

# RIPON FORUM

VOL. VII No. 18

DEC. 15, 1972

25 CENTS

## The \$9 Million Question

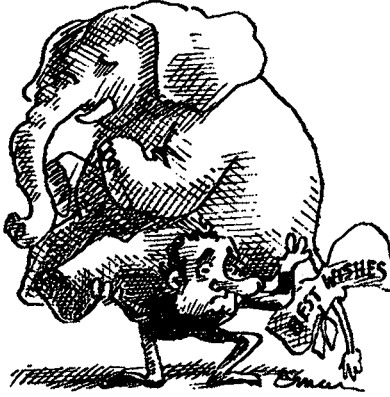
### GOP Secret Fundraiser is Eased Out

WASHINGTON — As the Democrats privately debate how to exploit Republican fundraising as an issue in the coming Presidential race, Jack A. Gleason, the controversial keeper of the Republican secret books under Maurice Stans in 1968 and 1970, is being excluded against his will from fundraising plans for 1972.

Gleason's supposedly clandestine operation has been jeopardized by increasing newspaper coverage by reporters like the AP's Richard Polk, the *New Yorker's* Richard Harris, the *Los Angeles Times's* Jules Witcover, and the *Minneapolis Tribune's* Frank Wright.

Gleason indiscreetly had indicated to Witcover and others that he had raised \$12 million for Senate candidates in 1970. Since not more than \$3 million of secret GOP funds were funnelled from Washington into 1970 campaigns (including Conservative candidate Buckley's), the remainder is assumed to be on unreported deposit in Washington banks, and available for 1972.

At issue is whether the money



will go for Presidential or lower level races and whether it will be restricted to GOP candidates this time.

Gleason, whose activities are being criticized by Jeremiah Milbank, Chairman of the Republican Finance Committee, probably ended his own prospects for an important 1972 role by attacking Milbank in a recent issue of Kevin Phillips' *American Political Report*. Gleason, who moved to the Department of Commerce after the campaign but resigned after failing to find a role suitable to his special talents, at present heads a political consulting firm called the Washington Group.

The party is now seeking secret fundraising operatives who do not dabble in newsletter punditry.

Despite wide speculation of scandal, however, the only evidence so far presented came in Frank Wright's stories on the at least \$85,000 of 1972 campaign contributions given by dairy lobbyists in conjunction with the Presidents reversal of an earlier decision to oppose increases in milk price supports.

Because Gleason's role was never official and the techniques of concealment remain nearly impenetrable, it is unlikely that any further scandal can be uncovered unless the Gleason-Milbank dispute gets publicly out of hand.

The Gleason operation, together with its Democratic counterpart, evaded — at least for the time being — an attempt two months ago by Common Cause to have its books divulged. The continuing Democratic interest in secrecy, in fact, illustrates the problems facing any candidate from that party who wants to make an issue of campaign financing in 1972.

## RNC Responds Next Month

### New Timetable Set in Suit

WASHINGTON — The Ripon Society and the Republican National Committee, through their lawyers, have agreed on a procedure to expedite a decision in Ripon's pending suit against the RNC over the nominating convention delegate allocation formula.

In a stipulation worked out by the parties and accepted by the court on December 3, Ripon agreed to withdraw its request for an injunction barring use of the current formula for the 1972 Convention and to substitute a request for an injunction affecting the apportionment of delegates to the 1976 convention. The formula for 1976 will be determined by the 1972 Convention.

In return for this, the RNC agreed "to proceed with dispatch by answering the complaint" and to set a timetable for further proceedings. Under the timetable, the

RNC is to answer the motion for the injunction and the complaint by January 24, 1972.

Howard Gillette Jr., Ripon's President, said, "The agreement represents a constructive step toward resolving the constitutional question before the 1972 Convention."

### Ripon Dinner

MINNEAPOLIS — The Ripon Society celebrated nine years of activity and launched an expanded 10th year program at its anniversary dinner here last month, attended by over 200 Ripon members and friends, including the leaders of the state's Republican organization, and saluted in telegrams from President Nixon and other leading Republicans. Senator Mathias' speech will be in the next FORUM.

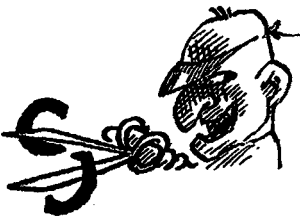
### Ashbrook in Lonely, Late

WASHINGTON — Congressman John Ashbrook's incipient right wing insurgency against the President is currently floating on the turgid editorial ink of New Hampshire publisher William Loeb of the *Manchester Union Leader*.

It is being opposed, however, by every important elected right wing leader, including Ronald Reagan, Barry Goldwater, organizer Clif White, and James Buckley (whose party, the New York Conservatives, has endorsed the Ohioan).

Ashbrook's career of omnibus right wing militancy — touching all bases from the American Conservative Union to HUAC — has been foundering in Ohio as of late; the obvious perversity of his move to the national scene confirms the fact it is designed to confute: Right wing Republicans have nowhere else to go in 1972.

# EDITORIAL NOTE



## SENATOR ROBERT TAFT (II)

In introducing the first Senate bill providing amnesty for draft resisters now in exile or prison, Robert Taft Jr. took a courageous step from the shadowy retreats in which Senators have long evaded the moral responsibilities of Vietnam. It is a step in the tradition of the greatest of Republicans, Abraham Lincoln, who gave amnesty to Southern soldiers, and in the spirit of the man once known as Mr. Republican himself, Robert Taft, Sr., who almost alone among Americans attacked the vindictive justice of the Nuremberg trials. It is a step prepared by a bold Republican contemporary, Charles Goodell, who introduced the first bill to set a deadline to end the war and who interceded for the Berigan brothers in prison. It is a step which sets a Republican standard to which Democratic doves are now likely to flock but from which even John Lindsay, with all his Republican training, has to date recoiled. And for Robert Taft Jr., it is a first step to fulfill a heritage of greatness from which his name will never allow him amnesty.

## DOG HOUSE ENLIGHTENMENT

As he reminded the GOP at Ripon's Annual Dinner in Chicago last January, the new Chairman of the Republican Governors Association, William G. Milliken of Michigan, reminded his fellow Republican Governors assembled last month that to remain viable the party must truly be an "open party." "Republicans," he said, "sometimes tend to represent the satisfied side of America. As a party we cannot isolate ourselves from the poor, the young and the black."

Nor, he might have added, is the President likely to win if he isolates himself from the moderate suburban constituency of progressive Republicanism won by Governors like Milliken and Linwood Holton and by Senators like Charles Mathias and Richard Schweiker, now allegedly in the White House doghouse (which, of course, is closer than they usually get to the President).

Yet there is little evidence that within the White House, as opposed to its admittedly enlightened canine quarters, these political realities have gotten through. While individual candidates — such as Mayor Richard Lugar in Indianapolis, who this year attracted nearly a third of black voters and a majority of youth — demonstrate the possibilities, the commitment of the party as a whole remains ambivalent.

The recent Gallup poll, showing potential party registration figures at 68 million for the Democrats, 38 million for the GOP and 25 million for independents further illustrates the problem, as does the poll showing an ominous and unprecedented Democratic lead among businessmen and professionals.

Without influential urban and issue oriented backers, Richard Nixon cannot carry such states as Michigan, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New York, and California — indeed, any major Northern industrial state. Without at least some of these states, moreover, reelection will be an uphill battle, even if the President should be endorsed by the ghost of Jefferson Davis himself.

We would like to think that Mr. Nixon realizes this fact, and we hope that with the dawning of the Presidential year, the facts of national demography will dawn on the President's strategists. When

that happens, it will be seen that his reelection depends on his ability to reach the progressive Republican constituency. Is it too much to expect that he now pay public heed to the advice of its elected representatives, in an effort to help key GOP officials around the country to get the message in time; and that the President emphatically repudiate subordinates who entertain reporters with colorful tales about his rage against some progressive Republican leader.

## The Checkers Club

In recent months, for example, Wednesday Club Republicans have been angered by repeated stories, originating with the White House staff, that one or another of their number is becoming "another Goodell," subject to a purge backed by the Administration. Among early victims were Senators Mark Hatfield and Richard Schweiker. Then there came Senator Clifford Case, whom White House aides now ludicrously depict as undergoing a severe loyalty test before the Administration decides whether to support his renomination (as if it was Senator Case, rather than the President, who had the problems in winning New Jersey).

Now we have Senator Charles Mathias, who received the Goodell anathema in an Evans-Novak column after he voted for final passage of the Pastore campaign financing bill, as amended by himself to reduce the extra-party incentives in the original proposal. He led the Senate fight for the Administration against the initial Pastore bill, kept the White House informed about his own amendment, and surprisingly was told to go ahead with it. As for the potential 1974 primary threat from Spiro Agnew, mentioned by the columnists, we suspect that the Senator might not view without some small relish such an opportunity to prove the appeal of progressive Republicanism — and in the process emerge as a national household name.

It should be understood that in the end it is going to be progressives who will reelect President Nixon, not some coalition of disaffected Wallace voters, unionists and urban Catholics, who are unlikely to regard an establishment Republican President as an appropriate vehicle for their rebellion regardless of his posturing on the barricades of the social issue. They will tend to vote for one of his potential opponents, probably Senator Muskie. Yet appealing to such embittered Democrats, the President will estrange his own natural supporters, the increasingly educated and influential voters, dominantly located in the suburbs, who will be most impressed by his record in foreign policy and domestic management, if he does not discredit it with crude or polarizing rhetoric that affronts their essential moderation. Just as he did successfully during an earlier crisis in his career, therefore, Richard Nixon should look for aid to his doghouse. In assembling his essential 1972 support, he may find the current occupants even more useful to him than his beloved Checkers of the past.

**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.

**THE RIPON FORUM** is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid at Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1971 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.

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

**Editors:** George Gilder, Evelyn Ellis.

**Contributing Editor:** Howard L. Reiter.

# People in Politics

*This month's People in Politics section is devoted to an update of our preview of the 1972 Senate races published in the September FORUM magazine. The overall prognosis remains unfavorable to the Republicans, who have 19 incumbents up, mostly in contestable seats, compared to 14 Democrats, several from safe Southern states. None the less the President's increasingly active progressivism in foreign and economic policy — together with some favorable local developments — inspire hopes that major setbacks can be averted: in particular that the precarious seats of incumbents Griffin, Pearson, Miller and Cooper (if he runs after all) can be retained.*

● **DELAWARE** — Popular Senator Caleb Boggs, rumored to be considering retirement, has decided to run, thus ending prospects of a primary shootout between Congressman Pete duPont and Wilmington Mayor Henry Haskell and assuring continued Republican control of the seat.

\* \* \*

● **IDAHO** — The Senatorial race has been complicated by the entry of a Republican moderate, Glen Wigner, 32, fresh from the staff of White House counsellor Robert Finch, to compete with eminent former Governor Robert E. Smylie and several assorted right wingers: 3rd term Congressman James A. McClure; perfervid former Congressman George Hansen, hopefully not to be confused with his moderate namesake, not in the race, Rep. Orval Hansen; and Bert Bergeson, an advertising man who has already spent some \$10,000 on a candidacy that is chiefly expected to promote his business. To win a plurality in the possible five way contest, Wigner is counting on his family name, prominent in North Idaho, his exploits in four sports, his dazzling blond wife, his dual degrees as a doctor and a lawyer, the youth vote, a cooperative White House, a Lawton Chileslike campaign, and a Frank Churchlike appeal.

\* \* \*

● **ILLINOIS** — Senator Charles Percy reportedly has been refused in an attempt to get the overrated right wing organizer, Clif White, to run his campaign, but despite the weakness of Governor Ogilvie and President Nixon in the state, Percy is unlikely to be rejected by the people of Illinois in November. Slated for the Democrats is Chicago Congressman Roman Puchinski, who is attacking the popular Senator from the right on busing and other issues.

● **IOWA** — Though he is seeking expensive aid from Eastern political consultants, right wing Lt. Governor Roger W. Jepsen is attracting less than 20 percent support in his primary challenge to Governor Robert D. Ray, according to recent polls, and may not lethally disrupt the reelection campaign of vigorous incumbent Senator Jack Miller. The President's unpopularity among farmers, however, was exacerbated by Earl Butz' appointment (opposed by Miller) and represents a serious problem for the Senator as he faces a strong adversary in Congressman John Culver, a Ted Kennedy Democrat.

\* \* \*

● **KENTUCKY** — Senator John Sherman Cooper's once firm resolve to retire is said to be weakening. If he runs, he is expected easily to hold the seat for the Republicans, despite the recent Democratic resurgence in the state.

\* \* \*

● **MICHIGAN** — Moderate Republican Senator Robert Griffin, exploiting the busing issue for all its unedifying worth, has moved into a significant, if volatile lead in the still unsettled Michigan contest. Griffin's anti-busing venture is said to have enraged the UAW leadership and was described by one leading Michigan Republican as "hitting a beehive with a baseball bat." So far, however, Griffin is stealing the honey. Robert Huber's Conservative party and a less significant Peace and Freedom effort under former Democratic Chairman Zoltan Ferency are now considered both less formidable and less likely entrants into the race against the Senator and his lackluster probable Democratic opponent, Attorney General Frank Kelley.

● **MONTANA** — Incumbent Senator Lee Metcalf, who had publicly contemplated retirement, has decided to run and is favored to win.

● **NEW HAMPSHIRE** — Recent Becker polls show Democratic incumbent Thomas McIntyre with unexpected strength against all comers, daunting possible Republican entrants Governor Walter Peterson and Representative Louis Wyman and leaving the field at least temporarily open for William Loeb's candidate, the vainglorious former Governor Wesley Powell.

\* \* \*

● **NEW MEXICO** — No pattern has yet emerged from the welter of potential Republican candidacies. 1970 Gubernatorial candidate Pete Domenici and former Governor David Cargo are the leading moderates; Manuel Lujan, allegedly favored by the White House, will not run; former state chairman Bob Davidson is a more likely entry; among right wing prospects are former Congressman Ed Forman, and the wealthy Anderson Carter, loser to Democratic incumbent Joseph Montoya in 1970. The Democratic choice is equally uncertain, with banker Jack Daniels the current leader. The incumbent, Clinton Anderson, is retiring.

\* \* \*

● **RHODE ISLAND** — Latest Becker findings show John Chafee ahead 3-1 over Senator Claiborne Pell, while Ed Muskie maintains a similar lead over Nixon — recalling 1964 when both Lyndon Johnson and Chafee got over 60 percent of the vote.

\* \* \*

● **SOUTH CAROLINA** — Senator Strom Thurmond, though still nominally Republican, has declared "independence" from the national party and is counting heavily on Democrats to engineer his increasingly likely reelection. A recent appreciation reception was led by the late Congressman Mendel Rivers' campaign manager, Joe Riley Sr., and attended by a number of Democratic state legislators. Since leading Democrats like Governor John C. West, Congressman Bryan Dorn, and former Governor Robert McNair are recoiling from the race, likely Democratic challengers are State Chairman Don Fowler, and State Senator Nick Zeigler, both of whom contemplate "populist" campaigns against Thurmond's increasingly establishment reputation.

\* \* \*

● **SOUTH DAKOTA** — The state is currently clad in snow, and Republican prospects have been further chilled by the nomination of agribusinessman Earl Butz as Secretary of Agriculture. Top Republican candidates to oppose likely Democratic nominee, U.S. Representative James Abourezk are conservative Robert Hirsch, who has announced; conservative Charles Lien, Senate Campaign Committee choice; and moderate Tom Reardon, regarded to have the best chance to win if he can survive the primary.

\* \* \*

● **TEXAS** — Former Senator Ralph Yarborough, ending speculation that he might enter the gubernatorial primary, has decided to run for the Senate. Republican incumbent John Tower remains narrowly favored.

\* \* \*

● **VIRGINIA** — Right wing Congressman William Scott, the only announced GOP candidate for Senator from Virginia, was recently honored at a testimonial fundraising dinner at the Sheraton Carleton hotel in Washington. Among the 12 persons present were Congressman Scott, his wife, the various members of his staff who did not quit in recent months, and a bemused reporter from the Washington Post. Perhaps Scott now knows how Ray Garland felt in his forlorn 1970 race. Incumbent Senator William Spong looks strong unless the GOP can come up with more formidable candidates. Governor Linwood Holton will not run.

\* \* \*

● **WEST VIRGINIA** — Jay Rockefeller has announced for Governor; Republican Governor Arch Moore is expected to do problematical battle with incumbent Senator Jennings Randolph.

# New '72 Strategy, Ad Agency Likely

WASHINGTON — Richard Nixon's political managers are going to try somehow to sell the President this time without the aid of Joe McGinniss — but they will have F. Clifton White, who ran the nomination machinery for Senator Barry Goldwater in 1964.

The autonomous White House advertising agency being created by Presidential aide H.R. Haldeman to handle campaign publicity will try to stop any campaign diaries this side of the best seller list. The enlistment of White symbolizes the failure of John Ashbrook's hypothetical right wing campaign to attract the support of key right wingers.

Otherwise the 1972 campaign is shaping up as a rerun of the 1968 effort that vastly outspent the Democrats during Hubert Humphrey's nearly successful drive in the final month.

At the top, once again, will be

Haldeman, together with Attorney General John Mitchell, whose likely successor at Justice is now rumored to be moderate former Congressman Clark McGregor, the President's chief Congressional liaison.

The most important 1972 campaign change, apart from the President's world-tripping incumbency, is likely to be Mitchell's growing sophistication about the role of the Wallace movement, revealed in a recent interview with the Attorney General's former aide Kevin Phillips. Mitchell and his assistant Robert Mardian now are said to regard the Wallace vote — and the racial turmoil that creates it — as a positive help to the President in Northern states, while, it is believed, Nixon can now win in the South regardless of Wallace's presence.

The Southern confidence, at least, is supported by recent national

polls by Gallup and Harris showing Nixon significantly behind Muskie in all regions except the South, where the President leads by some 25 percent. In pursuit of a new busing concept, Mitchell is said to be blocking Presidential actions that might actually stop busing and remove it as a political issue.

Mitchell depicted as merely "keeping the store" the Presidential campaign apparatus being assembled at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue under Jeb Magruder and Harry Flemming. The storekeepers are currently concentrating on "market opinion," having hired several pollsters, including Robert Teeter and Fred Carrier of Market Opinion Research in Detroit. In preparation is evidently a campaign in which Haldeman and Co. are expected to serve as projectionists of suitable TV imagery at composite voter opinion profiles.

## Milliken Advanced

FRENCHLICK, IND. — Gov. William G. Milliken of Michigan was moved up to chairman of the Republican Governors Association during its winter meeting here last month. Milliken had served as vice chairman.

Linwood Holton of Virginia was unanimously chosen vice-chairman, and by tradition will succeed Milliken as chairman next winter. Winfield Dunn of Tennessee, Walter Peterson of New Hampshire, and Jack Williams of Arizona were picked for the Association's executive Committee.

In a generally low-key three day meeting, the governors seemed most concerned about having a meaningful role in the Presidential campaign. While for the public record all of the governors in attendance found Vice President Agnew an acceptable running mate, the only real enthusiasm seemed to come from Williams, Ronald Reagan, and outgoing RGA Chairman Louie Nunn of Kentucky. Agnew's generally dull speech on governmental reorganization was preceeded by his crack about what Agnew called Congressman Paul McCloskey's "favorite painting," "Benedict Arnold Crossing the Delaware." The remark was received with some nervous chuckles and a lot of head-turning to see if anyone was really laughing. Few were.

## "Dump Nixon" Cry

## Youth Caucus Formed

CHICAGO — Some 3000 young voters, overwhelmingly college students, gathered here December 3-5 to give birth to a "National Youth Caucus," designed to coordinate youth voting power in non-primary states.

Though nominally bipartisan, the interest of both the leadership and the assembled students lay with the Democrats. The conference was sponsored by the Association of Student Governments, but seemed to be controlled by Allard Lowenstein, President of Americans for Democratic Action, and his allies from the Registration Summer program.

Lowenstein apparently hopes to use the Caucus organization as a bargaining tool with Democratic candidates and at the Democratic Convention. The theme of his speech to the Saturday night session was "dump Nixon," the rallying cry to which the conference seemed most responsive.

In a statement of purpose the

caucus stressed the importance of using the vote to influence the system. The caucus agreed to direct its principal efforts at the non-primary states by rallying around the representatives of the strongest liberal candidate to get as many delegate slots as possible.

In primary states, the effort will be to put pressure on the various candidates to include substantial numbers of young people on delegate slates.

The conference heard several speakers, including Representatives Paul McCloskey, Bella Abzug and Donald Riegle, Lowenstein, Joseph Rauh, a former ADA head, Georgia Rep. Julian Bond, and Dan Swilinger, Ripon National Political Director.

Virtually all of the major Presidential candidates had representatives manning booths passing out literature, buttons and occasionally free coffee. Two were conspicuous by their absence: President Nixon and Senator Henry Jackson.

## RIPON FORUM

Published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Ma. 02138. Second class postage paid at Boston, Massachusetts.