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The Powers
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Of Positive
Giving

By Donnie Radcliffe

KANSAS CITY—The man in the Palm Beach suit is late. At the velvet rope they demand proof that he belongs. He is annoyed and it shows in the set of his mouth beneath the pencil-thin moustache.

He searches his pockets and for an instant, Positive Mental Attitude (PMA) might not exist. Then his fingers produce the tickets and he rushes ahead only to encounter yet another barrier. This day of Presidents and would-be Presidents, security and officiousness are natural companions.

He is W. Clement Stone, a multimillionaire whose largesse to Richard Nixon totaled "well over" \$5 million in the 1968 and 1972 presidential campaigns, he says. He is the last of the big spenders to arrive at the \$1,000-a-couple United Republican Victory Luncheon in the Raddison-Muehleback Hotel—and perhaps the last of the big spenders, period. His 1976 candidate has come and gone: the one man he does not want to see win—

See MONEY, B3, Col. 1

"Stone's objective was really quite simple: 'I wanted to change the course of history for the better—and I did. The same thing now—the reason I'm involved is that I want to stop this trend from the left.'"

The way the new campaign spending laws affect him, he says, is that "I have to do more work in getting other persons involved . . . There is nothing in the law that prevents me from getting you to not only vote for the candidate, but to put up the legal limit or whatever you choose. Before, many of us wouldn't take the time."

On the coffee table, spread out in neat piles, are recent copies of one Stone publication, "Success Unlimited," reminders that this man is a modern Heratio Alger who rose from poverty on Chicago's southside to a \$400-million fortune. He did it, he says, through what he calls Pestic Mental Attitude, i.e., "that with every adversity there's a seed of equivalent or greater benefit."

It was he, Stone says without equivocation, who in 1968 decided that Richard Nixon was "ready". I decided there was no power on earth that would prevent him from making it.

MONEY, From B1

Ronald Reagan—is now inside the ballroom with 750 latter day Republican moneymen.

But Stone, who is nothing if he is not optimistic—after all, he invented PMA—smooths back his thinning jet black hair while impatiently waiting for his wife to catch up. Then, with a smile he jauntily strides ahead into the power-jammed room, where the care and feeding of the moneymen has already begun.

The style of Republican conventions (as well as Democratic) may be changing because of the new federal campaign spending laws. That doesn't mean that affluence coupled with influence is also gone. Millionaires and multi-millionaires may not be as visible as they once were but they are still to be found here.

This week, for example, those leaders of American industry, the traditional backbone of Republicanism, have been scurrying between committee meetings, delegate caucuses prayer breakfasts and delegation lunches to lend influence and persuasion their still-commanding presences.

Stone, an Illinois delegate, is a member of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Joseph Coors, the Colorado, beer baron whose interests reach into defense contracts, is a member of the Committee on Resolutions.

Wealthy Michigan industrialist Max

M. Fisher, a close friend of Gerald Ford and once-generous donor to Richard Nixon, is a member of the Michigan delegation.

And Ronald Reagan's "closet cabinet" officers, Justin Dart, of Dart Industries, which includes Tupperware, West Bend household appliances, Thatcher glass and petrochemicals, and Holmes Tuttle of Los Angeles' largest Ford dealership, are California delegates.

In addition, there are bankers, insurance company, lumber and investment tycoons, heads of steel mills and oil companies, presidents of transportation systems and chain stores.

They are an impressive group. And if they cannot donate their money the way they once might have, they still seen important to the party or to the candidates.

(The new campaign spending law limits individual contributions in a presidential campaign to primaries, unless a candidate forgoes the federal contribution to his political party. It limits individual contributions to \$1,000 and group gifts to \$5,000. Donors may contribute to congressional races at \$1,000 per candidate, but may not contribute more than a total of \$25,000 in a year.)

W. Clement Stone's convention command post is a few floors below that of President Ford at the luxurious, ultramodern Crown Center. From it, stone lobbies, cajoles, nudges and massages Republicans of various ideological persuasions.

date is different but the ambience is the same. Justin Dart's hilltop vantage point of Kansas City is a couple of floors beneath that occupied by Ronald Reagan.

Dart, and the man he calls his "Gold Dust twin"—Holmes Tuttle, have been "partners" in the political fortunes of Ronald Reagan since the beginning. "We worked the same side of the street," says Dart of his and Tuttle's endeavors to, first, put Reagan in the California state house, then in the White House.

What was in it for them, says Dart, was "preserving some kind of quasi-free competitive America for our kids and grandchildren. And that's the ballgame now, that's survival. If you don't think so, just look at the U.K."

Beyond that, the "wonderful thing," says Tuttle, is "we never wanted anything . . . at no time did we ever ask for anything for ourselves. We were concerned about the direction our government was taking."

Dart says it was Tuttle "more than any other man" who persuaded Ronald Reagan to enter politics. And Tuttle takes the credit matter-of-factly, recalling how Reagan almost singlehandedly, through a nationally televised speech, raised "many millions of dollars" to help pay off Barry Goldwater's campaign debts. What surprised everybody, a short while later, was Reagan's "name identification"—"85-90 per cent, that's unheard of," says Tuttle.

Right then and there, Reagan be-

And that we could neutralize the power of the unions, and so forth, by raising large funds."

When Maurice Stans was appointed Nixon campaign finance chairman, Stone recalls, "We met and I gave him some principles on how to raise large sums, and in fact started out with a matching fund. In other words, money would not for the reason he (Nixon) would lose."

Stone's objective really was quite simple:

"I wanted to change the course of history for the better—and I did. The same thing now—the reason I'm involved is that I want to stop this trend from the left. If the Democrats get in this time," he continues, "you might as well know that you're going to make a forward leap into socialism."

Over in the equally luxurious if older Alameda Plaza Hotel, the candi-

came their man to rebuild the party in California so Tuttle and his wife went up to see Reagan and his wife. "We talked and talked and talked. I said I could raise money through my friends." The target campaign became the gubernatorial race of 1966.

Justin Dart calls Tuttle and himself Ronald Reagan's "bang board" and what he means is that they listen. "You see, we never wanted anything for ourselves."

If they have given generously, they have not given extravagantly, they say. Neither will go beyond saying that their donations to Reagan or Richard Nixon or other GOP candidates of bygone years was more than in the "substantial middle range."

Dart says he thinks "limiting unlimited contributions is good—I do not think elections should be bought." But if he could name a sum that individuals might give to presidential candidates, he would pick \$5,000.

Like other wealthy donors who are feeling outnumbered and disadvantaged, perhaps, for the first time in their long careers as political benefactors, he laments the "advantage" of labor. They have more "latitude" in their gifts.

So Dart and others like him look for other ways to retain their influence, if giving is to be denied them.

"If the government changes the rules," says Stone, "you take the rules as they are and you play by the rules."
