

Republican National Convention Issue

RIPON
FORUM

AUGUST, 1972

Vol. VIII No. 15

ONE DOLLAR

**RIPON SOCIETY PROPOSALS
FOR RESOLUTIONS and RULES**



Party Reform

Articles by Robert Finch, George Thyss and Daniel Swillinger

Also:

- **Tanya Melich on Media**
- **John McClaughry on Expanded Ownership**

LETTERS

Dear Sir:

I read with interest a recent editorial of the Ripon FORUM that identified Joseph M. Crosby as "Nixon's State Campaign Chairman".

There is no question in my mind that Joe Crosby, who is a fine man, would make a fine campaign chairman for the President, but the fact is, he isn't. The chairman of the President's campaign in California is Governor Ronald Regan. Mr. Crosby has no official position in the campaign.

Also, to set straight the record, John Ashbrook received less than 10 percent of the GOP vote in the June primary.

You will be happy to know that the Nixon campaign in California has not written off the youth vote. In fact we are making a vigorous effort to register young people and to make them aware of the President's record which is the most pro-young-people in the history of the Republic: Draft reform, the 18-year-old vote, the move towards an all-volunteer army, the environmental protection efforts, the all-out fight against drug abuse, to name a few.

We are looking forward to the Ripon Society's all-out support of the President this fall.

LYN NOFZIGER
Executive Director
California Committee
for the Re-election
of the President

EDITOR'S NOTE: According to the **Congressional Quarterly**, nearly complete returns showed Ashbrook with 9.9 percent of the Republican vote.

Correction: The vice chairwoman of the Texas Democratic State Convention was Eddie Bernice Johnson, not Barbara Jordan as reported in the July FORUM and newsletter. Ms. Johnson is a state legislative candidate from Dallas.

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Pagination Note to Convention Readers: *Issues of the August, 1972 issue of the FORUM which will be distributed at the GOP National Convention will contain the Special Election '72 Supplement from the July FORUM. Because of the differing page sequences, the supplement is numbered pages 13 to 36.*

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

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EDITORIAL

Towards Amnesty And Moderation

The war in Vietnam has gone on too long. For Republicans, the moment of judgment has arrived — judgment on our 1968 platform pledge to “urgently dedicate our efforts toward restoration of peace both at home and abroad” and our candidate’s pledge to “end the war and win the peace.” We hope reports that a negotiated settlement is imminent are correct and our pledge will be redeemed.

In the meantime, we face another challenge in the years ahead. If we are to succeed as the party which ended the war, we ought to dedicate ourselves also to healing the wounds left by the longest and most divisive conflict in American history. We must commit ourselves to aid the millions of civilian casualties on both sides of the Vietnam conflict and to restore the land from the devastating ecological effects of prolonged war. At home we should grant conditional amnesty to the thousands of young people who refused, by conscience, to participate in the war.

We believe many Republicans have jumped unwisely to the conclusion that amnesty is a radical position. On the contrary, to close the door now on certain forms of amnesty is both to contradict claims that we care about reconciliation and to run against the tide of history.

George Washington set the precedent for a succession of executive pardonings when in 1795 he forgave those who had taken part in the Whiskey Rebellion of the previous summer. As the first American President explained in a message to Congress:

Though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional power with which I am vested, yet my personal feeling is to mingle in the operations of Government every degree of moderation and tenderness which the national justice, dignity, and safety may permit.

President Abraham Lincoln was known for the generosity of his Civil War amnesty proclamations. Presidents Adams (Pennsylvania insurrectionists), Jefferson (deserters), Madison (deserters), Jackson (deserters), Harrison (Mormons), Cleveland (Mormons), and Teddy Roosevelt (Phillipine rebels), also authored amnesty proclamations. In 1924 Calvin Coolidge pardoned more than 100 men who had deserted since the World War I Armistice, and nine years later, Franklin Roosevelt amnestied 1500 violators of World War I espionage and draft laws. President Truman authorized a broad amnesty plan, covering both World War II and the Korean War.

At present, it is estimated that 70,000 young men have fled the country in order to avoid prosecution for draft evasion. An additional 35,000 GI’s are being sought for desertion. Over 300 men are now serving sentences for Selective Service offenses, with yet another 3900 currently awaiting trial. Without intending any

disservice to those who served in Vietnam, let alone their comrades who were wounded or killed there, we believe compassion is in order for these continuing casualties of the Indochina conflict.

A non-vindictive course is called for, not only by the evidence of government miscalculation and deceit revealed in the Pentagon Papers, but further by the gross inequities in the Selective Service system which have permitted many men legally to evade the draft — through exploitation of its statutory loopholes and administrative weaknesses. Moreover, the Supreme Court ruled in *Welsh v. United States*, that one could be a conscientious objector without believing in a Supreme Being, a change which greatly broadened the CO classification. But this liberalized reinterpretation of the war was unavailable to those men drafted during the period 1964-1970. Unlike some of their younger brothers, these draftees had the choice of fighting in Vietnam, sitting in jail, or heading for Canada.

The Ripon Society urges the Republican National Convention to draft a comprehensive plan for easing the aftermath of U.S. participation in the Vietnam War. At a minimum this plan should provide for assuring the financial security of children whose fathers have been killed in Indochina, and a reassessment and augmentation of veterans’ benefits (especially with regard to medical care, job training, and educational stipends.) Such an approach should be completed by a two-level amnesty program.

This program first would grant all Selective Service law violators and armed forces deserters automatic immunity from prosecution if they agreed to perform two years of compensating national service in the military, or in federal, state or nongovernmental public interest employment (time spent in the armed forces would be credited to deserters). Secondly, it would authorize a civilian review board to lessen or remit — on a case by case basis — legal liabilities of draft offenders, deserters, and all other men similarly jeopardized (including war criminals). The review board will consider cases where national security and preservation of internal order were not threatened, and where the personal hardship endured by a particular violator seems to justify leniency.

Such an amnesty proposal is both generous and prudent. It acts to shorten at least one portion of the lamentable legacy of this country’s intervention in Southeast Asia. As Senator Robert Taft Jr. (R-Ohio) said recently about those who have illegally resisted the Vietnam draft, “It would be a great mistake for us forever to foreclose these young men . . . from participating in American life.” That is a thoroughly American sentiment. And it is the attitude which underlies that sentiment — Washington’s principle of “moderation and tenderness” — which must guide us in picking up the pieces after Vietnam.

Youth:

It is often forgotten that the United States was founded by the young. Among the "Founding Fathers" who signed the Declaration of Independence, twenty were under age 40, nine under age 35, and four under 30. Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the document itself, was 33.

A majority of citizens in the early Republic were under age 30, the last period until our own in which this was true. Largely immigrants, they had consciously broken the past's stratifications. One, Michel de Crevecoeur, announced, "The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions."

The 18-year-old now has the vote. Along with the vote should come the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. We urge the Republican Party, as we urged the President in September, 1969, to establish a Commission on the Age of Legal Majority which would consider proposals for legislation granting "adult" rights uniformly at age 18, and suggest areas of age-discrimination in the federal government which can be eliminated by new laws or executive order.

We believe the Republican party, if it is truly the "party of the open door," must open itself more formally to the ideas of youth. We propose establishment of a President's Youth Advisory Council, made up of young people 18-30, to advise the President on the effect of national policies on the young, to prepare recommendations for Presidential action, to communicate the President's view to youth and youth's views to the President.

We believe the idealism and energy of youth can be tapped better than it now is in the volunteer sector, and consequently we propose federal endorsement of a National Foundation for Youth Service, to act as a clearing house for private and public youth service projects and the grant service fellowships to those youth who otherwise could not afford to take a service job.

Because education is such an important part of any young person's life, we urge full support to provide the best possible education to all children on equal terms, without regard

to race, religion, sex or the wealth of their parents. Specifically, we urge Republicans:

1) to endorse the principle, first enunciated by the California Supreme Court in *Serrano V. Priest*, that the quality of a child's education may not be made to depend on the wealth of his parents. Through the resources available to the federal government, the Administration should assist the states in voluntarily restructuring their school finance systems to the end that every child will receive an education commensurate with his needs.

2) to support full implementation of the Administration initiatives on Higher Education and Desegregation Assistance Act and to back the ruling of the Supreme Court that busing is one legitimate means of achieving desegregation.

3) to give highest priority to the goal of making college and professional training available to all students regardless of family income.

4) to support Administration efforts to redress the denial of equal educational opportunities to Spanish-surnamed and other students on the basis of their cultural and linguistic differences. The scope of these efforts ought to be extended to the even more difficult problem of providing equal educational opportunities to American Indian children, many of whom are still segregated in inferior schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Native Americans

Our government and people have been all too slow to recognize the vast contribution to and special position of the First Americans. As President Nixon said in his ground-breaking July 8, 1970 message on Indian policy, "The story of the Indian in America is something more than the record of the white man's frequent aggression, broken agreements, intermittent remorse and prolonged failure. It is a record also of endurance, of survival, of adaptation and creativity in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It is a record of overwhelming contribution to this country — to its art and culture, to its strength and spirit, to its sense of history, and its sense of purpose . . . It is long past time that Indian policies of the Federal government begin to recognize and build upon the cap-

acities and insights of the Indian people."

The Ripon Society fully endorses the major policy proposals of that message:

1. To fully repudiate any possibility of termination of the trust relationship between the federal government and the Indian people. As President Nixon has affirmed, the federal government's trusteeship responsibility is the result of solemn and historic obligations and treaties which have been entered into by the U.S. government with the Indian people. The Congress must specifically repudiate the whole philosophy of termination, as the President has done.

2. To encourage self-determination through of the right of Indian communities to voluntarily control and operate federal programs.

3. To establish an Indian Trust Counsel Authority with power to provide and guarantee independent legal counsel to Indian tribes and communities in land and water disputes.

4. To establish in the Department of the Interior the position of Assistant Secretary for Indian Policy to elevate this subject within the Administration.

In addition to the policy of the President's message, Ripon strongly endorses the following proposals of the American Indian Caucus: the implementation of which we believe necessary for the federal government to fulfill its trust responsibility:

1. That every governmental agency commit the necessary funds to improve the quality of life of all Indian people, regardless of where they reside, to the highest standard of the rest of the country in the areas of health, housing, education, welfare, business and job opportunities.

2. That the President and Congress support passage of the Menominee Restoration Act which would reverse the disastrous effects of termination upon the Menominee Tribe, that would ensure the Tribe its rights as a trust people and that would be the first concrete action in support of the President's expressed repudiation of termination as a policy.

3. That the government take strong and immediate action to halt the

numerous violations of Indian treaty rights, especially those involving fishing, hunting, land and water.

4. That the federal government recognize that the trust responsibility follows Native Americans, regardless of where they happen to reside.

5. That the federal government support the allocation of federal surplus land to American Indians on a first priority basis.

Working People

We believe the Republican party ought to pay more attention to the special needs of the working people of this country, especially in the fields of health, employment opportunity and pension aid.

The National Safety Council estimates that more than 14,000 employees are killed each year in job-related accidents; more than 2.2 million employees are disabled and approximately 400,000 are known to suffer job-related illnesses.

We applaud the passage of the Williams-Steiger Occupational Safety and Health Act and the President's stated commitment to its vigorous enforcement. But we sadly note that the Administration's oral commitment and its actual performance have not been of equal vigor.

Between July 1971 and January 1972, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration of the Department of Labor, reported assessing \$1,003,250 in fines for some 42,942 violations. This average at only \$68 per employer. Fewer than 500 inspector positions are budgeted for fiscal 1973; yet there are nearly 5 million establishments covered under the Act employing some 60 million employees. Of the \$67.5 million budgeted to the Labor Department to fill its investigative and enforcement role, nearly half is allocated to state agencies. Yet the States appear to lack any vision or urgency regarding occupational injury and disease. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health of HEW is budgeted only \$28.3 million and no authorization has been provided for training occupational health personnel, although the Act calls for such training.

We urge the Administration to take seriously its earlier pronouncements on

occupational safety and health, and fully and staff the Occupational Safety and Health Administration; more strenuous enforcement, including higher fines for violators, are necessary. In addition, we recommend an increased budget of from \$15-\$20 million for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

We believe that every American worker is entitled to an adequate retirement income. The Social Security system is designed to provide a floor for retirees; private pension plans are important supplements for social security benefits. Approximately 40 million employees are presently covered by private pension plans, with projected assets of \$200 billion by 1980.

Unfortunately, many pension programs have been less than secure investments for employee retirement. Business failures, mergers and acquisitions have cost many employees their pension rights. Runaway plans, inadequate funding and poor plan management have also taken their toll upon those least able to pay. We favor new legislation which would provide for improved reporting, disclosure and publication requirements; stronger enforcement procedures are needed; new fiduciary and investment standards are called for.

Civil Rights

The Administration's finest accomplishments in the area of Civil Rights have been in the equal employment opportunity field.

We applauded the creation of an employment section in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and we commend that division's vigorous enforcement of the "pattern and practice" provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

We congratulate the Congress on the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. For the first time since its creation, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has enforcement powers. We are sorry to note that the Administration lobbied against the "cease and desist" authority which was included in the original proposal. But we find the legislation as enacted to be a major step forward in the continuing battle for equal employment opportunity.

The Administration deserves high merits for the development of the concept of affirmative action with regard to the hiring and upgrading of minority and female employees by federal contractors.

When the Nixon Administration took office in 1969, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) in the Department of Labor, responsible for monitoring and coordinating the Government's equal employment program among federal contractors, was a 25-person operation, able to call upon only 300 compliance officers in all of government. Today, the OFCC staff numbers nearly 100, with 1500 compliance officers among the agencies. The Philadelphia Plan has proven successful, not only in terms of the increased numbers of minorities now participating in the construction trades in Philadelphia, but because the legal framework upon which the requirement of goals and timetables for minority and female hire is based, has been successfully tested both in practice and in the courts.

Revised Order No. 4, issued on December 4, 1971, requires non-construction federal contractors to review their workforces for underutilization of minorities and women and to institute results-oriented procedures, including the use of goals and timetables, to correct the underutilization found. We approve of this order.

Both the EEOC and the OFCC have issued comprehensive sex and testing guidelines which have been upheld by the courts. The number of compliance reviews conducted by the OFCC has soared above the 30,000 mark. Unique remedies challenging the seniority practices of major corporations and unions have been instituted and novel forums, such as regulatory agencies, have been utilized to further equal employment opportunity.

We cannot fail to note the significant backlog of cases stalled in the EEOC administrative process and the dearth of contractor debarments secured by the OFCC. Much remains to be done towards increasing the effective coordination among the various civil rights agencies. OFCC, in particular, has been unable to develop a workable mechanism for monitoring the activities of the many compliance and con-

tracting agencies. We are pleased to see the creation of a multi-agency coordinating body established by the 1972 Act and we are hopeful that improved coordination of efforts will result. We oppose merger of the OFCC into the EEOC, and are confident that these agencies can perform their respective functions without unnecessary overlap and duplication of effort.

Criminals

Our party has gathered the reputation as a tough law and order party. We believe Republican concern ought to go beyond the prosecution and conviction of known criminals to efforts at rehabilitation.

America's prison system, like the current welfare morass, accomplishes only a minimum of the purposes assigned to it while costing the taxpayer untold billions of dollars. While the average prisoner and his family cost the taxpayer as much as \$10,000 a year to support — and juveniles in state reform schools cost more — the results of these expenditures is too often not rehabilitation but embittered individuals whose probability of further criminal activity may be as high as 70 to 80 percent. Correctional costs amount to \$1 billion a year for prisons while juvenile crime costs \$4 billion a year. Clearly no simple palliatives are sufficient to meet a crisis which all too frequently explodes in the morning headlines.

America's pluralistic society deserves a more worthy alternative to the oppressive institutions which now serve to propagate crime rather than deter it. Republicans have always preferred locally-based, locally-run programs which can be more effective because they are more receptive to community needs, initiatives and diversity. No set of American institutions is as blatant an example of the anti-productive results of unwieldy bureaucracies than America's prisons. No institutions are in such immediate need of decentralization and reform.

The Ripon Society believes, in reducing the number of persons sent to jail. Legal and social standards need to be re-examined for "victimless" crimes, illegal acts by which the offender affects only himself — gambling, alcoholism, drugs, and prostitution. While the country is overwhelmed with

crimes against innocent persons, it spends billions of dollars and millions of man-hours pursuing people who only do things to themselves.

Instead of building new prisons, at an estimated cost of \$22,000 per inmate just for construction, we believe that more emphasis should be placed on parole, with the added protection of review and appeal from decisions made by parole boards. California, under the leadership of Governor Ronald Reagan, has already instituted a program to allow the equivalent of 15,000 criminals, who would ordinarily have spent time in prison, to live in their communities. Instead of spending \$6,500 a year to maintain each prisoner in an institution, it spent \$4,000 to help him keep out of trouble at home.

We must help released prisoners make a successful transition to a satisfying and rewarding life in society. Halfway houses can help them make this adjustment and a revolving loan plan would help them through their immediate financial problems.

From a practical standpoint, there are always likely to be offenders who, because of their offenses (e.g. gross cruelty, sexual crimes, molestation), will have to remain imprisoned if only because the community would not accept their release. And, in some cases involving multiple offenses or serious persistent recidivism, institutionalism may offer the only effective protection for society. For these persons, we favor reforms inside prison — greater openness, better counselling, more recreation and living space and elimination of all forms of torture and harassment. But, as the President's Crime Commission reported, "For the large bulk of offenders . . . institutional commitments cause more problems than they solve." Prisons are relied on too heavily. We believe, above all, the goal of prison reform ought to be social, not physical, making every effort to encourage prisoners to return to a full and productive role in society.

To this end we propose:

1) Increased opportunities for technical and college training such as provided in the Lorton Project between the Federal Lorton Reformatory in the District of Columbia and Federal City

College. Criminal offenders must be trained for productive employment rather than more skillful lawlessness.

2) Expanded use of contracted services for community-based rehabilitation rather than the extension of existing bureaucracies which tend to be sluggish and unimaginative.

3) Increased funding for the Legal Enforcement and Assistance Administration for community-based follow-up programs for adult offenders, for community juvenile delinquency prevention programs, and establishment of group homes for wayward youths. We support efforts to close reform schools which lump youths whose offenses may range from truancy to murder. Massachusetts, for instance, has taken the lead in closing three state reform schools and one of three county reform schools.

4) Extension of prison and college-based programs to train offenders for inner-city and professional careers which make use of the first-hand knowledge of many minority group residents for inner city conditions. Project Start, operated in cooperation with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and Lorton Reformatory, provides a model for such a program.

5) Shifts in prison industries and industrial training from such irrelevant job placements as the manufacture of license plates to meaningful occupational training for skilled industries. The federal government, particularly, has an opportunity to extend apprenticeship training to minority group men and women whose entrance into skilled occupations is often blocked.

6) Upgrading prison pay scales so that inmate wages approximate more closely civilian wages. Under such a system, inmate wages would be taxable and inmates could contribute to the support of their families — support which is now too often the burden of the nation's welfare system.

7) Repeal of state and federal laws restricting the scale of prison-made articles. Instead, prison authorities should cooperate more closely with private enterprise in the planning of prison industrial programs and prisoner employment placement programs.

8) Implementation of a "Philadel-

phia Plan" for federal and state prisons to insure that an affirmative plan by the government be introduced requiring unions to accept incarcerated prisoners as members and to provide these prisoners with necessary trades and skills.

9) Legislative provisions, following the example of the District of Columbia, for nullification of criminal records for ex-offenders.

10) Extended but discriminate use of educational furloughs, weekend passes and conjugal visits to contribute to the continuing development of normal social relationships by offenders.

11) Special treatment facilities for the socio-pathic offender with emphasis on treatment rather than custody.

A national commission on penal reform should be formed to oversee the modernization of America's outdated penal system.

Since the task of corrections is to make the community safe, then we feel the best means to this end is giving the offender a stake in the community by making a productive, taxpaying and self-respecting individual of him.

Women

The American woman is no minority, yet she has suffered the effect of widescale legal, social and economic discrimination. We believe the Republican party ought to take affirmative action to eliminate those conditions.

Republicans should unequivocally commit themselves to the advancement of women as full participants in our society. Women, who make up a little over half of our population occupy very few leadership positions in politics, business or labor unions. Women are thus usually ignored or excluded from decision-making, even on issues whose impact is largely upon females.

Millions of American women today are asking that they be able to determine their own destinies. They are demanding the right to decide each individual, concerning careers, marriage, life styles, and control over their reproductive potential.

To merit the continued support of American women, the Republican party should first open up opportunities for females within party activities, mandating, in particular, equal representation by sex in delegate selection and on convention committees. Cer-

tainly there is long standing precedent for such action in the current practice of electing both a national committeeman and national committeewoman.

Besides rooting out the sexual discrimination within its own ranks, the Republican Party has a chance to expand the opportunities available to American women. Republicans across the country can and should commit themselves to the rapid ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, which has received the strong support of President Nixon. The Equal Rights Amendment would reverse discriminatory legal presumptions and strike down a host of laws which have both overtly and covertly circumscribed the questions of utmost importance to range of choices open to women. The amendment would symbolize our commitment to the principle of non-discrimination according to sex, and help root out much of the discrimination now grounded in social custom.

It is the position of the Ripon Society, shared, we believe, by a majority of American women, that each woman, in accordance with her conscience, has the right to decide whether or not to have an abortion. We believe that every woman has the right to control her own reproductive and sexual life.

The Republican Party and the Nixon Administration should support the growth of a system of child development centers that will enrich the potential of children in their formative years while freeing their mothers, from all income levels, to work if they so choose. Certainly, a working mother's day-care expenses should be just as deductible as a businessman's entertainment expenses. The present tax provisions of the Revenue Act of 1971 allowing up to \$4,800 a year in deductions for household help and/or outside day care, is a positive step in this direction. However, that does not directly address the need for many more day care centers than presently exist. The Republican Party should give active consideration to the establishment of an investment tax credit for the construction, renovation, and/or equipping of facilities for child care programs. This, combined with a tax deduction, would encourage a diversity of child development programs

across the country and assure that these programs are responsive to parents.

Ripon further believes that the following action must be taken in the area of civil rights for women. Priorities should be given to:

1. Elimination of discrimination against women in public education.

2. Elimination of discrimination against women by all employers receiving federal contracts.

3. Elimination of discrimination against women in labor unions.

Furthermore, legislation should be amended to extend the jurisdiction of the Civil Rights Commission to include denial of civil rights on the basis of sex. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act should be amended to prohibit discrimination against women in federally-assisted programs.

We believe also in full economic rights for women including:

1. Elimination of all tax inequities that affect women and children, such as higher taxes for single men and women.

2. Amendment of the Social Security Act to provide equitable retirement benefits for families with working wives, widows, women heads of households and their children.

3. Extension of temporary disability benefits to cover pregnancy, childbirth, miscarriage, abortion and recovery.

4. Extension of equal pay, minimum wage, overtime and unemployment insurance to cover all workers.

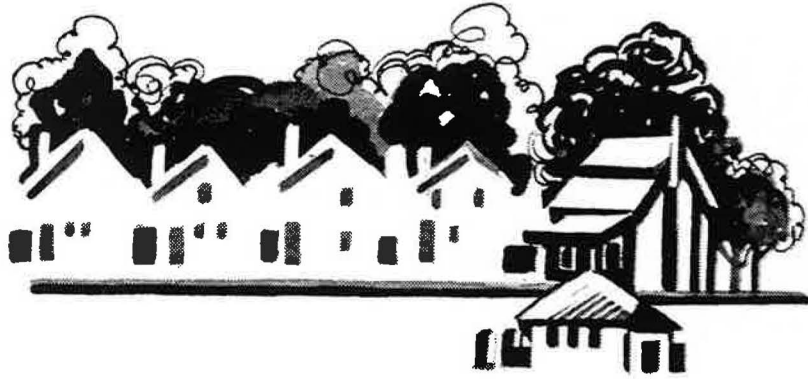
5. Equal treatment for women in obtaining credit, mortgages, and insurance in starting businesses and elimination of all legal economic discrimination against women.

The Nixon Administration has, especially in the last year, begun to make great strides in recruiting women into leadership positions in both the executive branch of the Federal government and into the Federal regulatory commissions. The Republican Party should commend this activity and urge both the Nixon Administration and Republican governors and mayors to build on this record. In particular, it is imperative that women be appointed to positions on the Cabinet, as agency heads, and to vacancies on the Supreme Court.

Expanded Ownership

A Ripon Theme for the 1970s

by John McClaughry



For a major new theme of Republican domestic policy for 1972 and beyond the Ripon Society turns to one of the oldest of our party's commitments: to the expansion of the ownership of real private property among our nation's citizens. The analysis and recommendations below are adapted from a major study done under the direction of John McClaughry for the Sabre Foundation. Copies of an approximately 60,000 word 108 page abridgment of his massive report are available from the Ripon Society, for \$2 each.

The men who founded the United States — John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison in particular — believed that a widespread distribution of property ownership was essential to the establishment of republican self-government and the preservation of individual liberty.

Today the idea of a private property base for free government and a free society is increasingly called into question. Three general views of public policy exist on this crucial issue.

1. Those who find the concentration of ownership and economic power desirable, as Alexander Hamilton once did, and oppose any public policy which would alter the status quo.

2. Those who, in the name of "the people," advocate increased government control of economic power, or even government ownership of the "means of production."

3. Those, as yet few, who believe that free government and individual liberty must continue to be based on the widespread ownership of genuine private pro-

perty, and who thus favor a public policy of expanding ownership opportunities to achieve that objective, while at the same time forestalling demands for government controls and socialization.

My recommendations for expanding the ownership of property to those who have little or none of it, are squarely based on this third public policy position. I deal with the ownership both of productive wealth and of consumer wealth, i.e., homes. It is recognized that these are quite different kinds of property, but no attempt to assign differing weights has been made.

Men like Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Webster, and Lincoln viewed a widespread distribution of property ownership not as a goal in itself, but as a means of achieving other goals of great importance. If every man could have a fair chance to acquire and enjoy the ownership of some form of property, these early leaders believed, certain clear benefits would accrue to the individual and to his society:

Individual Opportunity—The opportunity to acquire the ownership of property will motivate an

individual to employ his best efforts to increase his productive skills. It will give him an incentive to industry, thrift and foresight. As he begins to succeed, he will grow in self-respect, personal dignity and independence.

Respect for Law and Order—The ownership of property breeds respect for the law that protects the rights of private property. Those who own property are least likely to condone the destruction of property and other lawless behavior.

Responsible Democracy—Those who own property, and are thus subject to taxation by government, are more likely to be active and responsible citizens than those who have nothing. They are most likely to resist the demagogic appeals for political redistribution of the wealth of others, and to insist upon prudence and good management in public affairs. In addition, the widespread ownership of property would ensure a perpetual diffusion of political power, essential to the preservation of liberty.

Economic Advancement—Expanding the ownership of property means that the benefits of property ownership, such as income, capital appreciation, and collateral value, will become available to more people, including especially those of presently low incomes and employability.

Economic Education—In acquiring property ownership an individual comes to understand the workings of the American free enterprise system, and how he can take part in it to improve his lot.

Patriotism—Property owners will be the first to rise in defense of a nation in which they have a genuine stake, and which preserves their opportunity to acquire and secure property ownership.

Though some of these beliefs may today give rise to skepticism, in an America vastly different from the 18th Century, they nonetheless lay behind a prolonged series of landmark legislative acts to encourage the independent ownership of homes, farms, and various forms of business enterprises. These have included the abolition of primogeniture and entail in the new states of the Union, the Preemption and Homestead Acts of the 19th Century, the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the National Housing Act and the Bankhead Jones Farm Tenant Act of the Thirties, the Small Business Act of 1953, the special impact provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act (1966), and numerous tax measures ranging from the deductibility of home mortgage interest payments, to favorable treatment for profit sharing trusts, to the Self-Employed Retirement Plan Act. These statutes have embodied the vision of the Founding Fathers of a nation of owners and proprietors.

Throughout this long period, of course, what was initially conceived of as private property—the home, the farm, the forge, the schooner and village store—has given way in importance to the large corporations and financial institutions. Since, as Berle and Means have shown, ownership in these large enterprises carries few

if any of the personal and moral connotations initially associated with private property, it would appear that the role of private property ownership in society—as historically conceived—may be declining in importance.

As Charles Reich has pointed out, civil liberties and the Bill of Rights depend on the existence of private property under the personal and effective control of many owners; otherwise, the nation can only move toward the “public interest state” in which property will be regulated and controlled in the interest of the supposed majority, while individual liberty becomes not an inherent and defensible human right, but a privilege bestowed—or withdrawn—by the government of the moment.

For this reason alone—the basic concern of all those who place a high value upon individual liberty and a free society—some way must be found to reinstate the Private Property State—a nation characterized by a widespread distribution of genuine property ownership, under the effective control and direction of responsible individuals.

The present American economy, so distended by giant corporations and financial institutions, can hardly be said to resemble a Private Property State. These large economic aggregations are only nominally controlled by individual shareholders; indeed, putative individual interests are often represented only by a financial intermediary such as a pension fund or mutual fund. They are managed in large part by professional managers and technocrats with little or no genuine ownership stake. They too often prosper not through the economy of productive scale, but through external savings in purchasing, distribution, and financing. They are rarely the source of real technological innovation and creativity. They all too often have the effect whether intended or not, of restricting commerce and trade, and of forcing the genuine private property owner—the small merchant, farmer, manufacturer, or service concern—up against the economic wall. The scale of their organization has called forth massive organizations of labor and expansions of governmental power, developments frequently inimical to individual liberty.

For forty years, since the heyday of the Liberty League, Americans have been told to identify the great corporations of the nation with the cherished concept of “private property.” Unfortunately, they exhibit very little of what was historically conceived as private property. Worse yet, those who would take over the large corporations and financial institutions in the name of “the people” have cultivated a disdain for the idea of private property based upon this association.

Restoring private property does not mean protecting “private enterprise”, i.e., General Motors and U.S. Steel, against all attack. It most emphatically does not mean socializing large corporations in the name of “the people,” a step which could only have grave consequences for American liberty. What restoring private property really means, in its broadest sense, is to use the power of government to create the conditions, principally through tax policy, which will facilitate the effec-

tive decentralization of huge monolithic economic aggregations, restore genuinely free market competition, diminish restraints of trade, provide the opportunity for a reduction of Big Government, and enable the great majority of the citizens of America to once again acquire a share of the productive wealth of their country under their own effective control.

The rather limited proposals presented here, all fitting within the present framework of the present economic system, constitute useful and perhaps essential first steps towards the achievement of this goal of our founding fathers.

A National Policy of Expanded Ownership

RECOMMENDATION 1.

The President of the United States should declare a national policy of Expanded Ownership: that every American family of working age should have a realistic opportunity to acquire the ownership and control of some meaningful form of property in a growing national economy. Unlike the 18th Century, when property meant only a freehold farm, property now includes homes, farms, cooperative or condominium apartments, individual business enterprises, shares in corporations, memberships in cooperative enterprises, vested interests in a profit sharing or retirement plan, and savings and insurance equities which either have an economic, collateral, equity or use value in objective economic terms, or which are subjectively viewed by the owner as having a symbolic value equivalent to that historically associated with private property.

Improving Present Federal Programs

RECOMMENDATION 2.

In announcing a national policy for Expanded Ownership, the President should declare his Administration's support for a large number of improvements in existing Federal programs for home and family farm ownership, small business, cooperatives, community development corporations, profit sharing, and pension plans. This declaration should be accompanied by the recommendation of the necessary legislation to Congress, and the issuance of directives within the Executive branch as needed.

Continuing Economic Research

- While the concentration of wealth in the top one percent of the population has apparently declined since 1890, as of 1962 that one percent owned about 28 percent of all the individually owned wealth of the nation. This concentration does not seem to be declining appreciably. When the ownership of residences is subtracted from the figures, it is clear that the top one percent own and control an even greater percentage of *productive wealth*.

RECOMMENDATION 3.

A clear picture of the trends in the national distribution of wealth is essential to the wise development and implementation of an Expanded Ownership pol-

icy. To obtain this picture in detail, on a regular basis, should be a function of government. Congress should enact legislation requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to publish, no less than quadrennially, a Report on the Ownership of Wealth, based on data already available to the Internal Revenue Service (though not fully utilized) and new data produced by contracted studies.

Behavioral Research

- The supposed behavioral results from expanding ownership generally lack any clear-cut empirical justification, although anecdotal evidence abounds. The only clear evidence, in fact, is data showing that home owners take better care of their dwellings than tenants. Very few empirical investigations have been undertaken with the express purpose of testing hypotheses about the relationship of property ownership to thrift, job turnover, economic advancement, alcoholism, anomie, and other behavioral phenomena.

RECOMMENDATION 4.

The President should direct the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to sponsor a behavioral research program to clarify the relationships between the acquisition and continued ownership of property and assorted behavioral outputs.

A Reawakened Understanding

- The idea of an expanded distribution of property ownership does not seem to be a currently salient one to the bulk of the American people, although interviews with white suburbanites, white urban ethnic group members, urban blacks, and Mexican-Americans have produced very interesting divergences in viewpoint. Hilaire Belloc foresaw this condition in 1936 when he wrote:

. . . You will not get well divided property in any form, whether in land or anything else, unless there is some desire present in the community for its acquirement. There must be some spark left in the embers if you are to coax them again into flame; you cannot compel people to become economically free if they do not desire economic freedom; if they have so completely lost the instinct for it that they confuse the reception of a secure revenue with freedom.

Since the Thirties the emphasis seems to have shifted from economic freedom — through ownership of productive property — to economic security: the certainty of a steady income stream from a job or, more recently, from an assured government transfer payment.

There seems to be, on the basis of admittedly scant evidence, several exceptions to this general finding of low salience. Minority group members, particularly blacks, seem to have the most heightened awareness of the role of private property in society, feeling that they have been systematically excluded from the ownership of any significant amount of property and from the exercise of the corresponding social and political power.

White urban ethnic group respondents, while accepting the value of private property in the abstract, tended to see it more as a burden than as an asset, mainly due to neighborhood deterioration, racial problems, job uncertainty, high property taxes, and Federally-sponsored redevelopment programs.

Among students and intellectuals, there seems to be a growing interest in the debilitating effects of large concentrations of power and property, an attitude that now seems to transcend the limited group of Socialists who have argued this point for years.

It could be concluded that those who inwardly believe in the importance of private property seem least aware of ownership as a public policy issue; while those who feel excluded from property ownership, or who are aggrieved by what they feel are abuses of property ownership, seem most concerned about the issue. This aggrieved group includes a strong element favoring collective control and ownership. If expanded ownership is to become a pillar of national policy, an understanding of its importance to the future of the nation must be regenerated among the American people.

RECOMMENDATION 5.

Adoption by the President of a national policy of Expanded Ownership will naturally promote a sharply increased and enriched national dialogue on this issue. In addition, journalists, editorial writers, political theorists, economists, business and professional leaders, and their publications and institutions should offer contributions to developing national thought in this area. When this national dialogue has reached a large number of informed citizens, the President should consider holding a White House Conference on Expanded Ownership. The forthcoming national Bicentennial offers a useful framework for such a conference.

New Programs

- While it is difficult, even perilous, to recommend that new departures be adopted and enacted exactly as outlined, the following recommendations are stated without qualification. It is recognized, of course, that further study may reveal difficulties and improvements.

Capital Formation Plan

RECOMMENDATION 6.

Congress should enact legislation to implement a Capital Formation plan, principally through amendments to the Internal Revenue Code, to encourage the financing of corporate growth through new equity issues, and to make it attractive for corporations to sell these issues to intermediary institutions serving as investment pools for low and middle income families.

Profit Sharing Trusts

RECOMMENDATION 7.

Congress should amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide more favorable treatment of profit sharing

trusts, namely, by doubling the percentage of covered compensation (to 30%) that an employer may contribute tax free to a trust, by the liberalization of regulations that presently discourage a profit sharing trust from acquiring stock in the employer corporation, and by permitting such trusts to make annual distributions to workers of dividends received on their shares in the trust.

Pension and Retirement Plans

RECOMMENDATION 8.

Congress should amend the Internal Revenue Code to increase worker equity value in pension and retirement plans by progressing toward greater vesting and portability, by establishing procedures for using vested equity for collateral purposes, by allowing a worker to make tax deductible contributions to his own pension account, and by making the benefits of H.R. 10 retirement plans available to employees of companies which have no equivalent plan.

The Kelso Models

RECOMMENDATION 9.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in cooperation with the Council of Economic Advisers and the Federal Reserve Board, should undertake or commission a major study of the economic implications of the "Second Income Plan" advanced by Louis O. Kelso, and a careful examination of the workings of portions of such plan already put into operation.

Estate and Gift Taxes

RECOMMENDATION 10.

Congress should enact legislation completely revising the principle of estate and gift taxation, by combining the two present taxes on the transfer of wealth into one integrated tax based not on the size of the estate or gift, but on the sizes of the individual bequests and the net worth of the recipient.

Home Ownership for Lower Income Families

RECOMMENDATION 11.

The Turnkey IV program for home ownership now under development at the Department of Housing and Urban Development should be speedily implemented, with adequate provision for assistance to new homebuyers; by the end of fiscal year 1974 at least 15 percent of public housing units coming under contract should be through this program.

National Development Partnership

RECOMMENDATION 12.

The President should inspire the formation of a National Development Partnership to undertake the redevelopment of inner city areas in such a way that the residents of those areas can enjoy a share of the profits from the redevelopment process and the eventual ownership of the land in their own neighborhoods: simultaneous with the beginning of this

organization process, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in cooperation with OEO and its Opportunity Funding Corporation, should launch a pilot project in a major U.S. city, using present statutory authority and available appropriations. In addition, Congress should amend section 3 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 to direct the Secretary to:

"... (3) Require, in consultation with the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity and other appropriate officials, that to the greatest extent feasible the people of the area to be redeveloped or renewed shall have the opportunity to acquire ownership of the resulting properties and a share of the profit stream resulting from the new property values created."

Home Ownership Equity Insurance

RECOMMENDATION 13.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development should, by the end of fiscal year 1972, transmit to Congress its recommendations for new legislation to insure low and middle income home owners against losing their home ownership equity through death, disability, and involuntary unemployment, as required by Congress in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968, but never performed.

Community Corporation Act

RECOMMENDATION 14.

The President should ask Congress to enact the broad system of support for community development corporations, including Federal chartering, community development credit institutions, technical assistance and tax provisions, contained in the draft Community Corporation Act.

Additional Research and Development

RECOMMENDATION 15.

The appropriate agencies of the Federal government should support research and development in additional program areas, such as: Cable Television, Land Banks, New Towns, Plant Rescue, Defense Conversion, Recreational Industries, and an Equity Mutual Fund, with a view toward adapting ongoing programs to the principle of expanded ownership.

Presidential Commission on Expanded Ownership

• Expanding ownership is a major policy theme susceptible to many and varied forms of implementation. How this implementation may affect the structure of society, how it may produce changes in the underlying assumptions about participation, self-government, individual motivation, leisure, price stability and a host of other items, should be the subject of long and continuing study by a small, highly qualified, prestigious commission.

RECOMMENDATION 16.

The President should request legislation by Congress establishing a Commission on Expanded Ownership, to be composed of not more than fifteen truly creative social and economic thinkers from varied backgrounds. These persons should be named for their inherent ability and interest in the area, and not for political considerations or to afford recognition of interest groups. The Commission should have extensive research staff and a budget under its own control, by Congressional appropriation. The tasks of the Commission should include a) a continuing assessment of the role of private property ownership in American society, and ways in which the historical functions of private property can be performed; b) sponsorship of research on the distribution of wealth, structure of the economy, behavioral studies, economic implications of expanded ownership plans, and related questions; c) the formulation of new plans and methods for expanding ownership opportunities, within the private property framework; d) the sponsorship of activities, such as hearings and conferences, designed to promote the discussion of national goals in this area. In particular, the Commission should sponsor a detailed field investigation of the expanded ownership devices now in operation or proposed in other countries of the world.

CONCLUSION

The Founding Fathers of America based their constitutional and political theories on the importance of widespread private property ownership. The Nation has changed drastically since the agrarian 18th Century, but the underlying principle of private property ownership continues to be central to the preservation of individual liberty, a free society, and republican self-government.

New circumstances demand new applications of proven principles. New ways must be found to broaden the ownership and control of genuine private property if a society based on that premise is to continue to exist. The failure to restore the Private Property State can only lead, as present conditions go uncorrected, to gradual political encroachment on property in the name of "the people," resulting eventually in a super Welfare State, where all may be economically secure, but none will be economically, or socially, or politically, free.

This unhappy termination of the American dream is not inevitable. But unless genuine private property ownership and control among the great majority of the people can be restored and strengthened, further motion in that direction appears certain. Perhaps some substitute can be found for private property as a guarantor of individual liberty and economic freedom. But until such a substitute is brought forward, an effective national policy for restoring a widespread distribution of genuine private property ownership remains a national priority of the first magnitude.



Politics '72

Dick Behm, Editor

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

Introduction



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

has a good field position. Will he fumble?

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

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

— DICK BEHN

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

Alabama

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

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

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

Alaska

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

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

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

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

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

Arizona

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

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

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

Arkansas

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

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

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

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

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

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

California

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

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

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

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

Colorado

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

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

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

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

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

Connecticut

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

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

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

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

Delaware

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

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

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

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

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

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

Florida

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

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

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

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

Georgia

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

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

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

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

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

Hawaii

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

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

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

Idaho

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

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

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

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

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

Illinois

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Indiana

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

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

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

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

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

Iowa

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kansas

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

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

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

CONGRESSIONAL: Two Republican Congressmen, **F. Bradford Morse**, who has been appointed Under-Secretary of the United Nations, and **Hastings Keith** will not be on the ballot in November, and the GOP may lose both seats. **Gerry E. Studds** won 49 percent of the vote against Keith in 1970 and will probably defeat former Republican State Sen. **William D. Weeks**. Seeking Brad Morse's seat is a clutch of candidates, with anti-war veteran **John F. Kerry** leading the charge — moving into the district the day after Morse's appointment and announcing his candidacy a week later. The McGovern machine may get him the nomination, particularly if the two State Representatives from Lowell, **John J. Desmond**, Chairman of the House Social Welfare committee and **Paul J. Sheehy** who is on the Ways and Means Committee, remain in the race. **Paul W. Cronin**, who has served both as a congressional assistant to Morse and as a State Representative, will be the Republican nominee, but will have a tough race. Another up-hill battle faces State Representative **Martin A. Linsky**, Assistant Republican Leader in the House, who is challenging Congressman **Robert Drinan**.

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

Michigan

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

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

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

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

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

Minnesota

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

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

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

STATE: The key races for the Minnesota Republican

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

Mississippi

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

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

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

Missouri

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

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

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

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

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

Montana

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nebraska

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

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

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

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

Nevada

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

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

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

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

New Hampshire

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

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

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

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

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

New Jersey

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

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

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

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

New Mexico

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

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

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

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

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

New York

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

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

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

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

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

North Carolina

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

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

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

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

STATE: The Democrats dominate the legislature.

North Dakota

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

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

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

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

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

Ohio

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

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

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

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

Oklahoma

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

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

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

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

Oregon

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

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

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

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

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

Pennsylvania

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

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

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

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

Rhode Island

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

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

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

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

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

South Carolina

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

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

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

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

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

South Dakota

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tennessee

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

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

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

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

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

Texas

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

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

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

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

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

Utah

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

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

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

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

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

Vermont

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

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

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

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

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

Virginia

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

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

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

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

Washington

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

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

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

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

West Virginia

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wisconsin

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

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

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

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

Wyoming

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

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

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

STATE: Wyoming's legislature is Republican.

The New Voters vs. 1968 Margins

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

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

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



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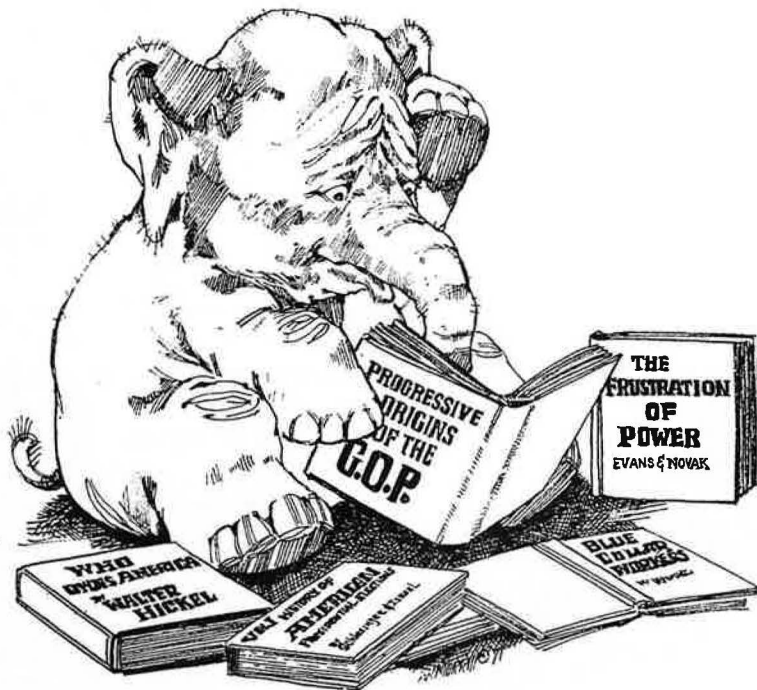
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Monitoring the TV Media

by Tanya Melich

Television anchormen and floor reporters failed to cover the Democratic National Convention, one of the most interesting in television history, in a manner that would enhance the public's understanding of the nominating process. Their failures are a public disservice. They have a responsibility to do better.

They did not report exactly or lucidly on how the nomination was won. Their coverage, with the exception of Tom Pettit (NBC), Dan Rather (CBS), Roger Mudd (CBS) and Howard K. Smith (ABC), indicated little understanding of how the convention works, how it relates to the political process as a whole, and of the real meaning of the ritual of speeches and floor maneuverings.

A prototype of what was wrong came in the fight to seat the South Carolina delegation, the first major contest between the McGovern and anti-McGovern groups. The action would originate on the floor and all the reporters had to do was be alert when it occurred. They were not alert when half-way through the first roll call, strong McGovern delegations began switching their "yes" to "no" votes and the McGovern strategy unfolded.

John Chancellor (NBC) spent this crucial period discussing what might happen later in the evening and commenting that the McGovern people must have sent wrong signals to their supporters. The NBC floor reporters were no better. They were conducting interviews with "stars" about what might happen later in the evening. None were interviewing, or even pursuing (at least as far as the television audi-

ence was concerned) the candidate's floor managers. The worst oversight was their failure to spot immediately that Frank King, head of the Ohio delegation and one of the major Humphrey supporters, was purposely stalling for time.

The CBS performance equalled NBC's. Walter Cronkite (CBS) also joked about the confusion in the McGovern ranks. He failed to recognize the truth until after the completion of the roll-call, when a McGovern staff member told him that the whole ploy had been part of the strategy. Cronkite even then gave the impression he was not sure he believed it. His floor reporters did not pick up the development until Cronkite tipped them off. ABC News ignored the story. Later, when it was no longer timely, Howard K. Smith explained what had happened, although his presentation gave the viewer the feeling that he, too, was not sure it was the McGovern strategy.

The problem was that no one seemed to have followed or to understand the importance of the parliamentary maneuverings. Their ignorance is difficult to understand since the strategy had been analyzed in great detail in the *New York Times* a few days previously. Instead of systematically analyzing the floor, the floor reporters and anchormen seemed to be aimlessly interviewing and talking about any subject that came to their attention. The anchormen who should have acted as guides and arbiters for the floor reporters gave no direction and very little perspective.

Mike Wallace's (CBS) interviews were particularly offensive,

and often irrelevant. He seemed always to be looking for information about a plot from those who were "names" rather than using his "third-degree" talent on those who were the convention activists.

Then there were the shy reporters who upon interviewing floor managers and the active politicians did not know how to probe and follow through when they were lied to. For example, Frank Reynolds (ABC) seemed unable to articulate why Frank King of Ohio kept saying he just could not get his delegation together when the delegation kept passing on roll calls. Tom Pettit (NBC) had the same problem when he did not pursue Pierre Salinger's obvious lie that he did not know what had happened on the South Carolina vote.

In fairness to the floor reporters, they may have found out what had happened, and then not appeared on the air because the booth producers are responsible equally with the anchormen for the lack of news analysis.

There was too much trivia, often justified as "human interest" stories. The networks have claimed that convention business was dull and viewers would not watch it without such diversions.

When a viewer takes the trouble to watch the convention for more than a brief time, however, it is because he is interested in it. He wants to hear the roll calls, the speeches and the parliamentary interchanges, all of these indicators

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of the tone and direction of opinion within the convention, and, in the case of the speeches, of the particular viewpoint of the speaker. He does not need to be entertained by cute stories, such as CBS's reporting of the convention's medical facilities during the middle of the nominating speeches on Wednesday night.

All three networks ignored most of the nominating speeches or presented only parts of them. Those speaking for Shirley Chisholm and Henry Jackson received almost no coverage.

One of the most annoying practices was the one of interruption — by the anchormen, the reporters, the booth. Walter Cronkite was the worst offender. Time after time he interrupted roll calls and speeches to add some *non-sequitur* or to analyze something he had seen. His constant talking was particularly annoying during the parliamentary maneuverings after the South Carolina vote and during the vote to determine the seating of the Illinois delegation. It was impossible to ascertain what the votes from individual states were on many of these roll calls.

One of the major secondary stories of the convention was the impact of the women's movement. Yet the women were rarely taken seriously. David Brinkley (NBC) and John Chancellor (NBC) constantly made reference to "those women on the floor" without explaining what those women were doing. Despite the South Carolina vote, the Chisholm candidacy, the abortion issue and the "Sissy" Farenthold (defeated Democratic gubernatorial aspirant from Texas) candidacy, no anchorman analyzed how the actions of the women's bloc were affecting the convention. Walter Cronkite and Mike Wallace were a true anti-feminist team. They made many patronizing remarks about women but their most blatant slurs came when they claimed not

to be able to understand Gloria Steinem's explanation of the women's vote on the South Carolina seating issue. Instead of probing so they could elicit a clearer answer, both jokingly passed over the matter as one more quirk of the "weaker sex." ABC again just ignored the story.

Reporting on the youth and black delegations was not much better. Blacks, outside the well-known, were ignored. The young were not, although most of the network's dialogue centered around descriptions of how they looked or how "they now wanted to work within the system." The patronization, particularly by John Chancellor and Walter Cronkite, of the young delegates was as embarrassing in its varieties as they had been toward the women. As with the women, the networks did minimal analysis of the impact of the youth and black caucuses upon the convention's decisions. They were biased in favor of the young and ignored the older delegates and most of the anti-McGovern staffs. While reporting of the candidates themselves seemed fair, it was biased for McGovern's staff, making it difficult to learn much about the actions of the main figures leading the anti-McGovern movement.

Recommendations

Several improvements could be made in TV coverage:

1 - The anchormen could consciously set an intelligent tone and theoretical framework for the coverage by providing an explanation of the stakes at hand-dealing not only with the selection of the nominee and with the issues he represents, but also with what coalition he is trying to join or construct and how his actions and statements relate to the larger currents in American life. This background by the anchormen could be developed with the reporters and the producers and agreed upon prior to the convention's opening as the theoretical

ground rules for reporting the convention.

The nature of the convention makes it impossible for the anchorman to present this framework only once to the audience and expect all viewers to see it. Rather it must be continuously repeated in varying contexts by both anchormen and reporters.

2 - The problem of bias in journalism is as old as the profession and will always be with us; however, a greater understanding of both sides' positions and an understanding by the reporters of their own biases could make for more objective reporting. The anchorman can aid this process — one network anchorman already does this — by questioning the reporters on the air when their comments become too biased. Good background research can help here, for often biased reporting is caused by a failure of the reporters to understand the positions of the other side or sides.

3 - Better substance comes from better research and from reporters taking the time to assimilate this research to enhance their own investigations.

4 - To improve the reporting of the formal convention business, there should be little or no interrupting of roll-calls, there should be a clear explanation of what the roll-call means, there should be announcements of totals of all roll-calls and an analyses of the inter-relationship of these roll-calls to the general picture. Reporters and anchormen should become familiar with parliamentary procedure.

The sophistication of the American public has increased through its understanding the convention system, and the networks have less reason for interrupting the actual business of the convention to provide "color". Anchormen and the booth director should establish some guidelines as to when speeches will be aired and under what circumstances they will be interrupted or not shown at all.

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Richard Rovere says it's "the best thing of its kind in American life today." Nicholas von Hoffman says "it does its specialty—federal government and politics—better than any other magazine around." I. F. Stone says it's "outstanding. . . responsible . . . doesn't go in for half-assed hysterics." (Richard Nixon hasn't actually

commented, but Time says it's "must reading at the White house," and that's good enough for us.)

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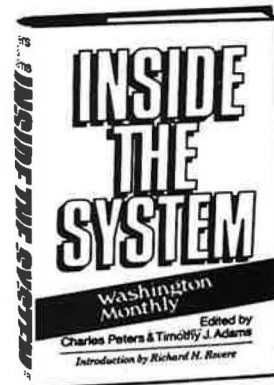
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POLITICAL BROKERS

Edited by Judith G. Smith
Published by Liveright, \$6.95

In June 1970, the *National Journal* printed an article on the Ripon Society which stated that Ripon proved "that an organization can make an impact in Washington without a large membership, a lot of money or even a prestigious roster of names on a letterhead."

Later, the *National Journal*, the weekly publication of the Washington-based Center for Political Research, combined reports on ten such organizations into a book titled *Political Brokers: People, Organizations, Money and Power*.

As the chart below indicates, Ripon is financially a poor cousin of many of the organizations which the *National Journal* investigated for the book. The organizations run the spectrum of ideology, influence and membership. They are united solely on their hopes to influence both the votes of the electorate and the policy of the government.

Political Brokers is not scintillating reading. It is a solid, balanced and economical analysis of the who, the how, the money, the supporters, the history and the goals of these ten political influence groups. It includes such features as background sketches of organization leaders, group ratings of legislators and reports on political contributions.

Although the nature of the material and analysis lends itself to quick dating, the book does offer some insights into: the influence of the John Birch Society on Americans for Constitutional Action; the frustration of Americans for Democratic Action in searching for an active constituency in the 1970's, and the efforts of the Republican National Congressional Committee to finance the "broad range of Republicans" rather than only the conservative variety.

As a who's who, what's what and how's how of American politics, *Political Brokers* deserves to be read. But more than that, it's a valuable reference for identifying the players in America's political games.

DICK BEHN

The Ripon Society is the lowest budget organization included in **POLITICAL BROKERS**. Listed below are: the ten organizations (in the order they appear in the book); their expenditures for 1970 (the figure most easy to compare; data for 1971 was not included) and comments.

ORGANIZATION	EXPENDITURES for 1970 and COMMENTS
Americans for Democratic Action, ADA	\$341,000
Americans for Constitutional Action, ACA	\$188,875
American Medical Political Action Committee, AMPAC	\$693,413 — "However, AMPAC officials say that for every dollar spent by AMPAC, an estimated \$4 is raised at the state and local levels."
Committee on Political Education, COPE of AFL-CIO	\$637,340 — This is what COPE gave to state and local political action groups. However, there are references to \$1 million in campaign contributions and \$1 million in national office operations.
Business-Industry Political Action Committee, BIPAC	\$539,157
National Committee for an Effective Congress	\$832,619 — This is the amount raised by NCEC for candidates and may not be part of its own operating budget.
National Republican Congressional Committee	\$3,200,000 — Of this budget, \$439,700 was for staff salaries.
The Ripon Society	\$115,670
Democratic National Committee, DNC	\$1,617,592 — This figure is from the records of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. POLITICAL BROKERS only lists the expenditures for the first 8 months of 1971, \$1,124,343.
Common Cause	\$2,800,000 — This is for the first year of operation: September 1970 to September 1971.

Special Ripon Book Club Price: \$4.50. Available from Ripon Society, 14A Eliot St., Cambridge, Mass., 02138.

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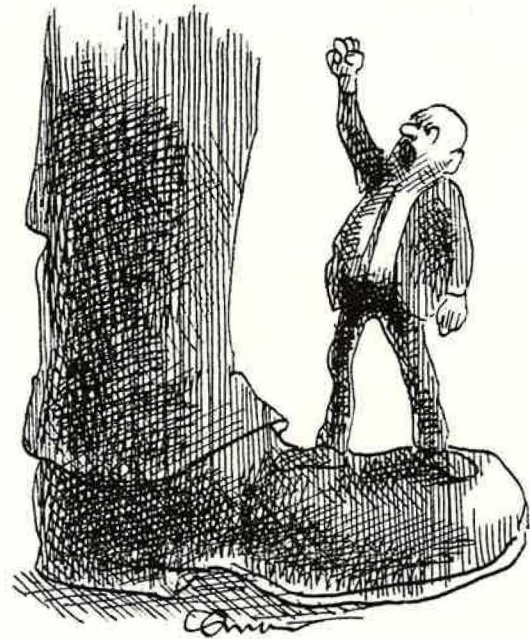
128 pages. Paper, \$2.45; Cloth, \$4.95



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To DO or Not to DO

by Daniel J. Swillinger



The 1972 National Convention will provide Republicans with their best — and perhaps last — opportunity to open up the party before it is overwhelmed at the polls by the pro-Democratic votes of under-35, issue-oriented voters.

In dedicating the new Republican National Committee building in January 1971, President Nixon called on all Republicans to be the “party of the open door.” It was the most public recognition the President has made that new voters were being lost to the Democrats. The President recognized that the GOP must open up its membership and cease being the party of the unblack, the unpoor, and particularly the unyoung.

Republicans concerned with the party's future are going to Miami Beach committed to the idea that the party must open up through the allocation, selection and representation of Republican convention delegates.

Since 1948 the Republican Party has used essentially the same formula for determining how many delegates each state receives. The formula, Rule 30 of the 1968 Convention Rules, grants each state four at-large delegates, two delegates for each Congressional District casting at least 12,500 votes for the GOP presidential or congressional candidate, and six bonus delegates to each state which carries for the Presidential candidate, or elects a governor, senator or a majority of the congressional delegation.

Partly because of the uniform number of at-large delegates, but more importantly because of the bonus

delegate provision, the less populous states are grossly overrepresented. As an example, eight states which contain 49 percent of the population and gave the President 52 percent of his popular vote in 1968 will have only 37 percent of the delegates in Miami Beach.

After discussing the unconstitutional aspects of the bonus system with lawyers, and with the assurance of GOP National Chairman Bob Dole that the Republican National Committee (RNC) could not change the formula, Ripon filed suit on November 8, 1971. On April 28, 1972, the District Court in Washington declared the bonus portion unconstitutional. (See detailed story, page 28.)

The convention must act on the allocation formula since party rules prohibit any group except the convention from changing the formula. A fair formula will shift the balance of power in future conventions to the large swing states, particularly California, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and Illinois. A greater number of delegates will generate greater interest among Republican activists for campaign fundraising work. The quality of the new allocation formula should be a clear indication of whether Republicans realize the importance of the swing states, or whether they will ignore reality and continue to give disproportionate Convention strength to the less populous states.

Daniel J. Swillinger is national political director of the Ripon Society and has been active in party reform efforts.

The process by which delegates to the convention are selected, and their representation by age, sex and race on the delegations, received the full glare of popular attention in both the Democratic pre-convention and convention activities. Only since the Democratic Convention has the most meager attention been focused on the Republican reform committee — which has been in operation just as long as its Democratic counterpart and which issued its report fully a year ago. The Delegates and Organizations (DO) Committee of the Republican National Committee was appointed by then National Chairman Rogers C. B. Morton as directed by Rule No. 29 adopted by the 1968 Convention. (See box, page 22, for Rule No. 29.)

Ablly chaired by the national committeewoman from Missouri, Mrs. Rosemary Ginn, the committee's 16 members began work in early 1969, first on questions of procedure at the National Conventions, and then on the broad and crucial questions of how to make the delegate selection process more open, and how to increase representation of the now underrepresented women, minority group members and young people.

On July 23, 1971 the DO Committee presented its report to the mid-year meeting of the RNC in Denver. The report contained ten recommendations: two (1 and 10) are exhortatory in nature, five (2, 3, 4, 5, and 6) recommend changes in selection procedures;

and three (7, 8 and 9) attempt to provide for more representative delegations. See box page 22, for the text of the recommendations.)

To date, there has been relatively little conflict over recommendations 2 through 6. With rare exceptions, state party rules rather than statutes are affected, and few-states would have to make substantial changes.

Recommendations 7, 8 and 9 have generated the most controversy, among state party leaders, RNC members, congressmen and senators. No. 7 is the only recommendation which attempts to increase minority group representation. The main disagreements, however, come from Republicans who question whether the loss of convention committee seats is a sufficient deterrent to non-compliance and whether it is fair to the small states.

At the 1968 Convention, where the rule called for each delegation to have one man and one woman on each of the four committees, three delegations had no women and 11 others, including New Jersey, had fewer than four women. Loss of committee seats doesn't appear to have a significant impact.

At the 1972 Convention, 20 of the 54 delegations have fewer than 16 members, meaning that they could not have full representation on the convention's four committees even if they wanted to comply. In

DO Committee Recommendations

The Delegates and Organizations (DO) Committee was set up in accordance with Rule 29 of the 1968 Republican National Convention:

"The Chairman of the Republican National Committee shall appoint a Committee of the Republican National Committee to review and study the Rules adopted by the 1968 Republican National Convention and the relationship between the Republican National Committee, Republican State Committees, and other Republican organizations, and implementation of the provisions of Rule 32 which provides that participation in a Republican primary, caucus, any meeting or convention held for the purpose of selecting Delegates for a County or State or National Convention shall in no way be abridged for reasons of race, religion, color or national origin, and said Committee shall report with recommendations to the next Republican National Convention."

The DO Committee made the following recommendations:

1. It is recommended that in those States where delegates are elected through the convention system or a combination of convention and primary systems, the precinct, ward, township or county meetings should be open meetings and all citizens who are qualified shall be urged to participate.

2. To increase participation by all Republicans in the delegate selection processes, it is recommended that those States using the convention method consider a system whereby district conventions are held on a different community than where the State Convention is held.

3. It is recommended that alternate delegates, who are an important and essential part of each State delegation, be elected in the same manner and under the same rules as delegates.

4. It is recommended that no delegates or alternate delegates shall be required to pay an assessment as a condition of serving as a delegate or alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention.

5. It is recommended that there shall be no proxies

at a convention held for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Republican National Convention. If alternate delegates to a convention are selected, the alternate delegate shall vote in the absence of the delegate, and no delegate shall cast more than a single vote and his alternate shall cast no more than a single vote in the absence of the delegate.

6. It is recommended that there shall be no automatic delegates at any level of the delegate selection procedures who serve by virtue of Party position or elected office.

7. It is recommended that Rule 14(a) of the Rules adopted at the 1968 Republican Convention be amended to read as follows: The Delegates from each State, elected shall select from the delegation their members of the Resolutions, Credentials, Rules and Order of Business and Permanent Organization Committees of the National Convention, one man and one woman, **one Delegate under the age of 25, and one Delegate who is a member of a minority ethnic group for a total of 4 members** for each committee, and shall file notice of such selection with the Secretary of the National Committee; provided, however, that no Delegate may serve on more than one Committee of the National Convention. Alternates may not serve as members of Convention Committees.

8. It is recommended that each State endeavor to have equal representation of men and women in its delegation to the Republican National Convention.

9. It is recommended that each State include in its delegation to the Republican National Convention delegates under 25 years of age in numerical equity to their voting strength within the State.

10. It is recommended that the Republican National Committee assist the States in their efforts to inform all citizens how they may participate in delegate selection procedures and it is further recommended that the Republican National Committee in cooperation with the States shall prepare instructive material on delegate selection methods and make it available to all.

addition, there is some sentiment for adding a seat for senior citizens, which would mean five delegates from each delegation on each committee, raising the committee size to 250. It seems unlikely that Recommendation 7 will survive in its present form.

Recommendations 8 and 9 are drawing criticism because they attempt to ensure adequate representation of women and young people. Some party leaders are opposed on the grounds that the national party should not dictate the makeup of state delegations — except by very broad language. Others are opposed because the recommendations set quotas. Other critics feel that Recommendation 8 does not go far enough and that women should comprise 50 percent of the delegates.

Those who argue that no rules are needed point to the fact that women will comprise about 30 percent of the GOP delegates, compared to 40 percent under the Democratic mandates. Some states did make conscientious efforts to encourage women to seek delegate slots. But in far too many states the percentage of women delegates is more a reflection of a directive from the White House and the RNC to present a good image than it is an indication that women are approaching parity with men in party affairs.

In a contested selection process many of these women would have been blocked from participation, as in the past. Young people and minority group members might be represented even more disproportionately at a contested convention. While women are up from 17 percent in 1968 to 30 percent this year, young people are up from 1 percent to 10 percent, blacks from 2 percent to 4 percent, and Chicanos from less than 1 percent to 2 percent. But many are token delegates to balance delegations and will be absent again in 1976 when there are delegation battles.

Congressional Efforts

Belatedly, but with great energy, several GOP senators and congressmen have become involved in drafting language for new rules, using the DO report as a takeoff point for more precise language, or for language covering areas not touched on by DO recommendations. They hope to reach a consensus and present testimony to the Rules Committee. The congressional interest has also caused party leaders to recognize the fact that many party members view the delegate selection process as a key to the party's future.

Those delegates, party leaders, officeholders, and activists who want the convention to take affirmative action to open up the party now constitute a minority. They must contend with opponents who say that the McGovern nomination was a direct result of Democratic party reforms, even though it seems clear that he was nominated because he was the only major candidate to take the reforms seriously. There were many women and blacks and young people who sup-

ported Humphrey; they just didn't win enough convention and primary votes.

The minority who favor change must contend with the advocates of the *status quo*, who feel they don't need the support of the new voters to win elections. If these advocates prevail, the party will have lost the opportunity, without the pressures of nomination politics, to put itself in the best possible structural and procedural condition for the inevitable nomination battle in 1976.

The fight for reform is not an ideological one. It is not a fight for control of the party. It is a fight by those deeply concerned about the future of the party to bring about the changes necessary for the GOP to compete for 50.1 percent of the votes in an increasingly sophisticated, educated and independent electorate.

Duly Noted

Editor's Note: This begins a regular column devoted to notes on news books, recent articles and other published material which we feel FORUM readers may find interesting. We welcome suggestions from FORUM readers for inclusion in this column.

Directory of Campaign Resource Materials: compiled by Arthur Bushkin and Jack Sweeney. Distributed by the National Committee for an Effective Congress, 201 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 114, Washington, D.C. 20002. June, 1972. No price information available. "A one-stop shopping guide to important and often overlooked resources available to Congressional candidates."

Reducing Crime and Assuring Justice: compiled by the research and policy committee of the highly respected Committee for Economic Development, 477 Madison Ave., New York, New York, 10022. June, 1972. \$1.50 The nonpartisan business group calls for legislation against handgun ownership; higher funding levels for correctional programs; legalization of private, unorganized gambling; and elimination of criminal penalties for the use of marijuana. Like most CED publications, it's progressive in tone and content.

The Brooke Report: Sen. Edward Brooke's (R-Mass.) July newsletter to constituents is devoted almost entirely to foreign policy, indicating that the Bay State Senator may be moving to fill part of the gap in foreign leadership among Wednesday Group Republicans being vacated by Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.)

"Can the Democrats Win? No," by Kevin P. Phillips. *World* (Norman Cousins' new magazine). August 1, 1972. "The new Democratic elite is well to the left of the Archie Bunkers of America, and therein lies the coming upheaval that should make the 1968 to 1972 period one of America's watersheds — as well as a time of resounding Presidential victories."

"The Coming Nixon Victory," by Clark MacGregor. *Saturday Review* (Norman Cousins' old magazine). July 29, 1972. "There is the historical fact that a large portion of voters dissatisfied with their party's nominee nevertheless returns to the fold on election day."

Party Reform and Party Responsibility

by Robert H. Finch

The much-remarked and much-analyzed malaise which afflicts this country today is more than just a combination of adolescent *Weltschmerz* and media hype. It is based upon a very real and very widespread frustration with the nature and structure of American political institutions. People want to make a difference; but they feel that government is indifferent. They want to feel that their voice is heard; but they feel that government isn't listening. They want to participate and they want to count; but they feel isolated and ignored.

It is on this kind of frustration that strategists are basing Sen. George McGovern's campaign. And it is this kind of frustration which accounts for whatever popularity his campaign has achieved.

I believe that despite the publicity the Democrats' attempts to deal with this have achieved, we Republicans have, in fact, set about addressing it in a far more meaningful and practical way.

What we seek in America are responsible, responsive, and accountable political parties which reflect and represent the attitudes and feelings of their members. National politics during the last two decades have, however, moved in a very different and virtually opposite direction.

Since the first Eisenhower Administration, the trend has been to saddle the President with a hostile Congress and the result has been what David Broder has dubbed "government by fits and starts." In his seminal book, *The Party's Over*, Broder points out that in only four of the 26 elections from 1900 until 1952, did the party opposing the President hold a majority of either house of Congress. But in five of the ten elections since 1952, the voters have sent opposition majorities to *both* houses of Congress. In fact, President Nixon was the first President since Zachary Taylor actually to begin his first term with both the Senate and the House of Representatives controlled by the opposition party.

This situation has inevitably led to stalemate and frustration. The White House hits its head against the brick wall of Congress, and the Congress is placed in the unhappy and unwholesome position of voting down many of the same proposals which persuaded the voters to send the President to the White House.

If it is going to work, our American system needs two responsible national political parties, with leaders who are accountable to the party and the nation.

Elections should be fought and the issues should be defined so that at least for the first two years of President's term, he has a Congress of his own party. Whether this is looked on as giving him the power to exercise his electoral mandate or giving him enough rope to hang himself, the logic of democracy demands

that the President the people choose should be able to put the things he stands for to the test of enacting them into law. Ever since the 1968 campaign, President Nixon has labored mightily to make government more workable and accountable. In his 1971 State of the Union message, he laid it on the line to the Congress: "Let's face it. Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels. They will not — and they should not — continue to tolerate the gap between promise and performance in government."

The President's three major proposals in the area of revenue sharing, welfare reform, and government reorganization, have been precisely aimed at getting power back to the people whence it comes and where it best belongs. But time after time during the past four years, a Democratic Congress, full of members who purport to be concerned with these same problems, has been forced into the partisan position of thwarting this administration's proposals. As critical an observer as James Reston remarked, in the *New York Times*:

For more than a year now, (President Nixon) has sent to Capitol Hill one innovative policy after another; on welfare reform, revenue-sharing reform, government reform, postal reform, manpower reform, social security reform, reform of the grants-in-aid program, and many others. It is not necessary to agree with his proposals in order to concede that taken together they add up a serious and impressive effort to transform the domestic laws of the nation . . . and that they deserve a more serious and coherent response than they have got so far from the Democratic Party and the Democratic majority in the Federal Congress. What the Democrats are doing now is merely sniping at the President's programs, and often saying some damn silly things in the process.

Democratic Reform

After the 1968 Convention, both the Democrats and the Republicans recognized the necessity to take into account the demographic and social changes which had been taking place in America during the preceding decade and both anticipated that the composition of their 1972 presidential conventions would be adjusted to reflect those changes. In fact, the basic theme of this adjustment was the recognition of the need for newly responsible political parties.

The Democrats appointed the McGovern-Fraser

Robert H. Finch is Counsellor to the President and formerly was Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and Lieutenant Governor of California.

Commission which met for more than a year before handing down a guideline for delegate-selection: that "affirmative steps to encourage the participation" of blacks, Chicanos, women and young people be taken and that delegations to the 1972 conventions be urged to reflect these minorities in "reasonable relationship to their presence in the population."

In theory, the McGovern-Fraser reforms talked about "urging" rather than "requiring" and of "reasonable relationships" rather than "numerical quotas." In fact, however, the very reforms which were meant to create a more unified and responsible party, were manipulated and exploited by one highly successful electoral strategy. Instead of making the Democratic Party more unified and responsive, the McGovern-Fraser reforms turned it into divided, disciplined tool of a particular candidacy. Senator McGovern and his staff seemed to be the only people who fully understood these reforms and took them seriously, so it is not just coincidental that the winning candidacy was his own.

The unseemly disputes at Miami and the bitter disruption still being played out in the Democratic Party across the country have been caused by this sudden ascendance of new groups whose interests and inclinations are quite different from the present and traditional structure of the national Democratic Party.

The national Democratic organization is still based and run by, as it has been for the past four decades, the old FDR coalition of big labor, farmers, academic intellectuals and the big city party voting blocs. The new McGovern coalition is built upon liberal and radical activists, the political and social science intellectual and academic establishment, and various militant minority groups. The important point is that this is nothing more or less than a new electoral coalition, a new collection of voting blocs, serving a very definable and discernible set of interests.

We should admire its discipline and learn from its success, but we should not be taken in by its claims of being a whole "new politics" in America. Quite the contrary, for those of us who had hoped that the 1972 campaign might be waged upon a new sense of party responsibility and accountability, there is both point and poignancy to Art Buchwald's recent column about the new mythical organization which is being set up called "Democrats for McGovern."

Obsession with mechanics or numerics of delegate selection ends up putting the procedural cart before the structural horse. I would submit that it is the breakdown of the theory and practice of party responsibility and accountability that has led to the unprecedented and unsettling scale of disenchantment with and dropping-out of politics that we have been discussing.

A former member of President Johnson's staff described how actual application of the McGovern reforms has exploited rather than remedied this situation: "utilizing the gap between the theory of full popular participation in proliferating primaries and open-precinct caucuses, and the reality of the voters' tradi-

tional massive nonparticipation in party processes, the authors of the party's reforms paved the way for its domination by dedicated, organized, and highly motivated political minorities. They have simultaneously devastated the influence of the parties' leadership and elected officials."

Nor is other testimony lacking. Haynes Johnson, reported the results of a special survey of Democratic delegates at Miami in the *Washington Post*, and concluded that "whatever else is new in America politics this year, the old ingredients of money and education and class still dominated the process." And Tom Wick-er admitted, albeit with tentative approval, that "it is essentially true that blacks, women, and the young had preferred positions at Miami Beach."

Republican Reform

The Republican Party's Delegates and Organizations Committee, which was also set up after the 1968 convention and aimed at increasing participation in the primary, caucus, delegate, and convention process has proposed some procedural guidelines for our party. Quantitatively, some of them even go beyond the McGovern-Fraser "reforms." Quantitatively, however, they have good sense to eschew the inherently anti-Democratic quotas which delivered the Democratic Party over to the skillful and disciplined manipulation of McGovern strategists.

In the strongest and most unmistakable language, the DO Committee has recommended selecting alternates in the same manner as delegates, forbidding proxy voting, removing fees and assessments on delegates to the national convention and abolishing automatic delegates at any level of the delegate selection process. Further, the DO Committee recommended that each state delegation include "equal representation of men and women" and "delegates under 25 in equity to their voting strength within the state."

In other words, instead of the DO Committee tail wagging the convention dog, DO has made its recommendations and the reasons for them clear beyond a preadventure. Now it will be up to the delegates "in convention assembled," to the planners of the campaign for the President's election and ultimately to the party itself in the years between 1972 and 1974 and between 1974 and 1976, to show how deeply they understand and appreciate these changes and reforms and how determined they are to make the Republican Party a responsible, responsive and accountable vehicle for effecting them.

Education and affluence have made Americans aware of the rights they possess or interested in acquiring the rights which belong to them. New voices, many still anguished, all of them concerned, are speaking up, and are demanding to be heard. Politically, they may seem naive and impractical, strident and self-righteous, but they are there. They are Americans. And now they are voting. Any national party which does not take them into account will be failing in its representative function. Any national party which does not seek to deserve and enlist their interests and support must ultimately wither and die.

Reforming the National Committee

by George Thyss

Why should the Republican party want to improve its party structure? The major weaknesses in the present Republican National Committee are:

1. The make-up of the committee is based solely on geography and not on population or Republican votes.
2. The responsibilities of the committee and members are not clear.

With the advent of television and greater voter independence, the party must be flexible, modern and aggressive to be effective. Without some basic changes the Republican Party (like the Democrat Party as well) risks its very existence. We might end up with multiple parties or with increased independent candidacies; individuals running with little responsibility to or help from a party.

My major recommendation to hold a special convention in 1974. One of the major pieces of business of this convention would be to revise the rules for governing the RNC. Other activities could include further modernizing convention procedure and a rally for the 1974 and 1976 elections. I'd hope that a resolution would be offered and passed at the Miami Beach convention at the end of this month instructing the Republican National Chairman to call such a convention.

The prime question to be determined is what should be the goals of the National Committee?

- Should it be a loose federation of states?
- Should it be simply a communications vehicle?
- Should it be a method to communicate from national to state organizations. Should it merely run the national convention and help elect a president?

We must determine the central thrust so the structural revisions may fall easily into place.

To me, the test of a party is its ability to present a program, to help its candidates win and to implement its program. To do this the party has two difficult tasks — both a clarifying and unifying role. Therefore, I'd like to see the major RNC goals include:

1. Coordinate and implement the issue positions and policies of the total party.
2. Responsibility for election of all partisan positions.

To achieve these two major goals the committee must have, in addition to party representation, representatives from the governors, mayors, Congress and state legislatures. The committee must be structured in such a way that its responsibility is defined and management is possible.

The major recommendations for rules revisions would be:

1. *Define the role* of the RNC, including its relationship with the President, the leadership of the Congress, Governors, and the state parties. The party would have the responsibility of formulating and implementing issue positions be-

tween conventions and would be the major vehicle for election management.

2. Revise membership of RNC so that it comes *closer to a one man, one vote body*. Today the smallest states and the largest states have three representatives. If the RNC is to be given more power, the representation should be fairer to the areas where there are more votes. One method might be to apportion the RNC on the basis of one representative per five congressional districts or fraction thereof. Under this arrangement the smallest states would have one representative and California and New York would have nine. The membership would be chosen by the states, one of whom must be the state chairman.
3. Make the *rules of the RNC more flexible*. The RNC is governed by rules adopted at the national convention. Presently, procedures can only be changed every four years and this must be done by the convention. The convention should establish basic guidelines for the RNC and allow the committee to have its own by-laws.
4. *Elected officials* should be on the National Committee. Included should be the top two governors, senators and congressmen, by virtue of the positions they hold. The relationship between the party and the elected officials is one of the most important, but most difficult, problems in politics. This is true at the local, state and national levels. The party must have a reciprocal relationship with major officeholders. If either group ignores the other, both suffer. If elected officials are on the RNC, they will be a part of, but not completely dominate, the decision-making.
5. Within the RNC there should be an *issue or policy coordinating council* that could speak for the party on issues. It would be a method to amend the platform between conventions. This council would include both elected officials and party officials. The coordinating council could also contain other key leaders such as past Presidents or presidential candidates. The relationship between the party and the elected officials on the development and implementation of issue positions is a touchy subject. The healthiest and most productive solution is to have cooperation without domination by either group. It is a mistake for the party through the convention or other means to adopt policies and demand the candidate run

George Thyss is a former Minnesota State Republican Chairman.

his campaign on these positions. Positions must be developed jointly.

6. *Clarify the responsibility of the members.* The state chairman, shall be recognized as the person responsible for carrying out the political objectives within that state. The positions of National Committeeman (NCM) and National Committeewoman (NCW) should be abolished unless the state wishes to continue the position. Presently the national committee members tend to be considerably more affluent than most Republican workers and other leaders because in many states it is a financial sacrifice to serve on the RNC. The members also tend to be considerably older than average. The RNC executive committee should be elected by the RNC and may include individuals who are not members of the RNC. If elected, they would become members of the committee. The executive committee could include elected officials, as long as there are more non-office holders on the executive committee.
7. The National Committee should have the power of *budget approval*, not the Finance Committee. Under the present system the fund raisers review the budget. This should be a function of the political leaders.

These major changes would mean the party would have a clear focus on its objectives, responsibility would be clear but flexible, and the RNC would have the capacity to be a central force on the major issues.

With such changes the party would start to make important decisions. It is also possible that issue formulation might be more a part of the committee's work. The President's State of the Union Message in 1970 spelled out a specific, progressive program which hasn't up to now made much progress in Congress. It is possible that the RNC, if structured with muscle, could and should have become a force to adopt and implement the program.

Several other changes that should be considered include:

1. The state-selected members of the RNC should automatically become members of the RNC at the time they are elected. The recommended timing would be within six months after the presidential election. Under the present arrangement the NCM and NCW must be nominated by the states just prior to the national convention and then the convention must ratify the committee members. We recommend a change in timing and that neither the convention, nor the RNC, should have to ratify the election of the representatives from the states.
2. The RNC chairman and the executive committee should be elected at a specific time for a specific term. The responsibility for the election of the chairman should be clarified. At the present time the election of a chairman is the role of the RNC, and probably its major responsibility, but when the President is a Republican it is assumed that the President will name the chairman. The RNC still goes through a ritual of pretending to name the chairman. If the Pres-

ident should name the chairman, the RNC rules should so state.

3. The assistant chairman should not be appointed by the chairman. Either the President should appoint or the RNC should elect. The role of the assistant chairman should not be to be in charge of "women-type events" as the present tradition dictates. The assistant chairman should be a true assistant and should carry commensurate responsibilities.

The above thoughts may not be the correct answers or the only changes needed, but they are worth discussion and consideration. I'm more convinced that there is need for change more than I am that these specific ideas should be adopted. The present system has many problems including the vagueness of its goals and objectives, its unrepresentative and unmanageable nature, its inflexibility and impotence. These weaknesses must be faced and should be remedied.

The Republican Party is still a minority party and so needs every possible assistance to assure election victories. We believe these weaknesses must be addressed or the GOP hopes for a majority status are measurably lessened.

These recommendations are not based on the success or failure of the 1972 presidential election. Win or lose, the party should have a more effective vehicle.

What should be done now?

Two things. 1) Be sure that the 1972 National Convention empowers *and requests* the RNC to call a special convention in 1974 and 2) start discussions on the role, weaknesses, and possible changes in the Republican National Committee.

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● New York Ripon member **Richard Rahn** has been appointed research director for four Republican congressional candidates in the New York City area. Rahn will head the combined research effort of Congressman **Peter Peyser** and congressional aspirants **Jane Pickens Langley** (running against Congressman **Edward Koch**), **Joseph Vergari** (against Congressman **Ogden Reid**) and **Joseph H. Boyd** (against **Otis G. Pike**). Another Ripon member, **Werner Kuhn**, is also involved in Ms. Langley's campaign. Two Ripon members, **Berna Gorenstein** and **Tanya Melich** are involved in **Joyce Ahrens** campaign for an East Side seat on the State Assembly. Nearby, **Glenn Gerstell** is managing **William J. Diamond's** campaign for another State Assembly seat from the East Side.

● DETROIT-ANN ARBOR: The Michigan chapter heard Judge **Peter B. Spivak**, judge for the Common Pleas Court of Detroit, speak on President Nixon's foreign policy at a July 12 meeting. The chapter also sponsored a fundraising reception July 25 for **Mike Renner**, a candidate for the State House of Representatives. Renner is a young Ann Arbor attorney and Ripon member.

● Texas Ripon member **John Carlson** is an alternate on the Texas Delegation to GOP National Convention.

● **Judy Lumb** has joined the NGP as an at-large member from Atlanta, Ga. Attorney **Thomas M. Russell**, of the Chicago legal firm of **Leibman, Williams, Bennett, Baird, and Minow** replaces **Bruce Fraser** as an NGB representative from the Chicago Chapter. Pittsburgh's new NGB representative is **Bruce Guenther**, the chapter's research director. Guenther is a research assistant at the University of Pittsburgh and is active in local environmental groups and a recent unsuccessful candidate for the GOP nomination for state representative in the 23rd district.

● Ms. **Karen Brewster**, a member of the Detroit-Ann Arbor Chapter, has been appointed chairwoman of the Michigan Nixonettes.

Ripon Society and Party Reform

On April 28, 1972 the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia declared unconstitutional the formula used to apportion National Convention delegates among the states.

The decision was the result of a suit brought by the Ripon Society and 10 individual plaintiffs against the National Republican Party and the Republican National Committee challenging the constitutionality of a formula which over-represented the less populous states at the expense of the more populous states.

At the 1972 Convention, for example, eight states which have 49 percent of the population and which cast 52 percent of Richard Nixon's popular vote in 1968 will have only 37 percent of the delegates. Or, 37 states which cast only 34 percent of Nixon's popular vote will have over 50 percent of the 1972 delegates.

After consultation with its counsel, Ripon's National Executive Committee adopted a resolution on October 15, 1971 authorizing filing the suit, pending talks with Republican leaders. After discussions with party and elected officials — including National Chairman Bob Dole, who assured Ripon that only the Convention itself could change the rules — the suit was commenced on November 8, 1971.

The complaint particularly attacked the GOP bonus delegate provision, which gives six bonus delegates to any state which carries for the GOP candidate for President, Governor, Senator or a majority of the Congressional seats, regardless of the population of the state or its demonstrated Republican voting strength. It is this provision which the Court struck down. The formula results in a situation where each delegate from Illinois would represent 37,496 Republicans (defined on the basis of the 1968 Presidential vote) while each delegate from Alaska would represent 3,133 Republicans, a discrepancy of 12-1.

In addition to seeking the unconstitutionality ruling, the original complaint also asked for an injunction to prevent the RNC from holding the 1972 Convention until the formula issue had been resolved, since if the formula was declared unfair, the Convention would be operating with an unconstitutional apportionment.

However, in early December, immediately before the RNC meeting which was to issue the official Call of the Convention, the plaintiffs and defendants agreed that, in return for Ripon agreeing to withdraw its request for an injunction affecting the 1972 Convention, the RNC would expedite the proceedings to assure a decision well before the Convention. Oral argument was held on March 9, 1972 before Federal Judge William B. Jones in Washington, with Judge Jones issuing his opinion some seven weeks later.

The court struck down the bonus delegate provision as violative of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, and enjoined the 1972 Convention from adopting a formula "which would

allocate a uniform number of bonus delegates to qualifying states, with no relation to the state's electoral votes, Republican votes cast, or some combination of those factors." The court pointed out that as a result of the bonus system, both Alaska and California received six additional delegates for being carried by Nixon — thus doubling Alaska's delegation but only increasing California's by 6.7 percent.

In its opinion, the court said, "The present bonus system rewards states which have *in the past* consistently produced Republican victories by giving them greater influence in nominating candidates and determining party policy at the National Convention. The present bonus system, however, does not provide a corresponding incentive to the larger states to produce consistent Republican victories, despite the proportionately greater number of electoral college votes and elective offices that such victories would bring within the Republican camp."

The court went on to say that a bonus system based on the electoral college vote, or Republican votes, or some combination of these factors, "would have greater rationality both in terms of the decisions of the courts . . . and the very policies which defendants [the Republican Party] wish to promote by awarding bonus delegates."

As a result of the decision, the Convention will have to develop a new formula. Ripon has proposed to the Rules Committee of the RNC a series of formulas based on the principle that delegates should be apportioned on the basis of population and Republican voting strength in approximately equal proportions.

Other formulas have been submitted by RNC members, state chairmen and the DO Committee acting informally. Some proposals contain the slightest possible change in the present formula — just enough to seemingly make them fit the court's decision — while others chart new courses to take into account, for example, victories by Republican Governors and Senators.

There is also strong sentiment, from large and small states, for a larger convention, both to assure that any new formula will not cause a reduction in the absolute number of delegates for the smaller states, and to make it easier for all states to open up their delegations to more women, youth and minority group members.

Virtually any plan emerging from the RNC Rules Committee and the Convention Rules Committee deliberations which takes into account population and GOP voting strength will be a substantially fairer formula. If the plan balances population and voting strength, and builds in a strong incentive by granting additional delegates for votes cast, the apportionment will not only realistically reflect Republican strengths, but will help in the quest for Republican victories by, for the first time, providing real incentive for all state party organizations.