

# RIPON FORUM

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## POLITICS: REPORTS

### THE GOP

The week after the Nixon pardon, the income of the Republican Congressional Committee was cut in half. Although similar drops in campaign contributions were reported by Republican candidates across the country, the impact on finances was perhaps not as great as the depression of Republican hopes for 1974.

The thrill was dead — and justifiably so when the impact of the pardon was coupled with primary results and other, unrelated events. 1974 could be a *very* bad year for Republicans.

Democrats, for instance, are still looking to pick up over 30 seats in the House of Representatives. Republicans are hoping to keep their losses below 20. Potential disaster areas center in the Midwest — where seats could be lost in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin — but also include endangered seats all across the country from California to New Jersey.

Similarly, analyses of Republican hopes are pessimistic. The GOP's chances of capturing Democratic seats in Iowa, Indiana, and Alaska seem tenuous. In Hawaii and Alabama, Republicans don't even have candidates against Sen. Daniel K. Inouye and Sen. James Allen. In Colorado, Kansas, Kentucky, Utah, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Florida, GOP Senate seats could conceivably be turned over to Democrats. As a result, predictions of four-five seat losses in the Senate are common for Republicans.

The situation is even worse at the gubernatorial level where the GOP starts from a worse position. The GOP now controls only 18 of the 50 gover-

norships, compared to their 58-42 handicap in the Senate.

The results could be particularly devastating to the GOP if — as is highly possible — it is shut out of the gubernatorial mansions of all of the nation's 10 largest states. That situation would be a dramatic reversal of the Republican Party's status in early 1970 when it had control of gubernatorial mansions in Florida, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and California. By the end of 1974, Michigan could easily be the only major state with a Republican governor. The

prospects for John Rhodes' return to the gubernatorial mansion in Ohio have improved, but he is still the underdog. Republicans have almost no chance of recapturing the governorship in Florida, and Democrats are rated front runners in New York, California, and Massachusetts. New Jersey and Illinois already have Democratic governors.

Republicans also face the loss of statehouses in Oregon, Arizona, Connecticut, and possibly New Hampshire. They have possible pickups in Maine, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, but their chances are dubious. The



odds are for a net loss of six state-houses.

The situation is no brighter at the legislative level where many seats have gone uncontested by the GOP, and where houses of several state legislatures appear likely to switch to Democratic control.

Against that background, Mary Louise Smith has taken over as chairman of the Republican National Committee. In making her acceptance speech to the RNC, Mrs. Smith, "It is time for the Republican Party to come to grips with the shape we're in. Republican registration is down. In too many areas the number of Republican office-holders has declined."

So has Republican optimism. ■

## IDAHO

In February of this year, former Idaho U.S. Rep. George Hansen (R) told the Idaho Falls Kiwanis Club: "The great problem in government today is that officials won't come forward with straight answers to our questions. A mature politician must be mature enough to face the public squarely with the issues."

Hansen went on to say that there were two varieties of sins — sins of omission and sins of commission.

By his own admission, George Hansen has been guilty of both types of sins this year in his campaign to oust U.S. Rep. Orval Hansen (R). He prefers to characterize *his* sins as oversight, however. (George defeated Orval in the August 6 GOP congressional primary.)

When Hansen's campaign finances first came under extensive investigation in August, he denounced reports that

the House Administration Committee was checking on his financial reports as "vicious and unfounded." He denied any violations of the law and insisted that acceptance of 21 corporate checks was simple oversight.

"The word 'investigation' is a little heavy. It's just a matter of responding to a little inquiry," said Hansen in August. Persons familiar with the "inquiry," however, think Hansen may be indicted by the Justice Department. Hansen has drawn fire not only for his campaign finances but for his lack of candor in discussing his legal problems.

Since the primary, investigations of Hansen's financing have revealed an auditor's nightmare and substantial irregularities. Hansen's early financial reports this year were late and it was not until lawyers unraveled Hansen's books (in a mid-September accounting to the clerk of the House) that a clear picture of Hansen's finances was possible.

The two most ticklish problems involved a \$25,000 "personal" bank loan to Hansen earlier this year — much of which money was used on his congressional campaign — and the use of nearly one third of Hansen's campaign funds to reimburse a printing operation called "The Copy Cat." The Copy Cat is owned by George Hansen. His lawyers finally assigned \$10,688 of the \$25,000 loan to the campaign; they had to draw subtle distinctions between campaign and non-campaign expenditures. Hansen loaned another \$6,000 to his campaign in the post-primary period.

Whereas early campaign reports showed all campaign expenditures as payable to an advertising agency which ran Hansen's campaign, later accounts showed the Copy Cat received \$17,122

in business from the boss. Definitions of what was a personal expense and what was a campaign expense were difficult, Hansen's lawyers have admitted.

Because George Hansen is not a rich man and has suffered from the debts he incurred in his previous, frequent campaigns — he has run for the U.S. Senate four times, for example — his large loan to his own campaign raised eyebrows. It was apparently secured as a personal loan, guaranteed by a Democratic businessman in return for a second mortgage on Hansen's home.

Hansen, once a liberal Pocatello City Council candidate turned ultraconservative, has filed suit against the Idaho Democratic state treasurer for allegedly illegally securing a copy of Hansen's credit report.

According to the former congressman, "I have a long record of being a fighter for honest and clean government and have left no stone unturned since the election to quietly meet any and all questions concerning my campaign finances." It has been suggested that Hansen may have been investigated in order to demonstrate that current campaign financing laws have "teeth." House Administration Committee Chairman Wayne Hays (D-Ohio) opposes further changes in the laws; it was he along with U.S. Rep. William Dickinson (R-Ala.) who turned the Hansen investigation over to the Justice Department.

In an analysis of Hansen's finances, *Lewiston Morning Tribune* reporter Jay Shelledy concluded: "Voters in the 2nd C.D. went to the polls Aug. 6 deprived of a true and accurate picture of candidate George Hansen's campaign financing. The question is whether this sin of omission was by negligence or design. And in fairness

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to Hansen there is also another question: whether the Justice Department has been sicked on him for political reasons, as he has charged, or because of numerous and serious violations, as sources in the House clerk's office maintain."

"I am now making other plans for the future," says U.S. Rep. Orval Hansen. He declined to participate in any way in the challenge to George's candidacy. Even if George defeats rival Max Hanson (D) in November, it is conceivable that the House might refuse to seat him — just as it once refused to seat the late U.S. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. ■

## WISCONSIN

The refusal of Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D) to meet his Republican opponent in a series of debates has emerged as the central issue in this year's Wisconsin Senate campaign.

Nelson had agreed with State Sen. Thomas E. Petri (R) at a May meeting in Washington that the two candidates would appear together in a series of debates this fall. Nelson apparently later changed his mind and called Petri's proposal of 20 debates "preposterous."

"I don't have 20 days. He sent me a bunch of proposals to debate while Congress is in session," said Nelson, who ignored the fact that Petri had subsequently reduced his proposal to 10 debates.

Petri, in turn, attacked Nelson for misrepresenting his position on the debates and placing roadblocks in the way of joint campaign appearances. In a letter to Nelson, Petri wrote, "What I find most objectionable about this whole matter, Sen. Nelson, is the simple fact that you have reneged on your promise. You promised me a series of debates. Your office confirmed this to the press. Now, for reasons unknown, you have gone back on your word."

The two men have agreed to debate once, October 31, at the Stevens Point campus of the University of Wisconsin.

Petri built his name recognition throughout the summer with a series of hikes in which he walked more than 1,000 miles. With about a fifth

the financial resources of the Nelson campaign, Petri has had to rely on his feet to reach the voters and the media. He has also taken to bicycle and canoe to meet voters and dramatize issues, but the financial problem is probably the most nagging one for Petri. Without additional funds, he will not be able to wage a major media campaign in the closing days of the race.

The disparity between their financial resources led Petri to challenge Nelson to pool their financial resources. Quoting Nelson's own speech Petri said, "I ask only that Sen. Nelson put his money where his mouth is. Since he considers money an 'unscrupulous, arrogant, and overbearing' factor in elections, let him limit himself to spending no more than I do. I recognize that my proposal may strike some as being outrageous. But is it more outrageous than the spectacle of Sen. Nelson condemning the role of money on the one hand, then turning around and spending five times as much as his opponent on the other?"

Support cannot be expected from the Wisconsin Republican Party, which is still deeply in debt from previous races, nor from the gubernatorial campaign of former Madison Mayor William Dyke (R), who is a distinct underdog in his race against incumbent Gov. Patrick J. Lucey (D). Although Lucey's "political" image is a liability this year, Dyke has been unable to project a counter "non-political" image.



THOMAS E. PETRI

Added to the organizational problems of the Dyke campaign are the financial worries generated by Dyke's criticism of the manufacturing machinery and equipment tax exemption for Wisconsin business. That criticism did not appeal to Republican businessmen, who would otherwise be expected to generate campaign contributions. Dyke's difficulty with such issues has created an image of vacillation. One Republican was quoted in the Madison *Capital Times* as observing, "All we hear about Dyke up here is that he's trying to explain what he meant by what he said yesterday." Dyke will need all of his considerable oratorical skill to overcome these problems and unseat the popular Lucey.

In two other statewide races this fall, Republicans have the added handicap of running against a well-used Wisconsin political name. In the race for attorney general, Republican Gerald D. Lorge faces Bronson C. LaFollette, son of Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., who held a Wisconsin Senate seat from 1925 to 1946. In the race for secretary of state, Douglas LaFollette, whose family line is less prestigious, faces Republican Kent C. Jones.

There were primary contests in only three of Wisconsin's nine congressional districts this year, but one of the contests turned into a classical political upset. State Sen. Robert W. Kasten, Jr. (R), upset a veteran Republican legislator in 1972, and this year the 32-year-old legislator overwhelmed the 59-year-old congressional incumbent in the 9th C.D. surrounding Milwaukee. Kasten won 57 percent of the vote against U.S. Rep. Glenn R. Davis (R), who was hurt by both his long, unsuccessful pursuit of a federal judgeship and by the pardon of Richard Nixon two days before the primary. Davis himself first won election to Congress in 1946 at age of 32, and the two Republicans differed little ideologically. Kasten, who will now oppose attorney Lynn S. Adelman, 34, himself attributed his victory to superior organization.

Of all the members of the House Judiciary Committee, freshman U.S. Rep. Harold V. Froehlich (R-8th) probably had the most to lose by an impeachment vote. Although Froehlich eventually backed impeachment, he still is not off the hook back home

where Jesuit Priest Robert J. Cornell is making his third attempt at exorcising a Republican from Congress. Cornell made former U.S. Rep. John Byrnes (R) nervous in 1970 by narrowing his victory margin to 55-44 percent. In 1972, Byrnes retired and Froehlich squeaked by Cornell, 50-49 percent.

Two Republican women are congressional candidates this year, but both face entrenched Democratic opponents. In the 2nd C.D., interior decorator Elizabeth T. Miller is challenging U.S. Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier (D), and in the 5th C.D. practical nurse Millie A. Morris opposes U.S. Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D). Both men were re-elected with better than 2-1 majorities in 1972.

The GOP's hold on the 3rd C.D. is also rather shaky. U.S. Rep. Vernon W. Thomson (R) represents a marginal district in which he got 55 percent of the vote in 1972. State Rep. Alvin J. Baldus (D) emerged as the narrow leader of winner of a four-man Democratic primary. ■

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## GEORGIA

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It would have been a classic political contest: Lester Maddox' axe versus Ronnie Thompson's machine gun.

The script however was destroyed in the September 3 primary runoff. Lt. Gov. Maddox (D) was decisively drubbed by State Rep. George Busbee while Thompson (R) narrowly defeated Harold Dye, a retired army general, for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

The outcome is now virtually a foregone conclusion. Thompson, who gained national fame with his antic behavior as mayor of Macon, is accorded virtually no chance of defeating Busbee, who gained a solid, if undramatic, reputation as majority leader of the Georgia House of Representatives.

In the closing days of the campaign, Thompson seemed to be running his campaign against the state Republican Party. He charged that top Republican leaders were trying to get him out of the race with a staged grand jury investigation. State GOP Chairman Bob Shaw admitted that Dye had asked him

to talk to Thompson about the grand jury investigation into vice activities in Bibb County, but Shaw instead only asked Thompson what would result from the inquiry.

Thompson implied that the state GOP leaders had conspired to indict him. Said Thompson: "Some of the snobs in the Republican Party had rather have a loser they can control than have a winner who belongs to the people." Ironically, in the first primary (where Thompson failed to get a majority of a four-man GOP field), he had also run in the Democratic race — gathering more votes in that primary than he did as a Republican.

Thompson's big mouth and law-and-order image have been his stock political resources. Earlier this year, a federal judge ordered him to pay \$50,000 in damages to a 12-year-old black youth who was wounded by police back in 1972 after Thompson issued "shoot-to-kill" orders to local Macon police.

Thompson's reputation is in part based on an incident in which he fired at a suspected sniper with a carbine; legend, however, described the weapon as a machine gun. On another occasion, Thompson ordered a Macon police sergeant to fire a machine gun so it could be heard over the police radio frequency — and by any militants possibly monitoring the frequency. He once had thousands of machine gun lapel pins manufactured and sold to admirers.

Supposedly, Thompson entered the gubernatorial race to defeat Maddox, saying, "The most important thing for is not being governor. The most important thing is Lester Maddox getting beat."

Maddox was beat so decisively that it may have been what *Atlanta Constitution Political* Editor Howell Raines calls the "last hurrah for the politics of white racism." Maddox tried to moderate his image in the final days of the campaign, even charging Busbee with being a racist. But the stains of past segregationist rhetoric did not wash.

Reactionary politics is not dead in Georgia, however, as U.S. Rep. John W. Davis (D) learned when he was defeated by Lawrence P. McDonald in the Democratic 7th C.D. primary. McDonald, a urologist and John Birch

## RENEW TODAY

Society member, reversed the plurality by which Davis defeated him two years ago. Now, however, McDonald must face Quincy Collins, a former Air Force POW who hopes to pick up the bulk of the Davis supporters in November.

Collins' speaking ability is greater than his issue knowledge, but he nonetheless is given a chance of picking up one of the two Democratic seats Georgia Republicans have targeted this year. Collins' background of seven years in a North Vietnamese prison camp may seem more appealing than Davis's mickey mouse commercials.

The other targeted seat is now held by ultra-conservative U.S. Rep. John Flynt (D), who faces a spirited campaign challenge from Newt Gingrich, a young history professor at West Georgia College. Gingrich hopes to do well in the suburban Atlanta portion of the district where the 10-term incumbent is not well-known. Gingrich, described as a "common sense conservative," was set back by the Nixon pardon, but hopes to have built sufficient momentum to carry through to November.

Despite Flynt's entrenched position, the *Atlanta Journal's* John Crown warned in a recent column not to "dismiss Newt Gingrich as a lightweight. He comes on strong. He is serious about matters that are serious. He has a sense of humor. The best way to describe him is that he is like a breath of fresh air in the stale and fetid political atmosphere of 1974."

Georgia's lone current GOP incumbent, U.S. Rep. Ben B. Blackburn could possibly lose in November to State Rep. Elliott Levitas (D), an Atlanta attorney. Levitas might be able to put together a coalition of blacks, Jews, and moderate Democrats in the 4th C.D., where Blackburn received 74 percent of the vote in 1972.

The result of Georgia's Senate race is a foregone conclusion. Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D) is opposed by carpet layer Jerry Johnson (R), who thinks Talmadge is insufficiently conservative.

Under other circumstances, State Rep. John Savage (R) might have had a good chance of being lieutenant governor. With Thompson heading the GOP ticket, however, Savage's campaign will be doubly handicapped. Savage, a capable young legislator, faces Zell Miller, a liberal former state official and savvy politician.

It now appears that the fate of Savage, Collins, and Gingrich will depend to a large extent on their ability to attract campaign funds in the closing days of the campaign. ■

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## OKLAHOMA

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The Oklahoma Republican Party could conceivably win the governorship and two additional congressional seats in 1974, but it also could conceivably lose a Senate seat and the one congressional seat it now holds.

The GOP's outlook has been shaped to a large extent by the peculiar behavior of the state's Democrats in their primary and subsequent runoff. Grand juries have been investigating the administration of Gov. David Hall (D) for two years. Those investigations took their toll on Hall's career; he finished third in Oklahoma's August 27 gubernatorial primary with 27 percent of the vote. Hall subsequently took the fifth amendment before a federal grand jury investigating his finances and administration.

U.S. Rep. Clem R. McSpadden (D), a 48-year-old freshman congressman and veteran state legislator, was the folksy favorite in the September 17 runoff. McSpadden was upset by a 33-year-old state legislator who emerged from political nowhere to win the Democratic nomination. The winner, State Rep. David Boren, based his campaign against McSpadden on the need to make a clean sweep of members of the "Old Guard" like McSpadden. Ironically, Boren is the son of a certified member of the "Old Guard," former U.S. Rep. Lyle Boren, and the son-in-law of another the head of the Oklahoma American Party.

Boren now has the difficult task of pulling together the fractured Democratic Party. GOP State Chairman Clarence Warner asserts that the Re-

publicans will benefit from bitter McSpadden voters who would rather elect a GOP governor and try to elect McSpadden again in four years than elect Boren and be saddled with him for two, four-year terms.

Warner asserts that the GOP gubernatorial candidate, State Sen. James Inhofe, 39, has a better claim to the reform label as a result of his legislative record than does political science professor Boren. He concedes that the GOP would have had "not as difficult" a time running against McSpadden, but thinks Boren's past support of tax increases will damage him. Warner also feels that Boren will be hurt by his support of the entire Democratic ticket, several of whose statewide members have been tarnished by investigations during the past two years.

(Attorney General Larry Derryberry (D) once suggested that Hall might be impeached; he was called a "traitor" by Hall as a result. Now Derryberry faces a young Enid attorney, Steven Jones (R), who has attacked the incumbent's vacillation in the Hall investigation. Jones sent Derryberry a copy of *Profiles in Courage* "so he'll know what courage really is.")

Inhofe, a Tulsa businessman, himself won a primary over former State Sen. Denzil Garrison. Inhofe, who projects an aggressive, articulate, and youthful image, used superior organization and finances to soundly beat Garrison. His problem now is to get all three factions of the Oklahoma GOP — the adherents of Warner, Sen. Dewey Bartlett, and Sen. Henry Bellmon — solidly behind his campaign.

Bellmon himself has a tough race. He has inherited the Senate opponent whom Bartlett defeated in 1972, former U.S. Rep. Edmund Edmondson. Bellmon has been insufficiently anti-busing for the tastes of some Oklahomans. The former Oklahoma governor has had the guts to vote consistently against Senate anti-busing amendments, a stand which is particularly unpopular in Oklahoma City.

Both conditional amnesty and the Nixon pardon have been unpopular in Oklahoma, but inflation is expected to be an even bigger issue. Edmondson has launched a sharp negative campaign attacking Bellmon's Senate record, but Bellmon's fiscal conservatism may be his best defense against the

more liberal spending reputation Edmondson acquired while in Congress.

Republicans had a good chance of unseating freshman U.S. Rep. James R. Jones (D) if the GOP had put forth good candidates this year. The former aide to President Lyndon Johnson has admitted lying in a memo to the Associated Milk Producers in 1972. In that memo, Jones claimed credit for a decision by the Department of Agriculture to keep milk price supports at the then-current level. Jones admitted in mid-summer that he had nothing to do with the decision; after Jones left the White House, he went to work for AMPI for \$40,000 a year. Tulsa Realtor George A. Mizer, Jr., 46, is the Republican candidate against Jones.

In the race to succeed McSpadden, Republican Ralph F. Keen, a 40-year-old attorney and full-blooded Cherokee, faces publisher Theodore M. Risenhoover (D).

U.S. Rep. John N. "Happy" Camp (R) faced a serious primary challenge from former Justice Department lawyer Tim Leonard. Now he faces trouble from oilman Glenn English (D), 33.

Whatever the outcome of the November elections, the Oklahoma legislature will be improved. Several veteran legislators have been either defeated in primaries or retired this year. "A better quality of legislator is emerging," according to Warner.

The previous character of the legislature was described by a Democratic political consultant, who was quoted in an article in the *Washington Star-News*: "About 20 percent of the legislators are smart and honest and 20 percent are smart and dishonest. The other 60 percent are up for grabs. The problem is the crooks are smarter and tougher than the good guys. Anyone tries to reform and revolutionize them, there will be rape and pillage over there." ■

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# POLITICS: PEOPLE

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● Indecision on the Providence mayoral race primary may well have cost Rhode Island U.S. Rep. **Robert O. Tiernan** (D) his job. Tiernan first backed Providence Mayor **Joseph A. Doorley, Jr.** (D), for reelection, but when the city Democratic committee instead backed a challenger, Tiernan waffled and later backed the organization-backed challenger. The challenger lost and enough backers of both candidates were apparently alienated by Tiernan to cost him the primary nomination. The Democratic slot instead will be filled by State Rep. **Edward P. Beard**, 34, a one-term state legislator and classroom painter whose workingman's background and criticism of state institutions captured voter interest. Beard walked the 2nd C.D. while Tiernan took renomination for granted. The Republican nominee in the district is a handicapped businessman who is confined to a wheelchair; he observes that while Beard talks about handicaps; the Republican candidate has lived them.

● U.S. Rep. **Paul N. McCloskey** (R) and his Democratic opponent, **Gary Gillmor**, are making a joint mailing to voters in California's 12th C.D. McCloskey and Gillmor have agreed to hold expenditures to \$25,000 each and have appointed three-member commission to regulate their spending.

● As if New Jersey Republicans did not have enough problems, the investigation of former Gov. **William T. Cahill's** 1969 gubernatorial campaign has been reopened. Earlier investigations of the financing of that campaign resulted in the indictment of a key Cahill aide and were a key factor in Cahill's primary defeat.

● September 10 was a bad day for **Joyce Dieffenferfer**, elections supervisor in Dade County, Florida. Not only did the name of one candidate appear in a race for which he was not a candidate, but two 14th C.D. GOP primary opponents were left completely off the ballot, and instead appeared on some ballots in the 15th C.D. Said one of the omitted candidates, "I went to vote this morning and couldn't vote for myself. What happens now? My stomach hurts."

● Two administrative assistants appear to be good bets to succeed their bosses in Congress. In New York, **Russell Rourke** is running to succeed U.S. Rep. **Henry P. Smith** in the 36th C.D. He is favored over a popular state assemblyman, **John LaFalce** (D), who won the Democratic primary in September. In Minnesota, **James Oberstar** lost the endorsement of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party to succeed U.S. Rep. **John Blatnik**, but Blatnik supported his aide in the primary. On September 10 Oberstar handily defeated State Rep. **A. J. "Tony" Perpich**, the recipient of a prominent Minnesota political name and the DFL endorsement. The Oberstar campaign theme in the bitter contest was, "Who's Kidding Who, Tony?" Oberstar now faces **Jerome Arnold**, a young, very conservative attorney.

● If anything, the repercussions of Watergate seem to be working against the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Tennessee, **Ray Blanton**. Partly on the

basis of his early voluntary commitment to full financial disclosure of campaign funds, Republican **LaMar Alexander** amassed an impressive number of newspaper endorsements in the GOP primary campaign. The 34-year-old Alexander's knowledge of state government problems contrasts sharply with the more limited erudition of his older Democratic opponent. Blanton's refusal to appear on the same platform with Alexander has merely accentuated the difference in their levels of ability. Blanton has been further hampered by the post-Watergate morality: there allegedly were two illegal corporate contributions to his primary campaign, and laundered contributions to his 1972 Senate campaign were recently disclosed. Democratic polls, however, show Blanton leading Alexander.

● State Rep. **Selwyn Carrol** won one of two Republican State Senate nominations in Fairbanks, Alaska. If elected in the conservative district, the progressive black Republican would be Alaska's first black state senator. Meanwhile, the primary returns from the Alaska Bush assured State Sen. **Willie Hensley** the Democratic nomination to oppose U.S. Rep. **Don Young** (R).

● Newton School Committeeman **Alvin Mandell** (R) was chosen as the Republican candidate in Massachusetts' 4th C.D. after former U.S. Rep. **Laurence Curtis**, 81, withdrew as the GOP nominee against U.S. Rep. **Robert Drinan** (D). Curtis apparently never had intended to be the nominee and had tried to interest former State Rep. **Martin Linsky** and radio talk show host **Avi Nelson** in taking over his spot on the ballot. Curtis, Linsky, and Nelson had engaged in a four-way primary for the GOP nomination in 1972. Nelson is apparently waiting for 1976 to make another congressional run. Father Drinan has problems, meanwhile, with a controversy over whether he has ecclesiastical permission to run for office.

● Massachusetts Republican politics continues its aberrant ways. Gov. **Francis Sargent**, having won an easy primary victory over a conservative opponent, called for the resignation of GOP State Chairman **William Barnstead**, who had been an outspoken critic of Sargent's primary campaign tactics. Sargent, who has gone through state chairmen like some men go through razor blades (and with the same suicidal tendencies), appears now to be the underdog in his reelection bid.

● Senators **Bill Brock** (R-Tenn.) and **Lloyd Bentsen** (D-Tex.), chairmen of the Republican and Democratic Senate campaign committees, respectively, have agreed to meet in four debates this fall to discuss policy differences between their two parties. The broadcast debates, which will take place in Atlanta, Boston, Los Angeles, and Chicago, are sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute.

● Correction: **Claude Patterson**, the Republican nominee against U.S. Rep. **William J. Randall** (D-Mo.), was not a 1966 GOP anti-war candidate against Randall (as stated in the July 15 FORUM). However, **Forest Nave, Jr.**, a Democratic primary opponent to Randall this year, did run against the incumbent as an anti-war Republican in 1966. Nave also ran for the GOP Senate nomination in 1968 and the GOP congressional nomination in 1970.

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# COMMENTARY: PARTY REFORM

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## Trusting Souls

by Dick Bebn

Prior to August 6, 1974, the business of the Rule 29 Committee of the Republican National Committee had more urgency and more controversy. With the anticipation of a nomination battle at the 1976 GOP National Convention, it was important to many Republicans that changes in interpretations of GOP rules be or not be made.

The sense of urgency and controversy seems to have dissipated, however, with Gerald Ford's assumption of the Presidency. In many eyes, the 1976 GOP National Convention is reduced to pep rally significance.

The shift in mood was reflected at a meeting of the Rule 29 Committee's subcommittee four in Washington on September 20-21. The subcommittee, chaired by former RNC Chairman Ray C. Bliss, is charged with examining rules concerning delegate selection to the national convention. Its members include four state chairmen who chair regional state chairmen's groups: Carla Coray of Hawaii, John C. McDonald of Iowa, Clarke Reed of Mississippi, and Richard Rosenbaum of New York. Also on the committee are North Carolina Gov. James E. Holshouser and Tennessee National Committeewoman Peggy Spurrier. (The latter two are co-chairmen of the full Rule 29 Committee.)

To begin the meeting, Clarke Reed was late. As Chairman Bliss observed,

"You're a trusting soul. You're a half hour late. A lot of things could have happened."

Trusting souls were not much in evidence at the June meeting of the full Rule 29 Committee in St. Louis. Considerable controversy had developed over proposed interpretations and proposed revisions of interpretations of what is meant by "positive action" and "endeavor" in the RNC convention rules. The interpretations were the keys to what efforts the Republican Party would make to ensure broader participation in its affairs by women, youth, minority group members, and other elements of the electorate now under-represented in party business.

Invariably, proposals to broaden the base of the party are attacked as "Mc-Governization" or Trojan quotas. By the time of the St. Louis meeting, two proposals had been developed which would define actions to be taken by state and national parties; a primary intent of these proposals was better to "educate" the electorate about party affairs. One set of proposals defining "positive action" was drawn up by members of subcommittee one under the leadership of Missouri Gov. Christopher S. Bond and U.S. Rep. Margaret Heckler (R-Mass.). Similar sets of proposals to define "endeavor" were drawn up by then-RNC Co-Chairman Mary Louise Smith and Carla Coray, both then on subcommittee four.

Opposition to the plans — which were really lists of actions to be taken to fulfill the party's goals — developed at the St. Louis meeting among Republicans fearful that the rules would "force" state GOP committees to take the mandated actions and then become possible grounds for challenges at a future convention. These two issues have been basic grounds of contention in Rule 29 Committee deliberations.

No final action was taken at the St. Louis meeting and it was left up to Holshouser and McDonald of subcommittee four and Robert Brown and Jane Robinson of subcommittee one to formulate a compromise.

Most of the compromise language, however, was devised by Iowa's effective state chairman, John McDonald. With surprising rapidity and unanimity, subcommittee four moved to make minor changes in McDonald's proposed compromise and then to endorse

it. It was a sharp contrast to the St. Louis meeting.

"You did a damn good job," Bliss told McDonald after the committee voted on the plan. "You better believe he has," added U.S. Rep. William Steiger, (R-Wis.), chairman of the full Rule 29 Committee. Even the silver-haired Mississippi chairman commented that McDonald's proposals were "like night and day" compared with previous drafts. He seemed mollified that quotas had been avoided. Though his apprehensions were pooh-poohed by other members of the committee, Reed insisted that the quota consternation was a "very healthy fear."

Bliss had been solicitous of possible objections from Reed, checking on his agreement at every step of the subcommittee's deliberations. Bliss seemed as surprised as anyone that the subcommittee finished most of its work on the first day of the scheduled two-day meeting. "Everybody happy now?" asked Bliss. "Oh boy, this is a great group."

When the committee adjourned, it had endorsed a plan full of "shall's" and containing only four "shalls" implying mandatory compliance. Concern over "shall's" centered on grounds for challenges, and the financial and/or legal burdens that might be placed on state committees by the recommendations.

The recommendations called for: wide publicity for delegate selection procedures; outreach efforts to inform voters of GOP activities and beliefs; preparation and distribution of "How to Become a Delegate" pamphlets; preparation of state party calendars of events; efforts to encourage participation of all voter groups in party platform and rules hearings; enforcement of the party rule prohibiting financial assessment of convention delegates; formation of state Rule 29 committees; and a stated prohibition of quotas.

It was a remarkably amicable meeting, since as Clarke Reed observed, "With Rule 29, you wouldn't trust your brother-in-law." The subcommittee's final recommendations have yet to be endorsed by subcommittee one, but there was optimism at the Washington's Mayflower Hotel that they would be. Much of subcommittee one's goals are included in the compromise.

The full Rule 29 Committee next meets December 7-8 in Washington. Perhaps their final report will reflect the spirit of one section of this year's Indiana Republican Platform:

"We extend to Americans of varied ethnic backgrounds a cordial invitation to affiliate themselves with the Republican Party — not as representatives of any group but as individual

Americans. We regret that, as a party, we did not more fully communicate or implement the fellowship which we feel towards all persons who share our principles." ■

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## DULY NOTED: POLITICS

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● "Parties: The More The Merrier," by Kevin Phillips. *Albany Times-Union*, September 15, 1974. Phillips seems taken with the idea of third parties and the obsolescence of the two-party system. "My own feeling is that the two-party system may indeed be obsolete. Both parties seem to oscillate between erratic ideology — McGovern or Goldwater — and uncreative 'centrism.' To be sure, there are perils in the multi-party system, but if we had four or five creative, articulate national parties instead of the current two, we just might be better off."

● "Sprouse-Rockefeller Activities Lousing Up November for Dems" by Richard Grimes. *Charleston Daily Mail*, September 10, 1974. "The West Virginia Democrats have been spending too much time worrying about a 1976 gubernatorial primary fight between former Secretary of State John D. Rockefeller IV and Supreme Court Justice James Sprouse, according to Democratic State Chairman J. C. Dillon. "I'm afraid that an early start on the 1976 race will so polarize the party we'll never get it back together to win. Plus, we appear to have a good chance in the 1974 (legislative) election, unless we forget about our candidates." One Democratic legislator observed, "Some of us have asked J. C. (Dillon) to sit down with Rockefeller and Sprouse and get this thing slowed down until after we run. If these guys get too far down the road and get so committed, we're going to have a blood-letting primary, and the Republicans will win."

● "Askew Looks Very Strong After Vote," by John McDermott. *Miami Herald*, September 15, 1974. "Gov. Reubin Askew's overwhelming victory over three opponents (in the September 10th primary) must be interpreted as a disastrous setback to the hopes of Republican Jerry Thomas. The Republicans had counted on massive switchovers in November by Democrats who voted for Lt. Gov. Tom Adams, Ben Hill Griffin, and Norman Bie. But the record size of the Askew vote has had a very discouraging impact on pre-election GOP optimism, although neither Thomas nor his running mate, Mike Thompson, is likely to admit it."

● "Hammond Explains His 'No-Growth' Policy," by Andy Williams. *Anchorage Daily News*, September 10, 1974. Democratic charges that Republican gubernatorial candidate Jay Hammond favors "zero-growth" for Alaska are the likely focal points for the Alaska gubernatorial campaign. Speaking before a meeting of the Society of Petroleum Engineers in Anchorage, Hammond said, "If I had read some of the things about me, I would have come here too, to see if I had a pair of horns and a purple goatee." He rebutted accusations by the Democratic lieutenant governor that he is anti-growth by calling zero growth "an impossible dream." Part of the controversy stems from Hammond's sponsorship of a 1972 resolution

calling for study of alternative routes for the trans-Alaska pipeline.

● "In '74, Women's Time Has Come," by James M. Perry. *National Observer*, September 28, 1974. When Colleen House (R) was elected to replace former State Rep. Robert Traxler (D), who had been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, she went to Michigan's capital only to discover that her Democratic opponent had already been listed as the new representative. But, according to Perry, "The only trouble she has had was with her caucus chairman, Jim Farnsworth, who opened all the meetings by saying, 'Ok, fellows.' I'm the first Republican woman here in 10 years, so I guess it was hard. But I complained about it. Now Jim opens every caucus by saying, 'Ok, fellows — and Colleen.'"

● "Republicans Adopt Platform to Appeal to Blacks, Young," by Ernest Dumas. *Arkansas Gazette*, September 15, 1974. "Delegates to the Republican State Convention, reversing form, dispensed with most of the political speeches Saturday at the Camelot Inn and labored nearly all day on a controversial platform for the party. The long platform adopted by some 150 delegates is liberal in most respects and is aimed at appealing to blacks and young voters. It carries some of the traditional conservative rhetoric and conservative delegates managed to strike some liberal provisions, including language that was construed to favor liberalized abortion laws and tax reform aimed at reaching wealthy tax evaders and major oil companies . . . It endorsed collective bargaining for public employees, the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the federal Constitution, conditional amnesty for draft evaders, public financing of all elections, mandatory campaign finance disclosures, statewide use of voting machines, and an independent election agency to monitor elections." Those and a raft of other progressive proposals contrasted sharply with the bland document produced by the Democrats. Unfortunately, the GOP's election prospects are nowhere near as bright as its platform. The platform was largely prepared by Cliff Jackson, a brilliant young attorney from Little Rock, who told the convention that "research had shown that the GOP's strength in Arkansas lay primarily in the Little Rock area, and northwest Arkansas and among blacks and young voters. He said the platform was prepared with the hope it would appeal to those voters," writes Dumas.

● "Political Obstacle Removed for White," by Robert A. Jordan. *Boston Globe*, September 24, 1974. "U.S. Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's decision not to run for president in 1976 removes a major obstacle from the long road Boston Mayor Kevin H. White must travel in his quest for national office." White obviously had no chance at the Democratic national ticket so long as Kennedy was in the running. One White aide was disappointed, however, that Kennedy's decision came so early — allowing other contenders a head start while White wrestles with Boston's busing problems. "Ironically it was White who (in May this year) publicly prodded Sen. Kennedy to declare his national ambitions," but White probably didn't expect him to follow the advice.

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