

RIPON FORUM

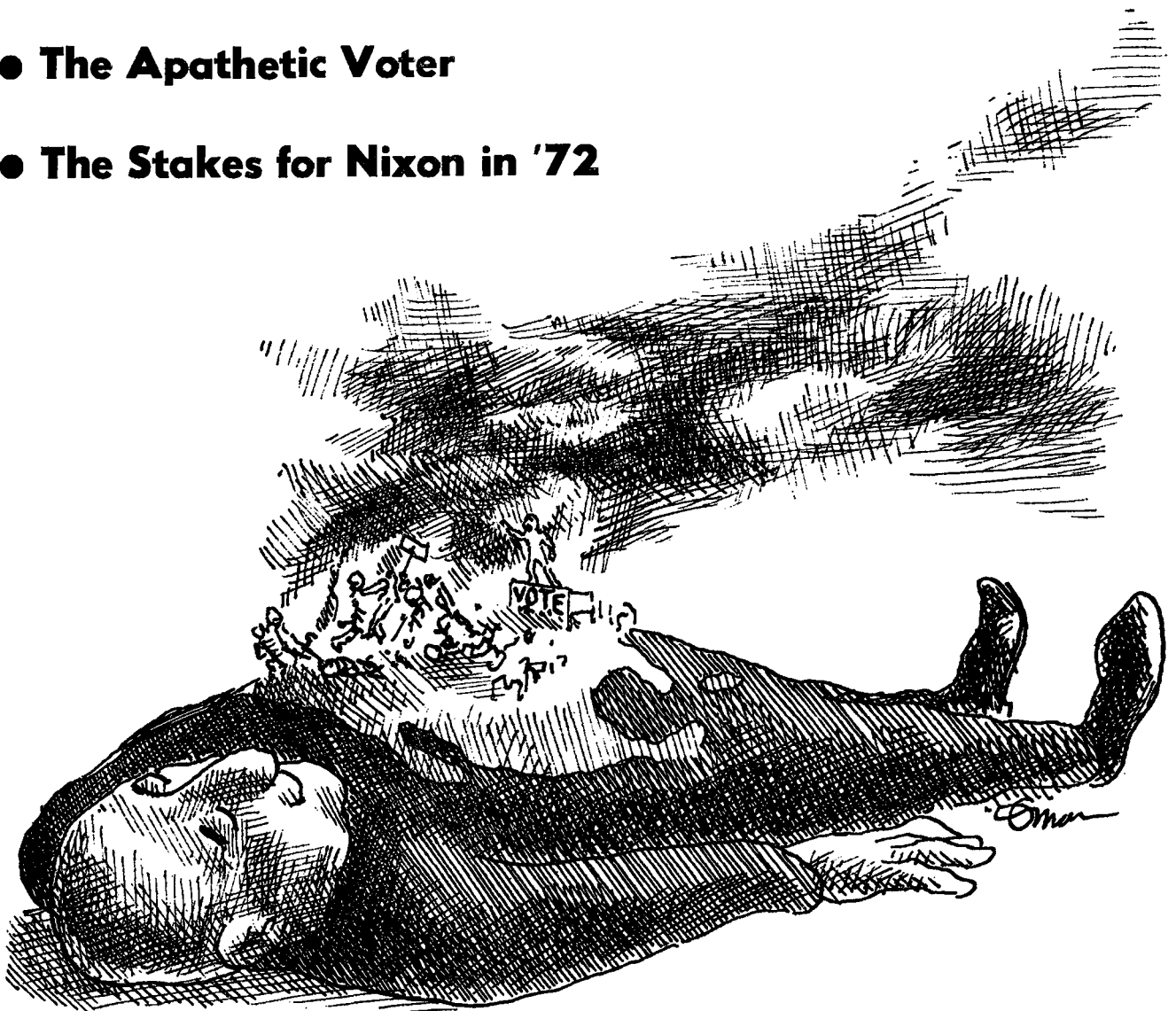


NOVEMBER, 1970

VOL. VI No. 11

ONE DOLLAR

- **The Raging Political Battles**
- **The Apathetic Voter**
- **The Stakes for Nixon in '72**



A Special Pre-Election Report

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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 eleven 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 Society offers the following options for annual contribution: Contributor \$25 or more; Sustainer \$100 or more; Founder \$1000 or more. Inquiries about membership and chapter organization should be addressed to the National Executive Director.

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THE RIPON FORUM is published monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14a Elliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid at Boston Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1970 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, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$10 extra. Advertising rates on request.

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EDITORIAL

AGNEW EQUALS NIXON

We shall not try to predict here the results of the 1970 election. Ripon did that in a series of articles in the spring, and the major factors have not changed. For House races, we saw the principal determinant as the economy, with the unemployment rate the best indicator of Republican losses and foreign policy, inflation and other issues capable of reducing but not erasing these losses. In the Senate, on the other hand, we saw some Republican gains as a result of the large number of vulnerable Democratic seats whose incumbents were not really tested in the unusually bad Republican years of 1964 and 1968.

We saw Vice President Agnew as locked into a national strategy aimed at playing on anxieties about blacks and students to win to the GOP two pillars of the New Deal coalition — small-town white Southerners, mostly Baptists, and working class white Northerners, mostly Catholics. We saw this as a "revolving door strategy," which anticipated and even encouraged the permanent defection to the Democrats of "liberal" Republicans and independents, mostly Jews, Negroes, New England Yankees and their descendants, Scandinavians and those in knowledge-based industries, regardless of ethnic origin. We warned that if the economy were bad the number of lower-middle-class backlash voters coming in the revolving door would not equal the number of more affluent frontlash voters going out, since unemployment would activate the New Deal anxieties of lower income whites. Agnew might thus be an asset in some states, where the revolving door could work to the advantage of Republicans, but he would be a decided liability in others.

There seems little need to revise these general observations in the light of developments over the last few months. Mixed Republican results — gains in the Senate, losses in the House — still seem likely. And the revolving door strategy is already taking its toll. Mr. Agnew's ratings, like those of Milton Berle two decades ago, have begun to turn sour. A Harris poll in August showed that 47 percent of the American people now have a negative view of him, while 45 percent are positive. Mr. Nixon has had similar difficulties. After the Cambodian crisis, there was a switch of 29 full percentage points from Nixon to Muskie among young

frontlash voters (suburbanites, aged 30-49, making more than \$10,000 a year). Among all voters Muskie trailed Nixon, but led him in every region but the South. There has been a similar matchup since, which gives a clear sign that Mr. Nixon has not recovered his frontlash support. A September Harris poll now shows Nixon and Muskie tied overall in nationwide support. In September Mr. Nixon's favorability rating — without any Democrat matched against him — fell below 50 percent for the first time. Only 35 percent of the electorate said that the President's conduct in office inspired them with confidence in the White House.

This does suggest one major revision to be made in our earlier analysis: we must now drop the wishful hypothesis that Mr. Agnew can be or should be dissociated from the President. It was our earlier hope that whereas Mr. Agnew was locked into a polarizing strategy the President might embark on a different course. We suggested that Mr. Nixon replace Mr. Agnew in the public mind as the symbol of the Republican Party and that he give other members of his Cabinet public prominence equal with that of the Vice President. It is now clear that not only is the President closely associated in the public mind with the Vice President, but that this association is justified. Mr. Agnew is now staffed by the President's own most trusted aides and his itinerary is scheduled from the White House. Mr. Agnew himself has made it clear to reporters in Memphis that he disclaims final responsibility for his campaign activities — that he is but an instrument of Mr. Nixon's own plans for reelection; or as James Reston reported after meeting with the Vice President, Agnew is on an "assignment" from the White House. To make sure he performs this assignment he has in his entourage three special assistants to the President (Safire, Buchanan and Anderson), one Cabinet-rank Counsellor (Harlow) and a special elections task force.

The President thus appears to be personally committed to the revolving door strategy as a viable political course. Of his principal aides specializing in politics, press and Congress — Chotiner, Dent, Colson, Timmons, Klein, Costello and Harlow — there is not one who is not emotionally as well as intellectually committed to it, though at least two of these can claim a prior emotional commitment to Mr. Nixon. The troika that dominated the

Nixon presidential campaign and kept close control over transition decisions — Haldemann, Flanigan and Mitchell — have a similar stake in the polarizing approach. Other Nixon loyalists who might have provided a different perspective on the electorate — Finch, Ellsworth, McWhorter, Sears — were kept scattered and divided. Now one of the them, Finch, has returned to the White House and is said to consort publicly with OEO Director Rumsfeld on political matters when he is not dispatched to speak to rotary clubs or to handle earthquakes. Both of these cautious men, however, are loyal team players who will try to work within the present orthodoxies. Besides, they have major non-political responsibilities; they are not staffed to provide counter-analyses to the statistical distortions with which the right bombards the President; and they must remain personally reticent, as they would be possible replacements for Agnew should the polarizing strategy be discredited.

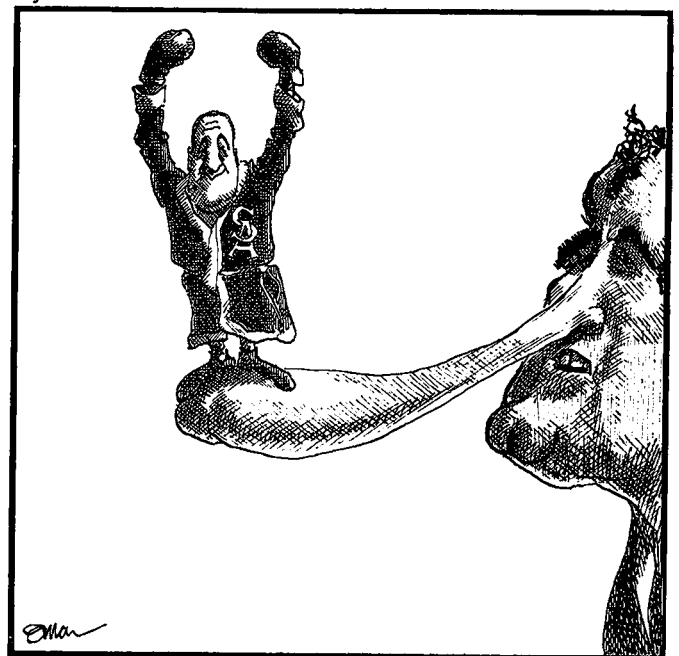
Our point here, however, is that the polarizing strategy is not apt to be discredited in the mind of Mr. Nixon because it has become more than an experiment: it is now a doctrine which the President accepts, and which those around him are not likely to question until they are confronted with real political trouble. The articles in this issue suggest that some facts may emerge from the election that will be discordant with the polarizing strategy — but in politics as in science, it is not discordant facts that discredit a wrong-headed theory, it is a better theory. And though the rough outlines of a better theory already exist and though there is computerized data available for refining such a theory that makes the kind of polls used by the White House and National Committee look like kid stuff, we cannot count on any alternative being developed by the President or his aides. They may make tactical re-adjustments — as in the back-peddling after Cambodia — but we must expect the basic drift of politics to remain the same, because Mr. Nixon seems to prefer it that way.

These cannot be comforting observations for those who call themselves liberal, progressive or moderate Republicans. But they will certainly come as no shock. Earlier this year undisguised White House hostility led some progressive Republicans to reconsider their activity and their financial contributions in the Party — and among college students, White House rhetoric still makes it hard to convince any but right-wing young people to put much trust in the GOP. But now many progressive Republicans have come to live with the fact that the White House can be expected to undermine them systematically and even to attack them direct-

ly, regardless of previous services performed for the Party or even for Nixon at Miami.

Mark Hatfield, a recent target of Mr. Agnew, nominated Nixon at Miami. John Lindsay, another whipping boy, nominated Spiro; Linwood Holton, who has been trying in vain to get the White House to endorse the Republican candidate for Senate in Virginia (the President entertained Harry Byrd, Jr. at San Clemente this summer), was actually Nixon's regional coordinator before Miami. As for Charles Goodell, he has devoted a lifetime to the Republican party, been effective in the Congress with Republicans of all ideological colorations and was the overwhelming choice of the state GOP. If James Buckley felt he was a truer Republican than Goodell, he had every chance to demonstrate this by running in the GOP primary. Only a year ago Mr. Nixon stated that he endorsed John Marchi for mayor of New York City not because he had a chance of winning but because he had the Republican nomination, while John Lindsay was a third party candidate. Now the White House is going back on this argument by undercutting Garland and Goodell in favor of third party candidates. No doubt in 1972, party loyalty will be back in fashion again and it will be the duty of all Republicans to work for the official nominees. But Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew cannot seriously expect to have any moral basis for arguing unity in 1972 if they do not endorse and support Garland and Goodell in 1970. This is not a threat, it is a simple statement of fact.

Nor can Mr. Nixon claim in 1972 to have fulfilled his inaugural pledge to bring the country together if he shatters his own Party in the first two years.



RIPON ENDORSEMENTS

The following is a list of Ripon endorsements. These endorsements do not purport to be the result of a thorough study of each and every race. While in some cases the candidate actively sought Ripon's support and provided background material, in others the Society could not compile sufficient information on which to base a judgment. Furthermore, a number of candidates who were offered Ripon's endorsement felt compelled to decline it. The fact that a given Republican does not appear on this list, therefore, does not indicate a negative attitude on the part of the Society. All those who do appear on this list have Ripon's endorsement as outstanding Republicans.

ALABAMA: Congress	*John Buchanan (6th)	MISSOURI Senate	Jack Danforth
ALASKA Senate	*Ted Stevens	Auditor	Kit Bond
ARKANSAS Governor	*Winthrop Rockefeller	NEBRASKA Governor	*Norbert T. Tiemann
Lt. Governor	Sterling Cockrill	Lt. Governor	Frank Marsh
CALIFORNIA Comptroller	Houston I. Flournoy	Secretary of State	Allan Beermann
Congress	*Paul N. McCloskey (11th)	Congress	John McCollister (2nd)
	Sam Van Dyken (15th)	NEW HAMPSHIRE Governor	*Walter B. Peterson
	Philip Sanchez (16th)	NEW JERSEY Senator	Nelson Gross
	*Alphonzo Bell (28th)	Congress	Edwin Forsythe (1st)
COLORADO Governor	*John A. Love		*Peter Frelinghuysen (5th)
CONNECTICUT Senate	Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.	NEW MEXICO Governor	*William Widnall (7th)
Congress	Robert H. Steele (2nd)		James W. Shue (11th)
	Richard Kilbourn (6th)	NEW YORK Senate	*Florence Dwyer (12th)
DELAWARE Congress	Pierre du Pont (at-large)	Governor	Peter V. Domenici
HAWAII Senate	*Hiram Fong	NEW YORK Governor	*Charles E. Goodell
Governor	Samuel P. King	Att. General	*Nelson A. Rockefeller
Lt. Governor	Frederick W. Rohlfing	Comptroller	*Louis Lefkowitz
IDAHO Lt. Governor	Jack Murphy	Congress	Edward A. Regan
ILLINOIS Congress	*John B. Anderson (16th)		Peter Sprague (17th)
	*Thomas Railsback (19th)		Charles Rangel (18th)
	*Paul Findley (20th)		Barry Farber (19th)
IOWA Governor	*Robert Ray		*Ogden Reid (26th)
Treasurer	*Maurice Baringer		*Daniel Button (28th)
Congress	*Fred Schwengel (1st)		*Howard W. Robison (33rd)
KANSAS Governor	Kent Frizzel		*Frank Horton (36th)
LOUISIANA Congress	Robert E. Lee (2nd)	NORTH DAKOTA Congress	*Barber B. Conable (37th)
MAINE Governor	James S. Erwin	OHIO Senate	*Mark Andrews (1st)
Congress	Ronald T. Speers (1st)	Governor	Robert Taft
MARYLAND Senate	J. Glenn Beall, Jr.	Congress	Roger Cloud
Lt. Governor	Herbert J. Miller		*William McCulloch (4th)
Congress	*Rogers C.B. Morton (1st)		Al Shapiro (9th)
	*Gilbert Gude (8th)		*Charles Mosher (13th)
MASSACHUSETTS Senate	Josiah A. Spaulding	OREGON Governor	Margaret Dennison (19th)
Governor	*Francis W. Sargent	Congress	*Thomas McCall
Lt. Governor	Donald R. Dwight		*John R. Dellenback (4th)
Secretary of State	Mary Newman	PENNSYLVANIA Senate	*Hugh Scott
Congress	*Silvio O. Conte (1st)	Governor	Raymond J. Broderick
	John McGlennon (3rd)	Lt. Governor	Ralph F. Scalera
	*F. Bradford Morse (5th)	Congress	*Edmund Biester (8th)
	Howard Phillips (6th)		*Joseph M. McDade (10th)
	*Margaret Heckler (10th)		*R. Lawrence Coughlin (15th)
MICHIGAN Senate	Lenore Romney	RHODE ISLAND Senate	*James G. Fulton (27th)
Governor	*William G. Milliken	Governor	John J. McLaughlin
Lt. Governor	James Brickley	Att. General	Herbert DeSimone
Congress	*Marvin Esch (2nd)	SOUTH DAKOTA Governor	Richard J. Israel
	*Donald Riegle (7th)		*Frank Farrar
	*Philip Ruppe (11th)	TEXAS Governor	Paul Eggers
MINNESOTA Governor	Douglas Head	VERMONT Senate	*Winston Prouty
Lt. Governor	Ben Boo	Congress	*Robert Stafford (at large)
Secretary of State	Arlen Erdahl	VIRGINIA Congress	*G. William Whitehurst (2nd)
Congress	*Albert Quie (1st)		J. Harvie Wilkinson III (3rd)
	William E. Frenzel (3rd)	WASHINGTON Senate	Charles W. Elicker
		WEST VIRGINIA Congress	Neal Kinsolving (3rd)
		WISCONSIN Att. General	*Robert Warren

Political Notes

ILLINOIS: Smith polarizes while Adlai III ambles

The Illinois Senate race pits incumbent Republican Ralph Tyler Smith against Democratic State Treasurer Adlai E. Stevenson III to fill the seat vacated by the death of Everett M. Dirksen in 1969. The 1970 election is for the right to occupy the seat until the end of Dirksen's term, 1974.

The Senator's opponent served one term in the Illinois General Assembly. Back in 1964 the Democrats picked Stevenson to head their slate of 118 candidates in the at-large election held to effect the one-man, one-vote rule promulgated by the United States Supreme Court. The Republicans picked Earl Eisenhower, brother of the late President, to head their list of candidates. With the Stevenson name at the top of their list the Democrats swept the election, Adlai III polling nearly a quarter of a million more votes than Eisenhower and 275,000 more than Ralph Smith, who was running for the State House of Representatives. In 1966 the Democrats slated Stevenson as their candidate for State Treasurer. In a predominantly Republican year, veteran Democratic Senator Paul Douglas lost his seat to the Republican challenger, Charles Percy, by a 422,000 vote margin; Stevenson ran 462,000 votes ahead of the rest of the Democratic ticket to win a narrow 40,000 vote victory.

So far in this campaign, neither candidate has bothered to explain issues or propose solutions. While some may argue with the suggestion that the campaign is "issueless," few contest the claim that the campaign is colorless. The problem seems more critical for Stevenson because people automatically measure him against the standard established by his father. Fair or not, people expect Adlai III to ignite a spiritual fire like the late Ambassador so often did with his special style of intellectual politics. So far Adlai III has not fulfilled expectations. He is a poor campaigner; Smith at least shines in handshaking and one-to-one contact. People though have not rallied to the support of the Senator who appraises himself as "unassuming by nature." At least earlier lapses which embarrassed the Senator (e.g., reversal on support of the Haynsworth nomination) have not been repeated.

Thus, in a race between two able but unexciting candidates the impersonal, or non-personal, aspects of the campaign become more significant. Against this background the 1970 Senate race shapes up as a showdown in two ways.

1. Liberal Democrat versus Conservative Republican: As a liberal-conservative confrontation, the Illinois race is far from classic. In this campaign "liberal" has been distorted to mean anyone who supports student radicals who bomb university buildings and/or black militants who murder policemen, while "conservative" comes to mean all Americans who want preserve our way of life, i.e., everyone except the "liberals."

On the basis of performance to date, the voters

might conclude that Stevenson's reputation as an articulate liberal spokesman exceeds his abilities. He devotes much of every speech to denials of Smith's charges and polite suggestions that his opponent stop trying to frighten the people into voting Republican. Smith, on the other hand, could possibly develop into an articulate conservative, but apparently his campaign managers decided the only road to victory was the low road. Thus, the impression is that Smith is really running for Dodge City sheriff, while Stevenson quietly runs a campaign for high school principal. Smith's tactics waste a rare opportunity to explain conservative solutions to pressing national problems. Instead, Smith is instructed to deliver speeches filled with thinly-veiled appeals to the nagging misgivings and fears that trouble most Americans (student unrest, violence, youth revolution, etc.) He has resorted to name calling; reportedly he dropped this line: "When I see Adlai Stevenson I see red, and you can take that any way you want."

Ignored are his own fifteen years' experience as a lawmaker which would equip him to devise imaginative solutions to the different problems of government. (Prominent Illinois Republicans have expressed their disappointment with the campaign strategy Smith's staff has devised. A not-so-prominent, middle-class taxi driver told this reporter that "one guy is too far to the right, and the other too far on the left.")

Senator Smith identifies himself as a conservative and makes an appeal for support from "conservative" members of blocs that traditionally vote Democratic, for example, urban, middle-class voters. A brochure sponsored by Illinois Citizens for Smith illustrates this strategy. The brochure contains thirty statements related to "liberal-conservative" issues (as the terms are used in this campaign) and invites the reader to check the statements with which he agrees. The entire effort is to get Democrats to conclude they should support Smith.

Some of the Senator's campaign advertisements go beyond the emphasis of "conservative" to plug Smith's claim that Stevenson is a very liberal figure indeed. For example, the rate yourself brochure described above labels Stevenson as the chief spokesman for Illinois liberals. One early television spot over an unflattering picture of Stevenson, asked several rhetorical questions intended to create in the minds of voters an impression of Stevenson the left-wing liberal. "Why did you say some members of Chicago's Police Department acted like 'storm troopers in blue' during the riots at the 1968 Democratic National Convention?" "What did you mean when you said the Chicago Seven Trial was 'a mess'?" "Mr. Stevenson, why don't you admit that you are a liberal?"

All elements considered, the Smith campaign seems to follow the election plan supposedly drawn up in the White House: align all Democrats with the radical elements of society; appeal for support from the "middle Americans," working people with moderate incomes; identify the GOP as the party best able to protect our institutions from the onslaught of the left-wing revolutionaries and sundry militant radicals. Vice-President Agnew's visit to Springfield on September 10 and the President's stopover in Chicago on September 17 lent credence to the notion that the White House has a stake in the outcome of the Smith-Stevenson contest. The Vice-President listed Stevenson as one of the "radical-liberals" he warns us about, a remark many observers felt was counter-productive.

Stevenson, while not afraid to bear the mark of a liberal, would no doubt like to occupy a larger portion of the political center. He recently named former United States District Attorney Thomas Foran, the prosecutor at the Chicago Seven Trial, a co-chairman for his campaign. Observers concluded that Adlai was fighting Smith's efforts to push him off the left end of the political spectrum. Co-chairman with Foran is Daniel Walker, author of the report which called the disturbances at the 1968 Democratic Convention a "police riot."

Stevenson's campaign literature emphasizes his record as a legislator and as State Treasurer. The candidate's supporters frequently point out that as a member of the General Assembly Stevenson was instrumental in passing comprehensive anti-crime legislation in Illinois. But there is no attempt to hide the fact that he is a member of the McGovern Commission for example, or his opposition to Haynsworth and Carswell, or his support for the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment.

2. "Name" Candidate vs. Unknown: When Smith was appointed to the Senate by Ogilvie he was, by comparison to Stevenson, a political unknown. Furthermore, at the time of Smith's appointment Republicans assumed that Stevenson would run for the seat in the 1970 election. (Dirksen's death prompted Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley to make political peace with Stevenson at a Democratic Unity Picnic held on the Stevenson family farm near Libertyville.)

Straw polls taken in early summer showed Smith trailing Adlai III by a substantial margin. Analysts concluded that the Stevenson name and the power of Mayor Daley's Cook County organization would combine to insure victory over Smith, barring any riots or campus disturbances before November 3. Editorials argued that Stevenson would be able to cut his losses in the Downstate counties because of his family name and that the Daley Machine would be able to roll up enough of a margin in Cook County to more than make up any Downstate losses.

But in the two weeks following Labor Day, Republican officeholders swarmed into Illinois to campaign for Smith. On September 10 Vice-President Agnew spoke in Springfield, the first stop on his cross-country speaking tour. Following Agnew's act, fifteen members of Congress fanned out across the state to speak for Smith: Senators Percy (Illinois), Baker (Tennessee), Dole (Kansas), Dominick (Colorado), Gurney (Florida), Hansen (Wyoming), Goldwater, Arizona), Allott (Colorado), Bennett (Utah), Cook (Kentucky), Curtis (Nebraska), Griffin (Michigan), Bellmon (Oklahoma) and Congressmen Roudebush (Indiana) and Findley (Illinois). On September 17 President Nixon visited Chicago for twenty-six hours (effectively obliterating publicity for a concurrent Stevenson-boost visit by Senator Edmund Muskie) and praised Senator Smith's record and service. It is reported that the President will return to Illinois before election day. This cavalcade of political personalities, plus the joint appearance by Smith and Stevenson on "Meet the Press," September 13, enabled the Senator to gain considerable ground on his better-known opponent.

Stevenson, meanwhile, has conducted the low-profile campaign a candidate with a comfortable lead would be expected to run. A shortage of funds also accounts for Adlai's anemic effort. It is a well-known secret that the Stevenson effort is underfinanced. Smith, on the other hand, appears to have money, and he has the promise of additional support from "Positive Mental Attitude"

advocate and generous Republican backer W. Clement Stone. Stone bankrolled the 1968 Nixon Campaign to the tune of \$500,000 and has promised \$1,000,000 to the GOP ticket this fall.

By late September columnists who last July claimed Stevenson would win in a walk were having second thoughts. The people of Illinois began to realize there was Senator Ralph Smith. Now the professional seers call the contest close, but the magic of "Stevenson" casts a strong spell and no one predicts victory for Smith—yet.

November 3, and Beyond: Certain well-recognized factors will influence the outcome of this election. Republican Smith will be strong Downstate and Democrat Stevenson will be strong in Cook County. Just how strong, therefore, become all-important.

The pattern established by victorious Democrats like former Senator Paul Douglas and the late Governor Adlai Stevenson indicates Adlai III must capture 40-45 percent of the Downstate vote if he hopes to win. Reports from Downstate show Smith making progress, while Stevenson seems to be barely stumbling along. Secretary of State Paul Powell, chief Downstate Democrat, objects across-the-board to edicts announced by Mayor Daley and made no secret of his preference for Alan Dixon as the candidate to challenge Smith. Just how much, or how little, Powell might do in order to undercut Daley is the subject of much nervous speculation among Democrats.

Assuming that Stevenson does cut Downstate losses, victory then depends upon the margin the Daley organization can roll up in Chicago. Without any doubt Daley's patronage army will be at full fighting strength on November 3. (Additional "starters" employed to operate automatic elevators are already stumbling over each other in the lobbies of Cook County's public buildings.) The Machine, however, is primarily interested in the patronage-laden races for Cook County offices — Treasurer, Assessor, County Board Chairman, etc., and does not care that much what happens to Stevenson.

The Independent Voters of Illinois, an ADA-affiliate, has endorsed the Republican candidates for Sheriff and Assessor, but GOP chances are slim. The Republican candidate for County Board Chairman, Joseph Woods, while not endorsed, is well-known for his boast that he wears "Dick Nixon's used suits," sent to him by his White House secretary sister.

In past elections Democratic precinct captains have been instructed to push certain candidates harder than others if the voter is not pulling a straight ticket (thus the Democratic candidate for state's attorney ran far ahead of JFK in 1960); is Adlai III to be pushed or ignored this November? His criticism of Mayor Daley as a "feudal lord" is a lot to ask Daley-devoted party workers to forgive and forget. Also, the middle-income voters, including large numbers of so-called hard hats (who reside in Chicago and in Cook County's west and southwest suburbs) may yet respond to the Smith campaign rhetoric.

Illinois is a must-win state for Nixon in 1972, and thus the Smith-Stevenson contest becomes a test of the national Republican strategy of polarization. Smith could pull out a victory. The highly-touted Daley organization does not look quite so well-oiled this year, and the lackluster Stevenson campaign is doing little to inspire increased Democratic percentages Downstate. But if Smith does not win, the President will be forced to reevaluate the Administration's approach to Illinois — and to middle-America.

GEORGIA: victory for a moderate GOP?

Traditional political alignments, already skewed in Georgia, were dealt several new jolts in the September primaries. Perhaps the most remarkable development was the decisive defeat of state house veteran Jimmy Bentley by political newcomer Hal Suit in the GOP gubernatorial primary. Suit, a former Atlanta TV newscaster, polled some 60 percent of the vote September 9 against Bentley, the state Comptroller General who switched parties after the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and an also-ran state court judge.

Suit's victory may be a sign that the GOP is headed in a more moderate direction. Though his campaign was determinedly non-ideological, he had the support of a number of party moderates, including State Senator Oliver Bateman of Macon, once a gubernatorial hopeful himself. Bentley, though he complained after the primary that "the Republicans have never embraced me," was backed by prominent party conservatives like National Committeeman Howard "Bo" Callaway. And some of Bentley's campaign advertising, like the sample shown here, (for an anti-busing referendum on the GOP primary ballot) did have a right-wing, not to say racist, tinge.

Meanwhile, in an almost equally surprising result, peanut farmer (and former State Senator) Jimmy Carter thoroughly trounced former Governor Carl Sanders by a 60-40 margin in the September 23 Democratic gubernatorial runoff. Sanders' defeat may have marked the demise as a statewide force of the William Hartsfield-Ivan Allen coalition of blacks, businessmen, and rich white liberals that ruled Atlanta until last

year's mayoral race, and helped elect Sanders in 1962. Carter, owner of a moderate reputation and voting record, emphasized his closeness to the soil during the campaign, and repeatedly referred to the business successes enjoyed by Sanders since his term as Governor. Though Carter was more than "a wealthy landowner with a Kennedy appearance and a Wallace campaign line," as the Washington POST called him, he sought and won the votes of a large percentage of Georgians who had voted for George Wallace in 1968.

The Atlanta coalition appeared to stand up locally, however, in the Democrats' Fifth District Congressional race, and the result set up one of the nation's most interesting matches for November. The Reverend Andrew Young, a top official in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference before and after the death of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., rode a heavy black turnout and strong white liberal support to a 60-40 runoff win over white conservative Wyman C. Lowe. Young, one of the most brilliant, forceful and reasonable leaders the civil rights movement has produced, campaigned extensively in white neighborhoods, presenting himself to the voters as "the kind of person who represented their ideals and their dreams and their hopes." His November opponent will be the man who represents the fears of the district's white voters, especially as to school integration — two-term Republican Representative Fletcher Thompson. Thompson was endorsed by the Ripon Society in 1968, and continued to make moderate gestures into early 1969. But of late, whether in response to the Administration's Southern strategy or his own perceptions, he has been preoccupied with polarizing the community along racial lines. Time will tell whether Young was correct in describing the runoff against Lowe, a perennial candidate who shares many of Thompson's views, as "a dress rehearsal for November."

ALASKA: Walter Hickel casts a long shadow

At the beginning of this election year, Senator Ted Stevens, in office only by virtue of Democrat E. L. (Bob) Bartlett's death in November, 1968, and the decision of then-Governor Walter J. Hickel to appoint him, appeared to be one of the GOP Senatorial incumbents vulnerable to early retirement. However, in the Alaskan primary held August 25, voters gave Stevens by far the greater number of tallies received by any candidate in any contest. He not only won his battle over nominal opponent Fritz Singer with better than 96 percent of the GOP vote cast (39,718-1,335), but he outpolled by over 10,000 votes the combined total of the two Democratic contenders, winning State Representative Wendell Kay (16,627) and losing State Senator Joe Josephson (12,669), both liberals. Alaska's unique open primary allows voters to cross party lines at will, thereby allowing great leeway in selecting a favorite candidate regardless of party, which rather naturally dilutes the strength of party regularity. In this situation the middle-of-the-road Stevens won over 56 percent of the total vote cast for all four contenders in this race to fill the remaining two years of Bartlett's original term. Stevens' impressive victory

(Fide Period Advertisement) (Fide Period Advertisement) (Fide Period Advertisement)

HERE'S YOUR ONLY CHANCE TO

TELL NIXON AND SPIRO TO STOP IT.



TRUST JIMMY BENTLEY.

makes him look formidable for the November finals against Kay. The consensus is that Stevens' prime worry could be apathy and overconfidence among his supporters.

The primary destroyed Congressman Howard Pollock's bid to return to elective office within Alaska as he failed to oust incumbent Governor Keith Miller, who as Secretary of State succeeded Hickel when he departed for Washington. Miller had numerous difficulties in his first year-and-a-half in office, appearing as a weak sister to many, but a principled politician with real conscience to others. The attacks on Miller rallied a strong show of support in sympathy votes for him, and this probably accounted for his rather narrow triumph over Pollock (19,019-16,602) 2417 votes out of 35,621 cast.

The long shadow of Walter Hickel still looms over the state. In the dying days of campaigning, he threw bouquets in the direction of the Miller-Ward (Secretary of State) ticket, and this spelled an advantage for them in a Republican primary. But since Hickel presently seems widely unpopular in the state, particularly for his present opposition to "development," his open support might be a kiss of death in a general election. Hickel himself might turn out to be the major issue in the forthcoming race, for some suspect that he will open the doors to developers just before election day.

It was in the Democratic primary that the real surprise took place. The expected winner was the aging political warhorse, former Governor William Egan, but the raised eyebrows came when it was apparent that he scored an unexpected victory of landslide proportion over his major opponent, well-heeled grocer Larry Carr, who ran an overly expensive campaign by Alaskan standards. Egan decisively slapped down Carr's challenge, gaining some 23,883 counters to Carr's 11,280.

Bill Egan, by leading the pack in an open primary, showed that he was definitely the man to beat in this year's race for the Governor's mansion in Juneau.

The only other statewide race was for the soon-to-be-vacated seat in the House of Representatives held by Pollock, who would have been "safe" for return to the nation's capitol. Republicans had the only primary contest for Congress, and youthful (37) moderate Frank Murkowski surprisingly prevailed over State Senator C. R. Lewis (22,034-17,345), a confirmed member of the John Birch Society who was thought to be unbeatable this year. Lewis probably threw away his chances for victory in the last few days of campaigning by unwisely uttering hawkish sounds about bombing Hanoi. At this juncture even most Alaskans are not willing to resurrect that old issue. A third candidate, B. Dickerson Stevens, received 2,283 votes. Liberal Democrat Nick Begich, defeated decisively in 1968 by Pollock, was unopposed in his primary, still getting 28,785 votes. He is only 38 years of age, and is seen as the odds-on favorite in this struggle.

Within this state there is little change projected. Almost no turnover took place in the primary. The GOP at present controls the State Senate 11-9, but the Democrats are in charge of the State House 22-18. The only change foreseen now is one Senate victory by Democrats in the Juneau area, which would create a tie in the Upper House. The Lower House should remain Democratic. Alaskans, as voters elsewhere, are upset with what is going on both at home and abroad, but they are quite

indecisive about installing many newcomers of either party. Issues, such as the pipeline, the native lands question, and conservation or the preservation of the environment generally, all of which concern outsiders, seem often downstaged by personalities, around which the outcome of an election in Alaska frequently revolves.

The Alaskan Republican party, however, has a group of younger officeholders and office-seekers who might lead the state party more decisively in the not-too-distant future. Although Miller (age 45), Pollock (50), Ward (41), Phillips (44), Stevens (46), and Murkowski (37) among others, are relatively young men, there are even younger ones waiting in the wings to assume the reins of real power. Among these prospects for higher office must be counted liberal State Senator Terry Miller (age 27) of Fairbanks and moderate State Representative Don Young (35), who looks to be a shoo-in for the State Senate this time from Fairbanks, and nominees James M. "Jim" Dodson, Jr. (34), liberal Don Smith (31), and Richard K. Urion (31), all of Anchorage, and Dick Randolph (32) of Fairbanks, all fair bets to be newly elected to the State House in November. The Democrats also have some strong younger candidates such as State Senator Lowell Thomas, Jr., but that party is more closely wedded to the distant past (witness the candidacy of Egan once again) than is the Republican. The "Young Turks" in the Democratic party are somewhat resentful of having to take a back seat to their elders, and Egan's victory did little to soothe their feelings. The Republican party in Alaska seems to be the party where the action is, for they now possess most of the political men on the make.

There will be no major offices up in Alaska in 1972, except for Ted Stevens' almost certain bid to run for the full six-year term in the U.S. Senate, but the seat of the presently unpopular "other" Senator, Mike Gravel (D), now appears ripe for the taking in 1974, although a lot can happen in four years. It now seems as if Pollock (and perhaps Miller) will be a likely candidate for Gravel's position, but if he does not make the run, there will be numerous others more than willing to take the plunge. Many of today's youth brigade might be in such a struggle to go to the nation's capitol.

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in Princeton, New Jersey, that Litton Industries' officials had led all corporate executives in party contributions during the 1968 Presidential campaign came as no surprise in the wake of a controversy here surrounding the Navy's decision to award its entire nonnuclear destroyer program to Litton of Mississippi. Among those unhappy with the decision was Maine's Margaret Chase Smith, who had supported the other final bidder, Bath Iron Works. The Navy awarded the contract to Litton despite prior action in the House of Representatives to force a division between at least two American shipbuilding corporations. According to the report from Princeton, seven officers and four directors of Litton donated a total of \$151,000 in 1968, all to Republican candidates.

HOWARD F. GILLETTE, JR.

NEW YORK: Charles Goodell, outcast and underdog, fights Agnew and the Conservatives

The outcome of the New York election could well undermine progressive Republicanism nationally for the remainder of the decade. What is at stake is not just a Senate seat and the Governorship but the New York delegation to the 1972 and 1976 conventions. If the Conservative Party succeeds in defeating Goodell, it will then be in a position to dictate the composition of the New York delegation to national conventions; without this delegation, progressive Republicanism will be a shadow of its former self. The defeat of Goodell would also undermine the determination of other progressive Republican Senators to speak their consciences as Senator Goodell has done so courageously.

Back in late spring, before the New York primary, everybody was agreeing with one another that Nelson Rockefeller was in real trouble; and that the "instant Senator," Charles Goodell, had performed a political miracle and was sure to be reelected. Now, some months later, the consensus on both counts has changed just as unanimously — and therein, as they say, lies an interesting tale.

DEMO DERBY

The June 23 primary developed into a Democratic spectacle only — Governor Rockefeller having kept his troops in line so well at the GOP state convention that no one on the state level had primary opposition. The Democrats, however, went after each other with characteristic vigor. In the gubernatorial race, Canandaigua industrialist Howard Samuels ran an exhausting and expensive campaign against Arthur Goldberg; and in the Senate warmup, Paul O'Dwyer, Theodore Sorenson, Richard McCarthy and Richard Ottinger — lacking substantive issues — competed with one another's images. Ottinger, with his \$1.5 million advertising campaign, came out of nowhere to win the Senate race by a lopsided margin, while Goldberg managed to sneak past a more energetic and wealthy Samuels to win the nomination for Governor.

In contrast, the Republican organization was a study in well-honed gentility. Despite loud grumblings about Goodell, Rockefeller sold the state convention on the merits of staying together and convinced many that, in Goodell, they had a winner. But even then, the Senator himself was warning his staff about the potential strength of Dick Ottinger and was casting a nervous glance over his right shoulder at the Conservative Party designee, James Buckley (brother of quixotic journalist William F.). For Goodell sensed what the sophisticated antennae of the Rockefeller

political team had picked up a year ago in the aftermath of the three-way New York City mayoralty race — that subtle realignments were occurring and would have a major impact in November 1970. While the voting pattern in the 1968 New York races of Richard Nixon and Jacob Javits followed predictable routes, the coalitions this year may mark a watershed year for New York politics.

Consider, for example, the efforts of Nelson Rockefeller. Running for an unprecedented fourth term, he is still quite able to learn new electoral tricks. Four years ago he faced a lackluster Democrat (Frank O'Connor), a Liberal Party candidate who was still bitter and in a spoiler's mood because he lost the Democratic Party's nod (Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.), and a reactionary professor running as a Conservative (Paul Adams). With this competition, Rockefeller fashioned his victory by combining a reasonable share of the traditional upstate Republican vote, and a healthy plurality of suburban votes in Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk Counties, along with holding his own in Jewish and black areas of New York City. It is estimated that the Governor won almost one-third of the black vote, and, at least, 35 percent of the City Jewish vote in 1966. Both blocs generally vote Democratic and both are part of the traditional liberal coalition. But both groups have been, for the past decade and a half, instrumental in keeping state-wide Republican candidates afloat in a state where the Democrats hold a 5-4 registration edge. Liberal Republicans have combined their support with that of traditional upstate Republicans to overcome their numerical disadvantages. Of course, the Party has had other things going for it as well — including superior candidates and an avoidance of the cannibalistic tendencies so typical of state Democrats.

The black and Jewish blocs may be largely usurped by the candidacy of Arthur Goldberg. This year, Goldberg commands both the Democratic and Liberal Party endorsements. He is, in the words of one Rockefeller staffer, "Super-Jew" (a recent poll gave him 93 percent of the Jewish vote — which numbers 1¼ million). In addition, his running made for Lieutenant Governor is Basil Paterson, a black State Senator from Harlem who is expected to bring unusual unity in the black community for the Democratic ticket.

The slippage in these two large blocs has to be made up somewhere and the smooth Rockefeller organization knew just where to look. Because of the subtle, but distinct move to the right in the Governor's pro-

gram during the last state legislative session, the incumbent appears to be in better shape than ever before in the upstate, traditionally Republican areas. Paul Adams, the Conservative Party candidate for Governor, will not be a major factor — for a variety of personal and political reasons. But this additional upstate support alone would be insufficient for victory, so the Governor had made his central pitch at the “swing” voters on the other side of the Democratic ledger — the conservative, predominately Roman Catholic Democrats in the boroughs of New York City. These were the voters — many of Italian and Irish descent — who gave Mario Procaccino his Democratic primary victory over more liberal rivals in the New York City mayoralty campaign last year. There is evidence that the strategy is paying off. The state-wide convention of the AFL-CIO ended up endorsing Rockefeller — an act which was interpreted as being a special slap at former labor lawyer Goldberg — and Rockefeller’s polls from early spring show him moving up steadily in his “target” areas.

ROCKY’S RIGHT TURN

But there are obviously strains in such an approach. Rocky, who has fought so many battles for a more enlightened Republican Party, must have found it at least slightly disconcerting to be kissing Mario Procaccino in public — even if he did smile bravely through the whole incredible press conference. For in exchange for a kiss in public (and indication of a Court of Claims appointment in private), Mario reciprocated by destroying the illusion of a united Democratic Party and endorsed the Governor. Rocky’s message seemed clear enough: if you can’t outflank the Democrats on

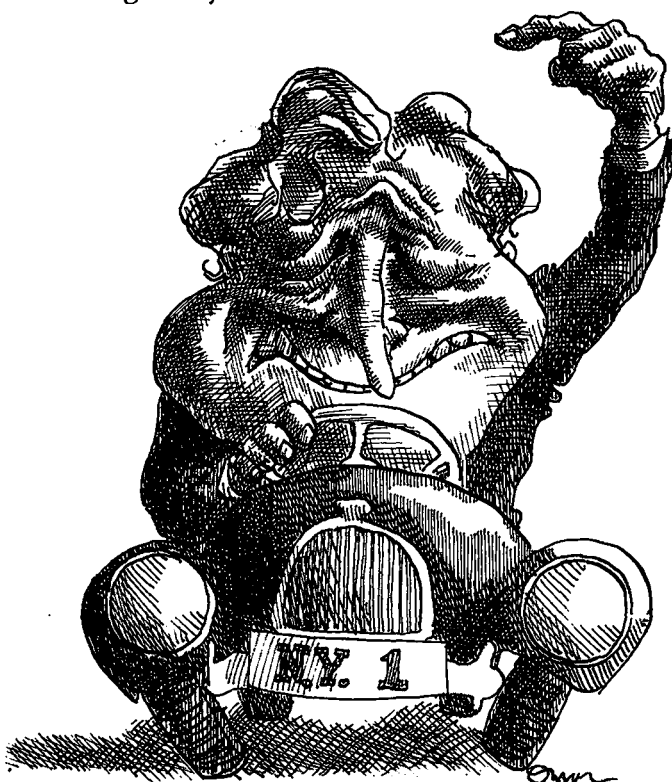
one side, outflank them on the other.

Almost inevitably, this posture has given rise to rumors that the Governor would therefore be more comfortable running with James Buckley this year than with Goodell. An organization calling itself the Silent Majority Mobilization Committee has taken it upon itself to distribute buttons reading “Rockefeller-Buckley.” Both of them deny any collusion, and the Governor occasionally draws a deep breath and reiterates his support for Goodell, but the rumors persist that there is an “understanding” running beneath the surface. In reality, it seems clear that there is not — if for no other reason than the fact that Rocky, if his strategy works, can win it on his own no matter how Goodell performs. Though he will officially stick by Goodell (after all, the Governor himself picked Goodell to fill the remaining portion of Robert Kennedy’s term in 1968), Rockefeller understandably will not go out of his way to annoy potential Buckley voters, since a good portion of them must vote Rockefeller if he is to have his fourth term.

But the impression should not be left that Rockefeller is running a hard-line conservative campaign. He is not. He is presenting himself in a centrist position this year, and he is emphasizing the positive aspects of his twelve-year reign (and there are a lot of them) and his ability as an executive as compared to the revered, but all-too lofty Arthur Goldberg. Of course, to be a credible contrast, he has to argue that Goldberg, the ultimate establishmentarian, is somehow a leftist. This he has done by claiming that Goldberg is surrounded by “extremists,” naming former Senate Candidate Paul O’Dwyer as an example. (That is not exactly what the word meant in the Cow Palace in 1964.)

In sum, Rockefeller is not yet out of the woods, but the fact that he is now a definite favorite is a tribute to the atrocious performance thus far of candidate Goldberg. When the former Supreme Court Justice, former Secretary of Labor, former Ambassador to the United Nations, first began to hint of such a human emotion as political ambition, Republican pros were trembling from Nassau to Buffalo. But this urbane, intelligent man has had great difficulty in adjusting to the sweaty, grinding, relentless job of matching wits for several months with the sixteen million people of New York. Mary McGrory has described the Goldberg campaign as “one of the big blahs of political history,” and so it might be. Nothing seems to go quite right.

The lack of zip in the Goldberg campaign is partially attributable to the candidate’s personality — he is no match for the back-slapping dynamo of a campaigner, Rockefeller. Intellectually he is the Governor’s equal, but politics is very much a mixture of intellect and emotion — and Rockefeller may combine the two elements better than any other candidate on the stump



today. Then, too, the Goldberg staff operation is loosely organized and includes factions which hardly coexist with one another. The inherent tension in the total campaign effort creates an erratic approach to issues, and may account for the fact that the Goldberg campaign seems still to lack any central purpose. Money is also a problem. The candidate was forced to travel to Chicago, his old home, to make an appeal for additional funds.

But just as crucial, Goldberg has yet to find a vital issue. He is confounded by the cynicism and apathy of New York voters. In his attempt to cash in on the environmental issue, he took his entourage to the Adirondack mountains for a camping trip and drank out of a stream for the benefit of photographers. He was probably surprised at the public reaction: upstaters thought he was being a phony, and downstaters wondered what had come over him. In his attempt to profit from Rockefeller's failure to deal effectively with the drug problem, he told a street audience in Harlem that every addict in the state would be provided with treatment six months after he was elected, but the skeptical listeners complained that they had heard it all before and that the earnest, white-haired candidate was "no different from any of the rest of the politicians." Goldberg has tried to exploit the "economy" issue by accusing the Governor of squandering money on the Albany mall, but his own positions that the state should be doing more in a number of social areas and should take over the total cost of welfare hardly encourage the support of fiscal conservatives.

THE SWING VOTER

And since Goldberg also recognizes that many of the potential "swing" voters are conservative Democrats, he cannot overdo one of the most obvious issues in New York — tying Nixon to the Governor's back. The public is apathetic about the war, and a good many Democrats support the President's general conduct in Indochina. Thus, if the candidate wants to keep all the Democrats on the ranch, he can't rail against Nixon indefinitely. Besides, Rockefeller had made it clear that he prefers running his own campaign, and he expects the White House to stay out of things. As usual, the Governor appears to be getting the best of both worlds. But Rockefeller's strategy has real risks, too. His pursuit of the blue collar vote and his tepid support for progressives on the GOP ticket are turning off many liberal Republicans who were his most dependable supporters in past battles and whom he still needs to forge a majority. A recent poll of the New York Chapter of the Ripon Society revealed that fully 40 percent of its members opposed endorsing the Governor for reelection.

Rockefeller's running mate for Lieutenant Governor is the same as in his previous terms, Malcolm Wilson, a shrewd clubhouse pol from Yonkers who has been

waiting 12 years for a change to run for Governor. He has recently been advocating a repeal of the abortion reform law signed by Rockefeller this year. Wilson and his Old Guard allies have been as responsible for Rockefeller's drift to the right as has the external pressure of the Conservative party. Wilson is also helping coordinate GOP efforts for state legislators. The next State Legislature will redistrict the state for the '70's, and thus, maintaining GOP majorities in both houses is a ten-year investment. Chances are excellent that the Republicans will maintain control of the State Senate, and odds are slightly in their favor to keep the State Assembly, although it will be a dog fight. A complicating factor is that many of the Republican candidates for the State Assembly either owe their nomination or their chance of winning to the Conservative Party. This creates yet another dimension to the Governor's campaign balancing act.

LEFKOWITZ AND LEVITT

Running for Attorney General on both the Republican and Liberal Party lines is incumbent Louis Lefkowitz, who is the heavy favorite over Democrat Adam Walinsky. Walinsky, a former aide to Robert Kennedy, is not giving up, however; and his spirited campaigning is impressing a lot of Liberal Party members, who dislike party chief Alex Rose's heavy-handed way of endorsing Lefkowitz.

Ned Regan, young Buffalo attorney, is the Rockefeller-picked Republican nominee for Comptroller to do battle with Arthur Levitt, who has become something of a fixture in Albany. Regan is running an attractive campaign, similar to Walinsky's but is not given much chance to win this time around.

But all of this does not have the color, or the excitement, or the national attention that is being focused on the trinal Senate race among Charles Goodell, Richard Ottinger and James Buckley. The scorecard goes something like this: Goodell is the Republican nominee, and also enjoys the nomination of the state's Liberal Party. But Republicans all over the state are mad at him for his vocal anti-war stance and for what they feel have been his rapid strides to the left since being named Senator two years ago. Buckley is the Conservative Party nominee. But he is actually a registered Republican and portrays himself as the only "Nixon supporter" in the race. Ottinger is the Democratic candidate, and he smiles a lot.

The contest has national significance for the party because it is becoming increasingly obvious that conservative Republicans are out for Goodell's blood, no matter what the cost to the state party or the future of the party across the country. Two years ago, Buckley polled 1.3 million votes against Javits and Paul O'Dwyer, the Democratic nominee. It was obvious then that the Conservative Party was a force to be reckoned with if the situation were right — and this year it is

right, in a number of ways. Buckley's move this year is a continuation of the Conservative Party's purge of candidates it cannot control. Goodell has been blunt and outspoken against the war, and against mediocre Supreme Court Justices, and against useless toys for the military like the ABM; and for these heresies he must be punished. The remarkable thing about this year is that Buckley and his die-hard friends are being joined by hundreds of thousands of Republicans who ought to know better. But this does not seem to be a year for understanding and conciliation, but rather a year for backlashes.

Buckley's strategy is not difficult to decipher. Under the professional tutelage of manager F. Clifton White, he is hoping that Goodell and Ottinger will divide the "liberal" vote, and he, in turn, can put together enough Conservatives, dissident Republicans, and backward-looking Democrats to win by a slender plurality. His standard campaign brochure looks more like an advertisement for a flag manufacturing company than a political message. His slogan is "Join the March for America," making the clear implication that other candidates are marching against her. He has said he is trying to appeal to those who see liberty in a "state of seige," and has pronounced that he intends, "in this campaign to speak to and speak for the millions of New Yorkers who will not stand by while the wreckers go to work."

Thus, all of a sudden, Senator Goodell — who looked so good six months ago — is in real trouble. The polls show Ottinger still out in front, with Goodell and Buckley running close for second place. The coalition that had worked so well for Jacob Javits, which was copied by Charles Goodell, was falling apart. But why?

PART OF THE PROBLEM

Part of the reason is that the Senator miscalculated the depth of Republican disfavor with his open breaks with the Nixon Administration. With the benefit of hindsight, it is now obvious that the new Senator did not adequately court his Republican brethren during his transition from unknown Congressman to well known Senator. Some of his relations with upstate figures have approached arrogance, and one now wishes that Goodell had pursued New York City as he would court a hesitant lady instead of ravishing the City as if she were a street walker. For this his staff must bear part of the responsibility. His Washington office includes some exciting and talented individuals, but no one seems to be in charge. The result has been erratic staff-work; sometimes it's very good, but on other occasions, it has been very bad. In an urbanized state, with only two years in office before facing his first state-wide election, Goodell could ill-afford *any* weak staff-work. His campaign staff has had its share of trouble as well. After searching for six months for just

the right choice, Goodell finally tapped as Campaign Manager Robert Sweet, former Deputy Mayor under Lindsay. But during the humid summer months, the Senator's campaign never got off the ground. The younger members of the team — many of them Democrats and Independents — could not seem to reconcile their differences with the older Republican "pols" whose job it was simply to win an election. Thus, late in the summer, the Senator replaced Sweet with Brian Conboy, his 31-year-old Administrative Assistant; with Sweet remaining as a liaison figure between the campaign and the separate effort being put together by the Rockefeller team. Still, lack of good organization and a concurrent lack of money have severely hampered the Goodell effort.

But the Senator and his staff do not shoulder all of the blame for his faltering campaign. The New York State Committee (and through it, Rockefeller) could give the Senator additional money which he desperately needs. The Committee is giving him \$250,000, and Rockefeller has given him vocal support (as well as securing his nomination), but more is needed if the Senator is to stay in the ball game. In addition, some good old party discipline by the Rockefeller organization would help. State Chairman Chuck Lanigan has hinted that candidates not supporting Goodell might not obtain their full allotment of financial assistance from the State Committee, but the final decision in that regard is undoubtedly up to the Governor, and the Governor has just not been willing to use his full political clout in Goodell's behalf. When pressed by reporters on the extent to which he would exert pressure on Buckley-leaning party leaders, Rockefeller responded "You know, this is a free country and people are going to do what they feel." On another occasion he reacted to the assertion of Louis Lefkowitz that "A vote against Goodell is a vote against Rockefeller," by stating, "A vote for me is a vote for me."

Meanwhile, several state legislators and at least two Republican Congressmen have endorsed Buckley, and some county organizations, both upstate and in the City area, have made no secret of their total support for the Conservative Party nominee. Far more significant than these isolated instances, however, is the disturbing number of GOP leaders who — while not actually endorsing Buckley — are sitting on their hands as far as Goodell is concerned. Among them is none other than Lieutenant Governor Malcolm Wilson, who has said that while he was supporting the entire state ticket, he would not "campaign" for Goodell. Wilson, it should be remembered, was the man who got conservative John Marchi to run against John Lindsay in 1968.

GOODELL'S GODSEND

The final blow (which may backfire) came from Washington. Agnew began the game by darkly suggest-

ing that there might be some Republicans hidden away among the "radical-liberals" threatening our body politic. Newsmen obviously pressed the Vice-President as to whether Goodell might be one such Republican he has in mind. Agnew has now said so directly, but added that the question of overt Administration support for Buckley was still an "open question." Such pronouncements had the earmarkings of a national campaign to purge the party of its more progressive element and prompted the highly-respected dean of the State's Congressional delegation, Representative Howard W. Robison, to write Agnew deploring the Vice-President's "all but direct" attack on Goodell.

The most disturbing element of the flirtation of Buckley with the state and national GOP is the annoying double-standard it uses to pick its enemies within the Party. The independent *Congressional Quarterly* recently revealed that, based on crucial Senate votes over the past year when the President has taken a stand one way or another, Goodell is more consistent in his support for the President than several other Senators — among them Goldwater and Thurmond. Apparently those Republicans who bottle up the President's Family Assistance Plan, who delay action on revenue-sharing, or who vote against portions of the President's budget request are good "team men" anyway; while those who find Harold Carswell and the ABM offensive are traitors to the Party. The White House will be proven politically myopic if it supports Buckley; for not only will such an act merely make Ottinger more of a shoo-in, but it will also encourage the destructive, near-sighted Conservative Party of the state to continue hanging those Republicans who do not pass its "Simon-Pure" conservative tests.

GOODELL: A WORTHY CAUSE

Spiro Agnew has his cause this year — he wants to rid the country of "radiclibs." Other Republicans should have their cause as well; and there are few which will be worth more in the long run than coming, now, to the assistance of Charles Goodell. The cause is not a hopeless one. At the moment, the Senator has nowhere to go but up; and he will. As New Yorkers see the three in action together, Goodell should be impressive. In the first debate among the three, performed before a gathering of publishers, editors and reporters in mid-September, there was wide consensus among observers that Goodell was head and shoulders above his two opponents. Ottinger, it was also agreed, did the poorest; leading even one of his own campaign aides to admit that "something went wrong."

In addition, New Yorkers have become sophisticated in the ways of three-sided elections. If credible polls start showing Buckley running third, pro-Nixon Republicans will swing back to Goodell, and Conserva-

tive Party candidate will be left with his base of Italian and Irish support, drawn largely from Democratic ranks.

Little has been said here about Richard Ottinger. Little can be said. He is a pleasant, likeable guy. He takes rather traditional liberal positions on the issues and his family has a lot of money. As one House Member who knows both Ottinger and Goodell well said, "with Dick there is more style than substance; with Charlie there is more substance than most people realize at first. Between the two, there is simply no comparison. Compared to Charlie, Ottinger is a lightweight — they're not in the same league."

As it stands now, style — and money — will win. Goodell will need a minor miracle to overcome Ottinger's initial lead. But, then again, such things have happened in New York. Whether it happens this year will have a major impact on the politics of the State for the coming years. If the Conservative Party can successfully blackmail the Republican Party into running candidates of its choice and adopting its policy line, Rockefeller will have been deprived of effective leadership of the progressive wing of the national GOP whether or not he saves his own skin by throwing Goodell to the wolves. State-wide victories for the GOP will come few and far between. And some day, even the White House might come to regret that.

The New York delegation to the 92nd Congress will feature a few new faces, mainly due to some primary upsets and a recent redistricting by the state legislature. The most prominent primary casualty was Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who lost to Assemblyman Charles Rangel in the Democratic primary; another was machine liberal Democrat Leonard Farbstein of Manhattan, who was vanquished by peace candidate Bella Abzug.

The Senatorial bids by Democrats Richard Ottinger of suburban of Westchester County and Richard Max McCarthy of Buffalo left their seats vacant, and Ottinger's seat may revert to its former Republican status. One of the new districts created by the Republican legislature is New York City's 21st, which was Nelson Rockefeller's gift to the Puerto Rican community; former Bronx borough president Herman Badillo is the favorite to win if he survives a Democratic primary runoff which may be ordered by the courts. Another new district, the 29th, will pit conservative Democratic Congressman Samuel Stratton against liberal Republican Congressman Daniel Button in the Albany region. One casualty of the redistricting is likely to be Democratic dove Allard Lowenstein of suburban Nassau County; his district has been infused with conservative Republicans who may propel right-wing State Senator Norman Lent to victory.

PENNSYLVANIA: Scott safe; Broderick-Shapp sling mud, talk taxes

The stakes are high in Pennsylvania. In the Senate race the Ripon-endorsed Minority Leader Hugh Scott seeks a third term and Raymond J. Broderick is attempting to secure the new Governor's mansion. If he does he will be the first occupant not restricted to one term as Governor of the nation's third most populous state.

Hugh Scott is being billed in Pennsylvania as: "The most powerful Senator we ever had!"; and that is a fact. There is often speculation that men from large diverse states in Congressional leadership positions may let home fences go unmended, or that they find such responsibilities pulling them away from their old power base. Only the second of these potential liabilities of leadership has affected the Scott campaign; and with the same kind of skill that put him 1,527,000 votes ahead of Goldwater in 1964, the adroit Philadelphian has used his leadership within the Nixon administration to great advantage back home.

In 1964 the Senator's excellent civil rights record impressed enough liberal and black voters (and apparently angered too few conservatives) to give him what looked like a typical Northern liberal Republican and Democratic base. Then in early 1969 when he beat Tennessee's Howard Baker to succeed Everett Dirksen in the Minority Leader's post it appeared to some as though the nature of that home base might make it difficult for him to be the pilot of the Nixon program. For several reasons, some of course fortuitous, but others attributable to Scott himself, such difficulties have been minimal.

CONSERVATIVE CHALLENGE

Last winter a group called "The Committee of 100 to Retire Hugh Scott" was formed to recruit a challenger to the Senator in the May 19 primary. Headed by one Charles C. Holt III (whom Scott described as a "35-year-old millionaire with a wealthy wife and time on his hands,") the group looked everywhere for a candidate. Conservative Allegheny County (Pgh.) District Attorney Bob Dugan flirted with them for a while, and (according to Scott) "every available astronaut, Pennsylvania resident or otherwise," was courted. They looked everywhere for money, too, tapping various out-of-state and Rafferty-type sources.

The group's reason for being was Scott's alleged "disloyalty" to the party (especially in 1964, when he was so unsporting as to be a winner) and to President Nixon. Neither charge stuck. On January 27, a "Dear Hugh" letter, signed "R.N.," was released by Scott; the letter commended the Minority Leader for his ef-

forts on behalf of the Philadelphia Plan in particular and his support of Nixon legislation in general. Nixon knew, if the Committee of 100 did not, that Scott was not only an asset in the Senate, but perhaps more to the point, Scott was going to be around a while, and the Committee was not.

On February 14, when the 126-member Republican State Committee met to endorse candidates, Holt was not even permitted to speak. No State Committeeman spoke for him either; when the March 10 filing deadline came, Scott remained unopposed. The Committee of 100 could have cost the Senator a lot of time, money, and aggravation, but Scott's use of his position as the President's man in the Senate snuffed the threat from the right without his having to abandon his moderate base.

HINDSIGHT ON CARSWELL

There was some cost to this victory, however: the Carswell vote. Much later (mid-September) Scott expressed his satisfaction over the defeat of the "racist" in the Florida primary, and admitted, concerning his vote, that "I have a considerable sense of guilt that I did a damn fool thing." Purists may still look askance at that vote, but they should be reminded that Scott's noticeable lack of enthusiasm for his task certainly was one of the factors that hurt the Judge.

The Democrats have fielded a State Senator from Erie County; he is William G. Sesler, a 42-year-old lawyer-realtor. Sesler has been an able vote-getter in his generally Republican 49th District, and he is a conscientious legislator. He was required to defend his party's endorsement in a primary (against Norval Reece, a peace candidate from Philadelphia), but the nomination to run against Hugh Scott was not coveted by too many Democrats. Scott's ability to head off the conservatives in his own party, his 1964 victory and his 12-year incumbency made him look quite formidable in the spring, and he still is.

As expected, Sesler has attempted to show that Scott has neglected his constituents. The radio spots, (Sesler's own voice) say: "When the time comes to be counted, Hugh Scott responds to orders from Washington, not to the needs of Pennsylvania." Scott, in turn, cites his many efforts on behalf of Pennsylvania industries (small oil producers, the flat glass industry), his ability to obtain for Philadelphia the 1976 National Bicentennial Celebration, and his current efforts to obtain Law Enforcement Assistance grants, Interstate highway funds and aid for disabled miners.

Scott's age, at one time, was an issue, but at 69 he looks 50 and campaigns like 30. In February he promised friends he could meet the age challenge by the counter-challenge to let his opponent accompany him morning to night for seven of Scott's very full days. "We'll see who lasts." Scott staffers knew who would have won that contest, and in view of his silence in the matter, Sesler may also have figured it out.

NO SALE

On Vietnam, Sesler is a dove-come-lately. He now favors a full withdrawal, on an 18-month timetable. Because he had never before been heard from on this issue, (and was in fact rather hawkish, according to private remarks of fellow legislators) the peace constituency in the state has not mobilized on his behalf. (Obviously Norval Reece would have been their preference.) Scott points out, correctly, that he had no say in getting this tragic war started, but that he, with the President, has every intention of stopping it. The shape of the candidates' positions on the War demonstrates the way in which the issue has been pretty much defused by Nixon; Scott has moved in behind the President, while Sesler has been left talking to unenthused peace movement remnants. Scott has been successful in getting veterans' endorsements, while Sesler has been booed off one state veterans' convention platform, and though a decorated Korean War vet, refused the chance to speak to another.

The "sportsmen" of the State — and Pennsylvania is crawling with them — are widely credited with the 1968 defeat of Joseph Clark by Dick Schweiker. In late 1969 some of the noisier ones vowed to "get" Scott for his gun control efforts, but that now seems unlikely. There are important differences this year, and perhaps the most important is that while the feisty Joe Clark had found the hunters personally repugnant and didn't neglect to tell them so; Scott, by contrast, moved early and sponsored various wildlife preservation bills and carefully cultivated some of the more respectable groups. Furthermore, Sesler, as on the War issue, is leading with his chin. As a dove and as a friend of sportsmen, he has just not sold. It is much to his credit, in fact, that he doesn't even seem to be trying very hard with the latter group.

Scott has said, "I will continue to deny that I am a liberal." He is right, insofar as "liberal" refers to New Deal concerns. But the Ripon ratings give Scott a respectable 22/29 score. More important, he is an outspoken opponent of the Southern Strategy, which he has called a "wish-gratifying intellectual toy." He is proud to be able to point out that, along with Senator Griffin (his Whip), "I am certainly the strongest barrier to the Southern Strategy in the Senate."

It is safe to predict a Scott victory. He has money and a good manager (former State Attorney General William Sennett,) and a well-oiled staff. He is an experienced campaigner, who, though it looks safe, has

run a hard and professional race.

In the gubernatorial race the disappointing question has been, which man's set of liabilities has hurt least?

The Scranton Administration was a tough act to follow. Governor Ray Shafer did do a very fine job, but failed in the area of public image. There was a time in the recent past when Shafer couldn't have been elected to the proverbial dog-catcher's post. His Lt. Governor, Raymond J. Broderick, a 56-year-old lawyer from Philadelphia, clearly sensed this fact, and broke with the Governor on the state income tax issue in January of this year, announcing his opposition to the tax. (In fact there is still some coolness on Shafer's part, since the Governor remains convinced the now critical fiscal problem of the state requires the tax. He even testified in favor of it at the Democratic Platform Hearings.)

Broderick obtained the nomination without a real fight, though a young State Senator from the Pittsburgh area, Jack McGregor, made an abortive attempt to head him off. The nomination came to Broderick not just because the chief occupation of Lt. Governors is to get Gubernatorial nominations, but because, politically at least, he was "right" on the income tax. His head count showed then (and still does) that Pennsylvanians are adamantly against it.

Broderick is an energetic campaigner, though occasionally a little heavy with the glad-handing and back-slapping. He has gone from the unenviable position as the lackluster (but competent) Lt. Governor of "that bum Shafer" to a position of an even money winner. One of the reasons is his opponent, Milton J. Shapp, a 58-year-old Philadelphia industrialist. Shapp clearly lacks Broderick's energy and many of the people who worked so hard for him when he ran in 1966 now see his New Deal liberalism as the anachronism it is.

DEMOCRATIC DIVISION

Shapp beat an attractive Democrat, Bob Casey — the endorsed candidate — in the May primary. The Auditor General had won a statewide contest by a huge margin in 1968. For both Shapp and Casey the 1970 fight was a rerun, as Shapp had come from political nowhere (but with a huge pile of cash) in 1966 to beat then State Senator Casey.

The upshot of Shapp's second primary win against the organization is that the "regulars" have their noses out of joint. They have not worked as hard as they ordinarily would for the massive spoils that Pennsylvania governors still have to offer. Some have done more than mutter; a group called "Concerned Democrats" threw a Broderick cocktail partly in early September at which various Democratic officials and fundraisers said some nasty things about their nominee. Sporadic public defections have continued through the campaign. In Casey's home county of Lackawanna not even Senator Edmund Muskie was able to patch things

up when he went there on behalf of Shapp. (Muskie had earlier come to raise pre-primary funds for Casey, and said to Shapp then, "Milton, if you win the primary, I'll owe you one.")

The outstanding issue has remained the income tax. Broderick is still opposed to it unless "absolutely no choice" remains. Shapp has been for it, but only if the 6 percent sales tax is cut and the revenue structure is streamlined. Broderick has said that belt-tightening — a 5 percent payroll cut — and federal revenue sharing will forestall the tax, but as the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* has pointed out editorially, "This kind of talk [is] like holding a fire prevention meeting in a hall that is burning down." The state will be bankrupt in March and revenue sharing on the necessary scale is a long way off. Noting that the tax issue is probably what has brought Broderick up from behind, Shapp has hedged. He has said for example that he would veto an income tax unaccompanied by reductions in all other taxes (especially sales.) Shapp also hits the theme that the state needs a good businessman, like himself, and he promises increased efficiency in both collection and disbursement of revenue.

CONVERGENCE ON TAXES

The irony of this big issue of the campaign is not so much that the candidates have moved toward each other (Shapp in response to a head-count and Broderick in response to hard facts) but that in the end the winner will say that he was for full "tax reform" all along. Pennsylvania will have an income tax within six months.

The Broderick law-and-order stance is curiously two-tracked: on the very negative side he attacked Shapp for taking part in a street demonstration at the 1968 Democratic Convention and for putting up \$5000 in bail money for some of those arrested. The hint that bailing people out of jail is akin to committing a crime, for which Shapp "owed the voters a full explanation," should have been far above the standards of a lawyer as good as Broderick is supposed to be.

On the positive side Broderick has offered solid plans in the areas of court administration, corrections and penal code revision, and has shown he knows why such things are more important than "cracking down." In part this element of the campaign can be credited to the influence of the Lieutenant Governor candidate, former Beaver County Judge Ralph F. Scalera. The Judge's candidacy was, at its origins, very much a machine-made item, but like Muskie in 1968 he has impressed many with his independence, his quiet good sense, his low-key but effective campaign style, and his able staff. The 40-year old Scalera — said by an aide to be the "perfect Pennsylvania candidate: an Italian with WASP credentials" — is a bright spot in the campaign and a name to watch.

The two-track nature of the Republican handling of law-and-order issues is perhaps also explained by the fact that Broderick is basically a problem-solving person, but has found that unglamorous solutions don't sell. In his efforts to make inroads into blue collar areas (and he has done well at it), he has had to do some hard line posturing. One hopes that endorsements of many labor groups, including the 90,000-member Building Trades Council (hard hats) will not shape a Broderick Administration that is unable to implement the good ideas formulated in the campaign. This would be all the more unfortunate in view of the fact that neither Shapp, who has echewed the hard line, nor the American Independent candidate, who is getting the coverage he deserves, can be said to have pushed Broderick into a backlash stance.

MUD AS AN ISSUE

The gubernatorial campaign has been waged on a personal level in many ways, and indeed the Broderick campaign has been so hard-hitting as to be only marginally tasteful. In addition to the bail money "issue" Broderick has quoted extensively from a 1960 court opinion which in effect labels Shapp as unscrupulous. Shapp has countered, not with a personal attack, but by making the Republican ads themselves an issue: "Pennsylvanians are tired of mud-slinging." It will be interesting to see if some of the bedroom suburb support lost by Broderick over the tone of the campaign can be made up in the mill towns.

Broderick and Scalera, both Catholics, oppose abortion law liberalization. The Democratic Platform proposes a committee — all women — to study the issue. Republicans have attempted to call this a pro-abortion plank. Shapp, who is Jewish, has a Catholic running mate (State Senator Ernest Kline from Beaver County), and he has said he is only for study of the issue.

On October 6, Spiro Agnew was in Pittsburgh to address a \$150 a plate dinner; a week later Democratic Chairman Larry O'Brien was in Delaware County where guests got stuck for only \$25 a plate. Ironically enough, however, Shapp's personal fortune reverses the appearances given by the price tags on the Agnew and O'Brien dinners. It is Shapp who seems to have the edge on campaign funds. (In the Senate contest Scott is very well heeled, and Sesler has been virtually abandoned by his party's fund raisers.)

The race is too close to call. Broderick has come from behind, and Shapp has not unified his party. Neither has caught the imagination of too many voters. But Shapp may yet convince them that his tax plans, if unpleasant to talk about, are more realistic. If he does, and if Senator Scott's coattails are not long enough, it will be a cold winter for Republicans in Harrisburg.

OHIO: law and order vies with scandal

Ohio's election returns should provide some clues concerning the evolution of political trends in America. While pundits analyze the national and regional stakes involved, both parties employ their available resources to engineer a victory in the Buckeye State. Although a shift in any Congressional seat is not anticipated, the races for Governor and Senator remain hotly contested, and the outcomes are not predictable.

Several factors make this year's campaign unique. Ohio's close-knit GOP suffered a blood letting in the primary clash between Governor James A. Rhodes and Congressman Robert Taft, Jr. Some analysts feel that the wounds inflicted in that campaign will not heal by November. Another blow to Republican hopes came with the disclosure in early summer of a loan scandal directly involving the GOP candidates for attorney general and treasurer and indirectly involving its gubernatorial standard bearer, Roger Cloud. The scandal has split the Republican ticket and has given Democrats the safe slogan: "kick the rascals out." It is still impossible to assess the scandal's impact on voter attitudes.

The national preoccupation with campus unrest looms as a particularly explosive issue in Ohio. While students blame Governor Rhodes for the Kent State shootings, it appears that most Ohioans approve of anti-student rhetoric and laws that will curb campus dissent. A GOP-controlled legislature rammed through a tough campus anti-riot law in June, and Ohio Republicans possess impeccable law and order credentials. Due to their student and faculty followings, Gilligan and Metzenbaum listen to countless accusations that they aid and abet campus rebels.

GLAMOUR RACE

Ohio's glamour race pits a patrician against a self-made man. Robert Taft, grandson of a President and son of the late Senator Robert Taft, squares off against Howard Metzenbaum, a Cleveland attorney who accumulated a fortune as a parking-lot entrepreneur. Both candidates spent freely to squeak by formidable primary opponents. Taft and Metzenbaum entered this race to win, and they both organized their campaigns and took to the hustings by mid-July. Because Taft runs as an Administration candidate and Metzenbaum flies the colors of a classic liberal Democrat, this contest deserves national attention.

Taft dares not underrate Metzenbaum as former astronaut John Glenn did in last May's primary. Although Metzenbaum was not well known outside of Cleveland prior to last winter, he blitzed the state with costly advertising and proved to be an effective and

tireless campaigner. As retiring Senator Stephen M. Young's campaign manager in 1958 and 1964, Metzenbaum knows how to engineer senatorial upsets in Ohio. Judging from his blitzkrieg handshaking tours of the county fair circuit this summer, Metzenbaum is as professional a candidate as he was backroom strategist.

Metzenbaum seeks to make the campaign a test of Nixon's popularity. He constantly reminds crowds that Rhodes and Taft vied for the "I'm closest to Nixon" award, and that Taft must rise or fall as an Administration candidate. The *Cleveland* calls for a much swifter withdrawal from Vietnam, condemns the Cambodian decision, advocates a shift in federal spending from defense and space to domestic needs, and criticizes the Administration's lack of commitment to urban, environmental and racial issues.

WOOLING ORGANIZED LABOR

A former labor attorney, Metzenbaum shows a flair for attracting blue collar votes that other Democrats now lack. He points to his life-long work for unions, and he emphasizes that Nixon's economic policies cause unemployment while they fail to halt inflation. Campaigning among workers, Metzenbaum asks, "Have you ever heard of a Metzenbaum-Hartley Act?" As the General Motors strike continues, organized labor is becoming more militant on behalf of Metzenbaum and Gilligan.

Taft appears to bank on Nixon's popularity in Ohio. He emphasized his empathy with the Administration this spring, and he acted as host when the President came to the All Star game in Cincinnati. Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, a staunch Administration supporter during the Cooper-Church and McGovern-Hatfield debates, was Taft's choice to help the Congressman open his campaign headquarters this summer.

Despite his identification with the Administration, Taft shrinks from association with Spiro Agnew. He pointedly avoided an Agnew fund-raising dinner in Cleveland earlier this year. But Taft wants, expects and probably will receive another personal assist from the President in the closing weeks of the campaign.

Overall, Taft is probably aided by the memory of his father the late Senator Robert A. Taft. A normally Democratic paper, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, compared the former "Mr. Republican" with the First District Congressman in endorsing Taft in early September. The popular old guard of Ohio conservatism also take the stump for Taft. Former Senators John Bricker and Frank Lausche spoke for the Cincinnati at the Ohio State Fair.

Taft works to show that he's an innovative legislator. Although he supported the President's Cambodian decision, Taft introduced a bill in July to clarify when the President could commit combat troops without consulting Congress. That same month, he proposed legislation to ease taxation on interest earned from savings accounts. This measure was aimed at making more mortgage money available for prospective homeowners.

Taft is co-sponsor of a bomb control bill that establishes national restrictions on the sale of explosives, and he involves himself with various House activities to establish a more comprehensive code of ethics for Congressmen. The bomb bill gives him credibility as a constructive opponent of campus and urban violence. His crusade for Congressional ethics stamps him with a different image than his scandal-tainted Republican ticket mates.

Taft and Metzenbaum have had one televised debate in which they spent most of the time discussing a proposal made by the American Independent Party candidate to raise the price of gold by ten dollars an ounce — not a topic close to the hearts of many voters.

The campaign appears now to depend on the state of the economy, the fall activities of campus demonstrators, and the success of party-organized get-out-the-vote drives on election day. Taft currently rates as a slightly favorite, but the "smart money" has not yet been bet.

THREAT TO THE GOP MACHINE

For Republican Party professionals, the governor's mansion is the key to political control of the state. The loss of the governorship means the loss of a large chunk of GOP patronage. Hurt seriously by scandal in May, the Republican machine is desperately trying to heal its wounds in time to stave off a November defeat.

In May and June sessions, party leaders attempted to convince Robin Turner, candidate for state treasurer, and John D. Herbert, candidate for attorney general, to resign from the ticket due to their involvement with Crofters, Inc., a company that received twenty-one million dollars in illegal state loans. Since state Auditor Roger Cloud was not completely free of complications with Crofters, Inc., certain party scions also wished that the GOP gubernatorial nominee would step aside. After Turner and Herbert refused to withdraw, the State Central Committee denied them money and support. Cloud, however, won endorsement by convincing party officials of his innocence. A special grand jury investigation of the loans has been called but will probably drag on well past the elections.

By mid summer, prominent party figures like Senator Saxbe, Governor Rhodes and Congressman Donald Lukens promised to stump for all Republicans (including Turner and Herbert). Realizing the seriousness of their situation, GOP leaders organized a series of unity dinners around the state during September. Former

Ohio and National Party Chairman Ray Bliss scoots from county to county warning reluctant donors and supporters about the imminent collapse of Ohio's Grand Old Party. He tells audiences that it is better to forgive friends their excesses than to have enemies seize power.

Roger Cloud feels like a victim of circumstances. After dutifully working his way up the GOP hierarchy as a state legislator, Speaker of the House, and State Auditor, he finds himself at the top of the ticket when his party is in trouble. Since Crofters, Inc. contributed to his primary campaign, he cannot stand totally aloof from the Columbus imbroglio.

ROCK 'EM, SOCK 'EM

Known as a mild-mannered person, Cloud is nonetheless issuing strongly-worded attacks this fall. Strategists believe that Cloud can beat his opponent by portraying Gilligan as a cross between a nihilist and a Communist. Thus, Cloud attacks Gilligan's membership in ADA, Gilligan's left-wing academic following, and Gilligan's rhetoric that "inflames student revolutionaries." Cloud warns that his opponent will bankrupt Ohioans with new taxes and a plethora of costly programs, and that Gilligan's appeal to students and black people means a policy of coddling campus agitators and Black Panthers. It appears that soft-spoken Roger Cloud will continue this hard-line campaign right through election day. At a time when emotions about youth and law and order run rampant, this may give Cloud a victory.

An issue of more substance, however, is that of taxation. Ohio ranks fiftieth among the states in per-capita state and local taxation. It has no state personal or corporate income tax. The state permits localities to levy an earnings tax at a low rate, but otherwise local financing depends upon the property tax, which can be increased only by popular referenda. With a widely-felt rising cost of living, and an economic slow-down, such referenda have been failing regularly in Ohio for the past three years.

To remedy this situation, Gilligan has proposed a state corporate income tax and a personal income tax "later if it becomes necessary." During the spring primary, Cloud proposed a state income tax. Later he suggested a required county wage tax to be used for schools only. In his effort this fall to tag Gilligan as an utopian spender, however, he now muffles his position on tax reform.

Cloud has proposed more state aid to local police and the creation of an Ohio consumer affairs department. But now Cloud labels the person of his opponent as the principal issue.

That person is tall, articulate, red-haired John Gilligan. Numerous proposals for new programs, hungry party and union workers, and his own carefully hewed image as an "energetic doer" constitutes the former Cincinnati councilman's principal positive as-

sets. His lieutenants attempt to limit Gilligan's rhetoric and campaign to specific issues and programs, and away from the slap-dash new politics that cost him dearly in his 1968 campaign against Senator William Saxbe.

This spring Gilligan expended little energy or money in a primary that saw him garner 60 percent of the votes in a three-way contest. He practiced fending off mud thrown by law and order candidate Robert Sweeney, and due to Metzenbaum's victory, he gained a popular figure to head his Citizen's Committee (John Glenn). With no divisive split in the party resembling the chasm after the 1968 Lausche-Gilligan primary, Gilligan seeks to patch together the voting blocs that used to comprise the Democratic coalition.

THE CRUCIAL SUBURBANITE

Gilligan hammers away at Rhodes' record and at conditions in Ohio. He points out that Ohio is the sixth wealthiest state, but that it ranks 46th in state aid to education and 49th in state money allocated to urban programs. In cities that confront yearly emergency school levies like Dayton, Youngstown and Cincinnati, his proposals for more state help for schools win him attentive audiences.

As a former big city councilman, Gilligan claims to know the urban crisis. He promises to enlarge the scope of the Ohio Department of Urban Affairs, and he talks about using state funds to augment some of the "financially-starved" programs in the inner city. He urges legislation to create an urban development cor-

poration with powers to plan, finance and build housing clusters, recreation areas, industrial parks and whole new cities. In the field of air, water and land pollution, the Democratic candidate says he thinks that states must pass and then enforce stiffer penalties on the polluters.

The votes of the poor and the black will go to Gilligan, while Cloud will carry rural Ohio. Unburdened by the Vietnam issue that cost him labor votes in 1968, Gilligan seems to be gaining some ground with blue-collar workers. Cloud will compete for the lunch-pail constituency by catering to hard-hat attitudes. The question-mark voter appears to be the middle-class suburbanite. The Gubernatorial and Senatorial elections will be decided on the breakdown of the ballots cast in the suburbs. Bombarded by conflicting rhetoric about Vietnam, crime, students, cities and pollution, the suburban man seems frightened, confused and unpredictable. For this reason, it is impossible to forecast winners in Ohio's 1970 elections.

Analysts expect little change in Ohio's Congressional or state legislative line-up. Due to the loan scandal, the present lopsided Republican majorities in the Ohio Legislature and Senate may shrink, but the GOP should remain in control of both houses. The incumbents in Ohio's carefully-structured Congressional districts all appear safe. The state-wide contests for Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Auditor, Treasurer and Secretary of State will probably be won by the party that captures the governorship.

TEXAS: the ghost of opportunities past

The political scene in Texas this year is dominated, of course, by the race George Bush and Paul Eggers are making for the Senate and for the Governor's chair. The campaigns are coordinated; the GOP in Texas is united, though that hardly tells the whole story. As this is written, the campaigns of both parties are running like dry creeks, with little likelihood of any dramatic developments before election day. It is likely that the turnout in November will be the smallest in a decade — a development traditionally thought helpful to the Republican cause. It depends, of course, on who stays home.

There are many new reasons for Texans to stay home this year. One reason, if you live in San Antonio, is a diphtheria epidemic. Nearly one hundred cases of this disease, for which an effective vaccine has existed for seventy-five years, have occurred in this picturesque city. Nearly all of them are in the heavily Mexican west side, where general economic conditions give the city the distinction of being the poorest city in the USA, in

its population class. This relates to campaign issues only because it points up the egregious state governmental attitude and effectiveness in dealing with the most basic matters of public health and welfare.

George Bush, incumbent Congressman from a Houston District, is a man with experience, maturity, and a dash of charisma. He is the son of former Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, but he has escaped being tagged a "carpetbagger" as often happens to Southern politicians whose grandpappies were not with Lee at Appomattox. He had nominal right-wing opposition in the GOP primary. (The Texas primary is held quite early, in the first week of May. This chronological gerrymandering is the direct result of LBJ's wish to be assured of being on the ballot for his senatorial seat in 1960, irrespective of what happened in the presidential race.) Bush won the primary handily, but few turned out to vote.

The reason for the small turnout was that most Texans who are conservative traditionally vote in the

Democratic primary, especially when liberals are on that ballot. This year they did so with a vengeance and helped bring about the defeat of Senator Ralph Yarborough, two-term incumbent and standardbearer of Texas liberals. The victor was Lloyd Bentsen, who, like Bush, has experience, maturity, and a dash of charisma. Bentsen also had the generous financial and heavyweight political support of conservative Democrats — the Connally wing of the party. Bentsen was aided and abetted by Lyndon B. Johnson who rose to power not as a maverick like Yarborough but as a "regular" Texas Democrat. The victory had reverberations in the state that will echo for years to come. Indeed, one might observe that the wild dancing on Yarborough's political grave has become emotionally exhausting for Republicans and conservative Democrats alike. The scene at most Republican gatherings when primary returns began to come in was one of total preoccupation with, and ecstatic delight at, this result.

It should be noted that Yarborough's defeat has national repercussions as well, for he has been Chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. While the leadership of that committee will be changed, its ideological complexion will not. Heir apparent is West Virginia's Jennings Randolph, who will probably hold on to the Public Works Committee; then comes Harrison Williams of New Jersey, who may be defeated this year; in that event Rhode Island's Claiborne Pell will assume the reins. If the Republicans win control of Congress, Jacob Javits of New York will secure the chairmanship.

BUSH'S GIVEAWAY

By his inaction in the ensuing twenty-four hours, Bush probably lost his best chance for victory. There were, the next morning, across this vast, misgoverned state, hundreds of thousands of Yarborough devotees, sick at heart and leaderless. Though few had ever voted for a Republican, neither had they any reason to be loyal to the Democratic Party of Texas, which Yarborough had never really got his brand on and against which he had struggled for all of his political career. A dramatic Bush appeal to these mourners on "the morning after" would have had a staggering effect on Bentsen's political future. Why Bush did not do this is puzzling.

Despite his inactivity, Bush is being supported by liberals who, encouraged by John Kenneth Galbraith and Ernest Gruening, want Bentsen defeated in order to pave the way for a realigned, liberal Democratic Party.

Certainly Bush's inactivity was not because he is not his own man. He has respectable private wealth and no political debts or beholdenness of consequence. His entry into the senatorial race in 1970 is thought to

have been viewed with something less than enthusiasm by Texas' other senator, the redoubtable John Tower, who is the hero of the Texas GOP establishment. Tower and Yarborough were (and presumably are) rather close personal friends. It is widely believed that their personal friendship and mutual respect had resulted in quite a practical *détente*. It was, in plain language, that Yarborough would do his best to prevent the Democratic Party from fielding a strong candidate against Tower in 1966; he succeeded. Tower was to return the favor in 1970; he failed.

Bush ran for his own reasons. It would have been most interesting to see what Tower would have done for Bush had Yarborough been nominated. As it is, Tower is strongly supporting Bush, for what it is worth. Whether he really relishes sharing GOP patronage is a question no one has been impolite enough to ask.

BENTSEN MENDS FENCES

Yarborough supporters, latter-day Populist in composition, with heavy allegiance from Mexican-Americans and blacks, have been decisive in many previous elections. (Their failure to secure the nomination for him this time was largely due to overconfidence, and they were shocked, chagrined, and disgusted with themselves after election day.) Bush seems to share some of their visceral concerns. His support of the Nixon Administration welfare reform proposals is well established and grounded in personal conviction. He stands in unambiguous support of an all-volunteer army, an appealing position to Yarborough's liberal Anglo contingent. That Bush is strongly identified with legislation desired by the oil industry would have been no apparent handicap with any segment of the Yarborough entourage. (Contrary to widespread belief, most Texans do not own even one oil well, and don't care much, one way or the other, about what happens to those who do.) It ought to have been easy for Bush to grab the brass ring when it came by, to go for broke, to hack out a trail in the "Big Thicket" of Texas politics, and change its character forever.

Presumably the decision to do nothing in haste — prompted, no doubt, by the immensity of the time span before November — seemed the most prudent course. Bush returned to his duties in the House in conscientious fashion. Bentsen, having no problems of incumbency or making roll call votes on controversial issues, set about becoming all things to all men. Charges that, for instance, he and/or his father gave a swimming pool to an east Texas town years ago with the proviso that it be drained and scrubbed after each of the two days per week that Mexicans were permitted to swim in it, were deftly turned aside. A charge by the widely respected *Texas Observer* that Bentsen called for the use of atomic weapons in the Korean Conflict (he served in the House then) was greeted with incredul-

ity. A senior Bentsen aide, with a straight face, told this reporter that he honestly didn't know if that statement was true or not.

So, in a word, Bensten has had time to unify, to pacify, to make pilgrimages to that famous ranch on the Pedernales as well as to areas where he was soundly beaten in the primary. Everywhere he talks of unity — repeating Tower's theme in his first successful race: "Texas should have a senator from each party." Bentsen also says his victory will preserve Democratic control of the Senate. The candidates now appear so much alike on the issues that people may vote party line which would be disastrous for Bush in this still largely Democratic state.

The campaign is not over. Bush is the underdog — quite unnecessarily on the defensive. His supporters hope campaign manager Marvin Collins, who engineered Linwood Holton's upset in Virginia will soon leave his mark on the campaign. He has opened absolutely no water between himself and the Nixon Administration on any issue. Agnew has come to Texas to raise money; Nixon may come to raise votes; Goldwater may come to raise the hackles of the moderates. Bush has some financial problems (chief source of GOP senatorial campaign funds has always been anti-Yarborough money) but they are not crucial. Texas has not suffered economic blitzes like southern California and Seattle. The mood of the voters is deeply apathetic, but there is no widespread disenchantment with the Administration. If a presidential election were being held in November, with Wallace in the race, Nixon would defeat any conceivable opponent, save perhaps a reincarnated Davy Crockett.

It is well to remember that Paul Eggers, whom Nixon appointed as General Counsel of the Treasury Department and who resigned to run for governor again, thoroughly rattled the cage of the Democrats in 1968. He got the amazing total of one and a quarter million votes — more than any other Republican had ever got — in losing to the present Democratic incumbent, Preston Smith. Then, no one really took Eggers' candidacy seriously. He campaigned audaciously, and even discounting the singular ineptness and lack of distinction of candidate Smith, ran a tremendous race.

NO AUDACITY

This year Eggers is considered by the GOP establishment to be a serious candidate. They believe they have a winner, and they are doing all they can for him — for what it is worth. Yet as the summer has lingered into fall, the odds have faded like the narrow, shimmering leaves of the mesquite. His campaign has begun to take on the appearance of an applicant for status as a federal disaster area — a status achieved more directly by the Texas cities of Lubbock and Corpus Christi, devastated by storms. But no storm has struck the Eggers

campaign. Indeed, all seems placid and serene. The campaign is, indeed, becalmed on a sea of apathy.

It is said that Eggers was reluctant to make the race again — that he did so only under the most intense pressure from the GOP at the national level. Both he and his wife were seriously ill during the primary campaign, but it scarcely mattered because he had no real opposition. He, too, is perhaps the victim of the baffling time span between primaries and general elections in Texas, which simply favors the incumbent. Especially, one might add, when that incumbent is as colorless and business-as-usual as Preston Smith.

In casting about for clues for a winning model, so sophisticated a man as Eggers might well have looked at his last campaign which did not go so far to the right that it left Smith all the room to the left.

WHERE IS THE EGGERS OF 1968?

Caution seems to have triumphed in the Republican camp. Nothing bold is being done. Like Bush, Eggers has all kinds of identity with the welfare reform proposals, as well as with revenue-sharing. No one doubts his commitment to these. Perhaps it is impossible to dramatize these issues and translate them into votes for a moderate candidate, yet it seems a shame not to try. Since the poll tax was abolished, increasing numbers of Texas poor have registered — even though annual registration is required (by January 31st, believe it or not!). Migrant labor abounds in the state — typical of the social strata that these reforms would most dramatically affect. The articulation of welfare reform is so oriented toward sugar-coating it for the affluent that no one seems to have thought of selling it to the people. Eggers has chosen to do nothing.

Typical of his early campaign appearances was one in El Paso, clearly orchestrated for the law-and-order vote. After a tour of the rancid south El Paso slums (to which Agnew's statement that "If you've seen one slum, you've seen 'em all" can hardly be applied), Eggers was quoted as saying, "Those are unbelievable living conditions." In the same paragraph, the quote continues: "I will not tolerate violence and breaking of laws. We have been entirely too permissive. I would call for better measures to prepare for violence." Later that day, on the campus of the University of Texas at El Paso, he was quoted as saying that the use of marijuana produces a type of mental illness.

Thus, the appearance this fall of "America, Love It or Leave It" and "Eggers for Governor" on opposite ends of the same bumper will come as no surprise.

It is conceivable that backlash voters, Agnew devotees, and hawks, voting with determined moderates who are disgusted with one-party rule, will secure a narrow victory for either Bush or Eggers, or both. It is also possible that one day the Mexicans will take the Alamo again. It simply isn't likely.

MASSACHUSETTS: Sarge is in charge; Spaulding tries harder

For the first time in a career which spans 20 years of service, Governor Francis W. Sargent has a horse race for election. The recent (September 15) four-way Democratic gubernatorial primary produced a thin but nonetheless impressive victory for the strongest of the candidates — Boston Mayor Kevin White, a victory gained without the bitterly divisive, personal acrimony that has characterized past Democratic primaries. To be sure, State Senate President Maurice Donahue, the convention-endorsed candidate, is sad and embittered after 22 years of loyal party service and government experience. But all the defeated candidates (with the possible exception of former JFK Appointments Secretary Kenneth O'Donnell) have only to gain by a Democratic victory in November, and all indications are that the scent of gubernatorial victory and of a wealth of new and old patronage (due in part to a major governmental reorganization) will be a powerful unifying force.

ODDS-ON FAVORITE

But Sargent, promoted from Lieutenant Governor when John Volpe moved to the Department of Transportation, is the odds-on favorite to retain his chair. Superior staff work and an engaging, folksy personal charm have transformed Sargent in the past twelve months from a weak, accidental Governor to a strong, decisive and popular leader. He has taken policy steps of nationwide importance in the areas of welfare (instituting a unique flat-grant system) and transportation (halting most Metropolitan Boston highway construction for a \$3.5 million restudy, with unprecedented community participation and some predisposition against further destructive highway building). And Sargent staged two well-televised productions, signing popular legislation he had not submitted. This adroit use of the media (an irritant to the Democrats and some newsmen, but a bonanza with the public at large as long as it doesn't get too cute) gained him substantial credit for the so-called Shea Anti-Vietnam bill (challenging the right of the Federal Government to send Massachusetts citizens to fight against their will in a war undeclared by Congress) and the unprecedented "no-fault" automobile insurance plan. Exploited by this artful PR work, the persistently delinquent Democratic Legislature has enabled him to use this traditional foil of recent Republican Governors. The total impact has been to give Sargent a 71 percent favorability rating, down 6 points since May, but still 7 points better than White or Ted Kennedy, and not bad for any incumbent in these days of ephemeral goodwill.

For the first time in Massachusetts history, the

Governor and Lieutenant Governor run as a team, elected as one. This could prove to be a critical factor since White's running-mate is an articulate, highly competent darling of the Democratic and independent liberals, State Representative Michael Dukakis. His visibility is not great, but he engenders great loyalty among this major swing element of the electorate.

Sargent had initially usurped this swing group and greatly broadened his staff capacities and expertise by his unexpected Lieutenant Governor selection last April of 29-year-old Ripon member and Airlie Conference Sponsor, State Representative Martin Linsky. But use of a distorted slur by Linsky's convention opposition caused Sargent to switch ten days before the June convention to his close friend and Commissioner of Administration and Finance, Donald Dwight. Dwight is regarded as having been a uniquely competent "deputy governor," with a major role in Sargent's success, but his visibility is low, he is of Yankee stock like the Governor, and he has not yet been translated into a strong plus for the ticket. The impact of this rare slippage in Sargent's composure will probably remain undeterminable.

The issues are not fully joined. Sargent would like to make the Legislature and his most successful measures into the key issues. White insists on talking about unemployment, the Republican Executive/Democratic Legislature stand-off on Beacon Hill, and the need for a change. Unemployment in Massachusetts *has* increased at twice the national rate due in part to defense and space cutbacks, with perhaps a touch of Southern strategy neglect thrown in. But it will be tough for White to pin this on Sargent, especially since White has been an expensive — if relatively progressive — Mayor of Boston. In any case, Sargent has been vigilant in keeping his distance from the national administration, and baldly rejecting Vice President Agnew.

SLIMMER MARGIN

In a mid-August poll, Sargent led White by a rather stunning 49 percent to 32 percent. But this was without Lieutenant Governors, before the primary, and only a poll. Massachusetts has almost twice as many Democrats as Republicans, and it takes a progressive, attractive, well-financed Republican to sweep in enough independents and swing-Democrats to hold the tide. Sure enough, a late September post-primary poll cut Sargent's lead to only 3 percentage points over White (with 17 percent undecided).

Fortunately, progressive, attractive and well-financed Sargent is. White, although thrice-elected Secre-

tary of State before running for Mayor, suffers the stigma of all big-city mayors and lost Boston in the primary. Without any real issues on which to hang his hat, White will have to rely on the Democratic majority, his own generally good, liberal image, an unmeasured desire for change, a renegade Republican advertising man, and his running-mate Michael Dukakis. That's a lot, but probably not enough.

Unfortunately, the other state-wide Republican candidates are not so well-financed and are having a tough time getting off the ground. Two of the incumbent Democrats were promoted from the Legislature when earlier incumbents moved out (Republican Attorney General Elliot Richardson went to Washington and Secretary of State Kevin White got elected Mayor) and have never run state-wide. But unless big money shows up somewhere, there won't be any new faces at the lower levels.

The race for Secretary of State offers the best hope and the most interest. Mrs. Mary Newman is one of the GOP's most impressive and talented members in the Legislature. Her 15 years of tough elective politics in Cambridge stood her in good stead at the June convention where she swamped former Boston Patriots black halfback Ron Burton. She opposes a bumbling, unknown incumbent in November. With women's rights as a new political issue, she cannot be ruled out.

EMK VS. SPAULDING

In what could have been the most important Senate race for the GOP, the early conclusion by experts that it was not even a long shot damped any chance of defeating Ted Kennedy. The key element, of course, was money. And as of late September there was very little of it.

Josiah A. Spaulding is a liberal Republican who, on occasion, finds himself to the left of Kennedy. A lawyer of old Yankee stock, Spaulding is a strong advocate of the volunteer army and liberalized abortion and birth control laws, positions quite opposed to Senator Kennedy's stand on those issues. Spaulding also advocates a faster rate of withdrawal from Vietnam and has urged President Nixon to adopt a timetable for completing our withdrawal faster than provided for by the Hatfield-McGovern Amendment. Last May he broke publicly with Nixon on the Cambodian venture.

In the criticism which he leveled at the Nixon Administration, Spaulding perhaps sowed the seeds for the biggest issue of his primary opponent, John J. McCarthy. McCarthy, a conservative whose big hero was Spiro, announced his candidacy for the nomination a few weeks before the June 27 nominating convention. Although Spaulding has been working actively for the nomination since January (and already had many contacts as a result of three years service as Chairman of the State Committee), McCarthy received nearly a third

of the convention votes. His outspoken support of Nixon and Agnew, rather than any appeal as a good candidate for the Senate, won McCarthy the convention votes of those conservative Republicans who looked for someone (anyone!) less liberal than Si Spaulding.

McCarthy took his convention loss to the September 15 primary (where no Republican convention endorsement has ever been overturned), and Spaulding prevailed there with about 57 percent of the vote.

While the White House was technically neutral in the primary fight, a top political aide to the President hinted that McCarthy was preferred. This was not surprising, since Spaulding had said from the beginning that the Chappaquidick affair would not be an issue in the campaign, and McCarthy considered it fair game. The White House did not think Kennedy could be beaten in Massachusetts, so it was looking for the candidate who, in losing, would deal the lowest blows and make sure Ted did not look good for '72.

OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE

The Spaulding people, however, do not consider their campaign an exercise in futility. Nor does Spaulding see his mission as that of a tackle in Nixon's game plan for the 1972 run. He has, in fact, stated that he wants neither Nixon nor Agnew to come to the state to campaign for him. The plugs for Spaulding will come from Republican moderates like Senator Edward Brooke, Under-Secretary Elliot Richardson, and Transportation Secretary John Volpe. Spaulding and gubernatorial candidate Sargent will also appear together. This plan was threatened by the McCarthy candidacy, and Sargent people worked quietly for Spaulding's nomination — a McCarthy candidacy would have been a disaster for the statewide ticket, and Sargent is a favorite to win partly because he is so liberal.

The problem faced by Spaulding (and any Republican) is that only one sixth of Massachusetts voters are registered Republicans, twice as many are registered Democrats, and about half the electorate are Independents. With this in mind, Spaulding is appealing far beyond party regulars for his support. This may explain why he had to worry at all about the primary election. He could not spend three and a half months campaigning for the Republican nomination and then have only a month and a half to go at Kennedy. So he just spent a little time with Republicans and just got by.

Spaulding, like Kennedy, is opposed to the ABM and the SST. But Spaulding criticizes Kennedy for failing to take steps to prepare the Massachusetts industries for the new priorities — i.e., if the large electronics industries in Massachusetts are not going to get their work from defense projects, then Spaulding wants them to be aided in converting to production for peacetime needs. Most of Spaulding's attacks on Kennedy have been developed along the line that Kennedy has talked at length about numerous issues but has failed to

make good on his promises. Kennedy, although suffering from overexposure, is softly selling the idea of how much he has done for the state, especially in education and for the elderly. He is also emphasizing the fact he is Assistant Majority Leader of the Senate. The conclusion is that Massachusetts has a very powerful voice in Washington. Spaulding has turned that issue around by claiming that Kennedy is, by virtue of his position, tied to the outmoded seniority system. The economy, unless there is some dramatic upturn right before the election, will probably hurt Spaulding simply because he is a Republican. The war is not really a big issue, since both men want to get out faster. Spaulding has criticized Kennedy for being a dove and then failing to support the candidacy of anti-war priest Robert Drinan.

The early polls show Kennedy far ahead. Spaulding, lacking big money, has not been able to get either the exposure he needs nor the opportunity to bring home (via the TV) his carefully documented record of Kennedy's performance gap. There is a strong undercurrent of discontent with Kennedy which is not measured in the polls. He has nearly a 30 per cent unfavorability rating in one poll.

Kennedy cannot just win this election, of course. People are comparing it to his last race, in which he won by a three to one margin. That was 1964, however. John Kennedy's assassination was still fresh in people's minds, Ted was in the hospital with a broken back from a plane crash, Goldwater was getting trounced, and the Republican unknown who opposed Ted did not even conduct a campaign. So Kennedy cannot do that well this time. But if he only gets 55 percent of the vote, he will be out of the national picture.

MRS. HICKS GOES TO CONGRESS

Whatever the outcome of the November election, the Massachusetts Congressional delegation will see at least two new faces.

The overdue retirement of Speaker McCormack and the candidacies of two liberal Democrats — one black and one white — conspired to elect Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, of anti-busing, law-and-order fame, with only 40 percent of the vote. She has token opposition

in November; the Republican party blew the opportunity to win the seat and build a progressive urban coalition when the party leadership permitted the nomination to go by default to aging, conservative former Congressman Laurence Curtis, who does not even live in the District.

Congressman Philip J. Philbin, second ranking member of the House Armed Services Committee, and a veteran pro-Johnson and pro-Vietnamization New Deal Liberal of 26 years service, was dumped in an upset by the \$125,000, 4000-volunteer peace candidacy of Father Robert Drinan. Drinan's campaign, expertly organized by Republican National Committee cast-off John Marttila (who headed Action Now, the RNC's effort to set up storefront political and social action centers in urban ghettos) has great momentum and enthusiasm but will run into serious opposition from State Representative and Ripon member John McGlennon, McGlennon, 36, who expected to be facing Philbin, is in the slightly uncomfortable position of picking up the kind of support that opposes peace candidacies. But he makes a compelling case for a moderate progressive, experienced legislator and could effectively isolate Drinan on the left fringe.

Other Congressional campaigns of note will be a challenge to conservative Republican Hastings Keith by McCarthy organizer Gerry Studds, who overwhelmed three opponents in his primary. Keith narrowly beat back a primary challenge from State Senator William Weeks. If that split has any trouble healing, Keith could be in trouble. Margaret Heckler faces an unpredictable contest from a well-financed dove, Bertram Yaffe, who is from the urban end of the 10th District. Former Nixon staffer and former Boston Republican City Committee chairman Howard Phillips is running against a freshman liberal dove, Michael Harrington, in the Sixth District.

With Keith and Heckler in serious fights, while only Bradford Morse and Silvio Conte are given free rides, the GOP will have to work hard to maintain their present one-third of the 12-man delegation. The McGlennon-Drinan contest will provide the only real fireworks and the only hope for a new Republican face.

MICHIGAN: continuing the Romney dynasty

The main question in Michigan politics this year is whether the Republicans can do in 1970 what the Democrats were unable to do in 1962. In that year, John B. Swainson lost out after taking the reins of government from G. Mennen Williams, the architect of the Michigan Democratic party in the 1950's. This year, Governor William G. Milliken, who inherited

the Romney dynasty, will try to reverse Swainson's precedent.

There are holes in this analogy to be sure, but it is an interesting perspective on this year's election in Michigan — particularly for those who hold that politics runs in cycles. If the cycle theory holds, Milliken will be too weak to hang on to or improve on what George

Romney developed in his six years as governor. The state capitol will then come under the control of Sander Levin, the Democratic nominee and former minority leader of the State Senate.

Recent signs indicate that it may not be easy for Milliken to be reelected. Although he easily won the primary without campaigning, his opponent, a conservative, gained almost one quarter of the Republican votes — obviously discomfiting to the former Lieutenant Governor who succeeded Romney in 1969 when he became Secretary of HUD. In addition, Milliken, who now faces the voters on his own for the first time, can take little comfort from the recent *Detroit News* poll which showed him running only 2 percentage points (42 percent to 40 percent) ahead of Levin, with 18 percent undecided.

If there is any saving grace for Milliken, it is Levin himself and the continued failure of the Democratic party to unite after a bitter split under the Johnson administration. Levin, like Milliken, is soft-spoken, moderate and generally lacking in charisma. He easily survived a three-way race for the nomination, but so far he has failed to pull together the dissident and new left factions of his party. Levin's low-profile personality and the disarray of his party make his charges that Milliken lacks leadership ring rather hollow.

Milliken has probably put forth some of the most progressive and comprehensive programs state government has ever seen. Yet he has had little time to implement them in his 18 months in office, and his low-key leadership style avoids seeking public support for his program. So people have little substance with which to identify him. He lives in the shadow of his dynamic predecessor and lacks the benchmark of the stagnated state government of the 1950's which Romney could always use to claim progress.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

Major issues in the campaign are few, and given the quiet approach of both candidates, it is unlikely that many will emerge. Milliken has wisely limited his campaign to state issues — avoiding association with national and international problems. Levin will attempt to link Milliken closely to Nixon and a troubled economy (the slump has hit Michigan particularly hard). Although the strategy of association with unfavorable national conditions has never been very successful in Michigan, it may hurt Milliken this year if labor troubles persist and unemployment continues to exceed by far the national average.

An issue which has deep impact throughout the state is that of aid to non-public schools. The record shows Milliken for it and Levin against it, but predictably neither wants it as an issue because it is one of those sticky, "no win" problems. On a local basis this issue has decided many a contest, but this is its first statewide test. Few experts are willing to hazard a

guess on its effect. Parochialism, as it's known here, splits the populace down the middle and upsets traditional voter blocs, particularly among racial and religious groups. While Milliken may pick up some Catholic support, Levin may solidify the blacks, many of whom oppose non-public school aid because their children must attend public schools for economic reasons. Best bet so far is that statewide losses and gains over parochialism will probably cancel each other out.

In Michigan the gubernatorial race traditionally provides the focus for the campaign. For both parties, a strong candidate for governor has brightened prospects for the rest of the ticket — including contests for United States Senator. When conditions were right, this pattern allowed Romney to team closely with and help elect Senator Robert P. Griffin and for G. Mennen Williams to elevate two Democrats to the U.S. Senate during the fifties — including the incumbent senior Senator, Philip Hart.

SEPARATE TABLES

This year no such pattern has emerged. Milliken, in a tough fight for his political life, sees no advantage in holding hands with the relatively weak and precarious Senate campaign of Mrs. George (Lenore) Romney. Senator Hart, with all the benefits of a 12-year incumbency, has nothing to gain from a close identification with Sander Levin (who could probably gain much if some of Hart's voter appeal could rub off on him). As a result, Michigan has four very different campaigns for the two major offices with four very different strategies.

Much to the discredit of Michigan Republicans, Hart has never been confronted with a serious challenger; this year appears to be no exception. The fondest dreams of GOP regulars, that the Romney magic, Lenore's Betty-Crocker image, and her role as adviser to her husband, would spell victory, have so far turned into near nightmares. From the confusion and ill-will resulting from her designation as the "preferred" candidates of the state party, her narrow primary victory to her current problems with the issues, Mrs. Romney's campaign has been plagued with difficulties. This is atypical of a party which is accustomed to fairly smooth-running and professional campaigns.

Part of the problem is the image Hart enjoys at home. He is an enigma with an almost Eugene McCarthy-like mystique. On one hand he is perceived by the people as moderate, reasonable and hard-working, with a nonpartisan, no-enemies stance. He always appears to be fighting for the consumer and the little man. On the other hand the soft-spoken Senator can actually show little major accomplishment in his twelve years of service. He is uninspiring on the major issues, though he has compiled a down-the-line liberal voting record. For instance, though he's not led opposition to the war, his was an unwavering vote for the

Hatfield-McGovern amendment (ditto ABM). Unfortunately for Mrs. Romney, it is the first impressions that stick with most Michigan voters.

CREDIBILITY GAP

The task faced by Mrs. Romney and her strategists, then, is to determine how to break through Hart's image. In addition, she must insure that that half of the Republican voters who supported her ultra-conservative opponent (state legislator Robert Huber) in the primary come back into the fold. She must appear credible as a Senator and credible on the issues. This will be difficult. Although well-liked and well-known throughout the state, she has never been recognized as a political leader in her own right. The current impression is that no definite strategy has been agreed upon and consistently applied.

One message which continues to come through, however, is that this race is rapidly becoming a referendum on the Nixon Administration. Through her husband, she is closely identified with the White House, and Vice President Agnew recently made two appearances in the state on her behalf. In what seems to be a deliberate attempt to get closer yet to the Administration, Mrs. Romney's statements have taken on a hard-line law-and-order flavor. Some of her moves hint at the "hard hat and forgotten working man" attitude currently in vogue at the White House. She has attempted to make a major issue of a resolution proposing amnesty for draft dodgers which was passed by the Democratic state convention. Recently she offended blacks and civil rights advocates by appearing to condemn civil disobedience methods of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Any strategy that would be in line with the Nixon-Agnew approach seems amazing to those who recall that the President has lost Michigan twice. There's good reason to believe that he has done little since assuming office that would increase his appeal in this traditionally Democratic and progressive state. For a Republican to win in Michigan he must have united GOP support, a good 70 percent of the independent vote and 20 percent of the Democrats (who can claim almost twice as many voters as can the Republicans). Governor Milliken is methodically and quietly trying to achieve this proven coalition, but Mrs. Romney seems to be listening to some other distant drum. Polls now show that of those who voted for George Romney in 1966, more plan to vote for Hart than for Mrs. Romney.

MAN FOR ALL SEASONS

Meanwhile, Senator Hart confidently continues his fight for the consumer (which of course includes everybody), and continues to intellectualize on the major issues. His don't-rock-the-boat approach appears to be paying off. The latest Detroit *News* poll shows him

with a 3-1 lead. Hart's return to the Senate will be applauded by Democratic regulars and liberals at home and in Washington, all of whom value his service. (He chairs two subcommittees of the Commerce and Judiciary Committees.)

Lacking spectacular candidates or burning issues, the election will probably be marked by a return to voting patterns of the past two decades. This means that the Democrats will take most of 14 statewide races with the possible exception of Milliken and his hand-picked running mate James Brickley. Brickley resigned as U.S. District attorney to seek and win easily the convention nomination. A former city council president, he is a progressive Republican and highly regarded in solidly Democratic Detroit.

Another interesting statewide race is that for Secretary of State which features Democrat Richard Austin, who narrowly missed becoming Detroit's first black mayor last year, and State Senator Emil Lockwood, who as Senate Majority Leader pragmatically steered most of Milliken's programs through the legislature. While a black on the state ticket is nothing new for either party in Michigan, Austin is the first well-known black to seek a spot on the state administrative board. Whether voters are ready to place a black in such a high position remains to be seen.

STICKING WITH INCUMBENTS

Consistent with the relatively low-keyed contests this year, no changes are expected in Michigan's U.S. House delegation. All 12 Republican and 7 Democratic incumbents won renomination and are expected to be re-elected. Five of the Republicans started their House careers by capturing their districts from Democrats in the 1966 Republican sweep. Generally, they are younger and more moderate than their more senior GOP colleagues. Of the group, Representatives Marvin L. Esch, Philip Ruppe and Don Riegle have been endorsed by Ripon and are generally the most liberal members of the delegation. They represent swing districts and are prime targets for the Democrats; they could be in trouble if there is a Democratic landslide of 1964-proportions. All seven of the Democrats come from solid districts and will have no difficulty.

The incumbent congressmen will be watching with great interest the state legislative races, because the party that wins control of the legislature will be responsible for redrawing congressional district lines based on the 1970 census. Democrats now control the State House and Republicans hold the State Senate, but both Houses have been organized on very slim margins. The legislature is a toss-up this year with both parties concentrating their energies on the swing districts — about 15 in the House and five in the Senate. Democrats will probably hold onto the House by a slim mar-

gin. The Senate appears headed for a tie which means the party that captures the Lieutenant Governor's office will organize the upper chamber.

The realistic challenge for Republicans in this fairly unexciting year is to maintain the status quo. All indicators rule out a GOP sweep. If Republicans can

hold onto the top state jobs and their majority on the congressional delegation they will have shown that they can command basic strength without the magic of George Romney. Such a holding action would be a major accomplishment and lay the groundwork for building a more secure Republican state.

CONNECTICUT: Weicker vs Duffey and Dodd - - the frontlash voter counts twice

For the first time in Connecticut's political history, both parties held primaries to select major candidates for the general election. Although GOP State Chairman Howard Hausman tried to control Republican factions by publicly backing a Meskill-for-Governor, Weicker-for-Senate ticket, the delegates proved unobliging. An articulate conservative, State Senator John Lupton, was able to overcome an attractive newcomer, Ted Etherington, former president of Wesleyan University, to garner the 20 percent of the convention votes necessary for mounting a primary challenge for the Senate nomination.

Irked by what they considered to be Hausman's mandate, many conservative Lupton delegates also voted for moderate Wallace Barnes, State Senate minority leader, and an underdog gubernatorial candidate, though Barnes had already opted for a state income tax and opposed the Cambodia strike — proof that the real issue was the struggle for an open convention. Nevertheless, after receiving 22 percent of the vote, Barnes was about to accept Meskill's offer of the Lieutenant Governor spot when negotiations broke down in a battle to name the rest of the state ticket. From 7 p.m. until well after midnight, the Meskill-Barnes camps fought out their differences in a nearby hotel while master of ceremonies Clark Hull, a Danbury lawyer, State Senator and one-time gubernatorial candidate, tried to hold the hungry, exhausted delegates at bay in the neo-Karnak splendor of the Bushnell Auditorium. TV men covering the convention were so hard put to fill in prime time that one reporter admitted: "I was interviewing anything that moved."

The long, hot night wore on and tension mounted. Very late in the evening, Hull was named for Lieutenant Governor by one weary delegate who sensed his confreres were ready for a decision, any decision. As Hull modestly protested, his law partner, former State Chairman Searle Pinney, took over the podium and invited Hull's nomination by acclamation. The delegates, sympathetic to Hull's attempts to keep them informed and entertained during the tedious evening, responded with a thundering Yes. And the Meskill-Weicker

team quickly learned that any politician who leaves a thousand delegates alone for six long hours does so at his personal peril. The carefully-wrought slate — Meskill for the Catholic conservatives who comprise over 50 percent of Connecticut's population, well-to-do Weicker for the frontlash suburban vote — was in for a primary.

The Democrats, whose convention was held the following Saturday, were beside themselves with glee. The party knew it had the Governor's chair tailored to the measure of First District Congressman Emilio "Mim" Daddario. But they wound up with a primary battle among Senatorial aspirants the Reverend Joseph Duffy, Edward Marcus, the Senate majority leader, and party-backed zipper magnate Alphonsus Donahue.

GAINS IN CONGRESS

The Congressional races lined up as follows:

In the First District (Hartford) the GOP longed for one candidate and one only, the much-publicized woman Mayor, Antonina Uccello, whose personal backers wanted to see her nominated for Governor or Senator. While twelve Democratic candidates leaped at the Congressional bait, making full use of the TV and press exposure offered to both parties, the Republicans languished in a prolonged vacuum. A month before the Congressional conventions, attorney Isaac Russell of the Hartford Ripon chapter became the first declared candidate for his party. West Hartfordite Russell had a thorough knowledge of the core city and the intelligence and guts to run a responsible, issue-oriented campaign. After Mayor Ann, bolstered by phone calls from President Nixon and Vice President Agnew, declared her availability 72 hours in advance of nomination, Russell withdrew at the convention.

Historically the seedbed for Democratic Governors and Senators, the First District — 101,000 Democrats, 62,000 Republicans, 60,000 Independents — offers a tremendous challenge to Ann Uccello. As a prominent urban mayor, an Italian, a Catholic, and a woman, she might just swing it. Her hardline stand on law and order has lost her black and liberal sup-

port but may spell victory this year.

In the 2nd District (Eastern Connecticut) the candidate is 30-year-old Robert Steele. An Amherst graduate, he holds degrees in government and Russian studies from Columbia. He owes his high name recognition in the District to his father, a popular Hartford disc jockey. Steele is receiving help from former local Ripon President Nicholas Norton.

In the 3rd District (New Haven) Robert J. Dunn, a retired Air Force colonel and superhawk, has no chance of defeating Democratic incumbent Robert Gaimo.

In the 4th District (Fairfield County, including Bridgeport and Greenwich) a young businessman and House Minority Leader, Stewart McKinney, was nominated by acclamation for Weicker's old seat. He faces Democratic deputy state attorney T. F. Gilroy Daly. Despite the heavy Democratic vote in Bridgeport, McKinney looks like a winner in a close race.

5th District (Waterbury). For the Republicans, James Patterson, a former six-term Congressman, faces Democratic incumbent John S. Monagan. Monagan, who earlier this year tried a flyer at the seat of his old friend, U.S. Senator Thomas Dodd, quickly scuttled back to the safety of the Fifth when his campaign flopped.

In the 6th District (New Britain, Torrington) GOP moderate Richard Kilbourn, general manager of station WBIS, faces a bruising battle against a widely known and admired Democratic candidate, liberal Ella Grasso, former Secretary of State.

PRIMARY RESULTS

In the GOP gubernatorial primary, liberal Wally Barnes was smothered by the party choice, Tom Meskill, a popular moderate-conservative Congressman who has served his District well. The final tally: Meskill, 93,530; Barnes, 38,065. Barnes, a well-qualified candidate, ran an unsalable campaign. He forthrightly but unwisely came out for a state income tax and went to Powder Hill (the mini-Woodstock canceled by the Connecticut state police), while Meskill was running a careful, intra-party campaign, visiting local party headquarters and Republican women's clubs.

The Senate vote was closer, as party-endorsed Lowell Weicker, who classifies himself as neither liberal nor conservative, outpaced conservative John Lupton by only 25,000 votes. Weicker's slimmer margin of victory may indicate a strong conservative vote (Lupton harped on Weicker's votes against ABM and Nixon's vetoes, calling him a "Goodell-Republican"), but it also reflects the fact that Weicker ran the primary like a general election campaign, shaking hands at supermarkets instead of mixing with the party faithful. Most towns that went for Barnes also went for Lupton, revealing more anti-organization sentiment than ideological fervor.

For the Democrats, the three-way Senate primary reflected the schisms in a party that has ruled Connecticut politics for 16 years. The Reverend Joseph Duffey, backed by a coalition of Kennedy-McCarthy hold-overs, won the Senate nomination from Alphonso Donahue, who was hampered by lukewarm, if official, party endorsement. The third candidate, Ed Marcus, who ran a tough law-and-order campaign, practically red-baited Duffey, criticized Yale president Kingman Brewster and spouted Agnew-like rhetoric, trailed badly. In late September Marcus lost again, this time his State Senate seat in West New Haven to a young liberal Democrat. Most pundits claim that had Marcus not run, Donahue would have taken the nomination. Certainly Donahue conducted a lavish campaign; \$600,000 of his \$700,000-plus expenses came out of his own pocket.

DODD'S A SPOILER

Another blow to Democratic party harmony was the decision of the incumbent Senator, the censured and bitter Thomas Dodd, who had recovered from a mild heart attack, to run as an Independent. Dodd's spoiler campaign will draw ethnic Democrats away from Duffey. Although the powerful AFL-CIO, led by John Driscoll, eventually endorsed Duffey, construction, teamster and postal unions raised a howl and promised support to Dodd.

The November results may be close: the Meskill-Daddario race could be a toss-up, and Weicker is a favorite only by virtue of Dodd's candidacy. Registered Democrats now outnumber Republicans by 83,000 and Humphrey took this state from Nixon by over 64,000 votes in 1968. But the 76,000-plus vote for George Wallace added uncertainty to predictions for 1970. With the labor vote now split between Duffey and Dodd, young (37) six-foot-six-inch Lowell Weicker, Yale and Virginia Law School, might pull it off. Tom Meskill, who gave up his safe seat from the 6th Congressional District, does not have the advantage of such a Democratic split.

Both parties are calling out their national artillery for Connecticut — Sarge Shriver and Larry O'Brien for the Democrats and Spiro Agnew (and perhaps Nixon) for the Republicans.

Unemployment is the issue that may spell victory for the Democrats in November. Because Connecticut is more reliant on defense spending than any other state (per capita), any military procurement cutback means men out of work. In many cities unemployment is edging over the six percent mark.

Also support of President Nixon, especially on the war, is Duffey's prime concern. Weicker, though for withdrawal, did support Nixon's Cambodia move and the Vietnamization policy. He opposed Hatfield-McGovern, saying it, "[told] the enemy when the last train leaves the station."

Other issues include:

ETHICS: Although his censure by the U.S. Senate for misuse of campaign funds undoubtedly denied Dodd renomination, there is a strong undercurrent of sympathy for his predicament and a hearty suspicion that people in glass houses are throwing stones and that neither House of Congress will police itself by establishing firm standards of conduct.

WELFARE (and underlying it, race): Welfare costs, particularly medical and maintenance expenses for AFDC, have skyrocketed to become, next to education, the largest item in the state budget. Although welfare recipients here are evenly divided between black and white, the rapidly rising number of blacks on welfare rolls in urban centers — plus inner city flare-ups — has increased racial tension.

POLLUTION: A hot issue for suburbanites, the young, and the better-educated voters. In the Greater Hartford area, suburban residents are fighting construction of an Interstate highway through a green-belt reservoir district. There is widespread disgust over the tainted Connecticut River and befouled Long Island Sound. No politician has yet come up with a way to make industry pay the costs of smoke and waste control without driving away business and throwing men out of work.

The actual key to Republican victory is retention of the frontlash vote. Meskill and Weicker may be sorely tempted to go for the backlash; this is guaranteed disaster, especially for Weicker, who already has to contend with Dodd drawing off Wallace-type voters. Some figures from the 1968 races may be instructive. In the 4th District, consisting predominantly of New York City bedroom suburbs, both Nixon and Weicker won by comfortable margins over their Democratic opponents. But in the Senate race Abraham Ribicoff beat Edward May 112,000 to 109,000. May had tried to identify himself with Wallace and the blue-collar vote and succeeded only in alienating frontlash voters. If Meskill becomes too vociferous on law and order, he may suffer the fate of the now-forgotten Edward May. Lowell Weicker, for his part, should bear in mind that his stronger opponent is Duffey, not Dodd. For every frontlash vote he loses to Duffey, he will need two backlashes from Dodd to stay even. Republican frontlashers count twice, once when they leave Weicker and once when they vote for Duffey. Dodd backlashes only count once because Dodd doesn't have a chance of winning. Though Weicker can get some help from Nixon, he would be well advised to leave the state should Agnew come.

MINNESOTA: Hubert hogs the center

MINNESOTA QUICK SUMMARY

U.S. Senate — Now have two DFL senators: Walter Mondale and Eugene J. McCarthy. Probably will continue to have two DFL senators: Mondale and Hubert H. Humphrey.

U.S. House — Now have five Republicans, three DFL Congressmen. May have five or six DFL and two or three Republicans. (For Republicans, only Albert Quie's and Ancher Nelsen's seats appear safe. Republicans John Zwach and Odin Langen are in trouble; re-election quite doubtful. Seat vacated by Clark MacGregor may go to DFL candidate.)

Governor — Now have Republican governor, Harold LeVander. Republican Doug Head is behind DFL Wendell Anderson. Close contest expected in November.

Other state constitutional offices — Only perennial Republican winner Val Bjornson, state treasurer, is running for re-election; appears safe for him. Other races depend more on name identification, such as for attorney general, former Republican State Chairman Robert Forsythe faces former DFL State Chairman Warren Spannaus. For

secretary of state, Republican Arlen L. Erdahl faces DFL Daniel D. Donovan (no relation to retiring DFL incumbent, Joseph L. Donovan.) For public service commissioner, DFL incumbent Ronald Anderson faces former Republican governor, C. Elmer Anderson, not to be confused with a more recent former Republican governor, Elmer L. Andersen. (Voters also will elect a lieutenant governor and a state auditor.)

State Legislature — Republicans now control both houses, expect to retain control.

* * *

Former Congressman Clark MacGregor, 48, faces an uphill battle in his campaign to defeat former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, 59, for the U.S. Senate seat abdicated by Eugene J. McCarthy.

MacGregor, Nixon's Midwest campaign chairman in 1968, was the Administration's hand-picked candidate — though his close ties to Mr. Nixon are causing him some difficulties, particularly among younger voters and college youth. But with a conservative trend everywhere in evidence, the tall, attractive, polished and accomplished politician will at

the very least give Humphrey a run for his money.

MacGregor won the endorsement of his party without opposition and swept the Republican primary, facing only nominal opposition from a conservative grocer from Anoka.

THE CRAIG CAMPAIGN

Humphrey, on the other hand, had significant opposition at the convention and the DFL primary. His adversary was Earl Craig, Jr., a young (31) black lecturer in Afro-American Studies at the University of Minnesota, who was the first executive director of the New Democratic Coalition. Craig ran as a peace-and-new-priorities candidate, and won 20 percent of the delegate votes at the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party meeting June 26-28. His finances dwindling, Craig then decided not to run as an Independent in the general election, which may have saved the election for Humphrey. In the September 15 DFL primary, Humphrey defeated Craig by a 4-to-1 margin. Some observers had predicted that Craig might poll as much as 35 percent of the primary vote. Republicans could have crossed over to vote for Craig, as Minnesota does not require party registration and the voters may select either primary ballot. However, Republican state party officials urged party members to vote in their own primary and few Craig switchovers materialized. As the Minneapolis *Star* editorialized the day after the primary. "That a black man in a state with but one percent black population can, on a \$20,000 budget, seriously challenge a major political figure on purely intellectual grounds is surely a vindication for the American political system. Craig thinks it insensitive and unresponsive, but both he and Humphrey are dedicated to the proposition that dissenters must work within our system. That alone was a victory for all of us, from the very outset of this interesting campaign."

MacGregor could woo the former Craig supporters (the ADA has refused to endorse Humphrey), but so far he has backed the Nixon Administration and concentrated on attacking Humphrey's lack of dedication to crime-fighting — referring again and again to the disorders of the 1968 presidential campaign. One of his slogans is "A problem solver for the '70's, not a problem maker of the '60's." Whether this strategy will pay off is another question. Humphrey easily carried his home state in 1968, and Mr. Nixon has not enjoyed any boom of admiration since. The latest Minnesota Poll, in the Minneapolis *Tribune* of September 27 gave Humphrey 57 percent and MacGregor 40 percent.

Humphrey has soft-pedaled on Vietnam (though recently he's said Nixon is not withdrawing troops fast enough), declaring that anyone who makes the war a partisan issue "will find himself in great difficulty." The central issue, according to Humphrey, will be the economy. "The Administration is very vul-

nerable," he says, describing President Nixon's attitude toward the economy as "footloose and fancy-free." The former Vice President's New York City advertising agency is relying on the theme, "You know he cares."

The MacGregor-Humphrey campaign is beginning to emerge as if the script were coming from the pages of Scammon and Wattenberg's *The Real Majority*. In fact, Ben Wattenberg is part of the Humphrey campaign team. While MacGregor has stayed toward the center of what S-W refer to as the Social Issues (race, crime, campus unrest, the challenge to old values and other "frightening aspects of disruptive social change"), Humphrey is moving toward the center as if he had recently discovered it. A recent Humphrey film emphasizes his crime fighting record as Mayor of Minneapolis. His stand against lawlessness and violence is coupled with an attack on the economic policies of the Nixon Administration, policies that "show" that Republicans "don't care" about people. The election of Mayor Stenvig in Minneapolis and the recent bombing of the Minneapolis Federal Office Building, among other bombings, makes the theme increasingly appropriate to many North Star State voters.

Meanwhile, a parade of big-name Republicans has been coming to Minnesota to campaign in behalf of MacGregor. These have included Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel; Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans; Representative Rogers C. B. Morton, Republican national chairman; Senator John Tower, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee; and Senator Charles Percy.

The visitors all have extolled the capabilities of Clark MacGregor. Minnesotans generally agree that MacGregor is capable, although many Republicans believe that he will use those capabilities as a U.S. judge rather than as a U.S. Senator. The seat on the 8th Circuit, U.S. Court of Appeals, formerly held by Associate Justice Harry A. Blackmun, has not as yet been filled. Some observers predict that MacGregor will get that seat. Others think it more likely that the 8th Circuit seat will go to Edward J. Devitt, chief judge of the U.S. District Court of Minnesota, and that MacGregor will get the seat vacated by Devitt.

HEAD FOR GOVERNOR

For the GOP, the major contest at the state convention ensued over the gubernatorial nomination: a contest between two attractive moderate-leaning hopefuls. Attorney General Douglas Head, who originally announced for the Senate, and was persuaded to leave the field by Administration officials, was the eventual winner. He staved off a determined challenge by Lieutenant Governor James Goetz. As the Head-Goetz controversy tended to center on electability rather than ideological persuasion, the GOP has displayed a united front since, despite the fact Goetz

declined to accept the second spot on the ticket. That nomination went to Duluth Mayor Ben Boo, 45. In addition to Boo's urban credentials as mayor of the state's third largest city, his mayoralty victory came in an area, the eighth Congressional District, traditionally under heavy DFL control. State Republicans are hopeful that Boo, who carried all 75 of Duluth's precincts in his mayoralty victory in 1967, can erode Democratic strength on the Iron Range long dominated by Congressman John Blatnik.

CRIME, CRIME, CRIME

As for issues, law and order again dominates. Head has said, "If I were to pick one major issue in this campaign in which the candidates have a basic disagreement, it is with regard to the importance of aggressively attacking crime and lawlessness." The Democratic counter-charge claimed that with Head as Minnesota's chief law enforcement officer, the general, major and violent crime rates have gone up faster than the national average. Head claims that as attorney general he has successfully sought a criminal division in his office, mandatory police training, an expanded state Crime Bureau and the professionalization of the prosecutor system.

The DFL gubernatorial nominee is State Senator Wendell Anderson, 37, a St. Paul attorney, possessor of a Kennedyesque image and an undistinguished record in the Minnesota legislature. State Senator Rudy Perpich, 42, a Hibbing, Minnesota, dentist, won the endorsement for lieutenant governor. The same late-September poll gave Anderson 50 percent of the vote. Head 45 percent, with 5 percent undecided.

In the last endorsement contest of the DFL convention, delegates overturned the recommendation of their Endorsements Committee and backed Elmer Childress, 53, for secretary of state. Childress, a vice-president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor, was the first Negro in Minnesota history to seek statewide office under a major party banner. His Republican opponent is State Representative Arlen Erdahl, 39, of rural Blue Earth, who reportedly is the first political candidate in Minnesota history who owns a farm and has a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University.

In each party, one endorsee for statewide office did not make it through the primary. Republican Roland Hatfield, 60, a former Minnesota commissioner of administration, defeated the endorsed candidate for state auditor, Hennepin County Treasurer Kenneth E. Pettijohn, 69.

In the DFL contest for Minnesota secretary of state, Elmer Childress was defeated. His defeat apparently was the result of name identification, since the contest was won by a 43-year-old beer bottler, Daniel D. Donovan, of St. Paul. Another Donovan, Joseph L., is retiring after 16 years as secretary of state.

State DFL Chairman Richard Moe said after the election that "the people have spoken." He said that the "party has chosen its nominees, and we support the nominees." He would soon be anxious to eat his words.

Another case of name confusion, particularly among older voters, apparently occurred in Minnesota's 1st District, where the DFL primary was won by Blaine A. Lundeen, 47. Lundeen narrowly defeated Thomas L. Olson, 28, an instructor and doctoral candidate in American diplomatic history at the University of Minnesota. Back in the late '30s and early 1940, Farmer-Laborite Ernest Lundeen was a U.S. Senator from Minnesota until his death in a plane crash in August 1940. Some DFLers suggest, however, that rather than the name similarity, Blaine Lundeen's victory can be attributed to Republican voters who crossed over to vote for DFLer Earl Craig and then voted for the congressional candidate they felt could most easily be defeated by the Republican incumbent, Congressman Albert H. Quie, who appears to be a certain winner in November.

PERSONA NON GRATA

Candidate Lundeen, a farmer from Dover, Minnesota, was arrested in St. Paul in early September and charged with disorderly conduct after he walked into the offices of the Twin Cities' NBC television station with a stick of dynamite. Lundeen told police he was trying to demonstrate how simple it was to obtain dynamite and walk into buildings with it. Lundeen, who faces charges as a result of the incident, is free on \$600 bail. The DFL's candidate for governor announced that he would not support Lundeen in his congressional bid. And the 1st District's Republican chairman, J. Robert Stassen of South St. Paul, asked DFL Chairman Moe to speak up on the matter of Lundeen. Stassen recalled that Moe had said the DFL "supports its nominees," in reference to Daniel Donovan's winning the secretary of state nomination. Stassen said Moe and the DFL should extend the same support to Lundeen or repudiate him. The DFL had not endorsed a candidate in the primary.

In the 2nd District, Republican incumbent Anchor Nelsen is expected to win over DFLer Clifford Adams, and DFLer incumbents Joseph Karth of the 4th District and John Blatnik of the 8th District are expected to win easily over their Republican opponents, Frank Loss in the 4th and Paul Reed in the 8th.

In the 5th District (Minneapolis), DFL incumbent Donald Fraser, who faced primary opposition from Alderman Joe Greenstein, in a primarily law-and-order campaign, will probably win over former radio newscaster Dick Enroth, who also is putting much emphasis on the law-and-order issue. Fraser's margin of about 25,000 votes over his primary opponent seemed to douse the law-and-order fires.

Greenstein, a maverick Minneapolis alderman since 1961, ran with the endorsement of the Minnesota T (for Taxpayers) Party. His campaign, consistent with the T-Party platform, was conservative in tone, with a strong emphasis on law and order. Greenstein also urged greater neighborhood control over urban renewal projects through referendums. In addition, he described gun control as a "Communist plot" and promised to help weed out "subversives" from the federal government.

The style and content of Greenstein's campaign were designed to emulate the drive that carried Charles Stenvig to the mayoralty of Minneapolis during the city elections in the spring of 1969. The T-Party was formed last winter largely by supporters of Stenvig, a police detective who ran for mayor as a conservative independent with a strong emphasis on firm law enforcement.

THREE SHAKY SEATS

In other Congressional races, three seats now held by Republicans may go the DFLers, including that of 3rd District Congressman MacGregor.

MacGregor's House district, comprised largely of Minneapolis' higher-income suburbs west of the city, ordinarily would be safe Republican territory. But the DFL Party endorsed former TV editorialist George Rice, who has ready name identification among voters and who is seen as a possible November winner over the Republicans' William Frenzel, a representa-

tive in the Minnesota House. Rice is hitting hard as a peace candidate, with jabs at the Nixon administration not only for the Indochina War but also for the state of the national economy.

Rice's chances, and those of others DFLers, depend to a large extent upon the length of Hubert Humphrey's coattails.

Two Republican incumbents, Congressman John Zwach in the 6th District, and Congressman Odin Langen in the 7th, face possible defeats. Much depends on the farm issue and the crops situation. Zwach faces a young former Twin Cities newsman, Terry Montgomery, who operates a radio station in Princeton, Minnesota, and is an official at St. Cloud State College. Langen faces DFLer Robert Bergland, who was his opponent two years ago in a close race. Langen has been hurt by being selected as one of the Environmental Action Committee's "dirty dozen," a list of 12 Congressmen with the worst records in the ecology field.

In the nominally nonpartisan State Legislature, Republicans, who caucus as Conservatives, control 85 seats in the House compared with 50 for the DFLers, who caucus as Liberals. In the State Senate, the lineup is 45 Conservatives and 22 Liberals. The DFL is putting much emphasis on legislative races, as Republicans are doing and have done in the past. Republican officials expect to retain control of both houses. Much may depend on Humphrey's coattails.

TENNESSEE: moderates and Wallace-voters - - to Brock or Gore?

Tennessee Republicans face an excellent opportunity this year to make the Volunteer State a Republican stronghold. The Democratic Party is burdened with an incumbent Senator who has become increasingly unpopular in the past few years and a gubernatorial candidate with a somewhat tarnished image as an effective administrator. However, whether 1970 is in fact a Republican year depends upon Tennessee's rather independent voters. Not only will this year's elections determine the future strength of Tennessee's Republican Party, but they will also have a determining influence on its future ideological outlook.

The race between incumbent Senator Albert Gore and Congressman Bill Brock has the trappings of a classic liberal vs. conservative battle. Despite the national attention the Gore-Brock confrontation is bringing to the Volunteer State, it leaves the large number of basically moderate votes in Tennessee in a dilemma. It is this sizable segment of Tennessee's population

as well as the 1968 Wallace voters, which hold the balance in this year's U.S. Senate race.

Both the Republican and Democratic primaries for the Senate seat had a certain ideological flavor. Senator Howard Baker remained neutral in the Republican primary, but it is safe to say that various Baker supporters persuaded country-music star Tex Ritter to enter the Senate race against Brock. One of Ritter's stated reasons for entering the race was to offer Tennesseans a moderate choice.

There has been a great deal of talk of the Baker-Brock rift in Tennessee Republican politics. Many consider Brock to be a threat to Baker's moderate leadership of the GOP in Tennessee. Whether or not there is an actual rift between the two men is questionable. But there is no doubt of a certain amount of disagreement between major followers of the two.

Ritter's poor showing at the polls against Brock is not an indication that a vast majority of Tennessee

Republicans happen to be as conservative as the Chattanooga Congressman. That simply is not the case. The outcome of the GOP primary was mainly the result of Brock's grass-roots organization which held tight control of precinct organizations in most areas.

Ritter provided a very good example of how not to run a campaign — virtually no precinct organization, failure to make the appropriate contacts with Republican leaders, and inadequate public relations. It appeared the Ritter organization was depending on Ritter's name recognition alone. Ritter's campaign was simply no match for Brock's well-financed, professionally-organized approach, and Ritter failed to provide the moderate alternative he had originally professed.

WAITING GAME

Needless to say, there are various Republican leaders in Tennessee who could have run a better race against Brock; Ritter received only 24% of the primary vote. At one point, Congressman Dan Kuykendall of Memphis was a sure candidate against Brock. However, in the summer of 1969, Kuykendall ruled himself out of the race for three principal reasons: 1) not-so-promising poll results; 2) Brock was quickly organizing on the grass-roots level throughout the state; and 3) the desire to prevent a major primary battle which might result in a major party split. If Brock loses on November 3, Kuykendall is certainly a prime prospect for the Senate in 1976.

If anyone questions that Senator Albert Gore is in trouble this year, the results of the Democratic primary should have silenced those doubts. Gore barely edged out Hudley Crockett, 37 — press secretary to Democratic Governor Buford Ellington — in what amounted to the toughest fight of his political career. Youthful, articulate, and basically moderate, Crockett almost pulled off one of the biggest upsets in Tennessee political history. Gore won only 54 percent of the vote against his youthful challenger — but some of the Crockett vote came from cross-over Republicans and does not indicate Democratic opposition to Gore.

Considering Crockett's rather late entry into the race and Gore's built-in advantage as an incumbent, Crockett came amazingly close to victory. He is a rising star in Tennessee politics and a possible opponent to Senator Baker in 1972, although he may find it more politically advantageous to run for Governor in 1974.

So, now, Tennessee voters must choose between the conservative Bill Brock and the relatively-liberal Albert Gore. If the race continues to be portrayed in this way — liberal vs. conservative — then Tennessee's voters will almost certainly pick the conservative.

It has definitely been in Gore's advantage to change the tone of the campaign, and his ability to

do just that must not be underestimated. Gore has succeeded to some extent in shifting the focus of the campaign from such issues as Vietnam, ABM, and his votes against Haynsworth and Carswell to issues such as tax relief, Social Security, education, and aid to Appalachia — in short, matters which more directly affect the day-to-day lives of Tennesseans. Gore has attempted to get off the defensive by attacking Brock's failure to support various domestic programs of the Federal government. Originally, Brock came out of the primary fights with a big lead over Gore, and his job since that time has been to hold on to that lead.

Although Albert Gore couldn't be termed an articulate speaker, he does have a certain evangelical approach, something that Brock definitely lacks. In joint appearances, Gore has tended to come out on top, but any betting man would side with Brock.

President Nixon has increased his strength in Tennessee over the past year, due to issues such as Vietnam and appointments to the Supreme Court. Brock has desperately tried to maintain such matters as the focus of the campaign. Vice-President Agnew has been brought to Tennessee to aid in this effort. On September 23, Agnew spoke to around 10,000 admirers in Memphis. In what amounted to a two-fisted attack on Gore, the Veep called Gore, among other things, "the Southern chairman of the Liberal Eastern Establishment."

If Gore is defeated, Tennessee will lose 18 years of seniority, the third ranking Democrat on the Senate Finance Committee, and the fourth ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee.

TEST OF SOUTHERN STRATEGY

If Brock wins, it will be a shot in the arm for the Southern strategy. Brock has run a very pro-Nixon campaign, and Southern strategists rely on Tennessee as a key state in 1972. The Southern strategy predicts that the 1968 Wallace voter (Wallace ran a close second to Nixon) will vote Republican in a two-way race. But statistics show Wallace did best in Democratic areas in the western part of the state. Brock can only hope that Crockett voters will think Brock's conservatism is more important than party loyalty or bread and butter issues.

There is one possible bright spot for Tennessee moderates in a Brock win: Brock's whole campaign has centered around the duty of elected officials to represent faithfully their constituents' views. If Brock puts that philosophy into practice as United States Senator, then he will certainly have to take a more moderate approach to various issues than he has as a Congressman. The state of Tennessee as a whole is not as conservative as Brock's Congressional district.

While national attention is riveted on the Gore-Brock contest, the focus in Tennessee has become the battle for the Governor's mansion. Control of the top office means control of the state's large patronage sys-

tem and an important voice in drawing the new lines in Congressional reapportionment.

Following his defeat in 1966, John Jay Hooker almost immediately began running for the 1970 Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Former Governor Frank Clement's death in late 1969 removed Hooker's chief rival, and he moved quickly to strengthen his organization with former Clement supporters.

Former state senator Stan Snodgrass soon emerged as Hooker's most potent adversary. He was later joined by Memphis judge Robert Taylor, who ran as an avowed "conservative." Hooker began his campaign as a distant frontrunner, and his main task throughout the campaign was to preserve his lead.

Hooker's position made it advantageous for him to run a rather low-key campaign, as opposed to his very aggressive style in 1966. Hooker would play the role of unifier in 1970. He was anxious to say nothing which might later be used against him. He tried to ignore the disclosures of his personal financial disaster (two franchising companies he has a substantial interest in declared bankruptcy).

Snodgrass concentrated his fire on Hooker's failure as a business executive. But it was not enough to turn the tide. No other real issues developed in the campaign, and outside of the Nashville area, Hooker's business record was not well known. Taylor referred to Hooker and Snodgrass as "liberal Siamese twins," arguing that both were too far left for the Democratic Party and the state's electorate. He ran third.

THE GOP SCRAMBLE

For the first time in this century, the Republican contest for governor proved to be at least as exciting as the Democratic primary, if not more so.

The scramble for the GOP nod began as a rather casual stroll. Former State GOP chairman Claude Robertson looked like he would be unopposed until youthful William Jenkins, Speaker of the House, joined him. The pace really began to pick up when Nashville millionaire Maxey Jarman decided that Bill Brock needed a running mate from outside East Tennessee. He also felt that neither Jenkins nor Robertson could defeat Hooker. At the same time, in Memphis, the same conclusion was being reached by former Shelby County GOP chairman Winfield Dunn. Dunn entered the race.

Dunn began the campaign unknown outside of Shelby County. He was a West Tennessean, while 75 percent of the Republican primary vote traditionally comes from the three East Tennessee Congressional districts. Dunn's lack of exposure, his underfinanced and understaffed campaign, and the fact that he was a dentist, were all considered hindrances to victory. However, as the campaign began to heat up, Dunn's assets came to light. An articulate public speaker as well as a personable conversationalist, Dunn awed every audience. While his campaign was underfinanced, the de-

votion of his followers was unmatched. And his profession became as much an asset as a liability. Voters seemed to be tired of professional politicians.

The central issue of the campaign was which of the four candidates was best able to sell himself to the voters in the general election. A Memphian who could carry the state's most populous county appealed to East Tennessee Republicans hungry for a victory this year.

Dunn received an eleven thousand vote margin in the primary — totalling 33 percent of the vote. Not only did he succeed in carrying one of the three Eastern Congressional districts, but he also rolled up an amazing majority in Shelby County, receiving 92 percent of the votes in the largest GOP primary turnout in Shelby County history.

All of Dunn's primary opponents are now solidly behind his candidacy and are working to show they mean it.

A REAL CONTEST

In the past, winning the Democratic primary meant being the Governor-elect. But times have changed, and John Jay Hooker now finds himself in a horse race against Winfield Dunn.

Hooker's outstanding advantage is that he has been running for four years and has a well-organized political operation. Also Democrats vastly outnumber Republicans. Two and a half times as many people voted in Democratic as the Republican primary. His major hurdles have been splits in his own party and no issues to attack Dunn on.

Right after the primary, Dunn's organization drifted rather aimlessly. White House aide Lamar Alexander has since stepped in to fill the leadership vacuum. What Alexander lacks in experience, he possesses in ability and keen insight. The raid on Washington also brought back two members of Howard Baker's staff and one from the National Security Council.

Dunn has approached the campaign with the view that the most important goal is to gain recognition. Secondly comes the need to demonstrate his knowledge of the needs of the state and his constructive programs to alleviate these needs. He also points to Hooker's business failures as indicating a lack of administrative ability at a time when Tennessee is feeling a revenue pinch.

Dunn's approach is basically moderate, although if Douglas Heinsohn — American Party candidate — becomes more of a threat Dunn may be pressured into a more conservative approach. Both Dunn and Hooker occupy similar positions on most issues. Ultimately, then, the voter's decision rests on the amount of confidence he places in the ability and character of each candidate.

Dunn appears to be holding a slight edge over Hooker. Dunn should lead Hooker among white vot-

ers, but Hooker stands to benefit substantially if there is a heavy vote among blacks (14 percent of the electorate). A substantial number of wavering voters are former supporters of Stan Snodgrass. A victory may well hinge on the ability of each organization to get its voters to the polls.

Control of the General Assembly is vital in 1970 to both parties. The House is already in Republican hands by a slim margin. Of ninety-nine seats, fifty are Republican, and one is held by an independent who votes with the GOP most of the time. This year, seventy-one GOP candidates are in the field. Legislative leaders expect to gain at least three seats.

Eighteen of the thirty-three Senate seats are up. Republicans need to win eleven to gain control. The

prospects do not look good, although the margin will be very close.

The Lieutenant Governor is selected by the state senate. The Treasurer and Comptroller are chosen by a majority of the vote of both Houses.

Tennessee stands to lose one Congressional seat in 1972. Control of the legislature is of obvious importance in determining where the lines will be drawn for the new Congressional districts.

Tennessee presently has five Democratic and four Republican Congressmen. No change is expected in the delegation except for the 3rd district seat, which Bill Brock is vacating. Republican Lamar Baker is expected to easily win this post against his Democratic opponent.

CALIFORNIA: now first in the hearts of the Republican right wing

The Governor of California was born in Illinois, and his opponent this year was born in Texas; its United States Senator who is up for re-election this year was born in Connecticut, and his opponent was born in New York. All four are making a play for the "law and order" vote. There you have California politics in a nutshell.

Today's average California voter is a WASPish suburbanite who lives in a relatively new, single-family dwelling. He holds a better job than his father did, and a better job than he would have had if he had stayed East. He owns two or more cars; his children attend modern schools; in short, he never had it better.

With this background, the average Californian has little interest in the ghetto or the barrio. He has little contact with blacks or Mexican-Americans except when they are in a servile capacity. Therefore an increase in expenditures for social needs must come out of his pocket, and he has little desire for such an increase.

And yet his state is also the nation's leader in leftist agitation. California had the first campus disorders, the first urban riot to be honored with a Presidential investigation, and the first use of repression by state authorities on a campus. Our profile voter wants to see an end to violence, an end to hippies, and he wants blacks and browns to achieve economic parity by their own bootstraps, as he and his ancestors did.

And how he votes will be of national significance. As the nation's most populous state, soon to boast the largest delegation in Congress and the Electoral College, it is on the top of anybody's list of "must" states

for 1972. Had Nixon lost California in 1968 (he netted less than 52 percent of the major-party vote there), the election would have been thrown into the House of Representatives.

But California politics is important to the nation for other reasons as well; it represents a national struggle for power in the Republican Party. The California GOP, once led by men like Hiram Johnson, Earl Warren, and Thomas Kuchel, now runs Ronald Reagan, George Murphy, and Max Rafferty for high office. Reagan, successor to Barry Goldwater as first in the hearts of the Republican right wing, will surely mount a favorite-son campaign for the White House in 1972 if he equals his 1966 record of a million-vote plurality.

And so the headline race in California is for the governorship, and it pits two political titans, Governor Ronald Reagan and former Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, against each other. It is a race between the "citizen-politician" who skyrocketed to the top because of his complete command of the podium, the television tube, and the press conference, and the quotable political pro with nervous mannerisms; between the Governor whose health, welfare, and education policies have made numerous but powerless enemies, and the challenger whose independent power plays have alienated nearly all of the Democratic hierarchy; between the Governor who is expert at simplified statements of problems, and the challenger who has coped with the complexities of legislative problem solving; between the Governor who proudly proclaims that he will not bargain or make deals, and the challenger whose career was built on bargains and compromises; between the charming, gentlemanly

Governor nearly everybody likes, and the challenger whose intelligence and prowess nearly everybody respects.

Although his campaign managers carefully exploit Reagan's mastery of TV and know that Unruh has great difficulty before the cameras, Unruh's frequent challenges to debate issues are emphatically declined. Reagan's managers know that the combination of Unruh's vast knowledge of government and his fighting temperament would award too many points to the challenger.

MR. HYDE IMAGE

Four short years as Governor have transformed "citizen-politician" Reagan into a hard-hitting, intransigent "ambitious-politician," despite his constant polishing of his good-guy image and his incessant efforts to blame the Democrats in the legislature for his inglorious record. Unopposed in the Republican primary, he has staked out a position to the right of President Nixon. Reagan is the hero of California's "silent majority" — law-abiding, tax-paying voters who are fed up with youthful permissiveness, anti-war demonstrators, lawlessness, campus violence, the deluge of smut, rising unemployment and high taxes. On the other hand, Reagan is anathema to the academic community, students, organized labor, the poor, blacks, and Mexican-Americans.

Gone are the days when Reagan, who campaigned for Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1950, was a liberal Democrat. Sometime in the 1950's, he got religion — anti-Communist religion. His transformation from fading movie celebrity to the hottest political property in the United States began on October 27, 1964, when his nationally televised appeal for funds for the Goldwater campaign (mainly a rehash of his speeches for GE) brought in an estimated \$600,000 into GOP coffers — mainly in small contributions.

Then in 1966, a group of Republican plutocrats — the late Cy Rubel, Holmes Tuttle, and Henry Salvatori — persuaded Reagan to run for governor, and he swamped moderate George Christopher with ease. His charm, plenty of campaign funds, expert management by Spencer-Roberts, a badly split Democratic Party, and mistakes by incumbent Edmund (Pat) Brown, all combined to propel Ronald Reagan into the governor's chair and ever-potential candidacy for the White House.

During sixteen years of political problem-solving, Jesse Unruh became the nation's most prominent state legislator. His advice was sought by Congressional committees, and he lectured on the legislative process at colleges and universities in the United States and abroad. En route up the political ladder, his intense ambition and strong-arm tactics (including literally locking the legislators in the Assembly until he got concessions from recalcitrant members) caused him

to lose friends and collect enemies. But in recent years he has undergone a great metamorphosis: he lost the Speakership when the Republicans took control of the Assembly, the Robert Kennedy bandwagon to which he had attached himself was destroyed in Los Angeles, depriving Unruh of a friend as well as an ally, and finally Unruh undertook a massive image overhaul which included the loss of a hundred pounds and the use of the nickname "Jess." If you can believe him, he has learned that there is more to politics than power; there is the opportunity for social reform.

Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty failed in his typically maverick primary campaign against Unruh; if Unruh's Democratic foes numbered in the hundreds, Yorty's numbered in the hundreds of thousands (Yorty had endorsed Nixon in 1960 and Reagan in 1966; more recently he has played ball with Republican fat cat Henry Salvatori and ran a racist re-election campaign against Tom Bradley in 1969). At the Republican state convention, Reagan said: "The opposition we face is power-hungry, organized, and the same old crowd of career politicians whose philosophy of government is big spending that was repudiated four years ago. . . . The issue is payroll politics versus citizen participation."

At the Democratic convention two weeks later, Unruh countered: "When Ronald Reagan (Unruh often pronounces the name 'Ree-gun' instead of the correct 'Ray-gun') took over the government of California so did the special interests who paid for that victory. . . . You can be sure that, having bought and paid for this administration, they will be more than willing to ante up again to keep it in power."

STRIKE ONE

Unruh knows he is bucking the odds — he does not have the enthusiastic backing of his party, having done little to help Pat Brown in 1966 or Hubert Humphrey in 1968. While Brown himself has endorsed Unruh (Brown's son Edmund Jr. is on the ticket for the Secretary of State slot), many of his people have been tepid about Unruh.

The second strike against Unruh is money. No longer the Speaker, and hardly a shoo-in for the governorship, he has had a lot of trouble raising funds. In September, his campaign chest was one-fourth the size of Reagan's. The Governor, on the other hand, has a Golden Circle Club — chaired by Chisum himself, John Wayne — whose lobbyist/businessman/actor/legislator membership consists of those able to pay the \$1000, \$3000, or \$5000 fee. Frank Sinatra, formerly a leading Democratic fund-raiser, has joined George Killion, former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, as co-chairmen of "Californians for Reagan."

Unruh, who calls his own donors "contributors" and Reagan's "investors" in an attempt to make the

financial difference a campaign issue; but as the ex-Speaker himself once said, "Money is the mother's milk of politics." A press conference at the gate of Henry Salvatori's estate on Labor Day backfired for Unruh when the fat cat and his wife came out and berated the Democratic candidate before television cameras.

The substantive issue of the campaign are headed by education issues. "The mess at Berkeley" was Reagan's biggest theme in 1966, and today the issue has varied little. No governor in memory has spent so much time on the internal affairs of the University of California and the State College. Reagan appointees now comprise a majority of the Board of Regents; the new chairman, William French Smith, is the Governor's personal lawyer and was chairman of the Reagan delegation to the 1968 National Convention.

Reagan's popular and oft-repeated statement, "Obey the rules or get out," will be applied vigorously to militant students and faculty. The firing of Angela Davis from UCLA and her disappearance following her alleged involvement with the Marin County courtroom shootout have solidified the Governor's popularity. The fine line of academic freedom is completely blurred as Reagan regularly chastises the Regents and attacked the Scranton Commission Report before it was written.

EQUALLY TOUGH

Unruh, who says privately that one campus blow-up this fall can make his campaign hopeless, is equally tough: "Violence and disorder must be stopped by firm and decisive law enforcement; college and university administrations and faculties must be given the responsibility and authority to act. . . . They, not the Governor and not the legislature, must solve the problems of their campuses. The university and college systems must be changed . . . must be made responsible to the people who pay the bills, and to the students." And he attacks Reagan for contributing to campus polarization and violence.

The other major issue is economy in government; by slashing welfare, health, and education expenditures, Reagan has consistently been at odds with the legislature. His running "tax reform" battle has been to no avail. Bitterly disappointed when his 1970 "tax reform" package was defeated by one vote, the Governor named the 13 Senators who voted against it at a press conference and told Californians he hoped they would remember that passage of the bill would have sharply reduced home-owner property taxes. The 13 holdouts accepted his challenge, maintaining that "tax reform" must include an overhaul of the state's complicated financing of schools.

Unruh requested a special session of the legislature to consider the tax reform. "We could have had property tax relief," he said, "had Ronald Reagan been

willing to make the big corporations, the oil companies and the insurance companies pay their fair share." As a campaign issue, this is in keeping with his depiction of Reagan as the captive of the money men.

What are their chances? Staunch Republicans claim that Reagan can net another million-vote plurality, and bring in George Murphy on his coattails; Democrats agree insofar as Unruh "has the chance of a snowball in hell." Reagan has been wooing organized labor with the ardor of first love, and despite the labor leadership's backing of Unruh, the working man is more inclined than ever before to vote for the man and not the party.

One key group that may sit out the election are the Mexican-Americans. They are disillusioned with the tokenism of both parties, and find their proposals for bi-lingual education, housing, and employment ignored and rejected time and again.

In short, Reagan is heading for a second term, and the big question for Californians is, how big a plurality?

ANOTHER AGING ACTOR

The second most publicized race in California is the contest between conservative Republican incumbent George Murphy and John Tunney.

Six years ago, Murphy was a faded movie star, who remained in the public eye by virtue of the late-late show and his appearances at Republican fundraising events. He burst from obscurity in 1964 by defeating Pierre Salinger for the United States Senate.

The intervening years have not been kind to Murphy. He is now 68 years old and throat cancer has reduced his voice to a rasping whisper. In the Senate, he has displayed neither talent for imaginative legislation nor any sparkling leadership. His voting record can be appreciated only by fellow conservatives.

This past spring, Murphy became involved in a scandal involving financier Pat Frawley. Technicolor, Inc., which Frawley then controlled, had arranged to give Murphy \$20,000 per year, a Washington apartment and other benefits in return for Murphy's role as "consultant." After the details of the arrangement became public, Murphy quit his "post," Frawley was ousted by Technicolor, and the respected Los Angeles *Times* recommended that Murphy "retire."

Moderates hoped that Robert Finch, who had garnered the greatest plurality of any Republican in 1966 in his race for Lieutenant Governor, would enter the race for Senate; Murphy, despite the scandal, his age, and his health, decided that what was good for George Murphy would be good for the Republicans — and clung to his position.

Finch chose not to file against a Republican incumbent conservative (conservative Rafferty in his race against moderate incumbent Republican Kuchel had no such scruples). His long-range political plans dictated that he avoid party in-fighting.

One day before the filing deadline, millionaire industrialist art collector and political dove Norton Simon entered the race. He had no organization, but invested his own money in television spot commercials. Despite his anonymity, Simon garnered 32 percent of the vote, clearly demonstrating Republican dissatisfaction with Murphy.

Murphy's campaign strategy is to avoid a direct contrast with his 36-year-old opponent, John Tunney. Tunney, a three-term Congressman from Southern California, is the son of former boxing champion Gene Tunney. At Virginia Law School he was the roommate of Ted Kennedy. Since entering Congress, he has correctly assessed California's swing to the right, and has taken a middle-of-the-road stance. For example, he declined to support the grape strike, an important issue with Mexican-Americans. In the primary Tunney faced liberal Congressman George Brown of Los Angeles. Brown made political points in his appeal to the left wing of the Democratic party and narrowed the early Tunney lead. Tunney resisted the temptation to move left and barely edged Brown. Murphy is resisting any temptation to move to a more moderate stance.

COUNTING ON COATTAILS

While Murphy and Tunney can be counted on to disagree on most issues, especially the war, clear-cut issues have not arisen in the campaign. Tunney seems to be banking on the same issue that has propelled fellow West Coasters Bob Packwood and Mike Gravel into the Senate — youth. Murphy's age and poor health are the main factors running against him, and unless Reagan can pull him across the wire, California is likely to be represented in the 92nd Congress by two freshmen Democratic doves.

For long-range impact on California politics, the most important elections may prove to be those for the state legislature. With the 1970 Census adding many new voters and five new Congressional districts to California (especially to Southern California), the new legislature will have a field day in 1971 drawing new Congressional and legislative lines that will dominate California politics in the 1970's.

The only Congressional primary upset this year was in the 7th District (Berkeley), where black Democrat Ron Dellums overturned Representative Jeffrey Cohelan of the Appropriations Committee. Dellums will face Republican John Healy in November.

Two deaths in the Southern California Republican delegation led to the elections earlier this year of John Birchers John Rousselot and John Schmitz. Both are shoo-ins for re-election.

The brightest hope for moderate Republicans in California is State Controller Houston (Hugh) Flournoy, a former Pomona College professor and state

legislator. Flournoy, who defeated Alan Cranston for his post four years ago, is attractive, popular, and progressive. He should defeat his Democratic opponent, former Congressman Brooks Cameron, and if he wins by a bigger margin than Reagan, he could lead the California GOP closer to the center.

Incumbent Attorney General Thomas Lynch, a Pat Brown protege, is stepping down this year and his hand-picked would-be successor Charles O'Brien has a real problem getting his name and face before the people. His GOP opponent is the dynamic District Attorney of Los Angeles County, Evelle Younger, who was nominated when his numerous conservative opponents split the right-wing vote. A moderate, he could follow former Attorneys General Earl Warren and Pat Brown to the Governor's chair. He is favored to win.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The new Lieutenant Governor, chosen by Reagan to succeed Robert Finch, is former Congressman Ed Reinecke, who faces Democratic unknown Alfred Alquist. The GOP candidate for Secretary of State is black conservative James Flournoy, not to be confused with Houston Flournoy, but who apparently was by enough voters to give him the nomination. He faces another famous name, Edmund G. Brown Jr. Flournoy is handicapped by his race, pundits say, and by his inept campaign staff; he is the only Republican running for statewide office who is trailing in the polls. The new state Treasurer is likely to be former U.S. Treasurer Ivy Baker Priest (Reagan's nominator in 1968), whose opponent Milton Gorden is another unknown.

The most interesting statewide race besides that for Governor is for Superintendent of Education. The incumbent is right-wing fundamentalist Max Rafferty, who destroyed Thomas Kuchel's Senate career and then lost to Alan Cranston in one of the most inept campaigns ever seen in California. He is opposed by his former assistant, Wilson Riles, a black. The respected Riles ran far behind Rafferty in the nonpartisan primary, however, and demagoguery may work against Riles despite its failure against Alan Cranston. Rafferty has become an embarrassment even to Reagan, who gave him a one-sentence endorsement. But the voters may be kinder.

For Republicans, the question in California is, what will the elections say about the viability of the far right in California elections? How long will Reagan's coattails be? How will leading moderates like Hugh Flournoy and Congressmen Pete McCloskey and Alphonzo Bell do? And will Robert Finch ever be able to recapture his role as Mr. Republican Moderate? Whatever the outcome, observers from coast to coast will be eyeing the Golden State for clues as to how it will go in 1972.



Washington Viewpoint

Not every candidate for office appears on this fall's election ballot. With the example of Richard Nixon before them, many ambitious politicians are actively involved in the fall campaign with hopes they will accumulate enough credits to enhance their own careers.

Perhaps the most elaborate campaign apparatus short of the Vice President's entourage belongs to R. Sargent Shriver. Having given up his futile effort to unseat fellow-Democrat Marvin Mandel for Governor of Maryland, Shriver established his own organization, Congressional Leadership for the Future, as a base for joining the fall campaign. Although Shriver likes to compare his financial resources unfavorably with Agnew's organization, his citizens advisory board looks like nothing short of a presidential operation. Along with the necessary star personalities — Rafer Johnson, Henry Fonda, Sammy Davis Jr., Paul Newman and Arthur Ashe — CLF lists prominent Democratic leaders as sponsors, including Ramsey Clark, Stewart Udall, Townsend Hoopes and Adam Yarmolinsky.

Shriver has travelled widely in the West and Midwest, as well as in the East. By election day he expects to have personally assisted more than 60 candidates. Still, he insists he has no interest in running for President. "Shriver keeps telling us 'I have a job to do now,'" one of his aides told the *Chicago Sun Times* recently, "and I'm going to do the best I can with it. About the other thing, we'll see about it later."

Shriver's congressional advisory committee lists potential presidential rivals Edmund Muskie, Harold Hughes and George McGovern. Clearly they are making their own way in the fall campaigns, however. McGovern has plans to speak in at least 15 states, in addition to numerous appearances at Washington fund-raising parties for liberal candidates. He has quietly opened a presidential headquarters several blocks from his office at the capital. The seven full-time staff who run the office were surprised twice last month by raids from Federal government officials. The raids hardly represented official harassment. Several employees of the Internal Revenue Service and Securities Exchange Commission thought they had a coup in finding the former tenants, T.C. Horne & Co., back at work after suddenly leaving town in financial difficulty.

* * *

After the elections, on the Republican side, a tough race could emerge for Senate leader. Hugh Scott has received valuable endorsements in his own

reelection campaign from the White House for his value as minority leader. Scott's recent criticism of G. Harrold Carswell's nomination to the Supreme Court will not endear him to conservatives who would like to replace him with one of their own when the new Senate convenes in January.

Roman Hruska will not challenge Scott again, but both Howard Baker and Robert Dole are interested in the top leadership position. Besides his active role on the Senate floor defending Administration war policy, Dole has pursued an active campaign schedule in the field, keynoting state conventions in Connecticut, Virginia and Florida and speaking on behalf of prospective colleagues in the Senate (Taft, MacGregor, Burton, Danforth, Hruska, Bush, Smith, Stevens, Roth, Wold and Roudebush).

Unlike Dole, Baker, who found himself very much in demand as a keynote speaker in 1968, has addressed only the Georgia state convention this year. His active support for abolition of the Electoral College prompted severe attacks from the right. Even as he shared a platform in Memphis with the Vice President to attack "radical-liberals," Baker was denounced by *Human Events* as a left-liberal associated, it said, with the evil influences of the *New York Times* and the Ripon Society.

So far Scott remains unperturbed by possible opposition in the new Congress. He is making few campaign appearances outside Pennsylvania, and he predicts publicly that if 49 Republican Senators sit in the next Congress he will poll 30 votes for reelection.

* * *

Despite growing interest around the country for "new politics" candidates, elected officials in Washington continue to coddle special interest groups. Last month Allen Ellender of Louisiana managed to transform the market-oriented agriculture bill passed by the House with Administration support into a producer-oriented bill, favoring cotton in particular, which Representative Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) estimated would add \$1,730,000,000 to Federal expenditure during fiscal 1971. Ellender received the support of Georgia's Herman Talmadge, who would take Ellender's position as chairman of the Agriculture Committee if Ellender should take the chairmanship of Appropriations where he now sits as acting chairman for the ailing Richard Russell of Georgia.

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