

# RIPON FORUM

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25 CENTS

## Can Youth Find Lasting Happiness in GOP?

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In searching for Richard Scammon's magic majority of the "unpoor, the unyoung, and the unblack," the Committee to Re-elect the President has largely ignored the poor and done shockingly little to attract black support. But in the contest for the votes of America's first-time voters in the 18-25 age group, the Committee to Re-elect the President (CRP) has made a real effort.

The conventional wisdom that Sen. George McGovern would attract the elephant's share of the youth vote was contradicted in September polls which showed President Nixon leading the South Dakota Senator among the Nation's first-time voters.

If these percentages hold up during the campaign, part of the credit will go to the razzle-dazzle efforts of the director of the CRP Youth Division, 30-year-old Kenneth Rietz. Less credit will probably be awarded to a lesser-known, lesser-publicized, less-staffed and much lower-funded operation of the Republican National Committee. While the CRP Youth Division has rallied the non-college youth to the Nixon banner, the RNC operation has quietly reasoned with — and wooed — college youths to the Nixon ticket.

Ken Rietz's campaign credits go back to 1966 when he was press secretary for Congressman William A. Steiger's (R-Wisc.) election bid. He then spent three years as an aide to Steiger. After President Nixon's 1968 election, Rietz joined James Allison and Harry Treleven in forming a campaign consultant firm — which quickly moved into the apparatus of the Republican National Committee at the request of then RNC Chairman Rogers C.B. Morton. Rietz meanwhile spent three months on a losing effort — the congressional nomination effort of Hyde Murray (R) for the Wisconsin seat vacated by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird — before returning to Washington. His major campaign fame, however, came with the 1970 Senate victory of Sen. Bill Brock (R) over Albert Gore in Tennessee. Although some of the Brock campaign tactics upset more moderate Republicans in the state, Brock won — no mean accomplishment. In the off-year, Rietz managed the campaign of Con-

gressman William O. Mills (R) who succeeded Morton in Congress, after Morton moved to the Interior Department.

Rietz's efforts at CRP have been widely credited as perhaps the best-organized in the Nixon campaign organization. One associate of Rietz says his strength lies in long-range planning and the implementation of such plans. Rietz is not so scrupulous with details and unreturned phone calls; missed appointments, and unobserved courtesies have cost the Youth Division the friendship of some prominent Republicans.

"We're a bipartisan organization," a spokesman for the Youth Division says. Young Voters for the President (YVP) doesn't assist other Republican candidates. Their major work has been in the area of voter registration and now "get-out-the-vote." About 130 full-time workers (50 paid) and over 350,000 part-time workers have participated in the YVP. To accomplish



their task of getting "5 percent" of the under-25 vote for the President, YVP has a budget of about \$1 million, most of which goes for salaries and communication efforts. There are an estimated 25 million possible voters in this group.

style have earned him a generally favorable reputation in Washington. Even an earlier abrasiveness is said to

Rietz's high energy level, his ability to find the unnoticed job and do it (like organizing the post-nomination party at the 1968 GOP National Convention) and his quick, if impetuous, have worn thin. Professionally, Rietz

is said to be practical, not ideological, but his name is occasionally linked in speculation with a possible 1976 presidential bid by Sen. Bill Brock.

A college drop-out himself, the Rietz organization seems to appeal more to noncollege youth with its "rah-rah" campaign emphasis than to the more intellectual enthusiasms of college youths.

The allegiances of these college youths have been cultivated by a pair of young RNC aides: Mark R. Harroff, 23, RNC director of issue development and J. Brian Smith, 22, RNC chief writer for domestic affairs. While Rietz has organized, Harroff and Smith have talked to students on more than 200 campuses in about 20 states.

Their style — stressing the accomplishments of the Nixon Administration and admitting the charismatic deficiencies of the Presidential character — has not endeared them to Rietz who has protested to the White House about the wisdom of this approach. Smith and Harroff, however, say they have received strong backing from RNC Chairman Bob Dole. They have insisted on straightforward honesty in their debates with college students — and this style has resulted in favorable press comment and favorable student receptions. Smith says the students are impressed that the "Republican Party cares enough to go out there and answer their questions." They cite the Nixon record, "give young people a reason to vote for Nixon," and stress a switch in "national priorities" from defense to social welfare. Smith admits the country "hasn't done enough" on problems like health care and prison reform but insists that he "demolishes" McGovern spokesmen in debate formats. Refreshingly, Smith and Harroff are "not adverse to admitting that the Nixon Administration is capable of error."

In one way, the approach used by Smith and Harroff may be more important than Rietz's. While Rietz *et al* admittedly have a single goal, the reelection of the President, the RNC team is working to create pro-Republican sympathies for the future. The Republicans need more than a transitory youth vote. Smith and Harroff are working beyond "four more years." ■

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# Politics: Reports

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## KENTUCKY

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LEXINGTON — Former Gov. Louie B. Nunn (R) has his hands firmly gripped on President Nixon's coattails in an effort to continue 18 years of Republican senatorial victories in Kentucky.

Nunn's opponent for the seat of retiring Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R) is not cooperating with Nunn's strategy, however. While Nunn stresses his ties with the President, Walter "Dee" Huddleston (D) is running away from Sen. George McGovern. In response to Nunn's efforts to tie the two Democrats, Huddleston has said, "I'm not running for President, I'm running for the U.S. Senate." Huddleston's hopes rest on a spate of ticket-splitting by normally Democratic voters.

Nunn's hopes rest on the party lever, which may also help elect two new GOP Congressmen. Where the Democrats once saw visions of senatorial victory, the Nixon-McGovern contest has moved Nunn out front.

Although the odds are for continuation of the current Democratic 5-2 congressional lineup, the party lever will aid the campaigns of conservative, former Democrat Laban Jackson (R), who is running against Lexington Attorney John Breckinridge in the 6th C.D., and conservative Phil Kaelin, Jr. (R), who is contesting Congressman Romano L. Mazzoli in the 3rd C.D. Mazzoli might have been vulnerable to a more moderate candidate than the unknown Kaelin, who has appealed primarily to Wallace supporters. The freshman Congressman won election over former Congressman William Cowger (R) in 1970 by only 211 votes, the closest congressional contest in the nation that year.

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## WASHINGTON

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SEATTLE — In the local version of a currently popular political scenario, Gov. Daniel J. Evans is in deep "tax trouble" in stemming the gubernatorial challenge of former Gov. Albert D. Rosellini (1957-65).

Defeated by Evans for a third term in 1965, Rosellini is now trying to block Evans' third term by emphasizing rising taxes and the 12 percent rate of unemployment. Evans is the underdog now, stressing his Administration's progressive accomplishments and advocating passage of six bond issues which he says would create 24,000 new jobs. However, Rosellini's own gubernatorial record as Taxellini may come back to haunt him.

Also in trouble is Republican Atty. Gen. Slade Gorton, who is being

challenged by State Sen. Fred Dore. Gorton has fundraising problems and Dore is aided by a popular property tax rebate he sponsored.

The key congressional race is for the seat of retiring Congressman Thomas M. Pelly (R), 70. Former State Sen. Joel Pritchard (R) is favored over John Hempelmann, a former aide to Sen. Henry M. Jackson, but a tight race is expected. The AFL-CIO's COPE is providing money for a major TV campaign for Hempelmann, while the normal GOP margin has been cut by re-districting. The progressive Pritchard has a well-organized campaign, but Senators Jackson, Edward M. Kennedy and Warren G. Magnuson are expected to stump heavily for Hempelmann.

Republicans also have a strong chance to upset Congressman Mike McCormack (D) in the 4th C.D. Stewart Bledsoe, 49, the GOP State House Majority Leader, is trying to return the traditionally Republican district to the GOP. Freshman Democrat McCormack is hurt by association with McGovern, although Bledsoe's association with Evans probably hurts him, also.



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## VERMONT

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MONTPELIER — In the September 12 Vermont gubernatorial primary, Burlington businessman Luther "Fred" Hackett narrowly defeated Atty. Gen. James Jeffords. In the beginning, Hackett had been tagged the "conservative" and Jeffords the "liberal" but the labels had been considerably blurred by primary day.

Hackett, who advocated federalizing welfare and centralizing major land use decisions at the state level, is now strongly favored over the Democratic candidate, Attorney Thomas Salmon, an able and experienced campaigner who seems destined to lose.

State Rep. John McClaughry, a Jeffersonian Republican and frequent FORUM contributor, was unsuccessful in his bid to oust amiable Lieut. Gov. John S. Burgess. Throughout the campaign, McClaughry received favorable press coverage, particularly for his proposals for a major Property Tax Reform Plan. Burgess refused to define his positions on issues and at one point

defended his record of official inactivity by pointing out that he couldn't find much of anything to do. Burgess launched a successful media blitz late in the campaign, however, and received 60 percent of the vote in defeating McClaughry and fellow candidate, John R. Grenier, the House Majority Leader.

In the five-man race for Attorney General, the lead switched between candidates favored by the Vermont Republican establishment, which is led by outgoing Gov. Deane C. Davis and National Committeeman Roland Q. Seward. Washington County States Attorney Kimberley Cheney was the final victor.

The Vermont Democratic Party, badly split by the McGovern candidacy and a liberal state platform, is further handicapped by financial difficulties. An attractive Democratic slate is expected to go nowhere.

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## ILLINOIS

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CHICAGO — Republican polls in October showed President Nixon leading in the Windy City. No Republican has carried Chicago since 1928 except Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Republican strategists don't expect Nixon's lead to hold up, but Sen. Charles Percy (R) is given a chance of carrying the city in his Senate race. Percy seems headed for a landslide victory over Congressman Roman C. Pucinski, perhaps one big enough to dwarf even the margins of Nixon's statewide victory.

Politicians are predicting an unprecedented amount of ticket-splitting in the state, however, and the prospects of Republican Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie are less clear. The progressive Republican governor is in a skin-tight race with "Walking" Daniel Walker (D). Ogilvie's income tax legislation alienated so many Republicans and Democrats this year that the Governor was at one point running behind Walker 2-1. However, the straw poll by the *Chicago Sun-Times* on October 19 showed Ogilvie leading by five percentage points. Since the poll has never been wrong, Republicans are duly encouraged.

Ogilvie has been boosted by a strong media campaign which depicts him as an action governor. His image as a "law and order" advocate, re-enforced by his previous tenure as Cook County sheriff, his support for capital punishment, and his backing for stop-and-frisk laws has aided his campaign among many white ethnic voters, particularly those of middle European extraction. A pamphlet called "The Guts Brochure" emphasizing the facets of Ogilvie's courage has been particularly effective.

Ogilvie's campaign is being run in close conjunction with the Nixon effort — a striking contrast to the independence of the Percy campaign organization. One explanation for the

disparate campaign efforts is the differing constituencies being wooed by Republican candidates.

Gov. Ogilvie, for instance, may win a respectable 25 percent of the vote in Chicago's black wards. Workers for Percy, Ogilvie, and Republican State's Attorney candidate Bernard Carey are coordinating their efforts in these areas. The Nixon efforts here, however, are minimal.

But in suburban areas, the Nixon

and Ogilvie organizations are working together, while the nominally Democratic, Independent Voters of Illinois have organized campaign headquarters backing McGovern, Walker, Percy and Carey. Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, running for reelection, still draws the loudest ovations of any major candidate at campaign receptions — despite his recent acquittal on charges of obstructing justice in the death of two Black Panthers

in 1969. In an unprecedented move Hanrahan, however, was found "unqualified" for the job by the Chicago Bar Association, which simultaneously found Carey qualified. Most observers expect Hanrahan to win the key contest — despite a massive Carey vote in black wards.

If Hanrahan wins, he will be the obvious heir to the Daley empire. If Walker, Percy, or Ogilvie win, they may be heirs to bigger stakes. ■

## Who's New on RNC?

There was a large turnover in the Republican National Committee this summer as the result of voluntary retirements and some contested elections. Profiles of some of the new Republican National Committeemen (NCM) and National Committeewomen (NCW) follow:

● Wisconsin's new NCW is Mrs. Elizabeth Pfeifer, a co-partner in a custom-design needlepoint business and a longtime campaign worker in Wisconsin politics. Mrs. Pfeifer defeated Mrs. Ann Peckham, the former first vice-chairwoman of the state GOP, in an election at the State GOP Convention in June.

● Colorado's new NCM is Bill Daniels who defeated the outgoing Republican State Chairman, Robert Flanigan, for the post. Flanigan, the brother of key White House aide Peter Flanigan, apparently lost the race because he was considered a "liberal" compared with the very conservative Daniels.

● In Alabama, both new RNC representatives overcame spring election contests for the posts. The new NCM, Montgomery Probate Judge Perry O. Hooper, defeated a four-man field to succeed outgoing NCM James D. Martin who contested Winton Blount for the GOP Senate nomination. Hooper is a former secretary of the state GOP and was one of the original backers of Blount's Senate candidacy. Mrs. Jean Sullivan, the new NCW, defeated two other women including the incumbent, Mrs. Bobbie Ames. Mrs. Sullivan was a state GOP vice-chairwoman and an unsuccessful legislative candidate in 1970.

● Minnesota's new NCW is Iantha LeVander, wife of former Gov. Harold LeVander (1967-1971). Mrs. LeVander's activities have centered primarily on arts and community organizations, but she was a chairwoman of a fundraising dinner for President Nixon's re-election campaign.

● Maine's new NCM, conservative former state GOP Chairman Cyril M. Joly, replaces the progressive Robert A. Marden. Joly has been quoted as suggesting that if you're liberal, you might as well be a Democrat.

● Congressional candidate David Treen is Louisiana's new NCM replacing Tom Stagg. Treen, who almost upset House Majority Leader Hale Boggs in 1968, is now running for the 3rd C.D. against J. Louis Watkins, a "new populist" candidate who is considered to be ahead despite Treen's heavy media campaign.

● Indiana's new NCW is Mrs. Margaret Hill, vice-chairwoman of the 7th C.D. GOP Committee and a member of the Resolutions Committee at the 1972 National Republican Convention.

● New Hampshire's new RNC representatives are Robert P. Bass, Jr., the former Republican State Chairman, and Victoria Zachos, a former national committeewoman and assistant chairwoman of the Republican State Committee. She is the sister of State Rep. Kimon Zachos.

● The new NCW from South Carolina is Dr. Inez Clark Eddings, who twice ran for state superintendent of education. Dr. Eddings is a professional educator who was formerly Richard County superintendent of education. The state's new NCM is a purchasing and real estate executive, Hal C. Byrd of Spartanburg. Byrd has been South Carolina's GOP finance chairman as well as being active in South Carolina congressional campaigns and Richard M. Nixon's three presidential efforts.

● Alaska's new NCM is Eldon R. Ulmer, an Anchorage druggist and extreme conservative.

● Mississippi's new NCM is Biloxi seafood businessman Victor Mavar. Mavar is also Harrison County GOP Chairman.

● California, which has a tradition of rotating its representatives every four years, is now represented by NCW Janet Johnson, 32, the youngest person on the RNC. Miss Johnson manages her parents' California ranch.

*The order of publication of the magazine and newsletter will once again be reversed in November. The November 1 newsletter will be printed in time to bring readers last-minute campaign coverage. The November FORUM magazine will be printed after the election in order to provide a speedy analysis of the November 7 election results. Remember to mail the Reader Survey forms from the October FORUM as soon as possible.*

**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 Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen 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.

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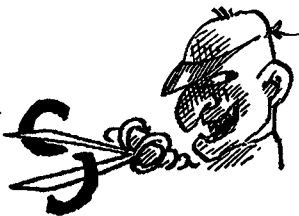
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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

RICHARD BEHN, Editor

# EDITORIAL NOTE



## For an Open Presidency

Public confidence in the President, in the federal government, and in the Republican Party demands that President Nixon personally direct his staff to disclose their involvement in the secret campaign activities which have been widely reported in the press. Reports of involvement have reached such high levels in the White House staff that only the President himself can act to clarify the actions of his own aides. President Nixon should direct his staff — both in the Administration and at the Committee to Re-elect the President — to cooperate fully with all investigations by the General Accounting Office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the United States Congress. Such a directive is needed to maintain the credibility of the President's commitment to an "open Presidency."

If the President's staff enjoys his complete confidence in this matter, the American public also deserves to feel a similar sense of confidence in its leaders. No

such faith will be possible if presidential aides continue to "deny everything and admit nothing" while casting aspersions on journalists who have vigorously pursued this matter.

Secondly, the President should instruct the Committee to Re-elect the President to make full and immediate disclosure of all sources of campaign revenue, donated both before and after the April 7 effective date of the Federal Campaign Revenue Law. Here, too, the issue of public trust in the President is at stake.

The use of unreported donations from a secret campaign fund at the Committee to Re-elect the President for improper political activities contributes to the urgent need for such disclosures. The Committee to Re-elect the President has violated the spirit if not the letter of the campaign disclosure law. An incumbent President needs to set a better example for citizen respect for the nation's law and order. The events of the past four months require strict attention to this law's spirit. As in 1952 when Mr. Nixon laid to permanent rest doubts about another alleged secret fund, he can only dispel the public's lack of confidence by frank disclosures on both matters.

We fully expect the President to win re-election, but we also believe that his second term should not be marred by the unanswered questions and shaken public trust which now appear to be the residue of the Watergate episode. ■

## Politics: People

● A key contest for Tennessee's political future is the Public Service Commission race between State Sen. Tom Garland (R) and Bob Clement (D), son of the late Gov. Frank Clement. Clement is waging a well-financed campaign and will be a prime candidate for higher office in Tennessee if he wins as expected. Both candidates, however, have promised not to use the PSC as a stepping-stone to the governorship. Meanwhile, the President's re-election effort in Tennessee continues its insular effort. Workers at a state staff meeting were told not to mention the word "Republican" until after November 7.

● After searching fruitlessly for a "name" Republican to head up a conventional "Republicans for McGovern" operation, the South Dakota Senator has finally had to rely on grass-roots efforts by Republicans who've defected to his standard. In New York, Republicans for McGovern-Shriver (RMS) placed an ad in the *Wall Street Journal*, October 16, which RMS coordinator Gilbert Colgate, Jr., said "paid its way" in responses, but drew a significant amount of southern hate mail as well. Colgate, a former Rockefeller and Lindsay campaign aide, says RMS groups have been formed in most of the major industrial states by "moderate Eisenhower Republicans" disturbed by the War, and issues involving government integrity and power.

● Congressman Nick Begich (D-Alaska), who disappeared in Alaska on a charter air taxi carrying House Majority Leader Hale Boggs (D-La.), was considered an overwhelming favorite for re-election. Begich's Republican opponent is State Sen. Don Young, 39, from the Fort Yukon hinterlands. Young is an able, moderate Republican who was drafted for the congressional nomination by GOP state leaders, who then proceeded to deny him promised financial aid. With limited personal resources, high Alaskan travel expenses, and a distinct underdog position, Young justifiably complained he had been "thrown to the wolves" by the party leaders. Ticket-splitting had earlier been expected to be widespread in Alaska — with Democrat Begich and Republican Sen. Ted Stevens and Richard Nixon headed for re-election.

● Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (R-N.Y.) recently told newspaper editors in Minneapolis that Vice President Spiro Agnew is the frontrunner for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination. Said Rockefeller, "Be-

cause he's there; because he's just a heartbeat away. God, you think of it every time you look at him."

● Clark MacGregor's vote, which presumably will be cast for Richard Nixon, won't do much good in this election. The CRP chairman has registered to vote in the District of Columbia, the one area written off the CRP tally boards as McGovern country. MacGregor reportedly plans to practice law in the "district" after the election, thus shattering his last political links to Minnesota.

● Progressive Republican Sen. Edward W. Brooke is running against a conservative Massachusetts Democrat, Middlesex County District Attorney John J. Droney. But a *Boston Globe* poll shows Brooke picking up 76 percent of the voters who identified themselves as conservative, compared to 74 percent of the liberal voters and 70 percent of the moderate voters. Brooke's overall share is 72 percent of the vote. Another *Boston Globe* poll, conducted in early October, showed President Nixon leading Sen. George McGovern 48 to 44 percent — despite the fact that the voters opposed bombing North Vietnam by a 2-1 margin.

● It's a bird. It's a plane. It's a bus. No, not the kind that carries little kids. This one carries Republicans. It's the "Simply Amazing Three-Dimensional Two-Toned Trans-Continental Nixon-Agnew New Majority People Machine." And it's going to bus Republicans across 23 states. Even local Republicans are going to be bused — although naturally not across neighborhood lines. And it is a good thing too. Those Republicans are a distinct minority. They need to get integrated.

● State Sen. John Marchi, the Republican-Conservative candidate for mayor of New York City in 1969, has been denied the Conservative Party endorsement this year in Staten Island. It seems that the real estate speculators who are powerful in the Conservative Party disliked Marchi's support of a development plan for southern Staten Island. Marchi's conservative support elsewhere in the city and state has not been dimmed by the local controversy, however.

● The second Richard L. Roudebush Campaign Award has gone to former New Hampshire Gov. Wesley Powell. The award is given biennially to the Republican who campaigns for the United States Senate by criticizing Richard Nixon for talking with the Communists. In his 1970 campaign against Indiana's Vance Hartke, Roudebush attacked Nixon for visiting Rumania; this year Powell, who is challenging New Hampshire's Thomas J. McIntyre, described Nixon's visit to China as "a double cross" and compared it to Neville Chamberlain's trip to Munich. McIntyre may be in unexpected trouble.

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