

RIPON FORUM

VOL. IX, No. 17

SEPTEMBER 15, 1973

25 CENTS

POLITICS: REPORTS

NORTH DAKOTA

FARGO, N.D. — Next year's North Dakota Senate race shapes up as a tough contest between incumbent Sen. Milton Young (R) and former Gov. William Guy (D).

Young, who will turn 77 next year, has served in the Senate since 1945. He is known as "Mr. Wheat" in the state and current record prices for that commodity are not hurting the senator's re-election chances.

Unlike Young, Guy has not yet announced his campaign intentions. The 53-year-old Guy is likely to exploit age as a campaign issue. The powerful Farmers Union passed a resolution at their spring convention indicating they would not support a candidate over 65. The resolution would prohibit support for Young but it would also preclude support for Sen. Quentin N. Burdick (D), a Farmers Union hero who comes up for re-election in 1976. Burdick is now 65.

Neither Guy nor Young are slouches at the ballot box. Young received 65 percent of the vote in 1968 while Guy got 54 percent in his last run for governor the same year. The former Democratic state chief executive is hampered by a three-way split in his own party, however — between factions loyal to Guy, Burdick and current Gov. Arthur A. Link.

A series of polls over the past five years have indicated a close race between Guy and Young. A GOP-sponsored poll this spring indicated an edge for Guy, but the results have been kept more secret than presidential tapes. A subsequent mail poll by Sen. Young gave him a lead.

Meanwhile, Young is out beating the

hustings to unify his party. Said one top GOP leader, "He's been running harder in the past five months than he has in the past five years."

Although Gov. Link (D) has a four-year term, his first months on the job have not been impressive. One Republican leader described him as "the weakest governor we've had." The Democrats' bright star may be the young state tax commissioner, Byron L. Dorgan. The liberal Dorgan may find he has nothing to lose and a good deal of name exposure to gain by making a futile race against the popular U.S. Rep. Mark Andrews (R). Andrews had been expected to move up to the Senate if Young retired. As one North Dakota journalist said recently, "Nobody's beating Andrews — not for the next 30 years anyway." ■

PHONE SERVICE

BOSTON — Remember Mrs. Katherine Worden? She's the Massachusetts anti-war activist who charged federal and Republican officials with interfering with her phone calls after she placed the following ad in the *Miami Herald* during the Republican National Convention last August:

Our President Needs Your Help.

Because I am a citizen who cares deeply about the welfare of my country, I implore you who have the chance to be heard to convey your thoughts about this still escalating war to the man who makes the decisions. Your opinions can make a difference.

The ad requested readers to influence the President to end the Indochina War. It also invited calls to Mrs. Worden at the Fontainebleu Hotel.

In a suit filed last October in U.S. District Court in Washington, Mrs. Worden charged the Committee for the Re-election of the President, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Secret Service, the Fontainebleu, and the Republican National Committee with systematically diverting her calls. Callers were reportedly told by hotel operators that Mrs. Worden was not registered — or asked if they were responding to the newspaper advertisement.

Mrs. Worden's \$1.125 million lawsuit against the above agencies has hit a snag, however. Although journalists were told last year by hotel employees that the interference had been ordered by "Republicans," the whole responsibility for the affair has now been taken by the hotel's chief telephone operator. According to Mrs. Worden, the operator "now says under oath that she instigated the monitoring of my calls on her own."

The chief operator lives in retirement in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. How or why she retired is not remembered by the hotel management, according to Mrs. Worden, herself a resident of Weston, Massachusetts.

Mrs. Worden, who is a political independent, says she is flabbergasted by the sudden loss of memory by hotel officials. They reportedly don't "remember" talking to reporters last August. "It's very frustrating. I can hardly believe it," says Mrs. Worden who reports that the chief operator unexplainedly claimed she was trying to "help" Mrs. Worden.

Although her own witnesses — such as Common Cause's John Gardner and columnist Mary McGroory — stand ready to testify to the phone monitoring, the positions of hotel employees have stymied Mrs. Worden's case. It has been "postponed without prejudice." Mrs. Worden hopes the "dirty tricks" segment of the Ervin Committee hearings may bring out new evidence about the incident.

One major motivation for her suit was to prove that "one person can take on city hall and win." Mrs. Worden is disappointed but still hopeful. ■

NEW YORK CITY

NEW YORK CITY — Gotham City is destined for competent but lackluster leadership for the next four years: Barring acts of God, Abraham D. Beame will be elected the city's 105th mayor on November 6, 1973. The city has reverted to its tradition in which the Democratic nomination is tantamount to election. Beame won that nomination in a June 26th runoff against U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo (D), capturing 61 percent of the vote against Badillo's 39 percent.

Beame has had 23 years experience in municipal government. He was budget director under former Robert F. Wagner, and then ran with him and was elected in 1961 as comptroller (the second most powerful position in the city). Beame was the Democratic mayoral nominee in 1965, after Wagner stepped down, but was defeated in a hotly-contested election by a liberal Republican Manhattan congressman, John V. Lindsay. Beame spent the next four years in private business, and then, while Lindsay was winning re-election in 1969, he was elected to his old post of comptroller.

After Lindsay decided against another race earlier this year, it seemed as though every Democrat in town was running for mayor. Most dropped out due to lack of money and popular support until only four were left to battle it out in the June 4th primary: The deputy minority leader of the assembly, Albert Blumenthal of Manhattan, is an attractive and very liberal candidate whose campaign never managed to get off the ground. The candidacy of the initial front-runner, Bronx U.S. Rep. Mario Biaggi (a former policeman and conservative who appealed to the white ethnic vote) took a sharp downturn after it was revealed he took the Fifth Amendment before a federal grand jury. Former Bronx Borough president Badillo was endorsed by the *New York Times*, and received the support of many liberal Jews, blacks and most of his fellow Puerto Ricans. Beame, a 63-year old Jewish politician

from Brooklyn, profitted by the splitting of the liberal vote between Blumenthal and Badillo as well as Biaggi's credibility problems to capture 34 percent of the primary vote.

Under a new state law, there was a runoff between Badillo and Beame three weeks after the initial primary. The campaign was rather colorless. Both candidates tried to appeal to the middle class, and argued for more police, and greater governmental efficiency; there was no discussion of the great social problems facing the city. Beame easily swept the runoff, winning four out of the five boroughs. Badillo won in only the Black, Puerto Rican neighborhoods, and liberal areas of Manhattan.

In November, Beame will face Biaggi, who is still on the Conservative Party line, Blumenthal, who remains on the Liberal Party line, and Staten Island State Sen. John Marchi on the Republican line. Marchi defeated Lindsay in the Republican primary in 1969, and became the GOP nominee this year following Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's abortive attempt to make former Mayor Wagner the Republican-Liberal nominee. Marchi is articulate, intelligent, and fairly conservative. His low-key campaign is not likely to lead to success. His fate will probably be shared by his more progressive running mates: Thomas Galvin will be defeated for City Council President by Paul O'Dwyer, a very liberal Democrat who ran against Sen. Jacob Javits in 1968; Finance Administrator Richard Lewisohn, one of the few remaining Republicans in Lindsay's cabinet, faces a tough race against Democratic State Sen. Harrison J. Goldin for comptroller.

As the mayoralty campaign moved into September, Beame's victory prospects moved from sure to very sure to very, very sure. Marchi's campaign suffered a setback on its rather listless course when campaign coordinator Morton B. Lawrence resigned. Lawrence's departure followed disagreements within the Marchi camp over the influence of aides of Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons.-N.Y.).

Liberal Blumenthal received the endorsement of the *New York Times*, but seemed likely to be as successful as the Conservative Biaggi, who indicated to Democratic leaders that he would conduct only a perfunctory campaign. With Badillo's decision not to

seek election under a new party label, despite accumulation sufficient qualifying signatures, the new occupant of Gracie Mansion appears certain to be present comptroller.

Beame has been a good, if not innovative, fiscal manager for the city in the past. His capacity to provide more than an adequate caretaker management in the future is undemonstrated. ■

NEW MEXICO

SANTA FE — Both parties in New Mexico may have crowded primaries next year in the race to succeed Gov. Bruce King (D), who cannot succeed himself.

Among the Republicans in the race may well be King's predecessor, moderate David Cargo. The former governor had announced he was moving to Oregon after losing GOP senatorial primaries in both 1970 and 1972, but remained in the state to practice law after he failed to pass the Oregon bar exam. Cargo's prospects for victory are still dim.

The GOP frontrunner at this point is the party's unsuccessful candidate for lieutenant governor in 1970, former State Sen. Joe Skeen. Skeen, who has announced his candidacy, is one of two former state Republican chairmen who may make the race; the other is the immediate past chairman, former Supreme Court Justice Tom McKenna.

Former State Sen. Jack Eastham, an Albuquerque attorney, may well give Skeen his closest competition for the nomination. The candidacy of Air Force Lt. Col. James Hughes, a former POW, is not taken very seriously at this point.

The relative unpopularity of Gov. King may hurt Democratic chances to elect his successor. The frontrunner is State Sen. Jerry Apodaca, an insurance businessman and former University of New Mexico football star. Two former Democratic state chairmen are also mentioned for the nomination: Drew Cloud and Penrod Toles. Rounding out the possibilities is State Sen. C.B. Trujillo.

Both of New Mexico's congressmen — Harold Runnels (D) and Manuel Lujan (R) — have decided to seek re-election, ending speculation that one of them might seek the governorship.

The moderate Lujan may be challenged by Lt. Gov. Robert Mondragon (D), although there is some conjecture that Mondragon may yet seek the governorship instead. ■

UTAH

SALT LAKE CITY — The light shining on a possible George Romney Senate bid in Utah may be fading. One of Romney's reported conditions for making the race — the endorsement of all GOP county chairmen — now seems unlikely.

An August poll of the county chairman taken by the *Salt Lake Tribune* showed support about evenly divided among former HUD Secretary George Romney, Utah Attorney General Vernon Romney (George's cousin) and Salt Lake City Mayor Jake Garn. Two

other Republicans also received support: former GOP State Chairman Richard Richards and former State Sen. Byron Rampton, brother of the state's Democratic governor, Calvin L. Rampton.

An earlier poll by the same newspaper showed George Romney with a clear lead among rank-and-file Republicans. The new poll heartened supporters of Jake Garn who hope that Vernon Romney's supporters may align themselves with the Salt Lake mayor if the attorney general does not enter the race.

The Democratic race to succeed Sen. Wallace Bennett (R) seems to be between Donald Holbrook, a Salt Lake attorney who has the support of Democratic State Chairman John Klas, and U.S. Rep. Wayne Owens (D). Klas was re-elected state chairman in August despite criticism of his failure to main-

tain neutrality in the Senate race. The convention was interpreted by some observers as a slap at former Democratic National Chairwoman Jean Westwood. Earlier this year Klas had voted to oust Westwood as national chairwoman. The state vice-chairwoman, who voted to retain Westwood, was herself ousted from her Utah post at the recent state convention.

At a GOP organizational meeting the same day as the Democratic convention. Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson, the Republican national committeeman, called President Nixon's failure to support all Republican candidates last year "almost treason to our party." Wilkinson later amended his statement to read "unreasoned." At the GOP meeting, moderate State Rep. Lorin N. Pace (R) was named to head the party's candidate recruitment effort. ■

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "Phillips Urges Conservatives to Keep Nixon Honest." *Human Events*, September 1, 1973. "Conservatives have long provided Richard Nixon with his most dependable support. He has for many years been the agent of our hopes for practical leadership on behalf of the principles in which we believe. Whenever he has been rejected and scorned by the press or liberals in his own party, he has invariably been able to rely on our support and effectation," former Office of Economic Opportunity Director Howard Phillips told a recent national convention of the Young Americans for Freedom. But it may now be time for conservatives to kick around the President, implied Phillips. "The post-Watergate policy shifts to the left and programmatic concessions in the face of pressure clearly demonstrate that the Administration, at least for the moment, has had no guiding vision or central purpose which for it transcends in importance the simple retention of power," Phillips said. "After several more weeks of watching and hoping that Richard Nixon can and will perform history's assigned task, we must be ready to conclude that the time may come when it is better for our old friend to move aside, rather than hang there, on liberalism's tree, twisting slowly, slowly, in a leftward blowing breeze." Should the President be impeached for liberalism?

● "Arkansas Republicanism ... 1974 and After," by Dan Durning. *Arkansas Advocate*, June, 1973. "The Arkansas Republican Party must regain its position as the progressive party before it can rebuild into a viable opposition. Only with progressive politics as practiced by Winthrop Rockefeller can the party again attract those voting blocs having the flexibility to cast independent votes: young voters, affluent white liberals and blacks," writes Durning. He concludes that Dr. Wayne Babbitt, who ran unsuccessfully again last year against Sen. John McClellan (D), is the only moderate GOP hope to run against Sen. J. William Fulbright in 1974. "The other likely candidates, Representative John Paul Hamerschmidt and Charles Bernard, have strong public images as conservatives," contends Durning. "The party strategy in 1974 should be to invest its support in a progressive Governor-Lt. Governor tandem and in selected candidates for local 'target' offices — those offices most vulnerable to Republican challenge." Durning maintains that former State Rep. Sterling Cockrill, would be the Republicans' best hope for governor, but that former State Rep. George Nowotny and State Sen. Jim Caldwell would also be ac-

ceptable moderate candidates. "While neither of these men would greatly assist the goal of returning the progressive coalition to the party, their candidacies would not drive more of these people away."

● "Harrington sticks to House," by Robert Healy. *Boston Globe*, September 10, 1973. "U.S. Rep. Michael Harrington of Beverly has decided not to seek the Democratic nomination for the office of attorney general, a decision that changed the complexion of Massachusetts politics considerably. Harrington in all probability would have won the nomination with ease and would have had an excellent chance of being elected," according to *Globe* Executive Editor Healy. "But the attorney general's office was not Harrington's real goal. He was considering the contest only to position himself for the Senate contest in 1976, if and when Sen. Edward Kennedy goes after the Democratic presidential nomination." Democratic party chieftains and Harrington friends objected to the run for attorney general as a diminution of that office. There was also considerable fear in the Democratic camp that House Minority Leader Francis W. Hatch, Jr. (R), would be the strong favorite to succeed Harrington if the incumbent stepped down. Now, Hatch, a personal friend of Harrington's, is unlikely to make the race.

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research and policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in District of Columbia, chapters in fifteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work.

THE RIPON FORUM is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 509 C Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage rates paid at Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1973 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence addressed to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for fresh ideas, well-researched proposals and for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the National Governing Board or the Editorial Board of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labeled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$10 a year, \$5 for students, service-men, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$3 extra. Advertising rates on request. Please allow five weeks for address changes.

Editor: Dick Behn

Editorial Board:

Robert D. Behn, Chairman
Robert H. Donaldson
James Manahan

Tanya Melich
Robert G. Stewart
Ralph Thayer

Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, William A. Koelsch, Daniel J. Swillinger, Josiah Lee Auspitz, Richard W. Rahn, John A. Rehfuss, and Thomas A. Sargent

Assistant Editor: M. Victoria Golden

Art Leslie Morrill and Annie Greene

Advertising Manager: Deborah Bowen

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● The fallout from Philadelphia Mayor **Frank Rizzo's** latest political troubles has yet to settle enough to forecast Rizzo's prospects against arch-rival Gov. **Milton J. Shapp** (D). Rizzo may have been hurt more by the disclosure of his personal police "corruption" squad investigating his political enemies than by the unfavorable results of a lie-detector test given Rizzo in a separate controversy. Another Philadelphian interested in the governorship, District Attorney **Arlen Specter** (R), may be backing off from a race. Specter's re-election contest this year may be tougher than expected. An additional potential Republican candidate, U.S. Rep. **H. John Heinz III**, may also be cooling his gubernatorial ardor in hopes of better political opportunities at a later date. The GOP state treasurer who gave the party some financial stability in recent years, **Andrew Lewis**, has resigned and is organizing his own gubernatorial run. Although his name recognition is low, Lewis may command substantial support from GOP regulars; he may also have the money and the organizational ability to win the nomination. House Speaker **Kenneth Lee** (R) has publicly backed Lewis, but some observers still consider him a possible candidate. Perhaps even less well-known among the voters is the president of the First Pennsylvania Bank, **John Bunting**. A former political friend of Rizzo, Bunting is now on the mayor's enemy list. It is theorized that some of the mayor's financial backers may be moving behind Bunting for the Republican nomination. Other reports indicate Bunting may seek Sen. **Hugh Scott's** seat in 1976.

● Montana Republicans have elected a 34-year-old Great Falls attorney to succeed **Bill Holter** as state GOP chairman. Elected in early summer was **Kenneth R. Neill**, who was Cascade County GOP chairman.

● The really big political controversy in North Carolina this year is not Sen. **Sam Ervin** (D) and his famous committee. It's liquor-by-the-drink and whether Tarheel residents will approve a referendum this fall ending the days of brown-bagging booze to restaurants.

● For a change it may be the Democrats who do the bloodletting in South Dakota next year. There has been talk that Gov. **Richard Kneip** (D) might challenge Sen. **George McGovern**, but Kneip gives every indication that he'll seek re-election. The secretary of state recently sought a ruling on Kneip's eligibility to seek re-election as a Democrat. Under an old state law which says he cannot be a candidate of the same party more than twice, the attorney general, also a Democrat, ruled Kneip ineligible. The governor's first court challenge has failed and he is appealing. The beneficiary of Kneip's ineligibility would be Lieutenant Gov. **William Dougherty**, a McGovern ally who will probably challenge Kneip regardless of the court battle. Meanwhile, at least three GOP candidates are gearing up to challenge McGovern. Businessman **Al Shock** has already announced and embarked on a walking tour of the state. He may be the beneficiary of a good deal

of "Old Guard" support. Former National Committeewoman **Barbara Gunderson** has not yet announced but is actively testing her strength. Finally, former POW Lt. Col. **Leo Thorsness** is examining his political future.

● So eager were the managers of the New Jersey gubernatorial campaign of U.S. Rep. **Charles W. Sandman, Jr.**, to have New York Gov. **Nelson A. Rockefeller** keynote Sandman's September 17 kickoff dinner that they bumped Gov. **Ronald Reagan** (R), who had been previously announced as the featured speaker at the \$100-a-plate event. When asked why Rocky was appearing on behalf of the conservative Sandman, one Rockefeller supporter reportedly said, "You could call it a reconnaissance flight."

● Illinois has gone from a surplus to a shortage of candidates to oppose Sen. **Adlai Stevenson III** (D) next year. U.S. Rep. **John Anderson**, chairman of the House Republican Conference, has had second thoughts about the race and Ambassador **Donald Rumsfeld**, a former Illinois congressman, seems content in Brussels. Attorney General **William Scott** similarly shows little interest in switching jobs at this point. Stevenson seems to be riding on the crest of private polls which allegedly show him smashing any Republican challenger. The big contests next year in Illinois, therefore, may center on control of Cook County. The machine of Chicago Mayor **Richard Daley** (D) has been ridden by scandals and Republicans see an opportunity to launch a stiff fight for county control. One possible candidate is former Illinois Corrections Commissioner **Peter Bensinger**. The wealthy Bensinger established a strong reputation in the administration of former Gov. **Richard Ogilvie** (R) and is now being touted for Cook County sheriff, a post once held by Ogilvie.

● New York Knicks' basketball star **Bill Bradley** is seriously considering a race against freshman U.S. Rep. **Joseph J. Maraziti**. **Russell Hemenway** of the National Committee for an Effective Congress is reportedly urging Bradley to make the race against Maraziti, who helped design the district for himself as a state representative. Bradley campaigned for Jersey Democrats last year.

● In the Atlanta mayoralty race Vice Mayor **Maynard Jackson** is now the favorite to oust Mayor **Sam Massell**. The incumbent is in trouble because of the city's high crime rate and because black voter support (about 50 percent) is more likely to go to the black Jackson than the white Massell this year. There are nine other candidates in the October 2 race, however, and at least three others, including former U.S. Rep. **Charles L. Weltner** (D), are given a chance to make a probable runoff.

● The Republican National Committee's meeting in Washington, D.C. in early September took place in a bullish atmosphere despite the cloud of Watergate. GOP National Chairman **George Bush** took the lead in downplaying Watergate — as well as his own prospects for the gubernatorial nomination in Texas. The RNC is operating on a considerably reduced level due to funding problems; staff size has been cut from 190 to 104.

RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 509 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.