61% who voted for the image of a conservative candidate in 1972.

We will not convince them that our conservative party, by whatever name, is not the party of the rich, by putting up candidates whose very names are associated with unsavory privilege, monopoly, and manipulation of wealth.

We will not get them by promising more handouts when inflation is taking the handouts back faster than we can give them out.

We will not overcome their fear of government waste, mismanagement and control of their lives by promising more government regulation and bureaucracy.

It is no coincidence that the 60 or 61% of the voters who have lost faith in government is exactly equal to the

percentage of the voters who supported Richard Nixon in 1972.

I think we will find our majority by presenting our views in terms that are easily understood by persons who are worried about what is happening to them, but are outside of active political participation.

We will find them in families where parents are worried about state interference in their right to educate their children according to their own values, whether it be the values of their own community, their own neighborhood, their own religious beliefs.

We will find them among the people who can no longer make ends meet because government interference with the economy and ideological vendettas in the name of the environment have robbed their localities of economic growth.

We will find them among people who are disturbed because they no longer have the freedom to arrange their own lives according to their own means, who are alarmed over governmental interference with their own privacy, and the privacy of their families.

Yes, even the right to life itself has been called into question by an uncontrolled judiciary that has constantly asserted more and more control over people's lives.

I have studied the polls which show the deepest concerns of people. They are worried most about money, about their health, and about their relationship with God. Conservatives don't need polls to tell us that. Economic, physical, and spiritual security are needs that are innate in human nature. Too often we fail to think of the spiritual dimension in politics, yet it is from the spiritual dimension that our concept of freedom comes. Politics can't establish programs to improve man's relationship with God, but we can make sure that we maintain the moral freedom to choose that brings about spiritual growth.

If we do not have a majority for a program of freedom, then this nation is faced with very dark days indeed, and political organization is useless.

We must develop a program of principle, so that the American people will know what we stand for. They must know not only what we stand for, but that we will stand by our principles without hesitation . . .

I have not answered the question of whether conservatives should organize another party or not. I say that we need two parties, a liberal party and a conservative party by whatever name. To get to that point, we need to organize conservatives into a more coherent structure—and I mean not only our trusty band of ideological conservatives, but non-political people who are grappling in their own communities with issues such as pornography, the right to life, school textbooks, community control of schools, as well as those who are affected by economy issues such as inflation, soaring social security taxes, and loss of jobs.

We must stop talking to ourselves in our own code words, and talk to people in language they understand.

Last year, I asked whether perhaps the time had come for issue-oriented conservatives to join together in a



(Courtesy of Patrick Korten)
Jesse Helms

platform convention to articulate the issues in a way that will appeal to those who are distrustful of present politics and parties. Since then, we have seen our government fall, and an unelected government take its place.

Is not 1976, the bicentennial year of our national independence, an appropriate year to issue a second Declaration of Independence?

If we want such a convention, we must begin working now—and we must work in different ways, with different groups, with different constituencies. No one organization has the base that we need, and some of the organizations that will help us are not even in political action at present. We can ill afford the luxury of turning away any individual, any group of individuals—whether a state party organization or a national party organization—or any other body sharing the same basic principles that we believe in.

We must not forget that the most fertile grounds for political action lies with the millions who are completely disgusted with both major parties. We must give them a solid alternative.

What kind of alternative do I mean? I mean first of all a group that is organized on practical political grounds. It must be constructed State-by-State, Congressional district-by-Congressional district, county-by-county, precinct-by-precinct. Unless we organize on this basis, we have no viable political force, and we have no means of fulfilling the mandate of the people.

And there's more. We must develop a program of principle, so that the American people will know what we stand for. They must know not only what we stand for, but that we will stand by our principles, without hesitation, without quibbling, without forgetting our promises. In the final analysis, we must place our trust in principle, not personality. The political structure of this nation has

deteriorated far past the point where it can be saved by an empty personality conjured up by the image-makers.

And that is why we must have a platform convention—not only to lay out the program that we intend to present to the American people, but also to demonstrate the soundness of our political organization.

Is this platform convention the convention of a new political party? It may be. Frankly, it is what we make of it. And what we make of it is only as limited as our vision.

I can foresee elected members of both political parties embracing this platform as their standard of action.

I can foresee independent candidates setting themselves up as forceful challengers to incumbents who refuse to embrace this platform.

It is entirely possible that the party conventions may not accept the challenge of this platform. But I believe that any party which ignores this platform will be foreordained to

defeat at the polls.

I may be wrong in my belief. But every test of public opinion—either through candidates running for election on the issues, or through scientific public opinion surveys—gives convincing argument to the contrary.

Therefore, we must be prepared long before the filing dates have passed, long before it is too late for us to get on the ballot in each State, to have acceptable candidates ready and able to run for office, not excluding the Presidency itself, in the event that major parties continue in the direction they are now going.

Thus, there will be no new party—unless one is necessary. And if we see that a new party is necessary, then we will be ready.

This will be hard work. But independence was hard work for the patriots of 1776. The time for waiting is past. The time for action is now. *Shall we stand together in this fight?*

New Party Opportunity

by Kevin Phillips

I have never been one to like to start a talk by pussyfooting around so I will lay out my basic position for you and do so by giving it perhaps a little more support than I could simply on my own. Right after the November elections I was on a panel at Yale that consisted of Pat Caddell, who was George McGovern's pollster in 1972; Johnny Apple of the *New York Times*; and Congressman Jerry Waldie of California. This is how the New Haven paper wrote up the result of our discussion of what American politics would be like in 1976. They said four astute political analysts at Yale University Monday agreed that there is a good possibility that a third party ticket, if it ran in 1976, could win the presidency. They all further agreed that the Democratic party would face as grave a situation as the Republican party in the important 1976 runoff.

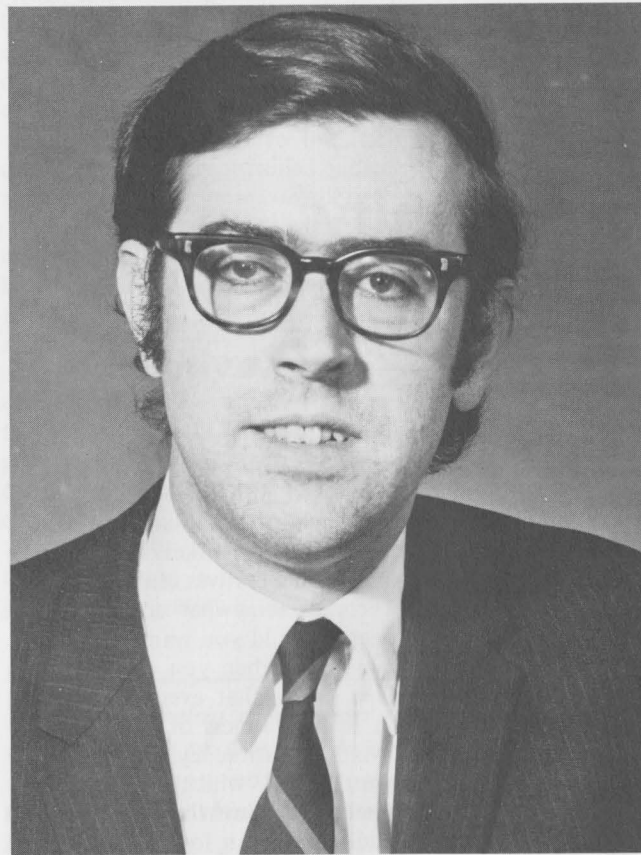
Now the nitty gritty of what we said there and what I will restate here I think somewhat more emphatically is that the old parties have run out of gas. The total opportunity in American politics today lies in the hands of a new party that will rise to combine the thrust of conservatism on one hand and elements of populism—the Wallace theme—on the other hand and make it into a viable new majority party in the United States. Now let me say why I think the backdrop to this is really all but inevitable, and we have to begin with the economy. I have a syndicated poll with Albert Sindlinger, a pollster in Philadelphia who does daily and weekly ongoing polls of U.S. consumer sentiment with an eye toward predicting and projecting what is going to happen to the economy. The report that we recently released updated the federal government's surveys which found unemployment at 8.2%. The estimates we had for the first week of February put it

at 9.3% and as a result of that Sindlinger, who does a lot of different economic projections, is now predicting that we will have 10% unemployment in all likelihood by June. If we have 10% unemployment by June and a steadily deteriorating economic situation it strikes me that the whole idea of whether or not conservatives can work within the Republican party becomes somewhat academic. The whole point is why on earth would you want to have the Republican nomination in 1976 when you can give it to somebody else? This is a factor that everybody should consider and dwell upon in the fullness of what I try to convey here. The basic Nixon constituency of 1972, or the basic anti-McGovern constituency which is probably a better description, included so much of the blue collar and what is often called middle American lower middle class element that is just on razor's edge because of the economy right now. The idea that they are going to be harnessable in the Republican harness I think is just out of the question.

Now in terms of what this means and how the whole idea of a third idea should be approached, let me say I would not approach it very quickly or very vehemently at this point for the simple reason that if it is precipitated too quickly and everybody is in a great rush to set up an alternative structure you run the risk of letting it be taken over by people who would over-ideologize it in a way that would not be sufficiently appealing to a large group of the American people. That risk is especially clear in the economic area where you cannot sell what amounts to the old Kaiser-Fraser brand of free market conservatism in a situation where you have 9, 10, or 11% unemployment. I think anybody who tries is going to be in desperate straits. To the extent that something was set up as a third party movement that drew very quickly upon the conservative

movement it would set itself at a fatal position in terms of economics and it would foreclose flexibility and ability to present itself as responsive to the needs of what is really middle America which is not an affluent constituency. It is a constituency that is having a lot of problems right now. So I would not be in a big rush for that reason.

The second reason is that the two parties right now behind the scenes are both very jittery about their ability to cope with the economic mess. In another five, six, seven, eight months a lot of Republicans who are very leery of a third party right now will be a lot more interested in it because they will see the existing framework is increasingly less viable. A lot of the conservative Democrats who have seen their party in Congress taken over by the frantic new array of twists they have imported to run the Congress will develop an interest as well. And all of this has the potential



Kevin Phillips

to shake out progressively more people from the existing party structure and, to the extent a third party were set in motion prematurely with an excessively narrow base, it would be self-defeating.

In terms of why I think the Republican party is dead I do not want to be overly critical here, but you can take the situation in state after state in terms of the local organization and strength in the state legislatures and find that the comparison is only to 1936 or 1964. In the 1974 election for the first time in a decade the Republican party was getting smashed in the northeastern liberal areas and at the same time losing strength and being rolled back in the South. In other words neither alternative view of the future—either the workmen's society view or the conservative Republican view was able to surmount the bankruptcy of the party because of the economy and Watergate.

The opportunity for the Republican party was there in 1972 and was not handled very well by Nixon because he was out to get every last decimal point on his own vote. But even allowing for that and allowing that as of early 1973 with the Rizzo-Godwin-Connolly business there was a framework that still might have been viable. As a result of Watergate and the tremendous botchup of the economy and the whole Mary Louise Smith Act of selling the Republican party as Abraham Lincoln with hexachlorophene, it is just not going to go anywhere. It is pathetic and it is just nothing that you can advertise to people anymore as having any real soul—to use that word. I just don't think there is anything there. It is the 20th Century Whigs at this point trying to straddle all the issues. They had a conference of state chairmen in January where they brought in some pollster who said you want to get away from all the major national issues. You want to stress things like prevention of local burglaries and checking out supermarkets for price fixing or something. This is the breadth of imagination that makes you think of Millard Fillmore. (In fact if you look at the White House there is a hell of a lot that makes you think of Millard Fillmore.) And I really don't think that that is going to be viable in 1976.

Now, in terms of what contribution the Republican party can make in 1976 I would like to offer a somewhat iconoclastic view. It could run Nelson Rockefeller for President and doom the Democratic party, because if Nelson Rockefeller were the Republican nominee he would be making a deal with everyone from Common Cause to George Meany, and the whole Democratic party structure would be torn to shreds. At the same time the right wing of the Democratic party would be willing to move into tandem with the new conservative movement. There would be a total self-destruct of the Republican and Democratic parties in the presidential orbit and creation of the opportunity for a new third party to win with 35 to 40% of the vote and get off the old Whig bandwagon and do something. That is the thing that can possibly be done in 1976 if the cards are played right.

Now one last point on the Whig analogy. If you go back to the 1850's and the 1860's you will see that it was very difficult to create a new party; in the election of 1856 with the first new party candidacy of the Republicans there was a three way race and in 1860 a four way race. The way Abraham Lincoln got into the White House was not because he created the type of "broad faced coalition appealing to everybody" that the liberals will advertise as the key to glory. He created a narrowly based coalition that got 39% of the vote in a tightly fought sectional and cultural race and squeezed itself into the White House and used the power of the presidency to change the course of history. But it was a 39% of the vote deal and it relied upon what was the old party, in essence the extension of the Whig party, to fulfill a very vital function in that 1860 election; furnish an indecisive blurry party for those who did not know what they wanted to do, who refused to take any position, any ideological position, any sectional position. The old Whig Republicans could in essence siphon off a substantial element that would refuse to support a conservative candidate or coalition in the 1976 election and it would siphon them off in a way that they would not vote to the liberals as they did in 1964, because anybody that is aware of the voting patterns in 1964 will know where the Rockefeller vote went and it did not go to the Socialist

Workers Party. If you have this three or four party structure you create a situation in which not only can a fairly solidly conservative ticket or coalition win but it uses the divisions among its enemies to divide and conquer and win with something less than a majority. Now I think in the event Ronald Reagan were to go through the Republican primaries fighting Nelson Rockefeller and Nelson Rockefeller's structure, even if he won the Republican nomination, the likelihood that in a two way race he could win a 50% of the vote is very negligible. And there is the prospect that George Wallace would be in there draining votes that would normally be Reagan's and being very effective because of the number of people that would

refuse to vote for a Republican candidate because of the Republican economic policy. So the Republican presidential framework in 1976 should not seem very viable six or nine months from now when a lot of people will be ready to face that decision. I favor the third party, because I think the Republican framework is probably spent. It is a Whig historical relic but my caveat is that I would not be premature on this. It is something to be done very carefully to make certain that what is being started is a broad based movement with its roots in the American people and avoiding having roots in fringe elements and in elements which will not allow it to reach a broad enough base which is necessary to do the job.

"Releasing the American Spirit . . ."

by James Buckley

Liberalism is intellectually dead. Yet, like Marley's ghost in Dickens' *Christmas Carol*, it walks the halls of Congress, clanking its chains and calling upon everyone to spend more, lest we be damned.

The Conservative Political Action Conference has been called, in effect, to exorcise that ghost; to banish the hobgoblins and superstitions that have haunted us during the past generation and longer; and to release the American spirit so that it may rediscover and embrace the political truths that have given this country such freedom and greatness and moral and economic strength.

This conference has come at a critical time. The next five years could prove decisive for the future of the Republic. This nation will either yield to the political impulses now gaining momentum in the Congress, impulses that can plunge us beyond recall into the abyss of a centralized, regulated society; or we can break free of the constraints increasingly being placed on individual action and initiatives, and again shape our national and individual destinies as truly free men and women.

This conference can prove to be a profoundly important event; a turning point on the road back to political balance and sanity. It is a convocation of the brightest and the best that the American Conservative movement has to offer. The fact that so many are gathered here from every part of the country is proof enough of our unwillingness either to be taken for granted or to retire to the sidelines, looking on passively as the future of the country is shaped by forces that fail to understand the sources of its strength.

Politically, Conservatives are coming of age. We are here this evening amid circumstances which are uniquely different from, say, fifteen years ago when Young Americans for Freedom was founded, or even ten years ago when Barry Goldwater ran for President and the American Conservative Union was formed to become a focal point for Conservative political action. It is different because, collectively, we are acquiring a track record. We are able to demonstrate our ability not only to criticize the failure of others, but to

innovate; and in California, we have been able to demonstrate that our innovations work. Moreover, we meet at a time when it can be said with confidence that the dominant political mood is conservative, that on most basic issues, a majority of the American people is with us.

They share our concern over inflationary budgets that in fiscal year 1976 will in all probability result in a deficit in excess of \$70 billion. They also see the continued growth of the Federal government as a substantial threat to the freedom and well-being of every American. These budgets and the growth of Federal power are the producer of Liberal politics, which means it is not to political Liberals the nation should look for solutions. Yet (and this is the problem to which Conservatives must address themselves) we have suffered major setbacks at the polls.

Message of the November Elections

As we survey the shambles of last November's elections, certain facts become increasingly clear. The electorate did not reject political conservatism in 1974. Rather at the polls or by staying home, they delivered a stinging political defeat to the Republican Party. What is equally clear, that defeat is traceable to more than Watergate or the former President. The results of the 1972 Congressional elections, simultaneous with a Republican Presidential landslide of historic proportions, suggest a more fundamental problem. The recent Teeter poll confirms the fact that for several years now, the electorate has held the notion that the Democrats are better able to handle the nation's problems, which means that they do not associate the Democrats with the disastrous programs that have been enacted by Liberal Democratic majorities in Congress. This suggests an information gap that it is the first order of business to fill.

Another lesson of the 1974 election is that the American people want to change, which to me means less, not more, of the old-time Liberal solutions. One of the more

remarkable political facts is that Liberals can continually present themselves as representing the fresh breeze and the new view. Clearly, they do not. The one true reform movement in America is the Conservative movement.

Skeptics in the press notwithstanding, American Conservatism is not, in essence, a status-quo oriented view; it is change oriented. Conservatives want reform. That is our message, as it was the message of the electorate.

Our first task then, is to articulate a giant political truth: the concerns of the electorate are the concerns of Conservatives. Together we must let the American people know that it is we Conservatives who can best address those concerns and frustrations. The failure on our part to do so will probably mean that Americans will continue to be served a smorgasbord of strong centralized solutions, requiring even bigger Federal budgets, and ever-greater regulation of our lives, our enterprises and our interests.

Second, just because Liberalism and the Democratic Party have dominated the period in which these problems have grown to catastrophic proportions does not mean that the American people will come to know spontaneously that they are the cause of these failures.

This fact holds important lessons for Conservatives and Republicans. For the Conservatives, the lesson is that we must know that we have to communicate our views more effectively. We must tell our fellow citizens that we have approaches to problems and solutions that are fundamentally different from those of the Liberals. We must demonstrate that Conservatism constitutes the single, major, responsible alternative on the political scene today.

For the Republican Party the lesson is that it cannot plausibly attack the Democratic record unless it is prepared to attack the Liberal-Democratic policies that have created that record. This means that unless the Republican Party

brings itself to stand for a coherent philosophy of political alternatives, it will continue along its current decline. Republicanism of the kind that accepts, in the name of moderation, half the Liberal Democratic program holds no appeal to those Conservative-minded independents and Democrats who were essential to the victorious Presidential election coalition of 1972. Liberal Republicans cannot hope to resurrect Republican fortunes. The one chance for the Republican Party to become the majority party is to do what ought to come naturally, and that is to identify itself with the Conservative alternative to the Liberalism that now dictates Democratic policy. Otherwise, the Republican Party may have no future.

This is the problem that Conservatives and Republicans face. But it is also their opportunity. If I might be so presumptuous, we Conservatives know that we have answers to what troubles America. But the opportunity is one which is by nature different than "opportunity knocking." It is the opportunity to go to work—to be missionaries, if you will. For in the last analysis, ideas uncommunicated are ideas that will not be of use to the practical affairs of man. That ideas are true or valuable is no guarantee that they will prevail. It is you and I who must carry that burden. We must seize the opportunity. We must re-double our efforts. And it is to seize that opportunity and to focus those efforts that the Conservative Political Action Conference has been convened.

If I might engage in some collective back-patting I would like to compliment us for being here. That in these depressing days we come out in such numbers is a testament to our willingness, no eagerness, to stick with the challenge; and that is, to go forward from this meeting to do what is necessary: to effect a Conservative political majority in America.

GOP: Dying Or Dead?

by Ron Docksai

There is probably no better answer to the question, "Does the Republican Party Have a Future?," than the last few days' focus of discussion. Regardless of any tactical disagreements we may have as political conservatives, this discussion reveals a central debate. On the one side, there are those who consider the G.O.P. as dying. On the other side, there are those who consider it already dead.

Earlier in this conference, Senator Jesse Helms recalled last November's dismal electoral results as well as the

preceding succession of Party losses. It is a successive trend already described by Kevin Phillips, and one we might re-name *The Emerging Republican Obscurity*. The Republican Party no longer appears to be considered by serious investors as a bluechip commodity.

I maintain that the Phillips' thesis holds. David Broder, as observer on the scene; Frederick Dutton in his *Changing Sources of Power*; Walter Dean Burnham; Samuel Lubell; Scammon and Wattenberg; and nearly all other serious

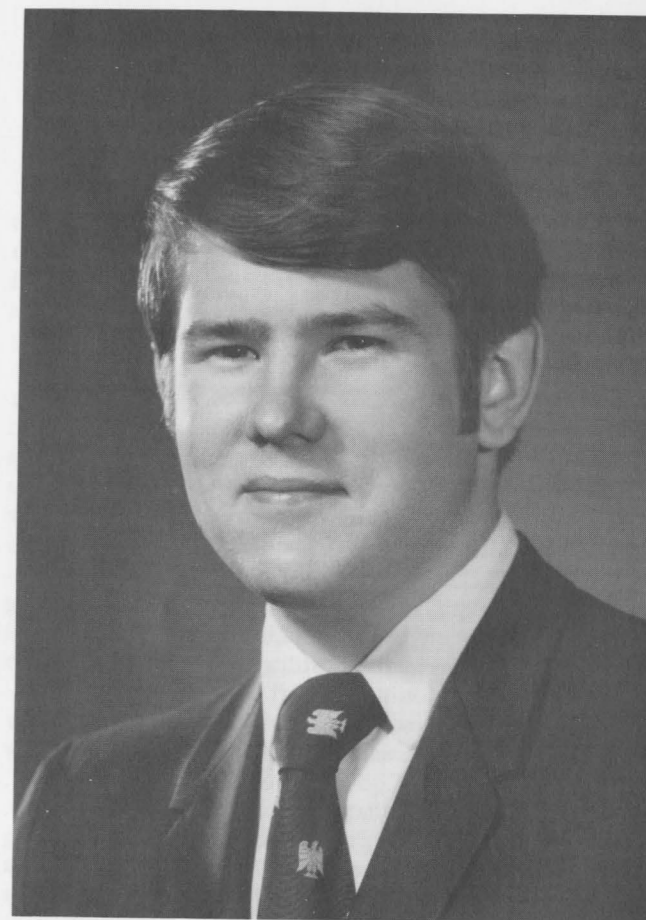
political scientists have disagreements on matters of public policy, but all share Phillips' notion that a major political realignment has taken place, and that there is a large body of the electorate ranging anywhere from 20 to 41% in search of a new party vehicle to represent their interests. This search is not an active one in all cases—and this plurality includes many nominal Democrats, voters predisposed to vote for a Center-Right candidate, but not predisposed to join or pledge party allegiance to the Republicans. Consider, for example, last November's congressional elections. The official response from the Republican National Committee was to attribute the results to Watergate. But the most reliable survey research, our only means of attempting to really answer this question, indicate that this is not so. Rather, the voters, including the stay-at-home majority, associated the Party not so much as standing for Watergate as standing for nothing in particular. The NBC News *Election Day Survey* asked a random sample grouping of voters in 50 states some 35 questions in order to measure the impact of Watergate. Some of the most indicative results are as follows:

Question—"Do you agree or disagree with the following statement, 'I think less of Republicans because of Watergate?'" Nationally, 40% agreed, 48% disagreed, and 12% were unsure. Yet when the question is put in a more general form, linking its answer to a commentary not merely on Mr. Nixon but on all previous administrations, the results are overwhelming. To the question, "Which party do you think can do a better job dealing with the problem of corruption in government?," 15% answered the Republicans, 35% the Democrats, while a total of 43% contended that neither could, that both parties were essentially the same. And we continue to see a continued correlation of voter dissatisfaction with both major parties on a broad range of social and economic issues. This comes at a time when only 18% of our countrymen can identify their own interests with those of the Republican Party. 18%! You know, back in the early sixties, that is what they used to call a "fringe group"!

Once again, what survey data exists to determine the shape and size of the continuing realignment of voters holds that we are only witnessing the tip of the proverbial iceberg of voter distrust and disgust with both major parties. Should another party appear with the image of one which can potentially govern, potentially represent the attitudes and interests of the larger, popular middle class, it will become this century's successor to the Experiment of 1856, as the Republican Party goes the way of the Whigs.

So the real question to be answered is not "Where is the Republican Party going?" But, "How long will it take before it gets there?"

In the course of America's electoral history since Jackson we learn that a party lives only so long as its existence is considered irrevocably necessary. Last November, as has been the case for decades, we were presented with the spectre of a Democratic Party attempting to represent anything—and a Republican Party successfully representing nothing. Local exigencies aside, the G.O.P. as perceived by the voters is no longer a party of balanced budgets, localized government and anti-communism. It can no longer presume to be the party of moral probity. A national Democrat's historic appeal as a delegate of the people has been historically distinct from the image of a Republican as not merely a delegate but, in Edmund



Ron Docksai

Burke's meaning, a representative—one who while more reserved, perhaps was also more moral, more trustworthy. Yet, in the fumbling rush to stay out of jail, a Republican President, his cabinet level advisors and all the king's men not only failed to pay their taxes, but more importantly appeared to not really give a damn about those who do. And a party which either does not or does not appear to care deeply, cannot really be cared about deeply.

It is in light of this that we, as Republicans, must strive toward the goal of preserving a Republican constituency which no longer has a viable party to represent it. It need not be a rigid ideological structure as a caricature of a European party, nor should it be only a public relations junket for the duration of only a single election. It must be a broad, center-right coalition which can serve as a mansion with many rooms for the Democrats and Independents needed to form the majority coalition.

Though the natural affinity is understandable, Republicans need not feel guilty about the course we must follow. No more loyal Republican ever lived than did the man who once warned his party that it risked an eventual popular ruin should it continue to deny any lasting general principles, and this man, Robert Taft, argued that these very doctrinal differences made parties. As he told his National Committee in 1953,

The two-party system is based on the theory that a large number of men who think differently on many subjects unite in the belief that certain principles are vital to the welfare of their country, and that differences on less important questions must be reconciled or forgotten in the common effort to

secure these basic principles. The only parties that have died are those that have forgotten or abandoned the principles on which they were founded. A party can live only if it represents a great principle or a set of principles. . . . A party kills itself and removes any excuse for its existence when it adopts the principles of its opponents.

Since Taft's time, Republicanism's identity crisis has grown more acute. William A. Rusher has contributed more toward understanding the basic problem than anyone, and his book, *The Making of a New Majority Party*, is predicated on the Kevin Phillips' thesis. Yet it holds that in state after state, "the Republican Party hardly exists at all. In part this is due to the long-term shift of financial support from the party to the individual candidates—but this in turn is squarely the result of the essential meaninglessness of the party. No one can effectively lead or even work in the Republican Party today, because no one can possibly say what it stands for. . . ." And Mr. Rusher shies away from the current G.O.P. "Open the Door" strategy which attempts to "fructify the opportunism to which nothing human is alien, . . . in the Republican Party's sterile and futile effort to avoid the hostility of blocs that have no intention of voting for it anyway."

Once before in American history, one of our two major parties grew into irrelevance, and it was replaced by a new coalition composed of the Free Soil Party of Salmon P. Chase and George Jullian; the Democrats of John C. Fremont and Hannibal Hamlin; and the surviving Whig followers of Horace Greely and Abraham Lincoln. This newly arisen third party, the Republican Party of 1854, lost

when it first posed a Presidential race in the figure of the John C. Fremont campaign of 1856. But it arose out of the dissolution of a slowly dying party, which like all parties appears invincible until the last five minutes, and it won in 1860 with the extraordinary political leadership of Abraham Lincoln.

It is an historical fact that in politics, the image is more important than the reality. And if the image, as a Robert Teeter poll suggests, of the Republican Party is one of appearing "untrustworthy, incompetent, and allied with big business," conservatives would be wasting their time continuing to discuss remaining in the Republican Party as our only option. For the Republican Party no longer represents its former constituency; it cannot, it will not, and we must come to the hard truth that if one party government is to be avoided in America, we must witness the formation of a new conservative party.

We must not be falsely labelled the visionaries as against the practical or the unsophisticated as against the sophisticated. For political sophistication is not merely a synonym for prudence. The ranks of the politically unsophisticated are historically those *who have not seen far enough*. We would be celebrating the name of Neville Chamberlain today if he had had Winston Churchill's understanding of how much was within the realm of the possible for the British people. And so it is, that the true political sophisticate, having acknowledged the supreme unwisdom of biting off *more* than you can chew, would also be advised of the folly and failure of biting off *less* than we can chew. It is an axiom we ought not to forget during a time of a prevailing, yet dying, political orthodoxy.

“. . . Let us go forward without them.”

by Ronald Reagan

Since our last meeting in January 1974, we have been through a disastrous election. It is easy for us to be discouraged, as pundits hail that election as a repudiation of our philosophy and even as a mandate of some kind or other. But the significance of the election was not registered by those who voted, but by those who stayed home. If there was anything like a mandate it will be found among almost two-thirds of the citizens who refused to participate.

Bitter as it was to accept the results of that election, we should have reason for some optimism. For many years now we have preached "the gospel", in opposition to the philosophy of so-called liberalism which was, in truth, a call to collectivism.

Now, it is possible we have been persuasive to a greater degree than we had ever realized. Few, if any, Democratic Party candidates in the last election ran as liberals. Listening to them I had the eerie feeling we were hearing reruns of Goldwater speeches. I even thought I heard a few of my own.

Bureaucracy was assailed and fiscal responsibility hailed. Even George McGovern donned sack cloth and ashes and did penance for the good people of South Dakota.

But let us not be so naive as to think we are witnessing a mass conversion to the principles of conservatism. Once sworn into office, the victors reverted to type. In their view apparently the ends justified the means.

The "Young Turks" had campaigned against "evil

politicians". They then turned against committee chairmen of their own party, displaying a taste and talent as cutthroat power politicians quite in contrast to their campaign rhetoric and idealism. Still, we must not forget that they molded their campaigning to fit what even they recognized was the mood of the majority. And, we must see to it that the people are reminded of this as they now pursue their ideological goals—and pursue them they will.

In a recent gathering of the House Agriculture Committee, several members proclaimed that food is a national resource and that it should be taken by government and distributed equally to all the people. The sheer ignorance behind such a proposal boggles the mind, but the shock is immeasurable when you consider the proposal came from those who will determine national agricultural policy for the next two years.

I know you are aware of the national polls which show that a greater (and increasing) number of Americans—Republicans, Democrats and independents—classify themselves as "conservatives" than ever before. And, a poll of rank-and-file union members reveals dissatisfaction with the amount of power their own leaders have assumed, and a resentment of their use of that power for partisan politics.

These polls give cause for some optimism, but at the same time reveal a confusion that exists and the need for a continued effort to "spread the word".

In another recent survey, of 35,000 college and university students polled, three-fourths blame American business and industry for all of our economic and social ills. The same three-fourths think the answer is more (and virtually complete) regimentation and government control of all phases of business—including the imposition of wage and price controls. Yet, 80% in the same poll want less government interference in their own lives!

In other polls, there is evidence that people, more than ever before, are angry with government—at its size, its cost and its power. Yet, nearly one-half cannot name their U.S. Congressman and of those who can 86% cannot describe a single thing he or she stands for.

Liberalism Repudiated

In 1972 the people of this country had a clear cut choice, based on the issues—to a greater extent than in any election in half a century. In overwhelming numbers they ignored party labels, not so much to vote for a man or even a policy, as to repudiate a philosophy. In doing so they repudiated that final step into the welfare state—that call for the confiscation and redistribution of their earnings on a scale far greater than what we now have. They repudiated the abandonment of national honor and a weakening of this nation's ability to protect itself.

A study has been made that is so revealing that I'm not surprised it has been ignored by a certain number of political commentators and columnists. The Political Science Department of Georgetown University researched the mandate of the 1972 election and recently presented its findings at a seminar.

Taking several major issues which, incidentally, are still the issues of the day, they polled rank-and-file members of the Democratic Party on their approach to these problems. Then, they polled the delegates to the two major national conventions—the leaders of the parties.

They found the delegates to the Republican convention



Ronald Reagan

almost identical in their responses to those of the rank-and-file Democrats. Yet, the delegates to the Democratic convention were miles apart from the thinking of their own party members.

The mandate of 1972 still exists. The people of America have been confused and disturbed by events since that election, but they hold an unchanged philosophy.

Our task is to make them see that what we represent is identical to their own hopes and dreams of what America can and should be. If there are questions as to whether the principles of conservatism hold up in practice, we have the answers to them. Where conservative principles have been tried, they have worked. We do not have to deal in utopian promises, shutting our eyes to repeated failures and social experiments—costly failures overlaid by more costly failures. We have examples of conservative principles put to the test and we can prove that they work.

Governor Meldrim Thomson is making them work in New Hampshire; so is Arch Moore in West Virginia and Mills Godwin in Virginia. Jack Williams made them work in Arizona and I am sure James Edwards will in South Carolina.

If you will permit me, I can recount my own experience in California.

The California Experiment

When I went to Sacramento eight years ago, I had the belief that government was no deep, dark mystery; that it could be operated efficiently by using the same common sense practiced in our everyday life, in our home, in business and private affairs.

The "lab test" of my theory—California—was pretty messed up after eight years of a road show version of the Great Society. Our first and only briefing came from the outgoing Director of Finance who said, "We're spending \$1 million more a day than we're taking in. I have a golf date. Good luck!" That was the most cheerful news we were to hear for quite some time.

California state government was increasing by about 5,000 new employees a year. We were the welfare capital of the world, with 16% of the nation's caseload. Soon, California's caseload was increasing by 40,000 a month.

We turned to the people themselves for help. Two hundred and fifty experts in various fields volunteered to serve on task forces at no cost to the taxpayers. They went into every department of state government and came back with 1,800 recommendations on how modern business

practices could be used to make government more efficient. We adopted 1,600 of them.

We appointed to government positions not the political faithful, but individuals who were not seeking government careers and who would be the first to tell us if they found their jobs or department unnecessary.

We instituted a policy of "cut, squeeze and trim" and froze the hiring of employees as replacements for retiring employees or others leaving state service. Every such move was vehemently opposed by the bureaucracy and by a legislative majority whose liberalism had led to the situation we inherited. Unable to make them see the light, we often took our case to the people, who made them feel the heat.

After a few years of struggling with the professional welfarists we again turned to the people. First, we obtained another task force and, when the legislature refused to help implement its recommendations, we presented the recommendations to the electorate.

One newspaper tested our charges that there were welfare excesses. When a reporter got on welfare *four* times under *four* names in the *same* office on the *same* day, that paper joined our crusade.

It still took some doing. The legislature insisted our reforms would not work; that the needy would starve in the streets; that the workload would be dumped on the counties; that property taxes would go up and that we would run up a deficit the first year of \$750 million. That was four years ago. Today, the needy have had an average increase of 43% in welfare grants in California, but the taxpayers have saved \$2 billion by the caseload not increasing that 40,000 a month. Instead, there are some 400,000 fewer on welfare today than then. Forty of the state's 58 counties have reduced property taxes for two years in a row (some for three). That \$750 million deficit turned into an \$850 million surplus which we returned to the people in a one-time tax rebate. That wasn't easy. One state senator described that rebate as "an unnecessary expenditure of public funds".

For more than two decades governments—federal, state, local—have been increasing in size two-and-a-half times faster than the population increase.

We have just turned over to a new administration in Sacramento a government virtually the same size it was eight years ago. With the state's growth rate, this means that government absorbed a work load increase, in some departments as much as 66%.

We also turned over—for the first time in almost a quarter of a century—a balanced budget and a surplus of \$500 million. In these last eight years, we returned to the people in rebates, tax reductions and bridge toll reductions \$5.7 billion. All of this is contrary to the will of those who deplore conservatism and profess to be liberals, yet all of it is pleasing to the citizenry.

Make no mistake, the leadership of the Democratic Party is still out of step with the majority of Americans.

Speaker Carl Albert recently was quoted as saying that our problem is "60% recession, 30% inflation and 10% energy". That makes as much sense as saying two and two make 22.

Economic Problems and Cures

Without inflation there would be no recession. And, unless we curb inflation we can see the end of our society

and economic system. The painful fact is we can only halt inflation by undergoing a period of economic dislocation—a recession if you will.

We can take steps to ease the suffering of some who will be hurt more than others, but if we turn from fighting inflation and adopt a program only to fight recession we are on the road to disaster.

In his first address to Congress, the President asked Congress to join him in an all-out effort to balance the budget. I think all of us wish that he had reissued that speech instead of this year's budget message.



What side can be taken in a debate over whether the deficit should be \$52 billion or \$70 or 80 billion preferred by the profligate Congress?

Inflation has one cause and one cause only: government spending more than government takes in. And the cure to inflation is a balanced budget. We know of course that after 40 years of social tinkering and Keynesian experimentation that we can't do this all at once, but it can be achieved. Balancing the budget is like protecting your virtue—you have to learn to say "no".

This is no time to retread the shopworn panaceas of the New Deal, the Fair Deal and the Great Society. John Kenneth Galbraith who, in my opinion, is living proof that economics is an inexact science, has written a new book. It is called *Economics and the Public Purpose*. In it, he asserts that market arrangements in our economy have given us inadequate housing, terrible mass transit, poor health care and a host of other miseries. And then, for the first time to my knowledge, he advances socialism as the answer to our problems.

Shorn of all side issues and extraneous matter, the problem underlying all others is the worldwide contest for the hearts and minds of mankind. Do we find the answers to human misery in freedom as it is known, or do we sink into the deadly dullness of the socialist antheap?

To those who suggest that the latter is some kind of solution, I issue a challenge. Let us have no more theorizing when actual comparison is possible. There is in the world a great nation; larger than ours in territory and populated with 250 million capable people. It is rich in resources and has had more than 50 uninterrupted years to practice socialism without opposition. We could match them, but it would take a little doing on our part. We'd have to cut our paychecks back by 75%; move 60 million workers back to the farm; abandon two-thirds of our steel making capability; destroy 40 million television sets; tear up 14 of every 15 miles of highway; junk 19 of every 20 automobiles; tear up two-thirds of our railroad tracks; knock down 70% of our houses; and rip out nine out of every 10 telephones. Then, all we have to do is find a capitalist country to sell us wheat on credit to keep us from starving!

Our people are in a time of discontent. Our vital energy supplies are threatened by possibly the most powerful cartel in human history. Our traditional allies in Western Europe are experiencing political and economic instability bordering on chaos.

We seem to be increasingly alone in a world grown more hostile, but we let our defenses shrink to pre-Pearl Harbor levels. And, we are conscious that in Moscow the crash building of arms continues. The SALT II agreement in Vladivostok, if not renegotiated, guarantees the Soviets a clear missile superiority sufficient to make a "first strike" possible with little fear of reprisal. Yet, too many Congressmen demand further cuts in our own defenses, including delay if not cancellation of the B-1 bomber.

I realize that millions of Americans are sick of hearing about Indo-China and perhaps it is politically unwise to talk of our obligation to Cambodia and South Vietnam. But we pledged—in an agreement that brought our young men home and freed our prisoners—to give our allies arms and ammunition to replace on a one-for-one basis what they expended in resisting the aggression of the communists who are violating the ceasefire and are fully aided by their Soviet and Red Chinese allies.

Can we live with ourselves if we, as a nation, betray our friends and ignore our pledged word? And, if we do, who would ever trust us again? To consider committing such an act so contrary to our deepest ideals is symptomatic of the erosion of standards and values. And this adds to our discontent.

We did not seek world leadership; it was thrust upon us. It has been our destiny almost from the first moment this land was settled. If we fail to keep our rendezvous with destiny or, as John Winthrop said in 1630, "Deal falsely with our God", we shall be made "A story and byword throughout the world."

Americans are hungry to feel once again a sense of mission and greatness.

I don't know about you, but I am impatient with those Republicans who after the last election rushed into print saying "we must broaden the base of our Party"—when what they meant was to blur even more the differences between ourselves and our opponents.

It was a feeling that there was not a sufficient difference now between the parties that kept a majority of the voters away from the polls. When have we ever advocated a closed-door policy? Who has ever been barred from participating?

Our people look for a cause to believe in. Is it a third party we need, or is it a new and revitalized second party, raising a banner of no pale pastels, but bold colors which make it unmistakably clear where we stand on all of the issues troubling the people?

Let us show that we stand for fiscal integrity and sound money and above all for an end to deficit spending, with ultimate retirement of the national debt.

Let us also include a permanent limit on the percentage of the people's earnings government can take without their consent.

Let our banner proclaim a genuine tax reform that will begin by simplifying the income tax so that workers can compute their obligation without having to employ legal help.

And, let us provide indexing—adjusting the brackets of the cost of living—so that an increase in salary meant to keep pace with inflation does not move the taxpayer into a surtax bracket. Failure to provide this means an increase in government's share and would make the worker worse off than he was before he got the raise.

Let our banner proclaim the belief in a free market place as the greatest provided for the people. Let us also include our pledge to end the nitpicking harassment and over regulation of business and industry which restricts expansion and our ability to compete in world markets.

To those political demagogues who appeal to the worst in human nature, telling us we can have a bigger slice of the pie only by reducing someone else's share, let our banner proclaim that we can all have a bigger slice if government will only get out of the way and let the private sector build a bigger pie.

Under our banner there will be compassion for those who need help, but we will not sentence them to a lifetime of hopelessness and the dole. We will seek to make them self-sustaining with hope in a future in which they control their own destinies.

Let us explore ways to ward off socialism, not by increasing government's coercive power, but by increasing participation by the people in the ownership of our industrial machine.

Our banner must recognize the responsibility of government to protect the law-abiding, holding those who commit misdeeds personally accountable.

And, we must make it plain to international adventurers that our love of peace stops short of "peace at any price". We will maintain whatever level of strength is necessary to preserve our free way of life.

A political party cannot be all things to all people. It must represent certain fundamental beliefs which must not be compromised to political expediency, or simply to swell its numbers.

I do not believe I have proposed anything that is contrary to what has been considered Republican principle. It is at the same time the very basis of conservatism. It is time to reassert that principle and raise it to full view. And, if there are those who cannot subscribe to these principles, let us go forward without them.

yaf & the right scene

Arizona YAF, with the help of state advisor Representative **James Skelly**, played major role in the state's rejection of the ERA . . .

Western Service Director **Gary Giordano** was a guest on **Ken Boehm's** radio show in Philadelphia . . . Gary also spoke at Swarthmore College on Chavez . . .

Clifford Theis has organized a YAF chapter at St. John's University Staten Island Campus, and plans a program of speakers, films, and debates . . .

Chapter Services Director **Ron Robinson** debated proponents of unconditional amnesty at the First Congregational Church of Fairfax in Virginia . . .

Youngstown State University YAF is one of the most active in Ohio. Chaired by **Bill Boni**, the group has sponsored literature tables, worked in local campaigns, and sponsored several successful seminars. The Ohio State Board has named it as the State YAF Chapter of the Year for 1974 . . .

Members of **W. Tresper Clarke Hi-YAF** have been active in the gun control controversy. Chairman **Rich Cooper** and vice-chairman **Ray Scutari** were elected to the National Honor Society. **Alan Rothberg** has been appointed in charge of recruitment and materials . . . They also issued press releases urging the deregulation of transportation, the end of farm subsidies, free trade, and the gold standard . . . as well as corresponded with Representative John Wydler, criticizing his sponsorship of the Consumer Protection Agency bill . . .

Northwest YAF has formulated plans for a proposal similar to Ronald Reagan's Proposition One to limit government's power to tax . . . Members of this active region held a meeting with **Luke Williams**, who was active in Barry Goldwater's 1964 Presidential campaign, to discuss the formation of a new party in Washington State. Mr. Williams is currently President of the American Sign and Indicator Company . . .

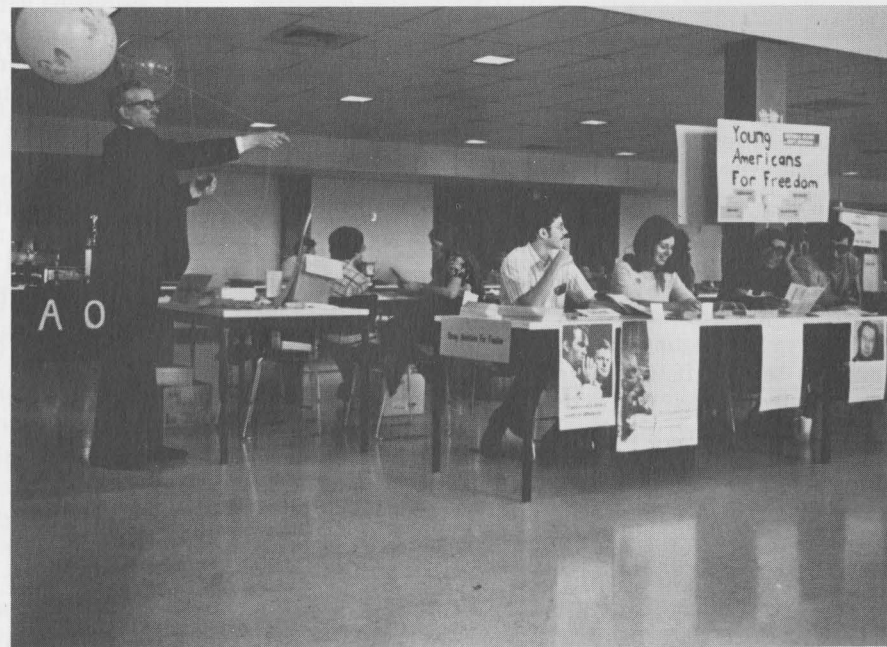
Serving as Nevada YAF's officers are Chairman **Ralph McMullen**, Vice-Chairman **Steve Parker**, Secretary **Nancy Rogers**, and Treasurer **Joel Hansen**. Members of the state organization

had a booth at the state fair, have shown "Only the Strong", worked to retain the state Right to Work law, and were part of the successful effort to secure the passage of the Liberty Amendment. **Janine Hansen** is chairman of the Stop-ERA group, a coalition of 23 organizations working for the amendment's defeat in Nevada . . .

National Board member **Jerry Norton** was the representative of the conservative viewpoint in the "Close-Up" Series held in Washington, D.C., from February through April. This involved debates before 200 high school leaders who came to the district each week from various parts of the country to learn first hand how their government is run.

Houston Area YAF has shown the Solzhenitsyn film interview at St. Thomas High, Jesuit Prep, St. Agnes High, Milby High, Sharpstown High, Memorial High, Northwest High, Pro-American, St. Thomas Episcopal, and the Dr. B. Burgess business group. The group has also sponsored a speech by **Fred Spangler** on the American Constitution, held a softball game and picnic, heard prominent Houston businessman **Clyner Wright** on third party prospects, and sponsored a luncheon with YAF Leaders **Frank Donatelli**, **Albert Forrester**, **Bruce Eberle**, **James Meadows**, and **Patrick Perry** . . .

Forest Hills Chapter of YAF (New York) sent letters to The Consumer Products Safety Commission urging opposition to gun control . . . Members passed a resolution calling for the



YSU-YAF had a literature table at the annual freshman weekend.

reactions & rebuttals

(Continued from inside front cover)

To the Editor:

Conservatism as a tradition has promoted a society strictly opposed to relativistic morals and has put in its place the teachings of the Bible. After the debacle of the liberal theologians of the modern period who are so often rightly condemned for their hypocrisy, it seems amazing to me that a professing Christian Conservative would begin to take upon himself the responsibility to decide which of the enumerated sins in the Bible he can choose to reclassify. This mutilation of Holy Writ is the fount of all evil. If we insist upon the existence of absolutes and a Creator, but deny the

ability of the Creator to accurately communicate to created beings, we either deny the absolutes or make a mockery of the Creator. For those who attempt to hang their moral premises on anything less than an omnipotent God their efforts are doomed to failure, and they are doomed to rely on man's "enlightened" self-interest, utilitarianism, and ultimately hedonism. The assumption that man will follow what I determine is best for him or even that which will decrease the amount of pain in his life does not have an historical instance in its support. The good defined as pleasure must ultimately be defined as hedonism, for that is pleasure to the greatest number. As Conservatives we have always defined the good as restraint towards our fellow man based upon a sure knowledge of God both as rewarder and justifier of such restraint.

Restraint in daily conduct is the ideal and sacrifice for ideals and principles are call to arms.

In conclusion we are truly free in all things in Christ as Dostoevsky eloquently observed both in *The Grand Inquisitor* and in *Notes from the Underground*. As long as we deny the primacy and authority of the ought over the methodology of freedom Conservatism will have little different to offer over Liberalism. The ought can only be rooted in God and Conservatism must be an exercise in personal restraint before it can begin to demand freedom from the state, otherwise we will be putting the cart before the horse and simply removing one more restraint from a society whose foundation is crumbling.

David Elliott—Manrique
San Jose, Ca.

MAKE YOUR PLANS NOW TO ATTEND THE YAF NATIONAL CONVENTION AT CHICAGO'S McCORMICK INN AUGUST 13-17, 1975. BE PART OF YAF'S 15TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION!

Creation of a New National Party to supplant the Republican Party . . . Chairman **Michael Stern** is the author of a new book called *The American Manifesto*. They plan to show "Only the Strong" and have National Director **Rich Delgaudio** speak at a chapter meeting. Members also started a newsletter called *The Forest Hills Freedom Banner* with **Ronnie Smith** as the editor . . .

PLUGS

A descriptive list of 195 conservative and pro-freedom newsletters, newspapers, magazines, scholarly journals, book publishers and distributors, and organizations is available to help counter the Left-"liberal" influence in your library. It is the 4th edition of **Some Hard-To-Locate Sources of Information**, previously recommended by **New Guard**. Send \$1 and self-addressed, business-size envelope to Bayliss Corbett, 762 Avenue "N", S.E., Winter Haven, Florida, 33880.

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"Ford is an Edsel" buttons, only 35¢ or 3/\$1. On orders of less than 4 buttons please include self-addressed, stamped envelope. Washington State YAF, 1601 114th S.E., Suite 155, Bellevue, Wa. 98004.

Free copies of Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of A Conservative* are available upon request from YAF, Woodland Road, Sterling, Va. 22170.

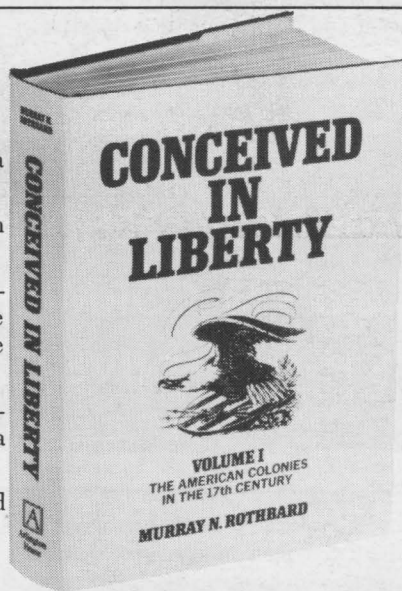
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN O. MARSH
MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

THRU: VERN LOEN VL

FROM: DOUGLAS P. BENNETT DPB

SUBJECT: Reagan-Wallace Ticket

Joe Waggoner told me this afternoon that an informal check was being taken on the Hill as to what sort of support conservatives would have for a 1976 Reagan-Wallace ticket.

cc: Donald Rumsfeld
→ Robert Hartmann
John Calkins

RA

GERALD R. FORD

Ronald Reagan's column for
Copley News Service distribution, 5/19/75



Last fall, when two U.S. Senators visited Havana they had to sit through a long anti-U.S. speech by Cuban dictator Fidel Castro before he sat down to dinner with them.

Far from complaining, they came home confidently predicting and extolling "normalized" relations between the United States and Cuba --without so much as a word about quid pro quo conditions to be placed on any negotiations.

Castro doesn't seem as naive. Two weeks ago, Senator McGovern and a troop of newsmen went to Cuba and Castro was expansive by comparison to his earlier performance. He submitted to a wide-ranging news conference and intimated that he would consider releasing nine American prisoners and \$2 million of impounded airline hijack ransom money as a "gesture" toward better relations with the U.S. All this underscores the fact he needs us more than we need him.

Since 1962, the trade embargo of the Organization of American States has had a marked effect on Cuba. The island's economy is not much above the subsistence level. Even if the O.A.S. should vote to lift the embargo, allowing member nations to decide on trade individually, it is the potentiality of trade with the United States which is most important to the Cubans. If our diplomats hold this card in their hand it can bring important concessions of freedom for the Cuban people by their dictator.

Since the success of his 1959 revolution, Castro has managed
more--more

Ronald Reagan 2-2--2

to reduce his people to a level of egalitarian serfdom, all working for the state. Personal freedoms are non-existent, and there hasn't been a single election in all the Castro years. What many Cubans thought would be "paradise" turned out to be something far different.

Castro's proposed gesture to return the prisoners and the ransom money is a beginning, but there are at least six other points which should be candidates for any quid pro quo:

1. Recognition of the property rights in Cuba of Americans whose property was confiscated by the Castro government, as a first step toward full compensation.

2. Free movement of Cubans and U.S. citizens (including former Cubans) between the two countries, especially insuring visits between families now separated.

3. Concrete steps toward the restoration of personal freedoms in Cuba, including the freedom to worship.

4. Denial of Soviet base rights anywhere in Cuba.

5. Written guarantees that Cuba won't intervene in the affairs of other Western Hemisphere nations.

6. Recognition by Cuba of U.S. naval base rights at Guantanamo.

After all these years we should be in no hurry for a "thaw" in relations with Cuba. We can afford to go slowly and carefully.

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RT14

Jayne Brambley
The Shorsham West
Washington, D.C.
20008

... 'Nice Guy' Reagan Seen Writing Political Death Scenario for Ford

Reagan file
 GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

WASHINGTON — Sources close to Ronald Reagan are convinced that he will be a candidate for the presidency by the time of the convention next summer and that there will be a real contest between President Ford and the former California governor.

"There will be a real contest at the convention and there will be a real contest in the primaries," said a Republican here who is close to Reagan.

Another high-ranking Republican who is not a Reagan supporter says, "Reagan will get the conservative governor of New Hampshire to carry the mail for him there in the country's first primary and he is going to be off and running. There is no doubt about it."

He added cynically, "Then Ronnie will say, 'Aw, shucks, fellas,' and see that he gets himself put in the other primaries."

THE WHITE HOUSE so far seems to be terribly unimpressed by or terribly uninformed of the Reagan threat. The plan there is to go to work immediately on the Ford candidacy for the Republican nomination. Until now most of the men and women around the President have been concentrating on the just-completed European trip.

The exception to that is the activities of the Domestic Council, formerly headed

Washington

WITH JAYNE BRUMLEY



by John Ehrlichman, and now headed by former journalist and Rockefeller staffer, James Cannon. Under Cannon's guidance, the Domestic Council staff has prepared a tough and realistic list of current problems. The president will go over this with the Domestic Council Wednesday. It should be a sobering day.

The domestic issues and how they are dealt with will more than likely be the issues of the 1976 presidential campaign.



How well President Ford faces up to the extent of this country's internal problems will certainly be the most important factor in his fate from here on in. Most of the issues don't have any easy answers, especially those involving the budget and financing of programs.

If the President continues his hard line against the free-spending Congress, he

may be able to pre-empt one of Reagan's major issues, fiscal sanity.

But the Reagan supporters are very optimistic right now that Jerry Ford can be disposed of and that Reagan will emerge as the candidate of the Republican party in 1976.

They see all of this done with Reagan all of the while telling the voters what a nice guy Gerald Ford is and how he got his job under horrible circumstances. Reagan will never openly criticize Ford, he will simply point out what is being done or not being done, and say "That's all wrong."

HIS BACKERS even hope that Reagan will go so far as to wish Ford well, but then they plan to call for an open Republican convention in 1976 and try to nominate Reagan instead of Ford.

These conservatives, many of whom backed Barry Goldwater at the convention of 1964 in San Francisco, say, "They complained in 1964 that there wasn't an open convention. Well, this will be an open convention."

The vice president is

anathema to the right wing of the Republican party. If the President replaced Nelson A. Rockefeller as vice president, would that pacify the conservatives?

"If Ronald Reagan is strong enough to get Nelson Rockefeller off the Republican ticket in 1976, then he is strong enough to get the nomination for himself," says a Reagan enthusiast.

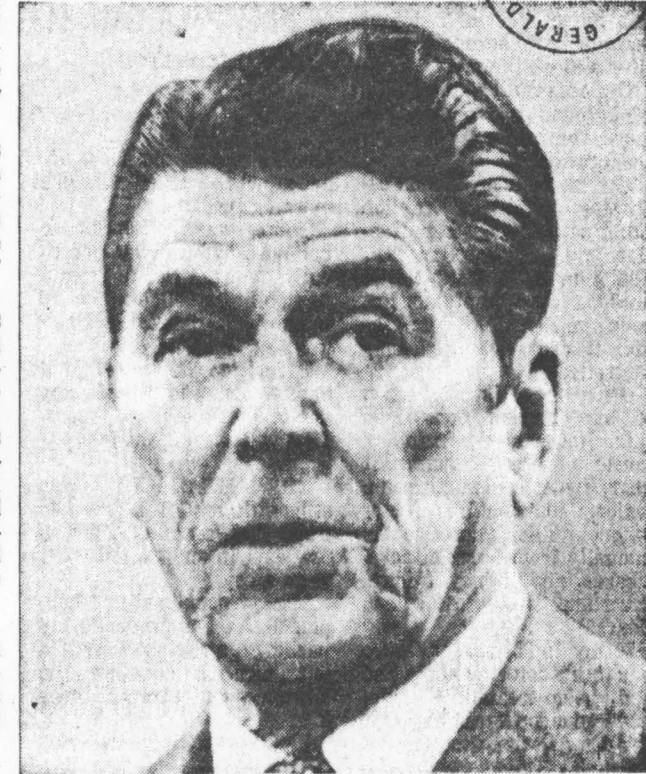
This week only 16 of 38 Republican senators agreed to sign a resolution supporting President Ford for re-nomination and election.

Two were not asked as they are potential candidates themselves, Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois and Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee. The others refused to sign as they called the move "premature."

THIS is another problem that President Ford is facing. "The more he insists that he is a candidate, the more no one believes him," said a California Republican.

Meanwhile, from now until the primaries begin next year Ronald Reagan will be criss-crossing the country receiving the limousine and celebrity routine usually reserved for presidential candidates, all the while earning an enviable salary as a newspaper columnist and television commentator.

Reagan won't say how much he is earning for his once-a-week newspaper col-



RONALD REAGAN, CANDIDATE FOR '76?
 Friend and Foe Say He Will Oppose Ford

umns and his brief five-day-a-week radio broadcast, but the lowest guess by the experts is \$200,000 a year. In the light of this financing,

plus fees for speeches, Reagan is occupying a unique position to present his views, move around the country, and make a profit all at the same time.

No Energy Policy, Governors Claim

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