

**'78 Election Preview**

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## RIPON FORUM

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## RIPON FORUM

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## COMMENTARY

### The Beginnings of a Breakthrough

Put aside all the doleful forecasts about the future of the Republican Party. The old elephant is staging a comeback. On election night 1978, if the projections in the Ripon State by State Election Preview borne out, Republicans will:

- Gain two seats in the U.S. Senate;
- Gain 15 to 25 in the House of Representatives;
- Gain five to seven governorships;
- Gain control of both houses of the state legislature in several states that will face critical reapportionment decisions in 1981.

Perhaps the most significant developments in strengthening the Republican Party's base will show up in the gubernatorial and Senatorial results. It is quite possible that Republicans will go into the 1980 elections controlling the chief executive posts in states which together contain a clear majority of the country's population. It is likely that Republican Governors, generally of a moderate to progressive outlook, will control the majority of our ten most populous states. Tight races underway in New York, Pennsylvania, California, Ohio, Michigan and Massachusetts could easily tip either way. While a shift of a few percent in either direction could radically alter the outcome of these races, Republicans are in striking range of a major breakthrough. Republican Jack Eckerd could win the Florida gubernatorial contest. Moreover, the GOP seems likely to enjoy an infusion of gubernatorial talent of national stature in several medium-sized states, particularly Lee S. Dreyfus in Wisconsin, Lamar Alexander in Tennessee, and perhaps Albert Quie in Minnesota, J. Glenn Beall in Maryland and Ronald Sarasin in Connecticut.

These possible gubernatorial victories could provide the GOP a stage to prove its fitness to govern the nation in 1980. Party allegiances are less often the product of a very ideological view of the world than an expression of confidence in a party's ability to represent the voter's self interest. If Republicans are to overcome voter prejudices grounded in "the Hoover Depression," "the GOP's coziness with big business," "the Nixon-Agnew legacy" or "Watergate," the



GOP must demonstrate its ability to serve their interests. Republicans in executive office are best positioned to build such voter confidence.

Perhaps as important as the promising gubernatorial outlook is the significant improvement in the GOP's prospects in the U.S. Senate races. Only a few months ago it looked as though Republicans would be very lucky to hold their own in the Senate. Seventeen of the 38 Republican Senate seats are at stake this year. Furthermore, five Republican incumbents have chosen to retire. The factors that have brightened the GOP's outlook in Senate races include:

Incredible disarray in the Democratic-Farmer Labor Party that may propel two moderate Minnesota Republicans, Rudy Boschwitz and David Durenberger to the Senate.

Favorable voter reception to the candidacies and personalities of Republicans such as Bill Cohen, Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Larry Pressler, and Thad Cochran.

The development of effective campaigns by several seriously endangered conservative Southern Republican Senators.

The Republican prospects for gains would be even higher had Clifford Case, a strong favorite to win the general election, not been upset in a sparsely attended GOP primary. Likewise the New Right's success in nominating unalloyed conservatives for the Senate may provide a reprieve to otherwise vulnerable Senators Thomas McIntyre of New Hampshire and Richard Clark of Iowa.

At first glance the likely Republican gains of only a handful of seats in the Senate would seem to make little difference. Yet a gain of three or four seats would place Republicans within realistic striking range of capturing control of the Senate in 1980 or 1982. In 1980 Democrats are likely to be defending 23 seats; Republicans only 10. Some Democratic incumbents seem unusually vulnerable, particularly Mike Gravel in Alaska, John Culver in Iowa, John Durkin in New Hampshire and George McGovern in South Dakota. Several other Democratic Senators—Birch Bayh of Indiana, Alan Cranston of California, Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin and Patrick Leahy of Vermont—could be beaten if Republicans can recruit their strongest talent to oppose them. Warren Magnuson of Wash-

ington and Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut may retire. If they run, both may be handicapped by voter reaction to their age. At least 6 of the 10 Republican seats at stake in 1980 appear relatively safe. In 1982 Democrats are likely to be defending 21 seats, Republicans 12, and Independent Harry Byrd one. A further Republican pickup seems quite likely.

The trends in the Senate should spell the end of liberal Democratic hegemony. In the 1980s the Senate is likely to be shaped largely by innovative Republican progressives and moderate conservatives such as Bob Packwood, Richard Lugar, John Danforth, John Chafee, Bill Cohen, John Heinz, Larry Pressler, Alan Simpson, and Harrison Schmitt.

Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus, and he is a Republican.

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## Hispanics and the GOP

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Just as black Americans came of age politically in the nineteen sixties Hispanic Americans are making a similar impact in the seventies. Political allegiances which may last for the next generation are being formed. Perhaps more than any other group, Hispanic Americans could be the crucial swing vote in future Presidential elections. The very politically active Cuban American community has already shown

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strong Republican leanings. Mexican Americans, while registered heavily as Democrats, have shown strong swing voting tendencies; in 1972 half the Hispanic American electorate in Texas voted for the Republican Presidential ticket. Puerto Ricans and others of Latin ancestry are similarly open in their party allegiances.

Richard Nixon was the first American President to recognize the political potential of Hispanic Americans. Hispanic Americans who were almost totally unrepresented in policy making posts in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations were appointed to head government anti-poverty efforts and small business and minority business programs. Yet sadly President Ford failed to capitalize on this Republican advantage. Jimmy Carter's eighty percent plus share of the Hispanic vote was a testament to Republican shortsightedness.

Aside from cutting a few tapes in broken Spanish, however, Jimmy Carter has done little for Hispanic Americans since the election. They have been dislodged from influence in the minority business program and in the State Department Latin American affairs section. Several high level Carter Administration appointees have made it clear privately that they consider Hispanics a kind of counterfeit minority, not entitled to the full rights afforded other minority Americans.

Moreover, the anti-entrepreneurial, anti-investment philosophy espoused by Carterites is hardly attuned to the concerns of an upwardly mobile Hispanic community that believes in individual entrepreneurship and self reliance. The welfarist nature of Democratic appeals is particularly demeaning to Hispanic Americans.

In view of the close affinity between Hispanic American values and Republican ideals, the Republican Party can serve as an effective vehicle for Americans of Latin ancestry. Republicans can facilitate this in several ways:

**1. Developing a cadre of elected Republican Hispanics.** Today New Mexico Congressman Manuel Lujan is the only

Hispanic Republican Congressman. This paucity of Hispanic Republican Federal officeholders is a serious handicap to GOP efforts to build Hispanic strength. Three very able Hispanic Republicans are given a reasonable chance of winning in their races against Democratic incumbents. Perhaps the most promising prospects are those of Al Cardenas, an able Cuban American attorney who is challenging Miami Democratic Congressman Claude Pepper. In California two outstanding Mexican American Republicans, Henry Ares and Paula Gordon, are running strong races respectively against Democratic Congressmen George Danielson and George Miller. With sufficient funds upsets are possible in both these races.

**2. Holding the Democrats' feet to the fire for failure to deliver on campaign promises to the Hispanic community.** Chairman Brock, Senator Baker, Congressman Rhodes and other Republican leaders could spotlight deficiencies in Carter Administration performance on a variety of issues that are important to Hispanic Americans. To date Republican leaders have been very slow to take advantage of the widespread dissatisfaction among Hispanic Americans with Carter Administration performance.

**3. Ensuring that Hispanics participate across the board in party and governmental affairs.** The Carter Administration has displayed a disturbing tendency to allocate posts in a stereotypical fashion. Thus the Immigration and Naturalization Service is placed under a Mexican American, while foreign policy posts all are reserved for Anglos, except in Africa where Andrew Young seems to have a personal portfolio. Republicans must make clear that opportunity for Hispanics in a GOP Administration is not restricted to so-called minority agencies. Proud of their heritage, Hispanics have no desire to be ghettoized into certain preserves.

Within the next decade, demographers tell us, Hispanic Americans will be America's largest minority. If the Republican Party develops and implements an imaginative program to enable Hispanics to come to the fore of the GOP, the United States may witness a genuinely competitive two party system in the nineteen eighties.

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## The Mid-Term Congressional Elections of 1978: **Republican Prospects and the Moderates' Future**

*by John M. Elliott*

Republicans confront 1978 with the fear that the upcoming Congressional elections will confirm their position as a pitifully weak minority party. The Democratic gains in the Watergate election of 1974 included four Senate seats, added to a previous large majority, and victories in over 40 House districts in the traditional rural and suburban heartlands of the Republican Party, and Republicans shockingly failed to recover these House seats or make any gains in the Senate in 1976. This added representation for normally

Republican territory boosted the Democratic domination of the House from margins of about 250 to 185, which had become typical over the previous two decades, to the present two-to-one ratio which threatens to become normal. In winning over two thirds of the Senate seats contested in 1974 the Democratic contingent grew from 58 of 100 to 62.

Many political commentators saw these elections as a great defeat for conservative Republicans. The thirty-six House incumbents defeated in 1974 included only six moderates,

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mostly freshmen. In 1976 five more House incumbents, all conservatives suffered defeat. At the same time moderate candidates achieved almost all of the few Republican victories over Democratic incumbents in the House, including all four of them in 1974. Moderates similarly outperformed conservatives in 1974 Senate elections, but the results were more mixed in 1976 when conservative Republicans defeated four incumbent Democrats in the West. A major weakness in the moderate record, largely unnoticed, also appeared in a tendency for the districts of many House moderates who did not seek reelection to swing to the Democrats; conservatives lost few seats in that fashion. Moderates have not become stronger in the shrunken party and need a revival as much as conservatives do.

Republicans know all too well the cause of the debacle of 1974, but evaluating the chances for eventual recovery requires an examination of the Democrats' 1976 success in holding so many formerly Republican House districts. For decades incumbent House members have regularly won about 90 percent of their reelection attempts, largely due to the impact of party loyalty and the divergent geographic bases of the parties which make most districts clearly biased for one party or the other. The 1976 record of the Democratic class of 1974 shows that the rising tide of independent voting has weakened party and increased the value of incumbency itself. In addition to the decline of party voting, increased government spending which Congressional Democrats have provided for additional staff, district offices, district travel, etc. has achieved their goal of strengthening the incumbency advantage. Concentration on constituency service, continuous campaigning, and widespread name recognition all make incumbents difficult to defeat.

A number of sources suggest that the Democrat's domination of the ranks of incumbents, on top of their massive advantage in party identification, makes another Republican failure in 1978 very likely. The difficulties are perhaps greatest in the Senate contests where Republicans must defend almost as many seats as Democrats, 17 as compared to 18. Due to the disastrous elections of 1974 and 1976 Republicans will have only 10 and 11 seats to defend in 1980 and 1982, but this year the many victors from the good Republican years of 1972 and 1966 face reelection. Republicans should gain two Democratic seats (in Maine and South Dakota), but figure to lose three: Nebraska, New Jersey, and Oklahoma. Republicans have reasonable chances to win six other Democratic seats, but also could lose at least three others. Republicans probably should prepare to celebrate if they make a gain of one or two seats.

The weak prospects in the House received recent confirmation in the latest Gallup Poll which reports that 57 percent of likely voters now plan to support Democratic House candidates, the same support level achieved in 1976. *Congressional Quarterly's* spring survey of the upcoming election did not make explicit predictions in all races, but its analysis suggested the likelihood of a typically strong record of incumbent victories along with a division of "open" seats (those without an incumbent seeking reelection) which would maintain the present party balance. *CQ* pointed to a number of weak Democratic incumbents in the House and to even more open Democratic seats which could easily switch, but

similar Republican losses appeared equally likely. Finally, even the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) began this year with little optimism, expecting the Democrats to maintain their hold on almost all of their 1974 gains.

Despite these signs of Republican doom, one source of optimism remains: the likelihood of a significant national trend reducing the Democrats' vote from 1976. Only naive Republicans will rely on the fact that the in-party (the party of the President) almost always loses House seats in off-years, with an average loss of thirty to thirty-five seats. Still, the consistent pattern of a decline in the national vote for the in-party exists and for good reasons. In addition to a presumed public tendency towards criticism and negative voting, recent studies by political scientists reveal a powerful and consistent impact of Presidential popularity and economic growth in shaping off-year performance. The record suggests that Jimmy Carter's long-term popularity decline of nearly 20 percent, even after his boost from the Camp David Summit Conference results, should cost the Democrats a 3 percent decline in their vote, and the sluggish performance of the economy will hardly compensate. The decline of party voting has strengthened the incumbency advantage, mostly to the benefit of Democrats, but it may also strengthen the impact of factors such as evaluations of Presidential performance and economic concerns, such as inflation and taxes. Over the past two decades Democrats have averaged 54 percent of the national vote for the House; they should not do that well this year, indicating a Republican gain of at least 3 percent. We cannot analyze and predict Senate elections in quite the same way, but there too a Republican trend should occur.

The national swing by itself, of course, matters little. Republicans must win—not just win more votes but must elect more Congressmen and Senators. The conventional theory of mid-term elections offers Republicans little hope for it stresses the strong association between Presidential year gains and mid-term losses. As Jimmy Carter's coattails brought few Democratic victories in 1976, few losses should follow in 1978. This theory, however, places too much emphasis on coattails rather than on the central factor: electoral weakness. Republicans can derive some optimism from the relatively large number of House Democrats who won by very small margins in 1976 and from the opportunities presented by many Democratic retirements in areas with Republican potential.

Republican chances for gains in the House in 1978 depend first of all on retaining the hard core of districts which stayed Republican in 1974 and 1976. Unfortunately, that base appears less than solid. Marginal victories by a number of relatively senior incumbents, almost all of them staunch conservatives, indicate the likelihood of some losses. Furthermore, at least five freshmen, including three special election winners, may have difficulty repeating their victories achieved with the aid of weak opponents. Furthermore, Republicans could easily lose a number of districts now held by popular moderates not seeking reelection. Republicans have done poorly in recent elections in defending their open House seats, losing about half of them in both 1974 and 1976, a record devastating to moderates' hopes. Despite



these problems, the national Republican trend should allow Republicans to have a good year in holding on to almost all of their base.

The same optimism does not apply to Senate races where the identity of the candidates normally makes a larger impact. Republicans will certainly lose some of their present seats, but the national Republican trend should help minimize those losses and promote victories in the many close contests now foreseen.

In terms of prospects for Republican gains in the House four likely targets appear: the marginal districts of 1976, freshmen Democrats, the lost seats of 1974, and open Democratic seats. Republican hopes for 1978 depend heavily on the fact that 42 House Democrats won marginal victories in 1976, winning less than 55 percent of the two-party vote in a strong Democratic year; a 3 percent additional Republican shift in 1976 would have brought 29 extra seats. Still, this marginal category mostly consists of districts in the other categories for 16 marginal winners became freshmen, 17 were 1974 winners, and only three of the insecure veterans are seeking reelection.

Political professionals have long figured that the best chance to defeat incumbents occurs at the end of their first term, before they have too effectively entrenched themselves. While a few 1976 Democrats inherited securely Democratic seats and won comfortably even in their first race, nine of them took previously Republican seats, and five of these won by less than 5 percent. A national Republican trend should reverse some of those losses, but the last few elections have revealed an increasingly common pattern in which freshmen Congressmen show great strength in their first race for reelection. Running as an incumbent allows the average freshman to gain 6 or 7 percent as compared with their party's performance. A national Republican trend should hold the Democratic freshmen to minor vote gains but will not be able to entirely overcome the incumbency advantage. Only a few of the weakest Democratic freshmen should fall. After this election Republicans will have to concede a number of House districts previously held by moderates to the Democrats for the foreseeable future.

The Democratic class of 1974, especially the occupants of formerly Republican districts, certainly appears as the largest and most attractive target for 1978. Unfortunately, the

NRCC's strategies see few realistic prospects for victories. They assert that the Democratic victories in 1976, despite a major Republican effort aimed at those seats, demonstrated the skillful and intensive exploitation of incumbency by those Democrats. The NRCC recommended conceding the loss of most of those seats and focusing funds and attention elsewhere.

Hopefully, in implementing this strategy the NRCC recognizes that 17 of these Watergate Democrats won reelection in 1976 by less than 10 percent of the vote, a very weak performance for incumbents and indicative of continued Republican loyalties in those districts and of a failure to successfully build on the advantages of incumbency. Furthermore, despite the conventional wisdom about Republican wealth, almost half of these marginal retainers of Republican seats, and a large number of the Democratic conquerors of Republican seats in 1976, outspent their Republican opponents. With a national Republican trend, perhaps aided by especially strong disaffection from President Carter in these areas of traditional Republican strength, many of these districts should offer opportunities for comebacks.

The NRCC, fearing the power of incumbency, chose open Democratic seats as the best chance for Republican gains in the House. Thanks to primary defeats, ambition for higher office, and fear of defeat, in addition to planned retirements, Democrats have left almost 40 open seats. *CQ's* survey reports that Republicans appear to have very good chances in about a third of these districts, but almost no chance in another third. While Republicans have done very well in winning open seats from Democrats in special elections since 1976, the record over the past five regular elections is dismal; in 1976, for example, Republicans could closely contest only 11 of 38 open Democratic seats and win only three of them. Perhaps the concentration of financial resources on these districts will help, but party loyalties still carry weight in Congressional elections and provide great advantages to Democrats in most of the districts they presently hold. The open seat strategy should produce some victories, but it seems unlikely to lead to a quick revival of pre-1974 strength.

The open seat strategy has one additional component: a bias towards conservatives. The South contains almost half of the prime open seat targets, and the rest occur mostly in rural areas of the West. The open seat strategy derives

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from the long-held conservative Republican dream of gradually taking over the South upon the retirements of the present generation of Southern Democratic leaders. Some gains, of course, have been achieved this way, but Democrats continue to replace most retiring Southerners. After 1974 and 1976 the conservative dreams of the early 1970's appear a very remote prospect. It might take a couple of elections for Southern Republicans to simply recover their losses from 1974.

The record of recent elections does not demonstrate that incumbency now counts for more than party in Congressional elections. It does not suggest a strategy which abandons the formerly Republican House districts presently held by Democrats nor does it justify a reliance on winning open seats. The importance of party makes Democratic retention of most of their open seats likely and keeps open the possibility of Republican comebacks in many seats. Strong Republican candidates, usually moderates, have defeated both short-term and veteran incumbents even in the good Democratic years of 1974 and 1976; many others came very close. Furthermore, the future of the moderate wing of the party depends upon success in recovering those districts.

After two elections which clearly show the relative electoral weakness of conservatives and success for many moderates, in the House even more than in the Senate, the moderates' future, especially in the House, ironically appears threatened. Starting in the 1950's in the Northeast and in the Great Lakes states in the 1960's, moderates increasingly began to replace retiring conservatives in Republican House districts. Few such districts ever return to conservative hands, but many fall to Democrats upon the departure of moderate incumbents. With heavy losses to Democrats in the Northeast, moderates have depended upon replacing conservatives in the Great Lakes area. Only a Republican Party well represented in the Northeast and Great Lakes states will provide a home for a strong moderate movement. The future of

moderates in the House, therefore, depends upon the recovery of traditional Republican districts in those regions.

The results of the 1978 elections for the Senate will also influence the balance between moderates and conservatives in the Republican Party. Despite the advances made by Western conservatives in 1976, moderates possess a strong base in the Senate where they constitute over a third of the party. Despite the loss of the New Jersey seat due to a New Right primary victory which seems likely to succeed only in replacing a liberal Republican by a liberal Democrat, and a serious threat to Ed Brooke in Massachusetts, moderates should hold on to most of their present seats, and they possess most of the best opportunities for Republican gains. Moderates Larry Pressler (S. D. and Bill Cohen (Me.) already rate as favorites and Rudy Boschwitz and David Durenberger seem good bets for the two Minnesota seats. Furthermore, moderate Arch Moore in West Virginia ranks with Thad Cochran and William Armstrong, strong conservatives from Mississippi and Colorado, as the other best prospects for Republican gains.

Republicans can not now reasonably hope for a complete recovery in 1978. Despite the tax revolt, ethics investigations, inflation, and the bumbling of President Carter, such a recovery would require a voter inclination to abandon incumbency and reward for district service as decisive factors in Congressional voting. Moderates, especially, cannot count on an easy revival in the House for most of their prospective gains must come through defeating incumbent Democrats rather than winning open Democratic seats. Still, Republican gains appear likely for both conservatives and moderates in 1978. The likely prospect of a national Republican trend will probably not produce the seat gain typical of mid-term elections, but Jimmy Carter's unpopularity should provide a healthy start, perhaps moving Republicans half way along the slow path to recovery from the debacle of 1974.



## View From Hawkins Gore

The Tax Revolt Symposium

by Hollis Colby

When the news from Californy hit the Gore, I can tell you there was some stir. Them Californy folks, as everybody knows, riz up and told the politicians that they was sick and tired of being taxed blind to pay for all them things Californians seem to think is necessary for the good life. They put some mighty stern limits on how much the gov'mint could bleed out of 'em. Folks around these parts sure took notice.

*A note on the author: Hollis Colby is an old Vermonter who has seen a lot of water flow under the bridge.*



In fact, it was a prime item for discussion at the Hawkins Gore Historical, Literary and Athletic Wagering Society. We all agreed that an entire session of the Society ought to be devoted to intensive thought about how to apply the same principles to the Federal gov'mint in Washington which as we all know is mighty near out of control, runnin' amok about the landscape with President Jimmy Carter hanging on to its tail hollerin' "Y'all stop, hear?"

On the appointed day a full complement of us rustic savants was on hand to deal with this important subject. Each was to give his program fer the Nation, and it fell to me to lead off.

"Gentlemen," says I, "I have come to the conclusion that this problem is not beyond the mind and wit of man to solve, and I rather suspect I have solved it, which proves my first statement." This bold pronouncement naturally caused a stir. Whereupon I continued.

"I have noticed that the courage of our Congressmen in spending the people's money is exceeded only by their cowardice in raising it in taxes. That is why we always come up short 60 billion dollars or so, feeding the raging fires of inflation the cruelest tax of all. Now if we are to have a balanced budget which extinguishes the raging fires of inflation the cruelest tax of all, something must be found to overcome this cowardice on the part of our legislators."

"What might that be?" inquired Elias.

"I 'spect it will be greed," I replied. "Throughout the ages greed has been a mighty good antidote to cowardice. Why, old Genghis Khan used to sit in his tent and worry about people thumbin' their noses at him if he went to Turkestan, but when he thought of all the loot he could lay hands on he became a regular tiger. Old Pizarro was scared to death of seasickness and mosquito bites but all that Inca gold done wonders to overcome his fears. Then there was Jesse James . . ."

"All right, Hollis, you made your point," said Ebenezer. "Git on with your idear."

"Waal," says I, "what's the thing that Congressmen is most greedy about? Their paycheck, that's what. There's people in Congress who'd do anything to protect that paycheck."

"What worries me more," interjected Perley, "is them that would vote the same way for free." Acknowledging this droll point, I continued, "so the rule should be that paychecks for Congressmen are written only when there is a surplus in the Treasury."

"You mean if there ain't no surplus, the Congressmen don't get paid?" asked Luther Leach. "Exactly," says I. "Can't run the mill when there ain't no logs in the yard. Them Congressmen would have to decide whether they wanted to spend spend spend on numerous worthy projects, or run up a bit of a surplus to spend on what they consider the worthiest project of all, themselves. Anybody doubt but what Greed would conquer all?"

Nobody doubted that, I can tell you, so my proposal won general assent, and it come 'Lias's turn.

"Gentlemen," said our venerable storekeeper, "I have been thinking that perhaps what we should do is make it a criminal offense for the Treasurer of the United States to affix her signature to any new gov'mint bills, and also make it illegal for the Federal Reserve people to deal in any gov'mint securities with mor'n one year maturity. The Treasurer could go on selling Liberty Bonds to the citizenry, and the Fed could go on buying and selling such gov'mint bills as was available, but if there was any new bills sold or if the Fed started buying long term gov'mint debt, somebody would face the prospect of six months with Haldeman and Mitchell."

"That ain't bad, 'Lias," said Perley, "but the main problem is that Haldeman and Mitchell will be out of the slammer before you could get it passed. There's any number of Dimmycrats who wouldn't mind spending six months at the Lompoc Country Club at gov'mint expense, so long as they didn't have to share the shuffleboard court with the likes of Haldeman. Jimmy Carter would just run unemployed Dimmycrats thru the Treasurer's office to Lompoc like slats thru a heifer, so I don't know as it'd work proper."

Then we heard from Ebenezer who had a plan for an "ever normal Treasury" which he said come from the ever normal granary offered up by the Truman Administration, and from Luther, who simple soul that he is, thought that turning off the air conditioning in the District of Columbia

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that moderate  
republicans are  
very fond of  
wine and cheese  
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for about four months a year was the best we could hope for. Then it come Perley's turn.

"The answer," announces Perley, "is to find something to tax that don't cost the taxpayers nothing. That ain't no small feat, but I think I have got it. We'll tax all them gov'mint agencies. Aside from the air and the sun that's about the only thing left that somebody ain't thought to tax and I claim it has a lot of advantages. A twelve percent across the board tax on the entire Federal gov'mint ought to just about wipe out that nasty deficit and eliminate the need for all that inflationary financing. Putting a few Cabinet of-

ficers in jail for nonpayment of taxes and having the Infernal Revenue Service attach an aircraft carrier or Air Force One or Joe Califano's private dining room ought to have a mighty salutary impact on the situation."

There was a brief moment of silence while those present digested these various examples of fiscal and legal ingenuity. Finally 'Lias spoke up. "All these idears are mighty good, ain't they?"

"Do bears dump in the woods?" asked Luther rhetorically. We knew we had a consensus. ■

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# '78 Election Preview

Over the past few weeks the Ripon Society has analyzed election prospects in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. This analysis suggests that Republicans may make modest gains in Senate and House races, an appreciable pickup in state legislative seats and a significant gain in Governorships. Among the contributors to this preview are Robert Thiem, Mark Shiffrin, Samuel Sherer, Arthur Hill, Jay Finnegan, Luis Buhler, Sandra Thompson, Kathleen McDonald, Clifford Brown and Richard Salvatierra. The preview was edited by John Topping.



## ALABAMA

### A Switch In Time

Throughout the 1960s the Alabama GOP grew by converting thousands of disaffected Democrats. This year as Alabama emerges from the political shadow of George Wallace the process seems to have developed a new twist. Republican politicians despairing of their party becoming competitive have jumped ship and won Democratic nominations for Governor and Attorney General. Opelika businessman Fob James, until recently a state GOP committeeman, handily won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination and is strongly favored to beat Republican Guy Hunt. Similarly the Democratic nominee for Attorney General and strong favorite is Charles Graddick, an enthusiast of the electric chair and until recently a Republican.

Despite these disturbing signs in state races, the Alabama GOP expects to swell its present minuscule representation in the state legislature. If this growth continues Republicans will soon have a large enough contingent to hold their caucus in a phone booth!

Republicans who have only two of 140 seats in the state legislature hold three of the state's Congressional seats. This lineup seems likely to remain unchanged. A New Right led purge attempt on Birmingham area moderate Republican Congressman John Buchanan was repelled in the GOP primary. Democratic State Senator Richard C. Shelby of Tuscaloosa is strongly favored to beat Republican Jim Scruggs for the one open seat, the Seventh District post vacated by Representative Walter Flowers to make his unsuccessful U.S. Senate bid.

The most excitement in Alabama this year is supplied by the U.S. Senate races. Two seats are up, the first seat now held by retiring Senator John Sparkman is for a full six year term. The second U.S. Senate contest resulted from the death of conservative Democratic Senator James Allen.



Howell Heflin, Alabama's reform-minded former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, trounced Congressman Flowers to win this seat. Heflin's Republican opponent is former GOP Congressman James Martin, once a fiery superconservative who, like many Alabama politicians, has mellowed since his abortive 1966 gubernatorial try to the right of Lurleen Wallace.

Meanwhile State Senator Donald Stewart won a surprising upset over Senator Maryon Allen, widow of James Allen and Wallace appointee to the vacancy. The Stewart victory created an immediate opening for the GOP. Stewart's fairly liberal reputation and the disaffection of many Allen supporters made this race for the two years remaining in Allen's term fairly inviting. Thus only five weeks before the election Republicans pulled off a double reverse of their own. Tuscaloosa attorney George Nichols, the GOP nominee for the two year term, withdrew from the race. The state GOP named Martin, who was running hopelessly behind Heflin, to replace Nichols for the race against Stewart. Overnight Martin was transformed to a serious threat. This race could well be captured by the GOP, although Stewart, a 38 year old State Senator, is a very strong campaigner and rates as the favorite.



ALASKA

### The Politics of Development

Politics in Alaska have begun to be polarized between two factions, those favoring maximum development of the state's enormous natural resource wealth and those favoring fairly stringent environmental safeguards including placing much of Alaska in Wilderness areas. Those opposing forces, jocularly referred to as "boomers" and "doomers", squared off in tight contests in both the Republican and Democratic primaries. The pro-environmentalist gubernatorial candidates won razor-thin victories in both primaries.

Far more interest was centered on the Republican primary where Governor Jay Hammond, a bearded former bush pilot, eked out a 101 vote victory over Walter Hickel, a former Governor and Interior Secretary who was fired by Richard Nixon for disagreeing with his Indochina policies. Hammond, a strong environmentalist, was particularly strong in rural Alaska while Hickel ran well in largely pro-development Anchorage. A third contender, conservative Tom Fink, trailed with about 21 percent of the vote. Hickel's 901 vote election night lead melted away as absentee ballots, challenged ballots, and returns from late reporting bush precincts were counted.

Hammond is strongly favored over Democratic State Senator Chancy Croft, who won by 272 votes over former State Senator Ed Mendes. Under Alaska's open primary system this year, Republican primary voters outnumbered Democratic primary voters by nearly four-to-one.

Republican Senator Ted Stevens should win an easy re-election victory over his Democratic opponent, Anchorage electrical contractor Don Hobbs. The race for Alaska's single House seat should be closer between incumbent Republican Don Young and 35 year old State Senator Patrick Rodey. Both candidates are residents of Anchorage. Young is favored but could face a very hard fight from Rodey.

Republicans should be well positioned to increase their strength in the state legislature. If Hammond and Stevens run quite well, as is anticipated, they would conceivably assist their party to seize one or both houses of the state legislature.

In a historic turnabout from its pre-Statehood reputation as a Democratic stronghold, Alaska seems to be drifting solidly into the Republican column.

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The Alaska gubernatorial race has been thrown in complete turmoil by a decision by Superior Court Judge Ralph Moody overturning both the Republican and Democratic gubernatorial primaries and ordering Lieutenant Governor Lowell Thomas to set a date for a new primary. Hammond and Croft have both appealed this decision to the Alaska Supreme Court.

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ARIZONA

### Musical Chairs

During the past fifteen months Arizona has had three different Governors. Late in 1977 Democratic Governor Raul Castro was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Argentina by President Carter. Castro's appointment was greeted by some relief by Arizona Democrats since the Governor's popularity had fallen considerably since his razor-thin election victory in 1974. Wesley Bolin, the 73 year old Arizona Secretary of State, succeeded Castro following the ambassadorial appointment. Bolin was considered vulnerable should he seek to retain his hold on the Governorship. Yet these calculations were scattered to the winds when Bolin died suddenly in January, and young Attorney General Bruce Babbitt became Governor. Babbitt is now the favorite to win the gubernatorial race against his Republican challenger, car dealer and long-time political bridesmaid Evan Mecham.

A tight race for Attorney General is shaping up between Democrat Dino DeConcini, Republican Bob Corbin. Incumbent Secretary of State Rose Mofford is favored to retain her post.

Control of the state legislature is now split with Democrats controlling the State Senate and Republicans dominating the State House. No change is expected in November, although the Democratic bulge in the Senate is so slight that a turnover could occur there.



The four incumbents, two of each party, are expected to retain their House seats. The two freshmen, conservative Republican Eldon Rudd and conservative Democrat Bob Stump, should win handily. House Minority Leader John Rhodes who has faced difficult races in his last two campaigns should waltz to victory this year over Democratic schoolteacher Ken Graves. Morris Udall is being strongly pressed by Republican Tom Richey but is expected to hold on to the Tucson area seat he has held since 1961.



## ARKANSAS

### Beginning of a GOP Revival

Few states have a more solidly Democratic tradition than Arkansas. Aside from a few mountain counties in the Ozarks where Republican heritage traced from opposition to the Confederacy, the state has since Reconstruction had a monotonously Democratic tradition. For a few years, this political habit was broken through the effort of relative newcomer Winthrop Rockefeller. The maverick brother in a remarkable political family, "Winrock" settled down in Arkansas after a tumultuous past. He performed prodigious feats as Chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Commission in attracting industry to the state. "Winrock" then turned to politics and lavishly bankrolled the once moribund Republican Party. On his second try he was elected Governor in 1966.

But Arkansas Republicanism never quite took hold. Rockefeller was defeated in 1970 when Democrats had the good sense to nominate an attractive country lawyer, Dale Bumpers, with no visible ties to the state's shady political machines. During his four years as Governor, Winthrop Rockefeller managed to transform the politics of the state. He made numerous appointments of blacks to public office and irretrievably made Arkansas a New South state. These advances have generally been maintained by Rockefeller's Democratic successors. Yet with Rockefeller's defeat and subsequent death, the Republican Party has fallen into disrepair. Arkansas blacks, once the bulwark of the state GOP, have begun to drift to the Democrats. Republican representation in the state legislature has remained imperceptible. The GOP's sole officeholder of note has remained Third District Congressman John Paul Hammerschmidt.

It will be a long while before Arkansas is a genuine two party state. Nevertheless, this year the GOP seems to be mounting a modest comeback. After some fairly bitter Democratic primary contests, several attractive young Republican candidates are hoping to pick up the pieces. The Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate is Tom Kelly, a young progressive who has worked extensively in international cultural exchange programs. Although given little chance of defeating his Democratic opponent, Governor David Pryor, Kelly has with virtually no funds done a remarkable job of gathering press coverage in his campaign

against the Governor. Kelly has favored a decentralist, libertarian approach to many public issues. His campaign has attracted many young volunteers. In addition to his own campaign appeal, Kelly is hoping to capitalize on the many open wounds left after the Democratic primary between Governor Pryor and Congressmen Jim Guy Tucker and Ray Thornton.

The Republican gubernatorial candidate, Lynn Lowe, a Texarkana farmer and businessman who has served as GOP State Chairman, is a similar prohibitive underdog against the Democratic nominee, 31 year old Attorney General Bill Clinton. Republican hopes are greatest at the local level where some attractive candidates are running. In predominantly black Lee County, Republicans are running some strong black candidates against a lilywhite Democratic ticket.

Probably the Republican with the best chance of scoring a significant victory is Ed Bethune, a young Searcy attorney who is running for the Second Congressional District seat being vacated by Jim Guy Tucker. Bethune carried 48 percent of the vote in the Second District in an early race against Tucker for the post of Attorney General. Rumors are circulating that Tucker supporters may drag their feet instead of assisting Democratic nominee State Representative Doug Brandon. Tucker, who faces temporary political retirement on account of his unsuccessful U.S. Senate bid, would, it is reasoned, prefer to run for the Second District seat in 1980 against a Republican rather than a Democratic incumbent. This race seems to be shaping up as a tossup.

Congressman Hammerschmidt who in 1974 narrowly defeated then 27 year old Bill Clinton should easily hold onto his Third District seat. This district includes in addition to Fayetteville, Fort Smith and Hot Springs, the Republican Ozark strongholds.



## CALIFORNIA

### Jerry Be Nimble, Jerry Be Quick

The California gubernatorial race pits two of the most unlikely and contrasting political personalities in an exceedingly tight contest. Jerry Brown, erstwhile Jesuit, sometime Zen Buddhist and master of the political zigzag, is squared off against Evelle Younger, the Woody Hayes of California politics. Younger's brand of politics, like Hayes' Ohio State football teams, is steady, often dull and nearly always victorious. Younger, who has never been defeated in 36 years in public life, hopes to score his greatest triumph in November.

Jerry Brown has nimbly performed an about face after his early, strong opposition to Proposition 13. After jumping hard on the victorious Proposition 13 bandwagon, Brown skillfully dominated the California legislative session that parceled the state's huge surplus to local governments,



thus averting the dire forecasts of disaster. Brown then one-upped Howard Jarvis as a tax cutter by proposing a rollback in the sales tax, an indexing of the state income tax and a passthrough of Proposition 13 tax savings to renters. During June and July, Brown had clearly seized the initiative and Younger's campaign seemed to be fading.

Brown has opened up a fourteen point lead over Younger in the latest Field Poll. Although California voters seem put off by Brown's ambition and political flip flops they give him a decisive edge over Younger on "trying hard to make Proposition 13 work." A Younger victory will require a decisive transformation in the last weeks of the campaign in voter perceptions of the two candidates.

Tight races seem to be shaping up for Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General. Republican challenger Mike Curb, a young recording industry magnate, appears to be closing the early lead that incumbent Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally has held. Dymally, a savvy black politico and rival of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, has been hurt by recurring rumors of unsavory political dealings. Against weak opposition Dymally carried only 55 percent of the Democratic primary vote. Curb seems likely to win this race while running somewhat ahead of Younger. It is possible that the Republican second-spot nominee might win even if Brown hangs on to the Governorship. Such a split between parties of the state's two highest offices would, however, be a first in this century.

A similarly tight race is shaping up for the Attorney General post being vacated by Younger. Congresswoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke was running narrowly ahead of her Republican opponent Assemblyman George Deukmejian. Burke, a very telegenic and personable candidate, has a strong shot at this post but suffers from a conservative current raging in California on criminal justice issues. She opposes capital punishment, while Deukmejian and most California voters favor it. Moreover, she has little experience in the criminal justice field while her opponent earned a reputation during 16 years in the California legislature as a specialist in criminal justice legislation. Burke may yet win this race on the strength of her personality but at this point the momentum seems to be with Deukmejian.

Democratic incumbents are favored to hold onto the other three state constitutional offices, Secretary of State, Controller and Treasurer. Secretary of State March Fong Eu, whose greatest political success was an earlier effort to ban pay toilets, seems a strong favorite over her Republican opponent, Jacob Margosian. Controller Kenneth Cory was considered very vulnerable early this year due to controversy surrounding campaign contributions he received in 1974. These calculations changed when Cory breezed through his primary and unexpectedly drew as a Republican opponent, conservative James Ware who has developed a Stassen-like record for political persistence without the leavening of youthful victories to look back upon.

The Treasurer's race pits 31 year old Donald French, a black mortgage banker, against incumbent Jesse Unruh, once the powerful Speaker of the State Assembly. This

race is likely to be a referendum on Unruh. While Unruh, Reagan's 1970 gubernatorial challenger, has done little in his current job to draw fire, he suffers from his lingering reputation as a wheeler dealer. Still, a defeat of the man who may be immortalized for the quote, "Money is the mother's milk of politics", would be at least a mild surprise.

Little change seems likely in the lopsided 26-14 Democratic margin that now prevails in the State Senate. This is particularly grim news for Republicans, because 17 of the 20 seats at stake this year are held by Democrats. Republicans seem likely to improve their present dismal standing in the State Assembly where they now hold only 23 of 80 seats. Republicans are likely to pick up at least the four more seats needed to crack the Democrats' two thirds majority. This could be important, should Younger win the Governorship, in giving the GOP some leverage in reapportionment.

Despite the retirement of seven U.S. Representatives from California and some very spirited contests, there seems little likelihood of any significant shift in the present Congressional alignment of 29 Democrats to 14 Republicans. Four Democrats, John Moss, Robert Leggett, B.F. Sisk and Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, are retiring from Congress this year. Republicans have a reasonable shot at the Third District Sacramento area seat being vacated by Moss. The Republican nominee Sandra Smoley is an exceptionally strong candidate but she faces a strong opponent Sacramento Vice Mayor Bob Matsui in a district where Democrats enjoy a 62 percent to 32 percent registration advantage. Republican hopes of capturing the Fourth District sunk when the scandal-ridden Leggett announced his retirement. Democratic Assemblyman Vic Fazio is favored to defeat Republican Rex Hime in the Fourth. Republican prospects of capturing the Fifteenth District seat being vacated by Sisk nosedived when former Ambassador Phil Sanchez withdrew from the race. The Democratic nominee, Sisk aide Tony Coelho, seems a solid favorite. Assemblyman Julian Dixon, a Dymally ally, won a bitter Democratic primary for the Twenty Eighth District seat now held by Yvonne Brathwaite Burke. Dixon is for all practical purposes elected.

A very tight fight is being waged for one of the three seats Republican incumbents are vacating—the Thirty Third. Del Clawson's retirement led to a free-for-all in both party primaries in this marginal district. Republican Wayne Grisham, a La Mirada councilman is locked in a close race with Dennis Kazarian, a former aide to Congressman George Danielson. Republican Assemblyman Jerry Lewis is a strong favorite to retain the Thirty Seventh District seat from which Shirley Pettis is retiring. The retirement of Charles Wiggins, one of the most articulate Republicans in Congress, may leave a big dent in the House; but it should not affect the party ratios. Republican Assemblyman William E. Dannemeyer of Fullerton is a heavy favorite to win this strongly Republican district.

The death of Republican Congressman William Ketchum has opened up a tight contest for the Eighteenth District seat. The race between Democrat Bob Sogge and Republi-



can Assemblyman Bill Thomas seems close with Thomas given the edge.

Three Democratic incumbents may be particularly vulnerable this year. John McFall who has been tarred by the Koreagate Scandal could well be defeated by his strong Fourteenth District challenger, San Joaquin County Supervisor Norman Shumway. Mark Hannaford edged out Dan Lungren by only 3,000 votes in 1976 for the Thirty Fourth District seat. The rematch between the same two contenders for this Long Beach area seat could well tip the other way this time. Thirty Fifth District Congressman Jim Lloyd could face a tough fight from Claremont College administrator David Dreier in this marginal district.

Although the Sixteenth District is viewed by the GOP as marginal, Democratic incumbent Leon Panetta, a former Nixon Administration civil rights head (who was fired as a sop to Southern Republicans), has solidified his position. He seems a clear favorite over his Republican challenger, conservative Eric Seastrand. Two races in Democratic districts, while uphill, seem of considerable interest. Thirty First District Democrat Charles Wilson has been hurt by revelations of junketeering and closeness to the Koreagate Scandal. Wilson squeezed through with 40 percent of the vote in a seven way Democratic primary. Republican Don Grimshaw should give him a strong race this year although Wilson appears the favorite on the strength of the strong Democratic leanings of this district. In the nearby Thirtieth District an unusually attractive Republican, Henry Ares, is taking on Democratic incumbent George Danielson. Ares, if elected, would be the first Mexican American Republican Congressman from California. Despite his strong personal projection he faces somewhat of an uphill battle in this largely Democratic district. An extraordinarily well qualified Mexican American woman, Paula Gordon, is mounting a strong challenge to Democratic Congressman George Miller, Jr. in the marginally Democratic Seventh District.

Two Republican incumbents may be in some degree of jeopardy. Congressman Don Clausen is favored in the Second District, but he could face a tough race from speech pathologist Norma Bork. Clausen's victory margins have been slipping in recent years. The second California Republican who may face a stiff challenge is New Right spokesman Robert Dornan. Carey Peck, 29 year old son of Gregory Peck, is mounting a well financed campaign against Dornan in the Twenty Seventh District long held by moderate Republican Alphonzo Bell. Dornan rates as the favorite on the strength of his campaign skills and his championship of projects dear to his district's aerospace industry. Peck's hope may be to take away the center from Dornan, hardly an insuperable task.

Despite the tax revolt that has transformed the national political climate, the California elections seem likely to produce a virtual partisan standoff. This may further magnify the importance of the gubernatorial results. The outcome of this race will be watched avidly in many places, particularly 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.



## COLORADO

### Mile High Shootout

Colorado should prove a prime battleground to test the campaign appeal of the Kemp-Roth bill. Articulate conservative Republican Congressman William Armstrong has been closing the narrow lead held by liberal Democratic Senator Floyd Haskell. In the most recent *Denver Post* poll Haskell led 41 percent to 37 percent with 21 percent undecided. In the same poll Armstrong led by 8 points among those most likely to vote. Haskell has countered Armstrong's across the board tax cutting pitch by arguing that such cuts should not occur until the Federal budget is balanced. Armstrong has momentum and seems likely to overcome Haskell in the final weeks of the campaign.

The gubernatorial race seems equally close. Republican State Senator Ted Strickland holds a slim lead over Democratic Governor Richard Lamm 42-39 percent with 18 percent undecided. Lamm, however, has rallied from a very negative position with Colorado voters only a year ago. The Governor, elected in 1974 on a strong environmentalist platform, has taken numerous swipes at the Carter Administration. Lamm could surge from behind against his conservative Republican opponent who is riding the crest of a spending limitation initiative but Lamm will have to overcome Strickland's superior campaign organization. Secretary of State Mary Estelle Buchanan, a moderate Republican, is strongly favored to win reelection. Democratic State Treasurer Roy Romer holds a narrow lead over his Republican challenger, Tom Wiens. Democratic Attorney General J.D. McFarlane holds a modest lead over his Republican challenger, Denver attorney Steve Duncan. The fortunes of the party's two respective nominees for Lieutenant Governor, Republican Hank Brown and Democrat Nancy Dick, are tied to the outcome of the gubernatorial race. Dick's nomination may trigger restlessness among minority politicians: she defeated State Senator Ruben Valdez, a Mexican American, in the Democratic primary for the post now held by George Brown, a black Democrat.

Republicans should slightly increase their precarious 17-16 hold on the State Senate. The GOP is also expected to retain its narrow control of the State House of Representatives. A referendum proposal to restrict increases in state spending to population growth and cost of living increases should win handily.

Colorado has in recent years had a high proportion of closely contested Congressional races. This year the closest contests are likely to be in the Second, Third and Fifth Districts. The largely Denver suburban Second District is experiencing a rerun of the tight 1976 contest between Democratic Congressman Tim Wirth and Republican Ed Scott. The race could end as close as the 3,000 vote margin that separated the two in 1976. The two open districts, one Republican and one Democratic, are likely to be retained by their respective parties. In the Southern Colorado Third District



now held by retiring Democratic Congressman Frank Evans the Democratic nominee State Senator Ray Kogovsek leads over Republican Harold McCormick 43-32 percent with 24 percent undecided in the latest *Denver Post* poll. Colorado House Rules Committee Chairman Ken Kramer enjoys a 36-23 percent lead over his Democratic rival State Representative Gerald Frank for the seat Armstrong now holds. Despite a lavish campaign by his rich Democratic opponent, Morgan Smith, Fourth District moderate Republican Congressman Jim Johnson leads comfortably. Second District liberal Democratic Congressman Patricia Schroeder enjoyed a 50-26 percent lead in the *Denver Post* poll among all voters. Yet among those persons most likely to vote she was tied 42-42 percent with her Republican challenger, Gene Hutcheson. This race is likely to be close but Schroeder, a strong campaigner, is favored. In view of the Republican current in Colorado this year a net Republican pickup of one seat in the House appears likely.

## CONNECTICUT

### Won't You Come Back, John Bailey

Connecticut's Ella Grasso has an even shot at becoming America's first two-term woman governor. But her future depends on whether she can pull any rabbits from her bag of gubernatorial tricks.

While Grasso overwhelmingly beat Lieutenant Governor Robert Killian in a sparsely attended Democratic primary, her two-to-one margin might not be all it would seem to be. Killian had stubbed his toe early in the campaign by endorsing a state income tax, perhaps the Connecticut equivalent of Jesse Helms deciding to endorse Joe Califano's anti-smoking crusade. Moreover, an Associated Press/WNBC poll of Killian voters revealed that 60 percent of them planned to vote Republican against Grasso. While Killian will support the party ticket, his endorsement is cool as a glacier—and far less formidable.

Congressman Ronald Sarasin, the GOP gubernatorial nominee, has used the sophisticated fundraising techniques more often associated with the New Right than with Connecticut moderates. The three term Congressman is skillfully marketed as a stark contrast to Grasso's image as an often obnoxious street fighter, but issues are scarce in a personality contest that has thus far evoked little excitement among the electorate. Even the extremely bitter Democratic primary drew only a third of the Democratic voters.

While Ella Grasso's once formidable popularity has been declining steadily as the result of personal abrasiveness and the public use of expletives never approved of when she was at Mount Holyoke, she does have David Garth (savior of Brendan Byrne) in her corner, as well as a full complement of the traditional election year gimmicks. Indeed, Grasso's incumbency is the main reason she might still manage to edge Sarasin, who is portrayed as a strong and statesmanlike alternative to Grasso's shrill frumpery and the bitter vindictiveness the Governor has exhibited toward Killian and her various adversaries.

Meanwhile, as respected political observers, including *The Washington Post's* David Broder, are rating Sarasin an even bet to beat Grasso, they are coming to look upon GOP Chairman Fred Biebel as a Republican John Bailey. Bailey, the former Democratic National Chairman, dominated Connecticut politics for over 20 years before his death in 1975. He used to broker nominations at neat conventions. Primaries? Only once, in 1970, did John Bailey have to suffer such an indignity.

In 1974, a dying Bailey convinced then attorney general Killian to run on Grasso's ticket for lieutenant governor. The marriage was troubled and fell apart soon after the matchmaker died. Playing a similar matchmaker role for the Republicans in 1978, Biebel persuaded State Senate Minority Leader Lewis Rome to take the second spot on Sarasin's ticket. A highly regarded progressive who had nearly twice the 20 percent convention support needed to force a primary against Sarasin, Rome was also planning to take on Sarasin in the September primary.

Rome pulled out of the gubernatorial contest the day before the state convention in order to become part of Fred Biebel's "Dream Ticket." Sarasin, a Catholic of French Canadian and Irish ancestry, and Rome, a Jew, topped a strong and ethnically heterogeneous statewide ticket that would have made John Bailey proud. The most visible link the fractious Democrats seemed to have to the Bailey era was their choice of Bailey's daughter, Barbara Bailey Kennelley, for Secretary of State.

The Sarasin-Rome match may prove more lasting than the earlier Grasso-Killian slate. Sarasin and Rome have long enjoyed close relations and mutual respect. Should the Sarasin-Rome slate win, Rome will have a key role as an unassuming political technician who knows the state government as well as any other Connecticut politician. The remainder of the Republican state ticket is also quite impressive, including former State Senator and school administrator Louise Berry for Secretary of State, Sacred Heart University professor Margaret Melady for Treasurer, First Selectman Ralph Capeceletro of Orange for Comptroller, and Peter Dorsey, a former U.S. attorney and past president of the Connecticut Bar Association, for Attorney General.

A standoff seems likely in the state's Congressional lineup, now consisting of four Democrats and two Republicans. Republicans are waging very serious challenges for the New Haven area Third District seat held by House Budget Committee Chairman Robert Giaimo and for the Hartford area First District seat occupied by Representative William Cotter. Giaimo's opponent, John G. Pucciano, has assembled a strong campaign organization and is giving Giaimo a stiff fight in the Third District, where the suburban areas have shown a Republican trend in recent years. Pucciano could beat Giaimo; the outcome may depend on the Congressman's success in exploiting his Chairmanship. This appeal is diluted, however, as Giaimo must give up his Chairmanship at the end of the current Congress.

In the First District, Republican nominee Ben Andrews has a realistic shot at becoming the first black Republican U.S.



Representative in nearly half a century. Andrews is hoping to benefit from split ticketing in Hartford's substantial black community in his contest against Cotter, a white Democrat whose principal distinction in four terms was being the first Congressman to endorse a meat boycott in 1973. In view of the definite leanings of the First District, Andrews' campaign still seems uphill. The other seat, which could change hands, is the Fifth District post being vacated by Sarasin. The Democratic nominee is former Connecticut House Speaker William Ratchford, who in 1974 came within 4600 votes of upending Sarasin. The Republicans also have a strong nominee, 35 year old State Senator George C. Guidera, who appears to be a slight favorite.

The legislature elected this fall will be reapportioning the state following the 1980 Census. A redrawing of lines in several closely contested Connecticut Congressional districts could produce a shift of as many as two seats to the GOP. With Democrats now controlling about 60 percent of the seats in both the State Senate and the State House, Republican hopes of capturing the legislature would seem to depend on Sarasin's registering a decisive victory.



## DELAWARE


### The Saga of Crusader Rabbit

The politics of Delaware in 1978 would be fairly dull were it not for a lively race for Attorney General. Liberal Democratic U.S. Senator Joe Biden moved out early and vigorously enough to grab the anti-busing mantle. Biden's opponent, conservative Republican James H. Baxter, Jr. is equally anti-busing but he cannot point to a Baxter Amendment to woo the folk in New Castle County who are about as wild about busing as the WCTU is about saloons. Biden should romp. So should the state's only U.S. Representative, moderate Republican Thomas B. Evans, Jr. Evans' Democratic challenger Gary Hinde is an unemployed journalist who has reportedly saved on the rent by employing himself in the back of his campaign headquarters. Republican State Auditor Richard Collins and Democratic State Treasurer Tom Carper are strongly favored for reelection.

Attention is thus focused on the Attorney General's race and the controversial incumbent, Democrat Richard R. Wier, Jr. Dubbed "Crusader Rabbit" by his detractors because of his physical appearance, diminutive size and strange manner, Wier narrowly won the Democratic primary over a former deputy who entered the race 15 minutes before the filing deadline. The 37 year old Attorney General has found himself embroiled in controversy over a \$400,000 Federal grant his office received to investigate white collar crime. Little white collar crime was investigated but the Task Force nevertheless gained the headlines. One of its employees, an attorney, allegedly exposed himself to a female employee. Another Task Force employee, a policeman, then bugged the Attorney General's phone to see why the state's chief law enforcement officer had not fired the offending attorney. Wier's recent firings of two deputies who later charged that they had evidence of corruption in the Attorney General's

office has hardly bolstered his image. Republican Richard S. Gebelein stands an excellent chance of winning this race.

The State Senate alignment of 13 Democrats and 8 Republicans is expected to remain roughly the same. Republicans who are down 25 seats to 16 in the State House of Representatives should pick up a few seats, but face an uphill battle to capture control.



## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

### Chipping Away at a Democratic Stronghold

The mayoral campaign of Arthur Fletcher, former Special Assistant to President Ford and Assistant Secretary of Labor, provides an opportunity to begin the process of building a two party system in the nation's capital. The Fletcher campaign has gathered assistance from former supporters of Mayor Walter Washington and City Council President Sterling Tucker, who lost a closely contested primary to Councilman and former civil rights activist Marion Barry. Barry won with strong support from white middle class voters, although he was not so successful with black middle class voters and with church goers. The former group favored Sterling Tucker and the latter group favored Mayor Washington. Fletcher hopes to pick up strength among both groups and to keep the traditional Republican voters. However, his campaign has been hampered by lack of funds and the assumption that a Republican cannot win. Barry's liberal position on gambling and gay rights has not set well with some of the clergy. Moreover, Fletcher has come across to many black professionals as the person best equipped to bring order to the District's chaotic misgovernment. Fletcher has been helped by the feeling that a Fletcher victory or strong showing would give some impetus to the drive for D.C. voting representation by persuading skeptical Republican legislators that the District was not irretrievably Democratic. If a candidate could win on sheer guts, Fletcher would be the favorite; he remains a distinct underdog.

Delegate Walter Fauntroy has no serious opposition. However, his claim to political preeminence in the District was weakened by the defeat of his candidate, Sterling Tucker, in the mayoral primary.



## FLORIDA

### Battle of the Millionaires

Not since 1958 when Nelson Rockefeller defeated New York Governor Averill Harriman has a big state had a battle of financial heavyweights like that Floridians are now watching. The Republican gubernatorial banner is carried by former GSA Administrator and drug store magnate Jack Eckerd. Eckerd's personal fortune is said to run in excess of sixty million dollars. Democratic State Senator Robert Graham of Miami is by contrast only a mini-multimillionaire.



To acquire a populist patina the Miami millionaire worked for 100 days in 100 different jobs. The gimmick worked. The media gave him copious free time; when he wasn't so covered, Graham made sure that his camera crews were grinding away.

Graham once had a reputation as one of Florida's leading liberal Democrats and as leader of the "doghouse Democrats" in the conservative run State Senate. His opponent in the Democratic primary runoff was first-place finisher Robert Shevin, a law and order Attorney General who was believed to be well to Graham's right. Shevin, Graham's fellow Miamian, was Jewish and this fact hardly hindered Graham's ability to make hay in the rural Protestant bastions of North Florida. Graham, a born again conservative, attacked Shevin's "socialist" leanings and demanded the electric chair for rapists who "dare to defile the women of our state". He also took a strongly conservative position on state funding of abortions and on marijuana decriminalization. Graham won the runoff handily.

Yet Jack Eckerd is a household name in Florida and a very able campaigner. The 66 year old Republican might not even be running this year were it not for a major snafu by Jimmy Carter. The Carter Transition Team noted that GSA Administrator Eckerd had made remarkable progress in straightening out that sprawling and wretchedly run agency. Carter asked Eckerd to stay on and promised him that he would have a free hand in selecting his lieutenants. Shortly thereafter the President broke this promise when House Speaker "Tip" O'Neill pressured him to install Robert Griffin as Eckerd's deputy. Eckerd exploded and resigned. Ultimately this situation was to prove even more embarrassing for the President as Eckerd's replacement, Jay Solomon, successfully obtained White House permission to fire Griffin.

Eckerd who thrashed Ninth District Congressman Louis Frey, Jr. in the Republican primary enjoyed a wide lead over all comers until recently in most polls. Graham's late surge and heavy media spending have shot the Democrat ahead in some very recent polls. The gubernatorial race remains quite volatile. Eckerd is expected to invest much of his own resources in a media blitz to expose Graham's chameleon-like past. Eckerd's campaign will have to shape up considerably if it is to match the proficiency Graham's campaign has recently shown.

A wild card on the ballot is a proposal to permit casino gambling along Florida's Gold Coast. Opposed by nearly all the serious gubernatorial candidates, this referendum could swell turnout among both pro and anti-gambling forces. Eckerd has been a vehement opponent of the proposal. Graham's opposition has been slightly more restrained as many Miami interests believe that casino gambling could pump life back into Miami Beach's declining hotel industry. Most observers expect the gambling referendum to be soundly defeated although the slick pro-gambling media campaign has tied the issue to lower taxes.

The Republican nominee for Lieutenant Governor, Public Service Commissioner and Republican National Committeewoman Paula Hawkins, strengthens Eckerd's chances considerably. She is a strong campaigner with a consumerist

reputation from her tough stance with respect to utilities. Hawkins, the first statewide Republican officeholder in Florida to be reelected this century, appears to help the GOP ticket more than Wayne Mixson, a Panhandle farmer, strengthens Graham. Democrat Jim Smith, a wealthy Tallahassee attorney, has no Republican opposition for the Attorney General post. Democratic State Senator George Firestone of Miami is favored over former Republican State Representative Andrew Crenshaw of Jacksonville for the post of Secretary of State. Crenshaw, an attractive candidate who also happens to be the son-in-law of maverick former Governor Claude Kirk, may benefit from his opponent's Dade County residency. So great is the presumed voter prejudice against Miami based politicians that Miamian Richard Stone while Secretary of State changed his legal residence to Tallahassee prior to running successfully for the U.S. Senate.

The 1978 elections are likely to see substantial turnover in the state's Congressional delegation but little change in the present party alignment of ten Democrats and five Republicans. The GOP seems likely to lose two of its present seats. On the other hand, Republicans stand an excellent shot at picking up the North Florida seat being vacated by Bob Sikes and the Gold Coast seat now occupied by retiring Democrat Paul Rogers. In addition, an attractive Cuban American, Al Cardenas, is waging a very strong campaign against 78 year old Miami Congressman Claude Pepper. The well financed Cardenas may be on the verge of an upset unless the voters feel Pepper deserves one last term.

Cardenas combines a strong civil rights and political reform stance with a staunchly anti-Castro position. His victory would immediately thrust him forward as a principal public spokesman for the Cuban American community. Close to 40 percent of the residents of the Fourteenth District are Cuban, and this fact could help put Cardenas over.

Former Pensacola Mayor Warren Briggs, a popular Republican, faces conservative Democrat Curtis Golden, the Pensacola Prosecutor, in the North Florida First District. The existence of a strong Republican organization in Pensacola and Briggs' popularity in surrounding towns gives him an excellent chance in this conservative Democratic district. State Representative Bill James, Minority Leader of the Florida House, is given at least an even chance of winning the Eleventh District seat of Democrat Paul Rogers. The Democratic nominee is Rogers' former administrative assistant, Dan Mica. James has run well among Democrats; moreover, the Eleventh District was carried by Ford in 1976.

Balancing these potential gains are likely GOP losses in the Twelfth and Ninth Districts. Even had Twelfth District Republican Congressman J. Herbert Burke not gotten arrested in the parking lot of a nightclub featuring nude go-go dancers, been indicted for disorderly intoxication, resisting arrest and trying to induce a witness to testify falsely, he would have faced a difficult reelection fight. Having pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges, the hapless Burke should be easy pickings for Pompano Beach Sheriff Edward J. Stack who opposed Burke from the right in a GOP primary in 1966. The GOP's only consolation is that Stack is 68. Republicans also seem likely to lose the Ninth District seat now held by Louis Frey. When Frey passed up sure reelection



tion prospects to run for the GOP gubernatorial nomination, former U.S. Senator Edward Gurney saw this opening as a chance to vindicate himself politically. Gurney, who held this seat for three terms before being elected to the Senate in 1968, has encountered some sympathy. Nevertheless Gurney has been scarred by his indictment on political corruption charges and his subsequent acquittal has not erased the damage. Moreover, he faces an attractive, rich, young Democratic opponent who has successfully conveyed the idea that Gurney is past his prime. Gurney is a strong campaigner and could still rally.

The best the GOP could hope for before 1981 would be one third of one of the two houses of the state legislature. The decisive advantage which Democrats now hold in redistricting and reapportionment could be reduced if Floridians approve a Common Cause supported Constitutional Amendment to require that district lines be drawn by an independent commission. Since Florida could pick up as many as four Congressional seats after the 1980 Census Republicans have a strong stake in obtaining a nonpartisan redistricting.



GEORGIA

### Republican Stirrings in Carter Country

Shortly before the Camp David Summit, polls surfaced showing that Georgians had turned cool toward Jimmy Carter. The Summit-induced euphoria has restored some of Carter's bloom in his home state, but Georgians retain many reservations about Administration policies. This year this may manifest itself in a mild Republican resurgence in Georgia, still one of the one-party states.

This resurgence is not likely to show itself in the major statewide races. Governor George Busbee, the first Georgia chief executive in many years to be eligible to succeed himself, is a heavy favorite over his able Republican opponent State GOP Chairman Rodney Cook. The major benefit of the race to the GOP would be to give Cook state-wide exposure for a more winnable future race.

In the U.S. Senate race, it is not clear that even that modest objective can be realized. The Republican nominee, former U.S. Attorney John Stokes, has sought to exploit Senator Sam Nunn's vote for the Panama Canal treaties. In view of Nunn's consistently hawkish stance, Stokes' efforts seem futile. Meanwhile Nunn proceeds to lead a drumbeat to bring back the draft.

Republicans stand a reasonable chance of picking up one of the ten Georgia Congressional seats. Newt Gingras, a former college geography professor who narrowly lost to Democratic Congressman John Flynt in 1974 and 1976 is favored to win the Sixth District seat. The crusty Flynt is retiring amidst considerable criticism of his Chairmanship of the House Ethics Committee. Flynt would likely have succumbed to his Republican nemesis had he not retired this year. Gingras, a moderate Republican, has earned

some conservative credentials by heading a group called Georgians Against the Panama Canal Treaty and enrapturing audiences with a discussion of the Laffer Curve. The 34 year old Gingras is likely to defeat his Democratic opponent, State Senator Virginia Shapard.

Republicans face a more difficult but potentially winnable fight against ultraconservative Congressman Larry McDonald, an officer in the John Birch Society and inserter of some of the most exotic material in the Congressional Record. McDonald squeaked through a hard-fought Democratic primary in which he received extensive support from out-of-state New Right forces. Marietta insurance salesman Ernie Norsworthy, the GOP nominee, hopes to capitalize on the strong anti-McDonald sentiment among many Seventh District voters.

Republicans seem unlikely to add significantly to their state legislative strength which ranges from minuscule (less than 10 percent) in the State Senate to anemic (less than 20 percent) in the State House. Republicans may be on the move in Georgia, but they have a long way yet to go.



HAWAII

### Democratic Ethnic Warfare

In pre-Statehood days Hawaii was reputed to be a Republican bastion and Alaska a Democratic stronghold. After nearly two decades of statehood precisely the reverse seems to be true. Hawaii's two U.S. Senators, both of its Representatives and about three fourths of the state legislators are Democrats. The steady GOP decline has corresponded with the political emergence of a very able generation of overwhelmingly Democratic Japanese American political leaders. Today both U.S. Senators, the Governor and one Congressman are Democrats of Japanese ancestry. Many of the top Democrats including Senator Daniel Inouye served in the Nisei 442nd Infantry Regimental Combat Team, the most decorated American military unit in World War II.

The Democratic coalition built by Inouye and former Governor John Burns is beginning to show some severe strains. Hawaiian natives and Filipinos have been particularly resentful of the growing Japanese domination of the state's political and economic life. These tensions were particularly evident in this year's gubernatorial primary between Honolulu Mayor Frank Fasi, a colorful politician of Sicilian ancestry, and the state's rather bland Governor George Ariyoshi. Ariyoshi had support of all the major unions as well as a 2-1 fundraising edge over Fasi. Yet the Governor won by a little less than four thousand votes out of more than a quarter million cast. In addition to running well among Caucasians or "haoles" who normally cast about a quarter of the vote in the Democratic primary, Fasi made a strong pitch to Filipinos and native Hawaiians. Fasi pamphlets in the Filipino community suggested that Ariyoshi's opposition to "a tidal wave of immigration" meant that he didn't want Filipino workers to bring their families to the state.



Ariyoshi responded with a half hour television film featuring clips from the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the following evacuation of Japanese American families including the Ariyoshis from their waterfront residences. Ariyoshi campaigners told Japanese American voters that Fasi was attempting to ride a backlash against them so that Ariyoshi, the first Japanese American Governor of Hawaii, might be the last.

Scars from this ethnic warfare and the earlier indictment and subsequent acquittal of Fasi on corruption charges initiated by Ariyoshi allies provide a small opening to the Republican gubernatorial ticket of John Leopold and Virginia Isbell, candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Ariyoshi is still favored as is his running mate State Senator Jean Sadako King. Whoever wins, Hawaii will for the first time elect a woman Lieutenant Governor.

The 1978 elections are not expected to disturb the lopsidedly Democratic nature of the state legislature nor the all Democratic cast of the Congressional delegation.



## IDAHO

### Righter Than Thou Politics

If adherence to unalloyed conservatism is the test of political purity, Idaho Republican Federal officeholders are the purest of them all. Senator James McClure, who should breeze to reelection this year over his Democratic challenger, Boise writer Dwight Jensen, has become established as an effective leader of Senate conservatives. First District Congressman Steven Symms who has specialized in various often exotic rightist libertarian causes should win handily over Democrat Roy Truby. Second District Congressman George Hansen should have a far more difficult race. Hansen, who has become signatory for numerous right wing direct mail appeals, is still plagued by controversy over campaign law violations and late tax filings in past years. He faces a very tough fight from Democratic State Senator Stan Kress who came within two thousand votes of unseating Hansen in 1976. It would be no surprise if this seat changed hands.

Democratic Governor John Evans who succeeded to the chief executive post when Cecil Andrus resigned to become Secretary of Interior faces a right wing Republican, House Speaker Allan Larsen. The Republican nominee carried his party's primary in an upset over Vernon Ravenscroft. Larsen's militant anti-tax campaign and his strong support from fellow Mormons underlay this surprise. Evans is favored.

The heavily Republican cast of both Houses of the Idaho legislature is likely to be unchanged following the 1978 election. The move of Cecil Andrus, one of the most popular Governors in Idaho history, to Washington has been quite beneficial to the GOP. Republicans should do even better in legislative races without Andrus' pull for the Democrats. In addition, McClure can perhaps credit his

survival to Andrus' heeding Carter's call. Once an exceedingly formidable challenger to McClure, Andrus made numerous enemies in Idaho and the West by his pro-environmental stance as Interior Secretary. After surveying his state's political landscape, the Secretary decided this year that he could play a more effective role as a Cabinet appointee than as a Senatorial candidate.



## ILLINOIS

### Land of Presidential Candidates

This year Illinois has a peculiar distinction as the home of at least three Republican Presidential contenders. Two of those are Congressmen, Twelfth District conservative Philip Crane, an announced candidate, and Sixteenth District progressive John Anderson who survived a New Right purge attempt in this year's primary. The most serious contender, perhaps, is Illinois Governor Jim Thompson, but he must first survive an unexpectedly difficult reelection battle this year.

Senator Charles Percy seems to be headed to a comfortable victory over his Democratic opponent, wealthy Chicago area attorney Alex Seith. Seith has received some support from rightists who have sought to penalize Percy for his moderate voting record. Percy's campaign seems well financed and well organized. Moreover, he has reaped endorsements from a number of traditionally Democratic unions such as the United Auto Workers. Although Percy will have to campaign hard he is likely to win by between 10 and 15 percent.

Governor Jim Thompson who annihilated his Democratic opponent in 1976 has a much harder race this year. Thompson appeared headed for a landslide early this year. Then the Governor opposed a demagogic Democratic tax cutting scheme without offering an effective alternative. Sensing that the Democrats were about to ride the tax cutting bandwagon, Thompson put forward a tax and spending limitation proposal for an advisory public referendum. Republican petitioners cut some corners in gathering about 600,000 signatures. Disclosures that some of these signatures were illegally gathered brought forth images of the Cook County Democratic organization whose corruption Thompson as U.S. Attorney had unearthed. State Comptroller Michael Bakalis has used this flap to dent Thompson's Mr. Clean image. The Governor seems likely to overcome Bakalis' challenge but with a margin that may be too modest to give his Presidential prospects a boost. Thompson's ticket mate, Lieutenant Governor Dave O'Neal, should be reelected.

Veteran Republican Attorney General William Scott has apparently weathered controversy about his personal finances. As usual he should win big. Democratic Secretary of State Alan Dixon is a strong favorite against Sharon Sharp, an attractive Republican challenger. The Republican candidate for Comptroller, former Thompson aide



John Castle should win handily. James Skelton, the Champaign County Treasurer, should retain the State Treasurer's post for the GOP.

The Democrats now control the State House by a 94-83 margin. The Republicans seem likely to pick up a net of 6 seats giving them control by a single seat. A GOP takeover is less likely in the State Senate now controlled by Democrats 44-35. Republicans may pick up 3 or 4 seats rather than the 5 seats required to gain control. The GOP seems likely to fall just short of the legislative control it would need to dominate reapportionment in 1981.

Republicans seem likely to pick up one or two Congressional seats. Moderate Republican John Porter appears headed to victory over Democratic Congressman Abner Mikva in the suburban Chicago Tenth District. A close contest is shaping up in the Southern Illinois Twenty Second District. Dave Crane, brother of Representative Philip Crane is engaged in a tight race with popular Democratic State Senator Terry Bruce for the seat vacated by retiring Congressman George Shipley. This race looks like a toss-up.

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The vacancy created by the death of First District Democratic Congressman Ralph Metcalfe will almost certainly be filled by a Democrat.

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## INDIANA

### Slim Pickings at Harvest Time

The Hoosier State has traditionally been fertile ground for Republican Congressional candidates, particularly in non-Presidential election years, although this generalization did not hold true for the Watergate year of 1974. Its reputation as a straight ticket state suffered in 1976 when eight of nine Democratic incumbents (of 11 Congressmen) were elected to the House while voters were also showing a preference for President Gerald Ford, Governor Otis Bowen and Senator Richard Lugar. However, it remains the strongest political organization state in the country.

In 1978 neither the Governorship nor a Senate position are up and the top position on the ballot is that of Secretary of State. Thus there are no coattails for the individual Congressional candidates. Attention is focused on the four formerly Republican seats of Democratic Representatives Floyd Fithian of Lafayette, David Evans of Indianapolis, and Philip Sharp of Muncie who were elected in 1974 and the seat of David Cornwell of Paoli who was elected in 1976 by 2000 votes in a district that was represented by Republican Roger Zion until 1974. However, Republicans are mounting particularly strong challenges only to Cornwell and Evans. Fithian won with 55 percent of the vote in 1976 over former state senator and Earl Butz aide William

Erwin. His 1978 opponent, Philip Openheim, a department store chain operator and land developer is not as well known as Erwin although he ran in the 1976 gubernatorial primary. Representative Philip Sharp of Muncie, a former political science instructor of Ball State University, faces former State Senator William G. Frazier also of Muncie, who received 40 percent of the vote in 1976. Frazier is running a very energetic and organized campaign which has received substantial support from the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, but Sharp is presently leading.

Representative David Evans representing the Indianapolis suburbs is again being challenged by Dr. David G. Crane, a lawyer and physician and brother of Illinois Representative Philip Crane. Crane won the primary over the opposition of the Marion County organization and faces an uphill battle with Evans against whom he got 45 percent of the vote in 1976.

The most vulnerable Democratic Congressman is David Cornwell of the Southwest Evansville area who received only 50.5 percent of the vote in his initial election in 1976. Cornwell is being challenged by an energetic former state legislator and broadcaster, Joel Deckard. Deckard is a moderate who has made a name on environmental issues. However, Cornwell has a slight advantage now due to the prominence of his family and his strong attention to constituent service.

Of the other races only long-time Democratic Representative and Majority Whip John Brademas of South Bend and Republican Representative John Myers of Covington have strong opposition. Brademas has achieved a national reputation as a supporter of Greek causes and the arts, while failing to assiduously perform constituent services. He has acknowledged that he received contributions during his 1974 campaign from Korean businessman Tongsun Park. His opponent is Thomas L. Thorson, a professor at the University of Indiana at South Bend, who held him to 56.9 percent of the vote in 1976. Thorson has been working hard but Brademas still leads.

Myers has been in Congress for six terms generally receiving 58-63 percent of the vote. His position as ranking minority member of the Public Works Appropriation Subcommittee has put him in a position to help his district. His opponent, former Bloomington City Councilwoman Charlotte Zietlow is an attractive and effective campaigner who is giving him a tight race. However, Myers is still ahead.

Despite a historical pattern that would seem to suggest otherwise, Republicans seem unlikely to pick up any Indiana seats. Candidates Deckard and Crane have the best chances but the victory of either would have to be considered an upset.

On the state level Republicans are likely to pick up five State Senate seats necessary to give them a 26-24 edge while retaining control of the House by the present margin of 52-48, building upon the popularity of Governor Bowen who initiated a 20 percent cut in state expenditures back in 1973. Attractive moderate candidates Julian Ridlen for State Treasurer and Marge O'Laughlin, former Director of



the Citizens' Finance Commission in Indianapolis and fundraiser for Senator Lugar and Mayor Hudnut, for Clerk of the Courts are favored over their Democratic opponents. Ridlen, a city judge, won an upset victory in the primary over former State Treasurer John Snyder, a darling of the Right.



## IOWA

### A Ray of Hope

One constant in the volatile politics of the Farm Belt seems to be the popularity of Iowa's moderate Republican Governor Robert Ray. Ray is not flashy but he has managed to develop the respect of his fellow chief executives and of the voters of Iowa. Ray should romp to victory this year over his Democratic challenger. A September *Des Moines Register* poll showed him with a commanding 69-24 percent lead over Jerome Fitzgerald, Majority Leader of the Iowa House of Representatives.

Ironically Ray's likely landslide victory could provide the margin of victory for Ray's intraparty arch-rival, former Lieutenant Governor Roger Jepsen, in his uphill race against liberal Democratic Senator Dick Clark. Had Ray chosen to run for U.S. Senate, Clark might as well have packed his bags. Ray is, however, a Governor who enjoys being Governor and suffers not even a hint of Potomac fever. He passed up the Senate race and instead backed in the Republican primary another moderate, his former Commerce Commission Chairman Maurice Van Nostrand. Ray's popularity was not transferable and Jepsen prevailed on the strength of his superior organization and financing. Ray has swallowed his distaste for Jepsen's New Right politics to campaign for Jepsen, for years a thorn in the Governor's side. Jepsen's problems in overtaking Clark are largely self-inflicted, although investigative reporters from the *Des Moines Register* have helped spotlight them. In mid-summer Jepsen's momentum was halted by a bizarre story uncovered by Iowa's biggest daily. A former employee of the State Commission for the Blind made sworn allegations that the commission's former director had assembled an arsenal of automatic rifles, ammunition and hand grenades for self defense against urban rioters or anti-war demonstrators. He further alleged that Commissioner Director Roger Jernigan, a business associate and close friend of the then Lieutenant Governor, persuaded Jepsen to help buy his silence by signing a bank note to the employee. Jepsen has stated that he had no knowledge of the existence of the arsenal and has charged that the whole controversy is a smear concocted by the *Des Moines Register* to boost Clark. While the controversy may not prove decisive, it does reinforce the image Clark is seeking to paint of Jepsen as a right wing extremist. In addition, it hampers Jepsen's ability to make hay on an anti-gun control appeal.

Jepsen seems to have recovered some momentum after weathering the mid-summer controversy, but he trailed Clark by twelve points in the most recent Iowa Poll. With farm prices on the rise Clark is benefiting among Iowa farmers. The

Senator, Chairman of the African Affairs Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, may be vulnerable to attacks on the Carter Administration's and Clark's seemingly inexplicable African policy. The race should be close, but Clark seems a better than even bet to be the first Democratic Senator in Iowa history to be reelected.

All incumbent Congressmen except Second District Democrat Michael Blouin are strongly favored to win reelection. In the past two elections Blouin has won hair's breadth victories over State Senator Tom Riley. This time Riley is not running, but another Republican State Representative Tom Tauke, is running a strong race. Like Blouin, Tauke is a Catholic from Dubuque and may be well positioned to chip at Blouin's political base. First District Congressman James Leach faces a spirited challenge from Democrat Richard Myers. Leach, a popular moderate Republican, should win handily in this swing district over Myers who may be positioning himself for 1980 should Leach challenge Democratic Senator John Culver.

Aside from the U.S. Senate race Republicans lead in all statewide races. In the *Des Moines Register* poll conducted September 6-9, Republican Terry Branstad led his Democratic rival William Palmer for Lieutenant Governor 40-30 percent with 30 percent undecided. Conservative Republican Attorney General Richard Turner holds a narrow lead for reelection against Democrat Tom Miller, a former aide to Senator Culver. Four years ago Miller came within a few percent of defeating Turner; this year's race could be equally close. The Iowa Poll showed Turner with a 45-38 percent lead with 18 percent undecided. Republicans would need only two more seats to capture control of the State Senate. Such a pickup is quite possible, but GOP chances of taking control of the Democratic controlled State House of Representatives seem fairly dim despite the likely Ray landslide.



## KANSAS

### A New Face With a Trusted Name

A few short months ago, the pundits predicted that the Kansas Senate seat held for 16 years by retiring Republican moderate James Pearson would be won—for the first time since 1932—by a Democrat. Former Congressman Bill Roy, who lost by a whisper to Senator Bob Dole in 1974, was an early aspirant to Pearson's seat, and was considered by most an odds-on favorite to return to Washington in 1979.

But observers failed to take into account the largely unexpected primary victory of Nancy Landon Kassebaum, daughter of the 1936 Republican Presidential standard bearer, Alf Landon. Competing in a field of nine hopefuls, Kassebaum leaned heavily on the magic of her middle name and garnered 31 percent of the vote on her way to a surprisingly easy victory.



Name recognition and a steady, fresh presence in Kansas politics have made the Republican newcomer virtually an even bet to win the election. But the former Congressman from Topeka has made it uncomfortable for Kassebaum by taking competitive advantage of her reluctance to release her tax returns. Kassebaum has countered by stating that Roy's voting record while in the House was far too liberal for the conservative Kansas electorate, hoping that his "born again" conservatism will not wash with the voters.

Meanwhile, Governor Bob Bennett, another Republican moderate running for a second four year term, has pulled ahead in his race against Kansas House Speaker John Carlin. Democrat Martha Keys, the Second District Congresswoman who had earlier been considered vulnerable, seems to be holding her own against conservative challenger Jim Jeffries. Labeled as a "New Right candidate" by at least one major news organization, Jeffries received support from several New Right organizations in his upset primary victory over moderate Republican Ron Hein of Topeka. The loss of Hein, who was backed by traditional Republicans in the primary, seems to have hurt Jeffries in his bid to upset the incumbent Keys.

The only open seat in the Kansas House delegation is in the Fifth District, where retiring Republican Joe Skubitz has held sway for some 16 years. Aside from the Kassebaum-Roy race, the contest for Skubitz's seat is considered the tightest in the state, with Republican Bob Whittaker staging a strong campaign against his Democratic opponent, State Senator Don Allegrucci.



## KENTUCKY

### Free Ride for Dee

Senator Walter "Dee" Huddleston could have been defeated this year. His indifferent legislative performance and negative voter reaction to his vote for the Panama Canal Treaties could have cost him his seat. Yet, in apparent evidence of the debilitated state of the Kentucky GOP, Huddleston is expected to have little trouble against Republican State Representative Louis Guenther.

None of the incumbent Congressmen who have been re-nominated seem in danger. There is, however, a strong possibility of a party switch in the Sixtieth District in which AFL-CIO backed liberal Democratic State Senator Tom Easterly defeated three-term incumbent Congressman John Breckinridge for the Democratic nomination. After this upset the Republican nominee, Mary Louise Foust, withdrew so the GOP could choose State Senator Larry Hopkins. Aided by unhealed Democratic primary wounds and an adverse reaction to Easterly's closeness to labor, Hopkins seems to have an excellent shot at capturing this North Central Kentucky seat.



## LOUISIANA

### The Era of the Nonpartisan Primary

In 1975, Louisiana enacted a fundamental change in its election law eliminating the partisan primary. In place of the three step process formerly prevailing—party primary, primary runoff, if necessary, and general election, the state instituted a nonpartisan primary system. Anyone winning a majority is elected at that stage, otherwise the general election in November consists of a runoff between the top two finishers, regardless of party affiliation, in the general election.

The purpose of these new election laws was to a significant extent to stem the growth of the state's small Republican Party. Democratic politicians were particularly resentful of the tiny GOP's often successful strategy of concentrating its resources on those situations where the Democratic primary winner had won a tight, divisive primary. Using this strategy Republicans came close to carrying the Governorship and won three Congressional seats. The nonpartisan primary would, Democratic legislators reasoned, thwart this Republican strategy.

But the best laid plans of mice, men, and Louisiana Democratic politicians, *gang aft agley*. This year was the first time federal officers were subject to the new primary law. The three incumbent Republican Congressmen won reelection handily in the nonpartisan primary. Third District Congressman David Treen ran unopposed. First District Representative Robert Livingston, who last year won in a special election a Democratic seat vacated following a vote fraud scandal, breezed through with 86 percent of the vote. Representative Henson Moore captured 91 percent of the vote to win reelection in the Sixth District.

Democratic Congressional and Senatorial incumbents won although—perhaps surprisingly for a state whose registration is only 5 percent Republican—by much smaller margins than were registered by Republican incumbents. Gillis Long in the Eighth District and Lindy Boggs in the Second District each carried 79 percent of the vote, John Breaux registered 60 percent in the Seventh District, and first-term Congressman Jerry Huckaby barely escaped a runoff in the Fifth District where he garnered about 52 percent of the vote.

The primary for the seat being vacated by the retirement of conservative North Louisiana Democrat Joe D. Waggoner was the closest of all the House races. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Claude Leach, a conservative Democrat, and James Wilson, a conservative Republican who had headed Louisiana's right-to-work committee finished in a virtual dead heat. They will face each other in a runoff in November.



Moderate Democratic Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr. was given a scare by State Representative Louis (Woody) Jenkins, a Baton Rouge conservative backed by New Right chieftain Richard Viguerie. Johnston managed to win this race by a 59 to 41 percent margin.

In a supreme irony, the Louisiana results seem to suggest that Republicans in many overwhelmingly Democratic states of the South and in the District of Columbia might do far better if a nonpartisan primary system were instituted. This possibility should give political analysts something to mull over in the cracker barrel stove season.



## MAINE

### A Republican Youth Wave

"As Maine goes, so goes the nation" was once an oft quoted political maxim. At that time Maine held its general elections two months before the rest of the country so voters wouldn't have to traipse to the polls in inclement weather. Now Maine's elections are held in November but the state may still be a harbinger of national trends. The state that has become famous for the crusty Downeaster has shown that a state Republican Party can rebound quickly by promoting aggressive, attractive young candidates. In just a few years the Maine Republican Party has rebounded from the lowest point in its history to what promises to be a banner year in 1978.

Most prominent in this Republican revival has been 38 year old Second District Congressman William Cohen. A baker's son and the former Mayor of Bangor, Cohen has been stamped from the beginning as a person with Presidential potential. He gained national prominence during the House Judiciary Committee hearings on Richard Nixon's impeachment. His eloquence, legal skills and historical sense marked him as a person the nation would get to know much better. This year Cohen should move the next step on the path to national leadership. He seems likely to trounce his opponent, incumbent Democratic Senator William Hathaway.

From the beginning of the campaign Cohen has held a significant lead over Hathaway. Hathaway has responded by bringing in a host of national Democratic leaders. Cohen in contrast has campaigned by himself. Maine voters have been receptive to the young Congressman's calm approach and friendly demeanor. Despite much noise in New Right national publications two conservative independent candidacies seem likely to draw between them little over one percent of the vote. Look for Cohen to win big in all areas of the state.

A tighter race is shaping up for the Second District Congressional seat Cohen is now vacating. An outstanding 30 year old Republican State Senator of Greek ancestry, Olympia Snowe, should win this contest over Democratic

Secretary of State Markham Gartley, the first U.S. prisoner of war to return from North Vietnam. Snowe, an expert in health care issues, seems a stronger campaigner than Gartley.

Thirty year old First District Republican U.S. Representative David Emery was one of the few Republicans to upset an incumbent Democrat in 1974. The then 26 year old Republican State Representative waged an impressive personal campaign to topple the complacent Democratic incumbent, Peter Kyros. Emery seems to have solidified his position in this fairly industrial district.

Popular independent Governor James Longley's announcement that he would retire opened the way to a traditional partisan contest for the chief executive post. Linwood Palmer, the Republican leader in the State House of Representatives, is trailing Democratic Attorney General Joseph E. Brennan. The 56 year old Palmer, the principal exception to the GOP's youth ticket, has a reputation as a highly knowledgeable legislator. This tight race could be tipped by two factors, the first apparently working for Palmer and the second for Brennan. The strong statewide GOP ticket should help the House Minority Leader; the candidacy of conservative independent Herman C. "Buddy" Frankland appears to be benefiting Brennan.

Republicans seem likely to retain their strong control of the State Senate. With a particularly strong showing in the statewide races the GOP could conceivably capture control of the State House, now nearly 60 percent Democratic.



## MARYLAND

### Riding Anti-machine Sentiment

The results in the September 12 Maryland Democratic primary confounded the pundits and apparently the winner, former Maryland Transportation Secretary Harry Hughes. Until a few weeks before, Hughes had been regarded as a somewhat quixotic also ran. Then the powerful Sun Papers of Baltimore came out for him with a series of unusually strong endorsements carried *Manchester Union Leader* style on the front page. This boost together with a strong showing on the televised debates between primary opponents gave credibility to Hughes thinly financed candidacy. Still the results were a shocker to the pundits who were forecasting a close race between Acting Governor Blair Lee and Baltimore County Executive Theodore Venetoulis.

Lee, an affable patrician who succeeded to the gubernatorial responsibility following Governor Marvin Mandel's conviction on corruption related Federal charges, enjoyed support of most of the powerful county and city Democratic organizations. Venetoulis built his campaign around liberal reformers, the AFL-CIO and the teachers' unions. Venetoulis ran a campaign seeming to evoke a Kennedy-esque image, but meanwhile offering little substance.



Venetoulis' campaign made strong headway against Lee but then started to stall once the public began to realize that in Venetoulis, like his campaign supporter California Governor Jerry Brown, there was less than meets the eye.

Venetoulis was trounced in his home county by Hughes. Hughes' huge margins in the Baltimore suburban and white working class areas and his victory in his native Eastern Shore region more than offset Lee's victory margins in the Washington suburbs and the black wards of Baltimore. Lee was seemingly hurt by adverse publicity over loans from his family to finance a last minute television blitz. Ironically, this blitz was designed to fend off an expected strong challenge from Venetoulis, whose campaign was in fact sputtering. A *Baltimore Sun* poll only a few days before the election that showed Hughes surging into contention apparently pushed many Democrats, unimpressed by both Lee and Venetoulis, to move to Hughes.

The Republican gubernatorial nominee, former U.S. Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr., had been licking his chops at the prospects of facing Lee. Beall planned to stress Lee's still close ties to Marvin Mandel. After Hughes' surprise victory, Beall was quite quick to adjust his campaign to the new situation. A well geared up campaign soon had television commercials of Beall and his lieutenant governor ticketmate, Annapolis physician Aris Allen, blanketing Maryland. Beall seized the initiative on the tax issue by proposing elimination of the state property tax. Meanwhile Hughes, apparently still stunned by his victory, was having a hard time getting his campaign organized.

Hughes should expect to be the favorite in heavily Democratic Maryland, particularly in view of his insurgent image,—he quit the Mandel Administration complaining of improper pressures to award Baltimore subway contracts. Yet the Democratic nominee's slowness in integrating organization Democrats into his campaign has moved this race into a doubtful category. The Beall-Allen ticket should run well in Western Maryland and Annapolis, the home bases of the Republican ticket mates. Hughes should run well in the Baltimore suburbs, a key swing voting area, although Beall may be helped by the strong race for Baltimore County Executive being waged by Republican Eugene Kibbe.

The gubernatorial outcome may hinge on the trend in the Washington suburbs and on the amount of ticket splitting statewide among Maryland's black electorate, almost 19 percent for the Republican ticket. Besides his well regarded record of service as a state legislative leader and Maryland Republican Chairman, Allen is the first black in Maryland's history to be nominated by a major party for statewide office. Hughes' running mate, Prince George's County Councilman and militant anti-abortionist, Samuel Bogley, is hoping to attract Catholic support. Bogley has not helped himself by musing publicity over his own lack of qualifications or by threatening to quit the ticket because of his disagreement with Hughes on the abortion issue.

While Republicans stand a fair chance of capturing the top two state offices, Democrats are strongly favored to retain the Attorney Generalship and the Comptrollership. Demo-

cratic nominee Stephen Sachs is a strong favorite to retain the Attorney General's post that was vacated by Bill Burch for an abortive Democratic primary try for governor. University of Maryland professor and former Reagan chairman Don Devine is waging a strong and very much uphill campaign against long-time Maryland Comptroller Louis Goldstein, a popular organization Democrat.

No Congressional shifts seem likely this year. Neither party seems to be targeting any of the other's incumbents as a likely upset victim. Republicans seem virtually certain to improve their anemic legislative standing—slightly under 20 percent of the State Senate and slightly under 10 percent of the House of Delegates. It seems inconceivable that Republicans could capture control of either house. They may stand some chance in the State Senate of securing a third of the votes. If there is a Republican Governor this would give the party a chance to sustain his veto of party-line legislation including reapportionment action.

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The recent death of moderate Democratic Sixth District Congressman Goodloe Byron will not affect the party alignment. Byron's widow, the Democratic nominee, is a prohibitive favorite to defeat Melvin Perkins, a Skid Row resident who won the Republican nomination by default. Meanwhile the first *Baltimore Sun* poll shows Hughes with a big lead.

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## MASSACHUSETTS

### Confounding the Pundits

In the weeks before the September 19 primaries, political observers speculated that Massachusetts Republicans might reject Senator Edward Brooke who had been damaged by revelations of misstatements in a divorce related deposition and nominate conservative talk show host Avi Nelson. Massachusetts voters did produce a startling upset, but not on the Republican side. Instead Democrats selected conservative Edward J. King over their young Governor, Michael Dukakis. The Dukakis defeat was attributed to a number of factors including the crossover and re-registration of blacks and white liberals to vote for Brooke, campaigning by Right to Life groups for King, and anger over the Boston Red Sox's seeming collapse, a fury for which Dukakis may have served as a convenient lightning rod. As one King aide reportedly put it, "We put all the haters in one pot, and let it boil."

The King victory has opened up an unusual opportunity for Republican gubernatorial nominee, House Minority Leader Frank Hatch. A moderate Republican from the North Shore, Hatch won a decisive victory in the Republican primary over conservative Edward F. King who had captured the Republican Convention endorsement. Hatch's superior grasp of the issues, effective campaign organization and leadership on tax limitation issues allowed him to win over King who had himself headed a tax limitation group.



Edward J. King assembled a disparate coalition. The former Mass Port Chairman had strong support from the construction unions because of his build it at any cost stance. He harvested the support of the state police infuriated at Dukakis for stinginess on pay raises. The same King declared that his victory showed that Massachusetts voters wanted a Proposition 13. He has endorsed a massive cut in local government spending. It is unclear whether the public employee and construction unions that formed the core of the anti-Dukakis coalition will take kindly to those stands.

Already liberal Democrats appalled at King's primeval stance have flocked to Hatch who seems to be closing the 2-1 lead King enjoyed in polls in the wake of his primary upset. White House aides have described King as a "turkey", and Governor Dukakis has compared him to Lester Maddox. The ADA, liberal Democrats Barbara Ackermann and Jerome Grossman, as well as Holyoke's Democratic Mayor have all endorsed Hatch. The volatility of Massachusetts political opinion and the huge undecided vote have heartened the Hatch strategists. During the primary little focus occurred on King, partly because his challenge was not taken very seriously. Now King can anticipate his dealings as Chairman of the powerful Mass Port to come under full public scrutiny. Moreover, his contradictory campaign stances are likely to become more obvious.

King may be tempted to finesse these problems by running on symbolic issues that could polarize the race on religious lines. He may try against Hatch to resurrect the abortion issue used successfully against Dukakis. Ironically this is no more than a symbolic issue since the legislature has enacted stringent curbs on state funding of abortions. King may be inhibited from this course by the opposition of other members on his ticket. His ticketmate, Lieutenant Governor Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., first considered withdrawing from the ticket because of his disagreement with King's conservative stance on abortion and capital punishment. Attorney General Frank Bellotti pointedly advised King at a post-primary breakfast meeting of top Democrats to get his abortion and capital punishment positions consistent with the standards set down by the Supreme Court. Bellotti also scoffed at King's Proposition 13 stand. Tsongas was reportedly overheard telling King privately, "I look at it this way. You've got the right, I've got the left. Now all we have to do is move to the center."

The top leadership of the Democratic Party seems to be falling behind King and the Democratic Senate nominee, Fifth District Congressman Paul Tsongas. Senator Edward Kennedy's support could prove decisive to Tsongas who is already showing a 47 percent to 43 percent lead over Brooke in the most recent Becker Poll. Brooke's record as a Senator who has benefited his state by effective legislative and constituency work should be a plus. Brooke's pro-choice position on abortion and his prominence in this fight as well as his pro-busing stance will help Tsongas even though the Lowell Democrat's positions are virtually identical. Tsongas' greatest strength may be his personable nature and lack of enemies within the Democratic Party. Still Massachusetts observers are inclined to make Brooke

a slight favorite on the strength of his superior campaigning ability and his political resiliency.

Predictions may be even more precarious in the volatile gubernatorial race. Wrenching realignments are occurring with many supporters of Dukakis and liberal third place primary finisher Barbara Ackermann crossing to Hatch while some supporters of Republican Edward King are aligning with his Democratic namesake. At this point a very close race seems in prospect.

If Hatch wins, so will his ticketmate William Cowan, a former State Finance and Administration Director, and co-author of Hatch's well thought out tax plans. William Weld, the Republican challenger to Attorney General Frank Bellotti is given a shot at upsetting the controversial Democrat. Bellotti won a hair's breadth victory in 1974 and has recently been tarred by a scandal surrounding the resignation and near impeachment of Superior Court Chief Justice Robert Bonin. Bellotti had the misfortune to recommend the appointment to the court of Bonin who had served under him as an Assistant Attorney General. The hapless Bonin was recently forced off the court for a variety of errors in judgment, the most publicized of which was his attendance at a legal defense fund-raiser for 24 men charged with various sexual offenses.

Banner headlines about the Bonin case alternated with several other scandals, the most notable of which was the MBM controversy. This scandal involved the consulting firm of McKee-Berger-Mansueto which supervised the construction of the Boston Campus of the University of Massachusetts and which allegedly made numerous illegal campaign contributions. This scandal saw grand jury testimony by three former Governors and touched many legislators, including the President of the Senate Ways and Means Committee. The Senate was forced to expel its Majority Leader when he refused to resign his seat after being convicted for extortion.

The huge volume of material concerning public scandals may itself be a factor affecting this year's races. Despite the considerable controversy that has surrounded the legislature this year, Democrats are certain to retain control of both houses although their present majorities of more than four to one may be dented.

While the legislative prospects for the GOP look fairly meager, Republicans stand a realistic chance of capturing lower level state constitutional offices for the first time in living memory. Although the Massachusetts GOP has been competitive for such posts as U.S. Senator, Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Attorney General it has rarely been able to mount a serious contest for such posts as Secretary of State, Auditor or Treasurer. This year Bay State Republicans have a serious crack of capturing the Secretary of State and Treasurer posts. The Republican candidate for Secretary of State John Sears, the first and last Republican in years to have mounted a serious campaign for Mayor of Boston, stands a reasonable chance of winning the post vacated by unsuccessful Democratic Senatorial contender Paul Guzzi. Lew Crampton, a young liberal Republican who once served in a top urban affairs post in the Boston



City Government, could defeat the incumbent Treasurer who barely survived the Democratic primary. Despite the extremely strong credentials of the Republican slate, its one principal political liability is its strongly Yankee cast.

Nevertheless, the Massachusetts Republican with perhaps the best chance of scoring a major breakthrough is an Irish Catholic, Middlesex County Sheriff John Buckley. The dynamic progressive Republican is given an even chance at taking the Fifth District House seat being vacated by Tsongas. Should Buckley prevail against 26 year old Democratic attorney James Shannon this would be the first Massachusetts Congressional pickup in memory for the GOP. Republican representation in the House delegation has declined steadily from an even split to the current 10-2 Democratic buldge.

It will be a long while before the only state that supported McGovern moves solidly into the Republican column, but 1978 may show that the Bay State GOP still has a capacity for self renewal.



## MICHIGAN

### The GOP Fights to Hold Its Own

The Michigan Republican Party reached its highest point in the late nineteen sixties under the able leadership of State Chairmen Elly Peterson and Bill McLaughlin, particularly in 1966 with the smashing reelection victory of Governor George Romney and the election of Senator Robert Griffin over former Democratic Governor G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams. Seven new Republican members of the House were elected, one of whom Donald Reigle has since been elected as a Democratic Senator. At that point Republicans held 12 of 19 House seats reversing a long-time Democratic trend. However, by 1978 Democrats held 11 of 19 seats, a net loss of four Republican seats over the past decade. In addition, the Legislature has become solidly Democratic with a 24-14 margin in the State Senate and a 68-42 margin in the State House. Nine-year Governor William Milliken and two-term Senator Robert Griffin are the remaining two major Republican officeholders and both are up for reelection in 1978. If either or both lose it will reduce the Republican Party back to the position it held in the early 1960s. For that reason strong pressure was brought to bear to get them to run for new terms.

Milliken is opposed by William B. Fitzgerald, a state legislator from a prominent political family. Milliken's popularity appears undiminished and he is favored for reelection.

Griffin is opposed by Carl Levin, brother of two-time Democratic nominee and former State Chairman Sander Levin. Levin is a former City Council President in Detroit and runs well in the entire metropolitan area. Griffin is pressing hard on the issue of tax cuts and efforts to improve capital formation with which he is identified nationally. However,

his sponsorship of the Landrum-Griffin Act as a Congressman continues to ensure a major labor effort against him. He will have to campaign very hard to keep his seat.

In the background of these races is the redistricting that will occur after the 1980 elections. Republicans are running a strong campaign to switch six votes in the State Senate where all members are up this year for four year terms and thus gain some say in the redistricting process. Their campaign had emphasized reduction of taxes and wastes in public spending. TV advertising has featured "clean out the Zoo" commercials asking why the Democratic legislature has not granted tax relief.

The redistricting process in Michigan is a complicated one in which the state legislature draws Congressional district boundaries while state legislative districts are fixed by an evenly divided bipartisan commission. Since that commission tends to deadlock the final decision can be made by the State Supreme Court which currently has three Republicans, three Democrats and one Independent. One Republican and one Democrat, Chief Justice and former Governor G. Mennen Williams, are up this year and one Republican and one Independent are up in 1980. Thus it is critical to win one house of the State Legislature and at least one Supreme Court seat this year.

In the House races only Republican Representatives Garry Brown of Schoolcraft and Elford Cederberg of Midland and Democratic Representative Bob Carr of East Lansing face significant opposition. In addition, there is a strong fight for the open seat of Republican Representative Philip Ruppe of the Upper Peninsula who announced for the Senate nomination before Griffin decided to run and then did not reconsider his decision to leave the House.

The remaining Congressional incumbents appear safe including Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs who has been convicted of padding his Congressional payroll to pay personal bills. Diggs retains solid support from the Detroit black establishment, including Mayor Coleman Young who appeared as a character witness on his behalf.

Garry Brown faces tough opposition from former Democratic State Representative Howard Wolpe who won 49 percent of the vote in 1976. Brown is not a strong campaigner although he is well respected in Washington as the Republican expert on housing. Wolpe is now field representative for Senator Donald Riegle and is well known as a fighter against utility rate increases. Though this is a traditional Republican district Brown will have to campaign hard to win.

Bob Carr of East Lansing is the one Democratic congressman whose seat could be taken by the Republicans though that result does not now appear to be likely. He is facing State Representative Michael Conlin who is receiving support from national conservative groups. Unfortunately he has two arrests for drunken driving which have not helped his candidacies. More significantly he does not represent Lansing which is the pivotal center of the district where Carr usually runs strong. However, Carr has never won by over 12,000 votes and probably could be defeated by a strong well-organized campaign.



Elford Cederberg has been a Republican Congressman since 1952 and has received significant Democratic opposition in recent years winning only 54 percent of the vote in 1974 and 57 percent of the vote in 1976. His current opponent is former State Representative Donald Albosta of St. Charles who opposed him in 1976. Albosta won a hard fought primary with Roger B. Tilles, an urban-oriented campaigner who once served on the State Board of Education. Albosta is more rurally-oriented and was active in the farmer's strike. Cederberg's recognition and constituent service put him ahead but the race could be close.

The most interesting race is that in the Upper Peninsula for the open seat of Representative Philip Ruppe. State Senator Robert W. Davis of Gaylord who represents the lower part of the district and one half of the Upper Peninsula won the Republican primary with 57.6 percent of the vote and is currently leading. His Democratic opponent is Keith McLeod, a Marquette savings and loan executive who won his primary with only 25.5 percent of the total vote. Nevertheless, Marquette is the populous center in the district and the final vote is likely to be close.

Thus a standoff situation would be a good showing for Republicans in a year where they could easily lose two House seats and one U.S. Senator.



## MINNESOTA

### The End of DFL Hegemony

The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party which brought the country Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, and Walter Mondale has been rocked by a series of shocks that could permit Minnesota's Independent Republican Party to capture the Governorship and both U.S. Senate seats this year. Some of the DFL's wounds are self-inflicted; others seem due to a cruel turn of fate. The unraveling of the once mighty DFL can be traced to several factors, most notably:

The decision by popular DFL Governor Wendell Anderson to resign the Governorship and have his successor Rudy Perpich appoint him to the vacancy created by Walter Mondale's accession to the Vice Presidency.

The death of Hubert Humphrey who has been the driving force and healing spirit within the DFL for the past generation.

The determination of wealthy businessman Robert Short to spend nearly a million dollars of his funds in a bitter battle for the Democratic U.S. Senate nomination against the endorsee of the DFL, liberal Congressman Donald Fraser, and nearly all the deeply held beliefs of DFL activists.

So intense has been the reaction against Anderson's self-appointment to the Senate that the incumbent Democrat is now narrowly trailing his Republican opponent, plywood

manufacturer Rudy Boschwitz. This resentment has also rubbed off on Perpich who is running in the latest *Minneapolis Tribune* poll only a few points ahead of his Republican challenger, Congressman Albert Quie. Quie has made hay with signs taunting "A scary thing is going to happen to the DFL this year—an election."

Quie's knowledgeability and the determination of his party while the DFL is in severe disarray could propel him to a narrow victory. Long respected in Congress as one of the most astute Members in the education, manpower, and anti-poverty field, the cerebral Quie seems to be wearing well with the electorate. Meanwhile the bloom on Perpich's populist style has diminished somewhat.

The parties seem likely to split the remaining races for state constitutional offices. Lou Wangberg, a school superintendent who is the Republican Lieutenant Governor nominee, is matched against incumbent Alec Olson. He will win if Quie wins. Incumbent DFL Attorney General Warren Spannaus remains a strong favorite over his Independent Republican challenger, State Senator Howard Knutson. Incumbent DFL Secretary of State Joan Grove seems to have an edge against Jerry Brekke, a professor from Gustavus Adolphus College and Independent Republican 1976 candidate against Hubert Humphrey. The State Treasurer's race between DFLer Jim Lord and Independent Republican Rick Teske is shaping up as a tossup. Republican challenger State Representative Arne Carleson should topple incumbent State Auditor Robert Mattson. Carleson has secured labor and Minnesota Education Association endorsements against the DFL officeholder.

The wild card in all of those races is Bob Short. The man who took the Senators away from Washington wants to return to that city as a Senator. To do this he has thumbed his nose at the DFL leadership, opened his bankroll and launched a lavish media campaign that seems a combination of themes by H.R. Gross, Howard Jarvis, Phyllis Schlafly with a touch of P.T. Barnum thrown in. When the dust had cleared Short had edged his liberal opponent by a little over two thousand votes and had carried 66 of 87 counties. Fraser was hurt by Right-to-Life sentiment particularly in Duluth and in many rural, heavily Catholic counties. His proposal to make the Boundary Waters region a Wilderness Area was about as popular there as a proposal to legalize prostitution might be in Salt Lake City. Finally Fraser suffered from a Republican crossover—some because they liked Short or disliked Fraser, others largely to confound the DFL.

Short has won perhaps a Pyrrhic victory. His Republican opponent David Durenberger, a moderate, is likely to run very well in the Minneapolis metropolitan area. Durenberger has already picked up the ADA's endorsement, but Short's strength in Northern Minnesota and his virtually unlimited resources are bound to keep him in contention. Unsurprisingly Short showed a modest lead over Durenberger in the *Minneapolis Tribune's* first post-primary poll. The lavish use of money may itself become an issue in the general election. Moreover, Short who was not the focus of scrutiny in the primary may not weather the public and press attention which he will certainly face in the general election. His proposals including a \$50 billion tax cut



and a \$100 billion spending cut may under close examination appear to be buncombe.

Short's presence on the ticket may cause many Fraser supporters to stay at home in November. This could prove costly to Perpich and to other DFL candidates at all levels. The Independent Republicans are likely to pick up a number of state legislative seats, although in view of the DFL's current 3-1 domination of both legislative bodies, a shift in party control of either house seems quite unlikely.

Some hard fought Congressional battles will be waged this year. Republicans will be hard pressed to maintain their four existing House seats. In the Seventh District seat once held by Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland, DFL State Representative Gene Wenstrom is waging a strong fight to oust Republican Congressman Arlan Stangeland. Stangeland won this seat handily in 1977 in a special election over a Democratic nominee ill-suited for this agricultural district. The DFL is running a much stronger candidate this time but Stangeland must be given a slight edge on the strength of his strong constituency work in the past year and a half. Another tight race is shaping up for the First District seat being vacated by Quie. Independent Republican Arlen Erdahl, a former state legislator and Public Service Commissioner, faces DFL State Senator Jerry Sikorski, a 30 year old lawyer. Erdahl, a moderate, is favored in this traditionally Republican district, but a close race is likely in view of the loss of Quie's pulling power.

Third District Congressman Bill Frenzel is strongly favored over Mike Freeman, son of Orville Freeman, former Minnesota Governor and Agriculture Secretary under John Kennedy. Democrats seem likely to hold the Minneapolis area Fifth District seat being vacated by Fraser. House Speaker Martin Sabo is strongly favored in this heavily Democratic district over moderate Republican Mike Till. The remaining four Congressmen seem virtually certain to win. It is conceivable that Independent Republicans could lose one House seat at the same time that they may capture two U.S. Senate seats and the Governorship. In view of the Short-circuit of DFL energy following the primary, a standoff in House races seems likely.



## MISSISSIPPI

### A Republican Senator?

The 1978 elections could well witness the election of a relatively moderate—at least by Mississippi standards—Republican Senator. Thad Cochran, an attractive and energetic campaigner, is running a very strong race against attorney Maurice Dantin, an Eastland ally. Dantin has attracted support from both the AFL-CIO and New Right groups who sense a hint of moderation in Cochran's conservative voting record in the House of Representatives. The Fourth District Congressman is helped by the run of independent Senatorial candidate Charles Evers. Dantin was touted as the narrow favorite, but the growing Republican

trend in Mississippi may be enough to put Cochran over.

Republicans may, however, lose the Fourth District seat Cochran is vacating. John Hampton Stennis, a relatively liberal Democratic legislator and the son of the state's popular Democratic U.S. Senator of the same surname, is a slight favorite to take this seat. Jon Hinson, a former administrative assistant to Cochran, is seeking to hold the seat for the Republicans.



## MISSOURI

### Right to Work Battleground

Missouri has only one statewide race—for Auditor—and all 10 Congressional incumbents are favored for reelection. In these circumstances by far the greatest interest is focused on the referendum scheduled in November on the issue of right to work. The State's United Labor Committee and its allies suffered a major setback in their efforts to keep the initiative off the ballot or at least to eliminate the phrase "right to work" when State Judge John Cave turned down these challenges on October 2. An appeal has been filed to the State Supreme Court but it is unlikely that the ruling will be overturned. Only Louisiana has passed a right to work law since 1963 and its victory in Missouri could signal the resuscitation of a seemingly moribund issue. Polls indicate that the proposition should pass with about 60 percent of the vote, including 30 percent of union members and 50 percent of members of union households. It is supported by ex-Congressman Thomas Curtis but opposed by the Governor, the two Senators and seven of ten Congressmen. Senator Danforth agreed to oppose the measure in return for not being asked to support labor law reform. Republican leaders worry that the proposition will bring out pro-union voters and weaken their chances of defeating former Governor Warren Hearnes in the Auditor's Race. Hearnes is making his political comeback after defeating three other candidates in the August primary. His Republican opponent is Jim Antonio, a C.P.A. and son of a steelworker. Antonio suffers from lack of name identification and the siphoning off of campaign monies to the right to work battle. Hearnes is currently leading despite the unfavorable view of his past held by many voters. In other state races Republicans hope to gain five State House seats and one State Senate seat. However, both houses are likely to remain Democratic by a proportion of 2-1.

There are serious challenges in only three Congressional races but the incumbents are favored. Freshman Republican Representative E. Thomas Coleman of Kansas City is being challenged by Phil Snowden, a State Senator and former star quarterback at the University of Missouri. Freshman Democratic Representative Robert A. Young of St. Louis County who won only 51 percent of the vote in 1976 is running against Republican Bob Chase, a former television newscaster. Veteran conservative Democratic Representative Richard Ichord is being challenged strongly by Donald D. Myer, a farmer, but appears to be comfortably ahead.





## MONTANA

### Nuclear Power Battleground

For most of its recent history Montana has had two Democratic Senators. Despite the retirement in 1976 of Mike Mansfield and the death a year later of Lee Metcalf, this tradition seems likely to remain unchanged in the next Congress. First District Democratic Congressman Max Baucus is a solid favorite to defeat his Republican Senatorial challenger, investment counselor Larry Williams. Himself a political pollster, Williams has suffered money problems that have prevented him from implementing the sophisticated campaign necessary to beat the much better known Baucus.

A close race is underway for the Congressional seat being vacated by Baucus. Former Democratic State Representative Pat Williams is narrowly favored but Republican James Waltermire of Missoula has scored some gains by hammering at Williams' close ties to organized labor. Popular Second District Congressman Ron Marlenee, a moderately conservative Republican, should breeze to reelection.

Republicans should pick up two to five seats to take control of the State Senate in which each party now holds 25 seats. Republicans anticipate gains of 12-15 seats in the State House of Representatives. This would give the GOP control of both houses of the state legislature for the first time since 1956. The legislative change should have little effect on redistricting which is slated to be carried out by an independent temporary commission.

Perhaps arousing more interest than the Senatorial, Congressional, or legislative elections is a referendum over nuclear power plants. This referendum would mandate public approval of all nuclear power plants and rules and regulations to govern them. If approved, this proposition would set up perhaps the most stringent restrictions of any state on nuclear power. Only two years ago an even more stringent anti-nuclear referendum failed by only a 52-48 percent margin.



## NEBRASKA

### Two Democratic Senators

For the past century and a quarter Nebraska has been one of the most reliably Republican states. Yet Nebraska this year like Maine in 1972 and New Hampshire in 1975 seems on the verge of sending an all Democratic delegation to the U.S. Senate. Democratic Governor J.J. Exon is a prohibitive favorite to defeat former Curtis aide Don Shasteen for the seat Republican Carl Curtis is vacating.

Republican prospects are much brighter, however, for state

constitutional offices. A clean sweep appears likely. GOP Congressman Charles Thone enjoys a commanding lead over his gubernatorial opponent, incumbent Democratic Lieutenant Governor Gerald Whelan. Republicans seem likely to sweep races for Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Auditor and Treasurer. The ostensibly nonpartisan unicameral state legislature should retain its strongly Republican cast but Republicans may lose as many as four seats in the Lincoln area.

Both incumbent U.S. Representatives appear safe. Republican State Senator Douglas Bereuter is leading Democrat Hess Dyas for the First District seat now occupied by Thone. Bereuter, a progressive, should win in this district which includes the state capital, Lincoln.

Two controversial issues are on the ballot for public referendum, legislation outlawing nonreturnable bottles and legislation placing a five percent lid on state spending increases. Both are expected to pass.



## NEVADA

### An Even Bet

The Nevada gubernatorial race between Democratic Lieutenant Governor Robert Rose and Republican Attorney General Robert List rates as a tossup. List waltzed to victory in the Republican primary while Rose carried a bare majority in an eight man Democratic primary. The gubernatorial race seems to be dominated by shadows cast from an ongoing Federal investigation of the state's gaming industry. Both party nominees are fairly close to the hotel interests who run most of Nevada's casinos. Rose, however, seems closer to the state's biggest political contributors. He has opposed a law regulating foreign gaming. This law enacted in 1977 with List's support prohibits casinos from setting up branch offices in other states unless these states apply stringent regulatory standards equivalent to those applied by the Nevada Gaming Commission.

List's support of this legislation may cost him some campaign contributions but should appeal to the many Nevadans who are wary of organized crime moving in on the gambling industry. These so-called family voters went heavily for Rose's two principal primary opponents, attorney John P. Foley and State Senator Paul Schofield.

Democrats should retain the only Federal office up this fall. Congressman Jim Santini trounced his primary opposition while his Republican challenger, Bill O'Mara, emerged from his party's primary slightly behind "None of the Above." The Democrats should retain their lopsided control of both houses of the state legislature, although some Republican gains seem likely.

Also on the November ballot is an advisory referendum on ERA. This vote is expected to be close but there is little doubt that Nevada's carbon copy of California's Proposition 13 will win handily.





## NEW HAMPSHIRE

### Warmup for 1980


New Hampshire has a full slate of elections this year but these seem to be taking a back seat to maneuverings for the 1980 Presidential primaries. Presidential possibilities Bob Dole, John Anderson, John Connally and Jack Kemp have recently visited the state. Judging from the time of year one would doubt that they were spending their time skiing. The pilgrimage to this political Mecca will intensify, if anything, after the election. On November 25 Ronald Reagan and George Bush are both scheduled to be in the state.

Meanwhile New Hampshire's superconservative Governor Meldrim Thomson, beside whom Howard Jarvis appears a free spending liberal, stands for reelection. Thomson's militant opposition to a broad based tax and reliance instead of sin taxes, levies on gambling, booze, and cigarettes, have caused many New Hampshireites to overlook the Governor's other idiosyncrasies. This year however, Thomson could be upset by his fairly attractive Democratic opponent, Littleton moderate Hugh Gallen. Gallen has matched Thomson's anti-tax militancy. Gallen has a tax issue of sorts of his own. It seems that the New Hampshire Public Service Company has just levied with Thomson's approval a hefty surcharge on electric bills to pay for "construction work in progress" on the controversial Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant. This issue has helped Gallen to pull within two points of Thomson in the latest Caddell Poll. Independent candidate and former maverick Republican Governor Wesley Powell holds 8 percent. Thomson could lose thus transforming New Hampshire's GOP Presidential primary outlook.

Democratic Senator Thomas McIntyre enjoys a strong lead over his obscure conservative Republican opponent, airline pilot Gordon Humphrey. Humphrey should benefit from the enormous publicity that any statewide candidate highly favored by the William Loeb press machine can count upon. In addition, out-of-state New Right money should flow by the carload to help Humphrey and defeat McIntyre, a critic of "the radical right." McIntyre should win, but not in a walk. He might well have been beaten had Republicans chosen a stronger and more moderate nominee.

Republican Congressman James Cleveland seems a cinch to hold onto his Second District seat over Democrat Ned Helms. Daniel Hughes, a 32 year old Manchester stockbroker, is mounting a serious challenge to First District Democratic Representative Norman D'Amours. An upset is possible, but D'Amours ranks as the favorite.

The Republican National Committee has done an excellent job of bolstering the party's state legislative campaign. The GOP seems likely to win back the State Senate and to retain control of the 400 member State House of Representatives. The Republican Party is also likely to retain control of the Governor's Council.



## NEW JERSEY

### Hero Politics

New Jersey's Republican Senate candidate loves to talk about economics. So it might be appropriate for New Jersey Republicans to ponder the opportunity cost of conservative Jeff Bell's narrow primary defeat of liberal Senator Clifford P. Case (R).

The only real question with respect to Bell's candidacy is how big will be the landslide for Democrat Bill Bradley, a good basketball player whose most substantive qualification for the Senate is a stint as an assistant to the director of the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

Bell's campaign is hallmarked by economic lectures that sound as if they were written by the fellow who designed Ronald Reagan's \$90 billion spending cut plan in 1976. Indeed, Bell is the fellow who thought up that plan. His overly cerebral approach is falling short with the press, let alone with voters. Unlike many New Right candidates Bell has been conciliatory to GOP moderates and has collected a lukewarm endorsement from Case. Case supporters, particularly organized labor, however, have hardly fallen into line behind Bell.

The descriptions suggest Bell's biggest problems. He is perceived as a William Buckleyesque conservative intellectual (he used to work for Buckley) and has little appeal to the constituency that overwhelmingly sent Clifford Case back to Washington every six years. Indeed, if Case hadn't run a Back-Porch Campaign in which he had saved his money and energies for the general election, Bell might by now have been back working at the American Conservative Union and three possible Republican Congressional victories, with the help of Case's coattails, would have been very likely.

Bruce G. Coe (R) is running a spirited challenge to incumbent Democrat James J. Howard, who has had considerable luck since winning a resounding 50.4 percent of the vote in his first election in the LBJ-landslide year of 1964. The Long Branch-Asbury Park district along Jersey's central coast will elect Coe if the impact of the Bell debacle can be minimized by Coe's well-financed campaign as a liberal Republican. Howard is a Congressman who claims objectivity because he takes large donations from special interests on both sides of the issues and, were it not for Bell, his days would surely be numbered.

In North Jersey, Democratic Representative Andrew Maguire is in a tough fight for his political life against Republican Margaret S. Roukema, whose creative campaign has included publishing a newspaper for commuters who have lacked reading material during the New York newspaper strike. Roukema holds a razor-thin lead in recent polls and, again, the Bell factor will determine whether she can win what should be a safe Republican seat.

Liberal Representative Helen Meyner (D) holds a narrow lead



in Western Jersey against Republican Jim Courter, who plans to spend a quarter-million dollars in his effort to get elected to Congress. If the massive expenditure can offset Bell's drag, Courter has a realistic shot at winning the seat. Fifteenth District Democrat Edward Patten who has been damaged by the Koreagate Scandal should be very vulnerable. In Charles Wiley Republicans hardly are fielding the strongest opponent.

Meanwhile in Essex County, Newark and environs, Democratic *wunderkind* Peter Shapiro, a wealthy 27 year old state Assemblyman, is favored in the first election for county executive, a new post potentially more powerful than Mayor of Newark (an office which a distinguished New Jersey Democrat named Hugh Addonizio was said to prefer to his previous position in Congress, claiming that the opportunities for profit were greater). Shapiro is running against the director of the Newark Housing Authority, Richard Notte, a self-styled liberal-Republican who has management experience vastly superior to Shapiro's, but neglected to register to vote for a couple of decades after he was first eligible. The nonregistration issue is damaging, but the Bell albatross puts Notte at a further disadvantage. A Shapiro victory would probably lead to even bigger things for the ambitious Assemblyman.

The only sure Republican loss in New Jersey is Case's seat in the Senate. Incumbent Republicans in the House seem to be holding their own and the question in tight House races comes down to how badly Bell will hurt.



## NEW MEXICO

### A Good Year for Incumbents

Republican Senator Pete Domenici appears quite strong in his reelection campaign against Democratic Attorney General Toney Anaya whose campaign is still thinly funded. First District Republican U.S. Representative Manuel Lujan should romp over his Democratic opponent, Robert Hawk. Second District Congressman Harold Runnels, a conservative Democrat, does not even face Republican opposition.

Prime interest in the state is focused on the gubernatorial race where Republican Joe Skeen and former Democratic Governor Bruce King are engaged in a tight contest. Skeen has campaigned on a strong right-to-work stance and is given an even chance of capturing the Governor's mansion. Democrats nevertheless are expected to retain their lopsided control of both houses of the state legislature.



## NEW YORK

### Ghost of Elections Past

In 1966, The Governor of New York was sinking fast. His personality wasn't catching on with the voters that year, as

it had in the past. His record on volatile issues like taxation, was unpopular. So the governor, Nelson Rockefeller, hired folks like John Deardourff and the advertising firm of Tinker and Partners to turn the tide. And Rockefeller ended up winning.

In 1978, the Governor of New York is sinking fast. His personality was striking the voters as nasty. His record, on volatile issues like capital punishment and corrections, was unpopular. So the governor, now Democrat Hugh Carey, hired somebody named David Garth to turn the tide.

Republican Assembly Minority Leader (and former Speaker) Perry B. Duryea of Montauk now has the consulting firm of Bailey, Deardourff on his side, but, in the battle of Democratic and Republican consulting titans, Democrat Carey (read Garth) is trying to successfully resurrect Rocky's (read Deardourff's) 1966 strategy to come from behind and defeat his challenger (read Bailey, Deardourff).

The polls show that Carey, who had badly trailed Duryea in early summer, has narrowed the gap in the process of unimpressively disposing of the primary opposition of his disaffected Lieutenant Governor, Maryanne Krupsak, and the inconsequential State Senator from Brooklyn, Jeremiah Bloom. Carey only managed to attract about half the primary vote, a lackluster showing for an incumbent, but his television advertising, which followed Rockefeller's 1966 precedent in selling the record rather than the man, has doubtless helped close the Duryea lead.

Television has been a big factor this year in New York, primarily because the newspaper strike rendered the print media virtually useless for reaching voters in New York City. The lead time required by the strike newspapers was so long that it was practically impossible for them to report anything that happened on Monday afternoon to readers Tuesday morning. Also, the absence of City newspapers other than the *New York Post* may cut down turnout in the heavily Democratic City and thus help Duryea.

The heavy emphasis on television for news, paid political advertisements, and campaign debates doomed the Krupsak challenge from the start. She never had a chance of equalling Carey's electronic presence and, in the primary for the Democratic Attorney General nomination, this factor also led to Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams' decisive primary victory over the obscure female judge who had captured the party endorsement at the convention in the summer.

Both gubernatorial contenders are spending heavily on television, since they face the unique problem of being primarily reliant on the broadcast media to reach voters in the metropolitan New York area. If they can't generate television coverage of their daily activities then, with the dearth of print media, their campaign contacts are effectively wasted.

Accordingly, they feel compelled to buy more television time than they might otherwise, lest they suffer from underexposure.

The big question mark in financing the television campaign



of Hugh Carey is his brother, Edward, whose massive contributions in 1974 were largely responsible for letting then-obscure Rep. Hugh Carey acquire the kind of name recognition to defeat former Undersecretary of Commerce Howard Samuels for the Democratic nomination. Ed Carey's 1974 donations were called into question on legal grounds and the way he will make his finances felt in his brother's reelection race has many pundits guessing.

Duryea's campaign is being given a big boost politically, if not financially, by the presence of 35 year old Representative Bruce Caputo as the GOP candidate for Lieutenant Governor. Caputo is an effective campaigner, but his considerable ambition and aggressive nature have made him few friends in the GOP organization.

Caputo's fate on the ballot is tied to Duryea's and, especially if Duryea loses and Caputo is politically unemployed, he would be likely to run in 1980 for the Senate seat held by Jacob Javits (R), should Javits retire. While Caputo's increased name recognition and able campaign style would certainly help him win a general election, his problems with the GOP organization could hinder his ever making it to the general election ballot.

Javits would be 76 in 1980 and could be vulnerable to the same kind of right wing primary challenge as defeated his colleague, Clifford Case of neighboring New Jersey. Conservative Representative Jack Kemp (R) campaigned for Cases's nemesis in the New Jersey Republican Senate primary earlier this year and Kemp would seem to have no qualms about challenging Javits in New York as Jeff Bell challenged Case in New Jersey.

If Javits retires, Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., a moderate patrician Republican who can lay claim to having bested G. Gordon Liddy in a Congressional primary a decade ago, is likely to try for the GOP nomination to succeed Javits.

Meanwhile, Henry Kissinger also toys with the idea of succeeding Javits. However, the consummate diplomat is not the consummate politician. Example: On a trip to New York to help the Republican state ticket, Kissinger did a lot of nice things for Duryea & Co.—but he refused to make a point-blank endorsement of the Duryea candidacy, thereby ruffling some of the feathers he had come to New York to help save.

As the gubernatorial contest inspires comparisons to 1966, and the Men Who Would Be Senators do the preliminary jockeying for the Javits seat, the Republican nominees for Attorney General and Comptroller, Mike Roth and Ned Reagan fight tough battles against strong opposition for seats being vacated by long-time Republican and Democratic incumbents. While the polls are discouraging, they both have chances for upsets, depending on the success of Duryea and Caputo.

The races for the state Assembly and Senate look almost uniformly uneventful, a harbinger of two years of the status quo, Democratic control of the Assembly and Republican control of the Senate, with marginal shifts.

The most interesting Assembly race is that of Speaker Stanley Steingut (D-Brooklyn). Steingut, New York City's premier political boss, was upset by a campaign funded and fueled by the minions of Manhattan Borough President Andrew Stein, a Democratic Young-Man-In-A-Hurry who likes to buy elections with Dad's money. Steingut has the nod of New York's Liberal Party and if, as is quite possible, he can manage to pull off reelection, he will almost surely return to his position as the head of the Assembly's Democrats.

Several Congressional races are of interest with the net result expected to be a slight Republican gain. Representative Ned Pattison (D-29) is locked in a tough battle with Republican Gerald Solomon, who has a better than even chance at retaking this seat for the GOP. In the Syracuse seat being vacated by William Walsh (R), Assemblyman Gary A. Lee should hold off Democrat Roy A. Bernardi, the Syracuse city auditor, who defeated a lackluster primary opponent by an unimpressive margin. Republican chances at taking the seat of retiring Otis Pike on the eastern tip of Long Island have been lessened by the nomination of William Carney, an enrolled member of the Conservative Party. Carney won over a split moderate vote and has, at best, an outside chance at taking what should be a Republican seat.

The seat in Westchester being vacated by Bruce Caputo used to be held by a Republican sometime liberal named Peter Peyser who wanted to be a U.S. Senator. Peyser lost a Republican Senate primary to former Senator James Buckley (C-NY) in 1976, then changed parties, couldn't gain confirmation by the State Senate of his appointment by Carey to the state Public Services Commission, and then proceeded to try to run for his old House seat as a Democrat. After only narrowly surviving the primary, Peyser faces popular Yonkers Mayor Angelo R. Martinelli in November. After the erratic, ineffectively expedient behavior of the last two years, Peyser is given an excellent chance at giving Martinelli the kind of victory of which long, safe incumbencies are made.

City seats look to be a tossup. Assemblyman Alfred A. DelliBovi (R), 32, has an excellent chance of succeeding retiring Democrat James J. Delaney in his western Queens-Long Island City district. Delaney, who chairs the House Rules Committee, has been representing this white, middle-class Catholic district for a long time and a shift here to a Republican would be significant.

In the only City seat now held by a Republican, incumbent S. William Green is locked in a tough fight against challenger Carter Burden, who narrowly beat former Congressman Al-lard Lowenstein in the Democratic primary to run for the Manhattan seat once held by Mayor John Lindsay and Edward Koch. Burden wants to become Mayor and the Congressional seat could be a good stepping stone to City Hall, as it has been in the past, but Bill Green is fighting hard. Burden's opportunistic rich-kid image and let's-buy-an-office ambition make this seat, normally safe for a Democrat, an even shot for the reelection of Republican Green. In last February's special election to succeed Koch, Green benefited from having another Democratic opponent with an albatross of an image—Bella Abzug.





## NORTH CAROLINA

### The Six Million Dollar Man

The U. S. Seante in North Carolina is a study in contrasts. Jesse Helms, hero of the Pure Right, is squared off against the quintessential Southern populist, State Insurance Commissioner John Ingram. Ingram is a kind of North Carolina version of Virginia's Henry Howell. His loose lipped populism makes establishment Democrats cringe. Money for Ingram seems as scarce as tobacco titans at a Joe Califano fundraiser. Meanwhile Helms' campaign backed by nationwide right wing fund solicitation has garnered over four and a half million dollars largely from out of state. The campaign could easily surpass the six million dollar figure by election day. This projected Helms' expenditure of about six dollars per general election voter may well be Ingram's ace in the hole.

Outspent 20-1 by establishment Democrat Luther Hodges, Jr., Ingram used his poor folks status to advantage. Ingram is a clever campaigner and could well turn Helms' very success in fundraising into the principal campaign issue. Helms meanwhile is seeking to pick up the votes of anti-Helms establishment Democrats who may be even more anti-Ingram. Helms holds a narrow lead, but Ingram is closing some of the gap. Helms is favored, but cannot rest comfortably.

Drawing almost as much attention as the U.S. Seante race in semi-arid North Carolina is the controversy over liquor by the drink. This is now permitted by local county option through a referendum. Thus far Demon Rum has prevailed in ten counties and lost in one.

There are four tightly contested races in North Carolina. Republicans have an even chance of toppling Eleventh District Democratic Congressman Lamar Gudger. Republican challenger, R. Curtis Ratcliff, Chairman of the Buncombe County Board, stands an excellent opportunity to take this Asheville area seat. Meanwhile Republican Congressman Jim Martin who holds a Ph.D. in chemistry is in a fight for survival against his Democratic challenger, State Senator Charles Maxwell. Martin has won by no more than 55 percent in each of his last two campaigns and Maxwell appears his strongest opponent to date. This tight race could be determined by the spillover from the U.S. Senate race.

Republicans stand an outside chance of toppling two other Democrats, Fifth District Congressman Stephen L. Neal and Eighth District Congressman W. G. Hefner. Victories by either of their respective Republican opponents, Hamilton Horton or Roger Austin, would be considered mild upsets.



## NORTH DAKOTA

### Two Thirds or Bust

The North Dakota elections this year might be a relatively

humdrum affair were it not for some interesting off-stage maneuvering. The stakes: the U.S. Senate held by octogenarian Republican Senator Milton Young and the outcome of the 1980 gubernatorial race.

It is widely believed that Milton Young would step down if there were a reasonable prospect his successor would be a Republican. Today under North Dakota law Democratic Governor Arthur Link would appoint Young's successor who would not face the electorate until 1980. If Republicans capture a two thirds control of both houses of the state legislature, they could enact over Link's veto a law requiring a special election to be called immediately after the creation of a U.S. Senate vacancy. The state's sole Congressman, Republican Mark Andrews, would be a strong favorite to win such a special election. A strong Republican tide seems to be running in the state but a two thirds majority may be difficult to obtain in the State Senate now controlled by Republicans 32-18. Of the 25 seats up this year only 7 are now held by Democrats.

The normally obscure race for Public Service Commissioner is being watched closely. The Republican nominee, Richard Elkin, came within a hair's breadth of defeating Link in 1976. His race this year is widely regarded as a warmup for 1980 when he is expected to head the Republican state ticket.



## OHIO

### The Old Gladiator at the Pass

For the past century Ohio has been one of the staunchest of Republican states, supplying Republican Presidents, Senators and Congressmen in abundance. As recently as 1970 the state sent two Republican U.S. Senators and had 17 (of 24) Republican members of the U.S. House of Representatives while the party continued to control both houses of the state legislature. However, in 1970 John Gilligan, a former Democratic Congressman from Cincinnati, became Governor following two-terms for Republican James Rhodes. This victory allowed the Democrats to control the Board of Equalization which reapportioned the state legislature and to have a veto on the redistricting of Congressional districts. The last eight years have seen the steady attrition of Republican strength. John Glenn was elected Senator in 1974 and Howard Metzenbaum in 1976, the latter replacing Robert Taft, Jr., as Carter narrowly beat Ford. The U.S. Congressional delegation now has 13 Republicans and 10 Democrats. However, Ohio is the only major state still with a Republican majority in the House. The Democrats swept both houses of the state legislature in 1974 despite the narrow victory of former Governor Rhodes in the gubernatorial race and consolidated their gain in 1976. They now have a 62-37 margin in the State House and a 21-12 margin in the State Senate. Of the minor state offices only Secretary of State Ted W. Brown, an Ohio institution, is a Republican.

The 1978 election may mark a critical turning point determining whether this slide can be halted. The State Board of Equalization responsible for redistricting of both the state



legislature and Congressional seats is composed of five members—the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Auditor and one member appointed by each of the parties. The Republicans now hold a 3-2 majority but must retain both the Governorship and the Secretary of State to keep that majority. This is especially important as Ohio is likely to lose two seats in Congress as a result of 1980 redistricting.

In the gubernatorial race James Rhodes is attempting to win a fourth and final term as Governor. His low tax policies are the right issue for this year but he faces Lieutenant Governor Richard Celeste in a year when incumbency is not an asset. Rhodes began the race ahead but Celeste has pulled even in the polls. Despite Celeste's momentum, one cannot underestimate the strength of the Ray Bliss-built Ohio Republican organization. In addition, Lieutenant Governor candidate George Voinovich has proven a real asset to the GOP. The result could be as close as the 11,500 vote majority for Rhodes in 1974.

Ted W. Brown has been Secretary of State so long that other Browns continue to run for office in abundance, including Democratic State Attorney General William J. Brown who appears safe in his race against Republican prosecutor George Smith. However, Ted Brown is challenged this year by another famous Ohio name, Anthony Celebrezze, son of the former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. That race is currently rated a tossup and Brown will have to campaign hard in the last few weeks to hold the position. The other interesting statewide race is that for Auditor, the fifth position on the Board of Equalization. That race pits incumbent Democrat Thomas Ferguson against former Congressman and darling of YAF, Donald E. "Buz" Lukens. Ferguson is currently being investigated by prosecutor Smith for alleged irregularities in the Auditor's office. Lukens is running a vigorous campaign hoping to return to the center of power in Ohio politics. However, Ferguson remains ahead in the race. The state legislature is expected to remain in Democratic hands although Republicans may pick up a couple of seats in each house.

Only four of the 23 Congressional races seem in doubt. The only Republican incumbent in any trouble is Samuel Devine of Columbus who has barely survived two recent challenges from Columbus Councilwoman Fran Ryan. However, Mrs. Ryan is not running this year and the Democratic candidate is conservative State Senator James Baumann. Devine is ahead and this may be his easiest race.

The other contested seats are the open seat of retiring Republican Charles Whalen of Dayton and the seats of Democrat Charles Carney of Youngstown and Democrat Thomas Luken of Cincinnati. Carney is an oldtime New Deal Democrat who has been hurt by questions regarding his acquisition of 60,000 surplus free books from the Library of Congress. His 1976 opponent, former Mayor Jack C. Hunter of Youngstown, won 49 percent of the vote but decided not to run this year. Carney's opponent is Lionel Williams, a County Commissioner and former hairdresser, who is considered a rising star. While Carney may still have a slight lead, this is the most likely seat to switch to the Republicans this year.

Democrat Thomas Luken in Cincinnati is challenged by

State Senator Stanley Aronoff who won a hard-fought primary over Tom Atkins, the favorite of the party organization. This is a marginal seat but Luken, a strong labor supporter, has been careful to vote for tax cut and against abortion. Aronoff is not helped by the fact that the other Congressman from Cincinnati, Willis Gradison, is also Jewish. Luken is ahead at the present time though Aronoff may be helped by a ballot referendum that would make it easier for the city government to replace civil servants.

The Charles Whalen seat in Dayton is one which looks difficult for Republicans to hold. However, candidate Dudley Kircher, head of the Dayton area Chamber of Commerce and leader in preservation of historic sites, has run a strong campaign and appears ahead of Democrat State Senator Tony P. Hall who has strong labor backing. Hall has been hurt by a scandal over a garbage contract involving the Montgomery County (Dayton) Democratic Party and by his chairmanship of the State Senate Elections Committee which sponsored the state's election day voter registration law repealed by Ohio voters last November after less than a year in operation. Republicans may gain one House seat but the most likely result is a standoff awaiting 1980 redistricting.



## OKLAHOMA

### The Politics of Jujitsu

A year ago the bloom seemed to have come off Oklahoma's 37 year old Democratic Governor James Boren. Elected to office on the symbol of a new broom, Boren soon proved to have less than meets the eye. Despite the lackluster nature of his Administration the Governor still retained a strong store of political acumen. He quickly became the point man for the energy producing states in opposing the Carter Administration's policies on natural gas deregulation. Perhaps Boren's biggest opening was provided by a Democratic Senatorial primary also ran who accused the Governor of being a homosexual. The day after the Democratic primary Boren went on television to swear with his hand on the Bible with which he was sworn in as Governor in 1975 that he was not nor had ever been either homosexual or bisexual. He trounced former U. S. Representative Ed Edmundson in the runoff.

Boren remains the favorite in his race against Republican Robert Kamm, for President of Oklahoma State University. Kamm's impressive credentials and the residue of bitterness remaining from the Democratic primary give Republicans some hope of retaining the seat now held by cancer-stricken Senator Dewey Bartlett.

Democratic Lieutenant Governor George Nigh is favored over Republican Ron Shotts in the gubernatorial race. The Democratic nominee reportedly has received an infusion of New Right money in his race against Shotts, a former Oklahoma University football star. Democratic Senate Majority Leader Spence Bernard is expected to be elected Lieutenant Governor over his Republican challenger, Carol McCunley, a



conservative, anti-ERA, oil and gas consultant. Don Cartwright, a 30 year old member of the State Corporations Commission, is favored to defeat 47 year old Republican attorney Richard Pyle for the post of Attorney General.

Republicans should pick up three or four seats in the State Senate, but this will hardly disturb the lopsided Democratic control. A similar slight Republican pickup in the State House seems likely.

Four Congressional races are likely to be closely contested. Large sums of New Right money have flowed in to Republican businessman Scotty Robb in his seemingly uphill battle against 74 year old Fourth District Democrat Tom Steed. One of the most powerful members of the House, Steed has been considered invulnerable in recent years. Yet the Democrat's rather cavalier statements justifying his insistence on always flying first class at taxpayer expense and his arrogant reputation enabled a little known Democratic primary opponent to poll 36 percent against Steed. Robb could win this race. Super conservative Republican Mickey Edwards is favored, but could be upset by his almost equally conservative opponent, Democrat Jesse Knipp. Edwards won this race with 51 percent in 1976 against a moderate Democrat. Mike Synar, a 27 year old Democrat who defeated Congressman Ted Risenhoover in the Democratic primary, is favored over Republican Gary Richardson in the Second District. Former GOP State Chairman Paula Unruh is given an outside chance against First District Congressman James Jones.



## OREGON

### Overcoming an Albatross

A group of ultraconservative religious Fundamentalists recently seized control of the Republican Party's state machinery in Oregon. Fortunately from the standpoint of Republicans intent on winning elections, party organizations have had minimal power in Oregon since the Progressive era. The new GOP Chairman, Reverend Walter Huss who 12 years ago gathered a smattering of votes in the 1966 Senate primary against Mark Hatfield, is proving to be only a minor embarrassment to Hatfield and to Republican gubernatorial nominee Victor Atiyeh.

Hatfield will be elected to a third term; the only question seems to be the size of his margin over maverick Democratic State Senator Vernon Cook. Hatfield himself has been very active in Evangelical Christian causes, but he is hardly heartened by the mobilization of militantly right wing Christians into control of the party machinery.

Moderate conservative Atiyeh must be even more appalled. Within an eyelash of becoming the nation's first Arab American Governor, Atiyeh is already taking pains to assure Jewish Oregonians that he is attuned to their concerns. Atiyeh's task is hardly made easier by the presence of a GOP Chairman who openly states that he prefers party candidates to be Christians. Atiyeh has strongly criticized these

comments by Huss. Despite the embarrassment caused by Huss and his followers, Atiyeh is favored to defeat Democratic Governor Robert Straub. In 1974 Atiyeh received only 42 percent of the vote against Straub. This time, however, he is not running in the shadow of Watergate. Moreover, he has moderated his once staunchly conservative image and has gained momentum from his upset primary victory over former Republican Governor Tom McCall. Atiyeh has benefited from anti-tax sentiment, but Governor Straub has defused his advantage somewhat by pushing his own tax limitation scheme through the legislature. Straub could still pull this race out, but a narrow Atiyeh victory seems likelier.

Republicans are expected to pick up one seat in the State Senate where Democrats now enjoy a lopsided 24-6 advantage. Some marginal gains are possible in the State House of Representatives but the House is likely to remain under Democratic control. Republican Secretary of State Clay Myers and State Treasurer Norma Paulus have taken the lead in forming a Council of Elected Republicans. This body has picked up much of the staff who quit the State GOP when Huss took control. The new body will function as a fundraising and campaign assistance group until more worldly Republicans recapture control of the official party machinery.

All four of Oregon's U.S. Representatives are Democrats; one of them, Fourth District Congressman James Weaver seems in great danger of defeat. Weaver faces Republican Jerry Lausmann who lost by over 36,000 votes in 1976. Lausmann who describes himself as a "common sense conservative" has campaigned for tax cuts and zero based budgeting. His campaign is far better organized than in 1976. This close race could tip either way; a Lausmann victory would owe much to the widespread impression that Weaver has an abrasive personality. In the First District Representative Les AuCoin is facing Republican Nick Burnick, a real estate developer. Burnick has received a great deal of support from the Republican National Committee in this historically Republican district long represented by Congressman Wendell Wyatt. However, AuCoin appears to be ahead.



## PENNSYLVANIA

### Under A Pall of Corruption

Two factors play a decisive role in the outcome of the state's crucial gubernatorial race. They are the public reaction to the staggering volume of political corruption unearthed recently in Pennsylvania and the controversy over the attempt by Governor Frank Rizzo to have the Philadelphia City Charter amended to permit him to run for a third term. The anti-corruption backlash should benefit Republican gubernatorial nominee Dick Thornburgh who has carved a brilliant reputation uprooting political corruption. The controversy over the amendment of the Philadelphia City Charter should on the other hand benefit Democratic nominee Pete Flaherty



by swelling turnout in heavily Democratic Philadelphia.

Flaherty has held a modest lead since the primary but Thornburgh seems to have momentum in what promises to be a very tight race. Polls show a huge undecided vote of about 50 percent in the Philadelphia media market which casts nearly 40 percent of the state's vote. Thornburgh who switched from David Garth to Bailey and Deardourff in mid-campaign has begun to blanket the state with television spots zeroing in on Flaherty's record as Mayor of Pittsburgh. Thornburgh's ads unkindly point out that Flaherty left the city's employee pension funds with three quarters of a billion dollars in unfunded liabilities. Nevertheless Flaherty has cultivated an image of a fiscally responsible public figure. Thornburgh is also seeking to show that the former mayor acquired his tightfisted image in large part by letting the city's physical plant deteriorate. Thornburgh ads focus on decrepit bridges in Pittsburgh and other legacies of the Flaherty era.

Thornburgh, who is raising sufficient funds to drive his message home, has captured endorsements of the state teachers association and of many black leaders. Thornburgh hopes to run well in traditionally Republican Central Pennsylvania and in Northeast Pennsylvania (Scranton-Wilkes Barre, etc.), a normally Democratic area. The Republican nominee for lieutenant governor, William W. Scranton III, hails from this area while the Democratic ticket is headed by two Pittsburghers. Republicans are hoping to smoke out the Democratic nominee for lieutenant governor, Pittsburgh biology teacher Robert Casey who won his party's nomination largely because Democratic primary voters confused him with a popular Democratic politician of the same name.

Also working for Republicans is the corruption issue which has seen grand juries indicting Democratic politicians by the wheelbarrow load. The Shapp Administration has been racked for the past few years by a host of scandals. Besides these scandals involving the Democratic Governor's close associates, Pennsylvanians have been treated to headlines about the indictments of Democratic Congressman Dan Flood and former Democratic Congressman Frank Clark and ethics charges revolving around Joshua Eilberg, the Philadelphia Congressman who asked Jimmy Carter to sack U.S. Attorney David Marston.

The one factor working strongly for Flaherty is the raging controversy over a move to amend the Philadelphia City Charter to permit a Mayor to serve three consecutive terms. Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo had fed this controversy by urging his supporters to "vote white." The controversy will almost certainly pull a high voter turnout of anti-Rizzo blacks and liberal whites and pro-Rizzo voters from ethnic wards of South Philadelphia. The controversy should increase the Democratic turnout.

Both campaigns are suffering from organizational problems. Grumbling is widespread among Pennsylvania Republicans over alleged amateurishness of some of Thornburgh's campaign lieutenants. Yet Thornburgh's personal organization is a marvel of efficiency compared to Flaherty's that seems to pride itself on being a disorganization. Unreturned calls to the press and to powerful organization Democrats seem to be a trademark of the Flaherty campaign.

The gubernatorial race appears to be a tossup that may be decided by events of the closing weeks of the campaign. In view of the prospects for a tight gubernatorial race it is unlikely that the Democrats will be dislodged from their seemingly strong hold on both houses of the state legislature.

Several Congressional shifts remain possible. Republicans stand a reasonable chance of picking up a net of three or four seats, although the GOP will be hard pressed to hold the Twenty Fifth District seat being vacated this year by the surprise retirement of 41 year old moderate Republican Congressman Gary Myers. Attorney Tim Shaffer, the Republican nominee, faces a tough fight against Democratic nominee Eugene Atkinson, an old-line Democratic politician who was trounced by Myers in 1976. Shaffer is more impressive than his Democratic opponent but is handicapped by the Democratic registration bulge in the district and the presence of two independent candidates. A second open seat, the Twenty First District from which ten term Democratic incumbent John Dent is retiring, could produce a party shift. Republican Robert Miller, who ran against Dent in 1976, is mounting a strong campaign. He has gathered support from Dent's former campaign treasurer and other Democrats who dislike their party's nominee, Don Bailey. A Miller victory would still have to be classified as an upset.

In no state do Republican prospects seem brighter to defeat a slew of Democratic incumbents. This is perhaps because no Congressional delegation presents a sorer picture than the Pennsylvania Democrats. Indictments for political corruption, involvement in conflict of interest scandals, and indifferent constituent service are among the qualities associated with one or more Representatives of Pennsylvania Democracy. Perhaps the most publicized peccadillos have been those centering around Representative Joshua Eilberg of Hahnemann Hospital fame. The Congressman seems headed for defeat in his Fourth District race by his moderate Republican opponent, Charles Dougherty. Eilberg's challenger has assembled an unlikely coalition of Right-to-Lifers, anti-gun control forces, Jewish rabbis and ADA Democrats. Eilberg's Congressional partner in the Hahnemann Hospital caper, powerful Eleventh District U.S. Representative Dan Flood, has been indicted on a blizzard of perjury charges. Nevertheless the Wilkes-Barre Democrat remains strong in his district because of the phenomenal success in pork-barreling that his bullying tactics have produced for Luzerne County.

Republicans see two other Democrats, William Moorhead and Fred Rooney as unexpectedly vulnerable due to deteriorating personal performance. Ten term Pittsburgh area Congressman Moorhead once enjoyed a reputation as a bright, incisive politician. Now he is widely viewed as a pale, washed up version of his former self. In sharp contrast Moorhead this year faces a dynamic, non-smoking, non-drinking Republican challenger. A former Flying Tiger, the Welsh-born Stan Thomas is a successful building contractor who helped to draw up the Pittsburgh Plan opening the building trades to blacks. Thomas' campaign organization includes 300 black volunteers in this 21 percent black district. This one would be a shocker, but look for an upset.

Another unexpectedly vulnerable Democrat is Fifteenth District U.S. Representative Fred Rooney. The Bethlehem



Democrat's deteriorating performance might pose little re-election problems were it not for his exceptional Republican opponent, 37 year old Lehigh professor, Don Ritter. This race could provide another stunning upset and a future Republican comer.

Three other Democratic incumbents, Joseph Ammerman, Douglas Walgren and Robert Edgar, face possible defeat, due to the marginal nature of their districts and the strength of their Republican challengers. Ammerman who represents the traditionally Republican Twenty Third District in rural north central Pennsylvania faces an exceptionally strong challenger in William Clinger, former Chief Counsel of the Economic Development Administration. A progressive Republican and strong campaigner, Clinger has sought to smoke out Ammerman into public debates. Ammerman was spared this possibility when he was laid up through the campaign after a serious automobile accident. Look for a Clinger victory.

Ted Jacob, a Polish American attorney and engineer and self-made multimillionaire, is wagering a very strong race against Eighteenth District Democrat Representative Douglas Walgren. This marginal district was held by Republican H. John Heinz III before he was elected to the Senate. Jacob is a determined campaigner who is given an even chance of upending Walgren.

The final Democratic incumbent in serious jeopardy is 35 year old Congressman Robert Edgar, former Protestant chaplain of Drexel University. The Delaware County War Board, virtually the only effective East Coast Republican machine outside of Nassau County, has dedicated itself to defeating Edgar who boasts a near perfect ADA voting record. This year the War Board has backed an exceptionally strong candidate, Upper Darby Township Mayor Eugene Kane. Look to the Seventh District to return to its traditional Republican status.

Two other Democratic Congressmen, the Eighth District's Peter Kostmayer and the Seventeenth District's Allen Ertel could be vulnerable, but the GOP seems unlikely to topple them this year. Kostmayer, a former coordinator for George McGovern and a press aide to Milton Shapp, has employed his public relations wizardry to fortify himself in this fairly strong Republican district consisting largely of Bucks County. Allen Ertel has made lavish use of the franking privilege to entrench himself in the normally Republican Seventeenth District which includes Harrisburg. Turnovers in these two districts seem unlikely this year unless a Thornburgh surge pulls in Eighth District GOP nominee G. Roger Bowers and Seventeenth District challenger Thomas Rippon.

If Republicans can capture the top state races, the bright Congressional outlook could allow the Keystone State to provide the GOP's brightest election eve news.

## RHODE ISLAND

### A Sleeper

A year ago Republicans were optimistically looking toward

the prospect of toppling partisan Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell. The state's senior Senator had earned a reputation for aloofness and indifferent legislative performance. This spring GOP hopes of toppling Pell evaporated. Prospective Republican challengers to Pell, most prominent among them Providence Mayor Vincent Cianci, declined to make the race. Pell thus faces as a Republican challenger James Reynolds, a bakery official who recently moved to Providence from Chicago. Pell can look forward to another six years in the Senate.

Governor J. Joseph Garrahy does not, however, have such an easy race. Garrahy is favored over his Republican opponent, former U.S. Attorney Lincoln Almond, but the 47 year old Governor has to fret on at least two counts. Almond has unveiled a proposal for a twenty percent proposal in property taxes. This proposal could have potency among property tax weary Rhode Island voters. In addition, the independent candidacy of former Providence Mayor Joseph Doorley would seem likely to siphon votes from Garrahy who has appealed to a similar constituency. If Doorley can take as much as ten percent of the vote, some Republicans strategists feel that Almond could fashion an upset. Republicans are also hopeful in the race for Lieutenant Governor where controversy surrounding the incumbent Democratic Lieutenant Governor Thomas R. Di Luglio may help elect the GOP candidate, A.G. Garabedian.

Spirited races are being run in both Congressional districts, initially considered safe for their Democratic incumbents. Claudine Schneider, Republican challenger to Second District Congressman Edward Beard, is running a brilliant campaign that could conceivably upset the 38 year old Cranston Democrat. Because of the strong Democratic tendency of the district Schneider still faces an uphill battle.

The First District is witnessing a rerun between nine term Democratic Congressman Fernand J. St. Germain and his youthful Republican opponent John J. (Jerry) Slocum. In 1976 Slocum took 37 percent of the vote; this year he seems to be mounting a more professional campaign. Slocum lost the GOP pre-primary endorsement due to a flap stemming from his previous campaign. Slocum went on to win the nomination in the primary and is waging an aggressive campaign against St. Germain in this herogeneous district. Slocum should do well in his home city of Newport and in the Providence portions of the district. If he is to have any chance he will have to cut into the huge margins St. Germain normally piles up in Pawtucket and the mill towns of Woonsocket and Central Falls.

Democrats are virtually assured of retaining their overwhelming control of both houses of the state legislature. Perhaps the local race of greatest interest is in Providence where young Republican Mayor "Buddy" Cianci, having weathered some nasty personal charges surfaced by *New Times*, is struggling to win reelection in his city, normally a Democratic stronghold. The outcome is expected to be about as close as when Cianci first pulled off an upset victory in 1974. The Mayor's remarkable success in pressing a revitalization program has given him a realistic chance of winning reelection.





## SOUTH CAROLINA

### The Old Fox and The Young Lion

This year the U.S. Senate race was supposed to shape up as a classic battle of the old veteran against the young political comer. Strom Thurmond is a 74 year old physical fitness fanatic, but it is his political agility rather than athletic prowess that has run circles around his Democratic opponent, Charles (Pug) Ravenel.

Thurmond, once the very symbol of white supremacy, has wooed blacks by enrolling his children in significantly black public schools and by endorsing full voting rights for the District of Columbia. He has meanwhile shored up his conservative flank by mercilessly pillorying Ravenel for his endorsement of the labor reform bill. Thurmond has combined his adept political moves with a fairly modish campaign style. His young children have worn "Stromtrek" teeshirts as they have won votes for their Daddy through small Carolina towns.

Harvard and Wall Street never quite prepared Ravenel for this. Ravenel, who was only four years ago viewed as the young Lochinvar of South Carolina politics, has seemed mesmerized by Thurmond's campaign. In addition to his failure to develop an effective theme against the resilient Thurmond, Ravenel has been unable to unite his own party. Strom should romp.

At the same time Thurmond sweeps to reelection Republicans appear very likely to lose the Governorship. The Democratic gubernatorial nominee State Senator Richard Riley is a solid favorite over Republican former Congressman Ed Young. Riley has earned a reputation as a political reformer by rewriting the State Constitution and bringing about the use of single member legislative districts.

The GOP stands an excellent shot at capturing the Fourth District seat from which moderate Democrat James Mann is retiring. The Republican nominee, State Senator Carroll Campbell, is squared off against Greenville Mayor Max Heller in this Piedmont district. Incumbents seem favored in the other Congressional races although journalist Jack Bass is giving Second District Republican Congressman Floyd Spence an unusually strong challenge.

State Senate seats are not up this year. Races for seats in the lower house are on the ballot this year, but no dramatic breakthroughs are expected from the GOP's roughly ten percent share.



## SOUTH DAKOTA

### Another Rhodes Scholar Goes to the Senate

This year South Dakota is represented by two of the most

liberal Democrats in the U.S. Senate, Jim Abourezk and George McGovern. By January 1981 the state may be represented in the Senate by two Republicans. Jim Abourezk is retiring this year and First District Republican Congressman Larry Pressler is a prohibitive favorite to win this seat against the Democratic nominee, former Rapid City Mayor Don Barnett. Although the moderate Republican Congressman has gotten only lukewarm support from the rightward leaning state GOP organization, he enjoys a 2-1 lead in the polls.

The GOP gain of a U.S. Senate seat may be balanced by the loss of the House seat that Pressler is vacating. Former POW Leo Thorsness, who four years ago gave George McGovern a surprisingly close race, has run a wooden race as the GOP nominee. Thorsness has fallen a few points behind former Abourezk aide Tom Daschle in most polls. Second District Congressman Republican James Abdnor seems safe.

Republicans are narrowly favored to win the gubernatorial race. The Republican nominee, the often controversial Attorney General William Janklow, is running a few points ahead of his Democratic opponent, State Senator Roger McKellips. Janklow is helped by his slatemate, Lieutenant Governor nominee Lowell Hansen who is the highly regarded Speaker of the House. Republican Henry Meier is favored to win the Attorney Generalship over Democrat Max Gores. Thirty year old Republican State Treasurer David Volk should easily retain his post. State Auditor Alice Kundert, the GOP candidate for Secretary of State, is expected to beat Democrat Sandra Meyer.

The lopsided Republican control of both the State Senate and the House of Representatives is likely to be virtually unchanged. Even with a Republican Governor in Pierre, this should have no impact on Congressional redistricting in 1981 since South Dakota's two districts are likely to be merged into a single At Large seat.



## TENNESSEE

### The Butcher, The Baker and The Kingmaker

The Tennessee elections this year could provide a significant boost to the Presidential prospects of Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker. After annihilating a legion of conservative primary opponents flailing at his support for the Panama Canal Treaty, Baker seems headed for a landslide over his Democratic opponent, Jane Eskind. These Tennessee results should enable Baker to argue persuasively that he can challenge Jimmy Carter's grip on the South and Border States.

The Baker victory is likely to be accompanied by the arrival of a young, articulate Republican Governor on the national scene. Lamar Alexander, a 38 year old Maryville attorney, seems headed for victory over his Democratic opponent, East Tennessee banker Jake Butcher. After lavish campaign spending, Butcher won a bitterly fought primary over Bob Clement, who has chaired the Tennessee Public Service Com-



mission, and Nashville Mayor Richard Fulton. Defections from Clement's camp to Alexander have included State Representative James Lanier of Dyersburg who has become Co-Chairman of Alexander's campaign. Butcher, whose bank had extended a \$443,000 loan to Bert Lance, has irritated many Democrats by his lavish campaign spending and his ostentatious exploitation of his business connections.

Alexander meanwhile has adopted a "down home" appeal more characteristic of successful Democratic campaigns. Dressed in a sportshirt or other informal clothes, he has walked the state in his long campaign. The Alexander campaign has been enlivened by a washboard band. The success of the folksy campaign can be seen in the fact that politicians and voters are starting to refer to Alexander as Lamar, while Jake Butcher still seems to be called by his surname.

A poll conducted by Nashville's WSM-TV in Davidson County, usually regarded as the state's greatest Democratic stronghold, showed Alexander with a decisive lead over Butcher. The strong showing by the Republican nominee in the state's capital city stems in part from his exposure as a television commentator on a Nashville station. Alexander is expected to run well ahead of the normal Republican vote in normally Democratic West and Middle Tennessee. Meanwhile Butcher and East Tennessean, is finding that the candidacy of a much more popular East Tennessean, Howard Baker, makes it difficult to chip at Republican totals in these century long GOP strongholds. The victory of Alexander, a close Baker ally, should boost the Senator's Presidential prospects.

The Democrats should pick up the Nashville area Fifth District seat vacated by the death of Democratic Congressman Clifford Allen.

Republicans seem likely to strengthen their position in the state legislature (about a quarter of the seats in the State Senate and a third in the State House). Barring a huge landslide in the races for both Governor and U.S. Senator, it seems unlikely that Republicans will capture control of either body. Together with the Governorship the party should have enough clout to ensure a fair shake in redistricting to occur in 1981.



## TEXAS

### A Scramble for Open Seats

"Money is the mother's milk of politics" is an observation often credited to California Democratic savant Jesse Unruh. Nowhere does this observation seem more appropriate than in Texas where both parties are locked in hard fought struggles for the top statewide offices and for numerous open or marginal Congressional seats.

Democratic gubernatorial nominee John Hill, who leveraged

his strong statewide following among moderates and liberals with a promise to veto any tax increases, has followed up his primary defeat of incumbent Governor Dolph Briscoe, a millionaire rancher, with a megabuck fundraising operation. Houston multimillionaire Bill Clements who spent about two million dollars of his own funds to drown his Republican primary opponent, former GOP State Chairman Thad Hutchison, is hardly running a parsimonious campaign. A gala Republican fundraiser for Clements brought together Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, John Connally and George Bush to raise about a million dollars for Clements' general election campaign.

Clements is picking up Briscoe supporters and making inroads on Hill's once huge lead. Clements' campaign is handicapped by his inability to mount a campaign in Texas' Mexican American and black communities which together cast about a quarter of the state's vote. Jim Baker, the Republican candidate for Attorney General has not faced such a problem. Baker, former Undersecretary of Commerce and Campaign Manager for Gerald Ford's Presidential campaign, has made considerable headway against his Democratic opponent, Secretary of State Mark White, who antagonized Texas' large Mexican American population by opposing extension of the Voting Rights Act to Hispanics. Baker is coming on strong and could well become the first Republican in generations to win state constitutional office in Texas. Democratic Lieutenant Governor Bill Hobby should coast to victory over Republican nominee Gaylord Marshall.

In the tightly contested race for U.S. Senate, the Republican nominee John Tower is shaping up as a slight favorite over his Democratic opponent, Democratic Congressman and Shakespearean scholar Robert Krueger. Both candidates have been extraordinarily effective spokesmen in Congress for Texas' energy industry; unsurprisingly neither is starved for campaign funds. Krueger's hopes of fashioning an upset may depend on the following factors: whether the flush of popularity for Carter following the Camp David Summit will hinder Tower's ability to capitalize on anti-Administration themes and the effect that GOP loss of the White House and Federal patronage will have on Tower's normally healthy vote among Mexican Americans in South Texas.

Republican hopes are strong for increasing the minuscule GOP representation of 2 in the state's 24 member Congressional delegation. Six incumbent Democrats are retiring voluntarily and two others, Dale Milford in the Twenty Fourth and John Young in the Fourteenth, were defeated in their party's primary. A ninth Democratic incumbent, Bob Gammage, faces another tight race against former Republican

Congressman Ron Paul in Houston's Twenty Second District. Paul should have a slight edge in a non-Presidential year when Democratic turnout should fall off. Gammage could win only 56 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary. The three likeliest other Republican winners are George Bush in the Northwest Texas Nineteenth District and Tom Loeffler in the huge Twenty First District and Jack Burgess in the Eleventh. Bush seems a distinct favorite to defeat State Senator Kent Hance for the seat now held by Appropriations Committee Chairman George Mahon. Tom Loeffler, a former Ford White House aide, seems to have an



edge over Democrat Nelson W. Wolff for the seat being vacated by Krueger. Waco petroleum distributor Jack Burgess stands about an even chance of defeating former Democratic State Representative Lane Denton for the seat from which 21 term conservative Democrat W. R. Poage is retiring.

Republicans are given an outside shot at one other open seat, the West Central Seventeenth District post occupied by retiring 16 term conservative Democrat Omar Burleson. The Republican nominee, young Abilene attorney Bill Fisher, could defeat his Democratic opponent, rancher Charles Stenholm. The district is conservative and Democratic but could be ripe for a Republican breakthrough. Democrats seem virtually certain to hold the other two seats being voluntarily vacated by incumbents, the Eighteenth District and Sixty District posts now held respectively by Democrats Barbara Jordan and Olin (Tiger) Teague. Jordan will be succeeded by black State Representative Mickey Leland in this overwhelmingly Democratic Houston District. The Sixth District Democratic nominee, conservative Texas A&M economics professor Phil Gramm, should overpower Republican rancher Wesley Mowery.

The primary defeat of Fourteenth District Congressman John Young by State Representative Joe Wyatt has evaporated Republican hopes of seizing this South Gulf Coast seat. The opposite may be true in the Dallas-Fort Worth area Twenty Fourth District in which liberal Democrat Martin Frost defeated the moderate conservative Democratic incumbent Dale Milford. Republican nominee Leo Berman is hoping to pick up Milford supporters in the general election. Frost is still favored due to the Democratic leanings of the district.

Fifth District Democratic Congressman Jim Mattox is in some trouble, largely as a result of self inflicted wounds. Mattox has not helped himself by referring to his Republican opponent, Tom Pauken, as a Nazi or by polling voters to see whether they would resent the fact that Pauken is married to a Mexican American. The Fifth District is strongly Democratic but can be won by a strong Republican such as former Congressman Alan Steelman, Mattox's predecessor. With a little more help from Mattox, Pauken could win.

All other Congressional incumbents including Republicans Jim Collins and Bill Archer look safe. A Republican gain of three seats seems likely. This could swell to a pickup of as many as five seats if the national GOP can funnel sufficient funds into some of these tightly contested races. Texas should provide an acid test of the open seat strategy now favored by the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee.



## UTAH

### Battle Over A Swing Seat

The principal partisan contest this year in Utah centers

around control of the Second Congressional District seat now held by Republican Dan Marriott. In 1976 Marriott unseated Democratic Representative Allan R. Howe whose reelection campaign was hobbled by conviction on a sex solicitation charge. The Utah Second District is one of only two districts in the nation that has elected a different Congressman in each of the past four elections. The Democratic nominee, Edwin B. Firmage, a law professor at the University of Utah, hopes to continue this jinx at least one more time. Marriott should win. First District Democratic Congressman Gunn McKay should easily retain his seat.

Republicans should retain their control of the State House. The GOP's chance of capturing the Senate may hinge on the outcome of a court battle that could disqualify three incumbent Democratic State Senators who are public school teachers. A provision of the Utah Constitution bars state legislators from receiving "profit and trust" from the Federal or State Governments.



## VERMONT

### Returning to the Republican Fold

Vermont was once the quintessential Republican state. This distinction has eroded over the last two decades, as two separate Democrats captured the Governorship, Lyndon Johnson carried the state handily in 1964 over Barry Goldwater, and Patrick Leahy became Vermont's first Democratic U.S. Senator in over a century. Democrats have even moved to a position of parity in the lower house of the state legislature. The Democratic trend has been powered by the movement to Vermont of liberal intellectuals and others not nurtured in the Yankee Republican tradition and by the defection from the GOP of some liberal Yankee Protestants. These new Democrats have swollen Democratic votes which had historically consisted largely of working class Irish Americans and French Canadians.

Republicans seem to be mounting a comeback. The blundering of the Georgia-dominated Carter Administration has perhaps stirred the traditional Republican loyalties of the Vermont Yankee. Neither has the Southern Protestant flavor of the Administration set very well with Catholics.

Republicans seem likely to romp this year in the principal state elections. Governor Richard Snelling is expected to win reelection easily over his Democratic opponent, State Representative Edward Granai. Popular Republican Congressman James Jeffords should trounce his Democratic challenger, S. Marie Dietz, an anti-abortion and anti-ERA activist. Jefford's showing will be watched by those who see him as the one Republican with a realistic hope of unseating Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy in 1980.

Republicans should also take clear control of both houses of the state legislature. This will have no effect on Congressional reapportionment, but it may suggest that Vermont has reverted to its Republican moorings.





## VIRGINIA

### Is the Republican Tide Still Running?

The tragic death of Republican U.S. Senate nominee Richard Obenshain in the August 2 crash of a light plane robbed the Virginia GOP of its most effective political organizer and also threw the Senate race into immediate disarray. In the two months since he secured his party's Senate nomination in a hard-fought convention struggle, Obenshain had made considerable headway in closing the huge gap his Democratic rival Andrew Miller had enjoyed in the polls. While Obenshain remained the distinct underdog, his tenacity and the flaccid state of Miller's campaign organization gave the conservative Republican's ardent supporters hope of an upset.

Obenshain's death produced grief throughout the state GOP. Respected both for his personal integrity and affability, Obenshain will be genuinely missed by many who did not share his undiluted conservatism.

After the Obenshain funeral, maneuvering began in earnest for the Republican Senate nomination. John Warner seemed the logical choice because of his strong second place showing at the June 3 State Convention and his undoubted ability to run a well financed campaign. Nevertheless, resentment among Obenshain supporters at Warner's celebrity oriented campaign and alleged Johnny-come-lately entry to party politics stirred a brief flurry of interest in other possibilities.

Soon all the realistic alternatives to Warner took themselves out of contention. Former Governor Linwood Holton, perhaps a trifle more liberal than Warner, but clearly no interloper to state GOP politics, seemed attractive to some pro-Obenshain party regulars. Holton, who had just settled into a new job after his abortive Senate nomination bid, quickly scotched this possibility. Similar expressions of disinterest came over the next several days from former Governor Mills Godwin, U.S. Representatives J. Kenneth Robinson and M. Caldwell Butler, and State Senator Nathan Miller. Warner huddled with Governor John Dalton to get the Governor's blessing and advice on mounting a unified campaign. In addition he provided assurances to key Obenshain supporters that he would help erase the Obenshain campaign debt. Having touched all bases and not looking too eager, Warner received the Senate nomination by acclamation from the Virginia Republican State Central Committee.

Virginia is the only state in which the Democrats have lost every Senatorial, gubernatorial and Presidential race since 1968. Former Virginia Attorney General Andrew Miller, a middle-of-the-road Democrat, is seeking to break this losing streak. Miller's support seems to be a mile-wide and an inch deep. While garnering public support from an impressive span of the Democratic spectrum Miller has generated little grassroots enthusiasm. His recent spurning of an offer of campaign support from populist Democrat Henry Howell may cool already tepid Miller sentiment among pro-Howell black and union voters. Warner inflicted some damage upon

himself by agreeing with a television reporter that he as Navy Secretary had slowed the pace of integration pressed for by Admiral Elmo Zumwalt. Warner nevertheless seems to have a much better organized campaign than Miller and should close the six point lead (34 percent to 28 percent) that Miller showed in a mid-September poll by the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. Both candidates are projecting a fuzzy, although moderately conservative, image. If this continues, Warner may win on his greater celebrity appeal. His wife, actress Elizabeth Taylor, is playing a somewhat less prominent role than in pre-GOP Convention campaigning. Warner is thus coming across more as his own person, while still receiving a powerful boost from his popular wife.

Republicans stand an even chance of seizing the Eighth District Congressional seat held by the often abrasive Democratic Congressman Herbert Harris. The Republican nominee, Fairfax County Executive Jack Herry, a moderate conservative, enjoys the same name recognition as his liberal Democratic opponent. Republican challenger Frank Wolf stands an outside chance in the Tenth District for the Northern Virginia seat held by Democrat Joel Fisher. Generally, except for Harris, incumbents of both parties seem likely to win reelection.

No state legislative or state office elections are scheduled this year since Virginia Democrats years ago realized they would be better off if the state elections were scheduled in odd numbered years, when Republicans could never benefit from Presidential coattails.



## WASHINGTON

### Cunningham's Last Stand?

There are no statewide races in Washington in 1978 but Republicans have a chance to pick up two House seats while the seat of freshman Republican Representative Jack Cunningham of Seattle is in some jeopardy. The best chance is in the Second District where Democratic Representative Lloyd Meeds is retiring. Republican John Nance Garner, grand nephew of Roosevelt's Vice President, came within 542 votes of victory in 1976 and is presently leading Democrat Al Swift, a former TV commentator, who won an upset victory in the Democratic primary over former Jackson press secretary Brian Corcoran. Swift has run a good campaign and this one is likely to be very close. Republicans also have a good chance to win the Fifth District seat where Democratic Representative Thomas Foley is faced by Republican Duane Alton, a conservative tire dealer, who got 44 percent of the vote in 1976 after replacing the regular Republican candidate who was killed in a plane crash. Alton is running an aggressive campaign this time in a district that has gone heavily for Republican Presidential candidates.

Conservative Republican Representative Jack Cunningham who has introduced legislation to abrogate all U.S. treaties with Indian tribes was elected in a special election in 1977 in the district formerly represented by Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams. He has had some problems regarding



misuses of the frank and is opposed by King County Councilman Mike Lowry who ran very strongly in the Democratic primary. Cunningham has a massive campaign fund of over \$500,000 and strong support from national New Right groups. However, Lowry is running a strong campaign in a blue collar district. The race is a tossup.

Republicans are also putting on a major effort to win the State House of Representatives which presently has a 62-36 Democratic majority. Likely results are the gain of 5-10 seats but not enough to change control.



## WEST VIRGINIA

### More of Moore?

In 1933, Senator Jennings Randolph began his career in government, one which has spanned the administrations of eight presidents. Now, at age 76, the venerable New Dealer is attempting reelection to the Senate for the fifth time. But he faces a stiff challenge from West Virginia's foremost Republican politician, 55 year old former Governor Arch Moore.

The most recent polls show Randolph holding a slim, four point lead over Moore. But a large block of undecided voters could turn the tide in Moore's favor.

Although the septuagenarian Randolph has broken with the Administration on public works (he is Chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee, the foremost pork barrel unit in Congress) and the Panama Canal Treaties (he voted "no" only after ratification was assured), his strong liberal identification, coupled with his powerful position on Capitol Hill, have twice attracted President Carter to his side on the Mountaineer campaign trail. Randolph is hoping that the President's rising popularity with the voters will help him win reelection.

Meanwhile, Moore's supporters are hoping their man's popularity, his opponent's age, and the more conservative tenor of the times will combine to send a West Virginia Republican to the Senate for the first time since Randolph replaced Senator (by appointment) John D. Hoblitzell in 1958.

As for the state's House delegation, most seats will remain in the hands of the incumbents. The most interesting race pits Harley Stagers, long-time Chairman of the powerful Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, against a surprisingly strong challenger, Cleveland Benedict.



## WISCONSIN

### A New Era for the GOP

The past year has been one of resurgence for Wisconsin Re-

publicans. The party could hardly have fallen any further. Democrats had seized all of the state constitutional offices, both U.S. Senate seats, seven of nine seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and a two thirds control of both houses of the state legislature.

Early this year the Sixth District's brilliant Republican Congressman William Steiger became the first Wisconsin Republican since Joe McCarthy to become a household word around the nation. Steiger had already earned a reputation as Congress' most articulate opponent of military conscription and as Chairman of the Republican Party's Reform Commission. Yet his proposal to roll back capital gains taxes generated enormous grassroots support and soon placed the unprepared Carter Administration on the defensive. The Steiger Amendment immediately became a kind of shorthand among small investors and new technology firms for an investment-oriented economy. Steiger could be well positioned now to gather the financial resources necessary to run for any statewide office he might choose.

The Republican rebirth in the state will not have to wait for a Steiger candidacy. A political maverick and Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Stevens Point, Lee Dreyfus, won a smashing upset victory in the Republican gubernatorial primary over Ninth District Congressman Robert Kasten. A close personal friend of Senator S.I. Hayakawa, Dreyfus used his speech skills and irreverent campaign style to upset the heavily financed Kasten. Emphasizing the fact that his campaign lacked big money support, Dreyfus campaigned in a broken down schoolbus painted to look like a train and labeled "The Lakamanna Express." He annihilated Kasten on some televised debates carried by educational television. Dreyfus also conducted brilliant hour long call-in shows where he fielded questions on a host of controversial issues. With his vote swelled by Democratic crossovers, Dreyfus romped to a 58 percent to 42 percent victory.

A *Milwaukee Journal* poll taken after the primary showed that Dreyfus had already pulled ahead of Democratic Acting Governor Martin J. Schreiber. The Democratic gubernatorial contender has already tried to slip out of campaign debates with Dreyfus, but may find this position incongruous as Dreyfus' lead builds. Dreyfus enjoys overwhelming support from Republicans and support of between twenty and thirty percent of the Democrats polled. Barring some major reversal, Dreyfus seems headed to the Governor's chair. His victory would pull in GOP Lieutenant Governor candidate conservative Russell Olson who upset the GOP Convention endorsee, progressive Laverne Ausman, in the September 12 primary.

Democrats seem virtually certain to retain control of both houses of the state legislature although Republicans are likely to secure more than a third of the seats in the State Assembly. The State Senate's over two to one Democratic alignment is likely to be changed little this year.

Wisconsin Republicans seem to be on the rebound. Dreyfus' personality should help Republicans grow past their minuscule base of seventeen percent of the Wisconsin electorate as indicated in a poll conducted this March by the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. The party may not, however, show any



immediate gains in its minuscule Congressional representation. Eighth District Democratic Congressman Robert Cornell, a Catholic priest, has been viewed by the GOP as vulnerable but Republican Assemblyman Toby Roth does not appear to have mounted a strong enough campaign to win.

Other incumbents seem relatively safe. Democrats are making a strong bid to take the Ninth District seat vacated by Kasten. Republican State Senator James Sensenbrenner won a 600 vote victory in a hard fought and sometimes acrimonious primary against State Representative Susan Engeleiter. Democrats are banking on Republican wounds to boast their nominee, 30 year old Milwaukee attorney Matthew Flynn, to victory. Flynn, who is considered a very strong campaigner, could win, but Sensenbrenner seems slightly favored, particularly in view of the strong run Dreyfus is expected to make in this district.



## WYOMING

### An Infusion of New Republican Leadership

The September 12 Republican primary results provide Wyoming Republicans hope that they may dominate the state's politics for the next decade. Former state representative Alan Simpson, a moderate Republican, won a decisive victory in the GOP primary for the Senate seat being vacated by Clifford Hansen. Simpson, son of former U.S. Senator Milward Simpson, is a prohibitive favorite over the Demo-

cratic nominee, Casper attorney Raymond Whitaker. The 47 year old Simpson is likely to remain in the Senate for several terms.

Similarly the victory of Richard Cheney, 38 year old former Ford White House Chief of Staff, for the state's At Large Congressional seat could affect Wyoming's politics for many years. Cheney, who has already shown political adeptness in thrashing well-established GOP opponents, is a solid favorite to defeat Democratic nominee Bill Bagley. A Cheney victory would mean a shift to the Republicans of a seat that has been held for a number of years by a popular, outspoken Democrat, Teno Roncalio. Cheney could be expected to develop a similar hold on this seat.

State Senator John Ostlund, the Republican gubernatorial nominee, has an excellent chance to oust Democratic Governor Ed Herschler. A home economist running only a semi-serious campaign garnered 35 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary against Herschler, whose Administration has been plagued by scandals. Ostlund, who has a reputation as an expert in assisting cities to deal with problems created by rapid growth, is likely to run well in outstate areas including his home city of Gillette.

This year's returns are, if anything, likely to swell the margins by which the GOP controls both houses of the Wyoming legislation. The effect of such control on Congressional redistricting is, however, nil in Wyoming which has only a single seat in the House. ■



### Crane Candidacy Splits the ACU

The American Conservative Union (ACU) has found itself in an awkward position now that its Chairman, Illinois Congressman Philip Crane, has embarked on a full-scale Presidential campaign. The ACU is not a political action committee. In 1976 when the ACU was a PAC the group made some independent expenditures on Ronald Reagan's behalf. A Federal Election Commission investigation ensued largely due to the fact that Reagan campaign advisors sat on the ACU board. To avoid becoming enmeshed in the FEC morass the ACU transformed itself from a PAC to a non-partisan educational organization.

This August, soon after Crane announced his Presidential candidacy, his lawyer wrote the FEC requesting an advisory opinion on whether Crane could keep the ACU Chairmanship while campaigning for President of the United States. Crane's counsel wrote to the FEC "In no issuance by ACU, of whatever type, has the National Chairman directly or indirectly be recognized, promoted or otherwise identified as a candidate for President, nor will he be."

Yet, shortly thereafter, the roughly 70,000 members of the

ACU received the September issue of the group's monthly publication *Battle Line*. The cover consisted of a picture of Crane, his wife and daughter with a caption "Rep. Phil Crane: His Hat's in Ring for 1980." Page two was an Editorial by Chairman Crane. Pages three, four, five and six consisted largely of an article by *Battle Line* Editor John D. Lofton, Jr., entitled "Crane Announces for President: To Restore American Dream, Liberate People from Big Gov't." This reportage was broken only by an apparently erroneous one paragraph item that "Rockefeller Republican John Sears" has been ditched as Reagan's 1980 campaign manager, a statement by Congressman Jack Kemp welcoming Crane's candidacy, an excerpt from a UPI story in which Senator Bob Dole states that Crane's early announcement "may move up everybody's timetable", and directions on where to send Crane Presidential contributions. All of page seven and part of page six consists of press comment on Crane's candidacy.

The cavalier use of *Battle Line* to promote Crane's candidacy immediately triggered controversy within the ACU. Not all ACU board members were enthralled with the prospect of Crane's Presidential bid. Others were quite concerned that the organization could find itself in hot water with the FEC and jeopardize corporate contributions it is now allowed to receive.

Consequently in early September at a closed meeting of the ACU Board Crane indicated that he would relinquish the ACU Chairmanship within 60 days. ■



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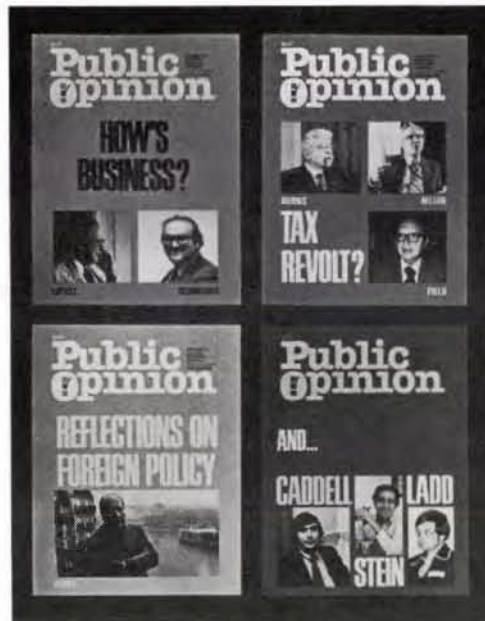
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## Republican National Committee

**Bill Brock**  
Chairman

11 October 1978

### SENATOR STROM THURMOND,

Republican of South Carolina:  
"It is just not fair, that in the year 1978, more than 700,000 American citizens do not have the right to elect representatives to Congress . . . I say we cannot talk about human rights to others in the world until we here at home can show we are recognizing basic human rights. One of America's fundamental rights is the right to participate in a democracy. Residents of the District are being denied that right."

### CONGRESSMAN STEWART B.

**McKINNEY**, Republican of Connecticut:  
"Residents of the District of Columbia will continue to be less than first-class citizens if they have no vote in the Senate . . . there is simply no justification for denying three-quarters of a million people, paying more than \$1 billion in Federal taxes per year, a vote in deciding how that money is allocated."

### SENATOR CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.,

Republican of Maryland:  
"No less precious than the right of free speech, or the right to privacy, or the right to due process under the law, is the right to be represented in the elected bodies which determine the course of this country's future. To be excluded from this process, to have no voice when the votes are cast that may determine peace or war, depression of prosperity, is to be truly deprived."

### CONGRESSMAN ROBERT McCLORY,

Republican of Illinois:  
"We are not bestowing anything on the residents of the District of Columbia . . . instead, until (the amendment) is ratified we are denying rights and prerogatives of American citizens to which they are lawfully and constitutionally entitled."

### PROFESSOR CHARLES ALAN

**WRIGHT**, University of Texas School of Law:  
"That purpose (of the Senate in the Constitution) is not compromised by allowing the District to have two Senators any more than it is when a new state is admitted  
"That purpose (of State suffrage in the Senate) is not compromised by allowing the District to have two Senators any more than it is when a new state is admitted."

### SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER,

Republican of Arizona:  
"We urge your support for this fundamental principle of justice for the citizens of the Nation's capital."

### CONGRESSMAN JOHN BUCHANAN,

Republican of Alabama:  
"This continued denial (of full voting rights for DC citizens) is nothing less than a scandal. History and justice cry out together that this inequity must be corrected now."

### SENATOR EDWARD W. BROOKE,

Republican of Massachusetts:  
"Participation in and control of the political process of the country by its citizens is a fundamental precept of democracy . . . Fundamental concerns of justice and equity demand that the residents of the District of Columbia at last be granted the right to elect their own voting representatives in the Congress."

Dear Fellow Republicans:

The Republican Party has always stood for the belief that our Nation was "conceived in liberty" and is "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." We believe that all persons taxed should be represented in their government. Yet the 700,000 citizens of the District of Columbia are taxed by our Federal government without a vote in the Congress.

The Republican Party, recognizing the fundamental injustice of this situation, called for "giving the District of Columbia voting representation in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives" in our 1976 National Party Platform. A two-thirds majority of each house of the Congress has now passed a constitutional amendment to implement that plank of the Republican Party Platform. That amendment has now been submitted to the legislatures of the fifty States for ratification.

The constitutional amendment was chosen as the most appropriate means of recognizing the fact that the District of Columbia is the residence of three-quarters of a million U. S. citizens who carry the full burdens of responsibility that all citizens bear. Those citizens have the right to participate fully in the Federal system by which they are governed.

I join the Republican Congressmen and Senators who sponsored and supported their constitutional amendment in urging Republicans all over the Nation to assist in implementing this plank of our 1976 party platform.

Sincerely,

Bill Brock

Dwight D. Eisenhower Republican Center: 310 First Street Southeast, Washington, D.C. 20003. (202) 484-6500

This advertisement is paid for by  
Republicans who support full voting representation for the District of Columbia.