

# RIPON FORUM

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## Missouri

### Bond Wins Despite Court Suit

ST. LOUIS — Despite a court suit seeking to remove his name from the primary ballot, State Auditor Christopher "Kit" Bond won about 75 percent of the vote for the Missouri Republican gubernatorial nomination in the Aug. 18 primary.

Bond's vote total — about 261,000 votes — was about the same as Edward L. Dowd, the Democratic gubernatorial nominee who was chosen from a crowded field of eleven candidates. The 33-year-old state auditor is considered a slight favorite to become the first Republican governor in Missouri in 32 years.

Bond's election campaign was almost derailed this summer, however, when another gubernatorial aspirant, State Rep. R.J. "Bus" King, Jr., revealed that Bond had signed an affidavit that he was a resident of Georgia in order to join the Georgia Bar in 1964. Since Missouri's constitution specifies that the governor must have been a state resident for 10 years prior to his election, King took Bond to court.

Bond maintained that Mexico, Mo. had always been his legal voting residence and the State Supreme Court upheld his candidacy. The suit left many Missouri Republicans annoyed with King, a 20-year legislator who had announced a cessation of campaigning prior to his disclosure of the residence controversy. Even if Bond had been disqualified, the likely beneficiary would not have been King but St. Louis County Prosecutor Gene McNary, the other major GOP candidate.

Under the leadership of Bond and Attorney General Jack Danforth, the prospects for Republican statewide victory are brighter than they have been since the collapse of the Pendergast machine in Western Missouri 30 years ago. Democrats are scarred by nomination battles, tax increases, lax state administration, and the unmaking of Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton as the Democratic vice presidential nominee.

Dowd, a St. Louis lawyer and former FBI agent, made a surprisingly strong showing in the Democratic race. His primary opponents were State Sen. Earl Blackwell, an anti-tax, anti-Hearnes populist; Lieutenant Gov. Williams S. Morris, a Hearnes ally who defeated Dowd for the lieutenant governorship nomination in 1968; and Joseph "Walking Joe" Teasdale, Jackson County prosecutor who conducted a walking tour of the state.

In his campaign, Bond has called for a witness immunity statute, broader search warrant powers for police, stronger campaign financing laws and reorganization of state government. Dowd has stressed a "law and order" theme, wasteful state spending, and tax relief for the elderly. Both Bond and Dowd were relentless campaigners. Bond was out stumping again the day after the primary. Dowd won the top spot on the Democratic ballot by waiting outside the office of the secretary of state the night of the 1970 general election.

Bond was elected auditor in 1970 after an unsuccessful race for Congress in 1968 against incumbent William Hungate (D-9th C.D.). Bond held Hungate down to 53 percent of the vote, Hungate's worst recent showing.



Bond's youth may be a slight handicap in his campaign against the 54-year-old Dowd, but Bond early countered such criticism by suggesting "reform is best accomplished by those not old enough to know that it can't be done."

Danforth is the only other Republican whose election is considered probable, although 1972 is one year where other Republicans also have a "chance."

State Rep. William C. Phelps, a Kansas City attorney who has promised to be a "full-time" lieutenant governor if elected, will face State Rep. Jack Schramm, who defeated a seven-man field for the Democratic nomination. Phelps narrowly upset Joseph L. Badaracco, president of the St. Louis Board of Alderman. Although the lieutenant governorship is largely ceremonial, the job's political vantage point is impressive — as former Lieutenant Gov. Eagleton demonstrated four years ago.

The key congressional races are for the seats of retiring Congressmen W.R. Hull, Jr. (D) and Durward G. Hall (R).

Russell Sloan, 36, the head football coach at Northeast Missouri State College, won the Republican nomination for Hull's 6th C.D. seat with his "team" approach to government. Sloan stressed that he knew how to build "teams."

Sloan will be opposed by State Rep. Charles S. Broomfield (D). Among Broomfield's opponents was Dexter D. Davis, the brother of True Davis, who gained recent notoriety as the source of Jack Anderson's allegations regarding Eagleton's driving record.

Gene Taylor, 44, Missouri's Republican national committeeman will face William Thomas (D), a Springfield high school teacher, for Hall's seat in the 7th C.D.

# Blacks and the GOP

"The Republican Party needs us and we need the Republican Party," says Floyd McKissick, former director of the Congress of Racial Equality and now developer of Soul City, North Carolina, the only black-controlled "new city" being planned in the United States.

McKissick is organizing a group of blacks who support President Nixon called National Committee for a Two Party System.

The former CORE leader says he is supporting Nixon in '72 — as he did in '68 — because of the Democratic Party's record in aiding blacks as compared to the Nixon Administration's record. "Every promise (Nixon) ever made, he kept," says McKissick.

McKissick is only one of many prominent black Republicans and black Democrats who are supporting Nixon, but he is one of the most articulate in explaining his position.

Blacks need the two-party system, McKissick believes, because a one-party allegiance leaves blacks with no alternatives when Democrats ignore the political needs of black voters. The only recourse blacks have "when the Democratic Party refuses (them), is to go in the corner and sulk."

Despite the Democratic predominance in both Congress and the White House for the past 40 years, McKissick asks: "What did it give us?" He points out, for instance, that the number of black generals and flag officers has tripled under the Nixon Administration.

"Blacks should be in (the Republican Party) to let them have the benefit of our thinking," McKissick says. Without black support for Republicans, McKissick theorizes, blacks will not be in a position to pressure a Republican administration to aid their political objectives.

McKissick feels Republicans understand the need for black self-determination and that Nixon's foreign policy objectives are consistent with the Pan-Africanist sympathies of many blacks. (In one of their better moves, Nixon organizers have produced an orange campaign button with a black African elephant and green letters proclaiming "Self Determination in '72.")

The key staffers planning the Nixon effort to recruit black voters are Paul Jones, head of the Committee to Re-elect the President black voters division; Edwin Sexton, Jr., in charge of the Republican National Committee's black affairs division and Bob Brown, the top black staff member in the White House.

Their efforts are hampered by confusion among Republican campaign organizations; a drastic shortage of money for their efforts; the failure to actively recruit the support of middle class blacks or black businessmen, and the failure to project the positive aspects of the Nixon Administration's record on civil rights. They are further handicapped by the failure of top GOP campaign officials to listen to black staff members and the growing impression that campaign organizers want to downplay the black campaign effort.

Jones is rather vague about the specifics of his own voter recruitment effort. He said CRP will be making a selective registration effort in key cities this fall, but said special states or areas have not yet been targeted.

Sexton, however, says the RNC's effort to attract new black voters will center on "voter education." There are enough organizations concentrating on black voter registration, Sexton says, so registration will not be a key Republican concern.

The RNC and CRP intend to explain the mechanics of ticketsplitting to black voters and tell them the Nixon Administration's record is a "hell of a lot better than any previous administration." Like Jones and McKissick, Sexton says Republicans have delivered, not promised.

Sexton is more specific than Jones about voter goals. He hopes to attract 18 to 25 percent of the black voters, particularly in the South and Midwest. But if a July Gallup Poll is any indication, Nixon's share of the "non-white" vote is only 11 percent, one percent lower than he received among black voters in 1968.

Neither Jones or Sexton feel the Nixon Administration record will be a drawback among black voters. Jones says CRP intends to emphasize the "total record — more loans, grants and appointments." He says the Nixon Administration has made an important impact on the black business community through the Office of Minority Business Enterprise and through deposits in black banks.

But reports from other Republicans indicate that recipients of OMBE grants feel little loyalty to the Republican administration and little inclination to work for its re-election. As a political plus for the President, its impact seems to have been minimal.

Sexton believes that the media has slanted the Nixon Administration record. He intends to press the attack on Congress for failing to enact Nixon proposals, like the Family Assistance Plan, which could have had a strong impact on black citizens.

Neither Jones nor Sexton reveal much anxiety over the busing issue. Jones says CRP will stress "quality Education" rather than busing and because the media has ignored this emphasis of the President's busing proposals, he says. Sexton maintains that 35 to 40 percent of the black voters are against busing and that the issue ranks far down the list of issues important to black voters. (A survey taken for the Republican National Convention's Committee on Resolutions indicated that it was also well down the list of priorities of other voters.)

To bolster their contentions about the Nixon record, Sexton has prepared pages of accomplishments ranging from the Philadelphia Plan and the Nixon Administration's record on appointment of blacks to high-level, sub-Cabinet positions to the steady increase in the percentage of black students attending integrated schools.

Although the administration's achievements in some cases have been laudable, the impression of the President's appointments to the Supreme Court, his stand on busing, and his lukewarm enthusiasm for his own programs like the Family Assistance Plan seem to dull the luster of these achievements.

*In September, the FORUM will reverse the usual order of publication for its magazine and newsletter. The FORUM newsletter will be published September 1 and feature special reports on the Republican National Convention in Miami. The FORUM magazine will be published September 15 and feature an in-depth analysis of the record of the Nixon Administration.*

# Black Power



● Although the composition of at least three new congressional districts this year favored black candidates, only two are sure to be elected this fall and both are Democrats. In Los Angeles, **Yvonne Braithwaite Burke** ran against **Billy G. Mills**, City Council President Pro Tem, in the June Democratic primary. Both promised to support the winner — who turned out to be Ms. Braithwaite. In Houston, State Sen. **Barbara Jordan** was accused of having “sold out to the downtown money” in a fierce primary battle for the Democratic nomination. She nevertheless garnered 80 percent of the vote on the way to a sure November victory. In New Jersey, redistricting placed Congressman **Peter W. Rodino Jr.** (D-10th C.D.) in a predominantly black district. But three black candidates filed in the primary and Rodino retained the nomination as well as the attendant heavy seniority which goes with his expected re-election. (See also article on Tennessee politics in this issue)

● About 2,500 blacks met June 10 in Washington, D.C. for an organizational meeting of the Black Committee to Re-elect the President and a \$100 a plate dinner. Black Republicans drew up their own political agenda — dealing mainly with economic problems. Among the participants were **Jim Brown**, formerly of Cleveland Browns and now of Hollywood fame, and **Betty Shabazz** widow of **Malcolm X**. The size of the fundraisers was unprecedented for blacks in either party. In the course of the weekend, President Nixon was compared to Christ, Churchill, Bismarck, Isaiah and Amos.

● Many leaders of the NAACP had other names for the President when the NAACP gathered for its annual convention in Detroit early in July. Nixon's housing and unemployment policies were described as “disasters” for blacks. The President's actions were defended by the representatives of the Wolverine State Republican Organization and the National Council of Afro-American Republicans.

● **Samuel J. Simmons**, Assistant Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and one of the administration's prime defenders at the Detroit NAACP conference, has resigned to become president of the new National Center of Housing Management, which will train managers of public housing projects.

● **Dr. Wayne Babbitt**, the white veterinarian who is running against Sen. **John McClellan** in the fall, was the first leader of the Arkansas' GOP's successful minorities division. Blacks form the Arkansas GOP's largest base of strength — Gov. **Dale Bumpers** received only 12 percent of the black vote while beating former Gov. **Winthrop Rockefeller** (R) in 1970. Republicans are fielding several black legislative candidates — as are the Democrats (the first time for the Democrats).

● In a recent speech in St. Louis, **Julian Bond** called black Nixon supporters “political prostitutes.” **Edwin Sexton**, the head of the RNC's black affairs division, uses the same term to describe black McGovern supporters.

● In Delaware, the state NAACP hasn't specifically endorsed Gov. **Russell W. Peterson**, but it has urged black voters to cast “negative votes” against **David P. Buckson**, Russell's only primary opponent. The Delaware NAACP conference urged blacks to register as Republicans so they could vote against Buckson who has been a strong law and order candidate. An NAACP spokesman was critical of the Delaware GOP. “The Republican Party needs the black vote and it's up to both parties to eradicate the bigots. We saw an attempt at the Democratic (state) convention.”

● One of the major concessions won by black Democratic leaders at the Miami Beach convention was for all-out funding for a black registration drive. Democratic National Vice-chairman **Basil Paterson** estimates a black registration drive in New York could mean 660,000 new voters, over 80 percent of them McGovern supporters.

● Among the architects of Nixon strategy to attract black voters is **Harry Dent**, former aide to Sen. **Strom Thurmond** (R-S.C.), and now a White House political operative.

● In Chicago, freshman Congressman **Ralph Metcalfe** has broken with the Daley machine after **Dr. Daniel Claiborne**, a friend of Metcalfe's, died of a stroke after a case of purported police misconduct. “It's never too late to be black,” says Metcalfe of his rift with his former ally.

● Although estimates of black population range from the 12 percent claimed by the census to 15 percent claimed by the Black Political Convention, 28 major cities and 102 southern counties are 40 percent or more black. According to the **Congressional Quarterly**, 76 congressional districts are 10 to 25 percent black (no black incumbents); 39 are 25 to 35 percent black (one black incumbent); 22 are 35 to 45 percent black (one incumbent) and 13 are 45 percent or more black (10 incumbents). The 13th black congressman is the District of Columbia's non-voting delegate, **Walter Fauntroy**.

● In Georgia's Hancock County, which is 75 percent black, black Republicans have fielded a full slate of candidates for county offices. Black County Administrator, **John McCowan**, a black Republican spokesman says blacks have switched to the GOP because “the Democratic Party is taking blacks for granted.”

● **James Meredith**, defeated in a bid for the Republican Senate nomination in Mississippi, has announced he's quitting politics. The man who desegregated Ole Miss had previously announced intention to run for Congress in the 4th C.D. as an independent. “I am withdrawing from politics and resigning from any role of public leadership,” said Meredith, “because there is perhaps nothing more futile than trying to project an idea whose time is not at hand.”

● **Floyd McKissick's** own Soul City development is providing political side-effects which other black Republicans might duplicate. Finding the political structure in the rural North Carolina area, where Soul City will be built, largely insensitive to black needs, two years ago several prominent blacks changed their registration from Democratic to Republican and resurrected a non-existent Republican Party in Warren County. Although most Warren County voters are Democratic, the new black Republican party has the power now to appoint black census takers, black election board members and black poll watchers — and is now running a black woman for county commissioner. As one white friend and collaborator of McKissick's says, “If she were a Democrat, she would not have made it through the primaries.”

● In Pennsylvania **Glenn E. Williams, Jr.**, 45, a black Republican, is one of two GOP candidates for statewide office for this fall. Williams, who was elected Harrisburg City Controller in 1967, is the GOP candidate for State Treasurer. Williams is a former insurance underwriter and partner in an accounting firm. GOP State Chairman **Clifford Jones** feels Williams will mount a strong challenge to the Democratic incumbent.

● The percentage of black delegates at the Republican National Convention inched upward this year to 3.9 percent — compared to 1.9 in 1968. The Republicans figure is still about one-fourth the percentage of blacks at the Democratic National Convention.

# 1972 CAMPAIGN NEWS

## Georgia

### Runoff Slated in Democratic Senate Race

ATLANTA — The 1972 Georgia Senate race has turned out to be a real sleeper which has failed to arouse the candidates, much less the voters.

There were 18 candidates in the race prior to the August 8 primary, in which Sen. David Gambrell (D) earned the right to defend his seat against State Sen. Nunn in the August 29 runoff. The winner of the Democratic runoff will face Congressman Fletcher Thompson (R-6th C.D.) who received 92 percent of the votes in the four-man Republican primary.

Gambrell was appointed by Gov. Jimmy Carter to succeed the late Sen. Richard Russell. His campaign strategy has been very low profile because Gambrell has four big liabilities: his political inexperience, his poor campaigning ability, his large wealth, and his Harvard law degree. Gambrell has repudiated Sen. George McGovern but Gov. Carter has quietly arranged for the Georgia McGovern organization to support Gambrell.

Nunn is the great-nephew of former Congressman Carl Vinson, who made Georgia into a military installation. The 33-year-old Nunn's campaign was built on personal stumping and endorsement by old-line politicians — particularly by enemies of Gov. Carter. Although Nunn has had

a liberal legislative record, he has moved sharply rightward in the campaign.

Among the defeated candidates were former Gov. Ernest Vandiver, who is married to Sen. Russell's niece and whose major campaign issue was his unquenchable support for George Wallace; State Treasurer Bill Burson, whose walking campaign never picked up speed; and Hosea Williams, an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who picked up strong support among black voters. Williams tied for fourth with J.B. Stoner, whose racist media advertisements were allowed by the Federal Communications Commission.

Gambrell and Nunn have agreed to a series of televised debates in the runoff campaign, in which Gambrell will push his record in Washington and the "Working Man's Bill of Rights" and Nunn will push his "Get Tough in Washington" theme.

The winner of the primary will face a tough election campaign against Thompson, a good campaigner whose campaign transportation consists of a personal plane and a foldup bicycle. All the Democratic nominees have denounced McGovern, and Thompson may be able to hitch a ride back to Washington on Nixon's coattails.

The most significant legislative contest is for the seat the conservative Thompson is vacating. Nationally-known civil rights leader Andrew Young won the Democratic nomination for Atlanta's 5th C.D. by capturing 60 percent of the vote against Alderman Wyche Fowler, a white. Black Alderman H.D. Dodson failed to cut into Young's vote.

Young will face Republican moderate Rodney Cook. Cook was narrowly defeated for Atlanta Mayor in 1969. Young ran against Thompson in 1970 and got 43 percent of the vote. Reapportionment has altered the district, however, and the November outcome is uncertain.

All other incumbent congressmen were renominated with the exception of Congressman G. Elliott Hagan (D), who was forced into a runoff with his former administrative assistant, Ronald "Bo" Ginn. Republican hopes of unseating Congressman W.S. "Bill" Stuckey in the 8th C.D. dimmed considerably when Macon Mayor Ronnie Thompson, the Republican candidate, was confined to a mental institution.

*Correction: My apologies to George Thiss, whose name was inadvertently misspelled in the August FORUM magazine.* D.B.

## Michigan Notes

### Senate Leader Loses Congressional Bid

Because of the intransigence and personal ambition of two Michigan Republican State Senators, two GOP Congressmen were forced into a bloody primary and a third faces an uphill battle for re-election. Under a court-ordered deadline to come up with a Congressional redistricting plan, Republican party and State House leaders had worked out a legislative compromise with the Democrats assuring that all 19 incumbents would be safe. The compromise itself was a battle, given a Republican governor with veto power, a Senate split 19-19 with a Republican Lieutenant Governor to break the tie, and a Democratically-controlled House.

When the compromise reached the Senate, Charles Zollar, GOP caucus chairman, and Anthony Stamm deserted their colleagues and voted for an amendment to the plan, effectively killing the compromise. With the compromise dead and the deadline passed, the Federal District Court in Detroit issued a plan with major revisions from the current lines. A few days later, on May 22, Zollar announced he would run in the primary against Edward Hutchinson, one of the five Republicans who moved because of the court's plan. Zollar was easily defeated in the August 8 primary and has announced he is considering resigning from the State Senate.

Far more damaged than Hutchinson is Congressman Marvin Esch of Ann Arbor, who had most of the Republican areas of his district cut away, leaving him with a constituency dominated by Democratic urban

areas and the large student populations in Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti (Eastern Michigan University.) For any other Republican but the able, progressive Esch, it would be hopeless; even for him, it will be very difficult.

He will face State Rep. Marvin R. Stempion (D), who defeated five other Democratic primary aspirants.

Congressmen William Broomfield and Jack MacDonald were thrown into the same district by reapportionment. Broomfield was the narrow primary victor in the new 19th C.D., although McDonald had been the slight favorite because he was a stronger campaigner and had represented more of the new district than Broomfield.

Meanwhile, Robert J. Huber, the conservative who challenged Lenore Romney for the Republican Senate nomination in 1970 and who founded the state's Conservative Party, won the Republican nomination in the 18th C.D. left vacant by Broomfield. He will oppose State Sen. Daniel S. Cooper (D).

As a result of the redistricting plan, Congressmen Guy Vander Jagt and Elford Cederberg also had to move their residences though both remain election favorites.

In a year when Michigan Republicans had hoped to devote their energies to re-electing the President and Sen. Robert Griffin, and reducing the large 1970 campaign debt, two members have created chaos which can only weaken the party in what should have been a building year.

## Role of Blacks is Key to Senate Race

MEMPHIS — In Tennessee, where Republicans have an excellent chance to improve their performance among black voters, opinions differ among moderate Republicans about the effort being exerted by the campaign organization of Sen. Howard Baker (R).

Sen. Baker will face Congressman Ray Blanton (D), a Wallace-type populist, in the fall campaign. The 43-year-old congressman won that right by winning 75 percent of the vote in a lackluster, four-man primary August 3.

With Blanton's blatant anti-busing rhetoric, Baker stands a excellent chance to win an "unprecedented proportion of the black vote," as one of Baker's aides says.

Baker missed a youth rally in July to appeal for the endorsement of the Tennessee Voters Council, a black voters' group. Baker narrowly missed getting the endorsement of the group, but the Baker organization hopes the TVC may later endorse Baker. (Meanwhile, Baker aides had called the youth rally where Sen. Bill Brock was also speaking. They asked Brock to make an announcement about Baker's absence. Brock refused.)

Baker campaign aides insist that the senator's campaign is "definitely" seeking black votes. They point out that Baker appeared before a Black Masonic convention August 8 with a Ben Hooks, the black Federal Communications Commissioner nominated by Baker.

But some of Bakers' backers are admittedly less enthusiastic. Baker caught hell from some big backers for the TVC appearance.

Reports from Memphis indicated that the suggestion of a "Blacks for

Baker" organization was rejected and blacks kept off the "Baker Belles." (In Knoxville, however, the Baker Belles are about 10 percent black). Some moderate Republicans were considering boycotting his campaign as a result.

Another moderate conservative, meanwhile, Congressman Dan Kuykendall (R) of Memphis has made a

strong effort to integrate his campaign staff in the 8th C.D. Kuykendall faces a black challenger, State Sen. J. O. Patterson, Jr., who easily swept the Democratic primary in the district, which is about 46 percent black. Among the key staffers on Kuykendall's campaign is Edward Reditt, the black staff liaison in Memphis for Baker, Kuykendall and Brock.

### Iowa

## Moderate Republican Trend

DES MOINES — Moderate State Sen. Arthur Neu upset House Speaker William Harbor, a conservative, by 18,000 votes for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor in the August 1 primary. Neu's win, combined with the unopposed renomination of Iowa Gov. Robert Ray (R) seems to indicate a moderate trend among Iowa voters in general and Iowa Republicans in particular.

Ray's only opponent, Lieutenant Gov. Roger Jepsen, a conservative, had dropped out of the gubernatorial race this spring. Despite his automatic nomination, the 43-year-old Republican governor picked up about 195,000 votes compared to a combined vote total of about 153,000 for his Democrat opponents. In that race, Paul Franzenburg, a former state Treasurer who was defeated by Ray in 1968, won the honor of another rematch — and another probable loss. Franzenburg won about 58 percent of the vote while defeating State Sen. John Tapscott.

Neu was the underdog in the lieutenant governorship race. Harbor was initially the better known of the two. Despite Neu's association with Gov.

Ray's wing of the party, the governor was officially and unofficially neutral. Neu's organization, financing and media advertising apparently put him over the top.

Sen. Jack Miller (R) easily turned back token conservative opposition. His November opponent, Dick Clark, a 43-year-old Democrat, is midway through a walking tour of the state. He'll have to put in an Olympic performance to catch up to Miller.

Although Republicans now hold a 5-3 edge on the state's congressional delegation, they could return to Washington in January with anywhere from a 3-3 split to a 6-0 shutout. Redistricting eliminated one of the state's congressional slots, throwing Congressmen Neal Smith (D) and John Kyl (R) into the 4th C.D. On the basis of registration, the 4th leans Democratic.

In the 1st C.D., Congressman Fred Schwengel (R) could also be unseated. He faces a tough rematch with the man he edged out in 1970, State Rep. Edward Mezvinsky. Mezvinsky defeated a fellow liberal by a 2-1 margin in the primary.

Mezvinsky is stressing "change" in Congress while Schwengel has pointed out that congressional reform legislation which he has introduced has been blocked by Democratic lawmakers.

Schwengel is one of several Republican congressmen whose fate may be decided by young college voters for the first time. He's launching a strong drive to pull even with Mezvinsky on college campuses in Grinnell and Iowa City.

Republicans do have hopes, however, for Congressman John C. Culver's seat. Culver rejected the idea of running against Miller and will now face a Republican moderate, Theodore R. Ellsworth, who will give Culver a real race in what was a GOP district in pre-Culver days.

Iowa Republicans held their convention almost two weeks after the primary. They adopted a platform which supported liberalized abortion laws, the elimination of capital punishment and the establishment of drug treatment centers.

### Kansas

## Kay Wins in Upset

TOPEKA, KANSAS — In a surprising upset, State Rep. Morris Kay moved up from the rear of the Republican pack of gubernatorial aspirants and captured the Kansas gubernatorial nomination. Not only was Kay a darkhorse in the Aug. 1 primary, but he defeated his nearest rival in the four-man field by 46,000 votes.

The victory by the majority leader of the State House of Representatives spurred discussion in Kansas about a possible runoff law. Kay received 46.4 percent of the vote — compared to 30 percent for former Gov. John Anderson Jr., 15.4 percent for Ray E. Frisbie, president of the Kansas Farm Bureau; and a poor 8.6 percent for Lieutenant Gov. Reynolds Shultz.

Kay, who will be a heavy underdog against Gov. Robert Docking (D), campaigned for the elimination of the sales tax on food and drugs and for

a constitutional amendment to allow referendums on local property tax increases. The former University of Kansas football star is expected to organize a series of unity rallies around the state to mask the bitter primary divisions in the GOP.

Party prospects are reversed in the Senate race where Sen. James B. Pearson (R) won over 80 percent of the vote in his primary contest and is expected to be an easy winner over Arch Tetzlaff (D), a 46-year-old anesthesiologist.

The key congressional contest is in the 2nd C.D. where Charles D. McAttee, 43, a Republican lawyer and former state penal director will challenge Congressman William R. Roy (D). Roy is considered a possible challenger to Sen. Robert Dole in 1974 and the GOP National Chairman has taken a personal interest in the race.

# People in Politics

● Rhode Island Democratic Chairman **Lawrence McGarry** says he's "1,000 percent behind **George McGovern**." McGarry, who has been miffed with McGovern over a broken promise regarding convention delegates, made his announcement after a public apology from McGovern during a campaign stop in Providence. Asked if he was sincere, McGarry said, "I mean it as sincerely as somebody else did."

● Secretary of Commerce **Peter G. Peterson** arrived a little late to a White House press conference recently. "Having been on the White House staff and knowing in what low esteem they hold cabinet officers, I try to exhibit my independence in trivial but symbolic ways — by being 10 seconds late," said Peterson.

● **Harry Dent**, special assistant to President Nixon in charge of politics, says he's leaving the White House after November, but denies that he'll return to South Carolina politics. Dent says he'll "survive" without politics.

● **C. Thomas Wilck**, 39, has been named deputy chairman for communications of the Republican National Committee. Wilck, formerly assistant administrator for congressional and public relations of the Small Business Administration, replaces **Lyn Nofziger**, Gov. Ronald Reagan's former press aide who is now running the Nixon campaign in California. Wilck has appointed two assistants: **Craig R. Maurer**, 31, as information director and **Michael E. Barody**, 26, as public affairs director.

● Congressman **John Schmitz**, who first ran for Congress as a Republican with the slogan, "When you're out of Schmitz, you're out of gear," is now out of the Republican Party. The American Independent Party's new presidential candidate nominee has changed his California registration to the AIP.

Schmitz's candidacy may hurt Nixon's California campaign, according to some Republican legislators. They fear that Schmitz, who currently represents the President's San Clemente neighborhood, could cut into the Orange County Republican vote and damage Nixon's chances of carrying the state.

● **Alan Steelman**, a 30 year-old former director of the Advisory Commission on Minority Business Enterprise, will take on Congressman **Earl Cabell** in Texas' 5th C.D. this fall. Steelman defeated a self-described "ultra-right wing" attorney with 63 percent of the vote in the GOP primary. Steelman is young, progressive and articulate and is aiming much of his campaign at normally Democratic low-income areas. Cabell is a four-term conservative with close ties to the Dallas establishment.

Another young Republican progressive, **Douglas S. Harlan**, 29, is running against Congressman **O.C. Fisher** in the 21st C.D. Fisher is the third-ranking Democrat on the House Armed Forces Committee. Harlan is a former political science professor and is giving Fisher his first serious challenge in 30 years in Congress.

● In Northwest New Jersey, State Sen. **Joseph J. Maratizi** (R) looked like he would be an easy victor in the new 13th C.D. after the Democratic candidate was disqualified. Democratic leaders have persuaded **Helen Meyner**, the wife of former Gov. Robert Meyner, to run for the seat, however, and Maratizi is now expected to have a tougher race, although he is still favored.

● In Virginia, the key congressional race may well be in the 6th C.D. where **Caldwell Butler**, former law partner of Republican Gov. **Linwood Holton** and former House Minority Leader, is running against another former delegate, **Wick Anderson**. Reapportionment in the 6th C.D. still favors the Republicans, but Democrats feel they have a chance of capturing the seat. Anderson will be hurt by the liberal candidacy of **Roy White**, as well as a **George McGovern** presidential candidacy. A possible key to the race is the attitudes of leaders of labor and black groups who have supported Holton in the past and may choose to vote for Butler this year.

● State Sen. **Fred Rohlfling** will be making multi-national corporations (see March FORUM) a major issue of his campaign against Congressman **Spark Matsunaga** in Hawaii. Matsunaga co-sponsored legislation with Congresswoman **Bella Abzug** to restrict overseas investment. Rohlfling is also criticizing Matsunaga for his inaction on the 1971 dock strike. Although Rohlfling, 43, served during the 1968 Tet Offensive as a Navy reservist, he has been a critic of U.S. involvement there. Rohlfling is an underdog but hopes that reapportionment — which restricts the 1st C.D. to Honolulu — will hurt Matsunaga. Rohlfling also stands to gain from disarray in the Democratic political machine in Hawaii. The race could help determine a successor to Sen. **Hiram Fong** (R) in 1976.

● In 1968, **Vicki Lyn Cole**, then 13, held up a sign at a Nixon campaign stop in **Deshler, Ohio**. It read: "Bring Us Together Again." This year, she's chairman of Future Voters for the President in Ohio.

● Congressional Republicans led by Congressman **Thomas Railsback** and Sen. **Charles Percy**, both of Illinois, have finally rallied behind party reform efforts which would make convention representation more equitable. Among the congressional leaders of reform efforts are Congressmen **Lou Frey** (Florida); **William Frenzel** (Minn.); **John Anderson** (Ill.); **Edward Biester** (Pa.); **Clarence Brown** (Ohio); **John Dellenback** (Ore.); **William Keating** (Ohio); **Jack Kemp** (New York); **Margaret M. Hechler** (Mass.); **William Steiger** (Wisc.) and Senators **Jacob Javits**, **Bob Packwood**, and **Charles McC. Mathias**, but Kemp opposed Javits' inclusion in order to prevent "anti-Agnew bias." The conservative former Buffalo Bills quarterback may have an eye on Javits' Senate seat in 1976.

● Arriving in Arkansas for a \$300 a plate GOP fundraising dinner, Vice President **Spiro Agnew** had high praise for Sen. **John McClellan** (D). Agnew neglected to even mention McClellan's Republican opponent for the Senate this year, **Wayne Babbitt**.

● Texas Republicans having chosen statewide candidates who are more conservative than the conservative candidates the Democrats chose, moderate GOP hopes are dim in Texas this year — with the exception of the state treasurer's race. Republican State Rep. **Maurice Angly** of Travis County (Austin) is running against incumbent **Jesse James**, the only Democratic incumbent who emerged tainted from the Sharpstown scandal and still survived the spring primaries. Angly is a personable, moderate candidate who was elected from a strongly Democratic county with the support of blacks and Mexican-Americans. He's given an outside chance to mow down Jesse James.

● **Milwaukee Mayor Henry Maier** (D), is supporting Sen. **George McGovern** he says, despite his apprehensions that McGovern doesn't really "chemically" relate to the nation's urban problems. Mrs. Maier must also have apprehensions. She's supporting Nixon.

● The Republican Congressional Committee has switched to brown envelopes. According to a committee spokesman, the GOP had tried white and blue envelopes but the spokesman said the brown envelopes worked best. The Democratic Study Group uses cream colored envelopes with Sen. **Edward M. Kennedy**'s name on the outside. Unfortunately for the Democrats, the printer goofed and 10,000 prospective contributors didn't get the intended letter from Kennedy. **Richard Conlon**, the DSG staff director includes **Gunther**, his cat, on the mailing list so he can check on mailing progress. Gunther is presumably Democratic.

● The Democratic-led effort to recall Gov. **Jack Williams** (R-N.M.) is cutting Republican registration leads in New Mexico. In Maricopa County (Phoenix), the Republicans' 6,000 voter pre-registration lead had been shrunk to 978 by the beginning of August. The county recorded, **Paul Marston** explained the phenomenon to the press: "The Republicans built a big early lead because Republicans re-registered first because Democrats because they're lazy," Marston's political they're smart types. You've got to go out to register characterizations earned him a rebuke in the local press.

## Nixon Campaign Appointments

● The Nixon Administration's foreign policy record is "the most meaningful issue" in this year's campaign, according to the 1936 Republican standard-bearer, Alf Landon of Kansas. Commenting on George McGovern's acceptance speech, former Gov. Landon notes, "Senator McGovern's only specific references to his foreign policy was his pledge to get out of Vietnam immediately. This treats Vietnam as separate — and not a part and parcel of international affairs."

"The American people have a clear choice: They can retain the leadership and the rapport President Nixon has established with the heads of world governments, or they can toss that aside for Senator McGovern, who talks like an isolationist," Gov. Landon says.

● In New York, Brooklyn Republicans began the year with at least three conservative choices for the county party chairmanship, long held by John R. Crews. But with Crews in poor health and after the deaths of two of the aspirants this spring, the Brooklyn GOP instead chose an ultra-conservative, George L. Clark, Jr. No Republican resurgence is immediately expected.

● Congressman Donald W. Riegle, Jr., (R-Mich.) criticized Congressman John J. Rhodes on Aug. 10 over the scheduling of speakers at GOP Platform Committee hearings. Administration-backers were scheduled for full committee meetings and administration critics were scheduled for sub-committee hearings, according to Riegle. He pointed out that Congressman John M. Ashbrook (R-Ohio) was scheduled for a full committee hearing while Congressman Paul N. McCloskey, Jr. (R-Calif.) was scheduled for a sub-committee hearing. Both McCloskey and Ashbrook at one time sought the GOP presidential nomination respectively from the left and right sides of President Nixon. Rhodes called Riegle's charges "irresponsible."

● Twelve House Republicans have been targeted by liberal Democrats in the House and Senate for takeover by Democrats. Under a cover letter signed by Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Congressmen Don Edwards and Morris Udall, the "Committee for Twelve" appealed for contributions to defeat Republican Congressmen Larry Winn (Kansas); Charles Thone (Nebraska); Lawrence Williams (Pennsylvania); Charles Chamberlain (Michigan); Earl Landgrebe (Indiana); Manuel Lujan (New Mexico); Samuel Devine (Ohio); Henry P. Smith (N.Y.); Sherman P. Lloyd (Utah); Walter Powell (Ohio); and David Dennis (Indiana). A twelfth seat in Massachusetts is a lot being sought by the GOP incumbent. Many of these same congressmen have also been targeted by an environmental and an anti-war group as members of the "Dirty Dozen" and "Deadly Dozen" whom these groups would also like to see defeated. One of the endorsed Democratic candidates is Charles Barsotti, 31, who is running against Congressmen Winn and whose cartoons appear regularly in the New Yorker.

● Congressman Alvin O'Konski (R-Wisc.) has decided not to seek re-election. Because of redistricting, O'Konski faced an uphill battle against a Democratic incumbent, David Obey, in the 7th C.D.

● Sen. John Tower (R-Texas) has appointed a former associate of former Sen. Ralph Yarborough as his statewide chairman. Edward Clark, a former ambassador, decided that Texas could use Senators from both parties.

● The regional director for California (one-state, one-region) is Marvin Collins, 38, a former executive director of the Texas Republican Party and former campaign manager for Gov. Linwood Holton (R-Va.) and UN Ambassador George Bush when the latter was running for the Senate from Texas in 1970. (There will be ten regional directors.)

● The regional director for the western states minus California is Richard Richards, former aide to U.S. Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah) and former Utah GOP Chairman. He will be in charge of liaison for Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

● Regional Director for Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas and Hawaii is Thomas O. Reed, 38, of Ross, California. Reed is Republican National Committeeman from California and is a former campaign staffer for Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Gov. Ronald Reagan (R-Calif.)

● Regional Director for Florida, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia (some of these regions are weird) is Peter R. Sawers, a management consultant from Evanston, Illinois.

● Regional Director for Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina is Raymond L. Brown, 36, a lawyer and former football player with the Baltimore Colts.

● Regional campaign director for New York and Pennsylvania is Gordon Gooch, of Washington, D.C., former general counsel of the Federal Power Commission.

● Regional Director for Maryland, Delaware and New Jersey is Richard D. Murray, who has had experience as a business executive, official of the Small Business Administration, and as a former aide to now White House Counsellor Robert H. Finch.

● The Massachusetts CRP co-chairmen will be Lieutenant Gov. Donald R. Dwight, and Mrs. Adele Malone of Waltham, who held the same capacity in 1968, with all the state's "name" Republicans serving as co-chairmen.

● Arkansas's CRP will be led by former Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller. Rockefeller has appointed Arkansas House Minority Leader George Nowotny, 39, as coordinator of the Arkansas CRP.

● Louisiana's CRP will be headed jointly by one Democrat and one Republican, since the latter are scarce in Louisiana. Co-chairmen will be James H. Boyce, 50, GOP state chairman from Baton Rouge, and State Rep. John J. Hainkel, 34, a Democrat.

● West Virginia's CRP will be headed by Howard W. Corcoran of Wheeling. Corcoran is a brokerage firm partner and former state GOP chairman.

● Director of the Nationalities Committee for CRP is Taras G. Szmagala, formerly a special assistant to Sen. Robert Taft, Jr. (R-Ohio).

● The Democrats for Nixon campaign will be headed by former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally. The 41 vice-chairmen include former Florida Gov. Farris Bryant, entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., former Boston Mayor John F. Collins, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, Miami Mayor David Kennedy, former baseball star Mickey Mantle, and Leonard Marks, former director of the United States Information agency. An Independents for Nixon organization will be headed by Jeno Paulucci, a frozen food executive and former Hubert Humphrey backer.

● Willie L. Leftwich, vice-president of the Washington, D.C. chapter of the Ripon Society, is expected to be named chairman of the District CRP effort in the near future. Leftwich had been under consideration for a presidential appointment to the D.C. City Council.

## Political Calendar

### ● AUGUST

- 19 State Primaries in Louisiana and Delaware
- 22 State primaries in Alaska, Oklahoma, and Wyoming
- 29 Primary run-off in Georgia

### ● SEPTEMBER

- 5 State primaries in Nevada and North Dakota

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

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## Innovation Rejected

# The Minnesota Republican Platform

The platform committee report presented to the Minnesota Republican State Convention June 22 was the result of more than 2,500 hours of work by committee members and party task forces. The minority report presented by five members of the platform committee was an overnight effort to block the innovative style and format of the majority report. However, without even debating the planks of the imaginative majority report, the convention adopted the minority report by an 808-454 vote.

The majority report departed radically in format and style from the usual fare of political party conventions. Presented in a first-person narrative style the report was accompanied by a slide presentation illustrating the issues dealt with in the platform, including shots of a Vietnam battlefield, a view of an old folks' home and scenes from one of our nation's prisons. The purpose of the new format was to explain to Minnesota voters the concern of the Minnesota Republican Party towards issues which deal with life styles and values.

The majority report's innovative format did, however, cause a considerable amount of concern among the convention delegates. Perhaps the committee's most damaging tactical error in the presentation was its willingness to sacrifice a clearer and more concise draft in order to have the full report in the hands of convention delegates at least a week to ten days before the convention convened. Consequently the platform report's style and format were often confusing and presented a tempting target to opponents who, with ample time to review the content of the platform, were able to exploit the legitimate concern and confusion of many delegates about the platform's format.

The substantive planks in the platform which caused the most controversy among the delegates were support for: abortion reform; repeal of criminal penalties for private sexual acts between consenting adults; requirement that casual users of light drugs, such as marijuana, attend drug education courses at existing medical facilities in lieu of incarceration; referral of addicts to treatment facilities; school busing as an aide to socio-economic integration; and pari-mutual betting. The significance of these issues was heightened in light of the platform adopted by the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party at its state convention two weeks earlier. The D.F.L.'s "permissive" or "pot-amnesty-gay" platform advocated unconditional amnesty for draft evaders, legalization of marijuana and equal rights to homosexuals, including the right to marry. The D.F.L. platform had caused considerable embarrassment and consternation among Democratic leaders and candidates; Republicans did not want to be caught in a similar dilemma.

In response to objections presented at an open hearing the Thursday afternoon prior to the convention, the committee did make several modifications in the report before sending it to the floor. In deference to those who criticized the statement on

the treatment of drug offenders, the committee agreed to include the sentence, "We do not support legalizing the sale of marijuana or other potentially harmful drugs." The committee also agreed to oppose "unconditional amnesty" and stated that "amnesty should not be considered until the prisoners of war are returned."

The Minnesota Ripon Society Chapter was also critical of the platform for ducking a number of the tougher issues facing our society in the 1970's. The Society said the platform should have included the problems of gun control, conditional amnesty, mental health care and regionalism. A Ripon spokesman stated further that the committee report stopped short of truly effective proposals for ending the war in Indo-China, abortion reform, legalizing marijuana, abolition of fortress prisons, no-fault insurance, court-ordered busing and taxing real estate holdings of utilities companies.

Unbeknownst to the majority of the committee, some of its members continued to consider the option of presenting a minority report. They were aided in this regard by a rules change which permitted the presentation of a minority report to the convention with only five platform committee members signatures.

On Friday morning the modified majority report was formally presented to the convention. Immediately thereafter, a motion was made to substitute the hastily prepared minority report. However, since no copies of the minority report were available for delegates, a motion was made to table the report. This motion failed and the convention adjourned until that afternoon to permit copies of the minority report to be printed. When the convention reconvened the minority report was substituted for the majority report.

The convention's action to throw out the majority report without floor debate was regrettable, because the party thus bypassed an excellent opportunity to take a positive step toward the political center and to present the voters of Minnesota with a document which spoke directly and forthrightly on most of the key issues facing the state of Minnesota. Even more regrettable was the attitude of the convention delegates who prevented several important issues from even being debated on the floor of the convention.

The irony of the convention, however, was that most of the minority report copied the language of the original platform, simply re-grouping planks under conventional headings and dropping the most controversial proposals. As finally adopted, the platform contained 89% of the planks in the majority report.

But because the innovative format was rejected by the convention, the Minnesota Republican platform probably will not be read by many people, and the public will be left with the notion that Republicans have opted for the bland and irrelevant.