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COMMENTARY: REAGAN

THE \$90 BILLION MAN STORY

by Dick Behn

After his campaign takeoff in November and December, Ronald Reagan must have thought that running for President was easy as a Hollywood script. January must have come as a rude awakening for the former California governor. He learned what it's like to be President. Every-body picks on you.

The root of the problem was a speech Reagan made last September in Chicago outlining the little matter of how to cut the federal budget by \$90 billion. Reagan was already getting flack on the proposal when he arrived in New Hampshire for a campaign swing in early January. In a rare show of finesse, the Ford campaign preceded Reagan's arrival with a press conference by the president of the New Hampshire Senate and speaker of the House of Representatives. The two men denounced the Reagan idea and demanded that Reagan explain how it would affect New Hampshire taxes. Since New Hampshire has no broad-based taxes, such inquiries are unpleasant to deal with.

The more Reagan traveled around the country, the messier it became. The Washington Post and New York Times both did front page stories on Reagan's \$90 billion problems. Headlines like "Reagan Seeking to Clarify 'Plan,'" "Reagan Trips on Tax Plan," "Reagan's Budget Plan Becoming Issue" began to dot newspapers with discomforting regularity. For Reagan, who is wont to say, "There are simple solutions, just not easy ones," his \$90 billion solution was beginning to seem neither simple nor easy. He tried to reinterpret his Chicago speech but that only tantalized the press—which knows a jugular vein when it sees one. Picking on President Ford gets dull after a while, so January became open season on Reagan. Reagan gratified their efforts by appropriately stumbling at the right places. At one point, Reagan suggested he never should have made the proposal. And then Reagan became combative—suggesting that his position was being deliberately distorted. Ford Campaign Manager Howard Callaway took full advantage of any opportunity to suggest that Reagan might be trying to throw old people out in the snow.

Reagan's month-long effort to bone up on national problems seemed embarrassingly futile after the opening campaign swing. Despite the bank of academic talent on whom Reagan relies, the thinness of Reagan's one-man research organization was obvious. Former Kentucky GOP Chairman Charles Coy's observation that Reagan is "as thin as spit on a slate rock" seemed to be apt. But probably most distressing for Reagan, he was beginning to look like Gerald Ford. He was making Ford-like mistakes, getting Ford-like press coverage, making Ford-like recantations, and demonstrating Ford-like indecisiveness. Those are dangerous attributes to display—particularly when his December surge in the Gallup Poll was attributed primarily to being a non-Ford.

Premonitions of worse to come can be extrapolated from a column by conservative thinker Kevin Phillips: "Can Ronald Reagan do it? Can the Gallup Poll's newly anointed frontrunner for the 1976 Republican presidential nomination put the GOP back on its feet and recreate a bicentennial version of Richard Nixon 'new majority?'" Perhaps, but I am inclined to doubt it." Interestingly, Phillips finds fault not with the stars but with Ronald Reagan. He thinks Reagan has abandoned his search for a new dynamic coalition of conservative interests which he espoused earlier in 1975 in favor of seeking adherents among a wide spectrum of Republican voters. Phillips notes that Reagan has had a dangerous tendency toward moderation and unification in the past, leading current California Gov. Jerry Brown to observe that "during the Reagan years the crime rate doubled, the budget doubled, the taxes doubled and government became more involved in our lives. I certainly would like to moderate in that direction." Any Reagan attempts to moderate his proposals are bound to come under sharp conservative scrutiny.

All of which may cheer President Ford, but it can hardly dispel the storm clouds in New Hampshire. In Manchester, Union-Leader Publisher William Loeb is still cranking out his famous editorials: "There may have been bigger incompe-

tents and bigger fools in the White House than present bumbling President Ford, but if there have been such, history has not recorded them."

In other areas, the battle continues:

Arkansas: Judy Petty, the Republican congressional candidate who gave U.S. Rep. Wilbur Mills (D) a scare in 1972, has decided to run the Reagan campaign in Arkansas rather than run for Congress again. Reagan campaigned for Petty in her congressional campaign in 1974 and Petty has been considered likely to try again. (Note: Although Mills has not yet announced his reelection plans, four other Democrats have already announced for his seat.)

Illinois: One Ford backer, according to the Chicago Tribune, is predicting that Reagan will get at least one third of the Illinois delegation. U.S. Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R) has announced that he will run as an uncommitted delegate.

Maine: Bad news seems to pile up on top of bad news in Maine. Excessive White House pressure on sustaining the President's tax cut veto in December has angered Republican U.S. Reps. William Cohen and David Emery. Former Sen. Margaret Chase Smith, a respected moderate now lecturing on college campuses, said recently, "I am disappointed in President Ford. I am unhappy with Ford's lack of leadership and his indecision. I have long thought he would pull out before the nominating convention." By contrast, Mrs. Smith has said she's "impressed" with Reagan. And if that weren't bad enough, New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R) has been whispering sweet nothings in the ear of Maine Gov. James Longley, an independent. The result is expected to be a Longley endorsement of Reagan after the conclusion of this year's legislative session.

Massachusetts: At the last minute, Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.) chose to take his name off the Massachusetts presidential primary ballot, where he might easily have picked up 20 percent of the vote. The news was reassuring for the Ford campaign, but not completely so, as Boston Globe columnist David B. Wilson noted: "...he did not rule out the possibility that, at some future time, he might find that changing circumstances might cause him to reverse his decision, announced Nov. 25, not to enter the GOP primaries. Instead of dropping the other shoe, Mathias put it in his pocket. There are later primaries, with later deadlines."

Minnesota: Minnesota GOP State Chairman Chuck Slocum has estimated that Reagan will get about 20 percent of the Minnesota delegates---and neither the Ford or Reagan campaigns have really gotten started. The Ford campaign will be run by "Hap" Levander, son of a former governor.

Mississippi: Gil Carmichael, the auto dealer and businessman who ran strong races for senator in 1972 and governor in 1973, has endorsed Ford. State GOP Chairman Clarke Reed doesn't mask his feelings, however: "I think the trend is for Reagan." Carmichael himself hopes the Ford-Reagan race won't tear up the little Mississippi party: "...if we'll let the two candidates go after the votes and let it be healthy and clean, it will be the best thing in the world for the Republican Party in Mississippi."

New York: Because of New York's curious delegate-selection laws, Reagan supporters in this state do not really have to come out of the closet until the GOP national convention. GOP State Chairman Richard M. Rosenbaum has so far managed to pursue his "uncommitted" tactics without serious challenge. On January 6, the Republican State Committee elected a 37-member at-large slate of delegates without opposition. Another 117 delegates will be selected at the district level in the April 6 primary. But because there is not candidate designation next to the delegate aspirant on the ballot, a prominent Republican might easily be able to win delegate election by pledging fealty to Rosenbaum's uncommitted banner---only later to unfurl the Reagan flag. Significantly, Sen. James Buckley (Cons-N.Y.) took himself out of consideration for an at-large slot, citing the pressure of his upcoming Senate campaign. Buckley campaign strategist Clifton White is no dummy, and realizes Buckley does not need the pressures of presidential politics to complicate his life.

Oklahoma: Sen. Henry Bellmon (R) announced in early January that former Treasury Secretary John Connally was his first presidential choice and indicated he had doubts whether he could support Ford on the GOP ticket.

Oregon: Former Gov. Tom McCall (R), a Republican progressive who once toyed with a "third force" candidacy similar to the one recently espoused by Sen. Charles McC. Mathias (R-Md.), also believes that Reagan will get the Republican nomination. "It's not hand writing on the wall; it's an express train bearing down on the party," says McCall, who has decided against a presidential run of his own, largely because he cannot afford to give up his journalistic career the way Reagan could. (McCall is also considered a likely candidate against Democratic Gov. Robert Straub (D) in 1978; polls show he could win.) McCall doesn't mince words, however, about Reagan's possible presidential effectiveness: "It's a lot easier on the mind to hear Ronald Reagan inveigh against the 251 taxes in a loaf of bread or the college student living on food stamps while learning to be a witch than it is to conjure with priorities and analyses to make governance work better."

EDITORIAL POINTS

Some points need to be made over and over again:

In an editorial in its November 1, 1975 edition, the FORUM noted a long list of assumptions regarding President Ford's \$100 billion energy program. One of those questionable assumptions, Ripon noted, was the little-noticed feeling that "the Arabs will pay" for the program. Vice President Rockefeller himself elaborated on that point, we noted later, when he spoke at an Oregon press conference in October. Asked where the \$100 billion would come from, Rockefeller said: "As you know, the Treasury is selling increasing amounts—this money will be raised by the sale of Treasury securities—they are selling an increasing amount to the Arab states which are accumulating; they have really a tax on the world in these higher prices on oil. That is the great hope—that we can channel that money back into our productive system. These securities should offer them a very sound investment and this is the hope that we can bring capital back here through a government corporation rather than have them coming in and buy and control American companies from outside."

Ripon has long advocated steps to maximize deregulation of the American economy, including petroleum price decontrols. A recent study by Charles E. Phelps and Rodney T. Smith of the Rand Corporation for the Federal Energy Administration throws some unusual light on a touchy subject. Rather than raising oil prices, the authors say: "Decontrol of the petroleum industry will have no effect on domestic prices of refined products. Concurrent reduction in license fees (tariffs) on imported products can reduce domestic refined product prices."

Most popular theories conclude that oil decontrol would increase the prices of refined oil products. Using that special brand of economics understood only by sheiks, shahs, and other economists, the Rand study based its conclusions on the following points:

1. Current price controls on refined products are not binding, as evidenced by the widespread availability of banked costs prove that market forces, not refined product price controls, set prices for refined products. Decontrol will not change these market forces. [Editor's note: to define "banked costs" would take a semester of economics; suffice it to say that "banked costs" allow oil companies to make a lot of money.]

2. The United States is an active participant in a world market for refined products, importing significant quantities of gasoline, distillates, residual fuel oil, and other refined products—and it is world supply and demand that sets prices. Except for the 1.5¢ per gallon import fee on refined products, United States prices must equal the landed cost of imported refined products.

3. World supply and demand will not be significantly altered by decontrol, so world (and hence United States) prices for refined products should not change. If the tariff on refined products is also eliminated with decontrol, prices of refined products could fall by as much as 1.5¢ per gallon.

Since the possibilities for a televised hearing are limited, one can be sure that this study will not discomfort Sen. Henry Jackson(D).

And finally, it always seems to be up to U.S. Rep. Barber Conable(R-N.Y.) to put policy in perspective. In a letter to constituents recently, Conable made a number of points similar to conclusions Ripon reached in a November 1973 policy paper entitled: "Secrecy and National Security: A Program for Congressional Action and Presidential Restraint." Both Ripon and Conable point up the need for continued vigilance on the part of Congress. Says Conable:

"Congress has failed to provide oversight for the CIA in the past, which it clearly had the power to do in connection with the appropriations for the CIA budget. Now that the agency is in trouble and it is apparent that the special committees set up to review its work did not do their jobs, we are having an orgy of sifting through the debris left after the crash, exposing past faults rather than concentrating on how to facilitate the proper functioning of the agency without permitting future faults. The public has the right to know when their government has goofed, but the public also has the right to procedures which will be orderly and forward-looking, subordinating sensationalism to the protection of individuals and national interests."

When blame is handed out for CIA abuses, congressional negligence ought to be near the top of the list. The direction of future congressional action is indicated by Conable:

"I'd like to see us do more reviewing and less investigating. We rarely go back to see if the people who carry out the law are writing regulations designed to implement or to frustrate the congressional intent. There's a lot to be learned beyond those more spectacular areas of wrongdoing which make the headlines, and not much to be learned from everybody re-investigating the same headlines as everybody else."

RIPON SUIT

Three U.S. Senators and twelve representatives joined the Ripon Society December 23 in its appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the Republican National Convention's delegate-allocation formula. The Ripon Society filed a petition for writ of certiorari the same day, asking the Supreme Court to review a decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit which declared the delegate apportionment formula constitutionally acceptable.

In a separate, amicus curiae brief, the following Republicans (not parties to the lawsuit) urged the Supreme Court to take the case: Sens. Edward W. Brooke (Mass.), Charles H. Percy (Ill.), and Lowell P. Weicker, Jr. (Conn.); U.S. Reps. John B. Anderson (Ill.), Edward G. Biester, Jr. (Pa.), Silvio O. Conte (Mass.), Millicent Fenwick (N.H.), Paul Findley (Ill.), Bill Frenzel (Minn.), Gilbert Gude (Md.), Margaret M. Heckler (Mass.), H. John Heinz III (Pa.), Stewart B. McKinney (Conn.), Peter A. Peyser (N.Y.), and Thomas F. Railsback (Ill.); Massachusetts Republican State Chairman John W. Sears; and the New York Republican County Committee and its chairman, Vincent F. Albano, Jr.

The counsel-of-record for the amicus brief is Albert E. Jenner, Jr., the Chicago attorney who was the minority counsel to the House Judiciary Committee during the Nixon Impeachment investigation.

Ripon's decision to appeal its lawsuit was explained in a memorandum sent to all Republican governors, congressmen, and members of the Republican National Committee. The Society stated that it was asking the Supreme Court to review the case "because the Court of Appeals reversal is seemingly in clear opposition to principles enunciated by the Supreme Court, and because of the need for a definitive resolution of this important issue."

Ripon commenced its suit against the Republican National Committee in 1971, claiming that the populous states were underrepresented at national GOP conventions. Federal district courts ruled twice in Ripon's favor, finding portions of the delegate allocation scheme to violate the one-person, one-vote principle. However, on September 30, 1975, the full, 10-member Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., reversed the District Court, stating that the delegate formula was constitutional. The chief judge of the court, David L. Bazelon, dissented from this decision; he had previously written an opinion fully supporting Ripon's

position, only to see his ruling vacated by the full court. It was the September 30 ruling that was appealed to the Supreme Court.

While the Supreme Court is not required to hear the appeal, it often grants petitions for certiorari in cases involving constitutional issues of national significance. If the Supreme Court does not wish to act with respect to the 1976 convention, Ripon has nevertheless asked the court to use this case to enunciate delegate apportionment principles applicable to conventions in 1980 and beyond. In addition, Ripon's attorney, Robert M. Pennoyer, asked the court, in the event it agrees to hear the case, to establish a schedule for submission of legal briefs that would ensure a decision in this term of the court.

Box 226, Charlestown, Mass.

- Jeanne Cronin has replaced Josephine Cuevas as Ripon's national managing director. Ms. Cuevas resigned to pursue her education in education. Ms. Cronin, who assumed her new duties December 19, has an extensive background in social casework and counselling.
- Edward D. Goldberg, Ripon vice president for administration, has been appointed director of the Office of Community Colleges for the state of New Jersey.
- The January 15 meeting of the Chicago chapter featured two candidates for 43rd Ward committeeman, George Hoffman and Ken Padgham. James Fletcher and Gary Starkman, campaign manager and research director, respectively, for the James Thompson gubernatorial campaign, were speakers at the chapter's December meeting.
- Former Ripon National Treasurer Richard E. Beeman, now living and working in London, has been elected chairman of the European Republican Committee (United Kingdom). The ERC provides a forum for visiting political figures from the United States and a focus for American opinion on public affairs back home.
- Richard Rahn, president of the Washington, D.C. Chapter, has been appointed executive director of the American Council for Capital Formation. Rahn is a Washington-based managerial consultant.
- A group of moderate Republicans, including former Ripon National Executive Director Thomas Petri, now a state senator, have founded the New Republican Conference in Wisconsin in order to recruit more progressive candidates for state offices.
- Former Ripon National Governing Board Chairperson Tanya Melich has been elected an at-large alternate to the Republican National Convention from New York.
- The Minnesota Chapter raised over \$3,000 at an auction held in early December at the home of State Sen. George and Sally Pillsbury. About 250 persons attended.

DULY NOTED: STATES

● "Gov. Edwards Coping Well With Some Hard Issues," by Hugh Gibson. Charleston Sunday News & Courier, January 4, 1976. Gibson compares Gov. James Edwards(R) to former Gov. Robert McNair(D) for the gentle humor and grim determination in confronting state problems. Despite his election in the middle of a recession-crunch on state finances, Edwards demonstrated "both political courage and a good grasp of each situation" in his first year. Despite action to cut the state budget in order to prevent a deficit, Edwards' public image has remained high: "In a November survey, a Columbia daily newspaper found that 58 percent of those interviewed rated Edwards' performance either excellent or good. Another 25 percent rated him 'fair,' and only 17 percent thought he had done a poor job. More significant are indications that the Republican governor now enjoys a better rapport with the General Assembly and its top leaders than when he came to office."

● "Bewildered By Defeats, Leaders Ponder Future, Effect of New 'System,'" by Jack Marsh. Rochester Times-Union, January 6, 1976. State GOP Chairman Richard Rosenbaum is a former GOP chairman in Monroe County, so the loss of the Rochester City Council, several county offices, numerous seats on the county legislature, and additional state legislative seats in the past year have been particularly painful to New York Republicans. As Marsh describes it, "The Monroe County Republican Party is in a slump unequaled since the Democratic heyday of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal era four decades ago." The setbacks came despite 2-1 registration edges in the county and a good record of public service. Party leaders hope that more democratic nominating procedures will provide good candidates for this fall's legislative elections, enabling the upstate GOP bastion to make a comeback.

● "Spirited Scramble Seen For Stennis, Brock Seats," by A.B. Albritton. Memphis Commercial Appeal, December 29, 1975. Mississippi Sen. John Stennis(D) maintains that he will seek reelection, despite recurrent health problems and age(74). Meanwhile, outgoing Gov. William Waller is looking covetously at Stennis' seat. According to Albritton, Waller "has laid his groundwork carefully in preparation for a race against Stennis. His staff has compiled voluminous records of people for whom the governor has done favors as well as a listing of all appointees the governor named during his four-year administration." The Democrats seem to have little to worry about from the GOP since the party's chief vote-getter, Gil Carmichael, is headed for a Ford Administration appointment.

● "Some Of Them Talk Almost As If They'd Like To Be Governor," by James B. Rowland. Washington Star, December 28, 1975. Gov. Marvin Mandel's political body isn't dead yet despite a federal indictment and lame duck status, but the line of Democratic politicians waiting to follow him in 1978 is growing already. Among Mandel's potential Democratic successors are Senate president Steny H. Hoyer, who would benefit from his legislative ties and a strong Prince Georges County organization; Lt. Gov. Blair Lee III, who would be aided by the resignation of Mandel before completion of his term; Comptroller Louis Goldstein; Attorney General Francis B. Burch; and Baltimore County Executive Theodore G. Venetoulis, who has his own county organization to counter Hoyer's and "TV Teddy" charisma to boot. Those five are hardly a complete list, but they indicate the kind of battle facing the Democrats.

● "Durkin Now A Club Member," by Tom Ferriter. Concord Monitor, December 27, 1975. "Remember John Durkin? Remember that hard-charging young maverick who got himself elected to the U.S. Senate by promising to fight the special interests, who wanted to shake the Senate establishment out of its doldrums? Remember John Durkin pledging to 'make waves,' to 'rock the boat,' to make war on the 'cozy, cushy club' of senators who seemed more interested in their own privileges and interests than in the needs of the people? John Durkin now is a member of that club, and he doesn't sound like the same man voters knew and voted for as a candidate." Durkin was scheduled, for example, for a holiday fact-finding tour to the South Pacific, but had to back out of the Commerce Committee tour when a large portion of his staff jumped ship earlier in the month.

● "The Guv Is Missing." Texas Observer, December 12, 1975. The Observer comments approvingly of an Associated Press study by reporters Lee Jones and Jack Keever on Texas' missing governor: "Since no one ever seems to know where Briscoe is, AP had some trouble documenting his absences. The reporters had to get an attorney general's opinion before Briscoe's staff would let them see even the records of Briscoe's state airplane, and they were entirely unable to trace the peregrinations of his private plane. But even giving him the benefit of the doubt, AP calculated that Briscoe spent at least 90 days (at his Uvalde ranch) during the first 10 months of this year, including 39 working days, and that's not counting his European vacation this summer." Notes the Observer: "Sighting Briscoe in Austin is getting to be like glimpsing the white whale or the Loch Ness monster. There's a whole genre of jokes about 'the government in exile in Uvalde.'" Briscoe, however, maintains that he needs to get away from the "artificial atmosphere" of the state capital and get in "touch" with the farmers and ranchers of the state.

POLITICS: STATES

ARIZONA

The Arizona GOP is already invoking the 11th commandment ("Thou shalt not speak ill of other Republicans") in the wake of Sen. Paul Fannin's decision to retire because of the health of himself and his wife. The GOP is now expected to entertain a no-holds-barred contest between U.S. Reps. Sam Steiger and John Conlan, who have engaged in less than cordial enmity in the past. If U.S. Rep. Morris Udall doesn't preempt the Democratic nomination, the Democratic possibilities include publisher Jonathan Marshall, Pima County Attorney Dennis DeConcini, and Senate Majority leader Alfredo Gutierrez. Udall, however, seems to be spending more time in Arizona so his protestations of presidential ambitions are not necessarily taken at face value. Given the forthcoming battle on the GOP side, there is also some speculation that another Republican might enter the race who would not be muddled by the Conlan-Steiger animosity. Footnote: Steiger's Senate campaign probably could have foregone the publicity he received last summer for shooting two burros which he alleged were attacking him; Steiger said he was checking their brands.

CONNECTICUT

Since she led the Democratic ticket in 1974, Secretary of State Gloria Schaffer(D) has been campaigning diligently for the Senate seat now held by Sen. Lowell Weicker(R). However, a GOP poll taken in October showed Weicker leading Schaffer by 18 percentage points. Moreover, she faces possible challenges for the Democratic nomination from Lt. Gov. Robert K. Killian, U.S. Rep. Christopher Dodd, and former Norwalk Mayor Donald Irwin. There has been some conjecture about the readiness of the Connecticut electorate to elect Schaffer since it would mean electing a Jewish female in a state which already has a female governor and a Jewish senator and which has shown a predisposition to ticket balancing in the past. Furthermore, as the Hartford Courant's Jack Zaiman observes: "If a choice had to be made today in the Senate race, it would be Sen. Weicker against anyone on the Democratic side. He has achieved remarkable recognition in the state because of his outspoken independence. His good friend, Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, describes Weicker as a maverick, one who roams the political range as a loner. This independence has given Weicker considerable strength not only among Republicans, who mainly are moderate-liberals in this state, but also among Democrats and independents."

● "Unraveling Hearnese's Financial Web," by Ronald J. Lawrence. St. Louis Post-Dispatch, December 21, 1975. "A federal grand jury has been probing the tangled financial affairs of former Gov. Warren E. Hearnese for a year now. It has uncovered some obscure political committees which held more than \$250,000 in contributions but took part in virtually no political activity. The committees were controlled by relatives and close political allies of Hearnese, who is the subject of the wide-ranging grand jury inquiry in Kansas City. Much of what the committees held was said to be the remainder of contributions for Hearnese successful 1968 reelection. But at least \$75,000 was produced in 'sweetheart' arrangements involving Mercantile Trust Co. of St. Louis, the state's largest bank, and Central Missouri Trust Co. of Jefferson City—transactions in which a Hearnese fund raiser profited on banking deals in which he was not required to put up any equity. Both banks were given millions of dollars in interest-free state deposits on which they earned large sums of money for their stockholders." The revelations promise to complicate Hearnese's projected Senate primary with U.S. Reps. James Symington(D) and Jerry Litton(D).

● "Thieman Predicts New Inroads On PA. GOP Seats in Congress." Philadelphia Observer, January 5, 1976. "Pennsylvania Democrats, ecstatic over the registration advantage they scored last year over Pennsylvania Republicans are looking down the trail to the 1976 general election with bright hopes of picking up several congressional seats from the GOP. Their spirits have been bolstered by State Chairman Dennis E. Thieman, who is telling everyone within earshot that the Democratic numerical edge in the House(15-10) will be enlarged in the upcoming vote. The Democrats have their eyes on three vacant Republican seats: Herman T. Schneebeli, who is retiring at 68 after winning with only 52 percent of the vote in 1974; Edwin Eshleman, who is retiring because of ill health to return to teaching; and H. John Heinz III, who is leaving his predominantly Democratic district to run for the Senate. The Democrats are also targeting two other districts: 69-year-old Albert W. Johnson who received only 52 percent of the vote in 1974 and freshman Gary A. Myers, who won an upset victory in a Democratic district in 1974.

1976 RIPON ISSUES CONFERENCE

Sen. Howard Baker, Jr.(R-Tenn.) will be the keynote speaker at the February 27-29 conference in Washington, D.C.

KANSAS

Democrats in the 2nd C.D. appear headed for a confrontation between U.S.Rep. Martha Keys(D) and former U.S.Rep. Bill Roy, who unsuccessfully opposed Sen. Bob Dole in 1974. Kansas Democrats who prefer not to see the career of the upwardly mobile Roy resuscitated are likely to back Keys, in an effort to keep gubernatorial and senatorial options open for themselves. One such man is former Gov. Robert Docking, who despite his denial of interest in public office is considered a possible Democratic contender against Sen James B. Pearson(R) in 1978. Caution: Docking was considered an almost-certain candidate against Dole in 1974.

MAINE

Four years after he mortally wounded Sen. Margaret Chase Smith in the Republican Senate primary, Republicans are again looking to industrialist Robert Monks as a possible Senate candidate. The withdrawal of U.S. Rep. William Cohen(R) from the Senate race left the GOP without a candidate and Sen. Edmund Muskie without the strong GOP opponent he expected. Muskie had already raised \$90,000 of the \$100,000 he is permitted to spend before Cohen dropped out because of concern for his son, who, he said, needed a father more than Maine needed him as a senator. Surveys taken for Cohen were optimistic, but as the Bangor Daily News' John Day noted: "One supporter, several weeks ago, said that "we would have to come up with a good reason for the people of Maine to vote Ed Muskie out of office." Apparently, they failed to come up with one." Cohen's poll allegedly showed that Sen. William Hathaway might be an easier target when he comes up for reelection in 1978. Meanwhile, Muskie is still intent on waging a vigorous campaign, and the state's second congressional district is full of Democrats and Republicans who thought they had an opportunity to enter Congress this year and must now lower their expectations. Meanwhile, in the 1st C.D., U.S.Rep. Peter Kyros(D) has returned, apparently in order to try and unseat the man, David Emery(R), who unseated him. That development does not please local Democrats, who view Kyros as a likely primary winner and sure general election loser.

MINNESOTA

The increasing possibility that Sen. Hubert Humphrey might be the Democratic presidential nominee in 1976 has generated speculation about possible Republican and Democratic aspirants in the event that the talking legend is indeed nominated. As in Washington State, state election laws make it possible for Humphrey and everyone else to wait for the results of the Democratic National Convention. If Humphrey bows out, then Gov. Wendell Ford(D) and U.S.Rep. Donald Fraser will be seeking the nomination. The GOP has a search committee looking for a candidate, but

two of the names prominently mentioned are GOP National Committeeman Rudy Boschwitz and former GOP State Chairman Robert Brown, a state state senator. Boschwitz, in particular, has the name recognition from Minnesota Plywood, which he heads, and the political IOUs from past campaigns, to launch a strong race. State Rep. Arne Carlson is also mentioned, but he is thought to be more interested in a 1978 gubernatorial race.

NEW YORK

U.S.Rep. James F. Hastings(R-39th) was elected in a special election seven years ago to succeed recently appointed-Sen. Charles Goodell(R). Goodell was defeated in 1970, but Hastings stayed in Congress until late in December he announced that he was resigning to take a job as president of Associated Industries of New York. Hastings indicated he could no longer afford to stay in Congress financially. Furthermore, said the moderate Hastings, "The frustration is that I'm caught in a minority position in the minority. I have to fight so damned hard to get by some of their dogmatic thinking. Then I have to go to the majority and deal with them." Ironically, among the GOP candidates to succeed Hastings was Jean Goodell, wife of the former representative. Although she lives in Bronxville in Westchester County, she has maintained a voting residence in the district. Goodell was less successful, however, than another Jamestown resident, Mayor Stan Lundine, who won the Democratic nomination for the vacant seat. After two days of balloting, Republican district leaders selected Jack Calkins, a White House political aide, as the GOP nominee. Calkins will have a tough race again against Lundeen, but after years of running the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, Calkins will be able to use his own advice---and practice what for so long he could only preach.

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island Democrats have taken some intriguing steps lately in an effort to strengthen their advantages in this year's election. First, the Democrats are proposing to organize their own lottery. Participants would contribute two dollars a week toward a 25-week club with a grand drawing of \$10,000 at the conclusion of the program. "Leave it to Charlie to come up with the bright ideas," commented Gov. Philip Noel about Democratic State Chairman Charles T. Reilly's proposal. The GOP was less enthusiastic about two other Democratic ideas: one would require incumbent officials to resign if they seek another office. That is designed to put the whammy on Cranston Mayor James Taft, regarded as a highly formidable GOP candidate for governor this year. The other idea would require party registration, closing primaries to voters who are registered as independents.

Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Jr. (Ind-Va.) has announced that he will seek reelection in 1976 as an independent despite courtship by both Democrats and Republicans. Byrd's main opposition thus far comes from former Chief of Naval Operations Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., who is seeking the Democratic Senate nomination by seeking the ouster of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Another former independent, however, has reentered the Democratic fold. Liberal former Lt. Gov. Henry Howell, a populist who lost the 1973 race for governor by just one percent, has already declared his candidacy for the 1977 gubernatorial race—this time as a Democrat rather than an independent. Not to be outdone, Howell's announcement was closely followed by a similar announcement by Attorney General Andrew Miller, who stressed that he has always been a loyal Democrat. Some observers thought that Miller might wait until 1978 to run for Sen. William Scott's seat rather than spark an intra-party fight for the governorship between two popular Democrats. (One Republican once observed, "If Bill Scott runs again, the Democrats will be lined up down the street and around the corner to oppose him.")

The winner of the Miller-Howell fight will probably face Lt. Gov. John Dalton, whose once-certain nomination seems to be in some trouble. Even in the case of a devisive Democratic primary, Dalton would still have a tough race against either Howell or Miller. Howell's liberal stands make him popular with blacks, labor and liberals, while his stands against utility bill hikes and big-business make him popular in ultra-conservative southside Virginia and in strongly-Republican southwest Virginia.

Miller has the backing of the state's conservative Democratic establishment plus many

moderates. In two terms as attorney general, the 42-year-old Miller has compiled a fine record in consumer affairs. Dalton, meanwhile, has kept a low profile and avoided controversy on important consumer issues like rising utility rates. He has spent more time speaking against collective bargaining and balanced budgets, issues most Virginians don't care about—if the recent General Assembly election results are a good gauge of opinion.

As things look now, Byrd will be reelected rather easily in 1976, but he may be stripped of his seniority and committee assignments by a more liberal Senate Democratic caucus. If the electrical rate controversy is not solved, Dalton will have a hard time defeating the Democratic gubernatorial nominee in 1977. Meanwhile, the GOP does have a good chance of holding onto the office of lieutenant governor, and if Miller doesn't run, a good chance of taking the office of attorney general.

For these two offices, the GOP will probably turn to stars of last fall's legislative elections. Moderate Delegate J. Marshall Coleman, 33, trounced his incumbent Democratic opponent to win a Senate seat in the Shenandoah Valley—and possible shot at the nomination for attorney general. Also considered for a future statewide race is former Delegate Nathan Miller, 32, a moderate-conservative who knocked off the third-ranking Democrat in the State Senate.

In Alexandria, Vice Mayor Wiley Mitchell, a lawyer for Southern Railway, knocked off a veteran Democrat in a big upset that has also stimulated consideration for the GOP nomination for attorney general. In Virginia Beach, incumbent State Sen. Joseph Canada, a sometime moderate who is leading Ronald Reagan's campaign in the Old Dominion, fought off a strong challenge to set himself up for a race for lieutenant governor. The 36-year-old Canada sought the GOP nomination in 1973 but lost out to Dalton.

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