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Commentary: The GOP

AFTER THE BIG ELEPHANTS, WHAT?

In Michigan, the political fate of the Republican Party rests on Gov. William Milliken(R). In Iowa, it rests on Gov. Robert Ray. In Maine, on U.S.Rep. William Cohen. The three men are merely the most prominent symbols of the GOP's "Big Elephant" problem.

The symptoms are not apparent in every state, but they are widespread enough to be of national concern. Milliken, Ray, and Cohen are all phenomenally popular vote-getters. As a result, the Republican Parties in their respective states tends to revolve around their decisions. All three were their parties' best hopes to run for either the Senate or governorship this year. In Milliken's and Ray's cases, when they opted not to seek a new legislative career in Washington, their parties searched frantically for alternative candidates.

In Iowa, that search was particularly frustrating. Former Republican National Chairman Mary Louise Smith decided she wasn't suited for the legislative side of politics. Former GOP State Chairmen John McDonald and Tom Stoner decided they weren't interested. All three are Ray-style moderates, as are two remaining possibilities: businessman Marvin Pomerantz, the Ford campaign manager in 1976, and State Commerce Commission Chairman Maurice Van Nostrand.

The failure of the GOP to develop a credible candidate against Sen. Dick Clark has led the Iowa press to insinuate that Republicans are suffering

from a shortage of intestinal fortitude. Clark and fellow Sen. John Culver(D), after all, have the most liberal voting records in the country, according to Americans for Democratic Action. And Clark only last year began to pay assiduous attention to constituent concerns after years of neglect. Clark's "unbeatable" reputation hardly seems to square with his record: one win in one try. But Clark knocked of incumbent Sen. Jack Miller(R) in the "Republican year" of 1972 so he looks more scary than his liberal record in a moderate-conservative state might otherwise indicate.



Meanwhile, the state GOP is relying on Gov. Ray to do political magic tricks. Should he retire, the GOP's house of cards would collapse. The Democrats already control both houses of the legislature and two of the state's six congressional seats. Both U.S.Reps.Charles Grassley and James Leach were mentioned for this year's

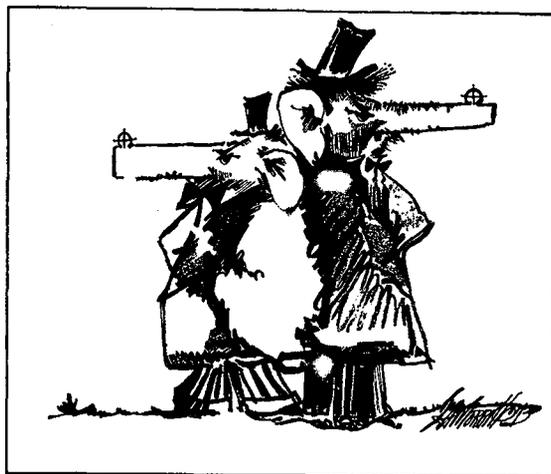
Senate run, but Grassley seems waiting for the more vulnerable Culver in 1980 and Leach needs to solidify his marginal House seat.

The party's problem is similar to that experienced by the Wisconsin GOP after Gov. Warren Knowles' retirement in 1970. In that state both Senate seats were already Democratic, but all but three of the state's 10 congressmen were Republicans as late as early 1969. Now, all but two of the nine are Democrats. Both houses of the legislature are Democratic by more than 2-1 margins and all the state's constitutional offices are held by Democrats.

Or take New York, which was dominated by Gov. Nelson Rockefeller(R) from 1959 to 1973. While the GOP retains the leadership of Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz(R) and the State Senate by an impressive margin, it has lost a series of congressional seats in traditionally Republican areas since that time. It has failed to make any major gains in the Democratic majority in the State Assembly while reductions have been painfully felt in the party's coffers.

Republicans in both New York and Wisconsin expect to mount strong campaigns to retake the governorships in their states this year, but the point is rather obvious. In far too many states, the GOP is the lengthened shadow of one or two men whose visibility masks the party's weakness at lower levels. The names are easy to remember because their bearers have been prominent for a year or more in national politics: Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.), Sen. John Chafee(R-R.I.), Gov. James Rhodes(R-Ohio), Sen. Charles McC. Mathias(R-Md.), Sen. John Tower (R-Texas), Sen. Strom Thurmond(R-S.C.), and Sen. Clifford Case(R-N.J.). In other states like Kentucky and Minnesota, the passing of key Republicans from senatorial or gubernatorial positions has left the party cruelly impotent.

California is a case in point. After Ronald Reagan left the governorship the party there seems to have disintegrated. Democratic margins in the legislature grow ever bigger---even in notoriously Republican areas like Orange County. Previously Republican congressional seats have moved steadily into Democratic hands. Only S.I.Hayakawa



has maneuvered successfully through the Democratic thicket.

Or witness another Sunbelt state, Arizona, where Democrats captured a Senate seat in 1976 when U.S.Reps. Sam Steiger(R) and John Conlan(R) mugged each other on the way to succeeding Sen. Paul Fannin, a former governor. The GOP also lost a congressional seat in the melee and may now forfeit a chance to retake the governorship as a result of animosity between the "establishment" wing (Fannin-Steiger-Barry Goldwater) and the ruling wing (Conlan) of the party. The ruling wing is pushing a sure loser while the establishment wing has yet to commit itself to the kind of money of a gubernatorial candidate would require to oust Gov. Wesley Bolin(D), a conservative "Pinto Democrat" who is ideologically acceptable to establishment Republicans. As a result, they have not yet coalesced around an attractive candidate like former State Sen. Bill Jacquin, now executive director of the Arizona Chamber of Commerce.

It's an old story---the failure of the GOP to recruit and promote attractive candidates. And to rely too often and too long on "big elephants." Meanwhile, the GOP forfeits too many races by fielding sacrificial mastodons. The Democrats seldom play that game. They aren't scared by the Bob Rays, Bill Millikens, and Bill Cohens. They put up tough candidates.

The GOP's dilemma was sarcastically outlined recently by John McLaughlin, the New Jersey columnist for the New York Daily News:

The Democrats stand for winning. They have the presidency, the Con-

gress, the governorship, both houses of the legislature, and almost all the courthouses.

This had led to a lot of hand-wringing about the dismal future of the Republican Party, which is in the process of disappearing. The Republican Party used to stand for frugality and business. Now it stands for losing and the retention of American sovereignty over the Panama Canal.

While the Republicans are standing for the Panama Canal, the Democrats

will be standing for liberals and conservatives, labor and business, blacks and whites, industry and the environment, more government and less, higher and lower taxes. The little guy and the big guy.

What the Republicans have accomplished through failure, the Democrats had attained through success. Having run out of Republicans to kick around anymore, they kick around each other. They are not a party, but a group of people under the same label being all things to all interests...■

Commentary: The Presidency

POLITICS AND THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Why does Jimmy Carter do these things? There had, after all, been reports last spring and summer that Eastern Pennsylvania U.S. Attorney David Marston would be allowed to serve out his term until 1980. Replacing Marston in the middle of his investigations of political corruption seemed too controversial. And the potential nominee being pushed by U.S. Rep. Joshue Eilberg (D) was not that spectacular. But Eilberg was persistent, arguing in mid-1977:

I've been around a long time, and it's normal when there is a change in party for the top regional positions to be made by the party in control of the White House. It's hard to believe people would be retained unless there were extraordinary circumstances, and Philadelphia is not such a case.

Eilberg's arguments might have been persuasive were it not for Carter's own campaign pledge: "All federal judges and prosecutors should be appointed strictly on the basis of merit without any consideration of political aspect or influence." Clearly that was not the case when the Justice Department sacked U.S. Attorney Philip Van Dam of Detroit in May or U.S. Attorney Jonathan Goldstein of New Jersey in September or U.S. Attorney Jervis S. Finney of Maryland in October. The Memphis Press-Scimitar editorialized in September:

Carter is doing what every other President has done. He's weeding out prosecutors appointed by the other party---in this case, Republicans---and replacing them with loyal Democrats.

It happened here in Memphis, when Republican Thomas F. Turley

was replaced by Democrat Mike Cody. While Cody appears to be well qualified as a federal D.A., his principal recommendations for the job were his loyal service to his party and his close ties of friendship with the President and Sen. Jim Sasser. On the other hand, Turley left office with only one mark against him---he belonged to the wrong party.

Most U.S. Attorneys resigned their jobs quietly, but Van Dam and Goldstein briefly stood and fought before they were axed. As Van Dam told the press: "I was appointed for a four-year term. President Carter promised to depoliticize the Justice Department in the aftermath of Watergate...Nothing I've done in 11 months causes me to feel I have to resign.



I see no reason for a change. If the President wants me to leave, he'll have to fire me."

In criticizing the dismissals of Goldstein and Van Dam, U.S.Rep. Henry Hyde(R-Ill.), chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime, noted:

In Chicago an outstanding U.S. Attorney, Samuel Skinner, was forced to resign to make way for a successor more acceptable to the Carter Administration and the Democrats. Sam Skinner had compiled an enviable record of prosecuting official corruption involving both political parties. But his political credentials weren't in order and, contrary to the pious proclamations of the Administration, he was told to pack his brief case and hit the road. His successor is a highly regarded and able lawyer, but the political pressures for a change were the determinative factor in this, as in so many other cases.

And now there is the strange case of David Marston---the man who almost survived the Carter purge until Congressman Eilberg decided to expedite his departure. Eilberg's current excuse for dismissing Marston is rather lame:"I felt that Mr. Marston was using the U.S.Attorney's office as a platform from which to run for higher office." In other words, Marston wanted to remain in office---allegedly so he could run for higher office---

so he should be removed from office so he gets that opportunity. The issue of Marston's pursuit of bipartisan corruption in the Philadelphia area apparently did not enter into Eilberg's logic. Of course, the fact that Eilberg and U.S.Rep. Dan Flood are allegedly the targets of one of Marston's investigations may be a pertinent factor.

The political dilemma that Marston's firing now poses for Carter was aptly summed up by the New York Daily News' James Wieghart:

A sense of outrage is also beginning to build (outside of Philadelphia) as publicity about the Marston case has spread. An important element in the reaction is, quite naturally, the dark rumor that Marston was being dumped to quash an investigation into corruption by powerful Democratic officials. If it develops that Marston was indeed investigating such allegations and if it turns out that is why he is being fired, this would be more than outrageous, it would be criminal---obstruction of justice to be specific.

The problems Carter faces is that, as a result of his confused explanation yesterday, it's going to be difficult if not impossible to convince anyone that the firing of Marston was justified, whatever the truth turns out to be. ■

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY

1911-1978

A LIFE WELL LIVED

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This is the second issue of the new monthly format for the FORUM.

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

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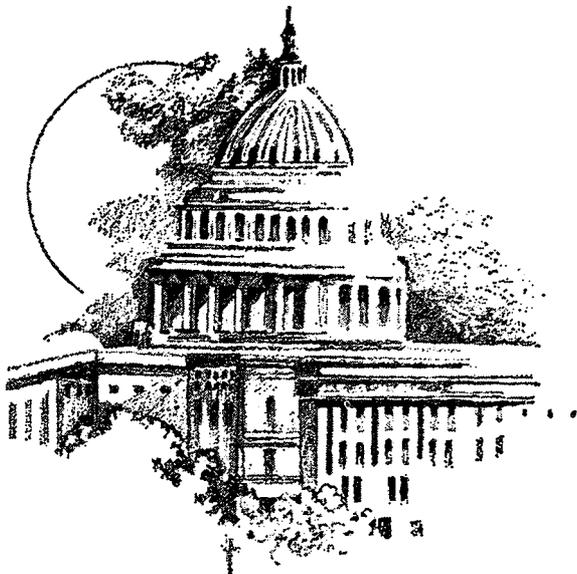
1977

The Ripon Ratings

Media fascination with the attempts of the New Right to dominate the Republican Party through a leveraging of traditionalist social impulses has obscured a much more significant and enduring development. In the last several years a new economic consensus, shared by both progressive and conservative Republicans, has developed. This involves a strong preference for free market approaches, including a commitment to free trade rather than protectionism. Republicans of varying persuasions are increasingly concerned about the debilitating effects that excessive regulation have produced for our economy and even our values.

Republican legislators have increasingly recognized that payroll taxes and minimum wage laws may be powerful factors fueling unemployment and retarding new business growth. In 1977, economic issues---energy policy, Social Security financing, international trade policy, and minimum wage levels---dominated the deliberations of both the Senate and the House. In consequence of this increasing preference of Republicans for deregulation and tax limitation and the tendency of Democratic legislators to support heavy-handed economic regulation, the Ripon Society Ratings for both the Senate and House show the strongest partisan divergence in the history of the ratings.

Perfect scores of 100 were tallied by Republican Senators John Chafee of Rhode Island and Charles Percy of Illinois. Fourteen other senators, all Republicans, received ratings of 80 or more. These included Mark Hatfield and Robert Packwood of Oregon(both 91), Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma(89); James Pearson of Kansas(88); Barry Goldwater of Arizona(83); Charles Mathias of Maryland, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, John Danforth of Missouri, Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania and Howard Baker of Tennessee(all 82); and Ted Stevens of Alaska, William Roth of Delaware, Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico, and John Heinz of Pennsylvania(80). The highest score registered by any Senate Democrat was a 73 scored by Gary Hart of Colorado. Republican Minority Leader Howard Baker's rating of 82 contrasted with a score of 27 tallied by Majority Leader Robert Byrd of West Virgin-



ia. In the cellar with scores of 0 were the late Lee Metcalf of Montana and Vice President Walter Mondale, who cast a tie-breaking vote on a key Social Security financing vote.

The 1977 House ratings followed a similar pattern with a diverse group of Republican progressives and moderate conservatives securing the highest ratings. Four Republicans secured perfect scores of 100. They were Thomas Railsback and John Anderson of Illinois, William Frenzel of Minnesota and Paul McCloskey of California. The next highest scores were registered by Paul Findley of Illinois, David Stockman of Michigan, Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey, Barber Conable of New York, and Lawrence Coughlin of Pennsylvania, all of whom scored 92.

Other high-scoring members of the House were Elwood Hillis of Indiana(91); Stewart McKinney of Connecticut(90); Edwin Forsythe of New Jersey(89); Ronald Sarasin of Connecticut, James Johnson of Colorado, Silvio Conte of Massachusetts, Willis Gradison and Donald Pease of Ohio, Marc L. Marks of Pennsylvania, James Jeffords of Vermont, and Joel Pritchard of Washington(all 85); William Cohen of Maine, Gary Brown of Michigan, James Cleveland of New Hampshire, John Wydler of New York, and J.W.Stanton of Ohio(83); Louis Frey of Florida, Guy Vander Jagt and Philip Ruppe of Michigan, and Albert Quie of Minnesota (82); and Margaret Heckler of Massachusetts(80). All of these top finishers ---with the exception of U.S.Rep. Pease ---are Republicans.

The sharp partisan divergence in the 1977 Ripon Ratings is underscored in the contrast between the 75 score of House Minority Leader John Rhodes and the 33 rating of his Democratic counterpart, Jim Wright. Bringing up the rear at "0" were House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, U.S.Rep. John Murtha of Pennsylvania, and former U.S.Rep. Richard Tonry of Louisiana.

The growing economic consensus among Republicans has involved some perceptible changes by both progressives and conservatives. Republican progressives have long been among the foremost advocates of free trade. Recently, congressional conservative Republicans, once the bulwark of protectionist strength, have moved toward a strong espousal of free trade. This change was dramatized in the House

floor debate on maritime cargo preference legislation where, in addition to progressive Republicans McCloskey of California, Anderson of Illinois, and Frenzel of Minnesota, strong espousals of free trade were advanced by such Republican conservatives as Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois and Jack Kemp of New York.

A corresponding shift has occurred in progressive Republicans' attitudes toward government intervention in the economy. In August 1971, when former President Richard Nixon imposed extensive wage and price controls, most Republican progressives welcomed such intervention. Subsequent disillusionment with the blunderbuss effects of much government regulation has caused most Republican progressives to favor market-oriented approaches on such issues as energy development or youth entry into the labor force.

The little noticed result of these converging trends is a greater cohesion on economic issues among Republicans than at any time in recent years. These issues---taxes, capital formation, entry into the work force, economic innovation, energy development, and limitations on government boondoggling---are likely to dominate political debate over the next generation. Meanwhile, such issues as abortion, the Panama Canal Treaty, and gun control---all of which have been skillfully manipulated by New Right political strategists, may soon fade in political significance.

Despite the determination of such New Right strategists as Richard Viguerie to press for "ideological purity" and intraparty purges, the long-term Republican outlook may be for increased intraparty harmony if economic issues remain paramount.

The most irreconcilable claims in contemporary politics are pressed by disparate elements of the Democratic coalition. Organized labor is clamoring for protectionism, and pressuring the Carter Administration and congressional Democrats to pursue short-sighted trade policies. Public employee unions---holders of political IOUs from many elected Democrats---can be expected to resist strongly any efforts to streamline government services. Organized labor's continuing infatuation with anachronistic minimum wage policies has ballooned teenage unemployment.

If the working class and minority portions of the Democratic constituency are to realize significant progress, elected officials will be forced to make difficult choices that will often be offensive to vocal and politically organized portion of the Democratic constituency. These may include:

- 1) Curbing runaway costs of pension programs for public employees;
- 2) Introducing educational accountability to the public schools;
- 3) Overhauling building codes and constitution industry work practices to reduce the cost of residential construction and rehabilitation;
- 4) Changing minimum wage laws and occupation entry barriers in order to facilitate entry of youth into the work force; and
- 5) Reducing payroll taxes and red tape inhibiting the development of small businesses.

The Republican Party is increasingly well equipped to be a party of insurgency, challenging the outdated notions of the governmental bureaucracy and its supplicant beneficiaries. To the extent that it can articulate credible and often marked departures from the current unworkable domestic strategies, the Republican Party may expand its base to include many minority and white ethnic Americans as well as a substantial number of intellectuals. The Democrats, increasingly shackled with the stigma of economic reaction, may experience a gradual erosion of their coalition.

SENATE TEST VOTES

(Numbers correspond to Congressional Quarterly.)

59. Passage of the bill to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome in order to bring the United States into compliance with the United Nations economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. March 15, 1977. Vote Yea.

205. Humphrey(D-Minn.) substitute amendment for the Hatfield(R-Ore.) amendment to give priority to food and fiber commodities over tobacco products in the financing of PL 480 programs. June 15, 1977. Vote Nay. The Hatfield amendment proposed to ban the sale of tobacco products from the Food for Peace program.

256. Dole(R-Kan.) amendment to the Agriculture Department Fiscal 1978 appropriations bill to limit to \$50,000 the subsidy payments by the Commodity Credit Corporation to any sugar beet or sugar cane producer or processor. June 29, 1977. Vote Yea.

327. Ruling of the Senate on point of order by Cannon(D-Nev.) to rule out of order amendment by Packwood(R-Ore.) to increase tax credit for political contributions to Senate and House candidates. August 3, 1977. Vote Nay.

337. Magnuson(D-Wash.) motion that the Senate insist on its disagreement with the House amendment on abortion. August 4, 1977. Vote Yea.

344. Helms(R-N.C.) amendment barring the use of any funds in the Fiscal 1978 Foreign Aid appropriations bill for foreign assistance programs that would subsidize competition with U.S. industry, business, agriculture, or employment. August 5, 1977. Vote Nay.

449. Hansen(R-Wyo.) motion to table Abourezk(D-S.D.) amendment to S 2104 to set the price of new natural gas at the existing BTU-related price if oil price controls under the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act were in effect and to stipulate that if controls were not in effect, the price should not exceed the BTU-related price at expiration plus an inflation adjustment. September 27, 1977. Vote Yea.



523. Adoption of the modified Pearson (R-Kan.)-Bentsen(D-Tex.) substitute amendment to deregulate the price of new natural gas. October 4, 1977. Vote Yea.

543. Domènici(R-N.M.) amendment to S 1871 to permit employers to hire workers under age 20 at 85 percent of the minimum wage for the first six months on the job. October 7, 1977. Vote Yea.

622. Nelson(D-Wis.) motion to table Curtis(R-Neb.) amendment to raise the Social Security tax rate above the levels recommended by the Senate Finance Committee and to increase the wage base equally for employees and employers at the levels recommended for employees by the committee. November 4, 1977. Vote Nay. Vice President Mondale cast a "yea" vote to break a 41-41 tie.

HOUSE TEST VOTES

(Numbers correspond to Congressional Quarterly.)

2. Wright(D-Texas) motion to order the previous question (and thus end further debate and the possibility of amendment) on the House rules proposed by the Democratic Caucus at its meetings in early December 1976. January 4, 1977. Vote Nay.

58. Passage of the bill to halt the importation of Rhodesian chrome in order to bring the United States into compliance with United Nations economic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. March 14, 1977. Vote Yea.

66. Myers(R-Ind.) amendment to bar use of funds in HR 4877 for implementation of President Carter's Vietnam Amnesty program. March 16, 1977. Vote Nay.

174. Buchanan(R-Ala.) substitute amendment to the Dornan(R-Calif.) amendment providing that any new Panama Canal Treaty must protect the vital interests of the United States. May 4, 1977.

206. Separate vote on the Johnson(R-Colo.) amendment to make tobacco products ineligible for PL 480 Food for Peace export sales to foreign nations. May 12, 1977. Vote Yea.

313. Conte(R-Mass.)-Derrick(D-S.C.) amendment to delete funding from HR

7553 for 16 water projects and to reduce funding for one more. June 14, 1977. Vote Yea.

326. Hyde(R-Ill.) amendment to the Fiscal 1978 Labor-HEW appropriations bill to prohibit the use of federal funds to finance or encourage abortions. June 17, 1977. Vote Nay.

468. Brown(R-Ohio) amendment to end federal controls on the price of new on-shore natural gas retroactive to April 20, 1977, and on new off-shore natural gas beginning April 20, 1982, and to extend the Emergency Natural Gas Act of 1977 for three years. August 3, 1977. Vote Yea.

512. Cornell(D-Wis.) amendment to permit employers to pay only 85 percent of the minimum wage to workers under age 18 during their first six months on a job. September 15, 1977. Vote Yea.

616. Adoption of the rule providing for House floor consideration of HR 1037, a bill guaranteeing to U.S. flag ships a set share of transportation of U.S. oil imports. October 19, 1977. Vote Nay.

618. Vote on the passage of this cargo preference legislation. October 19, 1977. Vote Nay.

663. McCloskey(R-Calif.) motion to recommit the maritime authorization conference report with instructions to restore an anti-rebating amendment adopted by the House and to make the amendment effective immediately upon enactment. October 31, 1977. Vote Yea.

705. Adoption of the rule providing for House floor consideration and waiving all points of order to the conference report on the Social Security financing bill. December 15, 1977. Vote Nay.

KEY TO RIPON TEST VOTES

- V = Vote in accordance with Ripon position.
X = Voted opposite to Ripon position
O = Did not vote or voted "present" on test vote
-

SENATE VOTES

SENATORS	VOTES/59	205	238	256	327	337	344	449	523	553	622	TOTAL	RATING
<u>ARIZONA</u>													
Arizon	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	5/11	45
Clark	V	X	X	X	O	O	X	O	X	V	X	2/7	29
<u>ARKANSAS</u>													
Askins	V	X	V	X	X	V	O	V	V	X	X	5/10	50
Evans	V	X	X	V	V	V	O	V	V	V	V	8/10	80
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>													
Concini	V	X	O	X	X	V	V	V	X	O	O	4/9	44
LDWATER	X	V	O	V	O	V	O	V	V	X	O	5/6	83
<u>KANSAS</u>													
Impers	V	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	X	5/11	45
Clellan	X	O	O	O	O	C	O	O	V	O	O	1/2	50
dges													
<u>LIFORNIA</u>													
anston	V	X	V	X	X	V	O	V	X	X	X	4/10	40
YAKAWA	X	X	O	X	V	V	X	O	V	V	O	4/8	50
<u>OLORADO</u>													
rt	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	8/11	73
skell	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	6/11	55
<u>ONNECTICUT</u>													
icoff	V	V	O	V	X	V	O	X	O	O	X	4/7	57
ICKER	V	X	X	V	V	V	O	V	V	X	O	6/9	67
<u>LAWARE</u>													
den	V	V	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	2/10	20
YTH	O	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	8/10	80
<u>FLORIDA</u>													
iles	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/11	64
tone	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	5/11	45
<u>GEORGIA</u>													
mn	V	O	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	V	O	6/9	67
almadge	O	X	X	X	X	V	O	O	X	V	O	3/8	38
<u>HAWAII</u>													
rouye	O	X	O	X	X	V	V	X	X	O	V	3/8	38
atsunaga	V	X	O	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	3/10	30
<u>DAHO</u>													
urch	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	6/11	55
CLURE	X	V	X	X	V	X	O	V	V	O	V	5/9	56
<u>ILLINOIS</u>													
evenson	V	V	V	V	X	V	O	O	X	V	X	6/9	67
ERCY	V	V	V	V	O	O	O	V	O	V	V	7/7	100
<u>NDIANA</u>													
ayh	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	6/1	55
UGAR	X	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	8/11	73
<u>OWA</u>													
lark	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	O	X	X	X	6/10	60
ulver	V	V	O	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	5/10	50
<u>KANSAS</u>													
OLE	O	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	7/10	70
EARSON	V	X	V	V	V	V	O	V	V	O	O	7/8	88
<u>KENTUCKY</u>													
ord	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	X	4/11	36
iddleston	V	X	X	X	X	X	O	V	X	X	O	2/9	22
<u>LOUISIANA</u>													
ohnston	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	O	4/10	40
Long	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	O	V	O	X	4/9	44
<u>MAINE</u>													
hathaway	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	O	5/10	50
Muskie	V	X	V	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	O	2/9	22
<u>MARYLAND</u>													
Sarbanes	V	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	4/11	36
MATHIAS	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	9/11	83
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>													
Kennedy	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	6/11	55
BROOKE	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	9/11	82
<u>MICHIGAN</u>													
Riegle	V	X	O	X	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	2/9	22
GRIFFIN	V	O	O	X	V	X	O	V	V	V	V	6/8	75
<u>MINNESOTA</u>													
Anderson	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	5/11	45
Humphrey	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	O	O	O	X	5/8	63
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>													
Eastland	X	X	X	X	V	V	O	O	V	V	V	5/9	56
Stennis	X	X	O	X	X	X	O	O	V	V	V	3/8	38
<u>MISSOURI</u>													
Eagleton	V	X	V	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	2/10	20
DANFORTH	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	9/11	82

SENATORS	VOTES/59	205	238	256	327	337	344	449	523	553	622	TOTAL	RATING
<u>MONTANA</u>													
McLcher	V	O	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	X	X	7/10	70
Metcalf	O	O	O	X	X	O	O	O	X	X	X	0/5	0
<u>NEBRASKA</u>													
Zorinsky	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	O	V	V	5/10	50
CURTIS	X	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	7/11	64
<u>NEVADA</u>													
Cannon	O	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	X	V	O	5/9	56
LAKALT	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	6/11	55
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>													
Durkin	V	X	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	4/11	36
McIntyre	V	X	O	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	3/10	30
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>													
Williams	V	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	4/11	36
CASE	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	O	X	X	X	7/10	70
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>													
DOMENICI	X	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	8/11	73
SCHMITT	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	O	8/10	80
<u>NEW YORK</u>													
Moynihan	V	X	V	X	X	V	O	V	X	X	X	4/10	40
JAVITS	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	8/11	73
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>													
Morgan	X	X	O	X	V	V	V	O	X	V	V	5/9	56
HELMES	X	X	O	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	6/10	60
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>													
Burdick	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	7/11	64
YOUNG	X	X	X	X	V	X	O	O	V	V	V	4/9	44
<u>OHIO</u>													
Glenn	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	5/11	45
Metzenbaum	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	6/11	55
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>													
BARTLETT	X	V	O	O	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	7/9	78
BELLMON	V	V	X	V	V	O	O	V	V	V	V	8/9	89
<u>OREGON</u>													
HATFIELD	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	10/11	91
PACKWOOD	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	10/11	91
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>													
HEINZ	V	V	X	V	V	V	O	V	V	X	V	8/10	80
SCHWEIKER	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	9/11	82
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>													
Pell	V	V	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	5/10	50
CHAFEE	V	O	V	V	V	O	O	V	V	V	V	8/8	100
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>													
Hollings	O	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	5/10	50
THURMOND	X	X	X	V	V	X	O	V	V	V	V	6/10	60
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>													
Abourezk	V	O	O	V	V	X	O	O	X	X	X	2/6	33
McGovern	V	X	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	X	X	4/10	40
<u>TENNESSEE</u>													
Sasser	V	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	4/10	40
BAKER	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/11	82
<u>TEXAS</u>													

HOUSE VOTES

REPRESENTATIVES											TOTAL RATING			
	2	5	6	7	0	1	2	3	4	5				
ALABAMA														
1 EDWARDS	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	5/13	38
2 DICKINSON	V	O	O	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	O	7/10	70
3 Nichols	X	O	X	X	V	X	O	X	V	X	X	X	2/11	18
4 Bevill	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	1/12	8
5 Flippo	O	X	X	X	O	O	O	V	X	X	X	V	2/9	22
6 Buchanan	V	V	X	V	X	V	V	X	X	X	V	V	7/13	54
7 Flowers	X	X	V	X	V	X	V	V	X	X	O	V	5/12	42
ALASKA														
AL YOUNG	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	V	4/13	75
ARIZONA														
1 RHODES	V	X	V	V	V	O	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/12	75
2 Udall	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	O	7/12	58
3 Stump	O	O	O	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	X	6/10	60
4 RUDD	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/13	54
ARKANSAS														
1 Alexander	X	V	V	V	X	X	O	X	V	X	V	O	5/11	45
2 Tucker	X	V	V	O	V	O	X	X	X	V	X	X	5/11	45
3 HAMMERSCHMIDT	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/13	54
4 Thornton	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	3/13	23
CALIFORNIA														
1 Johnson	X	V	V	O	X	X	V	X	O	X	X	X	3/11	27
2 CLAUSEN	V	X	X	O	V	X	O	V	V	V	X	V	6/11	55
3 Moss	X	V	V	O	V	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	5/12	42
4 Leggett	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	4/13	31
5 Burton, J.	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	X	X	O	O	O	5/11	45
6 Burton, P.	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	X	X	X	O	O	5/12	42
7 Miller	X	V	V	V	V	O	X	X	X	V	X	X	6/12	50
8 Dellums	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	7/13	54
9 Stark	X	V	V	V	X	V	O	X	X	O	V	X	5/11	45
10 Edwards	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/13	54
11 Ryan	O	V	V	O	V	O	V	X	X	X	O	O	6/10	60
12 McCLOSKEY	V	V	O	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	O	O	11/11	100
13 Mineta	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	6/13	46
14 McFall	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	4/13	31
15 Sisk	O	V	X	O	X	X	V	X	X	V	X	O	4/10	40
16 Panetta	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	X	V	X	O	O	7/12	58
17 Krebs	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	X	X	V	X	O	6/12	50
18 KETCHUM	V	X	O	X	X	O	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/11	64
19 LOGAMARSINO	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/13	62
20 GOLDWATER	V	O	X	X	X	X	O	O	V	O	V	O	5/10	50
21 Corman	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	O	X	X	X	X	5/12	42
22 MOORHEAD	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/13	62
23 Beilenson	O	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	V	V	O	O	8/11	73
24 Waxman	X	V	V	V	V	O	X	X	X	V	O	X	6/11	55
25 Roybal	X	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	4/13	31
26 ROUSSELOT	V	X	X	X	V	O	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/12	67
27 DORNAN	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/13	62
28 Burke	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	O	O	4/12	33
29 Hawkins	X	V	V	V	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	3/12	25
30 Danielson	X	V	V	V	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	4/13	31
31 Wilson	X	O	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	4/13	31
32 Anderson	X	V	X	X	O	X	V	V	V	O	V	O	6/11	55
33 CLAWSON	X	V	V	V	O	V	O	V	V	X	X	X	7/12	58
34 HannaFord	X	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	4/13	31
35 Lloyd	X	O	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	O	X	X	5/11	45
36 Brown	X	O	V	V	V	X	O	V	V	V	O	O	7/11	64
37 PETTIS	X	O	V	V	V	X	O	V	V	V	V	O	4/12	33
38 Patterson	X	O	V	O	X	O	O	V	V	V	V	O	7/9	78
39 WIGGINS	V	X	V	O	X	O	V	V	V	V	V	V	8/12	67
40 BADHAM	V	X	X	X	V	X	O	V	V	V	V	O	4/12	33
41 WILSON	V	X	X	V	O	X	O	V	X	X	O	O	4/10	40
42 Van Deerlin	X	V	V	O	X	O	V	V	X	X	X	O	4/10	40
43 BURGNER	V	X	X	O	O	X	V	V	X	X	V	V	5/11	45
COLORADO														
1 Schroeder	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	10/13	77
2 Wirth	X	V	V	V	X	O	V	V	X	X	V	X	8/12	67
3 Evans	X	V	V	V	V	X	O	X	V	V	X	X	7/12	58
4 JOHNSON	V	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	11/13	85
5 ARMSTRONG	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	O	O	7/12	58
CONNECTICUT														
1 Cotten	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	5/13	38
2 Dodd	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	O	O	X	X	6/10	60
3 Glaimo	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	O	X	X	X	7/12	58
4 McKINNEY	V	V	V	V	O	O	O	X	V	V	V	V	9/10	90
5 SARASIN	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	11/13	85
6 Moffett	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	7/13	54
DELAWARE														
AL EVANS	V	V	X	X	V	O	V	V	X	V	O	V	8/11	73

REPRESENTATIVES											TOTAL RATING			
	2	5	6	7	0	1	2	3	4	5				
FLORIDA														
1 Sikes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	1/13	8
2 Fuqua	X	V	X	X	X	O	X	V	X	X	V	O	4/11	36
3 Bennett	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	2/13	15
4 Chappell	X	O	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	X	O	O	3/11	27
5 KELLY	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/13	69
6 YOUNG	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/13	69
7 Gibbons	X	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	7/13	54
8 Ireland	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	9/13	69
9 FREY	V	O	X	X	V	O	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/11	82
10 BAFALIS	V	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	7/13	54
11 Rogers	X	X	X	O	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	4/12	33
12 BURKE	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	O	O	7/12	58
13 Lehman	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/13	54
14 Pepper	X	V	X	V	X	V	X	X	O	O	X	X	4/11	36
15 FASCELL	X	V	V	V	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	X	7/13	54
GEORGIA														
1 Ginn	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	O	1/12	8
2 Mathis	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	V	X	X	X	O	1/11	9
3 Brinkley	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	V	4/13	31
4 Levitas	X	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	5/13	38
5 Young	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	0/0	--
Fowler							V	X	V	V	X	X	4/10	40
6 Flynt	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	4/13	31
7 McDonald	X	X	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	8/13	62
8 Evans	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	3/13	23
9 Jenkins	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	V	X	V	X	X	2/12	17
10 Barnard	X	X	X	X	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	6/13	46
HAWAII														
1 Heffell	X	V	V	V	O	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	4/12	33
2 Akaka	X	V	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	4/13	46
IDAHO														
1 SYMS	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	O	7/12	58
2 HANSEN, G.	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	O	V	7/12	58
ILLINOIS														
1 Metcalfe	X	V	V	V	X	O	V	X	O	O	O	O	5/8	63
2 Murphy	O	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	4/12	33
3 Russo	X	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	3/13	23
4 DERWINSKI	V	X	X	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	10/13	77
5 Fary	X	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	2/12	17
6 HYDE	V	X	X	X	V	X	V	V	V	V	O	V	8/12	67
7 Collins	X	O	O	V	X	V	X	O	X	X	X	X	3/10	30
8 Rostenkowski	X	V	V	X	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	3/13	23
9 Yates	X	V	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	V	O	O	9/12	75
10 Mikva	X	V	V	V	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	7/13	54
11 Annunzio	X	V	V	X	V	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	3/13	23
12 CRANE	V	X	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	8/13	62
13 MCLORY	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/13	77
14 ERLBORN	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/13	77
15 CORCORAN	V	X	X	V	X	X	V	V	V	O	V	O	8/12	67
16 ANDERSON	V	X	X	V	V	O	V	V	V	V	O	V	11/11	100
17 O'BRIEN	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/13	77
18 MICHEL	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	9/13	69
19 RAILSBACK	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	V	13/13	100
20 FINDLEY	V	O	V	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	11/12	92
21 MADIGAN	V	X	X	V	V	X	V	V	V	V	V	V	10/13	77
22 Shipley	X	X	V	X	X	O								

1 2 3 3 4 5 6 6 6 7
5 6 7 0 1 2 6 1 1 1 6 0
REPRESENTATIVES 2 8 6 4 6 3 6 8 2 6 8 3 5 **TOTAL RATING**

KANSAS
1 SEBELIUS V X X V X O O V V V V V V 8/11 73
2 Keys X V V V V V V X V V V V X 10/13 77
3 WINN V V X X X O V V V V V 7/11 64
4 Glickman X V V V V X V V X V V V X 9/13 69
5 SKUBITZ V X X X X X V V V V V V 7/13 54

KENTUCKY
1 Hubbard X X X X X X V X X X X V 2/13 15
2 Natcher X V X X X X V X V V X X 4/13 31
3 Mazzoli X V V X V X X X V V X X 6/13 46
4 SNYDER V X X X X X X X X V V 3/13 23
5 CARTER X X X X X X X V V V 5/13 38
6 Breckinridge X V V X X V X X X X X 4/13 31
7 Perkins X V V X X X X V X X X 4/13 31

LOUISIANA
1 Henry X O O 0/1 0
LIVINGSTON V X X V V 3/5 60
2 Boggs X V V V X X V X X X X 4/13 31
3 TREEN V X X V X X V O V V V 7/12 58
4 Waggoner X X X X X X V V X X X X 2/13 15
5 Huckabee X X X X X X V V O X X V 3/12 25
6 MOORE X X X V X X V V X V V 7/13 54
7 Breaux X X X X X O V V X X X 3/11 27
8 Long X V X V X X X V X X X X 3/12 25

MAINE
1 Emery V V X X V O X V V V X V V 8/12 67
2 Cohen V V X V V V V X O V V V V 10/12 83

MARYLAND
1 BAUMAN V X X X X V X V V X X X V 5/13 38
2 Long X V V V V X V V X X X X 6/12 50
3 Mikulski X V V V X V X X X X X X 5/13 38
4 BOLT V X X X X X V V V V X V 6/13 46
5 Spellman O V V V V V X X X X X X 6/12 50
6 Byron O X X X X V X X X X X X 3/12 25
7 Mithcell X V V V X X V X X X X X 4/13 31
8 STEERS O V V V X O O X X V V X X 5/10 50

MASSACHUSETTS
1 CONTE V V V V V X X V V V V V 11/13 85
2 Boland X V O V V X X X X V X X 4/12 33
3 Early X V O V V X X X X V X V 6/12 50
4 Drinan X V V V V V X X X V X X 8/13 62
5 Tsongas X V O V V V X X X V V O 7/11 64
6 Harrington X V V V V V X X X V O X 8/12 67
7 Markey X V V V V X X X X V X X 6/13 46
8 O'Neill X 0/1 0
9 Moakley X V V V V X X X X X X X 5/13 38
10 HECKLER X V O V O V X X V V V O V 8/10 80
11 Burke V V V X V O O O X X X X X 3/10 30
12 Studds X V V V V V V X X X V X X 7/13 54

MICHIGAN
1 Conyers X V V O V V O X X V V O O 6/9 67
2 PURSELL V O V X V V V V V V V V O 8/11 73
3 BROWN V X X O V V V V V V V V V 10/12 83
4 STOCKMAN V V X V V V V V V V V V V 12/13 92
5 SAWYER V V X V V V X V V V V V V 11/13 85
6 Carr X V V V V V X X X V V V X 8/13 62
7 Kildee X V V V V V X X X V V X X 7/13 54
8 Traxler O V V V X X X X X V X O 5/11 45
9 VANDER JAGT V O O V X V X X V V V V V 9/11 82
10 CEDERBERG V X X V O V O V V V V X O 6/10 60
11 RUPPE V O X V V V X V V V V X O 9/11 82
12 Bonior X V V V V V X X X X X X 7/13 54
13 Diggs O V V V O O X X O X O X 3/8 38
14 Nedzi X V V V V V X X X X X X X 6/13 46
15 Ford X V V V V X V X X X X X X 5/13 38
16 Dingell X V O O X V V X X X X X X 3/11 27
17 Brodhead X V V V V V O X X X V X X 6/12 50
18 Blanchard X V V V V V X X X X V X X 6/13 46
19 BROOMFIELD V V X X X V X V V V V O V 8/12 67

MINNESOTA
1 QUITE O V V V V X X V V V V V V 9/11 82
2 BAGEDORN V X X V X X O V V V V V V 8/12 67
3 FRENZEL V V V V V V O V V V V V V 12/12 100
4 Vento O V V V V O X X X X X X 5/12 42
5 Fraser X V V V V V O X X V V X X 7/12 58
6 Nolan X V V V V V V X X X X X X 6/13 46
7 Bergland O 0/0 -
STANGELAND X X X V X X V V V V V V 7/12 58
8 Oberstar X V V V V X X X X X X X 4/13 31

MISSISSIPPI
1 Whitten X X X X X X O X V X V X V 3/12 25
2 Bowen X X X X X X V V X X X V 3/13 23
3 Montgomery X O O X X X V V X X X V 3/11 27
4 COCHRAN V X X X X X V V V V V V 7/13 54
5 LOTT V X X X X X V V X X X V 4/13 31

1 2 3 3 4 5 6 6 6 7
5 6 7 0 1 2 6 1 1 1 6 0
REPRESENTATIVES 2 8 6 4 6 3 6 8 2 6 8 3 5 **TOTAL RATING**

MISSOURI
1 Clay O O O V X X V X X X X X 2/10 20
2 Young X V X X X X X X X X X V 2/13 15
3 Gephardt X X V V V V V X X V V X X 7/13 54
4 Skelton X V X X X X X X X V V X V 4/13 31
5 Bolling X V V V O V V X O X X O 5/9 56
6 COLEMAN V X X X X V X V V V V V 8/13 62
7 TAYLOR V X X X X X V V V V V V 7/13 54
8 Ichord X V X X V X O V V V V V 7/11 64
9 Volkmer X V V V X V X X X V V V 7/13 54
10 Burlison X V V V X X O X X V V X O 5/11 45

MONTANA
1 Baucus X V V V V V O X V X V X O 7/11 64
2 MARLENEE V X X X X X X V V X V V O 5/12 42

NEBRASKA
1 THONE V X X X V X X V V V V V V 8/13 62
2 Cavanaugh X V V V V V X X X V V V O 8/12 67
3 SMITH V X X X V X X V V V V V V 8/13 62

NEVADA
AL Santini X O V X V X X V V X X O O 4/10 40

NEW HAMPSHIRE
1 D'Amours X V X X V V V X V X X X V 6/13 46
2 CLEVELAND V X X V V V O V V V V V V 10/12 83

NEW JERSEY
1 Florio O O O O V V O X X X X X X 2/8 25
2 Hughes X V X X V X V X X X V V 5/13 38
3 Howard X V V V X X V X X X X O X 4/12 33
4 Thompson X V V V X V V X X X X X X 5/13 38
5 FENWICK V V V V V V X V V V V V V 12/13 92
6 FORSYTHE V V X O V O V V V V V V O 8/9 89
7 Maguire O V V V V V X X X V V O 8/11 73
8 Roe X V O O O O X O X X X X 1/6 17
9 HOLLENBECK V V X X V O X X X V V V 8/13 62
10 Rodino X V V V V V X X X X X X 5/13 38
11 Minish X V V O V V X X O X V X X 5/11 45
12 RINALDO V X X V V X X X V V V O 7/12 58
13 Meyner X V V V V V X X X V V V 7/13 54
14 LeFante X V V O V V X X X X X O 4/11 36
15 Patten X V V V X X X X X X X X 3/13 23

NEW MEXICO
1 LUJAN V X X X O X O V V V V V O 6/10 60
2 Rannels X X X X V X X V V X X X O 3/12 25

NEW YORK
1 Pike X V V V V V X V V X X X O 7/12 58
2 Downey X V V V V V X X X V X X 7/13 54
3 Ambro X V X X X V X X X V X X 3/13 23
4 LENT V X X X V V V V V V V V O 8/12 67
5 WYDLER V X X V V V O V V V V V 10/12 83
6 Wolff X V V V V V X X O O O O 6/9 67
7 Addabbo X V V V X V O X X X X X 4/12 33
8 Rosenthal X V V V V V X X X X X X 7/13 54
9 Delaney X V V V V V X X X X X X 4/13 31
10 Biaggi X V X X V X X X X X X X 2/13 15
11 Scheuer X V V V V V X X X X X X 7/13 54
12 Chisliholm O V V V V V X X X X X X 5/11 45
13 Solarz X V V V V V X X X X X X 6/13 46
14 Richmond X O O V V V V X X X X X 4/13 31
15 Zeferetti X V X X V V O X X X X X X 3/12 25
16 Holtzman X V V O V V V X X V V V 8/12 67
17 Murphy X V V X X X O X X X X X 2/12 17
18 Koch X V O O V O X O O O O O 2/4 50
19 Rangel V V V V V V X X X X X X 5/13 38
20 Weiss X V V V V V X X O X V X 7/12 58
21 Badillo X V V V V O O O X X O X 4/8 50
22 Bingham X V V V V V X X X V O X 7/12 58
23 CAPUTO V V X X V X X V V V V V 8/13 62
24 Ottinger X V V V V V V X X V X X 7/13 54
25 FISH V V X X V V X X V V V V 9/13 69
26 GILMAN V V X X V V X X V V V V 8/13 62
27 McHugh X V V V V O X X X X X X 5/11 45
28 Stratton X X X X O X X X X X X X 1/12 8
29 Pattison X V V V V V X X X V V X 8/13 62
30 McEwen V O X X X X V V V V V V O 7/11 64
31 MITCHELL V X X X X V X V V V V V 7/13 54
32 Hanley X V X V X X X V X X X X 3/13 23
33 WALSH O X X X V V X X X V V V 5/12 42
34 HORTON V V X V V O V X V V V V 8/12 67
35 CONABLE V V V X O V V V V V V V 11/12 92
36 LaFalce X O V V V V X X X V X X 5/12 42
37 Nowak X V V V V X X X X X X X 5/13 38
38 KEMP V X X X V X V V V V V O 5/12 42
39 Lundine X V V V V V X V X V O O 8/11 73

Note: Republicans are denoted by capital letters.

1 2 3 2 4 5 6 6 7
5 6 7 0 1 2 6 1 1 1 6 0
REPRESENTATIVES 2 8 6 4 6 3 6 8 2 6 8 3 5 TOTAL RATING

NORTH CAROLINA

1 Jones X O O X X X V V V X X X X 3/11 27
2 Fountain X X X X X X V X V X V X V 4/13 31
3 Whitley X V X X X X V X X X V X V 4/12 33
4 Andrews X V X X X X V X X X V X V 4/13 31
5 Neal X O O X X V V V V V V V O 7/10 70
6 Preyer X V V V X X V X X X V X X 5/13 38
7 Rose X V X X X X O V X X X X X 2/12 17
8 Hefner X V X X X X O X V X V X X O 3/11 27
9 MARTIN V X X V V V V V V V V V V 10/13 77
10 BROYHILL V X X X X V V V V V V V V 9/13 69
11 Gudger X V X X X V V X X X V X X 4/13 31

NORTH DAKOTA

AL ANDREWS V X X X X X V V O O X O 3/10 30

OHIO

1 GRADISON V V X V V V X V V V V V V 11/13 85
2 Luken X V X V X X V X X V V V V 7/13 54
3 WHALEN V V V V X X X X O O O O 5/9 56
4 GUYER V O X X O X X V V V V V V 7/11 64
5 LATIA V X X O V V X V V V V V V 9/12 75
6 HARSHA V X X X X X X V V V V X O 4/12 33
7 BROWN V X X V V X X V V V O V V 8/12 67
8 KINDNESS V X X X X V V O X X V V V 6/12 50
9 ASHLEY X V V V X V O X V X X X X 5/12 42
10 MILLER V X X X X V V V V V V V V 8/13 62
11 STANTON V V X O V V X V V V V V V 10/12 83
12 DEVINE V X X X V V X V V V V V V 9/13 69
13 PEASE V V V V V V V V V V V X V 11/13 85
14 Seiberling X V V V V V V X X V V V X 6/13 62
15 WYLIE V X X V V V X V V V V V V 10/13 77
16 REGULA V X X X X X V V V V V V V 9/13 69
17 ASHBROOK V X X X V V X V V V V V V 9/13 69
18 Applegatq X V X X V X X X X X X X X 2/13 15
19 Carney X V V V X X X X X X X X X 3/12 25
20 Oakar O V V V X X X X X X X X X 4/12 33
21 Stokes X V V V X V V X X X X X X 5/13 38
22 Vanik X O O V V V X X O X V V X 5/10 50
23 Mottl X X X X X V X X X X O X V X 2/12 17

OKLAHOMA

1 Jones O X X V V X X V V V V V X 7/12 58
2 Risenhoover X V X X O O V V X X V X O 4/10 40
3 Watkins X X X X X O V V V V V X 5/12 42
4 Steed X X X O X X V X X X V X 3/12 25
5 EDWARDS V X X X V X X V X V V V 7/13 54
6 English X X X X X X X V X X V X V 3/13 23

OREGON

1 AuColn X O V V V X O V X X X X V 5/11 45
2 Ullman X V V X X V X X X X X X 4/11 36
3 Duncan X V V V V O X X X X X X 4/12 33
4 Weaver X V V V O X V X X X X X X 4/13 33

PENNSYLVANIA

1 Myers, M. O V X O X X X X X X X O 1/10 10
2 Nix X V X X X X V X X X X X O 2/12 17
3 Lederer X V X X X X X X X X X X 2/13 15
4 Eilberg X V X X X X X X X X O X 1/12 8
5 SCHULZE V X X X V X V V V V V V 9/13 69
6 Yatron X V X X X X X X V V V X 4/13 31
7 Edgar O V V V V V V X X V X X 7/13 54
8 Kostmayer O V V V V V X X V V V X 9/12 75
9 SHUSTER V X X X X X V V V V V X 8/13 62
10 McDADE V V X V X X X X V V V X 7/13 54
11 Flood X V X X X X X X X X X X 1/13 8
12 Murtha X X X X X X O X X X X X 0/12 0
13 COUGHLIN V V V V V V X V V V V V 12/13 92
14 Moorhead X V V V O V V X X X X X 5/12 42
15 Rooney X V X X X X V O X X X 2/12 17
16 WALKER V X X X X V V V V V V V 8/13 62
17 Ertel X V X V X V X V V V V V 9/13 69
18 Walgren X V V V O X X X V V V X 6/12 50
19 GOODLING, W. V O X V V X X V V V V V 9/12 75
20 Gaydos O V X X V X X X X X X X 2/12 17
21 Dent X V X O O O O O X X X V 1/4 25
22 Murphy O V X V V X X X X X X V 4/12 33
23 Ammerman X V V V V V X X V V V X 9/13 69
24 MARKS V V X V V V V V V V V V 11/13 85
25 MYERS V X X V V V X V V V V V 10/13 77

RHODE ISLAND

1 St. Germain X V V X V V O X X V V X X 6/12 50
2 Beard O V X V V V X X X V V X X 6/12 50

SOUTH CAROLINA

1 Davis X X X X X V V X X X X V 4/13 31
2 SPENCE V X X X X X O V V X X V V 5/12 42
3 Derrick X X X X V V V X X X X X 4/13 31
4 Mann X X X X X V V X X X X X 4/13 31
5 Holland X O X O X V O V V X O V 4/9 44
6 Jenrette X V X X X O V X X X X X X 2/12 17

1 2 3 3 4 5 6 6 7
5 6 7 0 1 2 6 1 1 1 6 0
REPRESENTATIVES 2 8 6 4 6 3 6 8 2 6 8 3 5 TOTAL RATING

SOUTH DAKOTA

1 PRESSLER V X X X V X X V V V V V V 8/13 62
2 ABNOR V X X X X X O V V V V V V 7/12 58

TENNESSEE

1 QUILLEN V X X X O X X V O V V V V 6/11 55
2 DUNCAN V X X X X X V V V V V V 7/13 54
3 Lloyd X X X X X X V V X X X X 3/13 23
4 Gore X V V V X X V X X X X V 6/13 46
5 Allen O V V V V X X X X V X X 8/12 67
6 BEARD V O X X X O V V V V V V 7/11 64
7 Jones X V V X X X V X X X X V 6/13 46
8 Ford X V V V X V V X X X X O 6/12 50

TEXAS

1 Hall X X X X X X V V X X X O 2/12 17
2 Wilson X V X V O X V X V X X X 4/12 33
3 COLLINS V X X V V X V V V V V V 9/13 69
4 Roberts X X X X V X V V V V O X 5/12 42
5 Mattox X V V V V V V X X X X X 7/13 54
6 Teague X O O O X O O V O X O 2/5 40
7 ARCHER V X X X V V X V V V V V 9/13 69
8 Eckhardt X V V V V V X X X X X X 6/13 46
9 BROOKS X X X X X V V V X X X X 4/13 31
10 Pickle X V V X X X O V V X X X 3/12 25
11 Poage X X X X O O V V V V V O 5/10 50
12 Wright X V V X X X V X X X X O 4/12 33
13 Hightower X X X X X X V X X X X X 2/13 15
14 Young X V X X X X V V X X X X 3/13 23
15 de la Garza X X X V X X X V X X X X 4/13 31
16 White X X X X X X V V X X X V 3/13 23
17 Burleson X X X X X X V V V V V O 5/12 42
18 Jordan X V V X X X V X X X X X 4/13 31
19 Mahon X X X X V X X V V V X X 5/13 38
20 Gonzalez X O O X X X V X X X X X 2/11 18
21 Krueger X V X X X V V V V V V O 7/12 58
22 Gammage X V X O V X O V X X X O 3/9 33
23 Kazen X X X X X X V V X X X X 3/13 23
24 Milford X X X O X X V V V V V X 5/12 42

UTAH

1 McKay O V V X V X X V V V X X X 6/12 50
2 MARRIOTT V X X X V X X V V V V X V 7/13 54

VERMONT

AL JEFFORDS V V X V V V X V V V V V 11/13 85

VIRGINIA

1 TRYBLE V X X X X X V V X X V V 5/13 38
2 WHITEHURST V X X X X X V V X X X V 4/13 31
3 SATTERSFIELD X X X X X X V V X X X V 4/13 31
4 DANIEL, R.W. V X X X X V V V X X X X 5/13 38
5 Daniel, D. X X X X X X V V X X X X 3/13 23
6 BUTLER V X V X X X V V V V V V 9/13 69
7 ROBINSON V X X X X X V V V V V V 7/13 54
8 Harris X X V V V V X X X X X X 6/13 46
9 WAMPLER V X X X X X V V X X V V 6/13 46
10 Fisher X V V V V V X V X X X X 8/13 62

WASHINGTON

1 PRITCHARD V V V V V V V V X X V V 11/13 85
2 Meeds X V V V V X V X X X X O 5/12 42
3 Bonker X V V O V O X V X X X O 5/10 50
4 McCormack O V V V X V V X O X O X 6/10 60
5 Foley X V V X X V X X X X X 5/13 38
6 Dicks X V V V X X X X X X X 4/13 31
7 Adams 0 0/0 -
CUNNINGHAM X X V V X X V V 4/8 50
1 MOLLOHAN X V X X X O V X X X X O 3/11 27
2 Staggers X V O V X X X X X X X 2/12 17
3 Slack X V V X X V X X X X X 4/13 31
4 Rahall X O V V X X O X X X V X 3/11 27

WISCONSIN

1 Aspin X V V V V X X V X X X O 7/12 58
2 Kastenmeier X V V X V V V X V V V V 9/13 69
3 Baldus X V V X X O X X V X X X 4/11 36
4 Zablocki X V V X X X X X X X X X 3/13 23
5 Reuss X V V V V X X X X X X 7/13 54
6 STEIGER V V X V X V V V V V V 10/13 77
7 Obey X V V V V V X V X X X 8/13 62
8 Cornell X V V V V X V X V V X 8/13 62
9 KASTEN V X X X V V O V V V V V 9/12 75

WYOMING

AL Roncalio X V V V V X V X X X V X 6/13 46

Note: Republicans are denoted by capital letters.

Ohio Gov. James Rhodes(R) seems to have as many political lives as are permissible under the constitution. Rhodes served two terms as governor (1963-70) before he made an abortive run for the U.S.Senate. He lost that 1970 primary to Robert Taft, Jr., but resurrected his political ambitions in 1974 by seeking a third full term as governor. Rhodes' political comeback was challenged on the grounds that he was constitutionally limited to two consecutive terms. Rhodes' candidacy was upheld by both the courts and the voters, who ousted Gov. John Gilligan(D) to restore Rhodes to power.

Rhodes survived a Democratic tidal wave that year---one which elected a Democratic senator, a Democratic legislature and Democratic candidates to most statewide positions. 1976 was even worse for the GOP. The GOP lost two House seats, another Senate seat, and control of the State Supreme Court while Jimmy Carter took the state's electoral votes and the Democrats kept their commanding margins in the legislature. After that debacle, the early betting line on Rhodes was that he would have one less term in the 1970s than he enjoyed in the 1960s. Republicans started hoping that former Ambassador to India William Saxbe could be interested in the gubernatorial race. The Mechanicsburg maverick preferred his farm and law practice to life in the state capital, however, and no other formidable candidates emerged to challenge Rhodes.

Cuyahoga County Commissioner Seth Taft(R) declined to exploit his famous name, leaving only State Sen. Donald "Buz" Lukens(R) and House Minority Leader Charles Kurfess(R) to annoy Rhodes in a primary. The conservative Lukens is a nuisance who has run around the statewide track---or threatened to run---too many times before. There is speculation that he is angling for a lower position on the party's statewide ticket. A far better possibility would be the moderate Kurfess, who would make a good teammate for Rhodes. However, the lieutenant governor must now run as a team with the gubernatorial nominee. And Kurfess is waging an aggressive campaign for the gubernatorial nomination which appears to preclude that option.

Gov. Rhodes is said to favor former U.S.Rep. William Keating(R) as his running mate. Keating seems no more willing to abandon his Cincinnati newspaper executive position than Saxbe is to give up his Columbus law practice. Saxbe's son, State Rep. Charles "Rocky" Saxbe, is one possibility as are State Senators Tom Van Meter and Mike Maloney.

Rhodes renewed preeminence is a tribute to his personal accessibility and early campaigning. He took his cabinet on extensive road shows early last year to renew grassroots contacts and complain about excessive government, excessive legislators, excessive Democrats, and excessive gas company power. Moreover, energy was last year's obsession for obsession-prone Rhodes, and it fit the state's gas-short mood. As Cleveland Plain Dealer columnist George E. Condon has observed, Rhodes' preoccupation with one issue at a time is his chief administrative weakness. His effective campaign style---particularly when contrasted with an aloof Democrat like former Gov. Gilligan---is his biggest asset. He is haunted, however, by the financial investments of his well-heeled friends---dealings which occasionally coincide with the interests of the state government.

The Democratic situation is muddled by the indecision of Attorney General William Brown. (Brown is a popular name for statewide politics in Ohio. The secretary of state is Ted Brown. The former lieutenant governor is John Brown and one Republican suggested as this year's nominee for that post is Virgil Brown.) Brown is wavering on running for reelection or contesting Lt.Gov. Richard Celeste(D) for the nomination. There have been reports that Brown and House Speaker Vern Riffe, Jr. (another gubernatorial possibility) might back State Senate Majority Leader Oliver Oakes(D) as an alternative to Celeste. The lieutenant governor had a bad political year in 1977, backing the losing candidate in the Cleveland mayoralty election and the losing side of two statewide referenda.

Democrats can perhaps count their blessings that one former congressman will not be in the race. Former U.S. Rep. Wayne Hays(D) apparently has his sights set on a legislative or county post instead. The farmer-banker told

the Cleveland Press last year: "Sure I would have run for governor if I didn't have that problem...I was really ser-

ious about the governor's race, but now I realize it's out of the question."

Politics: Ripon: Update

PENNSYLVANIA Sen. Richard Schweiker's flirtation with a gubernatorial candidacy in Pennsylvania temporarily froze the campaigns of the GOP's three committed candidates. Particularly hurt were the two Philadelphia area candidates: former Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter and former House Minority Leader Robert Butera. Philadelphia GOP leader William Meehan was one of those behind Schweiker's gubernatorial dalliance though Meehan has been allied with Specter in the past. Schweiker was hurt, however, by the image of opportunism which his 1976 run for the vice presidency and sudden interest in the governorship has created. He professed interest only if the other candidates withdrew. Specter responded by committing himself to serve a full four years if elected. Butera responded by resigning his legislative leadership position. And former Deputy Attorney General Richard Thornburgh responded by setting his announcement date for January 10. Given the adverse publicity and the other candidate's commitment, Schweiker took himself out of contention in early January. His nascent candidacy made it difficult for other candidates to gather momentum so long as he was a contender. Least hurt was Thornburgh, whose strength in the western part of the state's was least threatened by Montgomery County's Schweiker. He does not suffer from the twin curses which dominate Pennsylvania politics: antagonism to Harrisburg and antagonism to Philadelphia. Thornburgh's own polls show corruption in state government to be a very potent issue among voters. So is opposition to increased school aid for Philadelphia. The conventional wisdom is that Thornburgh's base in western Pennsylvania is threatened by the Democratic candidacy of another former deputy attorney general, Pete Flaherty. Flaherty, however, does not have Thornburgh's record of accomplishment at the Justice Department. He never fit in with either Griffin Bell's Georgia cohorts or the department's bureaucracy. Bell's real deputy was Assistant Attorney General Michael Egan, a Georgia Republican. Furthermore, Flaherty has been around the statewide track before and has failed to impress

either the Philadelphia press or Philadelphia voters as a class candidate. A Thornburgh candidacy would be helped in that area if either of the two top GOP contenders for lieutenant governor win the nomination: former State Rep. Faith Whittlesey, now head of the Delaware Board of Commissioners, and State Sen. Charles Dougherty (R-Philadelphia). And with Schweiker out of the race, Thornburgh should be able to raise the \$1.5 million that will be needed to fuel David Garth's media campaign for the primary. Meanwhile, Flaherty will have to compete with Lt. Gov. Ernest Kline (D) and former Auditor General Robert Casey (D) for his party's nomination. To the extent that both can be tied to the current mess in Harrisburg, both are weaker candidates than Flaherty, the maverick former mayor of Pittsburgh.

TENNESSEE Gov. Ray Blanton (D) has been quiet lately, it is probably just as well. His refusal to answer "negative" questions from the press has not spawned any outpouring of positive queries from journalists. It did spark, however, a rash of indignant editorials from Tennessee newspapers, one of whom reminded Blanton of his foreword to the 1977 Tennessee Newspaper Directory: "You have my pledge for the next two years of total openness and total availability. With your help we can assure that Tennessee will have the best informed electorate in America." Blanton's call on President Carter "to join with me in a unique attempt to prevent our great country from being weakened by negativism" did not produce any immediate response from the White House, although Press Secretary Jody Powell did suggest that Carter's press conferences could be limited to two and one-half minutes if Blanton's guidelines were adopted. The Memphis Commercial Appeal, whose articles on the governor's spending/traveling habits provoked his wrath, suggested some "positive" questions to ask the governor:

*Governor, when you presented your blueprint for the future, you said you did not seek your office simply to go down in history as the state's most popular governor. How do you account for your success in impressing on all Tennesseans your sincerity in that statement?

* Sir, when you said people upset over your plan to pardon convicted double murderer Roger Humphreys were stupid, you really meant to say Tennessee still has a ways to go in education, didn't you?

* Aren't all the state contracts going to your father and your brother just your way of expressing your commitment to the American family?

* Aren't all the bills to the state for massages, fancy cars, expensive hotels and long-distance phone calls just your way of saying that the taxpayers are always uppermost in your mind, no matter what you're doing?

* Governor, shouldn't the people of Tennessee feel superior because their transportation commissioner is "not guilty" while citizens of other states can't be sure about their officials?

* Mr. Blanton, you have often criticized the Republican Party for being dominated by rich, free-spending business interests. Now that you know how such people live and travel, how do you suggest we keep them from becoming elected officials?

MICHIGAN U.S. Rep. Philip E. Ruppe (R-11th) has decided to enter the Republican race to succeed Sen. Robert Griffin (R). Ruppe's decision came after a long examination of the race and heartened Republicans disappointed by Gov. William Milliken's decision to forego the race himself. Pressure had meanwhile been concentrated on Griffin to reconsider his intention to retire to a law practice in Traverse City. Griffin did not totally reject such supplications. Ruppe now faces a possible four-way GOP primary. Already in the race are Lt. Gov. James G. Damman and Hillsdale College president George Roche. A fourth possible entry is Oakland County Prosecutor Brooks Patterson. Damman describes himself as a progressive but has taken conservative positions on some issues which could appeal to the party's right wing. Roche is a darling of national conservatives, and an extensive fundraising drive has been launched to tap out-of-state donors. Hillsdale College has developed a national reputation for spurning federal aid and otherwise thumbing its institutional nose at the government. Though Roche's smooth approach and effective speaking could be deceptively appealing, a bigger threat to Ruppe could be the "social issues" appeal of Patterson. His well-known crusades against crime and busing would guarantee him a large segment of the suburban Detroit vote. Pat-

erson, however, is awaiting Milliken's reelection announcement before revealing his own plans. Those could include a run for either the governorship or the Senate or a race against Attorney General Frank Kelly. Damman, meanwhile will inevitably be hurt by continuing allegations that he improperly profited from land deals while a Troy city councilman. Though Damman has revealed his tax returns for the last 10 years, he has told reporters questioning him on the Troy property deals: "There's really nothing more I can say and so, after answering your questions, there's nothing more I will say on this matter." Because Ruppe's district covers a third of the state, Ruppe has had a chance to practice his campaign skills over a big section of Michigan. He worked particularly hard in 1976 after a close call in 1974. Ruppe, a progressive and the ranking Republican on the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, should be heir to much of the GOP organizational support in the state. Meanwhile, Republicans are awaiting Milliken's 1978 decision. As the Detroit Free Press' Remer Tyson wrote last summer: "Seldom in a big industrial, two-party state has a decision by a single official so dominated politics as Milliken's will in Michigan." He is the GOP's cleanup hitter and without him, there will be a big gap in the Republican lineup. The only logical successor is former Lt. Gov. James Brickley, now president of Eastern Michigan University. Four Democrats are already campaigning hard for the spot while U.S. Reps. William Ford and Robert Carr are the top Democratic contenders for Griffin's post.

THE NEW RIGHT The New Right's campaign to oust moderates and progressives in the 1978 elections appears to be sputtering somewhat. In Illinois, Phyllis Schlafly decided defeating ERA was more important (or less risky) than defeating Sen. Charles Percy. In Massachusetts, broadcaster Avi Nelson continues to play Hamlet in his possible bid to challenge Sen. Edward Brooke. In Arizona, House Minority Leader John Rhodes appears a sure bet for reelection---having scared away strong Democratic or ultraright challenges with his strong (58 percent) showing in 1976. Despited the rumored financial troubles of New Right vehicles like the National Conservative Political Action Committee, direct mail master Richard Viguerie expects to contribute \$2 million to his favorite candidates through various

fundraising arms this year. It is may be significant that most New Right groups spent more than they received in 1977. Even New Right strategist Kevin Phillips is downplaying the impact of the Viguerie machine on the 1978 elections. One place where the Viguerie impact may be felt is California. Former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis will benefit from New Right efforts like a local corollary to the Independent Virginians for Responsible Government, the New Right group which nearly bungled the gubernatorial election for Virginia Gov. John Dalton(R). And despite the lower priority now given to conservative preacher Don Lyon by Viguerie associates, progressive Republicans must still be concerned about the fate of House Republican Conference Chairman John Anderson in Illinois. Prior to this New Right disaffection with the Rockford television reverend, there had been reports that a conservative kiddy of \$500,000 was to be raised to defeat Anderson. As Anderson himself wrote in a fundraising letter to potential contributors:

My opponent is an accomplished television performer, so I give credence to the reports I hear that he plans to blanket the district with an elaborate, expensive media campaign.

This is shaping up to be the most expensive campaign in the history of the district, with the results of the campaign reaching far beyond Illinois' borders. As a colleague told me recently, "If 'they' can knock you off, John, the rest of us are in very serious trouble."

Anderson has gained an extensive reputation as the outspoken conscience of Republican conservatives. The address of his campaign committee is P.O.Box 195, Rockford, Illinois 61105.

ALASKA "Growth" is the key word in Alaska politics and the ranks of the announced gubernatorial candidates. The entry of both former Gov. Walter Hickel and former House Speaker Tom Fink into the GOP primary race should have boosted the stock of Gov. Jay Hammond. The two should split the votes of Republicans unhappy with Hammond's planned growth policies. (Ultra-conservative C.R. Lewis would further divide that group if he entered the campaign.) However, the new entries were made against the backdrop of some incredible statements by Hammond's running mate, Lt. Gov. Lowell Thomas, Jr. Some comments that Thomas originally made about South Africa escalated into a full-scale imbroglio when Thomas attempted to clarify his remarks by proclaiming that mixed marriages were "against nature." Thomas later apologized by saying, "It revealed a shortcoming in my personal attitudes which I will endeavor to overcome," but the damage had been done. There were many calls for the resignation of the lieutenant governor, who had a reputation as a legislator as a friend of aggrieved minorities. Thomas' remarks were particularly harmful to Hammond because there were prior indications that the usually Democratic Alaskan Natives might back Hammond in 1978. Hammond's wife herself is half-Eskimo. When the furor dies down, former Gov. William Egan(D) may also be the race. Hotel man William Sheffield has quit the gubernatorial campaign---leaving old line Democrats without a candidate. Who says Alaska isn't "growing"---so long as there are politicians to expand the primary ballot. As Walter Hickel says, "Growth is not a dirty word."

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