

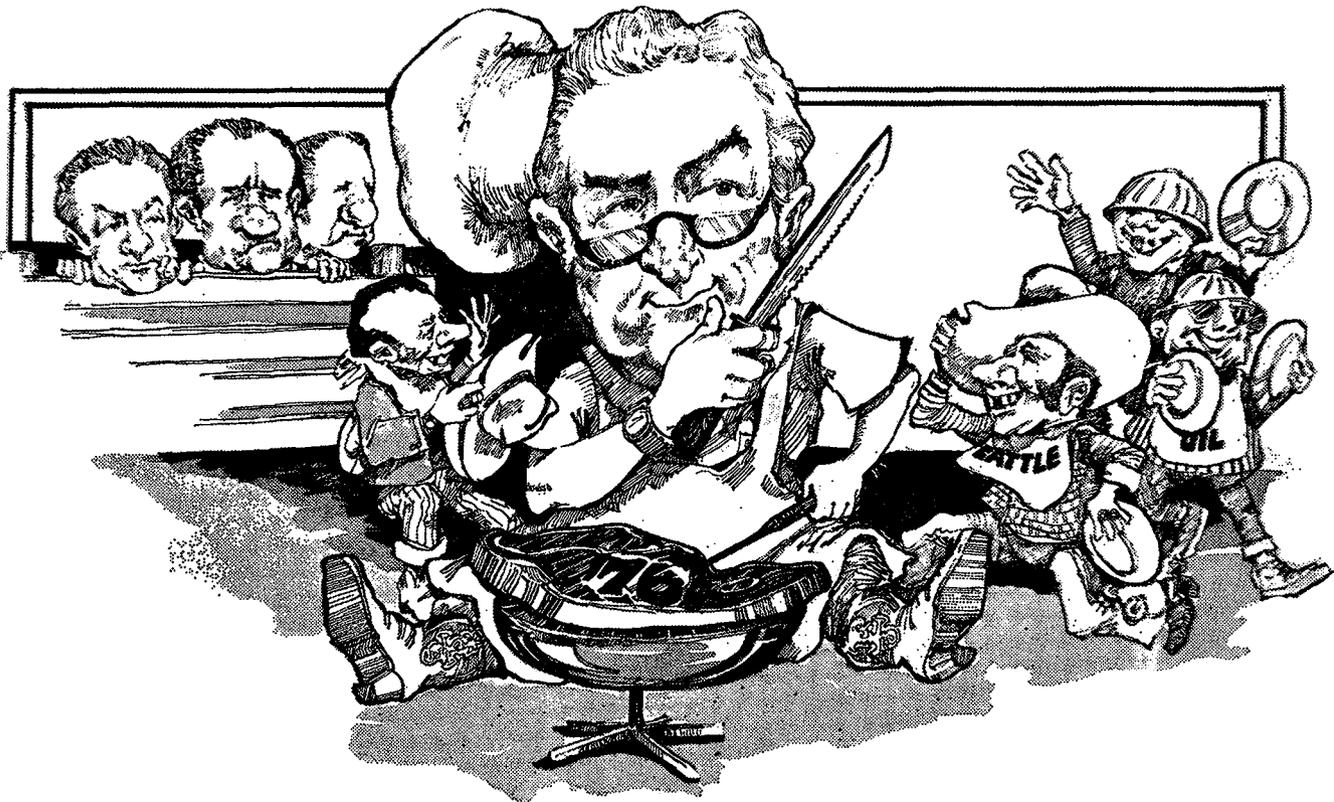
Politics '72: Special 24 Page State by State Survey

RIPON FORUM

JULY, 1972 — Special Summer Issue

Vol. VIII No. 13

ONE DOLLAR



The Connally Phase III

Articles by Thomas E. Petri, Howard Gillette and George Gilder

How Reformers Could Have Nominated Wallace

by Clifford Brown

THE BEHN BROTHERS

As Robert D. Behn resigns as Ripon's Executive Director, the expansion of the society itself and its financial base offers the best testimony to his success in this role over the last two years. His executive achievement, however, comprises only a fraction of his services to the society. The editor of Ripon's 1968 election analysis, The Lessons of Victory (Dial, 1969), Bob also has served as a valued catalyst and contributor to the FORUM and we hope he will continue in this role. His impact as special editor of the June 15 newsletter — particularly his critique of Governor Sargent's reticent Republicanism — has been signalled in headlines in most of Massachusetts newspapers.

But perhaps his greatest legacy to the FORUM will be his brother Richard, who joins us this issue as an associate editor, with special responsibility for the newsletter. He displays the familial talents in the Politics '72 Supplement beginning on page 13. As we extend regretful best wishes to Bob in his move to new responsibilities as a lecturer at Harvard Business School, we are happy to be able to welcome Dick to the staff. (See also 14A Eliot St. page 47).

G. G.

CONTENTS

The Case for Connally by Thomas E Petri	3
Connally's Prospects by Howard F. Gillette, Jr.	5
Is Agnew Preferable? by George Gilder	6
How "Reform" Helps Wallace by Clifford Brown	8
Special 24-page Supplement Politics '72	13
An Army of Ideologues by Howard L. Reiter	37
The Human Costs of Production by Steven Haft	38
Achieving Civilian Control by Peter Welch	41
Letters and 14A Eliot St.	47
McCloskey's Win by Michael Halliwell	48

THE RIPON SOCIETY, INC. is a Republican research policy organization whose members are young business, academic and professional men and women. It has national headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, chapters in thirteen cities, National Associate members throughout the fifty states, and several affiliated groups of subchapter status. The Society is supported by chapter dues, individual contributions and revenues from its publications and contract work. The Society offers the following options for annual contribution: Contributor \$25 or more; Sustainer \$100 or more; Founder \$1000 or more. Inquiries about membership and chapter organization should be addressed to the National Executive Director.

NATIONAL GOVERNING BOARD

Officers

*Howard F. Gillette, Jr., President
*Paul F. Anderson, Chairman of the Board
*Patricia A. Goldman, Chairman of the Executive Committee
*Howard L. Reiter, Vice President
*Edward W. Miller, Treasurer
*Ron Speed, Secretary

Boston

*Martha Reardon
Martin A. Linsky
Michael W. Christian

Cambridge

Joel P. Greene
*Bob Stewart

Chicago

R. Quincy White
Gene L. Armstrong
Jared Kaplan

Detroit

*Dennis Gibson
Stephen Selander
Mary E. Low

Hartford

Nicholas Norton
*Stewart H. McConaughy
Ralph Loomis

Los Angeles

*Michael Halliwell
Thomas A. Brown
Edward McAniff

Minneapolis

*John Cairns
Kati Sasseville

Nashville

*Robert H. Donaldson
Jerry H. Smith
Cary Miller

New Haven

*Peter V. Baugher
Jeffrey Miller
Melvin Dittman

New Jersey

*Richard Zimmer
Nancy Miller
John Brotschol

New York

*Werner Kuhn
Richard Rahn
Richard Scamlon

Philadelphia

*Robert J. Moss
William Horton
Ken Kaiserman

Ex-Officio At Large

*Robert D. Behn, National Executive Director
*George Gilder, Editor of the Ripon FORUM
*Daniel J. Swillinger, National Political Director
*Richard E. Beeman, Policy Chairman
**Peter J. Wallison, Finance Chairman
*Robert Gulick, Counsel
*Clair W. Rodgers, Jr., Counsel
*National Executive Committee Member
**Past President, Chairman of the Board, or Chairman of the Executive Committee

Pittsburgh

*Murray Dickman
James Groninger
Stan Sienkiewicz

Seattle

*Tom Alberg
Dick Dykeman
Mason D. Morisset

Washington

*Alice Tetelman
Larry Finkelstein
Willie Leftwich

At Large

**Josiah Lee Auspitz
**Christopher T. Bayley
Christopher W. Beal
Robert L. Beal
**Michael Brewer
Jan Bridges
Ralph Caprio
**Bruce Chapman
Pamela Curtis
Robert W. Davidson
Christopher DeMuth
Evelyn F. Ellis
Al Felzenberg
Emil H. Frankel
Glenn Gerstell
Ralph J. Heikinen
**Lee W. Huebner
Philip C. Johnston
William J. Kilberg
**J. Eugene Marans
Martha McCahill
Tanya Melich
Don Meyer
**John R. Price, Jr.
**John S. Saloma III
Jim Seif
Leah Thayer
William Whitten
Lyndon A.S. Wilson

THE RIPON FORUM

is published semi-monthly by the Ripon Society, Inc., 14A Eliot Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Second class postage rates paid Boston, Massachusetts. Contents are copyrighted © 1972 by the Ripon Society, Inc. Correspondence to the Editor is welcomed.

In publishing this magazine the Ripon Society seeks to provide a forum for a spirit of criticism, innovation, and independent thinking within the Republican Party. Articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the Ripon Society, unless they are explicitly so labelled.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES are \$10 a year, \$5 for students, servicemen, and for Peace Corps, Vista and other volunteers. Overseas air mail, \$10 extra. Advertising rates on request. \$10 of any contribution to the Ripon Society is credited for a subscription to the Ripon FORUM.

Editor: George Gilder
Contributing Editors: Clifford Brown, Glenn Gerstell, Howard Reiter.
Circulation Dept.: Judith H. Behn.
Art: Leslie Morrill, David Omar White.

Correspondents
Stephanie Mc Conaughy, Conn.
Mike Halliwell, California
James F. McCollum, Jr., Florida
Michael McCrery, Idaho
Ben Violette, Illinois
J. Kenneth Doka, Indiana
C.R. Connell, Iowa
Eric Karnes, Kentucky
James Harrington, Maine
Julia M. Renner, Michigan
Arthur F. McClure, Missouri
William Harding, Nebraska
Al Felzenberg, New Jersey
Charles O. Ingraham, New York
Deryl Howard, North Carolina
William K. Woods, Ohio
Henri Pell, Junod, Ohio
Stephen Jones, Oklahoma
Eric R. Blackledge, Oregon
Richard Ober, Jr., Pennsylvania
Donato Andre D'Andrea, R. I.
Bruce M. Selya, Rhode Island
Harris Beach, Jr., So. Carolina
Stanford M. Adelstein, S. D.
Patrick W. Dunn, Vermont
Robert R. Murdoch, Virginia
Fred O'Brien, West Virginia
Linda Hannaway, Wash., D.C.
Ken Nikolai, Wisconsin
W. Stuart Parsons, Wisconsin

The choice of the Republican Vice Presidential candidate in 1972 will be one of Richard Nixon's most important and revealing decisions. It may well determine the Republican nominee for 1976. It will indicate the constituencies on which the President hopes to build a new Republican majority. It will symbolize the hopes and directions of his second term. The mere consideration of a sectarian Democrat for this post is thus a portentous event even if he is ultimately slated for some other role.

The great ability and distinctive ideology of former Texas Governor John Connally, the particular Democrat at hand, raises the stakes of the decision still higher. Ever since the President named Connally Secretary of the Treasury and granted him broad powers within the Administration, the imperious Texan leader has at once embodied and symbolized some of the most important enigmas of Republican politics and ideology. In the controls of Phases I and II, he has enthusiastically administered economic policies, in both domestic and foreign affairs, that the President only reluctantly adopted and that bespeak the priorities of a managed economy more than the marketplace verities of Republicanism. In political terms, he has combined these popular governmental measures with his own phases I and II, first as Secretary of the Treasury and then as international diplomat and consultant for President.

The question is whether Connally will proceed now to a phase III, in which he serves as the Republican Vice Presidential nominee. In the persuasive memorandum reprinted here, Thomas E. Petri presents the case for his nomination. But even if he is not chosen — and he may well not be — his position in the next Nixon Administration will be deeply influential, as Howard Gillette observes in his Washington Viewpoint column. The ideological issues symbolized by his Republican ascendancy will remain acute. In the accompanying article George Gilder discusses both the political and ideological challenge of John Connally to the GOP.

The Case for Connally

by Thomas E. Petri

John B. Connally should be the President's Vice Presidential running mate for three reasons:

I. He will be a greater asset in the 1972 campaign than any other potential Republican Vice Presidential nominee.

II. If elected he will be a more effective Vice President and of greater assistance to the President and service to the country than any other possible nominee.

III. He is of Presidential calibre.

I. *Connally as an asset in the 1972 campaign.*

Connally is known by the public and enjoys the respect of the press and of the leadership community. He is a natural leader of great presence whose opinions command attention. He is an experienced political strategist and campaigner who has never lost an election. No other Vice Presidential possibility matches Connally's personal magnetism and political skill. Moreover, Connally's southern political ties and mod-

erate-conservative position on the political spectrum are well-suited to attract moderate and conservative Democrats to the Republican ticket without incurring significant Republican or Independent disaffection. He would also hold conservative Republican votes more than many other possible nominees. Unlike any other possible nominee, he can guarantee the electoral votes from his state for the Republican ticket; votes which are otherwise questionable.

Two issues determine most Presidential elections — Peace and Prosperity.

The President has a number of remarkable foreign policy accomplishments to his credit and has established himself as an imaginative and responsible international leader. He can take the campaign initiative on the Peace issue.

To insure the President's re-election, it is important that the party also be in position to take the initiative on the Prosperity issue. No potential run-

ning mate is better equipped to do this than is Connally by virtue of his general background and recent service at the Treasury and his role in the new economic program which is generally perceived as a bold step in the right direction — even by those who think it came too late or is doing too little.

The ideal '72 campaign stance is for the President to take the high road as an international statesman working for enduring peace with honor abroad and, in this context, for a reordering of priorities at home, while the Vice Presidential candidate takes the fight to the Democrats and campaigns against the Democratic Congress on domestic issues. The most politically important domestic issues will be economic and Connally is ideally prepared on these issues and ideally equipped to turn them from minuses into plusses for the President.

II. *Connally as an effective Vice President.*

Connally is a fine special assignment man. He is suited by temperament and experience to bring a sense of direction to a problem. He knows how to direct and to get results from the federal career service and is brilliant at dealing with Congress and interest groups. He is a team player of proven loyalty and reliability. His political sense and finesse enable him to apply pressure, rally forces and get results with a minimum of debilitating bitterness and division.

He is not a polarizing or divisive political figure. Connally has the rare ability to walk into almost any gathering and develop a sense of rapport with or at least respect from the group.

III. *Connally's Presidential Calibre.*

Modern political history proves the importance of

the Vice Presidential selection. Three of our last five Presidents first served as Vice President. Throughout our history second-term Presidents have been succeeded by their Vice Presidents fifty percent of the time. An incumbent Vice President serving under a retiring President is the leading contender for his Party's Presidential nomination. In these circumstances, a President's Vice Presidential selection, particularly in his second term, is significant for his Party and for the country: the President is choosing his heir apparent.

The press and public have increasingly come to recognize this and to measure Vice Presidential selections in terms of their suitability for the Presidency. If the selection measures up, it is a critical campaign asset for the President. Over the longer run a strong choice is also an asset for his Party, since a Vice President who is of generally recognized Presidential calibre allows the Party to coalesce around him and to unite for the succeeding campaign (as happened in 1957-60).

John Connally is of Presidential calibre. He has experience in business, in state government, on Capitol Hill, at the Pentagon and in the cabinet. His presence, forensic skills, and character are generally acknowledged. He is one of the few potential Vice Presidential nominees who would seem able to win the Presidency on his own in 1976.

Because he is respected and even trusted by those who oppose as well as by those who support him, Connally may be able to govern more effectively than any other potential Presidential successor. And this is an important consideration, indeed, for the future well being of the Republic.





Washington Viewpoint

Connally's Prospects

The resignation of John Mitchell as chairman of President Nixon's re-election committee and his projected political retirement after the campaign greatly increases the probability that the President would give John Connally a major role in a second administration.

No Republican in Washington is likely to fill the role Mitchell has held throughout the Administration as presidential confidant and manager of day-to-day political affairs. Nixon's longtime friend and now Counselor Robert Finch has already made clear his commitment to return to California politics. Neither Finch nor Donald Rumsfeld, who has also served as Counselor, have been intimately involved in critical presidential decisions and are unlikely to fill that role in the future. George Schultz, who has proved to be the President's most trusted utility man, first as Secretary of Labor, then as Director of Management and Budget and now as Secretary of the Treasury, does not have the political interest or expertise to replace Mitchell.

Beyond Mitchell, no man has played a more important advisory role to the President of late than Connally. He not only set up and implemented the new Economic policy, on which the President has staked so much of his re-election hopes, but he played a major role, according to

press reports, in the President's other critical election-year decision, to mine North Viet Nam's harbors. If the President maintains his pattern of relying heavily on an inside political strong man, the only question is not whether Connally would join a second Nixon Administration but what position he would hold.

The disappointing showing of John Ashbrook in the primaries makes the conservative demands to keep Agnew less compelling than they might once have been. Besides, with the specter of McGovern as the Democratic nominee, the President can argue conservatives will have nowhere else to go. Certainly, Connally would help Nixon's efforts to court the South, without the liability Agnew gained with Democrats and independents in 1970 as a highly partisan hatchet man.

Although Connally has said he wants to maintain a private life in Texas, he is unlikely to turn down a request from the President to join the ticket, especially when it would give his own presidential ambitions such a boost. The only question his candidacy would raise would be what strength he would bring to the ticket, when the President appears to need help not in the South but in states where Connally would have limited appeal, like Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey and California.

The President might choose instead to make Connally either Secretary of Defense or State, a possibility which has received considerable attention in the press, following leaks from the White House. Such a turn of events would probably lead to the resignation of Henry Kissinger and a move away from the conciliatory pattern of State Department policy under William Rogers. One could well expect a kind of big stick diplomacy under Connally, not seen since the days of Teddy Roosevelt.

The President is clearly keeping his options open until after the Democrats choose their ticket. Though it is clear the White House went out of its way to help Agnew's write-in campaign in New Hampshire, it appears the President mainly wished to keep his options open, just as he did when Mitchell knocked down the theory the convention would not accept a Democrat for Vice President. Connally's role may be confined in the next few months merely to trouble shooting and a possible stint as chairman of a Democrats for Nixon Committee. But it is not altogether improbable that as Mr. Nixon looks ahead to a second term, he will decide the man he wants to replace John Mitchell as political advisor ought to run on the ticket in November.

- HOWARD F. GILLETTE, JR.

Connally's Phase III

by George Gilder

The Republican party faces a deeply seductive opportunity in the probable availability of erstwhile Treasury Secretary John Connally for the GOP Vice-Presidential nomination. With George McGovern's candidacy, the party realignment long sought by many Republican conservatives and Democratic liberals has for the first time become plausible. By demonstrating that a Southern Democrat like Connally can reasonably aspire to the nation's highest office as a Republican, the party could significantly weaken the remaining taboos against Democratic defections to the Southern GOP. A Nixon-Connally ticket might at last combine with "heartland" Republicanism that "Sunbelt" coalition which has long been the special constituency of the former governor of Texas.

Support for Connally, however, goes well beyond the advocates of a conservative realignment. Thomas E. Petri's memo on the subject reflects opinions on the charismatic Texan heard increasingly among Progressive Republicans. A founding member and first Executive Director of Ripon who worked with Connally on the Ash Commission on Executive Re-organization, Petri presents an inviting argument. Not only would Connally contribute most to the ticket, Petri maintains, but the Texan would also be a powerful and effective Vice President, fully qualified to assume the highest office.

Beyond the cogent case made by Petri on Connally's merits, there are intriguing tactical considerations. His prospective nomination implies a decisive demotion of the incumbent, Spiro Agnew. Since he now rivals Ronald Reagan as a post-prandial entertainer, it seems desirable to relieve Agnew of the kind of executive responsibilities that finally made the Californian such a bore. Connally's nomination also suggests one way of blocking control of the GOP by right-wing Republicans in 1976: namely, as some cynics might point out, through control by a right-wing Democrat — but one who might be seen in the Republican spectrum as moderate, and accessible to progressives.

Receptivity toward Connally is enhanced by the continuing decline of our party's base — together with

the rising proportionate strength of the right wing within it. When President Nixon leaves office, there is a real danger that his lack of a "governing strategy" described by Lee Auspitz (FORUM, May) — and his party's lack of any durable recruiting effort — will lead to a declining Republican coalition incapable of sustaining a winning campaign or effective government.

Just as President Eisenhower's years of inattention to party affairs (and attention to Johnson-Rayburn Democrats) left the party vulnerable to Goldwater, so President Nixon's incoherent and sometimes demagogic political strategies may well destroy the potential contribution of his national policies to sound party development. In order to sustain a successful Republicanism, the party may have to look beyond itself, as it did in 1952.

Certainly the Nixon Administration does not dazzle the eye with other leaders of Presidential stature. It is not at all inconceivable that without Connally we could be stranded in 1976 with Agnew and a convention captured by right-wing zealots. Or we could be faced with a 1972 ticket including Brock, Buckley or some other cosmetic conservative more difficult than Agnew to beat in primaries in 1976.

Therefore, unless we assume that Nixon may anoint Senator Brooke or some other moderate, Agnew or Connally may be the best we can expect in 1972. Agnew might be preferred because he is beatable in 1976 primaries; Connally because he is not. The Texan could secure the 1976 nomination while Vice President, win the election and serve as a strong and effective President. Progressives who think they can win the intra-party struggle in 1976 thus might support Agnew; the more pessimistic might embrace Connally. And at present, the pessimists do not lack a case.

Finally there is the devious concern that if Connally is not made Vice President he will be named Secretary of State. With Rogers' resignation signalled and Kissinger's expected, the change would represent an abrupt shift, potentially damaging to the fabric of our foreign policy. A Nixon-Connally-Haig diplomacy would be radically different from the approach of Nixon-Kissinger-Rogers.

Such calculations ultimately pall, however. Our politics are not so predictable that we should advocate vice Presidential candidates on such narrow tactical grounds. For from a longer perspective, both Agnew and Connally seem disasters in political and ideological terms. Agnew's liabilities are familiar; he is widely regarded as a clown and will hurt any ticket he is on, unless it is to a fund raising dinner. Despite Connally's enormous abilities, his disqualifications are scarcely less severe. He contributes little to Nixon's own base of support and he is ideologically alien to the deepest traditions of Republicanism.

The political case for Connally is weaker than it appears. With Wallace's campaign in dubious straits, Nixon is already assured of a strong performance against the Democrats throughout the South and border states, including Texas. And in Texas Connally's grip has been weakening in recent years. Connally protege Ben Barnes was swamped in the recent Gubernatorial primary, (after apparently exceeding the state's new speed limits for enrichment in public office). Although the scandals in the state's Democratic establishment do not touch Connally, he cannot have survived utterly unscathed a primary in which not only Barnes but also brother Wayne Connally, a Lt. Gubernatorial candidate, was defeated.

In 1968 Connally was forced to abandon earlier efforts for Nixon when he saw the Humphrey bandwagon was rolling too hard for him to stop. Needless to say, none of these considerations is meant to suggest that the former Governor would not be a substantial asset for the ticket in Texas and elsewhere in November. But Nixon can win without Connally in the states where the Texan is strong. Connally's impact on the voters, in all likelihood, will be less than his impact on opportunistic Southern Democrats. He will function chiefly as a dramatic symbol of an ascendent strategy of Southern realignment.

Presuming that at least some of the traditional voting patterns hold firm, however, the real battleground will be not in the South and border states but in California, Ohio and Illinois or some other combination of Northern industrial states and California. In these states a Nixon-Connally tandem might be successfully depicted as a ticket of big money Protestant hawks. In the atmosphere of ITT and the Bay of Pigs at the Watergate, such charges might even give McGovern some momentum.

These states are absolutely vital to Nixon. Even without California, in fact, Nixon may win if he holds Ohio. Robert Taft Jr. would thus be a valid choice in political terms and his nomination would contribute to the resolution in 1972 of still dangerous political conflicts in Ohio Republicanism. If Taft continues to grow in office, moreover, he might even become a respecta-

ble candidate for 1976 (if the voters' adrenal systems can only bear up under the strain of his charisma).

From every point of view, the best pick would still be Senator Brooke. As Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott has put it, Brooke would be a choice worthy of a President who can transform great power diplomacy with high level negotiations in Peking and Moscow. But Nixon's vision — often farsighted in the global realm — usually narrows and blurs when he addresses matters of domestic policy and political strategy. His preoccupation with Wallace voters will probably cause him to miss the compensating gains he can win among blacks and moderates North and South, and the elevation he could gain in history.

Two nearly equally inviting choices would be Governors William Cahill of New Jersey and Nelson Rockefeller of New York, both swing states. Despite his current embarrassment (an indicted assistant), Cahill is one of the nation's two or three best state executives and offers politically opportune appeal both among urban Catholics and among progressive Republicans and independents. Although Rockefeller is older (he'll be 68 in 1976) and Protestant, his pre-eminent Presidential qualifications compensate for these tactical weaknesses; and he shares with Brooke the virtue of symbolizing a hope that a second Nixon term would not be as barren of domestic achievement as the first.

The Real Danger

The real danger to Nixon, it should be remembered, is the loss of enough suburban independents, swing Democrats and Republicans to allow a McGovern sweep of the large Northern states. This danger is best illustrated by the recent New Jersey campaign of Nelson Gross, who ran for the Senate on a strident anti-"extremist" "radiclib" pitch like the one now being contemplated for 1972 and lost catastrophically just one year after Cahill's decisive election as Governor. Just as the party today, Gross ignored warnings that "frontlash" swing voters are both more influential and more numerous than "backlash" swing voters.

In sum, neither the retention of Agnew, nor the nomination of Connally will afford significant political benefits to the Republicans. But Connally suffers from a further disqualification. Beyond his political liabilities, which admittedly might be overcome through his impressive campaigning, he suffers from one problem which seems to us prohibitive. Connally's nomination would strike at the very core of Republican identity and solidarity.

Despite all the differences among us, most Republicans on both the right and left share an instinctive aversion to federal power and a strong commitment to the private enterprise system. These values join James Buckley with Charles Percy, and the Ripon Society with the American Enterprise Institute. We are

all skeptical of the salves and subsidies of the service station state, which as Richard Whalen puts it in his new book *Catch the Falling Flag*, would "nationalize the losses" of politically-advantaged firms, while "keeping their profits private."

Republican agreement on these matters is central to the Republican ideology. It is central to our role as the party of responsible business and individualism. The very legitimacy of the profit system — both in moral and functional terms — depends on the existence of a competitive economy in which the entrepreneur risks reward or penalty for the quality of his judgement and initiative. Although we acknowledge that these economic mechanisms may often need to be supplemented by regulatory and social programs, the free market ideal is the lodestar of Republican ideology.

Statist Instincts

John Connally's instincts, on the other hand, are statist. He is a political product of those sectors of the Texas economy based on oil and agricultural subsidies and quotas, and on aerospace and other military contracts. His attitude toward international commerce is nationalist and mercantilist, founded on the two key assumptions which the statist of the American right share with the Marxist Left: that the market is obsolescent and that international economics is a zero-sum game. In a belief suggestive of the Socialist theory of capitalist "exploitation," Connally seems to believe that whenever one trade participant gains, another loses; and it is clear to the former Secretary that the U.S. has been losing in recent years. "The United States did very well in the past" Connally says, "when we were a lean and hungry nation . . . But now we are rich and the rest of the world is lean and hungry and out to get what we've got . . . So we've got to protect ourselves."

At a time when the U.S. is already "protected" with more comprehensive import quotas and tariffs than any other major free economy, Connally's attitude is based less on sober analysis than on an authoritarian fear of economic processes beyond the calculation and control of government. And as he seeks assurances of managed benefits that no free competitive marketplace can offer, he makes inequitable demands on other countries far more dependent on trade than ourselves. Together with his international blustering, his approach poses a significant threat to world capitalist solidarity at a time when capitalism is under severe attack.

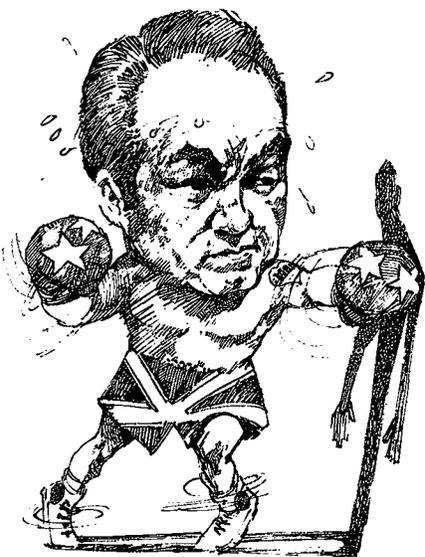
Connally's conservative reputation derives not from any commitment to principle or even from a skepticism toward governmental interventions in the economy and society. His chief affinities with the conservatives are that he is a hawk on foreign and defense policy and a dove in defending individual liberties

against an intrusive state. On most other issues progressive Republicans have more in common with Buckley than with Connally. At the time of the Lockheed crisis, for example, Buckley issued an eloquent attack on Connally's statist scheme to create a federal fund in the Treasury with which to bail out corporations when their failure was judged to jeopardize the national economy or security. Such a program would quickly become part of the risk calculus of the nation's corporations and they would be forced to increase their already excessive tendency to compete less in the market place than in the halls of Congress and the suites of the executive. The Secretary of the Treasury would be given a life and death hold on our nation's largest businesses. The fact that this proposal could have been originated by a Republican Administration dramatizes the subversive threat Connally poses to Republican identity.

By naming Connally to the ticket, Nixon might fulfill our June 1971 prediction: that the GOP would be betrayed to the very forces which during the Johnson years brought administrative paralysis, political chaos and electoral defeat to the Democrats. The Texas establishment is a major beneficiary of the structural distortions in the economy that brought us simultaneous inflation, unemployment and stagnation. These distortions were caused by the war, by artificially high prices for petroleum and petrochemical products, by the array of protectionist measures benefitting other Southern commercial and agricultural interests at the expense of the nation's consumers and retailers, and by excessive investment in aerospace industries which bid up the price of scarce technical personnel but make little contribution to real economic growth. In addition, an important cause of the growing fiscal crisis of Northern city and state governments is the overwhelming maldistribution of federal wealth, supervised by Southern Congressional satraps, in favor of the South and Southwest.

If these trends continue, as a Connally Vice Presidency would portend, revenue sharing is doomed to an inconsequential trickle, welfare reform will be crippled, inflation will intensify despite the mummery of controls, and the Republican party ultimately will be as split and discredited as the Democratic party of 1968. Under such circumstances Connally and his Texas friends will show as much real loyalty to the GOP as they have shown to the Democrats in the past.

Connally's potential nomination may hurt the right wing more than the left wing of our party. But it attacks the very core of meaning of the party as a whole. His success as a Republican President would be a greater defeat for Republicanism than any mere Democratic candidate could achieve.



How "Reformers" Could Have Nominated Wallace

by Clifford Brown

Whatever course the Miami Convention takes, the McGovern campaign will enter history as one of the most remarkable political achievements in the American experience. Not only will future tacticians appreciate the strategic achievements of the McGovern managers, but political moralists will regard the Senator's performance as a vindication of the politics of reform. It truly can be said that the triumph of the left wing was made possible by the politics of "openness," of "representativeness," of "participation" — by the vast extension of direct democracy and the vast limitations imposed on traditional party power centers. But those who wrote the reform provisions into party law, and those who created the McGovern phalanx, must be haunted — at the moment of their triumph — by the realization that George Wallace could have beaten them at their own game.

It soon will be time to evaluate more fully the impact of McGovern's reforms: removing the "cushion" which the party hierarchy had placed between the rank-and-file and the selection process, a cushion that for over a century has partly filled the screening role which the found-

ing fathers envisioned for the electoral college. With this cushion gone, vast possibilities are opened for many who never could begin to envision their own nomination. Governor Wallace is such a might-have-been.

If in 1970 George Wallace had had the foresight or simple nerve to launch a campaign for the Democratic nomination, and had pursued a tactical strategy similar to that of George McGovern, there is no reason to believe (with the benefit of hindsight) that his chances of being nominated would have been less than those of George McGovern.

It seems self-evident in retrospect that Wallace could have obtained most of the assets which made the McGovern victory possible. His charisma could have attracted a large number of volunteer workers. They would have been a considerably different type of volunteer from the McGovern worker — in general recruited from the hiring halls instead of from the liberal Northeast, yet no doubt as effective on the doorbell as anyone else. Wallace could have obtained, with effort, sufficient funds to finance a national cam-

paign. The kind of direct mail soliciting which McGovern used could have been just as effective for Wallace, large contributors nearly as numerous, and event financing just as lucrative.

A Scenario

The Wallace bandwagon would have started in Florida with his spectacular victory on March 14 (75 delegate votes). As it was, he entered the race very late with little organizational support. With more planning and more money he might have reached 50 percent — although his 41.5 percent appeared quite impressive as it was.

Since the regular Chicago machine controls and would withhold his likely vote, Wallace might have left the Illinois test on March 21 to the other contestants (with a delegate slate in some areas perhaps — another 15 votes). Then with a glance at his 1964 performance Wallace might have focused on Wisconsin. Good survey research could have told him where to put his effort. As it was, he took second with 22 percent of the vote (compared to McGovern's 30 percent). He came within a few hundred votes of carrying two Congressional

Districts and he had a fighting chance of carrying a third — all in fact carried by McGovern.

Wisconsin under these circumstances would have been to Wallace what New Hampshire was to McGovern: a performance in a state far from home which indicated the possibility of things to come. If Wallace had carried two or three Wisconsin C.D.'s for 20 votes, the McGovern campaign would have been deflated considerably, the Florida spectacular would have seemed less regional, and the bandwagon would have been under way.

After Wisconsin came Massachusetts (which could have been wisely left to McGovern) and Pennsylvania, in which Wallace could have fared very well. This year he came in second there with 21.2 percent of the vote — about a point more than McGovern. However, he entered only four candidates for delegates while McGovern fielded a complete slate. McGovern's 20 percent of the vote netted him 37 delegates elected from state senatorial districts, and an additional bonus of about 20 when state-wide selections were made roughly proportional to each candidate's elected delegate strength.

Governor Wallace's vote, however, like the McGovern vote, was sufficiently concentrated geographically to elect delegates in a number of state senatorial districts. In fact, his concentration in Pittsburgh and Southwestern Pennsylvania was very similar to McGovern's concentration in the Philadelphia suburbs and Southeastern Pennsylvania. It seems reasonable to believe that had Wallace fielded a complete slate, he could have elected as many delegates as McGovern did, although the party hierarchy might well have found means of trimming his bonus votes. If his effort in Pennsylvania had had anywhere near the advanced planning of the McGovern campaign it seems difficult to see how he could have fared worse than

the liberal's performance — another 50 votes.

Indiana Breakthrough

After Pennsylvania came Indiana and Ohio. Marshalling scarce resources, Wallace might have put most of his effort into Indiana. Indeed, Indiana might have been to Wallace what Wisconsin was to McGovern. Again, his strong 1964 performance would have indicated such a strategy. Wallace campaigned hard in Indiana this year — but he lacked organization and good television advertising. He lost to Humphrey 47 to 42 percent.

It is easy to envision a Wallace win there with 50 percent of the vote as the result of a long-planned sleeper effort like McGovern's Wisconsin campaign. On the same day in Ohio he might have won 55 of 153 delegates by running a full slate and devoting some effort in a few key areas. Considering his performance this year in working class areas in neighboring Indiana and Michigan, it seems quite possible for him to have picked up 30 percent of Ohio's delegation — had he fielded a slate. These two states would have given him 80 votes between them.

Following Indiana and Ohio were Tennessee (49 votes), North Carolina (40 votes), Nebraska and West Virginia. The first two were obvious Wallace territory and the others he could have ignored the way McGovern ignored Illinois, Indiana, West Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee. Then came Michigan and Maryland where Wallace swept the primaries this year for a legal total of approximately 100 votes in the two states. A good organization would have ensured that in primary states such as Maryland and Tennessee actual Wallace supporters could have been elected as delegates and attempts to erode his vote in those states could have been frustrated.

The plausibility of this scenario is enhanced not only by Wallace's

actual performances in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Indiana, but also by the implications of his victory in Michigan. It is easy to disparage his Michigan *majority* as the result of assassination sympathy or Republican crossovers or busing or the irresponsibility of voters who knew that Wallace never could have been nominated and hence that they could afford to vote for him. But all this misses the point. Wallace's Michigan victory was immense, covering the entire state, virtually every county, cutting into large percentages of every white element in the Democratic party not associated with a college campus. If he could do it in Michigan, home of the UAW and the most liberal Democratic party in the mid-West, the vote totals we postulated for the rest of the mid-West might seem conservative.

Furthermore, Michigan demonstrated the tremendous weakness of Humphrey, who was buried in every region of the state except the Western tip of the northern peninsula near Minnesota. If the Wallace scenario had proceeded as we suggest, the Muskie collapse would not have been replaced as decisively by a McGovern surge and Wallace's position as the major alternative to Humphrey might have given him even more than the 70 votes legally entitled to him in 1972 by Michigan law.

A good campaign organization, utilizing intelligent press briefings, more national advertising, and concentrating its effort in key areas could have created a bandwagon atmosphere which would have made Wallace into a real possibility in the eyes of the public by the time of the Michigan primary. The above scenario does not depart far from actuality.

Whether he could have kept the momentum up sufficiently to have achieved a narrow plurality in California in a 3-way contest is sheer speculation. He received about 7 percent on a write-in this year. But

the psychology of it all is difficult to gauge and California can be a very unpredictable state.

There are many "conservatives" in California who usually vote Republican but who are registered as Democrats. Some have suggested that Southern California is a Southern state. Mayor Yorty, in his state-wide campaigns, has attracted a respectable percentage of the vote in a primary, and it is not impossible to envision a Wallace plurality at 35 percent of the vote in a multi-man race. Four presidential primaries this year were won with less than 40 percent of the vote.

In the early phases of the Wallace campaign this year, his primary turnout bore a close resemblance both in size and area to his 1968 presidential vote in each state, but this percentage began to increase as the campaign progressed. In Florida, for instance, he received fewer votes than in 1968. In Indiana he received about 25 percent more than in the 1968 general election. In Michigan he received about 2½ times as many votes. A similar performance in California would have produced a victory.

If one can envision a Wallace plurality in California — and it seems incautious to rule it out completely — then the possibility of his nomination (retrospectively) existed. For Wallace as much as McGovern could have turned his supporters out of the woodwork to pack the local caucuses — and it would seem that in most states he could have mustered more than the South Dakotan. If enthusiasts are the key to power, then Wallace missed many opportunities.

First of all, he could have buried all opposition in the Southern states. Considering what McGovern, of all people, did in South Carolina and Virginia, just imagine what an organized and effective Wallace team might have done there — and in Georgia, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. When Wallace began to understand his own potential and when some-

one in his organization bothered to read the rules for selecting delegates, an effort was launched in Texas which gave him more than a third of the votes. Consider the possibilities if he had started a few months earlier.

Second, outside the South there is no reason to believe that the same phenomenon of inspired caucus packing which made McGovern's position possible could not have been duplicated by Wallace. No one will ever know whether an organized Wallace could have turned out more cadres in an Idaho precinct than an organized McGovern actually did — but the possibility cannot be dismissed as out of hand. Certainly in Kentucky and Missouri he could have achieved the overthrow of the establishment which McGovern failed to, and in large areas of the plains and mountains Wallace might well have split the delegation with the South Dakotan.

Caucus Packing

Finally, in some Northern primary states, New Jersey and especially New York, he might have elected some delegates. The New York primary, which McGovern swept largely by default, had a very light turnout — less than 20 percent of registered Democrats. Could not Wallace have attracted the Proccacino vote in several congressional districts in the city? Could he not have carried a few upstate districts as well — if he had been organized and had contested in selected areas? As McGovern has shown, with light turnouts, organization decides.

The numbers are impressive (see chart). In the Big Nine — assuming a California plurality, he could have received over 600 votes under the assumption already stated. In the Little Six, an additional two hundred would have been quite plausible, and the remaining south could have contributed over two hundred more. With solid support in the border states, including Mary-

land, and a McGovern-style blitz in the remaining West, Wallace could have had a first ballot stiking distance projection of 1350, as indicated on the chart.

We cannot pursue this ghostly speculation any further, but it is interesting to put the Wallace, Humphrey, and McGovern performances into some kind of perspective. There were nineteen presidential preference primaries in which at least one major contender was on the ballot. (Not including those primaries which simply elected delegates). In these nineteen contests, using the results published in CQ, McGovern received 3,887,120 votes, Humphrey 4,002,203 and Wallace 3, 589,762. In the eleven contests where both McGovern and Wallace were on the ballot together, McGovern finished ahead of Wallace in six and behind in five, but Wallace led in popular votes by three quarters of a million, receiving 2,601,319 to McGovern's 1,862,102. Of the total votes cast for all candidates in these nineteen primaries, McGovern received less than 30 percent.

These figures do not, of course, include New York and New Jersey where McGovern romped over the non-opposition in skimpy turnouts. But nevertheless the closeness of the total vote for the three above candidates raises many questions about how a candidate who received less than a third of the votes cast in primaries — no matter how you calculate it — could receive 50 percent of the committed delegates when the convention opened.

In 1968 the answer to an analogous question was boss control. In 1972 the answer is ideological commitment which produced workers who produced caucus coups and close pluralities — all presided over by an organization which knew what it was doing. But if organization and issues commitment made the difference this year it is very difficult to deny that Wallace, with an organizational leadership com-

parable to that of McGovern's, could have created the local organizations which would have parlayed issues commitment into a performance comparable to that of the Democratic front-runner.

The symmetry between the Wallace and McGovern efforts has been mentioned many times this year. As his agonizingly slow rise in nationwide polls shows, it is not at all clear that the Senator from South Dakota had any greater base of support among party rank-and-file than the Governor of Alabama. If you retrospectively consider the possibility of a Wallace nomination to have been absurd, think back a year and remember how likely you thought McGovern's nomination to have been. Only Wallace, moreover, could have exploited the McGovern reforms to the extent McGovern did. Inspired caucus packing can only be accomplished by the candidacy of an ideologically committed man, or a candidate whose personal magnetism far exceeds that of a Muskie or Humphrey.

Less Elite Support

Of course there are many other areas where Wallace would have been much worse off than McGovern. The media and other relatively elite institutions would never have given him as warm a reception — although the cataclysmic portents of a Wallace victory would have a certain appeal to a sensation-seeking journalist. Wallace would have provoked a much greater negative response and it might have resulted in large turnouts in later primaries. The unions might have coalesced around an alternative — the UAW might have worked a trifle harder in Michigan, the Blacks would have turned out in greater numbers, the political bosses who grudgingly accepted McGovern would have worked much harder against Wallace, and so forth. He probably would have been stopped. But he would have been stopped by an elite, in

spite of, not because of, the reforms. He would have been stopped by the Blacks together with what was left of the old power structure, not by the "new politics" which Wallace previously would have defeated at its own game, with its own methods.

In promoting openness and participation the McGovern reforms are in many respects an improvement over the previous system from the standpoint of pure democratic theory. In some other respects, such as a tendency toward administered categorical quotas, they are essentially elitist. None the less we Republicans would do well to consider some similar alterations designed to promote party expansion into growing new constituencies.

Democratic theory, however, should be tempered with institutional reality in the spirit of the Federalist. We should be careful not to destroy the safeguard afforded by the influence on the nominating process of experienced politicians. They know the candidates, have prevailed in real elections, and can counteract the effectiveness of militant minorities exploiting the loopholes in any democratic system where levels of knowledgeable participation may be relatively low. And since the elected public officials in any party collectively represent a voting majority far larger than usually turns out in primaries, it can be argued that they reflect both a broader base of party membership and a greater commitment and ability to win elections.

The packed caucus and the stacked primary are first cousins of the smoke-filled room. Let us hope that as we proceed with the urgent task of opening and expanding our party, we Republicans can avoid some of the mistakes, some of the self-righteous simplicities, of the McGovern minority, which might have enabled the Wallace minority to exercise power far beyond its real support.

Wallace Potential

	Total Delegates	Feasible Wallace Delegates
I. The Big Nine (1527)		
New York	278	50
California	271	271
Pennsylvania	182	50
Illinois	170	15
Ohio	153	53
Michigan	132	80
Texas	130	75
New Jersey	109	25
Massachusetts	102	—
		621
II. The Little Six (425)		
Florida	81	75
Indiana	76	45
Missouri	73	35
Wisconsin	67	20
Minnesota	64	—
N. Carolina	64	40
		215
III. Remaining South (244)		
Alabama	37	37
Georgia	53	50
Louisiana	44	40
Mississippi	25	25
South Carolina	32	30
Virginia	53	40
		222
IV. Favorite Son States (116)		
Arkansas	27	27
Maine	20	—
South Dakota	17	—
Washington	52	—
		27
V. Historic Primaries (179)		
D.C.	15	—
Maryland	53	41
Nebraska	24	—
New Hampshire	18	—
Oregon	34	—
West Virginia	35	15
		56
VI. Northeast Remainder + Territories (114)		
Connecticut	51	—
Delaware	13	—
Rhode Island	22	—
Vermont	12	—
Territories	16	—
		0
VII. Remaining Border States (135)		
Kentucky	47	30
Oklahoma	39	20
Tennessee	49	49
		99
VIII. Remaining West (276)		
Alaska	10	} 110
Arizona	25	
Colorado	36	
Hawaii	17	
Idaho	17	
Iowa	46	
Kansas	35	
Montana	17	
Nevada	11	
New Mexico	18	
N. Dakota	14	
Utah	19	
Wyoming	11	
TOTAL		1350



Politics '72

Dick Bebn, Editor

*A Survey of the 1972 elections, from Presidential to State-Legislative Races,
compiled from Reports by Ripon Correspondents in all 50 States*

Introduction



The following prognostications reflect the strong political position now held by President Nixon across the country, but the predictions must be tempered by the experience of past Nixon campaigns. The President has always run well in the summer. The President's lead — and the leads of many other Republicans who are now favored or marginal — are subject to the charisma of the McGovern crusade into the Promised Land, an anticipated Democratic voter-registration drive, the progress of the War and the Economy, voter reaction to the President's stand on school busing, and the proven ability of the Nixon campaign organizations to reduce commanding leads. To use a football analogy, the President

has a good field position. Will he fumble?

Republican representation in the Senate and the House of Representatives is not likely to improve significantly this year, much less turn the Republicans into the majority party in either house. The Republicans should be hard-pressed to merely hold their current 45 seats in the Senate. In the House, the Republican prospects are little better despite the fears of many congressional Democrats that the presidential candidacy of Senator George McGovern might be a congressional disaster. Some congressional seats may change parties — particularly in the large industrial states of New York, Illinois and California where reapportionment and redistricting will have a significant impact. And many others will change personalities — at last count, 52 incumbents were not scheduled to return next session. But the overall shift will be small.

In 1972 gubernatorial races the Republicans will have a chance to take currently Democratic state houses in Rhode Island, Missouri, Montana, and North Dakota, but other Republican Governors may have difficulty staying in office. On balance, despite the revolution in politics in the Democratic Party, the prospects for drastic changes in the relative status of either party this year are not revolutionary.

— DICK BEHN

Predicted Results	PRESIDENTIAL SENATOR				CONGRESS GOVERNOR			PRESIDENTIAL SENATOR				CONGRESS GOVERNOR			
	GOP	Dem.	Tossup	SENATOR	Dem.	Rep.	GOVERNOR	GOP	Dem.	Tossup	SENATOR	Dem.	Rep.	GOVERNOR	
Alabama	9			D	4	3	—	New Jersey			17	R	8	7*	—
Arkansas	6			—	3	1	D	New Mexico	4			R*	1	1	—
California			45		23*	20*	—	New York			41		21	18*	—
Colorado	7			R	2	3*	—	North Carolina	13			R*	7	4	D
Connecticut			8	—	4	2	—	North Dakota	3				0	1	R*
Delaware	3			R	0	1	R	Ohio	25				7	16	—
Florida	17			—	11*	4*	—	Oklahoma	8			R*	4	2	D
Georgia	12			—	9	1	—	Oregon	6			R	2	2	—
Hawaii		4		—	2	0	—	Pennsylvania			27	—	13	12	—
Idaho	4			R	2	0	—	Rhode Island		4		R*	2	0	R*
Illinois			26	R	11	13*	—	South Carolina	8			R	5	1	—
Indiana	13			—	5	6	R	South Dakota		4		D*	2	0	D
Iowa	8			R	1	5	R	Tennessee	10			R	3	5	—
Kansas	7			R	1	4	D	Texas	26			R	22*	2	D
Kentucky	9			R	5	2	—	Utah	4			—	2	0	D
Louisiana	10			D	8	0	—	Vermont	3				0	1	R
Maine	4			R	1	1*	—	Virginia	12			D	4	6	—
Maryland	10			—	4	4*	—	Washington			9		6	1	R
Massachusetts		14		R	10*	2	—	West Virginia		6		D	4	0	D*
Michigan		21		R	8*	11	—	Wisconsin			11		5	4	—
Minnesota		10		D	4	4	—	Wyoming	3			R	1	0	—
Mississippi	7			D	4	1*	—	D.C.		3					
Missouri	12			—	9	1	R	TOTAL	288	66	184	D-12 R-21	252	183	D-10 R-8
Montana	4			D	1	1	R*	Net Change				+3R	+2R	+2R	
Nebraska	5			R	0	3	R	*Party Gains							
Nevada	3			—	0	1	—								
New Hampshire	4			D	0	2	R								

Alabama

PRESIDENTIAL: President Nixon got a grand total of 14.1 percent of the Alabama vote in 1968, and got virtually no support from the State's GOP organization who said GOP incumbents couldn't "afford" a strong Nixon effort. Nixon chances for Alabama's eight electoral votes will depend — as in several southern states — on the actions of Alabama's governor Wallace. The Republican organization is still weak in Alabama and the President isn't as strong against mass educational transit as many Alabambians would like.

SENATORIAL: Incumbent **John Sparkman**, 74, will be challenged by former Postmaster General **Winton M. Blount**. Understandably, the 51-year-old Blount favors a compulsory retirement age for Congress. Sparkman barely captured a majority of the Democratic electorate in his six-man primary field while Blount won a surprisingly easy victory over two GOP rivals. Sparkman is the natural favorite. Blount is a long shot possibility only if Nixon scores a big victory in the state. Sparkman's age and his purported ties to out-state banking interests were the major issues in the Democratic primary and his candidacy will probably be aided by bank lobbyists who fear his replacement as chairman of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee by liberal Wisconsin Senator **William Proxmire**. Among the Republicans defeated by Blount was arch-conservative former Rep. **James D. Martin**.

CONGRESSIONAL: Alabama lost one seat of its eight congressional seats in redistricting. Second District Rep. **William L. Dickinson**, a relative moderate by Alabama Republican standards, will be challenged by State Rep. **Ben C. Reeves** (D). Dickinson was redistricted into a seat held by another Democratic incumbent, but Congresswoman **Elizabeth B. Andrews**, who is filling the unexpired term of her late husband, is not seeking re-election. The other two Republican incumbents, Rep. **Jack Edwards** (1) and **John Buchanan Jr.** (6) are favored for re-election. Other seats should remain Democratic.

Alaska

PRESIDENTIAL: With the settlement of the Alaskan Native Land Claims dispute and Department of the Interior's approval of the Alaskan Pipeline, President Nixon's chances of winning Alaska's three electoral college votes are very good. As in a number of western and southern states, Senator McGovern's views on the economy and defense are probably too liberal for most Alaskans.

SENATORIAL: With two-years seniority and with a strong 1970 showing at the polls, Sen. **Ted Stevens** (R) is favored to beat the

only announced Democratic candidate, House Speaker **Eugene Guess**, 39. Although Guess is considered a more formidable candidate than Stevens faced when he was appointed to fill the unexpired term of the late Sen. **Bob Bartlett**, the administration's actions on key Alaskan issues will help Stevens.

CONGRESSIONAL: Congressman **Nick Begich** (D) is riding the crest of his popularity after the settlement of the land claims dispute and will be a heavy favorite against State Rep. **Don Young**.

STATE: All of Alaska's legislators will be up for election because of redistricting, which will hurt Republicans, currently evenly split with the Democrats in the Senate while outnumbered in the House. But the recent legislative session has elicited wide public disapproval and will be a GOP asset. In a Nixon-Stevens victory, the Alaskan GOP is hopeful of a legislative victory.

Arizona

PRESIDENTIAL: Arizona will have one more electoral vote than in 1968: so Nixon will pick up six. The movement instigated by **Cesar Chavez's** farm workers to recall Republican Gov. **Jack Williams** in a controversy over a recently-passed farm labor law is not expected to succeed or to affect the President's chances significantly, though it could result in greater Democratic registration among minorities. The employment situation in the state is healthy.

CONGRESSIONAL: Two Republican incumbents and one Democratic incumbent are favored for re-election. The key race is in the new 4th C.D. where three Republicans are seeking the nomination: **John Conlan**, an arch-conservative; **Bill Baker**, a state Republican official who is the candidate of the Party establishment; and State Treasurer **Ernest Garfield**, a conservative but competent administrator who is emphasizing domestic issues in his campaign. The successful GOP candidate is favored to win the general election. The primary is September 12.

STATE: Republicans are expected to maintain control of both houses of the legislature.

Arkansas

PRESIDENTIAL: If Wallace doesn't interfere — as he did in 1968 — Nixon should be the recipient of six electoral votes from Arkansas. Nixon narrowly edged out Humphrey for second place in Arkansas in 1968. The Arkansas voters will not forget busing at the polls.

SENATORIAL: Sen. **John McClellan**, 76, forced into a runoff against Congressman **David H. Pryor**, 37, won renomination despite an Arkansas poll which indicated that

half the voters didn't know the meaning of "seniority," McClellan's supposed source of strength. McClellan waged a vigorous campaign despite his age and received a congratulatory phone call from the President after his victory. The Republican candidate, **Wayne Babbitt**, a North Little Rock veterinarian and a moderate, has little chance to go to Washington as a Senator. There is too much latent support — Republican and otherwise — for McClellan.

GUBERNATORIAL: Gov. **Dale Bumpers** should also have little trouble beating former State Welfare Board Commissioner **Len E. Blaylock**. It is largely a question of how badly the Republican moderate will lose.

CONGRESSIONAL: Republicans are running only one candidate in four districts, but he is an incumbent, Congressman **John Paul Hammerschmidt** in the 3rd C.D. His opponent, **Guy W. Hatfield**, 65, a retired actor, has hit upon an interesting campaign tactic. Since his campaign manager is a look-a-like, Hatfield uses him as a stand-in so he can cover twice as much territory. Hatfield has been endorsed by **Groucho Marx**.

STATE: The key factor in the state legislative races this year will be black candidates in both parties. There are currently no black legislators, although the Republicans did run black candidates in 1970. Two black Republican candidates for the State Senate, **Annie R. Zachary** in Marvell and **Sam Sparks** in Little Rock have good chances of election. In the Senate, 11 of the 35 seats will be contested by the GOP. In the lower house, the Rev. **M.L. Hendricks**, a black Republican minister, is running against a white Democrat in a predominantly black district in Little Rock and given a good chance to win. Altogether, five black Republicans are running for the lower house. Republicans are given a greater chance of success in legislative races this year because single-member districts will be used for the first time — a reform strongly opposed by Gov. Bumpers.

California

PRESIDENTIAL: San Clemente's sometime resident may be in trouble in his native state this year. Nixon could win without taking California's 45 electoral votes, but the Democrats need the state to win and McGovern has a strong organization. Nixon beat Humphrey by about 4 percentage points in 1968, but increased Democratic registration has more than made up the Minnesotan's 1968 vote deficit. Gov. **Ronald Reagan** will be leading the Nixon charge.

CONGRESSIONAL: California has picked up three new seats in redistricting. In the 37th C.D., State Assemblywoman **Yvonne W.**

Brathwaite (D) should become one of the two new black congresswomen this year. In the 38th C.D. former Congressman **George E. Brown, Jr.** (D) who lost the Democratic senatorial nomination to Sen. **John Tunney** in 1970, is highly favored to beat Ontario Mayor **Howard J. Snider** (R) despite a bitter Democratic primary in the new district. In the 36th C.D., State Assemblyman **William M. Ketchum** is a narrow favorite over **Timothy Lemucchi**, a Bakersfield attorney, but Lemucchi will be helped by the student vote in Santa Barbara. Another key race will be the 6th C.D. where Congressman **William S. Mailliard** (R), 54, is trying for his 11th term but is in deep trouble because of his support for President Nixon on the War. Redistricting should have helped Mailliard, but he is running against former Democratic State Chairman **Roger Boas**, 50, who is articulate and well-financed. In the 11th C.D., the district being left by Congressman **Pete McCloskey**, State Assemblyman **Leo J. Ryan** is highly favored over Republican **Charles E. Chase**, a very conservative attorney who beat a black Palo Alto city councilman and a Redwood City engineer in the Republican primary. McCloskey is expected to win in the 12th. In the 42nd C.D. State Sen. **Clair W. Burgener** should beat Bob Lowe, a Democrat. And in the 20th C.D., State Assemblyman **Carlos J. Baker** (R) is favored to succeed Congressman **H. Allen Smith** (R) who is retiring.

STATE: The Republicans are now outnumbered 21 to 19 in the State Senate and the State Assembly is 43 to 36 in favor of the Democrats. Only half the seats in the Senate are at stake and Republicans could split the Senate with the Democrats if Assemblyman **Ernest La Coste** (D) is beaten by former Assemblyman **Claire Berryhill** (R). Two Republicans could be in trouble but should win: State Sen. **Milton Marks** and State Sen. **John Nejedly**. In the Assembly, the Republicans could lose their shirts if Nixon loses badly. Only 26 seats are safe or probable for the GOP. Five seats are "leaning" for the Republican incumbents and five more are being vacated by Republican incumbents and are marginal. Only four currently Democratic seats are in real danger from Republican challengers. The GOP legislative candidates may have trouble getting money this year, but the legislative races will be important for the California Republican Party.

Colorado

PRESIDENTIAL: Colorado has a strong economy and Nixon will be a strong candidate. He took Colorado in 1960 and 1968 and should win the state's seven electoral votes this year. There is a busing suit in-

volving the state now in the courts. Governor **John A. Love** is heading the Nixon re-election campaign.

SENATORIAL: Sen. **Gordon Allott's** announcement will be tantamount to re-election. A strong Nixon supporter and chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, Allot got 58 percent of the vote in his last race. The Democratic candidate will be chosen in a September 12 primary. The leading candidates are former State Sen. **Floyd Haskell**, an ex-Republican, and State Sen. **Anthony Vollack**, 42. Vollack is given the edge but the campaign hasn't warmed up.

CONGRESSIONAL: Environmentalists have targeted Congressman **Wayne Aspinall**, 76, as one of Congress's "Dirty Dozen" they would like to defeat. Although his district was made less hospitable to a Democratic candidate by redistricting, the chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee is favored to retain his seat. In the new 5th C.D., however, State Sen. Majority Leader **Bill Armstrong**, is expected to become the third Republican congressman on the Colorado delegation. The district was almost tailor-made for Armstrong. The other three incumbents — two Republicans and one Democrat — are expected to be returned to Washington.

STATE: There may be a few more Democrats in the legislature after his year's court-ordered redistricting, but the Republicans should retain large majorities.

Connecticut

PRESIDENTIAL: If there's one thing certain about the "Land of Steady Habits" this year it's uncertainty. The courts, the legislature, and the state party leaders have so far been unable to redistrict either the six Connecticut congressional seats or the General Assembly. Republican leaders are hopeful that President Nixon will carry the state this year. He had also been expected to carry the state in 1968, but Humphrey beat him by 6 percent. Connecticut's eight electoral votes will be a tossup, and State Democratic Chairman **John Bailey's** ability to produce Democratic victories cannot be underestimated. Popular Sen. **Abraham Ribicoff** helped pull in Humphrey in 1968 and will be out stumping for McGovern. Ribicoff was cited for a post in a McGovern administration, but he has rejected such speculation. State Comptroller **Nathan Agostinelli**, who gained the President's approval for grabbing a Viet Cong flag from an antiwar protestor, will be in charge of Nixon's campaign.

CONGRESSIONAL: As one judge considering the state of Connecticut's congressional districts said, "Certainly, something should be done to straighten out this confusion."

At this writing, nothing has. Suits and countersuits, court orders, legislative reapportionment plans, court-ordered reapportionment plans, and appeals leave the politicians and the voters perplexed about both Congress and the General Assembly. Nominating conventions have been postponed pending court decisions on the redistricting mess. Whatever happens in court, the voters are likely to elect the same congressmen they did in 1970. Freshman Congressman **Robert Steele** has made a favorable impression and should win re-election despite a Democratic challenge by former State Department official **Roger Hilsman**. The other Republican incumbent **Stewart McKinney**, in the 4th C.D., has the most Republican district in the state. It will take large-scale political explosions to blow the Democratic incumbents out of their seats.

STATE: Over the last two years, the voters in Connecticut have grown pretty disgusted with their legislators — particularly in 1971 when the legislature approved an income tax bill which most of them hadn't read — only to later rescind the tax when faced with a "taxpayer revolt." The new complexion of the presently Democratic legislature will depend on the redistricting plan approved. Two Republican judges came up with a plan favorable to the Republicans but it got thrown out on appeal — partly because the judges forgot to include parts of a couple of towns. Democratic prospects have been improved by large-scale Democratic gains in local elections in 1971.

Delaware

PRESIDENTIAL: President Nixon will capture Delaware's three electoral votes again this November. The chairman of the Nixon campaign is **William R. Campbell Jr.** who managed Governor **Russell Peterson's** campaign and who is a top aide to **John W. Rollins**, a key Nixon fundraiser and recently chairman of the nationwide Salute to the President Dinners. Nixon is currently expected to do even better than he did last time against any foreseeable Democratic nominee.

SENATORIAL: Republican Senator **J. Caleb Boggs**, is one of the most popular figures in the state and is at this stage almost certain to be returned for this third term. He won in 1966 with almost 60 percent of the vote. His Democratic opponent will be New Castle County Counsel **Joseph R. Biden Jr.**, a rather smooth and eager 29-year-old former Republican.

GUBERNATORIAL: The real battle in Delaware will be in the gubernatorial race. Gov. Peterson has incurred the resentment of many voters through two tax increases during his first term, thus breaking a no-tax-rise pledge he had made. Peterson came

into office in 1969 with a reputation as an administrator and a civic leader, and he has succeeded in thoroughly reorganizing the government. Peterson is being challenged for the nomination by conservative **David P. Buckson** of Dover, a former state Attorney General and Lieutenant Governor, who was the unsuccessful candidate for Governor in 1964 and for the congressional nomination in 1970. Buckson has a good chance to force a primary contest by getting the necessary 35 percent of the vote at the July 17 State Republican Convention. The date of the primary, originally set for September 9, may be changed. In their June convention, the Democrats nominated **Sherman W. Tribbitt**, House Minority Leader and former Lieutenant Governor who made an unsuccessful run for Governor in 1968. Peterson is likely to win the primary. A close Tribbitt-Peterson race is expected.

CONGRESSIONAL: The state's lone congressman, Republican **Pierre S. "Pete" duPont**, faces no opposition from his own party and will face very little from the Democrats.

STATE: Both houses of the state legislature are Republican-controlled and are expected to remain that way although there is some doubt about the House of Representatives. The Democratic Party is badly split and in recent years has not been able to take advantage of its registration edge.

Florida

PRESIDENTIAL: Florida has voted for Nixon in both 1960 and 1968. With McGovern as the Democratic standard-bearer, the President will be the overwhelming favorite to pick up Florida's 17 electoral college votes. The party divisions which developed during former Gov. **Claude Kirk's** gubernatorial campaign in 1970 and former Congressman **William Cramer's** senatorial campaign the same year still have not healed. Kirk, however, is attempting to mend his political fences in an attempt to make a comeback for the Statehouse in 1974. Busing will be a key issue in the presidential campaign just as it was in the Democratic primary. Kirk picked up a few points by backing the statewide straw vote opposing busing while Governor **Reubin Askew** (D) lost voter backing with his more realistic stand against the referendum issue. Wallace supporters are expected to jump on the Nixon campaign bus in 1972.

CONGRESSIONAL: Florida picked up three extra congressional seats in redistricting this year, but candidates will not be selected until the September 9 primary. Of the new districts, the 13th (northern Dade County) should lean Democratic; the 5th (St. Petersburg-Orlando) will lean Re-

publican; and the 10th is considered a tossup. Cramer associate **Jack Isco** is expected to benefit from the strong ICY (Isco-Cramer-Young) political machine in his bid for the 5th C.D. nomination. Otherwise, the makeup of the state's congressional delegation is expected to remain 9-3 for the Democrats.

STATE: Both houses of the state legislature are up for re-election, but the large Democratic majorities are not expected to change until the Republicans field a strong gubernatorial candidate. Republican legislative races would be aided if the split between the Kirk faction and Republicans led by State Party Chairman **Tommy Thomas** were healed.

Georgia

PRESIDENTIAL: Georgia gave its 12 electoral votes to Wallace in 1972. With Wallace in the Democratic fold, Gov. **Jimmy Carter** has had good reason to lead the stop-McGovern movement. Nixon would be the overwhelming favorite against the South Dakota Senator in a two-man race. Most Democratic candidates would be running away from McGovern as a standard-bearer in Georgia. Busing will be important. Former Democrat **John Ray** will be in charge of the President's re-election campaign.

SENATORIAL: Like several other Democratic Southern Senators, **David H. Gambrell** is having a hard time this year with his fellow Democrats. Although he is probably still the frontrunner for the August 8 primary, Gambrell will be contesting 15 Democrats including former Gov. **Ernest Vandiver**, heir-apparent to the Russell family; former State Treasurer **Bill Burson**, whose office has been abolished; State Rep. **Sam Nunn**, 33, a Wallace supporter who has won the endorsement of former Gov. **Marvin Griffin** and the implied endorsement of **Lester Maddox** who decided to sit this one out; and **Hosea Williams**, an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. One man hedged his bets and signed up for both primaries. A runoff, if necessary, will be August 29. Meanwhile, Republican Congressman **Fletcher Thompson**, an arch-conservative who himself faces token primary opposition, is piloting his plane across the state, pulling out his bicycle, and making a strong bid for the Senate seat. Thompson is a good campaigner — which Gambrell is not — and with a well-financed campaign he could be pulled into the Senate by a large Nixon win. Both Thompson and the Democratic nominee will be out beating buses to death this fall.

CONGRESSIONAL: In five of Georgia's ten congressional races, Republicans have filed no candidates. In two more, the Democratic incumbents will not be overexerted. In

the 4th C.D., Congressman **Ben Blackburn**, (R), a strong Nixon supporter should win easily as he has in the past. In only two districts, the 5th and the 8th will there be real contest. Thompson's 5th C.D. seat will be sought by **Rodney Cook**, a Republican moderate who narrowly lost the Atlanta mayoralty race and is favored now. The district is over 40 percent black and four Democrats, including the Rev. **Andrew Young**, a black SCLC organizer, are seeking the nomination. Cook could be helped by Nixon as could Macon GOP Mayor **Ronnie Thompson** in the 8th C.D. He will be challenging Congressman **W. S. "Bill" Stuckey**.

STATE: Both houses of the legislature are up for re-election but the Southern Strategy apparently doesn't apply there yet. Republicans will continue to remain a rare legislative animal in Georgia, though among their number are several of the most attractive young moderates in the state's politics.

Hawaii

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon received only 39 percent of the vote in 1968. His campaign for Hawaii's four electoral votes is not expected to be much more effective in 1972.

CONGRESSIONAL: U.S. Rep. **Patsy Mink** who was unopposed for election in 1970, may face primary opposition from Democrats who are closer to the hierarchy of the State Democratic Party than she. If Mrs. Mink is vulnerable, it will probably be in the Democratic primary October 7 rather than the November election when she will be opposed by State Rep. **Diana Hansen**. The island's other congressman, **Spark Matsunaga** is likewise a strong favorite for re-election. He will be challenged by State Sen. **Fred W. Rohlfing**, 43, a progressive Republican.

STATE: Both houses are controlled by 2-1 Democratic majorities and are likely to remain that way in the November elections.

Idaho

PRESIDENTIAL: Although this conservative mountain state elected its first Democratic Governor in a quarter-century in 1970, Nixon should easily take this state's four electoral votes again, regardless of the Democratic opponent.

SENATORIAL: **Len B. Jordan** is one of the two Republican senators retiring this year; the August 8 primary contest to succeed him is hot on both sides. There are several announced GOP candidates, including the distinguished former Governor **Robert E. Smylie**, whose three-term reign earned him broad support; rightist former Congressman **George Hansen**; conservative Congressman **James A. McClure**, who is

inching left; and a young moderate, Dr. **Glen Wigner**, fresh from the White House staff. No front-runner has yet emerged in the wide open Democratic contest.

CONGRESSIONAL: The three GOP candidates for McClure's 1st C.D. seat are State Senate Majority Leader **Wayne Kidwell** (the most moderate), McClure's 1968 primary opponent, businessman **Robert Purcell** (evidently to Kidwell's right), and ultra-rightist farmer **Steven Symms**. No major issues have emerged; the outcome is too close to call. Two-term Republican **Orval Hansen** is safe in the 2nd District.

STATE: The predominately GOP state legislature should stay that way, although Democratic Governor **Cecil Andrus** is trying to convince the electorate that Republican intransigence is holding up his programs.

Illinois

PRESIDENTIAL: Illinois' 26 electoral votes are now slated to go to President Nixon. **John Kennedy** beat Nixon in the state in 1960 by an average of less than one vote per precinct, many of them packaged by Mayor **Richard Daley**. Although McGovern will not get much help from Daley this time, **William Singer**, the head of the official Cook County delegation, will give Chicago Democrats wider ties. The polls show the President well ahead as usual, in preparation for a November cliff-hanger.

SENATORIAL: **Charles Percy**, the progressive Republican senior Senator from Illinois, will be re-elected. His opponent, **Roman "Pooch" Pucinski**, is down almost two to one in the polls. Pucinski, a Congressman from a safe Chicago district, ran at the request of Mayor Daley when everyone else (including the Lieutenant Governor and both of **Adlai Stevenson's** campaign managers) wanted to run against Gov. **Richard Ogilvie** instead. "Pooch" is a reformed liberal who followed his white middle class district into a law and order stance. He can, and does, point to votes on both sides of the political spectrum. The name Pucinski is not a liability in Illinois where tickets commonly include **Rostenkowski**, **Derwinski**, **Kluczynski** and **Kucharski**. Pucinski's primary opponent was **Dakin Williams**, whose only apparent qualification, platform, and source of publicity was brother Tennessee. Senator Percy's campaign style has improved enormously in the eight years since he was defeated for Governor. He can present his position on the ABM or SST (he led the floor fight against it) to a group of businessmen and leave them cheering. He is running a hard, well-financed campaign. Pucinski will narrow the margin as he builds name recognition and as the voters as usual revert to

party voting patterns with the approach of election day. Nevertheless, Percy need make no plans to move his family from Washington.

GUBERNATORIAL: Gov. Ogilvie, on the other hand, is in deep trouble. He is an excellent Governor, combining a blend of pragmatism and idealism that makes him difficult to place on a liberal-conservative spectrum. He has brought to Springfield a new type of young, bright dedicated official and has introduced a broad series of reforms. But he also begat the state income tax. He does not control the evenly-divided, easily-corrupted State Legislature, and this has made it impossible to carry through important reforms in judge selection and personal property taxes or to fully implement the new state constitution.

There were two Democratic Primaries for Governor. The first was fought in the Sherman House, the sanctum of the Chicago Democratic Party. **Tom Foran**, prosecutor of the Chicago Seven, represented law, order and the prevalence of the Irish in Chicago politics. He splurged on billboards downtown so as to be visible to the Mayor. His opponent was **Paul Simon**, downstater, reformer and author of books on subjects like Catholic-Protestant marriages. Simon was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1968, running an amazing 350,000 votes ahead of the incumbent Democratic Governor. He had presided over the State Senate without any visible rift with Daley but also without, it was felt, any real tarnish in his reform image. Only Daley's vote counted in that one and Foran was the loser. The other primary was fought over 1,200 dusty downtown highways. **Dan Walker**, whose Walker Report called the 1968 Democratic Convention disturbance a "police riot," could not expect the vote at the Sherman House (he had been Adlai's campaign manager until the detente with Daley; then it was Foran and Walker in that order), so he went to the voters. Borrowing from Florida, he tramped the state. The newspapers and television stations, always short of local items, reported his approach, his arrival, and his departure. They covered not his politics but his geography. By the end of the summer everyone knew Walker and no one seemed to connect him with the report. Even so, smart money was on Simon, with the important newspaper endorsements, the Daley machine in Cook County, and downstate residence and exposure. Walker's campaign manager was criticized for dishonesty when he released polls just before the March primary showing his candidate in the lead, but the polls were right and Simon was the loser. Now no one doubts the polls, and they give Walker 67 percent to Ogilvie's 30

percent. Ogilvie is a fine Governor and has never lost an election, even in Cook County, and he has always started as an underdog. Walker is intellectually shallow and lacks relevant experience. But without a strong national swing to the GOP, Walker must be favored.

CONGRESSIONAL: Under the court-ordered reapportionment plan, Chicago lost two districts and the suburbs gained two. In one of the new suburban Chicago Districts, the 3rd C.D., **Robert F. Hanrahan** (R) 37, former Cook County School Superintendent, is running an antibusing campaign against Democrat **Daniel J. Coman**, a Daley supporter. Hanrahan is given the edge. In the 7th C.D. in Chicago from which Congressman Pucinski is currently the representative, Congressman **Frank Annunzio** (D), a reapportionment victim is in a tight battle with Chicago Alderman **John J. Hoellen**, who lost narrowly to Pucinski in 1966 and 1968. Democratic Congressman **Abner Mikva** relocated in the suburbs when his Chicago district was eliminated. A liberal, with a 100 percent COPE rating and three labor organizers in his campaign, Mikva is favored against **Samuel H. Young**, a conservative, though it is Young's territory. In the 21st C.D., from which Congressman **William L. Springer** is retiring, State Rep. **Edward R. Madigan** (R) and Champaign County District Attorney **Lawrence E. Johnson** are locked in a close race on account of new voters at the University of Illinois campus in Champaign-Urbana. Normally, it's a Republican district, so Madigan has the edge. Another possible change could come in the 22nd C.D. where Congressman **George E. Shipley** (D) has been redistricted into an even more Republican district and could be vulnerable to **Robert Lamkin** (R).

STATE: Due to vacancies, neither party has a majority in the legislature at present. The outcome of the legislative elections may very well depend on how well Gov. Ogilvie fares in his downstate re-election campaign.

Indiana

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon is the favorite and McGovern may be the "issue" in the contest for Indiana's 13 electoral votes. The Indiana Democratic primary was won by Humphrey and avoided by McGovern. **Will H. Hays Jr.**, former mayor of Crawfordsville, will be in charge of the President's re-election effort. Nixon ran well in the state in both 1960 and 1968.

GUBERNATORIAL: Dr. **Otis R. Bowen**, 54, the highly regarded speaker of the House of Representatives for four sessions, won the Republican nomination to succeed Gov. **Edgard D. Whitcomb**, who is ineligible

for another term. Bowen, who is known as a legislative authority and proponent of state tax reform, got the June convention nomination despite the support for Circuit Court Judge **William T. Sharp** from Whitcomb and National Committeeman **L. Keith Bulen**. The general election will be a tossup between Bowen and former Gov. **Matthew E. Welch**, (D), 59, who won election in 1960 while Nixon was carrying the state. Welch is given the edge by most media analysts but Republican politicians are hopeful of a Bowen win. The strong statewide GOP ticket is counterbalanced by an equally strong statewide Democratic ticket so ticket splitting will hurt the Republicans.

CONGRESSIONAL: Almost all of the incumbents on Indiana's five Democrat/six Republican congressional delegation are favored for re-election but there could be some close contests. Congressman **Earl F. Landgrebe** in the 2nd C.D. had a tough primary campaign against State Rep. **Richard A. Boehning** but should win re-election. In the 4th C.D. Congressman **J. Edward Roush** is favored for a second term. The chances of **Allan Bloom**, the conservative Republican challenger to Roush, probably depend on Republican unity in the district. Bloom defeated former Indiana Secretary of State **William N. Salin** in the May 2 primary. Congressman **Andrew Jacobs** (D) in the 11th C.D. could be troubled by redistricting which has added more Republican strongholds to his district. The Republican candidate, the **Rev. William Hudnut**, will need to reunite the Party after his recount victory over former State Sen. **Daniel L. Burton**, a conservative.

STATE: Republicans now have control over both houses and have fielded a good crop of legislative candidates. There will be a large turnover in incumbents in both parties, however, due to retirements and other changes, so the Republican chances of maintaining control are problematical.

Iowa

PRESIDENTIAL: High food prices may hurt Nixon elsewhere in the country, but Iowa is farm country and Iowans seem to have decided that Secretary of Agriculture **Earl Butz** isn't so bad after all. Nixon should pick up Iowa's eight electoral votes unless farm prices collapse or he runs a "Southern Strategy" campaign.

SENATORIAL: Well-financed and well-organized, Senator **Jack Miller** is headed for his third term in the Senate. Miller will be opposed by **Richard C. Clark**, a former aide to Congressman **John C. Culver** (D). Both Culver and controversial FCC member **Nicholas Johnson** decided against

challenging Miller. So long as everything's OK down on the farm, Miller will be the heavy favorite.

GUBERNATORIAL: Two-term incumbent Gov. **Robert D. Ray** (R) avoided a primary against Lt. Gov. **Roger Jepsen** (R) when Jepsen withdrew from the race in May. Their cooperation in the legislature despite their bitter personal feelings should aid Ray's fall campaign. Ray is the favorite to defend his post against the winner of a Democratic primary between former State Treasurer **Paul Franzenburg** and State Sen. **John Tapscott**, a relatively unknown liberal. A close race is anticipated between Ray and Franzenburg with the edge to the incumbent. The outcome is important because it will have a strong bearing on the fate of Nixon, Miller, and GOP legislative aspirants.

CONGRESSIONAL: The most interesting race will be in the new fourth C.D. where both conservative Republican Congressman **John Kyl** and liberal Democratic **Neal Smith** have been redistricted into the same district. Because of the Democratic leanings of Des Moines, Smith is favored. The contest was caused by the reduction of Iowa's delegation from seven to six members. Congressman **Fred Schwengel**, Iowa's most progressive Republican representative, will be in for a stiff fight in the 1st C.D. Two Democrats are contesting for the fight to run against Schwengel. One of them, a college professor who beat Schwengel in 1964, is trying for a rematch, as is **Edward Mezvinsky** who lost narrowly to Schwengel in 1970. Because of the addition of several thousand State University of Iowa students to the district, Schwengel will probably be the underdog. The other three Republicans and Culver should win re-election.

STATE: State Sen. **Arthur Neu** is running against House Speaker **William Harbor** for the Republican nomination for Lieutenant Governor. Harbor, a conservative, leads, but Neu, a moderate, is gaining. Republicans are favored for most lesser state offices and the heavily Republican legislature will remain that way as long as the men at the top run well.

Kansas

PRESIDENTIAL: Four years ago, Nixon captured the votes of 55 percent of Kansas citizens. Wichita banker, **Robert Gadberry** will head the President's re-election effort, which is expected to win this normally Republican state's seven electoral votes.

SENATORIAL: Moderate Republican **James B. Pearson**, seeking a third term in the Senate, will defeat his young unknown GOP opponent, **Harlan D. House**, and win in November. As of this writing, Pearson

does not have a Democratic opponent. It had been widely assumed that Governor **Robert Docking** would try for Pearson's seat, but he has decided to play it safe and go for an unprecedented fourth term. State Attorney General **Vern Miller** also has decided to run for re-election, rather than challenge Pearson. There are rumors that **John Schnittker**, a former Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture will step in to the race.

GUBERNATORIAL: The Democratic Party, with **Robert Docking** as the nominee, seems likely to retain possession of the State House. The probable Republican candidates include Lt. Governor **Reynolds Schultz** a relatively conservative and unexciting candidate, and former Governor **John Anderson, Jr.** (1962-4) who, although he has had an eight-year "layoff," still has some enemies in the state. Anderson is given a very slight edge in the Republican August 1 primary, and he would be the toughest candidate for Docking.

CONGRESSIONAL: The only Democrat in the five-man Kansas congressional delegation, **William H. Roy**, is likely to be returned to the House, after deciding not to oppose Senator Pearson. He will probably run against Republican National Committee Chairman, Senator **Bob Dole** in 1974. The four incumbent Republicans are considered to be safe.

STATE: Both the State Senate and House of Representatives are heavily Republican and will remain so.

Kentucky

PRESIDENTIAL: Kentucky Republicans are understandably ecstatic about the nomination of Sen. McGovern as the Democratic presidential nominee. Nixon was favored to win the state's electoral votes, anyway, but a McGovern candidacy would insure a GOP victory. Although the leadership of the Nixon state campaign is undetermined, the President's election efforts will probably be directed from inside the camp of Republican Senate aspirant **Louis Nunn**, a former Governor. The GOP presidential campaign headquarters will be in Lexington rather than Louisville — in the same building as the Nunn campaign headquarters.

SENATORIAL: With the aid of a strong primary showing by Nunn and an ineffective campaign thus far by his Democratic rival, State Sen. Majority leader **Walter "Dee" Huddleston**, the former Republican governor has become the campaign favorite to succeed retiring Republican **John Sherman Cooper**. Both Nunn and Huddleston defeated five-man primary fields with two thirds of their Party's vote but Huddleston's association with Governor **Wendell H. Ford** is beginning to be a

liability. Nunn and Huddleston both have extensive experience as campaign managers for others, but while Nunn is a conservative, Huddleston is a strong dove. Nunn will have to generate his own personal organization because Kentucky Republicans are low on both organization and registered party members.

CONGRESSIONAL: Most members of Kentucky's seven man Congressional delegation are favored to gain easy re-election. The 5 to 2 split in favor of the Democrats should be continued. However, in the 3rd C.D., Congressman **Roman L. Mazzoli**, 39, may be vulnerable if McGovern fares disastrously in the Louisville area. Mazzoli will be opposed by **Phil Kaelin Jr.**, 34, who crushed a black Louisville attorney, **James Crumlin**, in the May primary. In the 6th C.D. where the Democratic incumbent is not seeking re-election, the Democrats are favored to send respected Lexington lawyer, **John Breckinridge**, to Congress. Breckinridge, whose famous Southern heritage is no handicap, will run against **Laban Jackson**, a conservative former Democrat.

Louisiana

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon ran second to Wallace in 1968 and got less than 24 percent of Louisiana's vote. Although Louisiana's delegation to the Democratic National Convention is heavily pro-McGovern, the state is expected to be another 10-vote, "Southern Strategy" victory for the President in a McGovern-Nixon contest.

SENATORIAL: Republicans didn't even bother putting up candidates to run for the Senate in 1966 or 1968. Republican National Committeeman **Tom Stagg** will be running in 1972, but it won't make much difference. The real contest is in the August 19 Democratic primary where octogenarian Sen. **Allen J. Ellender** may well be dumped by State Sen. **J. Bennett Johnston** of Shreveport. Johnston lost the 1971 Democratic gubernatorial nomination by less than one percent of the vote and is considered a "New South" moderate. The race is now a tossup.

CONGRESSIONAL: Not all of the state's eight Democratic congressmen are running for re-election, but that doesn't mean any Republicans have a chance in Louisiana.

Maine

PRESIDENTIAL: Humphrey got a convincing 55 percent of the vote in 1968 in Maine, but Muskie was his running mate. With Nixon facing a George McGovern candidacy this year, he is the clear favorite to pick up Maine's four electoral votes. Portland businessman **Ned Hardy** will be directing the Nixon campaign. The Pres-

ident could be hurt by Maine's high unemployment rate but Down East is basically conservative and McGovern's liberalism will probably be a bit much.

SENATORIAL: In an age of high-priced campaigns, Sen. **Margaret Chase Smith** spent \$8,000 to defeat the ambitious former Boston attorney, **Robert Monks**, who spent at least \$250,000. Mrs. Smith was widely advertised in the press to be in deep political trouble — and in danger of falling to either **Monks** or Congressman **William D. Hathaway** in November. She handed **Monks** a convincing defeat by a 2 to 1 margin, thanks partly to the strong turnout by Maine's senior citizens for the 74-year-old incumbent. **Hathaway** will be a strong candidate and Mrs. Smith may be hurt by her age and the stagnated condition of the state's economy, but she will be the November favorite. Although famed for her independence, she has emphasized her close relationship with Nixon. The voters recently abolished the "Big Box," a straight-party ballot mechanism which the Republicans opposed and which had worked to Democratic advantage. With the expected strong Nixon-Smith showing, the reform may have come a year too soon for the Republicans.

CONGRESSIONAL: In the 1st C.D., department store executive **Robert Porteous** will contest the election of Congressman **Peter N. P. Kyros** (D). **Kyros** is seeking his fourth term and will be favored over the conservative **Porteous**, who is a former state legislator, but the incumbent has been hurt by the revelation that he was involved in a hit-and-run accident in Washington. A strong Nixon win could elect **Porteous**. In the 2nd C.D., progressive Bangor Mayor **William Cohen**, 31, defeated his conservative Republican opponent, **Abbot O. Greene**, and will meet State Sen. **Elmer Violette** (D) in November. **Cohen** began his primary campaign with low voter recognition but is now given a good chance of beating **Violette**, whose name recognition stems from his 1966 campaign against Mrs. Smith.

STATE: Both houses of the state legislature are Republican-controlled and both are up for election. Republican control may be threatened in the Senate where the Republicans were hurt by redistricting, but the GOP should retain command of the House. In the June primary, two moderate Republican candidates ousted conservative Republican incumbents. **Harrison L. Richardson**, a former majority leader in the House who opposed Nixon in 1968, ousted State Sen. **Robert Moore**, a Sacco conservative. In the Winthrop area, young Atty. **Jerrold Speers** unseated State Sen. **George Chick**. The moderate **Speers** combined an aggressive,

door-to-door campaign with an extensive organization of young volunteers to win a narrow victory. Moderate Republicans lost a third seat, however, when GOP National Committeeman **Cyril Joly** ousted State Sen. **Harvey Johnson** in a newly-redistricted area. State chairman for Goldwater in 1964 and former Chairman of the State GOP, **Joly**, has said that if you're liberal, you might as well be a Democrat.

Maryland

PRESIDENTIAL: Maryland's ten electoral votes are now favored to go to Nixon. He lost the state narrowly to **Humphrey** in 1968 (42 to 44 percent), but in the May presidential primary, **McGovern** garnered only 22 percent of the vote and did well only in Montgomery County, while **Wallace** carried the state. So barring a dramatic change in the war, Nixon should do well. He's on the right side of the busing controversy for most Maryland voters.

CONGRESSIONAL: The outcomes of two congressional races in Maryland may be determined by how well the President runs in the state. If Nixon runs well, the 5-3 lineup in Congress in favor of the Democrats may be reversed. The key districts are in the new 4th C.D. where **Anne Arundel County Clerk, Marjorie S. Hilt**, an anti-busing moderate, is running against Democrat **Werner H. Fornos**. **Fornos** is favored for the seat. The Chairman of the House Merchant Marine Committee, **Edward A. Garmatz**, (D) who was redistricted into the 3rd C.D. lost a primary battle to Congressman **Paul Sarbanes** (D), who two years earlier had defeated **George Fallon**, Chairman of the House Public Works Committee. In the 6th C.D. Congressman **Goodloe E. Byron** (D) will have stiff opposition from State Senator **Edward J. Mason**, a Republican moderate. **Byron's** predecessors include not only his mother and father, but also Maryland Republican Senators **Charles Mathias** and **J. Glenn Beall, Jr.**

Massachusetts

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon won only one-third of the vote in 1968, and although he will undoubtedly do better this year, he won't make the 50 percent mark. Indicative of the importance the Committee to Re-elect the President is giving Massachusetts is the fact that the Nixon state campaign chairman has yet to be selected.

SENATORIAL: In June, the Democratic state convention endorsed Middlesex County District Attorney **John J. Droney** to oppose incumbent Republican **Edward W. Brooke**. However, **Droney** will face opposition in the Democratic primary in September from Boston City Councillor

Gerald F. O'Leary. The reluctance of all leading Democrats to oppose Brooke affirms his current image of invincibility.

CONGRESSIONAL: Two Republican Congressmen, F. Bradford Morse, who has been appointed Under-Secretary of the United Nations, and Hastings Keith will not be on the ballot in November, and the GOP may lose both seats. Gerry E. Studds won 49 percent of the vote against Keith in 1970 and will probably defeat former Republican State Sen. William D. Weeks.

Seeking Brad Morse's seat is a clutch of candidates, with anti-war veteran John F. Kerry leading the charge — moving into the district the day after Morse's appointment and announcing his candidacy a week later. The McGovern machine may get him the nomination, particularly if the two State Representatives from Lowell, John J. Desmond, Chairman of the House Social Welfare committee and Paul J. Sheehy who is on the Ways and Means Committee, remain in the race. Paul W. Cronin, who has served both as a congressional assistant to Morse and as a State Representative, will be the Republican nominee, but will have a tough race. Another up-hill battle faces State Representative Martin A. Linsky, Assistant Republican Leader in the House, who is challenging Congressman Robert Drinan.

STATE: The campaign to elect Republicans to the legislature, called SAVE for Sustain A (gubernatorial) Veto, may be unable to capture the goal of one-third of the seats in the House of Representatives, unless Governor Francis W. Sargent changes his attitude about the Party and decides to campaign for Republican candidates in the fall, as he has belatedly indicated he will do.

Michigan

PRESIDENTIAL: The most heavily organized labor state, where Republican presidential candidates have rarely run well, Michigan seems little different for Nixon, though a strong race by Sen. Robert Griffin, plus the work of an able, but under-financed Republican organization will give him some chance. Jack Gibbs, a longtime party activist, is managing the Nixon campaign.

SENATORIAL: Senate GOP Whip Griffin, in his first re-election bid, has improved his position from last fall by becoming a strong, vocal anti-busing advocate. He would now have to be considered the slight favorite against colorless Democratic Attorney General Frank Kelley. Though Michigan voters frequently split their tickets, a poor Nixon showing could hurt Griffin.

CONGRESSIONAL: A recent court-ordered re-districting plan has caused chaos among Republicans. Incumbents Jack McDonald and William Broomfield are in the same

district, with McDonald the stronger candidate in the primary. Marvin Esch's district is marginal. Guy Vander Jagt, Edward Hutchinson and Elford Cederberg had to move their residences, and Hutchinson may have a primary fight. The only bright spot: Democrat James O'Hara has a more suburban district and may have a stiff GOP challenge from young state legislator David Sarotkin.

STATE: Democrats narrowly control the House; the Senate is split 19-19. Reapportionment helped the Democrats, but they will be challenging strong incumbent Republicans in some districts. Outlook is for little change in the House, but with possible Democratic control of the Senate, making life even more difficult for GOP Gov. William Milliken.

Minnesota

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon lost Humphrey's home state in 1968 and received only 42 percent of the vote. In 1972, a McGovern-Nixon race for Minnesota's 10 electoral votes will be a tossup. McGovern has a good statewide organization but the zeal of his delegates in pushing through a liberal platform at the State Democratic Convention upset many Democrats and may hurt their presidential candidate in November. (The Republican State Convention, apparently reacting to the earlier Democratic fight, rejected a number of liberal planks to their own proposed platform.) One key element in a McGovern-Nixon contest would be the support given McGovern by Senator Humphrey. The President's campaign will be run by former GOP National Committeewoman Rhoda Lund and John Mooty, former state party vice-chairman.

SENATORIAL: The Rev. Phil Hansen has the unenviable Republican task of opposing the state's senior Sen. Walter Mondale. Hansen will be a long shot. Hansen is cast as a Nixon supporter in his aggressive campaign and has a good young campaign staff. He may have difficulty raising campaign funds, however, Republicans in Minnesota fared badly in statewide elections in 1968 and 1970.

CONGRESSIONAL: The Minnesota congressional delegation is currently split 4 to 4 between the two parties, and one seat for each party is considered pivotal this year. In the 7th C.D., State Rep. Jon Haaven (R) is running against freshman Congressman Bob Bergland (D). Bergland is given the edge but Haaven is young, knowledgeable and articulate and may pull an upset. In the 6th C.D., Congressman John Zwach (R) is favored to win re-election over his 28-year-old challenger, State Rep. Rick Nolan. All other incumbents are favored.

STATE: The key races for the Minnesota Republican

Party are in the legislature this year. The legislature is nonpartisan but its conservative and liberal caucuses correspond closely to the Republican and Democratic parties. Redistricting has given the Democrats a strong advantage although the conservatives now control both houses. Both houses could be controlled by the liberal caucuses after the November election.

Mississippi

PRESIDENTIAL: If there ever was such a place as "Wallace Country," this is it (64 percent in 1968). If the Alabama Governor's injuries keep him from campaigning, the Southern Strategy may well pay off with this state's 7 electoral votes.

SENATORIAL: The 67-year old Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, **James O. Eastland**, routed two rivals for the Democratic nomination, piling up almost 70 percent of the vote in the June 6 primary, and is expected to have little trouble with his GOP opponent, **Gilbert Carmichael**, who beat black civil rights activist **James H. Meredith** for the nomination.

CONGRESSIONAL: Three of the five Democratic incumbents from Mississippi are retiring. Nine Democrats sought the seat of retiring Congressman **Thomas G. Abernathy** in the 2nd C.D. In the June 27, runoff, **David R. Bowen**, 39, the former coordinator for federal-state relations, defeated **Tom Cook**, the former superintendent of the state penitentiary, for the Democratic nomination to run against Republican **Carl Butler**, a progressive college professor. In the 4th C.D., State Sen. **Ellis B. Bodron**, who is blind, edged out State Rep. **Walter Brown** in runoff for the Democratic nomination. **Thad Cochran**, 34, a Jackson attorney, is the Republican candidate. In the 5th C.D., the seat of retiring House Rules Committee Chairman **William M. Colmer** is being sought by Colmer's administrative assistant, **Trent Lott**, who became a Republican for the race. The Democratic nominee was determined in another runoff, as State Sen. **Ben Stone** defeated Chancery Court Judge **Howard L. Patterson**. Democrats are still favored for congressional elections in Mississippi.

Missouri

PRESIDENTIAL: Missouri's twelve electoral votes will probably go to Nixon in a Nixon-McGovern contest. The Republican Party in the state is in much better shape than in previous years and Nixon will be helped by the presence of a strong GOP ticket for state offices.

GUBERNATORIAL: State Auditor **Christopher "Kit" Bond**, 34, is favored to win the Republican nomination in the August 8 pri-

mary over St. Louis Prosecuting Atty. **Gene McNary**. The Democratic field to succeed Gov. **Warren E. Hearnes** includes Lt. Gov. **William Morris**, Hearnes' hand-picked successor; St. Louis Atty. **Edward Dow**, who lost the nomination for Lieutenant Governor to **Morris** four years ago; "Walking" **Joe Teasdale**, the prosecuting attorney from Kansas City who would like to imitate **Dan Walker's** walkathon victory in neighboring Illinois; and **Earl Blackwell**, the leader of the anti-Hearnes conservative Democrats. The Democratic disarray should make **Bond's** chances of beating **Morris**, the Democratic favorite, good in November.

CONGRESSIONAL: The congressional delegation of nine Democrats and one Republican is likely to remain that way. Bircher Rep. **Durward Hall** (R) will probably be replaced by GOP National Committeeman **Gene Taylor**. In the 6th C.D., where incumbent **W.R. Hull, Jr.** (D) is also retiring, the seat is likely to continue to be occupied by a Democrat.

STATE: Republican chances of winning the Lieutenant Governorship with **Joseph Badaracco**, president of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, are good if **Bond** makes a strong showing. Attorney General **Jack Danforth**, another popular Republican, is also favored, but Republicans are particularly anxious to win the key post of State Treasurer. Republican popularity at the top of the ticket will not be enough to carry a Republican legislature, however, and the legislature will likely retain its heavy Democratic majorities.

Montana

PRESIDENTIAL: Although there is no active campaign in this state yet, President Nixon seems certain to repeat his '68 victory and pick up 4 electoral votes.

SENATORIAL: Democratic Senator **Lee Metcalf** easily won his primary and is likely to win his third Senate term over State Senator **Henry S. Hibbard**, who defeated three others to win the Republican nomination.

GUBERNATORIAL: One-term Democratic Governor **Forest H. Anderson** has declined to run for re-election for health reasons, but as of now it appears that a Democrat will still occupy the Executive Mansion next year. The Democratic nomination went to the current Lieutenant Governor, **Thomas L. Judge**, who defeated State Senate Majority Leader **Richard Dzivi** in the June 6th primary. Three term State Representative and rancher, **Ed Smith**, was elected the Republican nominee for Governor, defeating the state's Fish and Game Director, **Frank Dunkle**.

CONGRESSIONAL: Freshman GOP Congressman **Richard C. Shoup** is in trouble. The man he defeated last time for the 1st C.D.

seat, five-term incumbent **Arnold Olsen**, is on the verge of making a successful comeback, having himself defeated ex-State Public Instruction Superintendent **Harriet Miller** in the Democratic Congressional primary.

STATE: The Senate is Democratic; the House is narrowly controlled by the Republicans; at this point it does not appear that the November election will shift control in either chamber.

Nebraska

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon, the Nebraska winner in both 1968 and 1960, should again be the easy winner of 5 electoral votes, but McGovern's state organization is strong and he defeated Humphrey in the Democratic primary. The Nixon campaign will be headed by **George Cook**, a Lincoln banker, but will include representatives from each of the major factions of the state Republican Party.

SENATORIAL: Sen. **Carl T. Curtis**, 66, will prevail against State Sen. **Terry M. Carpenter**, 72, but he should have a stiff fight in the process. Carpenter has been in and out of the office and in and out of the Democratic Party for 40 years. The maverick Democrat was once a Republican and has the distinction of being kicked out of the 1956 Republican National Convention for nominating a phony candidate for vice president. The eccentric, but dovish, Carpenter defeated an avowed liberal, University of Nebraska economist **Wallace C. Peterson** in the primary.

CONGRESSIONAL: All three Republican incumbents are favored. Freshman Congressman **Charles Thone** squeaked out a victory in 1970, but soundly defeated **Kathy Braeman**, 31, a women's rights activist, and **Lester Lamm**, 43, a Lutheran minister in the primary. Thone will face another minister, Methodist Democrat **Darrel E. Berg**, in the general election.

STATE: Half of Nebraska's nonpartisan, unicameral legislature is up for election this year, but the lobbyists, who are more powerful, aren't up and they're mostly Republican.

Nevada

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon got 48 percent of Nevada's presidential vote in 1968 and is again the favorite to pick up Nevada's three electoral votes. McGovern has not yet fielded a strong organization in the state. One of the key issues this fall could be the federal crime strike force which Las Vegas gambling industry sees as a threat. Busing has also arrived in Nevada where Clark County schools in southern Nevada have received a court busing order.

CONGRESSIONAL: Congressman **Walter Baring** (D) has not yet announced for re-election.

When he does, he will face September 5 primary opposition from **James H. Bilbray** a Las Vegas attorney and University of Nevada regent. The conservative Baring usually has more trouble with primaries than he does with the general election. Baring has been marked for destruction by environmentalists as one of Congress's "Dirty Dozen," but, unfortunately, he's a hardy politician.

STATE: The lower house of the Nevada legislature is now controlled by Republicans and the upper house is now controlled by Democrats. It's too early to predict the new legislature's composition.

New Hampshire

PRESIDENTIAL: Although Nixon is expected to prevail easily in N.H., all political races this year will test the impact of major demographic changes occurring in the state since 1968. The population has increased by 50,000, mostly in the south central area oriented toward Massachusetts jobs, markets and media, and mostly beyond the reach of the addlepatented right-wing **Manchester Union Leader**, New Hampshire's only statewide paper and one of the state's major political forces.

SENATORIAL: Although Senator **Thomas McIntyre** is expected to defeat any GOP opponent, a lively race has erupted for the Republican nomination. Most attractive is **Marshall Cobleigh**, the volatile, fun-loving and effective speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives. Described by the **Union Leader** as "the Little Dictator," "Mighty Marshall," and "Der Speaker," Cobleigh carried the ball on the Governor's controversial tax reform measure last session. New Hampshire is currently the nation's only state without either an income or a sales tax and the **Union Leader**, together with most voters, would like to keep it that way. His two opponents, both close to the **Union Leader**, are **David Brock**, a former U.S. Attorney, and former Governor **Wesley Powell**, currently the evident favorite of both the newspaper and a possible plurality of the voters in a three-way race. If Powell is nominated many Republican officials across the state, conservative and moderate alike, will root for McIntyre. An unknown quantity in the race is **Peter Boras**, a well-to-do greeting card manufacturer, who headed the spectacularly successful Agnew write-in in the March primary.

GUBERNATORIAL: Governor **Walter Peterson** (R) over **Roger Crowley** (D) by a narrow margin is the most likely outcome. Reflecting the general pattern of two party politics in the state, the Republican is a moderate while Crowley is a right wing Democrat with the support of the **Union**

Leader. Peterson is expected to defeat the **Union Leader** challenge in the GOP from one-time Wallacite **Meldrim Thompson**, who lost narrowly to Peterson in 1970 and then ran on the American Independence Party ticket. The other possible Peterson opponent is **Robert C. Hill**, recently resigned as U.S. Ambassador to Spain, who has received so little support that he is currently prospecting for a job on the Committee to Re-elect the President. He also may enter the Senate race.

STATE: The State Legislature, which is about two thirds GOP in each House, will remain overwhelmingly Republican, although the Democrats may make some gains in the Southern part of the state. A major effort is under way to recruit younger candidates this year in the belief that the nation-leading average age of the current legislators has not led to great displays of legislative wisdom and sagacity. Among the most upwardly mobile incumbent Republicans are Representative **Kim Zachos**, one of the first White House Fellows and chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Senator **David Nixon**, one of the state's most respected young political leaders, and Senator **C. Robertson Trowbridge**, Chairman of the Public Works Committee and Editor of the old **Farmers Almanac**.

New Jersey

PRESIDENTIAL: The President won here in 1968 and will probably do so again, although it may be a close contest for the state's 17 electoral votes. **George Wallace's** American Independent Party will apparently be on the ballot again and an Eagleton Institute of Politics poll showed Nixon winning a three-way race. Governor **William Cahill** has been named head of the Nixon re-election effort but Cahill's unpopular state income tax could hurt the whole Republican ticket.

SENATORIAL: If there are any coattails in the 1972 election in the Garden State, **Clifford P. Case**, the liberal Republican incumbent in the Senate is likely to provide them to both Nixon and the rest of the ticket. He easily outdistanced his conservative opponent in the June 6 primary and will face former Congressman **Paul Krebs** (D) in the fall. Krebs defeated the '68 McCarthy state campaign director, **Daniel M. Gaby**, for the nomination by picking up strong labor support and the backing of the Democratic machines in Essex and Hudson counties. Labor, however, may be neutral in the fall.

CONGRESSIONAL: Congressional districts in the state were significantly altered by a court-ordered plan when the state legislature could not come up with an acceptable alternative. Several changes in the dele-

gation may occur as a result. State Sen. **Matthew Rinaldo**, the conservative campaign manager for **Nelson Gross's** inept Republican Senate campaign two years ago, will run against Democrat **Jerry English** in the 12th C.D. The edge for that seat, from which veteran Congresswoman **Florence P. Dwyer** (R) is retiring, goes to Rinaldo, although Mrs. Dwyer is reported unhappy over her Republican successor. In the new 13th C.D. in Morris County, State Sen. **Joseph Maraziti**, a conservative, defeated two moderate opponents in the primary and is expected to win in the general election. One congressman will not return. Congressman **Peter Cornelius Gallagher**, now under federal indictment for what he says is an FBI frameup, was trounced in the 14th C.D. Democratic primary by fellow Congressman **Dominick Daniels**. Former State Sen. **Milton A. Waldor**, 46, a progressive Republican, has a good chance to beat Congressman **Joseph G. Minish** in the 11th C.D. Redistricting has hurt Minish, who might be further hurt by a strong Nixon-Case showing. Other incumbents are expected to be returned. The recent indictment of State Secretary of State **Paul J. Sherwin**, a top aide to Governor **William T. Cahill** (R), on political kickback charges could have a serious effect on the election futures of many Republicans this year. New Jersey has had more than its share recently of indictments of high elected officials.

New Mexico

PRESIDENTIAL: The "Land of Enchantment" has always voted for a winning Republican Presidential candidate. Since Nixon should carry this state as handily as in 1968, the omen at least is good for his re-election. The early, well-financed, well-organized Nixon effort to take the state's four electoral votes is not duplicated in many other states.

SENATORIAL: The State's 76-year-old Democratic Senator, **Clinton P. Anderson**, is not seeking re-election. As a result of the June 6 primary former State Representative **Jack Daniels**, 48, will be the Democrat opposing **Pete V. Domenici**, an Albuquerque lawyer who captured the Republican nomination. Daniels spent the relatively huge sum of \$100,000 to defeat a field of 25 candidates, including the state's Attorney General, Treasurer, and a former Congressman. Domenici, who ran for Governor in 1970, defeated former two-term Governor **David Cargo**, who in turn was trying to make his second race for the Senate. It will be a close race.

CONGRESSIONAL: Incumbent Republican **Manuel Lujan, Jr.** of the 1st C.D. was renominated and will face a Santa Fe business-

man, Eugene Gallegos, in November. Lujan should win, but he has an aggressive opponent. In the Second District, freshman Harold Runnels was unopposed for the Democratic nomination, but will face a stiff challenge from a 29-year-old former aide to Congressman Lujan, Edward Presson.

STATE: Democrats control the legislature 2 to 1 but there are chances for Republican improvement in both houses.

New York

PRESIDENTIAL: At the moment, President Nixon has a good chance to pick up New York's 41 electoral votes. His campaign will be nominally led by Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Senators Jacob Javits and James Buckley. The real operations will be headed by R. Burdell Bixby, chairman of the New York State Thruway Authority. Bixby was Rockefeller's campaign chairman in the last gubernatorial election and the Nixon re-election effort will be largely led by the reactivated Rockefeller campaign team. Nixon efforts in New York City will be led by Fiorvante G. Perrotta, the Republican candidate for New York City comptroller in 1969 and Rockefeller campaign manager in the city in 1970. The Nixon campaign has not yet been activated, to the consternation of some Republicans. McGovern's own organization carried the New York State primary for him and McGovern has received a good deal of regular organizational support in the state as well. Nixon lost the state in 1968 by 370,000 votes. Democrats outnumbered Republicans and young Democratic voter registration is far outrunning the Republicans. Nevertheless, the Republican chances cannot be discounted.

CONGRESSIONAL: The New York State congressional delegation now has a solid Democratic majority, 25-16, but the New York State Legislature, which did the redistricting, is Republican-controlled. The new districts have helped to wreak havoc among Democratic incumbents. The defeat of Congresswoman Bella Abzug by Congressman William F. Ryan, in the 20th C.D. and the defeat of Congressman James H. Scheuer by Congressman Jonathan B. Bingham in the 22nd C.D. have been widely reported. Other races have more significance to Republicans. In the 1st C.D. Congressman Otis G. Pike (D) who won election by a narrow margin in 1970, is being challenged by Joseph H. Boyd Jr., a 34-year-old key aide to Governor Nelson Rockefeller. In the 3rd C.D. Carter F. Bales, (D), a New York City business consultant and an ex-Republican, will run against Angelo D. Roncallo (R), the Nassau County Con-

troller. Roncallo is expected to win easily. In Brooklyn, former Long Island Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein, who is national Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action and will remain on the ballot as a Liberal, lost his bid for a comeback against Congressman John J. Rooney (D), 84, the nemesis of the State Department on the House Appropriations Committee. Emanuel Celler, the venerable Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, however, was less fortunate, losing to the spirited campaign of Barbara Holtzman, a graduate of Radcliffe and Harvard Law School. Congressman Peter A. Peyser (R) in the 23rd C.D. is being contested by former Congressman Richard L. Ottinger (D) who was Senator Charles Goodell's Democratic opponent in 1970 and who will be running as a law and order candidate. In the 24th C.D., Congressman Ogden R. Reid (D), formerly of the GOP, will be making his first race as a Democrat against Carl A. Vergari, the Republican Westchester County district attorney. Gov. Rockefeller took the unusual step of hosting a fundraising affair at Rockefeller's Pocantico Hills estate. Lots of money will be spent in this race. It will be close. In the 31st C.D. State Assemblyman Donald J. Mitchell (R) is favored to beat businessman Robert Castle (D) for the seat being vacated by retiring Congressman Alexander Pirnie (R). In the 33rd C.D. former Syracuse Mayor William F. Walsh (R), 59, is favored to beat Clarence Kadys (D), a hardware store owner. Former Congressman Richard McCarthy (D) is trying for a comeback in the 36th C.D. against Congressman Henry P. Smith III (R). Three Democratic incumbents could be endangered by redistricting. Congressman Lester L. Wolff (D) faces a challenge from State Assemblyman John T. Gallagher, 42, a conservative Republican. Congressman Seymour Halpern, the New York City's only Republican congressman chose not to run for reelection in this district and will be succeeded by a Democrat. Congressman James M. Hanley (D) in Syracuse will be opposed by Attorney Leonard C. Koldin (R) in the 32nd C.D. And in the 26th C.D., Congressman John G. Dow, 67, will run against State Assemblyman Benjamin A. Gilman (R), 49, a liberal Republican who defeated a conservative for the GOP nomination.

STATE: The State Senate is now solidly Republican and three additional seats added in reapportionment should increase the Republican majority. State Senate Majority Leader Earl Brydges is retiring and his likely successor is State Senator Warren Anderson. In the State Assembly, a shift of five votes would change a Republican

majority into a Democratic majority, but barring a large Nixon defeat, the Assembly is expected to remain Republican. (See May 15 FORUM newsletter for summary of key Republican races.)

North Carolina

PRESIDENTIAL: Humphrey came in a poor third to Nixon and Wallace here in 1968, and Wallace made a clear sweep of the recent Democratic primary. With the busing issue still quite hot, Nixon will win the state's 13 electoral votes in November.

SENATORIAL: Age and "new politics" were the key issues which led to the upsetting of 75-year-old incumbent **B. Everett Jordan** in the June 3rd Democratic runoff. Given little chance at first, challenger **Nick Galifianakis**, 43, swept to a 70,000 vote margin over the two-term Senator with the enthusiastic support of young volunteers and voters in the state's populous Piedmont region. Congressman Galifianakis is in a tight race against ultra-conservative Republican television broadcaster **Jesse Helms** in this traditionally Democratic state. But recent GOP activities have been cutting into the 3 to 1 Democratic enrollment ratio, and strong campaigns by Nixon and Helms could swing this state into the Republican camp for the first time in decades.

GUBERNATORIAL: State Representative **James Holshouser** was an unexpected victor over former U.S. Representative and 1968 gubernatorial candidate **James C. Gardner** in the GOP primary. On the Democratic side, former State Senator **Hargrove "Skipper" Bowles'** expensive campaign paid off, as he easily defeated Lt. Gov. **Hoyt Patrick Taylor, Jr.** The incumbent Democrat, **Robert W. Scott**, is ineligible for a second term. As with the senatorial race, there is a possibility for a GOP takeover if the national campaign does well.

CONGRESSIONAL: Most of the Congressional seats are held by Democrats and are rated as "safe." In the seat being vacated by Galifianakis, the 4th C.D., the Democratic nomination has gone to State Representative **Ike Andrews**. In the 7th C.D., a conservative is likely to be replaced by a moderate, as Representative **Alton Lennon**, 65, has retired, and will be replaced by Democratic nominee **Charles Rose III**, a Fayetteville attorney.

STATE: The Democrats dominate the legislature.

North Dakota

PRESIDENTIAL: **Harry Dent**, Nixon political strategist, reported recently that, "the news is good (about the farm vote) even from North Dakota, and that's always the worst state." Even Secretary of Agriculture **Earl Butz** seems to be currently

popular. The prospects of Nixon winning the three North Dakota electoral votes are excellent. The chairman of the president's campaign is **John Rouzie**, a Bowman banker.

GUBERNATORIAL: Governor **William L. Guy** (D), a 12-year veteran, is retiring. The Democratic candidate for the position is Congressman **Arthur Link**, who chose not to run for Congress when North Dakota lost one of its two Congressional seats. Lt. Gov. **Richard Larsen** won a surprisingly easy second-ballot nomination for the gubernatorial spot at the Republican State Convention July 6, but **Robert P. McCarney**, 60, a Bismarck car dealer who often runs for state office, has threatened to enter a September 5 primary without seeking a convention endorsement. The general election contest promises to be hard-fought.

CONGRESSIONAL: Popular Republican Congressman **Mark Andrews** is favored for North Dakota's lone at-large seat.

STATE: Both houses of the legislature will stay Republican-controlled.

Ohio

PRESIDENTIAL: As in a few other key states, the Nixon organization has been slow to get off the ground because of indecision by national Nixon headquarters over the choice of a chairman. In this case one problem is party infighting, broadly defined as being between the Taft and Rhodes forces. Ohio is a key state for Nixon; the late start may jeopardize his chances of winning Ohio's 25 electoral votes despite the general well-organized state party operation. The recently-named Nixon chairman, **Chuck Ross** of Dayton, will pull it together if anyone can.

CONGRESSIONAL: Redistricting cost the state one seat and created one new district. Conservative State Sen. **Tennyson Guyer** of Findley (R) should win the heavily Republican 4th C.D. Another open district, the 16th C.D., should be won by moderate State Sen. **Ralph Regula** of Canton who will succeed retiring Congressman **Frank T. Bow**. Regula has a generally good legislative record. The only incumbent to face a serious challenge is dull, conservative Congressman **William Minshall** (R) in his suburban Cleveland 23rd C.D. His opponent is **Dennis Kuchinich**, a Cleveland councilman who is young and abrasive and in the end, is expected to lose.

STATE: The Democratic-controlled Apportionment Board has radically changed both House and Senate district lines, giving the Democrats an outside chance at capturing the House, now 54-45 for the Republicans. The Senate, with a 20-13 Republican majority, should stay that way, al-

though the majority could be cut because of the retirement of several able GOP senators.

Oklahoma

PRESIDENTIAL: There are eight electoral votes at stake in Oklahoma and they are expected to go to Nixon as they did in 1960 and 1968. A politically active Oklahoma City woman, **Rita Moore**, will be running the Nixon campaign.

SENATORIAL: Although Sen. **Fred Harris'** presidential campaign was abortive, he chose not to run for re-election. Congressman **Edmondson** will probably give a tough race to former Gov. **Dewey F. Bartlett**, if Edmondson survives the rough Democratic primary campaign and can unite his party after the August 22 voting, but early indications of an easy Democratic victory no longer apply. Bartlett's gubernatorial record, financing and ticket association with Nixon should help him. Lapses of liberalism in Edmondson's generally conservative record have exposed him to strong attacks from right-wing Democratic opponents.

CONGRESSIONAL: The Democratic legislature re-districted the state to favor the continued 4-2 lineup for the Democrats. In the 1st C.D., 11-term Congressman **Page Belcher** (R) is retiring. In the field of Republican hopefuls, former Tulsa Mayor **James Hewgley** is probably the frontrunner although two younger former legislators, **Ralph Rhodes** and **Joe McGraw** and Attorney **Bob Risley** are also seeking the nomination. **Jim Jones**, a former Democratic White House aide, gave Belcher a good race in 1970. Although the opening in 2nd C.D. being left by Congressman Edmondson presents a GOP opportunity, no Republicans have yet announced. The other four seats are considered safe for the incumbents.

STATE: The Oklahoma legislature is 4-1 Democratic. It is not likely that the Republicans will work political miracles.

Oregon

PRESIDENTIAL: Although McGovern carried Oregon's presidential primary with 50.3 percent of the vote, the South Dakotan was really the only major Democratic aspirant to campaign in the state. The state gave its six electoral votes to Nixon in both 1960 and 1968 and is likely to do so again this year, barring major changes in the national political scene. Domestic issues like the economy and export-import quotas on timber will be the major electoral concerns of Oregon voters.

SENATORIAL: Although dovish Republican Sen. **Mark O. Hatfield** has had his share of political difficulties in Oregon in the past year, he made a strong comeback in the

May 23 primary and won 61.4 percent of the vote against three challengers, as Republican Gov. **Tom McCall** decided to stay out of the race. Meanwhile, the Democrats engaged in their usual bloodletting. In a four-man contest, former U.S. Sen. **Wayne Morse** defeated his old nemesis, hawkish former Congressman **Robert B. Duncan**, 44 to 33 percent. Hatfield is a strong favorite.

CONGRESSIONAL: Oregon's evenly divided four-man delegation should remain that way. The closest race will be for the seat of Congressman **John Dellenback** who trounced Medford Mayor **William Singler** for the Republican nomination in the 4th C.D., but he may have a harder time defeating former Congressman **Charles O. Porter** who squeaked out a victory in a crowded primary field of seven Democrats.

STATE: Both the Republican-controlled House and the Democrat-controlled Senate are up for election this year, but it's too early to predict which party will control next year's legislature. Both popular Republicans, Secretary of State **Clay Myers** and Attorney General **Lee Johnson** are expected to win easily.

Pennsylvania

PRESIDENTIAL: The Pennsylvania Nixon campaign will be organized by Philadelphia District Attorney **Arlen Specter**, who is building toward the 1974 Republican gubernatorial nomination. Nixon is expected to carry the thinly populated central areas of the state, while the southwestern and northeastern coal counties and the cities of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia generally vote Democratic, although Democratic Philadelphia Mayor **Frank Rizzo** has called Nixon "The greatest President ever." Humphrey carried the state with about 52 percent of the vote in 1968 and won the primary this year. McGovern tied Senator Edmund Muskie for third with 20.4 percent. The general election result will swing on whether Nixon can make inroads in the traditionally Democratic blue-collar and ethnic areas in the cities and whether the heavily-populated suburbs, particularly the Republican suburbs of Philadelphia, swing towards the Democratic candidate as they did in the 1970 gubernatorial race. Labor is a major factor in Pennsylvania and Nixon's chances of taking Pennsylvania's 27 electoral votes will depend substantially on events on the labor and economic fronts. If McGovern does not get strong labor support, he will be in trouble. One issue should be the speed and efficacy with which flood relief reaches Pennsylvania after Tropical Storm Agnes devastated the state. Nixon is currently given a good chance to win in Pennsylvania.

CONGRESSIONAL: Most of the incumbents on Pennsylvania's congressional delegation are favored for re-election. The delegation is now 14 to 13 for the Democrats but two incumbents will not return because their districts were eliminated in Philadelphia and Allegheny County. Congressman **James A. Byrne** was defeated for an 11th term in the 3rd C.D. by Congressman **William J. Green** as the two Democrats were thrown into the same district by reapportionment. In the 27th C.D., Congressman **William S. Conover** (R) won a special election April 27 to fill the unexpired term of the late Congressman **James G. Fulton** (R), but the 27th will be eliminated by redistricting. The same day he was elected to Congress, Conover, a Pittsburgh insurance broker, was defeated for the Republican nomination in the 22nd C.D. by **James Montgomery**, a West Alexander glass inspector. The incumbent in the 22nd, Congressman **Thomas E. Morgan** (D) is favored. The man Conover beat for the 27th seat, **Douglas Walgren** (D), will be running against bright young Congressman **H. John Heinz III** in the 18th C.D. Heinz is running an aggressive campaign under the direction of **Jim McGregor**, who is considered one of the best campaign technicians in the state and who ran the 1971 Heinz campaign. The predicted Heinz victory is seen as another possible prelude to the 1974 gubernatorial campaign. In the 20th C.D., McKeesport Mayor **Zoran Popovich**, a Ripon member, is running an uphill race against Congressman **Joseph M. Gaydos** (D) in a strong Democratic district.

STATE: Republicans have targeted about a dozen legislative seats for special attention this year in an effort to take control of the state legislature. The Democrats are still favored to retain command but Republicans are hoping that a Nixon victory could effect the lower ranks of the GOP ticket.

In two statewide races — for Auditor General and State Treasurer — a “watchdog” team of Republicans of **Frank McCorkel** (for Auditor) and **Glenn Williams** (for Treasurer), a black from the Harrisburg area, are running, accompanied by a lap dog. (They're going to watch Gov. **Milton J. Schapp** and the rest of the Democratic administration.)

Rhode Island

PRESIDENTIAL: The President is almost a sure-fire loser in Rhode Island. He lost the state decisively in 1968 and his popularity has not increased in the interim. The Nixon campaign in the state will be led by Cranston Mayor **James L. Taft, Jr.**, but it will be hampered by a lack of GOP organizational depth in areas like Providence.

SENATORIAL: Former Navy Secretary **John Chaffee** won election as Governor despite the Goldwater landslide in 1964 and he is presently given the edge for the Senate seat held by the popular Democratic incumbent, **Claiborne Pell**. Both men have good organizations but the Newport-raised Pell is leading in the campaign coffers while Chaffee leads in the opinion polls. A Chaffee win is needed to pull in other candidates on the Republican ticket.

GUBERNATORIAL: The race to succeed the current unpopular governor, **Frank Licht**, will be a close one between **Herbert F. DeSimone**, a former Rhode Island Attorney General, and Warwick Mayor **Philip Noel**. Noel will draw French Canadian votes while DeSimone will attract Italian-American voters, but the importance of ethnic considerations is on the wane in Rhode Island. DeSimone will be favored.

CONGRESSIONAL: The state primary isn't until September 12 so Republican candidates to challenge the state's two Democratic incumbents aren't yet obvious. **Walter Miska**, a conservative, is hoping for a rematch against Congressman **Fernand St. Germain** in the 1st C.D. Whoever the Republican candidates are, they will be heavy underdogs in November.

STATE: The General Assembly, which is heavily Democratic, is not expected to change its political complexion. The posts of Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, and General Treasurer are expected to remain in Democratic hands, but the promising Republican Attorney General, **Richard J. Israel**, should be re-elected. Rhode Island voters like to have a Republican Attorney General to keep track of the Democrats.

South Carolina

PRESIDENTIAL: President Nixon managed to outdistance both Wallace and Humphrey in 1968 and South Carolina's eight electoral votes are unlikely pickings for Senator McGovern. The Nixon campaign is being run by **Jim Henderson**, a Greenville advertising executive.

SENATORIAL: Sen. **Strom Thurmond**, was considered vulnerable after the gubernatorial defeat of his political ally, **Albert Watson**, like Thurmond a former Democrat, but the Senator is now considered a strong favorite for re-election. Thurmond received 62 percent of the vote in 1966 and since 1970 has worked hard at mending the fabric of his political future. He has even put blacks on his Senate staff and recently accepted honors from the “National Council of Afro-American Republicans.” Former Gov. **Robert E. McNair** decided not to challenge Thurmond; his opponent will be decided in a primary between State Sen. **Eugene N. Zeigler**, a

moderate, and **John B. Culbertson**, a liberal attorney who managed to praise Thurmond for the recent shift in his racial attitudes. The Democratic Senate contest was originally scheduled for June 27 but because of difficulties with redistricting of the state legislature, a three-judge federal panel enjoined the balloting, holding up the selection of Senate and congressional nominees as well. A new date has not been set.

CONGRESSIONAL: The only Republican Congressman from South Carolina, **Floyd Spence**, doesn't have Democratic opposition so he'll continue on the minority side of a 5 to 1 congressional delegation. Congressman **John L. McMillan**, in the 6th C.D., is considered to have serious opposition from two young Democratic challengers: State Rep. **John W. Jenrette Jr.**, 36, and **Billy R. Craig**, a Hartsville lawyer. Jenrette is considered the stronger contender.

STATE: The legislature is being redistricted. Currently, the Republicans hold three of 14 seats in the Senate and 11 of 124 state representatives.

South Dakota

PRESIDENTIAL: South Dakota is normally a Republican state and gave Nixon a 53-42 percent victory over Humphrey in 1968 for the state's four electoral votes. But South Dakota's voters are sensitive to administration farm policies and registered their dissatisfaction by electing a Democratic Governor and two Democratic congressmen in 1970. All three positions had formerly been held by Republicans. A Democratic ticket led by favorite-son McGovern — who got 57 percent of the vote in his 1968 Senate race — will be favored here. The tendency of South Dakota voter to vote a straight party ticket could determine the fate of many Republican office-seekers.

SENATORIAL: Retiring Sen. **Karl E. Mundt** has been ill for several years, and his seat is highly vulnerable to freshman Congressman **James Abourezk** (D). While Abourezk was unopposed for the nomination, the Republican Convention on June 26 was forced to choose between conservative former State Sen. **Robert Hirsch**, and moderate Attorney General **Gordon Mydland**, because none of the five-man primary field got 35 percent of the vote. Hirsch, a vigorous candidate, sewed up the nomination before the convention and was nominated by acclamation. He was aided by his alliance with State Chairman **Bob Burns**, strong organization, and a first-place finish in the primary. Mydland, who was the top Republican to survive the 1970 Democratic sweep, barely nudged out conservative businessman

Charles Lien for the second-place spot in the primary. The November prospects of an Abourezk-Hirsch campaign are difficult to forecast, but Abourezk probably, has the edge despite the state's normally Republican proclivities.

GUBERNATORIAL: Democratic Gov. **Richard F. Kneip** was the pre-primary favorite to win re-election, but State Sen. **Carveth Thompson**, 39, scored a strong, 72-27 percent, victory over fellow legislator **Simon W. Chance** in the Republican primary. Thompson is an aggressive campaigner but is still the underdog against a McGovern-led ticket.

CONGRESSIONAL: Republicans have a chance to take back the seats they lost in the 1970 elections. In the 1st C.D. progressive Republican **John Vickerman**, a 34-year-old former Small Business Administration director in South Dakota will contest the seat held by Congressman **Frank E. Denholm**, 48. Vickerman is given a good chance to unseat Denholm who nevertheless is the favorite. In the seat being vacated by Abourezk, former McGovern aide **Pat McKeever**, 36, will be the Democratic nominee. On the Republican ballot, **James Abnor**, a conservative former Lieutenant Governor whose organization included prominent Republican progressives, defeated Rapid City attorney **Mike DeMerseeman** by almost 2 to 1. A conservative-dominated GOP ticket might sink Abnor.

STATE: Commanding Republican majorities in both houses of the legislature could be considerably reduced by the November election.

Tennessee

PRESIDENTIAL: Most of the Democratic presidential aspirants virtually abandoned Tennessee to George Wallace who got 68 percent of the vote (while McGovern got 7 percent). In 1968, Nixon edged out Wallace 38 to 34 percent, and picked up Tennessee's ten electoral votes. He will again be the clear favorite against McGovern this year, although he received strong press criticism in the state for not being quick enough to attack busing. His campaign will be closely tied to the Republican organization of Gov. **Winfield Dunn** and Sen. **Bill Brock**, his state co-chairmen. McGovern's views on busing are not likely to be popular here.

SENATORIAL: Whether Sen. **Howard Baker** is re-elected will depend in large measure on the combined electoral fortunes of Nixon-Baker. Right now, both are strong favorites. Baker, who has money and organization, will be challenged by Congressman **Ray Blanton**, whose seat was the one lost to Tennessee in redistricting. (The

nominee will be determined in an August primary but Blanton is the only serious contender.) Baker's major problem is that he is out-bused by Blanton, who has criticized him for supporting the nomination of the federal judge who ordered the integration of the Nashville school system. Blanton can appeal to as many conservative emotions as Baker, so the 1972 senatorial race will not be a replay of the 1970 campaign between Brock and liberal former Sen. **Albert Gore**.

CONGRESSIONAL: The redistricting plan passed by the legislature over the veto of Governor Dunn hurt the Republicans. Congressman **LaMar Baker** (R-3), a conservative, will be hardpressed to beat Democrat **Howard Sompayrac**, and Republican Congressman **Dan Kuykendall** in the 6th C.D. is in even more trouble. But the Tennessee delegation will definitely have one less Democrat — Blanton.

STATE: The current legislature is Democratic — to the consternation of Republican Gov. Dunn. A strong Republican win by Nixon-Baker could bring in a Republican House of Representatives.

Texas

PRESIDENTIAL: Should those recurring rumors of a **John Connally** vice-presidency prove true, a Nixon sweep here would seem likely. At any rate, Texas is certainly a key state — Nixon lost by only 1 percent of the vote here in 1968, while Wallace picked up almost 20 percent. Nixon must be favored now.

SENATORIAL: The excitement this year was on the Democratic side, since two-term conservative Republican incumbent **John G. Tower** was unopposed for renomination. Former Sen. **Ralph W. Yarborough** ('57-71), a liberal who had the backing of organized labor, tried to make a comeback but was defeated in the June 3 Democratic primary by **Barefoot Sanders**, a Dallas attorney who had been a legislative counsel to President Johnson. Right now, the money is on Tower in November.

GUBERNATORIAL: As in the Senate race, the real fireworks were in the Democratic column. A major bank scandal has implicated some of the key Democratic figures in Texas, including Governor **Preston Smith**, State Chairman **Elmer Baum**, and Lt. Gov. **Ben Barnes**. As a result the primary boiled down to two "outsiders": **Dolph Briscoe**, a conservative rancher and banker, and State Representative **Frances "Sissy" Farenthold**, a liberal. Briscoe, who was successful, is favored over right-wing GOP State Sen. **Henry C. Grover**, who beat Houston oilman **Albert Bel Fay** for his party's gubernatorial nomination. Briscoe and Grover are both con-

servative, and Texas has been traditionally Democratic on the state level. The GOP did not have a candidate for Lieutenant Governor, so **William P. Hobby, Jr.**, the editor of the *Houston Post* who won the Democratic primary over State Senator **Wayne Connally** (brother of John), is assured of election.

CONGRESSIONAL: Texas Republicans are still losing by default in many races. After the May 6 primary, there were no candidates in 11 of the 24 Texas Congressional seats. Perhaps the most interesting race in November will put two incumbent congressmen, **Robert Price**, (R), 44, and **Graham Purcell** (D), in a close race for the new 13th C.D. In the 5th C.D., Congressman **Earl Cabell** (D), 65, may have a tough fight against **Alan Steelman**, a former Dallas County Republican official. In the 2nd C.D. Congressman **John Dowdy** has been convicted of bribery, conspiracy and perjury, and his wife sought to succeed him. She lost the primary to liberal State Sen. **Charles Wilson** who seems a sure bet to beat **Charles O. Brightwell**, 37, a Republican lumber salesman. Also in political trouble is Congressman **James M. Collins** (R), who won renomination despite a kickback scandal on his staff. Collins will face Democrat **George A. Hughes Jr.**, Chairman of the Dallas Citizens Against Forced Busing. State Sen. **Barbara Jordan** (D), a black legislator who was elected vice chairman of the Texas Democratic Convention, should be an easy bet to become the South's first black Congresswoman in modern times.

Utah

PRESIDENTIAL: **Richard Richards**, an Ogden attorney, will head the President's re-election campaign in Utah, expected to yield an easy four electoral votes. None of the state's top Democrats appear overjoyed about a McGovern candidacy.

GUBERNATORIAL: Governor **Calvin Rampton** (D) is favored for an unprecedented third term and the third term issue is likely to be a key theme of the campaign of the only announced Republican candidate, **Nicholas Strike**. Strike, a Salt Lake City businessman and political newcomer, will be nominated at the July 15 Republican convention and may benefit from Nixon's coattails in the general election.

CONGRESSIONAL: The 1st C.D. is a normally Republican district but it elected Congressman **K. Gunn McKay** (D) in 1970. His probable Republican opponent is Dr. **Robert Wolthuis**, a political moderate who until recently was an aide to Sen. **Wallace Bennett**. If Wolthuis can amass 70 percent of the delegate votes at the state convention, he can avoid a primary

fight against **Joe Ferguson**, a John Birch Society member. **Wolhuis** is given a good chance to unseat **McKay**. Congressman **Sherman P. Lloyd (R-2)**, had unexpected difficulty winning re-election in 1970, and may have trouble this year with **Wayne Owens**, the Democratic aspirant who gained publicity with a 689-mile walk through the 2nd C.D. in April.

STATE: The legislature is up for election this year and the Senate is expected by GOP leaders to remain Republican. The fate of the currently Democratic House could swing on the relative popularities of **Nixon** and **Rampton**.

Vermont

PRESIDENTIAL: The McGovern supporters took over the Vermont Democratic Convention this year and passed a platform favoring strict gun control, amnesty for draft dodgers, legalized marijuana, and unrestricted abortion. As a result, Democratic voters in Vermont are quickly becoming an endangered species. **Nixon**, who won in 1960 and 1968, should have no trouble repeating. The President's campaign will be run by State GOP Chairman **Russell Merriman** and Mrs. **Karen F. Draper**, the young co-chairwoman of the state Nixon effort.

GUBERNATORIAL: With the Democratic party in disarray, the party is having a hard time finding a candidate to succeed retiring Gov. **Deane C. Davis (R)**. State Sen. **Charles Delaney**, 48, of Winooski has announced but is wavering. The Republican nominee will be decided in the September 12 primary. The aspirants are **Luther F. Hackett**, a moderate and respected administrator who has strong party backing and Attorney General **James J. Jeffords**, whose flashy actions have alienated party professionals. Jeffords was in the news last year for demanding that the International Paper Company take out all the sludge it had dumped into Lake Champlain in the past 100 years. Referring to the company which had just built a new "clean" factory, Jeffords had bumper stickers produced which read: "Don't Let Them Do It in the Lake." Jeffords goes over well at county fairs but Hackett goes over well at party meetings. Hackett is favored.

CONGRESSIONAL: Congressman **Richard Mallary (R)**, who was elected to fill the unexpired term of Sen. **Robert T. Stafford (R)**, is the strong favorite for re-election. He as yet has no opponents.

STATE: State Rep. **John McClaughry**, 34, is mounting a serious intra-party challenge to Lt. Gov. **John S. Burgess** for this year's Republican nomination. Burgess hurt his chances severely by vacillating on whether to run for governor or for his current seat. The

contest will be resolved in the September primary. The Republican-controlled legislature is not expected to change its partisan orientation.

Virginia

PRESIDENTIAL: Republicans in Virginia are looking forward to a **Nixon-McGovern** race. The GOP would like to see McGovern as the Democratic nominee because it should help their congressional candidates as well as insure 12 electoral votes for Nixon. The Nixon campaign in Virginia is being run independent of the Republican Party and its intraparty difficulties. Former Gov. **Mills E. Godwin**, a Democrat, however, has announced that he will take a prominent part in the President's re-election campaign in the state. The move has been suggested as a preliminary to a conservative Republican-Democratic coalition to oppose Lt. Gov. **Henry E. Howell** for governor next year.

SENATORIAL: After the Republican organization's recent sharp right turn and the Democrat's recent sharp left turn, Sen. **William B. Spong** who's somewhere in the middle of the spectrum, is the favorite for re-election. He will be opposed by Congressman **William Scott (R)**, who not only opposes busing but compensatory education as well. Scott will have organizational problems, and will be relying on the state's weak GOP organization. Former Republican State Chairman **Horace E. "Hunk" Henderson** will offer an interesting liberal alternative as an independent in the race.

CONGRESSIONAL: In two districts, the new conservative Republican organization has not even fielded candidates. Congressmen **W. C. Daniel (D)** and **David E. Satterfield (D)** are unopposed at present, but so is Republican Congressman **G. William Whitehurst**. The key races will be in the 4th and 8th C.D. Republican plantation owner **Robert W. Daniel, Jr.**, 36, is seeking the seat of retiring Congressman **Watkins M. Abbitt (D-4)**. Prospects for Republican victory against **Robert E. Gibson (D)**, a state legislator, are unclear at the moment. In the 8th C.D. State Del. **Stanford E. Parris**, 42, a conservative, beat former Assistant U.S. Attorney **James R. Tate**, 28, for the Republican nomination in the district being left by Congressman Scott. The Democratic candidate for the suburban Washington seat is Fairfax Attorney **Robert F. Horan** but two independents are running as well. Again, the outcome is uncertain. In the 6th C.D. where Congressman **Richard Poff** will resign soon to take up a seat on the Virginia Supreme Court, **Caldwell Butler**, a former state legislator, is favored over **Willis M. Anderson**, another, but

more conservative, state legislator. An independent liberal is also in the race. Other incumbents are favored. There are now six Republicans and four Democrats in Congress.

Washington

PRESIDENTIAL: The President is given a fair chance to carry Washington, which he lost to Humphrey in 1968 by a 47 to 45 percent margin. Fragmentation among Democratic supporters of Senators McGovern and favorite-son **Henry Jackson** could hinder the Democratic campaign for the state's nine electoral votes. The war and the economy will be strong issues because of Washington's high unemployment rate.

GUBERNATORIAL: Gov. **Daniel J. Evans** is seeking an unprecedented third consecutive term. The Democratic candidate should be State Senator **Martin Durkan**, 49, an attorney. Although the Evans campaign is running well, Durkan is given a chance to unseat Evans, partly because of the third-term issue.

CONGRESSIONAL: In the 1st C.D., Congressman **Thomas M. Pelly** (R) has decided to retire. The probable GOP candidate is former State Senator **Joel Pritchard**, a Seattle businessman. **William E. Boeing Jr.** has decided not to enter the primary after all. The chief Democratic contender is **John Hempelmann**, a young attorney and "Scoop Jackson Democrat" who claims to have an \$80,000 war chest. The 4th C.D. contest between freshman Congressman **Mike McCormack** and State House Majority Leader **Stewart Bledsoe** (R) is too close to call. In the 2nd C.D., Congressman **Lloyd Meeds** seems likely to overcome a challenge by King County Councilman **Bill Reams** (R).

STATE: State Attorney General **Slade Gorton** will probably be unopposed for renomination and is given a good chance to be re-elected. He will probably run against State Sen. **Fred Dore**. For Secretary of State, Republican incumbent **A. Ludlow Kramer** seems assured of victory over **Don Bonkers** (D). The upper house of the state legislature is Democratic and probably will remain so, but the fate of the house, which is narrowly controlled by Republicans, is uncertain.

West Virginia

PRESIDENTIAL: West Virginia has gone Democratic in the last three presidential election, but a McGovern-Nixon race in the state could be close at the moment. Nixon's ties to big business and big industry may not go over well with the West Virginia voter. Mine-related issues could be important in the fall — like strip mining and Nixon's reluctance to sign the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. West Virginia's six electoral votes are a tossup right

now with the edge to McGovern, based on his organization and the heavy state Democratic registration advantage.

SENATORIAL: State Sen. **Louise Leonard**, a conservative Republican, is running against Sen. **Jennings Randolph** (D), but Sen. **Margaret Chase Smith** isn't likely to have any female company in the Senate next year. Most of Sen. Leonard's limited name recognition stems from a campaign against pornography.

GUBERNATORIAL: Gov. **Arch A. Moore Jr.** a Republican is running for re-election against popular Secretary of State **Jay D. Rockefeller**, a Rockefeller Democrat. Who's favored depends on to whom you talk. Moore won election in 1968 with 50.9 percent of the vote. Rockefeller trounced two opponents in a May 9 primary and has de-emphasized his opposition to strip-mining and emphasized the state's poor economic climate. The edge is Rockefeller's.

CONGRESSIONAL: West Virginia lost one seat in the Congress this year so incumbents **Ken Heckler** and **James Kee** squared off in a primary. The Kee family, — mother, father, and son — have held the 4th C.D. seat since 1933. No more. Heckler won the primary 2 to 1 and should have little difficulty defeating Republican Sheriff **Joe Neal**.

STATE: The legislature is 2 to 1 Democratic. The voters are registered over 2 to 1 Democratic. Republicans aren't expected to effect startling changes in the State Capitol.

Wisconsin

PRESIDENTIAL: Although Nixon carried Wisconsin in 1968, he is now the underdog in a close race for Wisconsin's 11 electoral votes this fall — though his popularity rose following his Moscow trip. **Dita Beard** and **James McCord** are not helping Nixon much among Wisconsin voters. Milwaukee lawyer **John MacIver** will again be in charge of the Nixon campaign, in which the war and the economy will be the big issues. Eleven votes in the Electoral College will be at stake.

CONGRESSIONAL: Reapportionment, which eliminated one of Wisconsin's ten seats, has thrown together Congressman **Davis Obey** (D), 32, from the 7th C.D. and Congressman **Alvin E. O'Konski** (R), 65, of the old 10th C.D. Obey, who won **Melvin Laird's** old seat, will be the slight favorite over O'Konski, who has been in Congress for 30 years. O'Konski has not yet announced, however. The GOP may lose another seat in the 8th C.D. where Congressman **John W. Byrnes** is retiring. About a dozen Republicans have announced for the seat at one time but some have withdrawn. The edge will go to Father **Robert J. Cornell**, a Catholic college professor, who lost to Byrnes in

1970. The major Republican contenders for the seat include State Senator **Myron Lotto**, a moderate, District Attorney **James Long**, a perennial candidate who keeps his campaign headquarters permanently list in the phone book, and State Assembly Minority Leader **Harold Froehlich**, an archconservative. The other four Democratic and three Republican Congressman are favored for reelection.

STATE: Taxes and the very liberal Democratic state platform may aid Republican legislative candidates, but the GOP is expected to have a difficult time keeping its majority in the State Senate and given no chance to capture the lower house. One bright spot: former Ripon Executive Director **Thomas E. ("Tim") Petri**, is running for the State Senate in the 2nd District. And the daughter of Republican Attorney General **Robert M. Warren**, **Cheryl Warren**, 22, is seeking an Assembly seat from Green Bay.

Wyoming

PRESIDENTIAL: Nixon won't pick up many electoral votes in Wyoming — just three. McGovern currently has only a limited organization here and only one committed delegate to the Democratic National Convention. Nixon won solid victories in 1960 and 1968 and if he can surmount the meat-import-quota issue, he should be in like Cheyenne.

SENATORIAL: Sen. **Clifford P. Hansen** was a popular Governor and apparently a popular Senator. The major announced Democratic aspirant for the August 22 primary is **Mike Vinich**, a tavern owner. Hansen should be buying the drinks in November.

CONGRESSIONAL: Congressman **Teno Roncalio (D)** won a narrow victory in 1970 and is facing another close contest in 1972, particularly if Nixon makes a really strong showing. The August 22 Republican primary will be a tossup between State Sen. **John Patton**, 42, a moderate-conservative and **Bill Kidd**, 28, a rightwing Casper stockbroker.

STATE: Wyoming's legislature is Republican.

The New Voters vs. 1968 Margins

State	1968 Presidential Winner's Vote Margin	Potential New Young Voters*
Alabama	(Wallace) 494,846	440,000
Alaska	(Nixon) 2,169	29,000
Arizona	(Nixon) 96,207	232,000
Arkansas	(Wallace) 50,223	230,000
California	(Nixon) 223,346	2,580,000
Colorado	(Nixon) 74,171	319,000
Connecticut	(Humphrey) 64,840	343,000
Delaware	(Nixon) 7,520	68,000
Florida	(Nixon) 210,010	773,000
Georgia	(Wallace) 155,439	354,000
Hawaii	(Humphrey) 49,899	91,000
Idaho	(Nixon) 76,096	90,000
Illinois	(Nixon) 134,960	1,321,000
Indiana	(Nixon) 261,226	662,000
Iowa	(Nixon) 142,407	347,000
Kansas	(Nixon) 175,678	304,000
Kentucky	(Nixon) 64,870	254,000
Louisiana	(Nixon) 220,685	297,000
Maine	(Humphrey) 48,058	122,000
Maryland	(Humphrey) 20,315	478,000
Massachusetts	(Humphrey) 702,274	725,000
Michigan	(Humphrey) 222,417	1,127,000
Minnesota	(Humphrey) 199,095	478,000
Mississippi	(Wallace) 264,705	297,000
Missouri	(Nixon) 20,488	569,000
Montana	(Nixon) 24,718	84,000
Nebraska	(Nixon) 150,379	191,000
Nevada	(Nixon) 12,590	54,000
New Hampshire	(Nixon) 24,314	95,000
New Jersey	(Nixon) 61,261	129,000
New Mexico	(Nixon) 39,611	769,000
New York	(Humphrey) 370,538	2,101,000
North Carolina	(Nixon) 131,004	750,000
North Dakota	(Nixon) 43,900	83,000
Ohio	(Nixon) 90,428	1,313,000
Oklahoma	(Nixon) 148,039	325,000
Oregon	(Nixon) 49,567	259,000
Pennsylvania	(Humphrey) 169,388	1,371,000
Rhode Island	(Humphrey) 124,159	135,000
South Carolina	(Nixon) 38,632	391,000
South Dakota	(Nixon) 31,818	88,000
Tennessee	(Nixon) 47,800	511,000
Texas	(Humphrey) 38,960	1,490,000
Utah	(Nixon) 82,063	154,000
Vermont	(Nixon) 14,887	64,000
Virginia	(Nixon) 147,932	645,000
Washington	(Humphrey) 27,527	460,000
West Virginia	(Humphrey) 66,536	217,000
Wisconsin	(Nixon) 61,193	565,000
Wyoming	(Nixon) 25,754	40,000
Dist. of Col.	(Humphrey) 108,554	111,000

TOTALS — Nixon Margin, 510,314; New Young Voters, 25,125,000.

*Includes newly enfranchised 18, 19, and 20-year-olds plus persons who have turned 21 since 1968.



Political Notes

AN ARMY OF IDEOLOGUES

The pundits are all trying to figure out where they went wrong on McGovern, and they are coming up with pat answers like the unusual dedication of his workers, anti-Establishmentarianism, and the McGovern Commission rules.

Anyone who has been watching the decline of American political party organization, and in particular the demise of the national convention as a decision-making arena, should not have been surprised by the contours of McGovern's gains. Party organization, as even Mayor Daley is discovering, is a myth; the image of block workers pounding their beats, distributing literature and soliciting voter preferences, is a happy bedtime story to give older politicians a false sense of security.

Were party organizations viable, Kevin White and Milton Shapp could have "delivered" Massachusetts and Pennsylvania to Muskie, and John Gilligan and John Tunney could have held Ohio and California in reserve for him. Instead, Muskie was only the latest in a long line of candidate to discover the non-transferability of personal allegiance. If Shapp, for example, had an organization based on *party* ties and not personal appeal, there would have been little difficulty energizing its members for Muskie.

If party organization is gone, what has replaced it? The ideological and personal cadres of George McGovern, which replace established party cadres in caucuses, are not new to Presidential politics, nor did they originate with Barry Goldwater's effort eight years ago. The landmark study of the 1952 nominating contests by Paul David, Malcolm Moos, and Ralph Goldman demonstrated the extent to which Eisenhower relied on enthusiastic volunteers, especially in crucial states like Texas, and the Stevenson campaigns were marked

by similar efforts. But Eisenhower and Stevenson also relied on the help of party machines, such as Thomas Dewey's and Jacob Arvey's. There are still aging politicians who believe that Presidential nominations can be won by a few well-placed telephone calls, and their preponderance on George Romney's planning staff in 1967 helped to doom his ambitions for 1968.

But armies of ideologues, such as those who have fueled the Goldwater and McGovern efforts, are not the only alternative to machines. John Kennedy in 1960 built a machine that took the nomination by destroying state machines from the top rather than the bottom. In Ohio, he won the grudging support of Governor Mike DiSalle by threatening him with opposition in the primary, and in Oregon he squashed Wayne Morse's favorite-son candidacy by winning that state's primary. The spectacle of a young, wealthy, Catholic Presidential hopeful from a small state steamrolling favorite sons is one hardly consistent with strong party government.

Equally dramatic has been the decline of the convention as a crucial part of the Presidential selection process. Not since 1952 — before some of this year's voters were born — has either party's convention played an important role in the making of the nominee; every nominee since then has recorded a majority on the first ballot, with no necessity of vote changes to decide the outcome. The infiltrate-from-below machines of Goldwater and McGovern and the coup-from-above organization of John Kennedy were able to decide the outcomes before the gavel dropped to open their respective conventions.

And yet many have used the Goldwater-McGovern analogy to suggest that McGovern has no

chance of winning in November. This misses a fundamental flaw in the analogy — while Goldwater won only one contested primary (and that by the narrowest of margins), McGovern will go into the convention with more than ten solid primary victories. Besides the obvious implications for McGovern's greater electoral appeal, this suggests that his workers have developed in many states the kinds of campaigning skills which the Goldwaterites, adept only at caucus tactics, never had. Goldwater's sole primary victory was in California, where his showing in November, relative to Nixon's in 1960, was fifth highest outside the South; those electioneering skills learned in June did his cause *some* good.

But there is another area in which the Goldwater-McGovern analogy may hold, to the detriment of the Dakotan: already his party's "moderates" are leveling charges of extremism and unpopularity at him. No small part of Goldwater's total collapse was due to the obvious discomfort of respected Republican moderates like Rockefeller, Romney, and Scranton. Should Democratic rightists and centrists follow suit with regard to McGovern, their fears of a Nixon landslide will become self-fulfilling prophecy.

Yet if such rightists and centrists secretly welcome a McGovern disaster, they should remember two things about the Goldwater precedent: first, that it destroyed the political careers of many Republicans of all shades that November; second, that Goldwaterism did not die in November 1964. Dean Burch, Richard Kleindienst, and of course William Rehnquist all got their jobs via the Goldwater campaign, and the next Democratic President will have to deal with the remarkable McGovern people. No single election represents Armageddon in American politics, and Democratic regulars will have to put up with the party's left from now on.

— HOWARD L. REITER

While attention has been focused on the safety of consumers of manufactured goods across the nation, far less concern has been shown for the safety of the producers of these goods. Workmen's compensation for illness and injury is no longer an adequate goal; workmen's safety may require new national legislation and certainly will entail more stringent government regulation. Here Steven Haft, a Ripon member recently associated with the United Auto Workers, describes the problem, which is likely to become a significant public issue as well as moral challenge for businessmen and politicians in the months and years ahead.

The Human Cost of Production

by Steven Haft

As our economy churns out its billion dollar gross national product — consisting, in large part, of ever more glossy merchandise and sophisticated services — it continues to pay a grave national price. For some strange reason, this nation tolerates with scarcely and audible complaint the perpetration of a dire human tragedy in our factories and other work sites.

According to the government's raw and understated figures, 400,000 workers have died and 50,000,000 have been disabled from on-the-job injuries since the Second World War. During the past few years the reported annual toll has reached 14,000 deaths and 2.5 million disabling injuries.

Furthermore, a U.S. Public Health Service study among 1,000,000 workers in the Chicago area in 1968 found that 46 percent (460,000) were exposed to "serious and urgent" health hazards, and equally significant, a U.S. Department of Labor survey two years later found that "health and safety hazards" ranked as the number two complaint on a scale of 19 sources of worker discontent.

The reasons for the continuing carnage are not hard to find. Corporations appear more willing to pay out an occasional pittance in compensatory costs than to adequately protect their

work force. Unions often lack both the interest and the expertise to confront this problem. The Federal government is underfunding and disregarding its occupational health mandate. The state governments will not act for fear of losing industries. The leading private research organizations working in industrial safety and health are owned by the corporate sector. Many physicians with the background to recognize and treat occupational diseases are affiliated with the culpable businesses in their localities. All across the board the worker is the victim.

There is little disagreement that the government's industrial illness figures represent only a fraction of the actual toll. "The occasional man who is crushed by heavy machinery becomes a statistic," says Tony Mazzocchi, Legislative Director of the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, "but the man who withers away with cancer, emphysema, or brain damage does not." The estimated 4,000 coal miners

and retired miners who die of black lung each year, according to Dr. Donald Whorton, Task Force Director of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, are statistically invisible. Asbestos workers die of lung cancer. Machinists lose their hearing and inhale shredded slivers of metal. Textile workers contract "Brown Lung" from the particles of lint they are forced to breathe. Welders are fatally poisoned by cadmium fumes. Farmers succumb to nitrogen dioxide. Steelworkers contract cancer working around the coke ovens. Cobblers, painters, finishers, and dry cleaners die from inhaling benzene and solvent vapors. Beryllium workers and their families waste away with berylliosis and beryllium poisoning sometimes fatal. These victims tend to go uncounted.

Excessive noise is probably the most pervasive occupational health problem. A ranking official of the Bureau of Labor Standards said last year at a Ripon meeting in Washington that,



"We could put the whole textile industry out of business if we enforced noise standards — probably most of the steel industry as well." It is generally accepted that continuous noise levels greater than 80 decibels can be hazardous and levels over 90 are likely to seriously impair hearing. Yet recently, an expert witness appearing before the Senate Labor Committee stated that many of the nation's textile weave rooms subject their thousands of occupants to levels in excess of 100 decibels. Since a "decibel" is measured on a logarithmic scale, the difference between 80 and 100, 20 decibels, for instance, is not twice as loud as 10 decibels — it is 100 times as loud. These conditions persist although an article in a 1970 issue of the Industrial Hygiene Journal stated that noise pollution in textile mills could be controlled at an average cost of 50¢ a month per worker.

It was following the "muckrakings" of the early 1900s that government first felt the need to make some effort to monitor factory conditions. The various states took the initiative and they maintained almost exclusive responsibility for occupational safety and health until 1970 when Congress passed an industrial health bill which temporarily transfers authority to Washington.

By and large the states were criminally negligent in discharging their mandate. According to a Department of Labor survey of industrial health laws in the 50 states, "only a few met the standards set by the American Standards Association." (One of the most prominent of the numerous private groups which play a significant role in the industrial health picture by providing legitimacy for a whole range of tragically inadequate standards).

The states vary widely in their activity in this area. Ohio is a fair example of one of the more active. Ohio has about 130,000 factories covered under its industrial safety law and although hundreds of Ohio workers annually are killed on the job and conceivably thousands contract occupationally-related diseases, in one recent year only five factories were cited for punitive action and not one was punished. In a strange allocation of priorities, while employing only 50 industrial safety inspectors, Ohio em-

ploys a force of 103 game wardens.

One of the major reasons for the inadequacy of state statutes and enforcement is the fear of driving industries elsewhere. It is a fear well-founded in fact, as the State of Pennsylvania learned recently when it legislated a ban on a chemical used in making textile dyes. The chemical clearly caused cancer in 3 out of 5 workers who were occupationally exposed to it for 30 years or more. Yet, despite the compelling necessity of such a ban, a number of plants almost immediately moved to states where worker health was pursued less diligently, rather than alter the process.

Federal Action

On the federal level the effort was divided between the Federal government and assorted private research organizations. The Federal program prior to the 1970 Act comprised some regulating, a minimal amount of investigating, and an effort to encourage the promulgation of standards.

The general degree of competence is seen in the Federal performance as a standards catalyst. Probably the greatest need for strict standards is in the protection of workers and the general public from dangerous chemicals. A recent Public Health Service bulletin estimated "that a new and potentially toxic chemical is introduced into industry . . . every 20 minutes." But these approximately 50,000 chemical substances in regular industrial use only about 600 have been tested and assigned safe tolerance levels. Even these 600 are not examined for mutagenic effects and as a result it may be years before we are even partially aware of the real extent of their damage.

Most of the operating standards regarding toxicity in the work environment have been established by private (although quasi-governmental) standards-setting organizations such as the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and the American Conference of Government and Industrial Hygienists (ACGIH).

The American National Standards Institute is a multi-million dollar non-profit, voluntary organization composed of 900 companies, 160 trade associations, six international unions, and a few scattered government agen-

cies. According to the bylaws of the organization, standards can only be set when a "consensus" is reached. The organization's size, of course, makes achieving a consensus on any standard difficult and its domination by industry leaves agreement on strong standards a virtual impossibility. ANSI further complicates this machinery by pricing their compiled standards listings at about \$300 per copy, thereby leaving them unavailable to workers and most local unions.

One simple compound for which standards have been set is carbon monoxide. The limit presently promulgated for worker exposure to CO in the air is 50 parts per million, having been 100 ppm up until as recently as 5 years ago. By comparison the standard for worker exposure to carbon monoxide in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia is 18 ppm and the National Air Pollution Control Administration has, in the course of their development of overall clean air standards, reported adverse health effects in individuals exposed to 10-15 ppm for 8 hours. Foundry and garage workers work in such concentrations 8 hours a day, 5 and 6 days a week, 50 weeks a year.

Workmen's Compensation is probably the government's best known response to the plight of the working man. The country's oldest form of social insurance, it is also the most antiquated. There has been no major federal legislation in this area since 1936 despite the tremendous increase in knowledge of what constitutes an environmental hazard in industry. And like most occupational health programs, it is administered at the state level. The competitive economic posture of the various states and their widely varying administrative capabilities has led to a relatively stagnant legislative climate.

Virtually no state which has acted at all in this area provides the 67 percent of the lost weekly wage established as a goal by the original federal legislation. Moreover, Workmen's Compensation is further impaired by:

- a restrictive medical benefit schedule
- rising medical costs
- exclusion of 20 percent of the working force due to numerous statutory exemptions

- the exclusion by statute of all diseases not listed specifically in the legislation
- minimal coverage for agricultural workers
- a scale which places arbitrary values on the loss of particular parts of the body
- inadequate emphasis on rehabilitation
- underfunded and understaffed state and federal administrative and research facilities
- the usurpation of many administrative functions by insurance carriers
- physicians who refuse to cooperate with Compensation boards on behalf of their patients.

The problem of industry-associated physicians, moreover, is serious, if we are to believe Dr. William Shepard, former chairman of the Council of Occupational Health of the A.M.A. Shepard wrote that "the physician's place in the industrial system is quite different from that to which he has become accustomed in private practice. He is not top man as he is in the hospital or his private office. His services are strictly ancillary to the main purpose of the business: production at a profit. His value depends on his willingness and ability to work with others to achieve that main purpose."

Although millions have benefitted from Workmen's Compensation, it must be recognized that it generally comes too little and too late and provides no real incentive to industry to reduce the incidence of occupational disease. In any case the existence of compensation must not continue to be an excuse for urgently needed preventive measures.

With regard to the Federal investigating effort, let it suffice to say that until 1971 the government employed a maximum of 27 inspectors, 5 field hygienists, and \$500,000 annually to cover the 30,000,000 workers who were entitled to protection under the Walsh-Healy Act of the 1930s, which until this year was by far the government's greatest responsibility in worker protection. In addition, figures collected by the Center for the Study of Responsive Law indicated that 90 percent of inspections conducted under Walsh-Healy uncovered violations.

Largely because of understaffing the

majority of the inspections came only following serious industrial accidents. Often the findings of these so-called inspections are so misleading that they might just as well have not taken place at all. Joseph "Chip" Yablonski of the Miners Research Project in Washington D.C. recently told this author of one such report:

An inspection followed an accident in Finley Mine 16 in Hyden, Ky. (where an explosion occurred a month later in which 38 miners were killed, leaving nearly 100 children orphaned). In this particular accident a 24-year-old miner was killed while operating a battery-powdered tractor used for removing coal. The tractor had a history of malfunctions in the "contact switch" used for changing gears. The mine foremen and operators were aware of this condition but chose to keep the equipment in use. Finally, one day when the driver threw the tractor into forward it slipped into reverse — jerking backward and crushing the miner's skull against the low ceiling. The Kentucky Bureau of Mines inspected the scene to determine who was responsible and concluded that the cause of death was that the operator was not facing in the direction of the movement of the vehicle.

Over the six month period prior to the explosion in Finley Mines 15 and 16 there were 55 serious federal and state mine safety violations recorded in those two shafts alone and reported by the authorities to the Finley brothers. This does not include post-accident reports like the one above. During this period they were penalized only once, when they were forced to shut down for two days to make repairs. The two days coincided with a weekend when the mines were closed any way.

There have been and continue to be numerous examples of this sort of mis-, mal-, and nonfeasance at all levels of industrial safety enforcement.

Administration Stance

Occupational health and safety is one issue on which the position of the Nixon Administration has been clear and consistent. It has during

the past three years demonstrated persistent disregard for the subject. White House operatives played a key role in opposing enactment of effective standards and enforcement machinery under the two most significant pieces of worker health legislation enacted during its tenure: the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act and the Coal Mine Safety Act.

During the 89th session of Congress, the Administration attempted, with some success, to eliminate key provisions of the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Bill, as proposed by Senator Harrison Williams, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. While the official White House position vacillated between vagaries and paying lip service to the Labor Department's encouragement of relatively strong provisions. But the Secretary of Commerce lobbied strenuously and undaunted for another bill and for a series of amendments designed, in the judgement of organized labor, to insure industry's continued domination of the standards and enforcement mechanisms. Thanks to the efforts of a number of unions, a handful of legislators, and some private organizations — including a coalition of environmental groups founded expressly for this purpose — the Secretary's efforts were only partially successful.

In December of 1970 the President signed into law the Occupational Safety and Health Act. It covers 57,000,000 workers and, among other statutes, replaces the Walsh-Healy Act. Responsibility for enforcement is placed with the Department of Labor, while Health, Education, and Welfare is charged with research and evaluation of occupational diseases. The stronger provisions of the Act include giving inspectors the right of entry into any plant at any reasonable time; every workplace is now covered; workers have the right to request an inspection and the Department of Labor is bound to respond to all written requests; and employees have the right to have a representative accompany the compliance officer during the inspection. Among the weaker provisions, less stringent than some existing state laws, is a loophole big enough to fly an C-5A through, which allows the Secretary of Labor to provide such

"reasonable tolerances and exemptions to and from any or all provisions of this Act as he may find necessary and proper to avoid serious impairment to the national defense."

\$57,000,000 was budgeted for the Act's implementation in fiscal '72 by President Nixon. Equal to \$1 for every worker covered, this amount was divided between the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare. Much of the money, however, in effect went to support the preparation of state plans. This year the President has budgeted \$97,000,000 under the Act. The Department of Labor will receive \$67,000,000 but immediately dispense half of that primarily to pay for paper-shuffling in the preparation of state plans.

Meaningful research and enforcement require money and personnel. As of January '72 the Federal Government had only 14 industrial hygienists on the payroll to do the sophisticated health hazard inspections required at the nation's workplaces. They expect to have 50 by this month and have no plans to hire any more. There are presently 300 general inspectors on the Federal payroll, with plans for a total force of 500. Together, that adds up to 550 trained inspectors to protect the lives of 57,000,000 workers at over 4,000,000 separate work sites.

The Secretary of Labor is charged with promulgating the regulations under which the Act will be implemented. This power combined with Section 16, the "tolerances and exemptions" loophole, gives him considerable latitude in shaping Federal enforcement. He is responsible only to a "National Advisory Council," chaired by Howard Pyle, a conservative Republican and industry ally who reportedly professes the attitude that workers are safer on their jobs than they are on the highways. An example of the Secretary's exercise of his flexible powers under the Act is seen in the Labor Department's levying of fines for noncompliance. The Act permits the Labor Department to impose fines of up to \$10,000 per violation. According to Frank Wallick, who monitors OSHA for the United Auto Workers in Washington, the average fine levied "on those few employers

who are inspected amounts to only \$18.44 — a mere tap on the wrist, about the price of a fancy dinner for two." One employer was fined \$6. because his workers had to eat their lunch near dangerous toxic substances.

In another case Carl Carlson, safety chairman of UAW local 6, told a recent meeting of his experiences with the International Harvester Company in Melrose, Illinois. Carlson charged that the annual report submitted to the Labor Department falsely reported no fatalities or occupational illnesses, and he said he was refused permission to use a noise meter purchased by the local. So he requested a Federal inspection. Seven months later, the government finally inspected the plant and cited Harvester for 331 violations, including noise violations and maintaining a welding area where the iron oxide level was 11 times the prescribed standard. Management quickly appealed the summonses. Until the Review Commission hears the case at some future date, International Harvester need neither comply nor pay penalties.

Mine Safety

In the much better known area of Coal Mine Safety, the Nixon White House has demonstrated a comparable lack of commitment, despite receipt of a strong mandate from the Congress to pursue vigorous improvement in the working conditions of the nation's 125,000 active coal miners. Faced with a Mine Safety Regulations bill, the Administration proceeded to:

- a. Attempt to veto the bill as inflationary.
- b. Name a board to oversee Coal Mine Safety Research whose members are largely either political hacks, industry hacks or others simply unqualified to examine coal mine safety techniques.
- c. Nominate J. Richard Lucas as Director of the Bureau of Mines. Lucas was so patently inadequate and blatantly wedded to the coal industry that his name was subsequently withdrawn.
- d. Name Ed Failor to oversee coal mine safety enforcement. Failor's only qualification it appears is that he formerly was involved with the ultra-conservative Young Republi-

can "Syndicate" and consequently is close to top White House assistant Bill Timmons and to Lew Helm, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Interior, whose responsibilities include overseeing the activities of the Bureau. Failor should feel right at home with Helm's other colleagues, one of whom is a former lobbyist for the American Mining Congress (the industry trade association) and the other, the former director of the Colorado Mining Association.

These Administration shortcomings represent only a small piece of the dismal picture of our larger national failure in this area. Seeking answers is difficult. Yesterday's stock response — that the laws are completely inadequate — expired the moment the newest package of occupational safety and health legislation became law. So the answers lie elsewhere.

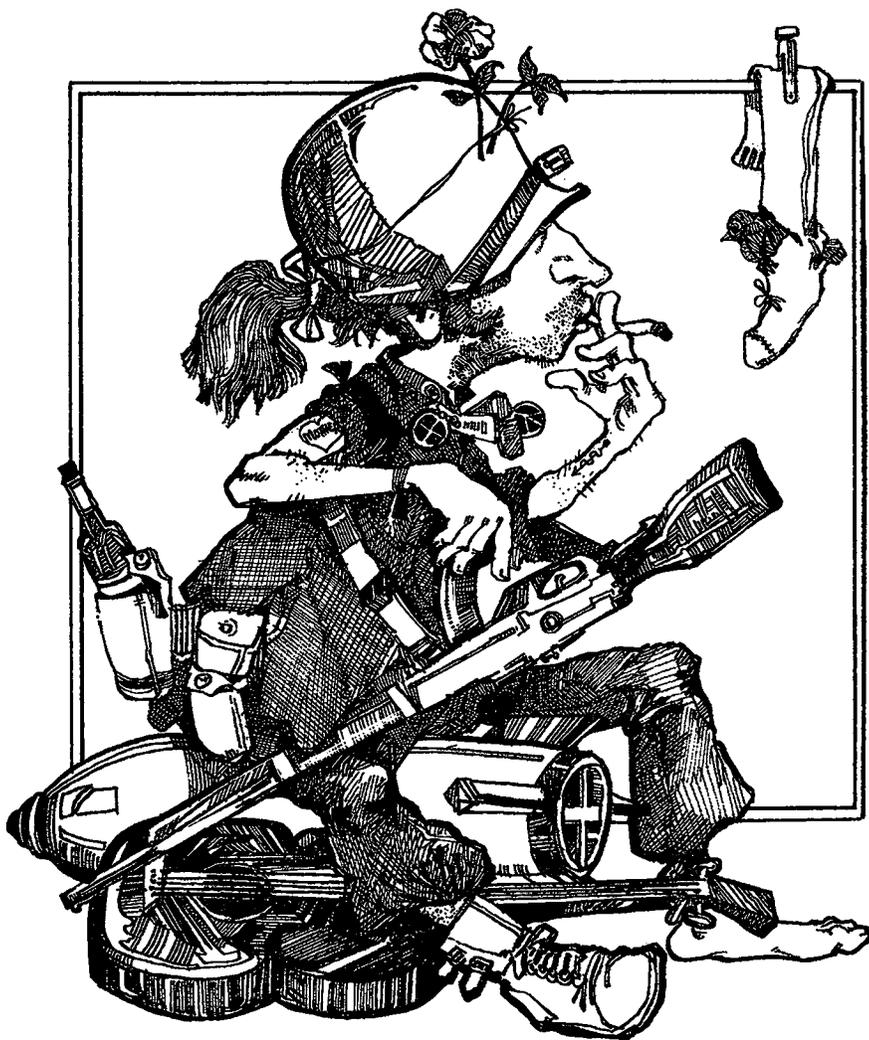
Some believe that the government has resisted the mandate to improve the quality of our work environments. The departments defensively insist that we expect too much too soon. Too many in Congress agree.

Still others blame President Nixon and the White House for not treating the occupational health situation as an emergency requiring a full-scale mobilization of federal resources. Moreover, many critics say that political maneuverings in the departments by the White House have done irrevocable harm to the cause of worker health.

Wide criticism is aimed at industry, which has maintained a hand-in-glove relationship with their supposed regulators. They have resisted, defiantly in some instances, the Congressional mandate that the health and safety of the worker shall be the first "priority and concern" of all in industry. Neither the medical profession nor the unions escape blame.

While there have been some real accomplishments, one must conclude that, despite the legislation and the lofty pronouncements, industry, labor and government have not yet reconciled themselves to the principle that the worker, as Congress put it, is our "most precious resource."

The U.S. military has been severely criticized in recent years, largely for carrying out policies — such as the Vietnam War — dictated by U.S. civilian leadership. To a great extent, therefore, the debate over civilian control of the military might better be addressed to the question of civilian control of the politicians, or more broadly to the issue of the demilitarization of civilian opinion. Peter Welch, a Philadelphia Ripon member, currently working in Taiwan, treats all these matters in the following article. But he focuses on the ways in which the military itself can be invigorated and reformed for the specialized and often non-martial challenges of protracted preparedness in the nuclear age. In this difficult assignment, the military needs to acquire new virtues and new support from the society at large. Welch concludes with a program by which these goals can be achieved.



Gaining Civilian Control

by Peter Welch

Last month's disclosures of freelance bombing raids on North Vietnam — against the specific orders of civilian authorities — raise once again, during this tragically revealing war, the question of exorbitant military influence. While the Pentagon's profile is high, the time is ripe for considering how to reaffirm civilian control

over our armed forces.

The ways to control the military are many — Congressional regulation, administrative overview, organizational changes, decreased appropriations, and changed personnel policies. During the Cold War, civilian control has focused on organizational form, not substance; personnel changes

have never been extensively tried. Yet, because of the President's dependence on the judgments of thousands of officers, the country cannot maintain control of policy unless there is a civilian input into the processes by which these people are selected, trained, and promoted.

The biggest current controversy over

personnel policies is between the Volunteer Armed Force and the draft. Although the case for the Volunteer Armed Force is multi-sided, of primary importance is that it will strengthen civilian control of the military. The strengthening will come both through the civilian influence of volunteers from within and through their use of economic power from without: by increasing the market price of their services for unpopular wars.

The difficulties of the argument that the draft increases civilian influence are many. The influx of draftees has not perceptibly affected the military's behavior in any desirable way. The supposed mechanism by which citizen-soldiers control the generals has not yet been revealed. Historically, they have not mutinied in the face of distasteful orders. In fact, there is no way through which small numbers of draftees, holding no rank above captain, will control the policies of the strictly hierarchical military organization.

The closest thing to a draftee influence mentioned by draft supporters, is the exposure of military scandals. In the My Lai massacre, however, the first soldier to report having seen the killings was Sgt. Bernhardt, who was not a draftee, but who left college to fight this war as a volunteer. While Sgt. Bernhardt did not participate in the massacre, Lt. Calley, who joined the Army just one step ahead of the draft, was found guilty for the incident.

Even professional soldiers will not as a group be so dependent on the Army for their careers that they cannot rebel against policies they regard illegitimate. Projections by the Gates Commission* indicate that approximately 325,000 men will annually leave the military under a volunteer system — a drop of only 25 percent. Of those, roughly 215,000 or 65 percent will leave after a single tour of duty, a drop of first-term turnover of less than a third. If increased turnover is desirable for exposing military scandal, concern might be more effectively focused upon the higher ranks in the officer corps and among Department of Defense civilians.

Even if one assumes a degree of draftee influence, what percentage of the military should be conscripted to safeguard our liberties — 33 percent, 50 percent, or 75 percent? According to all estimates, draftees will not constitute more than 12 percent of the Armed Services. The pre-Vietnam figure of 8 percent is probably closer. It is unlikely that such a small percentage of powerless enlisted men can affect the Department of Defense.

The argument that draftees prevent the formation of an isolated military caste ignores not only the insignificance of draftee influence on policy but also the already close-knit professionalism of the military officer corps.

The problem of conscription is not how to avoid a professional military, for we already have one. The issue is what type of people professional military men should be and what relationship they should have with the rest of American society.

We must have general and flag rank officers who have a perspective on American society reaching far beyond the problems of combat or national security. This breadth of vision is promoted by a Volunteer Armed Service. Under a volunteer system, the Army could not remain an isolated institution and be able to attract men for service.

It is paradoxical truth, therefore, that the ending of citizen-soldiers will strengthen civilian influence in the military. To attract civilians, the Armed Services must "civilianize" military life and basic training, because first-term enlisted men, as a group, would no longer be powerless in the face of the military establishment. And indeed, the very threat of a Volunteer Armed Force has prompted military reforms.

In the future the pressure of a Volunteer Armed Force may well force expanded off-base living. As the Gates Commission noted, not only does a serviceman often live on base and shop in the PX but also he may send his children to a school filled with children whose parents are also in the military and his family to a military hospital. If more military compensation were paid in cash and less in kind, military isolation from the rest

of society would decrease. While such shifts may be in response to growing disenchantment with the military, no changes in fact occurred until after the Gates Commission had recommended, and the President had approved in principle, a Volunteer Armed Force.

High-Echelon Entry

With a Volunteer Armed Force, the military will also be forced to promote lateral entry, offering volunteers the opportunity to work within their specialty as they "serve their country and see the world." (At the same time the military will have to offer to other potential volunteers the chance to learn a skill.) It will have to recruit men into higher ranks and excuse these individuals from basic training.

In the past the Army has not taken advantage of many useful skills within its ranks. For instance, of 270 men with architecture degrees in 1969, only 8 were used in their specialty, while the Army had need of 394 architects. Of the 912 men with accounting degrees, only 62 were used as accountants while the Army needed 463. The changes which the military will have to institute will be similar to the program the Seabees developed when faced with World War II manpower shortages.

In an age where only 29 percent of military personnel are in purely military specialties, the opportunities for lateral entry are great.

Because the real cost of draftees is much higher than their compensation, draftees are often used where civilians would be cheaper in real costs. As wages of servicemen are increased, civilians will become cheaper than soldiers in budgetary terms. The Gates Commission estimated that 117,000 civilians could be substituted for servicemen in a force of 2.5 million men. These positions are in administration and medical and logistics support. Some changes of this type are already occurring.

The reforms brought about by the threat of a Volunteer Armed Force have instilled a new civilian orientation in the entire military bureaucracy. As the idea of a volunteer force gains momentum, the responsiveness of the

* A study commission, headed by former Defense Secretary Thomas Gates, which advocated creation of an all-Volunteer Armed Force.

Army will increase in direct proportion. General Westmoreland has a special assistant for the Modern Volunteer Army and gave this lieutenant general considerable authority.

The second liberal pro-draft argument is that the draft forces the politically powerful middle class to protest wars. As Senator Kennedy states the argument:

"It is unwise to insulate from the horrors of war, middle and upper class Americans, who might lead the protest against senseless foreign adventures. I frankly would question, for example, whether the current pressure for deescalation of the Indo-China war would be as great if young men from every social background were not threatened with service in that war."

That conscription is a necessary precondition for an aggressive military policy, however, is apparent from the history of Napoleon, the British in the American Revolution, and the Prussians, but it is nowhere more apparent than in the Vietnam War. It was the draft that enabled President Johnson to constantly escalate troop levels throughout 1965 with a minimum of public debate. Had the nation not retained a peacetime draft, Johnson would have been forced to request one from the Congress. Without such a tradition of conscription Congress would have authorized it only after a lengthy debate and possibly a declaration of war. The politics of it would have embarrassed Johnson, who ran on a peace plank in 1964.

As the war continued, its burdens increasingly fell on the draftee. By 1970, of Army infantry riflemen in Vietnam, 88 percent were draftees; 10 percent, first-term volunteers; and two percent, career men. The draft insulates the ranks of the career soldiers from the consequences of continuation of the war. At the same time it provides them with the promotion opportunities which come with an enlarged Army and if they choose, with short-term combat experience necessary for promotion in the higher ranks.

The idea of holding middle class sons hostage to force political con-

trol is plausible. Middle class parents, however, are far less vocal in political protest against the war than their offspring on college campuses. The reaction of many otherwise apathetic parents to the draft has often been to support the war as a means of supporting their sons in combat. In demonstrations and marches, the more radical students (on which the television cameras naturally focused) forced a choice in many viewers' minds between the unshaven marchers and the President of the United States. Following the three largest demonstrations, support for the President's policy rose.

In contrast to both World War I and the Korean War where support for the war fell off quickly, in this war demonstrations helped to maintain support. The draft has thus given us the worse of both worlds — supplying the military with unlimited manpower at ostensibly rock bottom rates and helping to maintain support for the war.

Those who defend the draft on the hostage argument take the same moral view of our citizens that the military advocates — seeing draftees as only means to an end other than themselves. One group views them as replaceable parts in the war machine. The other views them as hostages to force political control over the military. Both philosophies are repulsive.

In the history of the Vietnam War, three facts stand out clearly. First, the draft allowed us to become involved. Second, the draft permitted us to remain involved. And third, for eight long years this nation has remained at war, in spite of illusions that the draft would force our exit. Our withdrawal now from infantry combat is hardly a tribute to the efficacy of the draft in controlling the military.

In contrast, forcing the military to be dependent on volunteers for infantry soldiers, a Volunteer Armed Force strengthens popular control not only of generals but also of the President. It adds a second channel of control — the economic power of not volunteering for an unjustified war — to the usual channel of trying to stop it through the political process.

Implicitly recognizing that the draft enables us to get into unpopular wars, the Senate Armed Service Committee

has approved an amendment to limit the number of men the President can conscript to 150,000 a year. As the ceiling could be raised only by a joint Congressional resolution, Congressional control apparently would be reinstated. Although the amendment is a step in the right direction, it remains a poor halfway measure.

Any time throughout the last five years of war, the Congress could have asserted Congressional control. What it lacked was the will not the means to oppose directly the President. To stop the future Vietnams, the peace forces in Congress need to be able to focus debate around the only issue which can compare in emotional intensity with national security — the principle that no American should be drafted in peacetime. Unless this principle is established, a President can always ask for "small" increases of the ceiling and escalate gradually.

To end the peacetime draft would destroy the facility with which Presidents have circumvented Congressional authority. Without an ongoing draft no President will be able to implement a policy requiring massive number of soldiers without convincing Congress that the national security is directly and immediately threatened. A ceiling on conscription recognizes the problem, but does not effectively deal with it.

The Officer Corps

While the Volunteer Armed Force will strengthen civilian control of the military, especially in the enlisted ranks, other methods are needed to control the already professional officer corps. For those who still believe (for whatever reason) that the draft aids civilian control, the alternatives for control are many and varied, and do not require abridgement of our liberties.

Promotion to all general and flag ranks is made by promotion boards (officially called selection boards), which are in theory chosen by the service secretaries. In practice, the board members are chosen by the service chief of staff and nominally approved by the secretary. Most civilians, either in the Department of Defense or the Congress, have been reluctant to interfere with the process

for fear of charges of playing politics.

The service academy graduates have a virtual monopoly among the highest ranks. Although only 5 percent of the officers are academy graduates, all but 11 of 47 Army lieutenant generals graduated from the academies and 7 of those 11 are in specialized command such as logistics or engineering. At full general only one out of 16 is a Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) graduate. The ardent discrimination against ROTC graduates is virtually complete at all flag ranks in the Navy. The Air Force is more open than the other services but is expected to discriminate more as Colorado Springs graduates rise through the officer corps.

Discrimination exists against support officers in all services, as well as against ROTC graduates. Although 52 percent of all colonels are in support positions, only 28 percent of brigadiers are. At the rank of lieutenant and full generals, the figure falls to 10 percent. The percentage of officers in operations commands is 33 for colonels, 54 for brigadiers, and 73 for lieutenant and full generals. Since officers in operations have duties unlike any citizens, a disproportional number in the highest ranks lessens the similarity of thinking between the military and civilian worlds.

Boards for promotion to and within general and flag ranks should be composed of civilians.

These boards should not cover promotion to colonel or to lower ranks because the decisions made at those ranks are not significant enough to justify civilian involvement, and the numbers are too large. According to Ward Just, however, the best men in the Army are colonels who never made general.

Civilian boards could provide more civilian influence than a million draftees. New ideas from society would be communicated to the military through the selection process. Generals and admirals, present and potential, would be forced to judge their actions in the light of the country's thinking. These boards are an excellent way to break the grip that academy graduates and operations officers have on the Armed Services.

In the past, interservice promotion boards have been recommended. But interservice boards or board members from other services would hinder, not aid, civilian control. It is isolation from society, not competition between services, which is to be feared. In almost every modern nation, the divisions of military forces into separate groups has been used to bolster civilian control. In Congressional debates (such as over the ABM), services sometimes supply information to scuttle the programs of sister services.

To aid chief executive involvement in promotion, Congress' Armed Services Committees might review carefully promotions to lieutenant and full general and vice and full admiral. Since all appointments above lieutenant and ensign must be approved by the Congress, the mechanism for control is available. Not until a man becomes a three-star general does he influence policy. With less than 200 men in all services of that rank or higher, and with the principal jobs in the Army, numbering only 24, according to Army Registrar, Congressional review becomes possible. All these men and their counterparts in the other services might testify before Congressional committees before confirmations.

To invigorate the military, vigorous leadership from within the ranks must be found. When Secretary of War George Dern wanted to modernize the Army in 1936, he took Colonel George Marshall from his "exile" as a nonconformist at National Guard training duty and promoted him over more senior officers. Marshall, in turn, chose vigorous officers.

Promotion boards are allowed to consider only a certain small percentage of officers "below the zone" of the required seniority. As recommended halfheartedly by the Fitzhugh Commission and now partially instituted in the Navy by Admiral Zumwalt, below the zone promotion should be expanded. To retain the most able men, rapid advancement must be offered. Promotion with the herd creates a homogeneous officer corps and wastes the most vigorous years of officers' lives by having them work their way up.

Freedom to Fail

Even better than below the zone promotion would be jumping ranks. A few outstanding officers could be rewarded for their initiative and creative problem solving. The name of the promotion game is to avoid making waves. Promotion favors the mediocre performance with no mistakes instead of the brilliant career with errors. Officers need the freedom to fail and reward for risky nonconformist action.

The military, regardless of how it is recruited, also needs more direct exposure to civilian values. The Armed Services rotate officers every three years to give them a broad experience in the military. Since three years is the time it takes to learn a job well, the procedure is wasteful. Its philosophy is also wrong. We do not need military generalists, we need generalists, period: that is, men who are competent in their specialty but who know the needs and thinking of American society. Instead, officers might be rotated in and out of the military every five years.

Sabbaticals or leaves of absence might be required both for graduate studies (a majority of generals now have MA's) and for other non-military exposure. If men remain in specialist careers (such as research or communications), as the Fitzhugh Commission urged, they will have expertise to offer to businesses, universities, or private foundations. Through civilian jobs, their experience will be broadened. Also, retired officers might be asked to return at higher rank if their civilian experience has been relevant to their military responsibilities. While rarely taken advantage of, the legal basis for recalling officers is already available. For instance, President Kennedy recalled General Taylor in 1962.

Holding civilian jobs will remind officers that they are not dependent on the military for their livelihood, making them more willing to dissent within the ranks. They will further know that if their promotion is refused and they retire early, the wind may blow in a different direction in the future. They may be rewarded by coming back from retirement at a higher rank.

The military remains a relatively closed system because only one career

pattern is available: commission as a second lieutenant or ensign and promotion rank by rank. The only route to becoming a general or admiral is through 20-odd years of service — 20 years of taking orders, of learning the Army's procedures, and of internalizing its norms. Almost no other organization requires 20 years of service within it before influence is gained. To open up this system, civilians must be offered commissions at all levels including that of general and flag rank. This procedure will be most successful with men in their thirties being offered commissions from major to colonel.

During World War II men were directly commissioned up to the rank of colonel. Secretary of Defense McNamara, for instance, served as a lieutenant-colonel. Except for tradition, there is no reason why this might not be extended upward. Though it would be undesirable for civilian generals to have operational commands, less than 40 percent of our Army are combat commands. Executives are needed for logistics, recruitment, and medicine. The skills needed in the military, moreover, are those needed in business. To ensure that the influx is not thwarted by traditionalists in the Pentagon, service secretaries or Congress might require that a minimum percentage of commissions at each rank be direct from civilian life.

A further and more difficult dilemma is created by the Service Academies. Whatever their virtues, these academies hinder civilian control in two ways. First, isolating future military leaders during their formative years, these schools increase the chance of military alienation from American society. Second, they develop a solidarity among officers which protects the military against outsiders — reporters, Congressmen, and service secretaries. In contrast to graduates of most schools, academy graduates remain in the same organization, with their paths continuously crossing. It is as if all graduates of the University of Michigan worked for General Motors and as if GM drew only on University of Michigan graduates.

One example of this service academy solidarity came in early 1968, when Lt. Commander Arnheiter was relieved of his command after com-

plaints by three junior officers, all of whom were ROTC graduates. Among other things, Arnheiter had ordered the shooting of Vietnamese civilians on shore. To Annapolis-graduate Arnheiter's defense came his executive officer, a captain and, two rear admirals, all of whom were academy graduates. It is such relationships which the academies create and which makes civilian control so difficult.

While there is no evidence that training at the academies significantly changes attitudes, the attitudes which the cadets enter and graduate with are different from ROTC cadets' attitudes. For instance, of Annapolis cadets 33 percent thought a military take-over might be justified and 28 percent regarded a nuclear first strike as acceptable. For ROTC cadets the figures were 19 percent and 16 percent. Although academy cadets are sufficiently motivated so they would join ROTC if there were no academies, the academies strengthen the ties between such men and enable more of them to rise in the ranks.

The substantial curtailing of undergraduate academies would necessitate the strengthening of ROTC programs. But ROTC has two problems: its graduates lack career motivation and the trend is to force it off campuses. Both can be overcome. The great advantage of the academies is that they produce officers expecting the military to be their life work. While ROTC attempts to stimulate interest in a military career at every opportunity, the problem of commitment remains.

A partial solution is greatly increased scholarships, which require men to serve for four years. Retention rates are much higher within this program partly because a good officer is a captain or Navy lieutenant after four years. The second problem, on-campus training, can be solved by having off-campus training in the summer. The Marines have done this for years with their Platoon Leaders Corps, as has the Navy.

The *raison d'etres* of the academies, providing training in specialized military leadership and maintaining peacetime morale, are of decreasing validity. In the last century the percentage of soldiers in pure military specialties has fallen from over 90 to 29.

In the nuclear age, national defense is constant and often technical work.

None the less, whether the nation ultimately benefits from the service academies is too complex a question to be answered fully here. But it is apparent that they create obstacles to civilian control which have been rarely discussed. A full-scale study of their role is needed.

War Colleges

On the way to becoming generals or admirals, most officers also attend one of the War Colleges. In spite of recently rising intellectual standards, these institutions still serve as transmission belts for policy instead of innovators. It is private research organizations and major universities which are the source of new strategic concepts and national security theories. The War Colleges' impact on national policy can be inferred from the frequent remark of graduates, "What you learn there is less important than the friends you make there." Men from different services and different branches discover a common interest in strengthening the national defense, helping to cement the defense community and increasing its power. The type of training future generals receive should be carefully reviewed, as should the possibility that the War Colleges' functions might better be performed by private research organizations and major universities.

The problem of civilian control does not end with the military itself. What has been overlooked is that some Defense Department civilians are just as biased in favor of the military as the most hawkish general. While officers are regularly rotated, the civil servants remain in the same positions for years. Instead of giving them permanent tenure, turnover at higher ranks might be encouraged. This would require revamping civil service requirements, but new blood is needed here as elsewhere.

Civil servants should not be confused with the politically appointed civilians in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Turnover here, every two years on the average, is too rapid for men to understand their jobs and the system. Strengthening civilian control depends on capable civilian leadership

in the Office of the Secretary. The solution may be informal — selecting men who will stay for four or five years or reminding them that they severely limit their usefulness by resigning.

For Republicans to adopt and push the cause of civilian control through personnel changes is a natural outgrowth of our traditions. We are the party which realizes that without the

enthusiasm and dedication of individuals, no administrative structure will be successful. It was President Eisenhower who first sounded the call for control of the military-industrial complex. He spoke:

"In the councils of Government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex

.... We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes.

Since the Ripon Society first supported a Volunteer Armed Force over six years ago, national sentiment has shifted sharply in that direction. But civilian control now should be extended beyond the elimination of conscription, for the danger lies primarily in the higher ranks.

LETTERS

Wrong County

I noted in your June, 1972 issue that you carried a story on the 1974 elections in California. In this story, author Daniel J. Swillinger referred to my Congressional District as being in "conservative, populous and wealthy Orange County in the south ..."

I would like to correct that statement, as I do not reside in, nor does my district encompass, any part of Orange County. I represent well over half of the geographical area of Los Angeles County, and part of Kern County. Under reapportionment, my district would include the western part of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County and a large part of Ventura County.

BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.
Member of Congress

Mountain States

As regard my letter on loss of convention representation from the Mountain States, you are quite correct in your "sic." (June 15 FORUM, "People in Politics") In fact, it should have been "sic, sic, sic," for the totals were wrong for present representation, future representation,

and loss. The only thing correct about it is that Mountain States impact at the 1976 National Convention could be diminished by over a third. I corrected the faulty mathematics in a later memorandum, which the press didn't pick up.

I also was interested in your article regarding Virginia. I haven't had any communication with Dick Obenshain for years, but you may misestimate him. He was the Virginia Young Republican Chairman in 1963 and, although a professed Goldwaterite, resisted all "conservative" pressure and voted for Chuck McDevitt, the "moderate" candidate, at the San Francisco YR national convention that year. I, as his Utah counterpart, seconded Buz Lukens' "conservative" nomination.

To further compound the confusion, my current battle is with the John Birch Society, which considers that Senator Bennett, Congressman Lloyd, and the current Utah machinery isn't "conservative" enough. If our extremists had their way, we'd reject all reclamation projects because they suffer from the "unconstitutionality" which they and Robert Welch claim attends federal grants.

KENT SHEARER
Chairman
Utah Republican State
Central Committee

14a ELIOT STREET

● **Ralph Loomis**, a member of the National Governing Board, from Hartford will take over as Ripon's new executive director this month. He replaces **Robert D. Behn** who will become a lecturer at Harvard Business School. Loomis had been director of the Voluntary Action Center of Greater Hartford since 1970 and had previously been Secretary of the Connecticut State Chamber of Commerce.

● The July 15 FORUM newsletter on Gov. **Francis Sargent** and the Massachusetts GOP got wide publicity in the Bay State. Released the day before the Massachusetts Republican Convention, one reporter noted that the "ghost" of the article on Sargent was very strongly felt at the convention. Apparently in response to the article, reporters noted that Sargent seemed to have changed his speech to stress his support for the Republican officeholders and candidates throughout the state. The FORUM article criticized Sargent for his lackadaisical attitude toward the Party. Several days later, Sargent appeared on a television program. "There is a general decline in interest in both parties," he noted, and stressed that Republicans would have to work hard to maintain a viable two-party system in Massachusetts.

MINNESOTA: Attorney **Jim Manahan** is Minnesota's new representative on the National Governing Board, replacing **Ron Speed** who is now Secretary of the NGB. Manahan is an alternate to the Republican National Convention.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: **Brit Hume** was the guest of the Washington, D.C. Ripon Chapter on June 27. Hume, one of columnist Jack Anderson's investigators, made no new disclosures of political chicanery or Pentagon conniving, but did discuss the Anderson newsgathering apparatus.

NEW JERSEY: Three members of the Ripon's New Jersey chapter will be attending the Republican National Convention. **Virginia Benjamin** will be an alternate, **Joseph Pellington** will serve as a page, and **Al Felzenberg** will be an aide to the delegation.

MEMPHIS: The Memphis provisional chapter held an auction June 30 at the home of the Shelby County Chairman, Dr. **T. Kyle Creson**. Items auctioned off included an autograph pen from President **Nixon**; an autographed card from Vice President **Agnew** (a "hot" item); a doodle from HEW Secretary **Elliot Richardson**; and items from GOP National Chairman **Robert Dole**, HUD Secretary **George Romney** and most of Tennessee's Republican Congressional delegation. About 100 persons attended the auction which raised money for both local and national Ripon and the local GOP. Local Republicans are already looking forward to the Memphis Ripon's 1973 answer to **Warren Beatty**.

● Other Ripon members attending the Republican National Convention include **Willie L. Leftwich**, as a delegate from the District of Columbia; **Jaye Whittier** as a delegate from Massachusetts; **Robert Behn** and **Martha Beardon** as alternates from Massachusetts; and **Glenn Gerstell** and **Tanya Melch** as alternates from New York.

California Corner

McCloskey's Win

For the fourth time since 1967 Pete McCloskey has been nominated to Congress over determined conservative opposition. McCloskey won 44 percent of the GOP vote against 31 percent and 25 percent for his two challengers. The sizeable margin of victory was a pleasant surprise to moderates.

Adding greatly to McCloskey's difficulties was the drastic reshaping of his congressional district. During the long reapportionment struggle in the California legislature, a quid pro quo was reached whereby Republicans would vote to create a new Democratic district in McCloskey's San Mateo County if Democrats would vote (in Ronald Reagan's words) to "reapportion McCloskey into the San Andreas fault." The part of San Mateo County which included McCloskey's home was tacked on to a contorted strip of adjoining Santa Clara County, which contained the bulk of the population of the new district. Since 80 percent of McCloskey's old district had been replaced by new territory, a new campaign organization had to be built up from scratch.

At the outset of the campaign those intent on defeating McCloskey feared that he might move into the newly-created Democratic district and run there, since his general election majorities of 75-80 percent left little doubt as to his appeal among Democrats. To forestall this possibility, a coalition of GOP conservatives ran a spoiler, Charles Chase, in the Democratic district to block a McCloskey nomination. In the more Republican district in which McCloskey lived, this coalition selected Royce Cole, a member of the Palo Alto school board, to run in the primary. This effort to force McCloskey into a contest with a single conservative opponent failed when former New York Congressman Bob Barry also became a candidate in McCloskey's district.

Since McCloskey did not an-



nounce for re-election until after the New Hampshire primary, there was some preliminary skirmishing between Barry and Cole, each trying to establish himself as McCloskey's major opponent. Barry was labelled a perennial candidate because, after losing his New York seat in the Goldwater debacle, Barry had run against Congressman Tunney in 1966, against McCloskey in 1968, and against George Murphy for Senate in 1970. Barry portrayed himself as a centrist candidate between the ultraliberal McCloskey and the ultraconservative Cole. When McCloskey began active campaigning, he kept his criticism of his two opponents low key, aiming primarily at whichever seemed ahead of the other.

Because of the irregular shape of the district, direct canvassing was more effective than mass media. McCloskey volunteers were able to contact most voters in the district, identify 20,000 who were favorable to McCloskey and turn out 97 percent of the iden-

tified supporters on election day. McCloskey got 8,000 additional voters from mailed appeals to the undecided voters. The opposition was also well organized and well financed and did almost as good a job in turning out the anti-McCloskey vote. The overall turnout among Republicans in the congressional district was 74 percent, substantially above the statewide 67 percent Democratic turnout for the McGovern-Humphrey contest.

Although most prominent Nixon supporters in the district took no active part in the campaign, Reagan financial angel Henry Salvatori contributed \$5,000 to Royce Cole and later intervened directly in a last-minute effort to get one of McCloskey's opponents to throw his support to the other. The effort failed because both Cole and Barry felt they were doing better and wanted the other to withdraw. (Actually Barry ended up 4,000 votes ahead of Cole.) Salvatori's efforts were more than counterbalanced by Congressman Alphonzo Bell's personal campaigning for McCloskey. (Salvatori had tried to purge Bell in 1970.)

In retrospect it seems likely that McCloskey could have won against either of his opponents, even had the other withdrawn. The weakness of both candidates is illustrated by the fact that Barry, a San Mateo County resident, got 26 percent in San Mateo and 34 percent in Santa Clara, while Cole a Santa Clara County resident, got 21 percent in Santa Clara and 30 percent in San Mateo. The anti-Cole and anti-Barry votes were both strong enough to have lifted McCloskey from 44 percent to a majority in a two-man race.

McCloskey now faces a Democratic opponent, James Stewart, 34, who showed up at the congressman's victory celebration to offer congratulations. McCloskey, at last, seems assured of an easy campaign.

MICHAEL HALLIWELL