

# RIPON FORUM

## HOUSE SURVEY

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### COMMENTARY: THE HOUSE

THE YEAR OF THE NON-COMEBACK

by Dick Behn

House Republicans continue to wonder in the wilderness. They seek to rebound from their 43 seat loss of 1974, but the odds are slim that they will recover half of that number. It is, in fact, conceivable that a presidential victory by Jimmy Carter could hold the GOP to merely its present size.

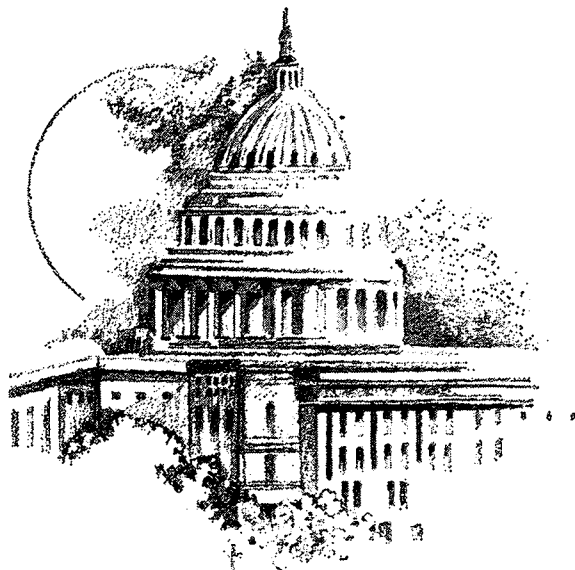
The Democrats, in fact, hope to pick up 20 seats. They've targeted five seats in Pennsylvania and a dozen or so more in southern, border, and midwestern states. The presence of Jimmy Carter on the Democratic ticket lends credence to Democratic hopes because the Georgian will sharply limit the GOP's chances of recapturing lost seats in North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, and Tennessee while almost eliminating good possibilities for wins in Georgia.

While Republicans think they have good chances to win back several seats each in Michigan, Indiana, and Iowa as well as several new seats in Missouri, the GOP could possibly be threatened by a strong Carter showing in Ohio and lose three seats.

The Northeast is another prime battle ground but it illustrates the difficulty of the GOP in fielding its strongest candidates. For example, former U.S.Rep. Robert Steele(R) could have given U.S.Rep. Christopher Dodd(D) a strong race in Connecticut's 2nd C.D. but he declined to run. Several upstate New York seats in nominally Republican areas may remain Democratic because of the failure of strong Republican candidates to enter the race. A similar situation occurred in U.S.Rep. Edward Biester's district in Pennsylvania where the strongest candidate declined to run. On the opposite end of the Keystone state, the GOP lost its opportunity to hold the seat of outgoing U.S.Rep. H. John Heinz III when conser-

vative Robert J. Casey won the GOP primary over two capable Republican progressives. Voters evidently thought they were voting for the popular Democratic state auditor-general with the same name but different middle initial. Heinz is one of several vacant Republican districts in normally Democratic areas which could switch Democratic.

A good example of a Republican district which could go Democratic in a fluke is that of U.S.Rep. Alphonzo Bell(R-23rd) in California. Bell vacated his seat in an unsuccessful run for the Senate. Two moderates ran for the nomination, allowing a conservative to win the primary and probably lose the general election. In far too many congressional districts, the GOP failed to field attractive candidates this year. Many of the 1974 crop of Democratic freshmen will have a near-free ride as a result. The rest may be preserved by Jimmy Carter, Republican lethargy and a Richard Nixon hangover. ■



# POLITICS: CONGRESS

A STATE-BY-STATE BREAKDOWN(?)

**ALABAMA:** Moderate U.S.Rep. John Buchanan(R-6th) may have endangered his seat by his advocacy of voting representation in Congress for the District of Columbia, but he may pick up in liberal support what he lost among conservatives. He faces conservative Democratic Sheriff Mel Bailey. In the open 5th C.D., State Sen. Ronnie G. Flippo, an ironworker-turned-accountant, is assured of victory since the GOP candidate withdrew.

**ALASKA:** U.S.Rep. Don Young(R) was re-elected with 54% of the vote in 1974. He should do better this year against weaker Democratic opposition.

**ARIZONA:** House Minority Leader John Rhodes had a close race against Pat Fullinwider in 1974, but close attention to district needs shows up in Rhodes' polls. Absence of a 1974 third party candidate should also help the GOP incumbent. In the 2nd C.D., U.S.Rep. Morris Udall(D) has lowered his sights and will keep his seat. Republicans hope to retain the 3rd C.D. seat with State Senate Majority Leader Fred Koory and the 4th C.D. seat with State Sen. John C. Pritzlaff, Jr., but disunity between Ford and Reagan forces and the Senate campaigns of U.S.Reps. Sam Steiger and John Conlan could undermine these efforts.

**ARKANSAS:** Attorney General Jim Guy Tucker(D) will replace U.S.Rep. Wilbur Mills in Congress. Although Republicans think that Harlan "Bo" Holleman is a credible and well-organized opponent to U.S.Rep. Bill Alexander(D), the GOP challenger uses campaign managers like Kleenex; he's on his third.

**CALIFORNIA:** The GOP had hoped to pick up two seats in California but probably will be lucky to stay even this year. Their two losses could come in the 16th C.D. where U.S. Rep. Burt Talcott is vulnerable to former Republican Leon Panetta(D) of HEW Civil Rights fame, and in the 27th where the Republican seat being vacated by U.S.Rep. Alphonzo Bell (R) could turn strangely Democratic. Talcott is vulnerable because he won by only 2,000 votes in 1974. Bell's seat would stay Republican had either of two moderates---Attorney Michael C. Donaldson or former Peace Corps Director Joseph Blatchford---won the primary. Instead, the general election is a contest between Robert K.Dornan(R), a conservative former talk show host, and Gary Familian(D), a 34-year-old plumbing contractor. A third possible Democratic pickup is the 2nd C.D. seat of U.S.Rep. Donald Clausen(R). In the

12th C.D., U.S.Rep. Pete McCloskey(R) is the favorite over former anti-war activist David Harris. In the 40th C.D., State Assemblyman Robert Badham(R) narrowly ousted U.S. Rep. Andrew Hinshaw from his seat by winning a multicandidate primary over former U.S.Rep. John Schmitz(R). In a startling demonstration of the fact that politics can unmake as well as make strange bedfellows, Patti Lear Corman (D), separated from her congressman-husband, is challenging U.S.Rep. Barry Goldwater, Jr. (R). Three Democratic freshmen that the GOP had hoped to unseat---Mark Hannaford(D-34th), Jim Lloyd(D-35th), and Jerry Patterson(D-38th) are probably beyond ousting. The GOP did not produce strong enough candidates. And despite the Washington Post's revelations of two mistresses, some bizarre forgery, and possible shady dealings with the South Korean government, U.S.Rep. Robert L. Leggett(D) should have no trouble winning reelection.

**COLORADO:** U.S.Rep. James Johnson(R-4th) is an independent-minded moderate whose softness on gun control has led to John Birch Society antagonism. Bircher Dick Davis is generating national interest in his independent run against Johnson and Colorado State University Professor Dan Ogden(D). The probable GOP candidates against U.S.Reps. Patricia Schroeder(D-1st) and freshman Tim Wirth(D-2nd) will wage campaigns too patently conservative to be effective.

**CONNECTICUT:** The GOP seems to have little chance of ousting freshmen U.S.Reps. Toby Moffett(D-6th) and Christopher Dodd(D-2nd) though both come from swing districts. A possible GOP winner could be longshot Lucien Di Fazio, an attorney and former Democrat, who is running against U.S.Rep. William Cotter(D-1st). Although U.S.Rep. Ronald Sarasin (R-4th) survived the 1974 landslide in a Democratic district, he still might be vulnerable to a Carter landslide against Ansonia Mayor Michael J. Adanti(D).

**DELAWARE:** The Democrats' four-way race for the state's congressional seat didn't help party unity. Republican National Committeeman Tom Evans, a former co-chairman of the Republican National Committee, feels he has earlier organizational problems under control and is now favored to succeed U.S.Rep. Pete du Pont(R).

**FLORIDA:** There will be little turnover in the Florida delegation although the GOP has a shot at the seat of the retiring James A. Haley(D-8th). In the 1st C.D., U.S.Rep. James Sikes may have gotten himself in trouble

with the House Ethics Committee, but he is "He-Coor" at home where his success in providing for the district's five military bases will insure his reelection.

GEORGIA: U.S.Rep. John Flynt's position as head of the House Ethics Committee has lifted him from his usual comfortable obscurity to national attention. Unfortunately for Republican challenger Newt Gingrich, the election in the 6th C.D. may hinge more on Jimmy Carter's popularity than on Flynt's incompetence. In the 7th C.D., where Republican Quincy Collins is also seeking to reverse a narrow 1974 loss, Collins faces U.S.Rep. Larry McDonald(D). The John Bircher incumbent may be softened up by a Democratic primary attacking his profligate use of Congressional Record reprint rights. The state GOP was upset by the appearance of U.S.Rep. Steve Symms(R-Id.) at a May 1 fundraiser for McDonald. Symms compounded his gaffe by saying it was too bad the GOP was "making such an effort to unseat a very freedom-minded representative." Although U.S.Rep. Robert G. Stephens(D-10th) is retiring, there is no GOP candidate; the 10th and the 9th C.D. seat of retiring U.S.Rep. Phil Landrum(D) are sure to remain Democratic. The situation is different in the 8th C.D. where U.S.Rep. W.S. Stuckey is retiring and the GOP candidate is former State Sen. Billy Adams, an oil dealer. Like Gingrich and Collins, Adams may be unable to overcome peanut power. Finally, the GOP lost the 4th C.D. unexpectedly in 1974 to U.S.Rep. Elliot H. Levitas(D), who has entrenched himself fairly securely. State Sen. George Warren(R) will provide probably futile Republican opposition.

HAWAII: With both Democratic congresspersons seeking the Senate seat, Republicans have opportunities in both districts, particularly if heated contests for the Senate and the Honolulu mayoralty split the Democratic Party. The GOP's best shot is the 1st C.D. where moderate former State Sen. Fred Rohlfing will face the probable winner of the Democratic primary, Cecil Heftel. In the 2nd C.D., Democrat Daniel Akaka will be favored as a result of Republican National Committeewoman Carla Coray's decision to stay out of the race.

IDAHO: U.S.Rep. George Hansen(R) easily defeated two primary opponents and is the favorite for reelection despite his conviction for violation of federal campaign financing laws.

ILLINOIS: There is surprisingly little prospective turnover. In a rerun of 1974, U.S. Rep. Abner Mikva will probably defeat former U.S.Rep. Samuel Young(R) again. Mikva has mixed his liberal voting record with a few efforts at fiscal conservatism. The strident conserva-

tism of attorney Ronald Buikema should doom his candidacy against freshman U.S.Rep. Martin Russo(D-3rd). Probably the GOP's only hope of a pickup is former GOP official Tom Corcoran's uphill battle against U.S.Rep. Tim Lee Hall in the normally Republican 15th C.D.

INDIANA: The GOP has high hopes of recovering the seats lost in 1974, but separating hopes and reality is a bit difficult. The GOP's best shots come in the 2nd C.D., where former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Will Erwin is challenging freshman U.S.Rep. Floyd Fithian(D); the 8th C.D., where Republican Belden Bell faces Democratic manufacturer David Cornwell in a vacant seat; and the 6th C.D. where U.S. Rep. David Evans(D) may be vulnerable to Republican David G. Crane, a lawyer-physician and brother of U.S.Rep. Phil Crane(R-Ill.) In the 11th C.D., U.S.Rep. Andrew Jacobs(D) is probably safer than wife Martha Keys(D) in Kansas.

IOWA: The GOP has good candidates; the question is whether 1976 will be a good year---good enough to reverse what was unquestionably a very bad 1974. In the 1st C.D., former foreign service officer James A.S. Leach(R) is making a rerun against U.S.Rep. James Mezvinsky(D) Another rerun takes place in the 2nd C.D. with State Sen. Tom Riley, another progressive, challenging U.S.Rep. Michael T. Blouin(D). In the 3rd C.D., the GOP's lone incumbent, conservative U.S.Rep. Charles Grassley(R) will have the third rerun---against former legislator Stephen Rapp. In the 5th C.D., the GOP's chances of defeating U.S.Rep. Tom Harkin may have slipped when State Fair Secretary Kenneth R. Fulk(R), a conservative, defeated State Sen. John Murray(R), a moderate, in the GOP primary. The Republicans' toughest race may be the 6th C.D. where civic activist Joanne D. Soper(R) faces popular freshman U.S.Rep. Berkley Bedell(D).

KANSAS: U.S.Rep. Garner Shriver(R) was considered vulnerable after a weak 1974 race, but a recent poll for the Topeka Sunday Capital-Journal showed 63% of those responding would vote for the incumbent. Still, Dan Glickman, the Democratic president of the Wichita School Board, has a strong base in that city. The weakest incumbent is the state's lone Democrat, U.S.Rep. Martha Keys(D-2nd), for whom only 55% of her constituents would vote, according to the same poll. Seeking to unseat Keys is insurance executive Ross Freeman(R), a conservative active in mental health concerns.

KENTUCKY: U.S.Rep. Romano Mazzoli(D-3rd) was uncharacteristically quick to demand that U.S.Rep. Wayne Hays(D-Ohio) resign this spring. That action may indicate Mazzoli's unease with GOP challenger Denzil J. Ramsey, a high school principal whose opposition to school busing

is the cornerstone of his campaign. Busing may also help preserve U.S.Rep. Gene Snyder's seat in the neighboring district. The conservative Republican faces liberal attorney Edward J. Winterberg(D). The only other district where the GOP has a chance is U.S.Rep. William H. Natcher's 2nd C.D. State Sen. Walter A. Baker is Natcher's GOP antagonist.

LOUISIANA: Both Republicans---U.S.Reps. David C. Treen(R-3rd) and Henson Moore(R-6th) should survive reelection challenges. The big fights should come in the Democratic primaries. New Orleans City Councilman James A. Moreau(D) is favored to succeed U.S.Rep. F. Edward Herbert(D-1st) both physically and ideologically. In the 5th C.D., U.S.Rep. Otto E. Passman(D) will be hard-pressed to subdue fellow Democrat Jerry Huckaby, a young farmer-businessman.

MAINE: U.S.Rep. David F. Emery would have been in better shape if former U.S.Rep. Peter N. Kyros(D) had not been disqualified by nominating petition forgeries. Emery's narrow 1974 victory over the former congressman makes his seat a prime 1976 target. The winner of a hard-fought Democratic primary was Frederick D. Barton, 26, a former aide to Sen. William D. Hathaway(D).

MARYLAND: This could be a bad year for Maryland Republicans with a shaky Senate seat and the retirement of U.S.Rep. Gilbert Gude(R-8th). State Sen. Newton I. Steers(R), a progressive in the Gude tradition, is hoping that Democratic dissension will allow him to defeat former Muskie aide Lanny Davis in the normally Democratic district. There will be two rematches: freshman U.S.Rep. Gladys N. Spellman(D-5th) against 1974 opponent John B. Burcham(R) and second-term U.S.Rep. Marjorie Holt(R-4th) against 1972 opponent Werner Fornos. Both incumbents are favored; the expected election of Baltimore City Councilwoman Barbara Mikulski(D) in the 3rd C.D. will add a third woman to the delegation.

MASSACHUSETTS: The only real prospect for Republican victory is in the 4th C.D. where attorney Arthur Mason(R) is waging an energetic campaign to unseat U.S.Rep. Robert F. Drinan(D) and just may do so. The Republicans don't have a candidate to succeed the late Torbert H. Macdonald(D) in the 7th C.D. but the Democrats have more than their share. In the 11th C.D., U.S.Rep. James A. Burke has promised not to raise or spend funds in his reelection effort, but he may regret that by the time his Democratic challenger, Patrick McCarthy, concludes his primary effort.

MICHIGAN: Republicans see a good chance to pick up three of the congressional seats they lost in 1974, but all three will be tough

battles. In Gerald Ford's old district, Kent County Prosecutor Harold Sawyer(R) easily won a heated Republican primary---despite his past support for the Democratic incumbent, U.S.Rep. Richard F. VanderVeen. Sawyer's chances could hinge on other Republicans closing ranks behind him. In the 8th C.D, Saginaw County Prosecutor E. Brady Denton, 31, has also capitalized on prosecutorial publicity to launch an effective challenge against U.S.Rep. Bob Traxler(D). And in the 6th C.D., 1974 conservative loser Clifford Taylor(R) will again challenge liberal U.S.Rep. Robert Carr. Three other Republican districts are shaky: the 3rd where U.S.Rep. Garry Brown had a stiff race in 1974 and could be effectively challenged by State Rep. Howard Wolpe; the 2nd where State Sen. Carl D. Pursell(R), a Republican in the mold of outgoing U.S.Rep. Marvin Esch(R), is seeking to fend off Democrat Edward Pierce, a physician with a considerable reputation for his low-income medical clinic and liberal stands; and the 11th C.D. where U.S.Rep. Philip Ruppe is attempting to improve his shaky 1974 grip on the seat. Two seats being vacated by Democratic Senate hopefuls will probably stay in the family though State Rep. David Serotkin(R) has an outside chance against State Rep. David Bonior(D) in the 12th C.D. State Sen. Dale Kildee should have less troubling dispensing with Republican Robin Widgery, a General Motors Institute faculty member, in the 7th C.D. One of the GOP's brightest spots in the 4th C.D., where David Stockman, a young progressive who was formerly an aide to U.S.Rep. John Anderson(R), is the clear favorite. U.S.Rep. Edward Hutchinson(R) is retiring in that district.

MINNESOTA: Hubert H. Humphrey for the Senate and Walter Mondale for Vice President is double trouble for Minnesota Republicans. The GOP will attempt to regain the 6th C.D. seat of U.S.Rep. Rick Nolan(D). In a heated contest, Jim Anderson, a 26-year-old attorney-businessman, defeated 1974 nominee Jon Grunseth for the GOP endorsement. Retiring U.S. Rep. Joseph C. Karth's seat will stay Democratic.

MISSISSIPPI: Mississippi voters respect incumbents. Three Democrats and two Republicans have no cause to look for other jobs.

MISSOURI: Five Democrats vacated their congressional seats this year and Republicans have opportunities---to varying degrees---of capturing all five. In James Symington's 2nd C.D. which was once Republican, it will be a tight race between State Rep. Robert O. Snyder(R) and State Sen. Robert A. Young(D). Both won narrow primary victories as anti-abortion candidates. The neighboring 3rd C.D. being vacated by Leonor Sullivan is a normally

Democratic district, but Joseph Badaracco, former president of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, is given a fair chance of defeating Alderman Richard A. Gephardt(D). Another good shot for the GOP is the 4th C.D. now held by William J. Randall(D). Moderate Independence Mayor Richard King, vice chairman of the National Conference of Republican Mayors, will oppose liberal State Sen. Ike Shelton. In the 6th C.D. which Jerry Litton represented before his recent death in an airplane crash, State Rep. E. Thomas Coleman, 33, is an even bet against farmer-businessman Morgan Maxfield(D), a millionaire. Finally, in the 9th C.D., where William L. Hungate's humor will be missed, State Sen. J.H. Frappier(R) already represents large part of the district while State Rep. Harold L. Volkmer(D) is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. That race too could be close.

**MONTANA:** Republican rancher Ron Marlenee stands a good chance of picking up the vacant 2nd C.D. with the backing of a hard-working GOP state organization. John Bircher Bill Diehl has a more futile task against U.S.Rep. Max Baucus(D) in the 1st C.D.

**NEBRASKA:** Although freshman U.S.Rep. Virginia Smith(R) was only a very narrow winner in 1974, she has strengthened her position against attorney James T. Hansen, a young public defender. Democrats do have a good bet, however, to take the take the 2nd C.D. where State Sen. John Cavanaugh(D) may well defeat TV personality Lee Terry(R).

**NEVADA:** Freshman U.S.Rep. James Santini (D) was embarrassed by his use of his postage account but not enough to lose.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** J. Joseph Grandmaison (D) is doing what he has usually told other people how to do. Whether Grandmaison will be as successful as a candidate as a campaign manager remains to be voted, but U.S. Rep. James Cleveland(R) is justifiably worried.

**NEW JERSEY:** In the 1974 disaster, the GOP lost four seats. Picking up two seats is probably the best Republicans can hope for. The GOP's best bet is State Sen. William Schluter(R), who's waging a good-government campaign against U.S.Rep. Helen Meyner(D-13th) in a solidly Republican district. The legal clients of Meyner's husband, a former governor, may be an embarrassment to the incumbent. In the 9th C.D., the activities of the incumbent, U.S. Rep. Henry Helstoski(D) are an embarrassment. Helstoski's indictment on bribery charges very nearly cost him the Democratic primary. The resulting Democratic bitterness may provide an opening for former State Sen. Harold Hollenbeck, a capable GOP moderate. In the neighboring 7th

C.D., the GOP lost an opportunity to oust U.S. Andrew Maguire, a vulnerable Democratic freshman when they nominated an archconservative, Wyckoff Mayor James Sheehan. The GOP has a better shot downstate in the 2nd C.D. where Assistant Assembly Minority Leader James Hurley(R) opposes freshman U.S.Rep. William J. Hughes, but Hughes has probably done a better job ingratiating himself with his constituents. The GOP has no chance of regaining the 1st C.D.

**NEW MEXICO:** Both U.S.Reps. Manuel Lujan, Jr.(R) and Harold Runnels(D) are safe.

**NEW YORK:** Although both parties have vulnerable seats and each thinks it could win two-three seats, the odds favor the Democrats. For example, U.S.Rep. John LaFalce is one of the GOP's target freshman Democrats in the Republican-leaning 36th C.D. The GOP had a hard time coming up with a candidate, trying at one point to get Buffalo Bills Coach Lou Saban to run and finally settling on Dr. Ralph J. Argen. In other districts such as the 39th C.D., the GOP concedes it has little chance of unseating U.S.Rep. Stanley Lundine(D). It will also be difficult to capture the 27th C.D. of U.S.Rep. Matthew McHugh(D) and the 29th C.D. of U.S.Rep. Edward Pattison. Republicans have a better chance on Long Island where two other Republican districts fell Democratic in 1974: the 3rd with U.S.Rep. Jerome Ambro(D) and the 2nd with U.S.Rep. Thomas J. Downey. The Republicans' best bet in the state is probably Islip Town Supervisor Peter Cohalan against Downey. On the other hand, two more GOP districts could go Democratic. The Westchester County seat being vacated by U.S.Rep. Peter Peyser(R-23rd) is likely to turn Democratic and the seat held by U.S.Rep. Norman Lent(R-4th), who ran poorly in 1974, could do the same.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Republicans would like to win back the two seats they lost in 1974 and then maybe two more. They may find it more difficult to do than to dream about. In the 3rd C.D. where U.S.Rep. David N. Henderson (D) is retiring, former State Sen. W.J. Blanchard(R) is given a chance of beating the winner of the Democratic primary. In the 5th C.D. former U.S.Rep. Wilmer D. "Vinegar Bend" Mizell is pressing U.S.Rep. Stephen L. Neal(D) hard. Former State Rep. Gilbert Lee Boger(R) will have a harder time against freshman U.S. Rep. W.G. Hefner(D). The GOP's fourth chance is in the 11th C.D. where U.S.Rep. Roy A. Taylor(D) is retiring and former Superior Court Judge Bruce B. Briggs(R) is seeking his seat. He will probably face State Sen. Lamar Gudger (D). A Carter landslide could endanger U.S. Rep. James T. Broyhill(R-10th).

**NORTH DAKOTA:** U.S.Rep. Mark Andrews(R) is the overwhelming favorite to beat Lloyd Omdahl(D), state director of accounts and purchases.

**OHIO:** The Buckeye State has one of the largest potentials for turnovers in the nation, but U.S.Rep. Wayne Hays(D) will probably remain on the seat. He had more formidable opposition in 1974 than this year's GOP candidate, engineer Ralph R. McCoy. The GOP's target districts are the 9th C.D. where educator Carleton Finkbeiner(R) hopes to improve on a strong 1974 run against U.S.Rep. Thomas L. Ashley(D) and the 19th C.D. where Youngstown Mayor Jack Hunter(R) hopes to prevail over U.S. Rep. Charles Carney. Both have uphill battles. The suburban 23rd C.D. is a good example of a formerly Republican district that failed to attract a strong GOP challenger. U.S.Rep. Ronald Mottl(D) should have little trouble with attorney Michael Scanlan(R); Mottl has one of the delegation's most conservative Democratic voting records. The GOP, on the other hand, has four vulnerable districts. In the 2nd C.D. U.S.Rep. Donald Clancy(R) will face former U.S.Rep. Thomas A. Luken(D), who served briefly in the 1st C.D. In the 13th C.D. being vacated by progressive U.S.Rep. Charles Mosher(R), State Sen. Donald Pease(D) is favored to beat former Lorain Mayor Woodrow W. Matina(R). In the 12th C.D., it's a rematch between U.S.Rep. Samuel Devine and the Columbus city councilwoman who almost upset him in 1974, Francine Ryan. Devine's fellow ultra-conservative, U.S.Rep. John Ashbrook(R-17th) is also in trouble, facing former gubernatorial aide John C. McDonald(D).

**OKLAHOMA:** The GOP believes that the state's two freshmen---U.S.Reps. Theodore M. Risenhoover(D-2nd) and Glenn English(D-6th)---along with second-term U.S.Rep. James Jones(D-1st) could be vulnerable. Risenhoover's play-boy image could be grist for former Republican State Chairman Bud Stewart. Jones' wishy-washy voting record will be attacked by State Sen. Frank Keating(R) while attorney Steven Jones (R) will have a harder time against the conservative English. The race to succeed retiring U.S.Rep. John Jarman is between conservative Mickey Edwards and moderate G.T.Blankenship(R).

**OREGON:** The GOP was shut out of the state's four-member delegation in 1974 and weak candidates have handicapped any effort to make a comeback this year.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** The Democrats hope to pick up five seats in the Keystone State while the GOP hopes to hold its own or pick up one or two. The Republicans probably will pick up the 7th C.D. where freshman U.S.Rep. Robert Edgar(D) was elected amid local Republican scandals in 1974. Attorney John S. Kenney(R) is the likely winner. North of Philadelphia, State Rep. John S. Renninger(R) is favored to succeed U.S.Rep. Edward G. Biester, Jr.(R) in the 8th C.D. but the Democrats hope for an upset. In the 17th C.D. where U.S.Rep. Herman T. Schneebeli(R) is also retiring, State Rep. Joseph R. Hepford(R) should win, but another Democratic upset is possible. In the 23rd C.D., U.S.Rep. Albert Johnson(R), 69, survived a primary but may not outlive State Sen. Joseph S. Ammerman(D). The 18th C.D. of outgoing U.S.Rep. H. John Heinz III (R) might have gone Republican if a moderate had won the primary, but voter confusion over the winning GOP candidate insures a Democratic victory. Freshman U.S.Rep. Gary Myers(R-25th) was a surprise victor in 1974 and Democrats would like to limit his surprises to one. In the 26th C.D., attorney Mark Lincoln Marks(R) is an underdog but possible victor over U.S. Rep. Joseph Vigorito, an undistinguished Democrat.

**RHODE ISLAND:** U.S.Rep. Edward P. Beard(D), the 2nd C.D. painter-politician, has a bitter primary against Warwick Mayor Eugene J. McCaffrey, Jr. Although he's opposed by the Democratic organization and Gov. Philip W. Noel, Beard's expected to win both the September primary and the November election over Republican Thomas Ianitti.

**SOUTH CAROLINA:** The GOP controls only one of South Carolina's six congressional seats, but hopes that a second rematch between U.S.Rep. John W. Jenrette, Jr.(D) and former U.S.Rep. Edward L. Young(R) will have a favorable outcome. Although Jenrette has been rebounding and Young slipping in the

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race, Jenrette may yet be affected by adverse publicity surrounding his divorce including a pending suit against a South Carolina newspaper which reprinted Jenrette's ex-wife's assertion that he had 23 extra-marital affairs. Former Yankee second baseman Bobby Richardson will try his Dixie luck against freshman U.S.Rep. Kenneth L. Holland(D-5th). Richardson is the University of South Carolina baseball coach. U.S.Rep. Floyd Spence (R-2nd) might have been endangered by strong Democratic opposition but none appeared.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Both U.S.Rep.s James Abdnor(R) and Larry Pressler(R) should be safe for the GOP.

TENNESSEE: The GOP lost two seats in 1974. It is unlikely to recapture them. Memphis City Councilman Andy Alissandratos(R) won an 8th C.D. primary which had its tragicomic aspects. His opponent was hurt by revelations that he not only lived outside the district but hit, choked, and bit his fiancee. Alissandratos is a capable and forceful candidate but the makeup of the district is weighted in favor of U.S.Rep. Harold Ford(D). Former U.S. Rep. LaMar Baker, now a congressional liaison for the Treasury Department, won his 3rd C.D. primary, but is a distinct underdog against popular freshman U.S.Rep. Marilyn Lloyd(D). Also seeking a comeback is former Sen. Ross Bass(D), who represented a part of the district now held by U.S.Rep. Robin Beard(R-6th). Beard is vulnerable. Another familiar name to crop up is the winner of the 4th C.D. Democratic primary, Albert Gore, Jr., son of the former senator and assured winner of that vacant seat.

TEXAS: Not much partisan movement is expected in the delegation. In the 5th C.D., Dallas School Board member Nancy Judy(R) will have a difficult time retaining U.S.Rep. Alan Steelman's seat against State Rep. Jim Mattox(D), who made an impressive primary showing. In the 6th C.D., U.S.Rep. Olin Teague, 66, had a tough time surviving the May primary and may be slightly vulnerable to oil industry executive Wes Mowery (R). In the 22nd C.D., where Dr. Ron Paul(R) won a special election this spring over ex-State Sen. Bob Gammage(D), the tables may be turned in the general election. Despite the draw of Ronald Reagan and Paul's Reaganite organization, Gammage received more than twice as many votes as Paul in the May primary.

UTAH: If it were not for a nocturnal chance(?) encounter on the streets of Salt Lake City in June, Republicans might not have much hope to capture the state's two congressional seats. But as long as U.S.Rep. Allan T. Howe (D-2nd) keeps sex alive, the GOP has a chance. With many Democrats calling on Howe to step

aside, Howe may be undercut by a Democratic independent write-in. Unfortunately for the GOP, the likely winner of the Republican primary, business consultant Dan Marriott, is a virtual unknown. In the 1st C.D., San Juan County Commissioner Calvin Black is favored to oppose U.S.Rep. Gunn McKay(D). McKay is an entrenched incumbent but if anyone can outfolks the folksy McKay, the wealthy and personable Black can.

VERMONT: Freshman U.S.Rep. James Jeffords(R) is the early favorite, but he may feel the hot breath of attorney John Burgess(D) in the stretch.

VIRGINIA: Republicans will try to recapture the two northern Virginia districts they lost in 1974. Former State Delegate James P. Tate(R) won a narrow primary victory and will oppose U.S.Rep. Herbert Harris in the 8th C.D. In the nearby 10th C.D., State Delegate Vincent F. Callahan is a moderate-conservative like Tate, who, like Tate, narrowly defeated a more strident conservative for the GOP nomination. Callahan will face U.S.Rep. Joseph Fisher. Both Republicans hope 1974 was a liberal aberration for their areas. Elsewhere in the state, U.S.Rep. Thomas N. Downing(D) is retiring in the 1st C.D. Commonwealth's Attorney Paul S. Tribble is the GOP candidate against State Delegate Robert Quinn. It is a possible GOP pickup, but the 4th C.D. seat of U.S.Rep. Robert Daniel(R) is a possible GOP loss. State Delegate Billy O'Brien(D) may press Daniel's previously weak hold on the seat. Two Republicans are safe: U.S.Rep. Caldwell Butler(R-6th) and U.S.Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson(R-7th) have no opposition.

WASHINGTON: U.S.Rep. Floyd Hicks(D-6th) never really liked being a congressman and has vacated his seat in favor of returning to the state bench. His seat is sure to remain Democratic but the 2nd and 4th C.D. seats might switch. In the 2nd C.D., U.S.Rep. Lloyd Meeds is in trouble because of preferential fishing rights granted Indians by a federal court and because of the employment impact that creation of a federal wilderness area may have on the district. Republican John Nance Garner has a shot at Meeds. U.S.Rep. Mike McCormack(D-4th) never had a firm hold on his district and may lose it completely this year. In 1974, a perennial John Birch Society candidate who died last spring received 42% of the vote. The likely Republican candidate this year is Clark County Commissioner Dick Granger, an attractive, articulate campaigner who's won elections in a heavily Democratic area.

WEST VIRGINIA: U.S.Rep. Ken Hechler(D-4th) waged a disastrous gubernatorial campaign but he may be successful in his write-in ef-

fort against the Democratic congressional nominee. In the confusion, Republican Steve Goodman, a young former railroad company official, may be able to squeeze through to victory.

**WISCONSIN:** Two Democratic freshmen can be found in the delegation, but U.S.Rep. Alvin Baldus(D-3rd) is the most vulnerable. He has a formidable challenger is Dr. Adolph Gunderson(R), head of the large Gunderson Clinic in La Crosse, Wisconsin. In the 8th C.D., former U.S.Rep. Harold Froehlich(R) is the favorite to win the September 14 pri-

mary over John Burns, Jr., the son of Froehlich's predecessor and a former assistant U.S. attorney. Froehlich, however, would be the underdog against his two-time opponent, U.S. Rep. Robert Cornell(D).

**WYOMING:** Former Navy Lieutenant Larry Hart(R) has been campaigning aggressively ever since getting out of the service in June, but U.S.Rep. Teno Roncalio(D) survived a similarly strenuous effort from a better-known candidate, now-GOP State Chairman Tom Stroock, in 1972.

## POLITICS: STATES

## SENATE UPDATES

**MICHIGAN:** It was a dull primary until the election results came in. Secretary of State Richard Austin was the overwhelming June favorite to win the Democratic Senate primary; he ran a low-key campaign fueled with patronage campaign contributions that blew up under him in July. His defensive stonewalling may well have cost him the nomination---which went instead to former Republican Donald Riegle, who easily defeated Austin and U.S.Rep. James O'Hara. The candidate who unveiled Austin's troubles finished far back. Riegle's victory poses numerous problems for Republicans who were prepared to take advantage of the many liabilities of the black secretary of state: primarily his age (63) and his controversial handling of his office. These difficulties will not affect the 38-year-old Riegle, whose youth and campaigning ability apparently made an impact in an apparently dull race. U.S.Rep. Marvin Esch(R), the progressive Republican who easily won the GOP nomination, must be worried by the election returns which showed Riegle outpolling him in traditionally Republican areas and numerous independents and Republicans crossing back to the Democratic column. Riegle ran as the politician worried about "the problems that keep people awake at night." Now the GOP will be kept awake, thinking about how to get those Republican voters back in the fold and how to take advantage of any splits in Democratic ranks. As State Republican Chairman William McLaughlin says, "It will be a ding-

dong battle, no doubt about that."

**TENNESSEE:** John Jay Hooker didn't campaign for the Tennessee Democratic Senate nomination because he said he didn't have to campaign. It turned out that Hooker's non-campaign fell apart the same way his Minnie Pearl Chicken empire folded its wings just in the middle of the 1970 election campaign. This time, Hooker's reputation as a loser in two previous statewide campaigns, his own non-campaigning, and his accumulated enemies did him in. As Memphis Commercial Appeal reporter William Bennett wrote before the primary: "Hooker is doing practically nothing in the conventional sense of the word, while his chief opponents---particularly fellow Nashville attorney James Sasser---are working frantically in their efforts to scoop up the Democratic nomination for the U.S.Senate." Sasser, a former Democratic state chairman, had the organization and energy that Hooker lacked---enough to make up for his lack of name identification. Hooker was backed by Muhammad Ali and Sasser was supporter by musician Isaac Hayes---a clear demonstration of musical punching power. Although incumbent Sen. Bill Brock(R) has a well-financed, well-organized campaign, this fall's election could be close. The Democrats are clearly hoping for a Carter sweep to pull in Sasser while Brock hopes that Sen. Howard Baker, Jr., would give him a boost if chosen as a GOP vice presidential nominee.

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