

RIPON FORUM

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POLITICS: REPORTS

COLORADO

In only six states this year, incumbent governors will face or have faced serious primary challenges.

In South Dakota and Texas, respectively, Democratic incumbents annihilated more liberal challengers with surprising ease. In Florida, Gov. Reubin Askew (D) is expected to have the same success, but in Oklahoma, the political life expectancy of Gov. David Hall (D), embattled by investigations of corruption in his administration, may be shorter. Republicans have a good shot at the governorship if Hall is renominated in his party's September primary, but if U.S. Rep. Clem McSpadden (D-2nd) defeats Hall, the GOP will have a tougher time regaining the office they lost in 1970.

Two Republican governors are in similar straits. Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R) is his usual embattled self in New Hampshire, currently under fire for disbursements from a campaign fund left over from his 1972 race.

In Colorado, however, Gov. John Vanderhoof (R) appears to be in better shape. Vanderhoof won the endorsement of the state Republican assembly June 28 to win top line designation for the September primary against GOP National Committeeman Bill Daniels. As in New Hampshire, the Colorado primary will continue a longstanding rivalry between moderate and ultraconservative wings of the GOP. The conservatives took full control of the Colorado GOP in 1972, and Daniels has been pursuing the governorship ever since his election to his party post.

Daniels, a Denver businessman and part-owner of the Utah Stars basketball team, has drawn the bulk of his support from state and Denver party leaders. Competition between the two GOP aspirants perhaps peaked in Denver June 1 when delegates to the state assembly were chosen. Daniels needed a strong showing from his Denver supporters but failed to get it. In the pre-meeting acrimony, Denver GOP Chairman James Aspinal, a Daniels backer, denied Denver GOP Secretary Mary Hofstra, a Vanderhoof supporter, access to party records.

The results of the meeting, however, were a sharp and unexpected setback for Daniels, who had hoped for a 2-1 edge among the city's bloc of delegates. At best, he probably got an even split. At the state assembly, Daniels was defeated by more than a 2-1 margin.

Vanderhoof's prospects were also boosted by a May poll by Decision Making Information of California showing Vanderhoof has a 77-percent job approval rating and was preferred by voters over Daniels, 75-10 percent. "No grass-roots support for Daniels exists," said the DMI report.

If, as expected, he wins the September primary, Vanderhoof will face one of three Democratic aspirants: State Rep. Richard Lamm, House Minority Leader Tom Farley, and Mark Hogan, a former lieutenant governor who lost to former Gov. John Love in the 1970 gubernatorial race. A top issue in the fall election may well be land-use legislation that was hotly debated and finally passed by this year's legislature. Both Lamm and Vanderhoof were key proponents of the leg-

islation, but the implementation now under way of the new law's rules is still a controversial topic.

Furthermore, there is some danger that the burning issue of the upcoming Denver congressional race may spill over into state politics. A bitter fight is expected between U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D) and State Rep. Frank Southworth. Southworth, president of the Denver Board of Education, is an outspoken opponent of school busing and is expected to make it his major issue. The publicity given busing could conceivably complicate the state gubernatorial race as well.

Freshman U.S. Rep. James Johnson, who won election with 51 percent of the vote in 1972, will be opposed by State Rep. John S. Carroll (D). The campaign has already ignited a vicious controversy as a result of a letter distributed by best-selling novelist Leon Uris of Aspen. Uris, honorary chairman of the Carroll campaign, called Johnson "utterly without compassion, humanity, and understanding of his fellow American Jews." The charge was made in a letter from Uris to Colorado Jews and was prompted by several votes by Johnson which Uris construed as anti-Israel. Carroll refused to repudiate the letter. Johnson faces primary opposition from Earl "Duke" Laningham, a dentist and vocal member of the John Birch Society.

In the state's other three congressional races, the incumbents are expected to be returned to Congress. U.S. Rep. Don Brotzman (R-2nd) will have more trouble this year than he has had in recent years when he won nearly 2-1 victories. His probable Democratic opponent is Tim Worth, a research consultant.

After the 1972 upset of Sen. Gordon Allott by Floyd Haskell, Sen. Peter Dominick knows he's in trouble. All he has to do is count the six Democrats seriously seeking to deprive him of elected office. Vice President Gerald Ford, a former Yale Law schoolmate of Dominick's, has already put in one campaign stop to assist the GOP incumbent.

Dominick's Democratic opposition is led by Herrick S. Roth, former Colorado AFL-CIO leader who was deposed by George Meany when the Colorado AFL-CIO endorsed George McGovern in 1972. Other Democratic aspirants include Gary Hart, former McGovern campaign manager, Joe Dolan, businessman and former Kennedy aide; former Arapahoe County District Attorney Martin Miller; Alan Merson, law professor and 1972 Democratic opponent of U.S. Rep. Johnson; and Harvey Phelps, a physician.

Dominick has been hit in particular by Hart's criticism of his handling of a \$100,000 contribution from the dairy industry to CREEP. The contribution was in effect laundered by delivery via the GOP Senate Campaign Committee (of which Dominick was chairman) and thence to the Republican National Committee and then to CREEP.

In contests at the GOP state assembly for two other statewide offices, House Speaker John Fuhr won top-line designation for lieutenant governor over the acting lieutenant governor, former Senate President Ted Strickland. In the contest for secretary of state, the present incumbent, Mrs. Mary E. Buchanan, narrowly won top-line designation over her former top assistant, Jerry Connolly. Mrs. Buchanan was appointed to her post

by Vanderhoof this year after the incumbent died. Deciding "I like this job," Mrs. Buchanan announced her candidacy for a full term. However, some party regulars have felt her politics are too "moderate." ■

TENNESSEE

Twenty-three Tennesseans filed to run for the governorship this year, but chances appear good that the one who will succeed Republican Gov. Winfield Dunn (he cannot succeed himself) will also be one of the three GOP candidates. Lacking a runoff provision, the top vote-getters in the August 1 primary will compete in the November 5 general election.

Republicans Dortch Oldham, Lamar Alexander, and Dr. Nat Winston are entered in the Republican primary, and the state GOP essentially has stabilized around these men. The Democratic party, meanwhile, remains in flux, far more philosophically divided and more diffused among 12 candidates.

In such a large field, issues will play a secondary role to the personalities of the individual candidates. The goal appears to be obtaining significant pluralities based largely on the impact of name recognition and personal contact. Electronic media are being saved for the post-primary race, and the press has difficulty covering all the candidates, so personal contact and "ol' time politicking" seem to be the major approach. After the primaries some key issues will materialize, but Gov. Dunn's record will be difficult for the Democrats to attack.

That three Republican candidates emerged reflects the maturity of the

Republican Party as a viable statewide organization. It also reflects an unusual situation. With three political princes in the state— Gov. Dunn and Senators Howard Baker, Jr., and Bill Brock — it is difficult for party politicians to remain entirely aloof from politics. Dunn, Baker, and Brock have worked together to build and unify the party in Tennessee, and each has a slightly different base of support (although they share a significant amount of support). Dunn and Baker split the progressive vote, while Brock enjoys considerable penetration to the conservative voter groups.

No heir apparent to Dunn emerged in the party, so Alexander, Oldham, and Winston began to develop their campaigns to fill this vacuum. Each candidate secured support from each of the three princedoms at first, and the three princes tried not to show favoritism in the name of "party unity" (which is always a sacred cow in Tennessee). In time, however, it was only natural that Dunn, Baker, and Brock began to move toward the various camps. These moves have been quietly made, but the mark of Baker is more often seen in Alexander's campaign, notably through campaign manager Gary Sisco, who was Baker's executive assistant in Washington. Meanwhile, Brock workers and assistants, sensing the mood of their mentor, began to move toward the Winston camp, while Oldham seems to be appealing more and more to Dunn interests. All of this movement is so quiet and amicable that casual subjects of the princedoms often do not realize what is happening. No endorsements from the GOP royalty are expected during the primary.

At first it was thought by political insiders that the Republican race would

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be between Winston and Oldham. Time has proven Alexander to be a serious contender for the nomination.

Regardless of the outcome, the Republican candidate will be in a comparatively better position than his Democratic counterpart. His base of support will probably be larger, at least initially, and better unified. The Republican candidates have meticulously refrained from mud-slinging within the GOP stables, have all praised the Dunn administration, and have tried to build positive campaign platforms. The Democrats, on the other hand, have observed their quadrennial penchant for personal political homicide, although there seems to be a lessening of traditional animosities.

Significantly, the candidates this year are younger, more progressive, and more reformist. Shotgun approaches to the entire electorate are becoming more common as the traditional pockets of power — geographical, racial, political, and social — become more diversified.

Sketches of the GOP candidates follow:

Lamar Alexander, 33, a Nashville lawyer, campaign manager for Winfield Dunn's successful gubernatorial bid in 1970, staff assistant to Howard Baker, White House aide under Bryce Harlow, one of the "bright young men" emerging concurrently with the GOP in Tennessee. A Baker-style moderate, he considers the major issues to be keeping taxes down, providing adequate services, and combatting crime.

Dortch Oldham, 54, a Nashville book and bible publisher, has been a major fund-raiser for Brock and Dunn and headed up Baker's financial drive in the 1972 senatorial race. From the familiar genre of the Republican businessman, he seeks to put the state government on a businesslike basis. Sees attracting industry as a major goal, supports neighborhood schools and teacher pay raises. Calls himself "a mature, successful, conservative, Christian businessman."

Dr. Nat Winston, 47, a Nashville psychiatrist, served as state commissioner of mental health under Dunn, was campaign coordinator for Brock in 1970. Seeks a return to more traditional values, e.g. returning the rudiments of the 3R's to schools, and also supports some modern issues, such

as a limited no-fault. A banjo-strumming candidate, he feels his background would uniquely qualify him for work in social services.

The top Democrats are:

Ray Blanton, 45-year-old Adamsville businessman and former congressman, lost to Baker in 1972; *Jake Butcher*, 37, a banker and auto dealer; *Washington Butler*, a Black Shelby County Court squire; *Hudley Crockett*, 41, Nashville business consultant (no relation to Davey, he lost primary race for Senate in 1970); *Ross Bass*, former congressman and senator; *Stan Snodgrass*, 1970 gubernatorial aspirant, ex-state senator, now Nashville lawyer; *James M. Powers*, mayor of Waverly and president of Tennessee municipal league; *Tom Wiseman*, resigned as state treasurer to make gubernatorial race; and *David Pack*, resigned as attorney general to make race.

Among the Democrats, the candidates span the political spectrum, and the overlap — both philosophically, geographically, and "voter-wise" — will be a sore point as these Democrats vie for votes and funds. Blanton, Crockett, Hooker, and Snodgrass have proven themselves before as capable of mounting campaigns. Wiseman and Butcher seem to be making an impact, and Pack is regarded to be a shrewd politician, although his campaign is in low gear.

In 1970, Winfield Dunn said in his gubernatorial campaign that it was time for a change from the Democratic stranglehold on the state. That hold is broken. The 1974 race promises to be one of the first two-party races for governor this state has seen in decades. It also seems likely that a Republican, capitalizing on the work of a respected Republican state administration (and on the factionalization of the opposition party) can take the state again. ■

MARYLAND

It was never expected that Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel (D) and Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R) would be reelected without major opposition, but the potential challengers kept their plans in doubt until late June when a flurry of political announcements stir-

red up the campaign.

It had been generally acknowledged that Mathias would have a more difficult time getting through a Republican primary against a conservative challenger than he would in winning the November election.

It had long been expected that Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley, chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, would run a strong challenge to Mathias if she filed. There had been fund-raising efforts on her behalf, and computer letters to all Maryland's registered Republicans were waiting to be mailed the day after she met the filing deadline.

Mrs. Bentley entered the office to file at 9 p.m., July 1 — just at the deadline. She walked out five minutes later, a noncandidate. Apparently she decided that in a three-way race with conservative gadfly Ross Z. Pierpont, she could not win.

Pierpont, a maverick Baltimore surgeon who has long been a thorn in the side of moderate Maryland Republicans, had filed for the Senate earlier in the day. He was also one of ten persons indicted the same day on charges of illegal handling of the drug "dilaudid." His indictment was dismissed the next day on the grounds that the grand jury lacked jurisdiction



Marvin Mandel

over the doctor. Pierpont, who has run for governor and senator as a Democrat and for congressman and mayor of Baltimore as a Republican, said there was a plot "to destroy me both professionally and politically."

Speculation on the Democratic opponent for Mathias had centered on Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski, who gained national fame as chairman of Democratic delegation selection commissions, and Bernard M. Talley, Jr., a former Air Force POW. Mikulski announced June 27, and Talley announced at a VFW convention two days later. Mikulski has indicated she would concentrate her campaign on economic issues. Although she is expected to wage a tough Senate campaign, Mikulski may have her eyes (along with those of several other prominent Maryland Democrats) on the seat held by Sen. Glenn Beall, who will be up for reelection in 1976.

Meanwhile, U.S. Rep. Lawrence Hogan (R) also ended months of speculation by announcing he would oppose GOP National Committeewoman Louise Gore for the Republican gubernatorial nomination. Both are conservatives but former UNESCO Ambassador Gore is given virtually no chance to defeat Hogan. Hogan's chances of defeating Mandel depend largely on the progress of continuing corruption investigations into the Mandel Administration. Only direct implication of Mandel would open the way to the gubernatorial mansion for



Lawrence Hogan

Hogan. Since Hogan is divorced and remarried, Mandel's highly-publicized problems likely to affect the race. Mandel is expected to finalize a divorce with Barbara Mandel and marry sweetheart Jeanne Dorsey before the primary — thus minimizing any political repercussions from Mrs. Dorsey's visits to the gubernatorial mansion.

Mandel himself will be opposed by two insurgent Democratic tickets, led by former Court of Appeals Judge Wilson K. Barnes and State Sen. George Snyder. Barnes has limited name recognition, and Snyder has been hurt by reports of tax delinquencies in his business ventures. Neither man is expected to seriously trouble Mandel in a primary. The incumbent long ago salted away a substantial campaign fund.

Hogan's gubernatorial campaign leaves open his Prince George's congressional seat. The county has traditionally been Democratic, and the GOP has long been split between factions supporting Hogan and County Executive William W. Gullett. Hogan at one point even threatened to run for Gullett's post. The GOP's probable congressional candidate for the 5th C.D. will be John Burcham, a Prince George's County councilman, but he will have a hard time saving it for his party.

One other cloud on the GOP horizon is a primary contest between progressive U.S. Rep. Gilbert Gude (R-8th) and Sheldon Z. Zaplan, a Washington lawyer. There are four Democrats seeking the congressional nomination, including Lanny Davis, a former aide to Sen. Edmund S. Muskie. Sidelight: George "Your-home-is-your-castle" Mahoney, the Democrat whom Spiro Agnew defeated in the 1966 gubernatorial election, is running for neither the Senate nor the governorship this year. Instead, Mahoney, who has made seven races for the Senate and five for the governorship, is running for Baltimore County executive. Two previous occupants of that post, Agnew and Democrat Dale Anderson, were indicted and convicted during the past year. If Mahoney were to upset the incumbent for the Democratic nomination, he would open the way for State Sen. Jervis S. Finney (R) to win the post in November. ■

RHODE ISLAND

Although an entire slate of statewide offices are up for election this year, the biggest excitement in Rhode Island politics revolves around the Providence mayoralty race, which has split the Democratic Party in this small state into two camps. Unfortunately for the GOP, the Democratic split is unlikely to improve their luck in November.

Seeking his fourth term, Providence Mayor Joseph Doorley (D) will face six other Democrats in the September primary, but his most serious opponent is Francis Brown, a former Providence public works director under Doorley who has been endorsed by the city Democratic Committee. Doorley, who has noted that Brown can "go to hell," has received the support of U.S. Rep. Robert Tiernan and Sens. Claiborne Pell and John Pastore. Gov. Philip Noel and Democratic State Chairman Charles Riley, however, have endorsed Brown, leading Doorley to announce that his supporters will sit on their Democratic hands in the gubernatorial election. The Republican candidate for mayor is Vincent "Buddy" Cianti, Jr., who gained public exposure as an assistant attorney general investigating corruption at the Providence Civic Center.

In the statewide contests, the GOP has nominated a slate of candidates which disregards the usual ethnic considerations. The nominees approved at a June 10th State Republican meeting were: for governor, James W. Nugent, a conservative insurance executive who served as state GOP finance chairman; for lieutenant governor, Louise Kazanjian, a bank official and vice chairman of the Newport School Board; for attorney general, incumbent Richard Israel; for secretary of state, Thomas Iannitti, a young salesman; and for treasurer, John Daluz, a black credit union official.

A North Providence Republican lawyer, Ernest Barone, will contest U.S. Rep. Fernand St. Germain. The GOP has the greatest difficulty in fielding a sacrificial lamb against U.S. Rep. Tiernan. Vincent Rotundo, a handicapped businessman, responded to a television report about the GOP's can-

didate search by volunteering his candidacy. Two days later, the Providence TV station was able to announce that it had found the GOP a candidate. Such are the depths to which GOP hopes in Rhode Island have sunk. ■

IDAHO

No matter who wins the congressional election in Idaho's 2nd C.D. this year, it will be a Hansen. U.S. Rep. Orval Hansen (R), the incumbent moderate conservative, is being challenged in his party's primary by former U.S. Rep. George Hansen, who ran unsuccessfully against Sen. Frank Church (D) in 1968 and lost the GOP Senate primary in 1972.

The archconservative George Hansen may have worn out his welcome

in Idaho politics with his frequent campaigns and strident rhetoric.

No matter which Hansen wins the August 6 GOP primary, he will probably face Max Hanson, a conservative farmer who is the likely Democratic nominee.

As newly elected GOP State Chairman Robert G. Linville, Jr., points out, keeping the GOP together may be the party's biggest problem this year. Linville, a Boise businessman elected at the GOP's June 22 state convention, is optimistic, however, that the seams of party unity will hold.

The GOP will have several other primaries including a three-man contest for the nomination to oppose Sen. Church this November. Bob Smith, a former minister who resigned as an administrative assistant to U.S. Rep. Steve Symms (R) to run for the seat, is favored. Republicans are hoping

that Church's wonder boy image is fading, but the 49-year-old Democrat is a formidable candidate.

Gov. Cecil Andrus may be an even tougher target for Lt. Gov. Jack Murphy, the only GOP gubernatorial candidate. Murphy, an attorney-rancher who has served in his current post since 1967, has extensive name recognition but will have a difficult job undermining Andrus, a conservative Democrat. Even simmering scandals in the Andrus administration have failed to dim his popularity.

The three-way race for lieutenant governor includes Hope Kading, a lobbyist and former state YR chairman ("gangbuster" variety); State Rep. Vernon Ravenscroft, a former Democrat who opposed Andrus in the 1970 gubernatorial primary; and Pat Harwood, a former public relations man for the J.R. Simplot Co. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● Sen. James L. Buckley (Cons.-N.Y.) will not support Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) in this year's Senate race. Calling Javits "too liberal," Buckley said, "It's self-evident that I can't support him." Incidentally, the conservative Buckley picked up \$24,000 last year speaking before 10 meetings of Republican organizations. Most top Republicans do that sort of speech-making free.

● On June 4, U.S. Rep. Earl Landgrebe (R) announced for Indiana's GOP Senate nomination. The arch-conservative Landgrebe said he had been encouraged by "certain circles" in the White House to contest Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar for the GOP nomination. Lugar used to be described as Richard Nixon's "favorite mayor," but Lugar's political mentor, Indiana GOP national Committeeman Keith Bulen, has been on the "outs" with the White House since the 1972 presidential campaign. Landgrebe, elected to Congress in 1968 to succeed former House Minority Leader Charles Halleck, was overwhelmingly rejected by the Indiana State Convention June 21. Lugar was endorsed 1,710-310. The result was so obvious that GOP leaders reportedly urged some delegates to vote for Landgrebe in order to avoid any embarrassment in the congressman's upcoming congressional race. Before the convention, Landgrebe said he would not support Lugar against Sen. Birch Bayh (D) this fall unless Lugar made "substantial concessions" to support President Nixon. Unlike Democrats at their convention earlier the same week, Lugar was enthusiastically applauded in his acceptance speech. Bayh had addressed a largely vacant convention hall, since most of the Democratic delegates had already left. Lugar's name recognition in the state has improved significantly this year, and his campaign appears to be on the upswing. Commenting on the race earlier this spring, Bulen said,

"We want no Presidents in here, no vice president, no Republican heavies, no movie stars, and no dog and pony shows . . . We don't have a chance in hell of winning this one unless we can confine it to Indiana issues and the competence of the two candidates, period."

● The Minnesota GOP State Convention voted to support repeal of ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, but the move was later disavowed by the Republican nominees for governor and lieutenant governor, State Rep. John Johnson and Moorehead Mayor Dwaine Hoberg. The disavowal was also endorsed by 48 other leading Minnesota Republicans — with the notable exception of GOP State Chairman Robert Brown. State Sen. Robert Stassen, who won the GOP nomination for state treasurer over former Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig, also endorsed the pro-ERA move that was organized by Candice Olson, coordinator of GOP Women for Political Effectiveness. Stenvig, meanwhile, has not ruled out a primary challenge to Stassen for the treasurer nomination; a vacancy developed for the position when the incumbent was hospitalized on the eve of the convention and decided not to seek reelection.

● Sen. George McGovern (D) is trying to make a campaign issue out of political donations to GOP Senate Leo Thorsness by several large contributors to CREEP. According to a Watergate Committee staff report, however, over \$340,000 in funds from McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign were transferred to his present South Dakota Senate race before all the debts from McGovern's presidential campaign were paid.

● Something-to-Remember Department: When the Young Americans for Freedom hold their Annual Conference in San Francisco July 18-21, they will be celebrating an historic event. A banquet will be held in honor of Sen. Barry Goldwater and his Cow Palace presidential nomination in 1964.

● At least two women have given up congressional campaigns this year in deference to their husbands. In Washington, "Walkin' Will" Knedlik, a 28-year-old Democrat who walked around the state in his unsuccessful campaign for lieutenant governor in 1972, has announced he will oppose U.S. Rep. Joel Pritchard (R-1st). Knedlik's wife decided against making the race herself because of commitments to teach at Washington State University in the fall. Pritchard's 1972 Democratic opponent, John Hemplemann, now appears to be a doubtful entry in the campaign.

● In Missouri's 4th C.D., the GOP originally named Rozann Patterson as its candidate to oppose U.S. Rep. William J. Randall (D). Mrs. Patterson later withdrew in favor of her husband, 37-year-old Rev. Claude Patterson, the director of the Headstart program in west-central Missouri. Patterson would have had to resign his government job had he been named at an earlier date. In 1966, Patterson was an anti-Vietnam candidate in the GOP congressional primary. This year, Missouri Republicans feel they have a chance to oust Randall with Patterson. The Democratic incumbent received only 57 percent of the vote against a half-hearted GOP effort in 1972.

● Aspirants for New York's 24th C.D. seat have had a high attrition rate this year. Republican Mike

Roth had been expected to seek the seat, but he was appointed to the State Liquor Authority. State Rep. Edward Meyer changed his registration from Republican to Democrat, announced his candidacy, and withdrew in favor of former U.S. Rep. Richard L. Ottinger (D), who became the endorsed Democratic candidate. Meyer is not even seeking reelection. When U.S. Rep. Ogden Reid (D) took himself out of the gubernatorial race, he also moved himself from consideration for re-nomination to Congress. Republican John Loeb, Jr., had been expected to be the GOP candidate in the district, but he dropped out of the race when it was revealed that the investment banking firm of Loeb, Rhoades & Co. delivered a \$25,000 cash contribution to Oklahoma Gov. David Hall's 1970 election campaign. Several months later the firm received an underwriting contract on a \$74 million Oklahoma, turn-pike bond issue. The new GOP designee is Charles J. Stephens, president of a chemical firm.

● Correction: Sen. Bill Brock (R-Tenn.) has pointed out that on Senate Vote 478 (rejecting the President's veto of the war powers resolution), he was actually in support of the Ripon position and voted against the President's veto. Sen. Brock's 1973 Ripon Rating therefore should have been 53 percent, rather than the 47 percent listed in the April 1 FORUM.

MARGIN RELEASE

BREED'S HILL — Truck made the front page of the *New York Times* the other day. Leggie was already in prison, but he was mentioned in the article since it was a rerun of last year's escapade.

To recap ancient history, last July Leggie and Truck were accused of breaking Leggie's girlfriend out of a juvenile detention center at gunpoint. Leggie, then aged 15, subsequently went to prison. Truck, although accused of the same crime, was never charged by the local police and was subsequently released.

Less than a year Truck, now aged 17, and three compatriots were charged with a similar episode — except in this case a matron at the detention center was wounded, and five juveniles were released.

Since both Truck and Watergate were still in the news, there must be some striking parallels and heavy morals to be drawn from this incident. In my research for conclusions, I looked all over Breed's Hill. There weren't many to be found — probably because the British took them when they retreated 199 years ago.

But maybe Truck drew his own parallels. Several months ago he wrote a short essay, short perhaps in grammar but maybe longer in other ways:

"Well there comes a time when you want to do something right, or do something different for a change.

"Six months ago, I was doing something like what Patty Hearst is doing now. But the reason why I was doing it is way different from Patty's. I did it because I

didn't have any money to buy clothes or sometimes I just did it for the fun of it, but I wouldn't do anything like Patty and her friends did. I never had ten thousand dollars in my hand, but I am sure that Patty didn't do it for the money. I am not sure what she did it for, but from experience, I know that it's not worth it.

"It took me more than ten years to realize that. I hope that Patty or any buddy that is in that bag realizes it too. It's kind of true that people with money can't go to jail, but sometimes not even money can save you. You can go ask Spiro Agnew and he'll tell you I speak the truth. It's all right when punk kids start doing it, but when people like Agnew start doing it, that doesn't look right for the country. Maybe he thought like me, 'How are they going to find out that I did it?' He found out like I did and like Patty will some day.

"You know it's funny. You get up from your bed, wash up, and go turn on the radio to hear your favorite song and all of a sudden you hear the news: "Two juveniles bust in juvenile home at gunpoint and escape with girl." The second time I heard my name, I thought it was a dream because I was used to them blaming something on me. But they never blamed me by radio before. I knew that it was another mistake. But, like always, I got caught, and like always, I stayed in jail, and like always, they dismissed the charges.

"I know how Patty's mother and father felt because my mother felt the same way. But my mother and father didn't just come from a vacation; they can't even afford a good car.

"Well, I know that I can't beat the law. Agnew knows that too. The only one that doesn't know that is President Nixon and even he will find out some day." db

COMMENTARY: The GOP

Progressives' Political Priority

by Robert D. Behn

"There is no race in the country that we look at with more importance and attach any more significance to than we do this governor's race," said Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss recently about this year's gubernatorial contest in California.

The same should be true for progressive Republicans. For us, it is the most important campaign of 1974, for the outcome of this election will determine the progressives' place within the GOP for several years. Houston I. Flournoy is our most important candidate. As David S. Broder wrote in *The Washington Post* before the June primary: "If the 44-year-old Princeton Ph.D. in political science [Flournoy] becomes governor, his victory will restore the political credentials of California's progressive Republicans for the first time in a decade, create a counterforce to conservative hero Ronald Reagan on his own home grounds, and alter the balance of power between progressives and conservatives in the national GOP."

Coming at the end of the quadrennial preconvention campaign, the California presidential primary has long

been a critical test of strength — and one not likely to be reduced by various rule changes or the introduction of other state primaries. Consequently, presidential aspirants such as Sen. Charles Percy will clearly recognize their personal interest in a Flournoy victory and can be expected to assist the campaign whenever asked. But other progressive Republicans should recognize their personal stake, too. The question is not just what influence Flournoy will have on who will be the 1976 GOP presidential nominee — that may well be Gerald A. Ford, anyway — but what influence he will have on the self-image and public image of the Republican Party.

Gov. Ronald Reagan has long served as a national symbol of conservative domination of the GOP, and to replace him with Flournoy would be significant indeed. It would be doubly significant because Nelson A. Rockefeller, who by his mere presence on the national scene dominated the progressive wing of the GOP for over a decade, has abdicated both as governor of New York and as leader of the progressive Republicans. Our wing of the party holds governorships from Washington to Iowa, Missouri, North Carolina, Michigan, Massachusetts; but neither Daniel J. Evans, Robert D. Ray, Christopher S. Bond, James E. Holshouser, Jr., William G. Milliken, nor Francis W. Sargent have proven to be a major force in national Republican politics. As governor of New York, Malcolm Wilson, who will also run in November as the candidate of the New York Conservative Party, automatically becomes an important national figure. So does the governor of California.

Given the depth of Flournoy's California financial support, monetary contributions from around the country may not be critical. But political and staff support may well be. Evans, Ray, Bond, Holshouser, Milliken, and Sargent all could offer assistance from their own gubernatorial campaigns and administrations — perhaps even detailing key aides for a week to work with Flournoy's staff. Nationally recognized senators such as Charles Mathias, Edward Brooke, Lowell Weicker, Clifford Case, Jacob Javits, and Mark Hatfield could, by campaigning with Flournoy,



Houston Flournoy

help neutralize the impact of Watergate on the Republican nominee. Indeed, with the GOP rank-and-file depressed by the scandals in Washington, D.C. — in California, the Democratic registration of 3-2 has been augmented by a 4-1 edge among voters registered this year — campaign appearances by a large number of prominent progressive Republicans could give purpose to the campaign and mobilize the energies of local GOP workers.

A Flournoy victory in November would be a major boost to the morale and power of GOP progressives, although as yet there is little recognition of the fact. Progressive Republicans would do well to stop complaining about conservative domination of the party and invest their energies in the one race this year that can really make a difference. ■

*Robert D. Behn writes about the
GOP for the FORUM.*

The Nixon Administration, according to the *Jaws of Victory*, is "a dramatic example of men bent on rational suicide."

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DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● **"Essex GOP Reprise of Sandman Divisiveness,"** by Robert Comstock. (Hackensack, N.J.) *Record*, June 23, 1974. "Echoes of the disastrous Sandman-for-governor campaign returned to haunt New Jersey Republicans last week. There is continuing internal dissension over whether and how the state GOP is to pay off the staggering \$350,000 debt left by the effort to elect Rep. Charles W. Sandman, Jr., and Essex County Republicans charged state party Chairman Webster B. Todd with blatant interference in an attempt to help Sandman forces unseat county Chairman Frederic Remington." Remington, who was a chief candidate for the state chairmanship himself last year, was upset by Todd's nomination of a long-time conservative thorn of Remington, Joseph A. Intile, Jr., as deputy state chairman. Todd changed Intile's title to special assistant to the chairman in order to placate the Essex organization. "Intile's assignment in the post is to get the party creditors, some of whom have gone to court, off its collective neck. And he has an extraordinary plan for doing it. He's seeking 30 GOP angels to lend the party \$7,500 a piece under these conditions: they get no interest, they will be paid back whenever party receipts exceed operating expenses, and any loan not repaid by September 1, 1976, will be canceled, in effect becoming a contribution. All that the investors will get for their money is the thrill of seeing their names listed as members of the GOP State Finance Committee." Such a deal. The GOP reportedly has got the "angels" in line, however.

● **"New Forces Join in Curtis Bid,"** by Charles W. Hucker. *Kansas City Star*, June 9, 1974. "Thomas B. Curtis, long identified with the staunchly conservative branch of the Missouri GOP, is building a campaign organization for his U.S. Senate bid from workers close to the Bond-Danforth wing of the party. Although Curtis occasionally has been on the opposite side of the political fence from Gov. Christopher S. Bond and John C. Danforth, [they] will play a major role in the uphill effort by Curtis to unseat Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) in November's election. Curtis, who was a member of the U.S. House for 18 years, lost to Eagleton in the 1968 Senate contest by nearly 37,000 votes." The united GOP front is broken only by some dissension from supporters of U.S. Rep. Gene Taylor, still angry over Curtis' backing of a 1972 primary opponent to Taylor. Leading Curtis' organization will be former assistant Missouri state attorney general Warren K. Morgens. The 34-year-old Morgens practices law with two other close associates of Bond and Danforth and was the executive director of Missouri CREEP in 1972.

● **"Toward Party Realignment,"** by Kevin P. Phillips. *Providence Journal-Bulletin*, June 8, 1974. "Students of U.S. political realignment will want to take note of a policy and strategy organization just formed in the U.S. Senate to orchestrate conservative Republicans and southern Democrats against liberal legislators of both parties. For the moment, the new group, christened the 'Steering Committee,' includes only Republicans, but participants believe it is merely a matter of time before a few southern Democrats exchange private cooperation for open affiliation." Only two months old, the Steering Committee is chaired by Sen. Carl Curtis (R-Neb.) with Sen. James McClure (R-Idaho) as vice chairman. Tom Cantrell, a

former aide to Sen. Dewey Bartlett (R-Okla.) is its executive director. The Steering Committee in the Senate has the same name as a similar House group, and according to Phillips, "Both Steering Committees share a commitment to realignment and fusion with southern Democrats." Concludes Phillips, "All these Capitol Hill ideological alliances, from the liberal House Democratic Study Group to the (progressive Republican) Wednesday clubs, the (conservative House Democratic) Waggoner bloc, and the Steering Committees, are vehicles for creating meaningful working relationships in a situation where old party lines have become virtually meaningless. Who knows? Perhaps these groups are the precursors of new and more logical party lines."

● **"Requiem for the GOP,"** by James V. Hall. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 4, 1974. "After working five years with the Republican Party, two of those in the state legislature and three as the party's executive director, there is only one solid observation I can make and that is that the two-party system in Hawaii is nearing extinction. This is not a unique perception; it has been commented on by journalists, editorial writers, and other observers of the political scene for some time. As someone said, "There may be a two-party system in Hawaii, but the Republican Party isn't one of them." Hall, who recently resigned his party post, wrote, "If it weren't for the almost herculean efforts by people like Carla Coray, the party chairman, and a handful of others, this woeful prediction might have already come to pass." The most important factor in the current situation, according to Hall, is the control of all three branches of government at almost every level by the Democrats. As a result, the GOP has great difficulty recruiting candidates, raising money, and publicizing issues. Hall says the GOP is also handicapped by the "closed primary," which discourages both potential candidates and potential contributors by the limited Republican participation. The growth of public employees' unions has hurt both parties, he argues, because their financial clout dwarfs both Democrats and Republicans. "In sum, it must be said that the health of the two-party system in Hawaii is extremely poor. Only the concerted effort of an aroused and concerned citizenry can stem this drift into a system totally controlled by an oligopoly of power brokers."

● **"Suburb to City, Bosses Differ a Bit in Style,"** by Frank Lynn. *New York Times*, July 7, 1974. "The post-war population shift from city to suburbs has been followed by the growth of the kind of monolithic political machine in parts of suburbia that was once strictly the fare of big cities. Political bossism is, in fact, flourishing in the suburbs while it is more or less holding its own in New York City. The new suburban machine is epitomized by the Nassau County Republican organization run by Assemblyman Joseph M. Margiotta, just as Meade H. Esposito, the Brooklyn Democratic leader, retains the title as the city's preeminent political leader." Both base a large part of their power on the control they exercise over legislative delegations. The businesslike manner of Margiotta's \$1 million operation contrasts with the older, more personal approach of Esposito. Part of Margiotta's success, however, Lynn attributes to demography. "Suburban bossism is built on the bedrock of its urban counterpart: fund-raising, patronage, and legislative influence, which produce benefits that continually reinforce the machine's power base. But it owes its success largely to suburban demography. A relatively homogeneous and affluent population makes the suburban more 'manageable' politically than the city, where diverse sectors compete for power that has waned as the suburbs' political potency has increased."

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