

RIPON FORUM

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POLITICS: REPORTS

MINNESOTA

In Minnesota, the Perpich family is a powerful political institution. Just how powerful was discovered by U.S. Rep. Joseph Blatnik (D-8th) when he tried to assist his administrative assistant, James Oberstar, in the pursuit of the Democratic nomination to succeed him.

Oberstar's backing, however, never matched Minnesota's most powerful trio of dentists: State Sen. A.J. "Tony" Perpich, Lt. Gov. Rudy Perpich, and State Sen. George Perpich. Winning the 8th C.D. nomination for Tony may have been harder than pulling teeth; it took 30 ballots and the withdrawal of three other candidates to nominate Perpich. (There is one Perpich brother who is a lawyer, but Tony's wife is a nonpracticing physician.)

Oberstar has yet to decide whether he will contest Perpich in a primary.

Perpich will probably face the district Republican chairman, Jerry Arnold, whose ideology is slanted in the same direction as that of former Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig.

The conservative Stenvig is still looking for a post to seek. He had been recruited by the GOP to run for secretary of state earlier this year when it appeared that the incumbent Republican, Arlen Erdahl, would win the GOP nomination to succeed U.S. Rep. Ancher Nelsen (R-2nd). Erdahl was edged out of the nomination by State Rep. Thomas Hagedorn, a young conservative, in what began as a four-way race and ended on the

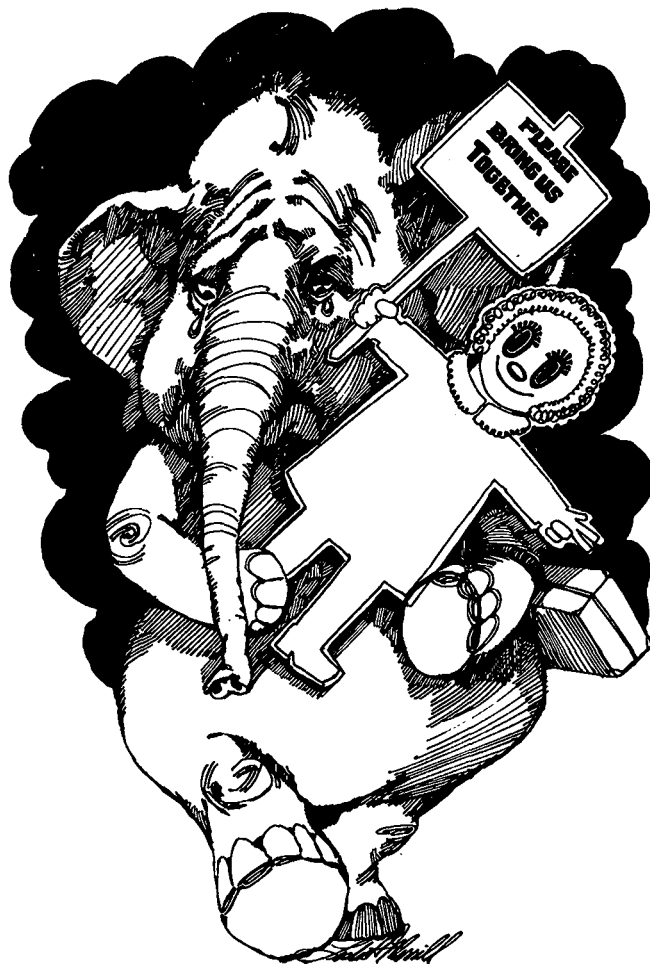
20th ballot. After that defeat, Erdahl announced he would seek reelection, and Stenvig bowed out of the race for secretary of state.

The GOP has its chance to win one of Minnesota's three open seats in the 2nd C.D. The odds are against the Republicans in 30-year-old Jon Grunseth's effort to succeed U.S. Rep. John Zwach (R) in the 6th C.D. Grunseth

will oppose 30-year-old former State Rep. Rick Nolan. The Democratic businessman came within 5,000 votes of unseating Zwach in 1972.

U.S. Reps. Albert Quie (R-1st), Joseph E. Karth (D-4th), Donald M. Fraser (D-5th), and Bob Bergland (D-7th) should be able to win reelection, but U.S. Rep. William Frenzel may have trouble.

Part of Frenzel's difficulties result



from his failure to file a 1973 income tax return. Frenzel had applied for an extension, and indeed was owed about \$10,000 by the government, but his oversight will not aid an otherwise tough campaign. Earlier it had appeared that State Sen. Hubert Humphrey III might oppose Frenzel, but the freshman legislator backed away from the race. Frenzel will be opposed by Golden Valley Mayor Bob Riggs, a University of Minnesota professor.

The gubernatorial situation for the Republicans is bleak. Lack of money, the popularity of incumbent Gov. Wendell R. Anderson (D), and the insistence of the state party leadership on true conservative candidacies has discouraged several Republicans from entering the race. The only two announced GOP candidates are State Rep. John W. Johnson, a former Minneapolis alderman, and businessman Jim Hill, who unsuccessfully sought the 1972 Senate endorsement.

One candidate the GOP sought to recruit decided to run instead as an independent; James C. Mills, a 52-year-old engineer-lawyer-businessman-farmer, was a vice president and founder of Control Data Corporation.

The wretched position of Minnesota Republicans is compounded by the GOP's financial difficulties. GOP State Chairman Robert Brown has strained relations with the Minnesota corporate community, whose contribu-

tions to GOP coffers have largely dried up. Brown and State Rep. Ernest Lindstrom have attempted to destroy the business-oriented Good Government Committee as a force within the party. Brown tried to get Lindstrom to run for governor. Lindstrom instead is quitting even his legislative seat.

GOP progressives have even worse problems. They must face not only the party's dilemmas but their own exile from the party's leadership positions. ■

WISCONSIN

Wisconsin Republicans are headed for a September gubernatorial primary after their May endorsement of former Madison Mayor William Dyke over State Sen. James Devitt.

Dyke won a surprisingly easy convention endorsement vote behind the tacit endorsement of State GOP Chairman David Sullivan and other party leaders. Although Dyke was considered the more conservative candidate, support for both Devitt and Dyke crossed ideological lines. Devitt's close ties to labor and aspersions on his personal life were used to defeat him in the convention, but Dyke might well have a tougher time winning a primary endorsement. Dyke, who was defeated for reelection as mayor of Mad-

ison in 1973 by a former student, has a brilliant, evangelical speaking style which helped eclipse Devitt.

Citing money, Watergate, and party unity, Devitt announced June 5 that he would not contest the convention endorsement in a primary — despite some feeling among GOP observers that Devitt might well win such a primary.

A slate of candidates put together by Devitt for statewide offices was defeated in all but two races. Mrs. Nina Weir, a housewife, was unopposed for designation as the nominee for state treasurer, and State Sen. Gerald Lorge defeated a controversial district attorney for the attorney general nomination. In other races, candidates pushed by the Young Republicans were successful. A 24-year-old Marquette University law student, Kent C. Jones, was nominated for secretary of state.

The GOP also unanimously nominated 33-year-old State Sen. Thomas Petri to run against Sen. Gaylord Nelson. Petri, a former executive director of the Ripon Society and a former director of crime studies for the President's National Advisory Council on Executive Organization, expects to engage Nelson in a series of debates. Nelson, who has acknowledged Petri as "a bright young man," has agreed to debate in principle. The GOP campaign is expected to stress inflation, unchecked government growth, and welfare reform. ■

POLITICS: PEOPLE

● The decision of the New Jersey State Republican Committee to assume the \$247,000 gubernatorial campaign debt of U.S. Rep. Charles Sandman (R) was part of a "unity" effort, according to GOP State Executive Director Conover Spencer. The decision reversed earlier assumptions that the party would not assume the Sandman debt but, according to Spencer, was rep-

resentative of a long-standing party practice to eliminate "carry-over debts." Sandman's primary defeat of former Gov. William Cahill (R) badly divided the state GOP — as had the debt controversy.

● Attorney Douglas S. Harlan (R) will face businessman Robert Krueger (D) in the open 21st C.D. race in Texas. In 1972 Harlan compiled a respectable 43 percent of the vote against the retiring U.S. Rep. O.C. Fisher (D) and the 30-year-old Republican is given a good shot this year. Krueger won a Demo-

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cratic runoff after a five-man primary, while Harlan defeated three other Republicans with 61 percent of the vote. In this conservative district, who the voters perceive as the true "conservative" may determine the outcome of the election. The campaign may be the "smartest" in the country; both candidates have doctorates.

● The primary nomination of Nebraska Gov. **John J. Exon's** choice for a lieutenant governor is a tribute to the Democratic governor's popularity. Exon's pick, attorney **Gerald Whelan**, received a clear majority in the five-man Democratic primary, gathering over twice as many votes as his nearest rival, maverick State Sen. **Terry Carpenter** (D). Carpenter, as he promised, immediately submitted his resignation, commenting, "People either don't know what I did or don't appreciate it." Exon's emphasis on Whelan's victory was interpreted by some Republicans as an indication that Exon would run for the Senate in 1976, but Exon has denied such intentions. The Democratic ticket will be opposed by State Sen. **Richard Marvel** (R) for governor and **Anne Batchelder** (R) for lieutenant governor. Although U.S. Rep. **David Martin** (R) recently has racked up large victory margins in the state's 3rd C.D., the GOP will be hard-pressed to retain his seat. Sunflower farmer and banker **Wayne Ziebarth** will be the Democratic candidate against Mrs. **Virginia Smith**, a leader of the American Farm Bureau Women and former chairman of the Presidential Task Force on Rural Development. Smith defeated McCook Mayor **Don Blank** on the strength of absentee ballots. The favored candidate in the eight-person race came in third.

● Vermont GOP Executive Secretary **James Sanderson** has been pressured out of office in a move reportedly led by Republican National Committeeman **Roland Q. Seward**. GOP State Chairman **Stewart Smith** had blocked an earlier move by Seward to oust Sanderson, who had supported a different 1972 gubernatorial candidate than did Seward. Sanderson is expected to seek the GOP nomination for lieutenant governor while Windsor County GOP Committee Chairman **John Wu** succeeds him as executive secretary.

● The White House sent copies of the transcript summary to its propaganda list of editors around the country. The xerox letter from **Ken Clawson** reads, "Not printed or mailed at government expense." So who paid? The Republican National Committee.

● Controversy over his role as a White House aide contributed to the defeat of **John Robin West** in the Republican congressional primary in Pennsylvania's 5th C.D. on May 21. Indications that West overstated his responsibilities at the White House created a press furor in the month before the primary. The **Philadelphia Inquirer** quoted West's former White House boss, **Harry Flemming**, as asserting that West was an unpaid clerical worker who was a "walking disaster" who was rather quickly fired for "immaturity." West temporarily found another White House niche with **Harry Dent**, but his inflation of his political stock was considered "abrasive" by many at the White House. Several months before the primary, West rated a favorable **TIME** magazine column by **Hugh Sidey**. The victor in the 5th C.D. race was State Rep. **Richard T. Schulze**, a highly regarded state legislator.

● The retirement announcement of Massachusetts's sleeping solon, U.S. Rep. **Harold D. Donahue** (D-3rd), may improve the campaign odds weighing against Republican State Rep. **David Lionett's** uphill congressional bid. Donahue and former Massachusetts U.S. Rep. **Phil Philbin** are remembered as the House's slumbering seat-mates. Donahue regularly enters the House chamber early in the morning and proceeds to sleep soundly through the session; indeed, **New Times** honored Donahue as one of the nine runners-up to Sen. **William Scott** (R-Va.) for "Dumbest Congressman." Recently, the front pages of newspapers across the country carried a picture of Donahue looking like Howdy Doody as he tried on the Judiciary Committee's special earphones for listening to the presidential tapes. Consequently, many Republicans thought Lionett, (29), who would have been the first vigorous GOP challenger in years, would have stood an excellent chance to oust the 14-term incumbent. With Donahue's retirement Lionett appears to be attracting serious support — particularly from progressive bi-partisan organizations from outside the district. Further, Donahue's announcement is creating a clutch of candidates in the Democratic primary, as the resignation of former U.S. Rep. **Bradford Morse** did in the 5th congressional district in 1972; and, Republicans hope the bitterness resulting from the primary may help Lionett win, as it helped U.S. Rep. **Paul Cronin** succeed Morse in 1972.

● "You'll find me to be the most honest politician in the state. I run an orderly house and I'd like to see a little dignity in Carson City," says **Beverly Harrell**, Democratic candidate for the Nevada legislature. Harrell runs one of Nevada's legal houses of prostitution.

● The gubernatorial primary victory of former U.S. Rep. **David Pryor** (D) in Arkansas was a political defeat for Sen. **John L. McClellan** (D) who worked hard for former Gov. **Orval Faubus**. McClellan was reportedly returning the support Faubus gave him in his 1972 Senate primary race against Pryor. The state of the Arkansas GOP was amply demonstrated by the voter turnout in the primary. More than 580,000 Democrats voted, but less than 6,000 Republicans did.

● Military Roundup: Former Navy POW **David Rehmann**, 32, will be the Republican nominee to succeed retiring U.S. Rep. **Richard T. Hanna** (D) in Orange County's 38th C.D. Rehmann will face Santa Anna City Councilman **Jerry M. Patterson** (D) in a race that is rated the GOP's best chance to pick up a California Democratic seat. In New Mexico, former Air Force POW **James L. Hughes**, 46, was trounced in his efforts to win the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Former State Sen. **Joseph R. Skeen** (R) easily won the June 4 primary with 55 percent of the vote; he will face State Sen. **Jerry Apodaca**, who won only 31 percent of the vote in the six-man Democratic primary. In South Dakota, another retired Air Force POW, **Leo K. Thorsness**, 42, won a respectable 52 percent of the vote against two GOP opponents. Thorsness, who built a strong organization in his primary campaign, will face Sen. **George McGovern** (D) this fall. Although critical of McGovern's Vietnam positions, the GOP nominee said after his victory, "I hope we've learned our lesson. I hope we don't have to refight the war in this campaign." In Maine's June 11 primary, former POW **Markham Gartley** won the Demo-

cratic nomination to oppose U.S. Rep. William Cohen (R). Gartley switched from piloting to politics when he saw the layoffs of many fellow Eastern Airline pilots during the winter energy crisis.

● Two black Republicans are seeking the GOP nomination against incumbent Democratic state treasurers in New England. In Massachusetts, Erna Ballantine, former banker and former chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, received the GOP's unofficial endorsement at its June 1 convention (a few days before she received her doctorate from Harvard). In Rhode Island, John Daluz, the young president of a South Providence credit union, hopes to oust a 28-year incumbent state treasurer.

● Randolph Crossley, the 70-year-old Honolulu chairman of the Hawaii Corp. has announced his candidacy for governor of Hawaii. Hawaii GOP leaders have been trying without success for the past year to interest top Republicans in the gubernatorial nomination. Crossley, who has a wide-ranging career in both business and politics, came within 4,720 votes of defeating Gov. John A. Burns in 1966. He has been GOP state chairman and national committeeman, a state senator, and a territorial representative in pre-statehood days. Hawaii Democrats are headed toward a multicandidate primary, leading to speculation that the GOP would have a good chance at the governorship if they could find the right candidate.

● Philadelphia Democratic Chairman Peter J. Camiel easily won reelection June 17 as city Democratic chairman. Camiel, an archenemy of Mayor Frank Rizzo had pressured into making the race. Rizzo and Cianfrani, whom Rizzo had pressured into making the race. Rizzo and Cianfrani worked desperately to elect ward leaders who would vote to oust Camiel, but came far short of the needed votes. The results will hamper Rizzo's efforts to get Democratic Party backing for re-nomination in 1975.

● Nashville service station operator Johnny Elkins is one of 23 Tennesseans who have filed for governor. Elkins, an independent, says he has no platform, no organization, and no money. Tennessee Republicans meanwhile have nominated the first woman to the State Supreme Court: Knoxville attorney Erma Greenwood, who once was under consideration for a U.S. Supreme Court vacancy.

● The turnout in Republican primaries this year has been lousy. Although political apathy has also affected the Democrats, the impact has been lighter than on Republicans. Recent primaries in California and Pennsylvania were notable for the unprecedented lethargy of GOP voters. In New Jersey's Bergen County, a bellwether GOP area, only 16 percent of the voters went to the polls.

● U.S. Rep. Robert Steele (R) has created a little panic in Connecticut's GOP leadership by his progress in winning delegates to the state GOP convention. In an effort to head off Steele, Gov. Thomas Meskill (R) has publicly backed Steele's chief GOP opponent for the nomination, Bridgeport Mayor Nicholas Panuzio. The governor's action was particularly shocking to House Speaker Francis Collins, also a GOP gubernatorial candidate and a strong ally of Meskill in the past.

● Ralph Nader has gone into the tourist business. One of Nader's offshoots, the Public Citizen, has opened a Visitors Center in Washington at 1200 15th St., N.W. According to the Public Citizen, "the main thrust will be in arranging for tourists to call on their congressmen and discuss pending legislation; attend congressional and regulatory agency hearings; and visit lesser known governmental and private attractions." No expletives, characterizations, or adjectives deleted or omitted from this tour.

● Speaking at the annual governor's prayer breakfast in May, Gov. William G. Milliken (R-Mich.) told the participants: "Governments change, politicians come and go, but these principles survive. They are maintained in the documents and sacred writings of the religions, and in the hearts and collective memories of the people. Men leave office and new men take their place, but the laws of human conduct endure and in the end, prevail. There always is an accounting of human conduct. We must live our lives — our public lives and our private lives — with the knowledge that in the final transcript, nothing will be deleted. For all of us — for you, and for me — there is no executive privilege for the soul."

● The GOP has a winner: U.S. Rep. Charles W. Whalen, Jr. Whalen became the first Republican re-elected to Congress this year when Ohio's deadline for write-in candidacies passed without entries. No Democrats filed in the race.

● In Massachusetts, Middlesex County Sheriff John J. Buckley (R) has despaired of any legislative effort to outlaw handguns. Buckley hopes to rally 3,000 Massachusetts residents this fall to garner enough signatures to validate an anti-gun initiative petition for 1976. If Buckley raises the necessary signatures and his referendum is successful, all but police and military handguns would be forbidden. Arguing against the "guns don't kill people, people kill people" premise, Buckley says, "Well, in Oregon, it was said bottles and cans didn't litter, that people did. Yet, when Oregon passed a law banning nonreturnable bottles and cans, immediately there was a 60 percent drop in litter."

● The decision of Martin G. Hamberger, administrative assistant to Sen. Hugh Scott, (R-Pa.), not to seek a congressional seat this year is interpreted by some observers as an indication that Scott will seek reelection in 1976. That prospect does not enrapture some Pennsylvania Republicans who fear Scott may become the 1976 version of Delaware Sen. Caleb Boggs (R). Boggs was pressed to seek reelection in order to avoid a fight between U.S. Rep. Pierre du Pont and former Wilmington Mayor Henry Haskell. Boggs was only 63 in 1972; Scott will be 76 when his term expires. But like Delaware, there are able, progressive Republicans who would like to sit in the Senate, e.g., U.S. Rep. H. John Heinz III. One indication of Scott's vulnerability is his recent reelection margins: 52-46 percent in 1970 and 51-49 in 1964.

RENEW TODAY!

COMMENTARY: THE GOP

No More Apologies

by Robert D. Behn

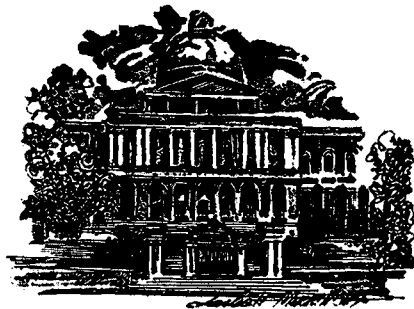
It was depressing — like the Cow Palace ten years ago when Republicans jeered Nelson Rockefeller's platform plank condemning extremism. This time, the hero was Massachusetts State Rep. Francis W. Hatch, Jr. who was booed by the GOP delegates for suggesting that the President "is subject to the law of the land." They booed the "communications media" too; if someone had made the motion, they would have repealed the First Amendment. The really discouraging jeers, however, were the ones the law-and-order crowd at the Massachusetts State Convention had for "the law of the land."

In 1964, the boos came from the gallery — Theodore H. White emphasized "the contrast between the Goldwater movement and the Goldwater organization" — but in Massachusetts this month, the boos came from the delegates themselves. The delegates seemed unconcerned about the problems the GOP faces at the polls next November, and so the six Republicans nominated by the convention for state-wide offices were uncomfortable with the Nixon/Watergate resolution adopted, as was State Chairman William Barnstead, who comes from the party's conservative wing. He had previously declared the President to be "guilty as sin," and suggested he resign. After the convention Barnstead called the party's re-

jection of the Hatch proposal "mass hysteria." One major convention speaker, whose address like all others went unnoticed by the delegates, summed it up as "one of the worst conventions I've attended."

On the floor, progressive Republican delegates were discouraged by the ugly mood. One wanted a roll-call vote on Hatch's "law-and-order" resolution — "they have the noise-makers, we have the votes," he declared — but it was doubtful that even then the progressives' resolution would have been adopted. Still, the vote would have been closer and a tally printed in Sunday's newspapers would have made the headlines less depressing. The next day, one liberal Democratic friend triumphantly asked, "Are you proud to be a Republican?"

For some unknown reason, liberal Democrats never ask themselves that same question when their party kills congressional committee reform in the House Democratic Caucus — with the support of key "liberal" Representatives, mind you; when U. S. Rep. Wayne Hays bottles-up campaign reform in his congressional committee; or when Mayor Richard Daley permits his police to beat up national convention delegates and presidential campaign workers. Incredibly, progressive Republicans never ask them either.



The implicit assumption made by both progressive Republicans and liberal Democrats is that belonging to the Democratic Party is somehow more virtuous — as if one selects a political party to demonstrate moral superiority rather than to achieve some public policy improvements.

John Lindsay told an interviewer recently that he had not changed his philosophy or policies when he switched from the GOP to the Democratic Party, but that now he did not have

to go around apologizing for himself. In 1976, however, John Lindsay and other liberal Democrats may have a lot of apologizing to do to their progressive Republican friends when the Democratic National Convention fails to nominate a candidate on the first ballot, as most of those party leaders familiar with the new rules now expect, and George Wallace holds a full one-third of the delegates. The Democratic Party will have to deal with George Wallace then, or forfeit the election to his third party candidacy, and many liberal Democrats will be hoping the Republican ticket will be progressive enough for them to support.

Until then, GOP progressives will have to convince themselves that they have a political philosophy for which it is worth fighting. If they cannot convince themselves, they will be unable to convince the press, or the electorate — and certainly not their liberal Democratic friends — that progressive Republicans have a governing philosophy, and deserve to be given a governing responsibility. As long as Republican conservatism and Democratic liberalism define the public debate on major policy issues, the GOP progressives will be a political idiosyncrasy not worthy of serious consideration.

To be taken seriously progressive Republicans need to begin articulating their policies and programs as both progressive and Republican. They need to explain to the electorate what they stand for and why — what they will do if they are elected to run the government. Only when they develop and explain their political philosophy can they expect to win a governing majority. Only then, will they no longer feel embarrassed. ■

Contributor Notes

Robert Behn ("No More Apologies") is an associate professor of public policy science at Duke University and once served three months on the Massachusetts Republican State Committee. Dick Behn ("Thinking (And Organizing) Ahead") is editor of the FORUM and otherwise no good.

COMMENTARY: PERCY

Thinking (And Organizing) Ahead

by Dick Bebn

The nomination of a progressive Republican for President is much like the weather. Everybody talks about it but seldom, if ever, does anyone do anything about it.

Although the conventional wisdom suggests that the nomination of a progressive Republican for President is as likely in 1976 as a snowstorm in Key Biscayne, Sen. Charles Percy (R-Ill.) is attempting to change political meteorology.

Back in 1960, 1964, and 1968, when the Republican winds were more favorable, progressive candidates — e.g., Rockefeller, Romney, Scranton, and Lodge — were as fickle as the New England weather. Critics of New England weather have suggested that if you don't like it, wait, because it is sure to change. Progressive Republican candidacies have been a lot like that — too little, too changeable, and likely to come on too strong too late in the nominating process. Often such candidacies have been "media events" designed to substitute national charisma for grass-roots organizing.

By design, the presidential quest of Charles Percy takes quite a different tack. In 1973, the political consulting firm of Bailey and Deardourff com-

plied a six-volume study for Percy on the mechanics and strategy of winning the GOP presidential nomination.

Doug Bailey and John Deardourff concluded that the 1976 nomination could be won by a progressive, for two reasons. First, the delegate allocation formula added about 900 new delegates who, when added to the expected large turnover in holdovers from the 1972 convention, would theoretically constitute a sizable body of potential Percy supporters. Second, concluded the Percy planners, the delegate selection process is itself more open to moderates than previously assumed. (Percy strategists expect that the defeat of delegate allocation reform at the 1972 convention did not make that much difference since Nixon swept 49 states, narrowing the disparities in the current allocation formula.)

The Percy study identified 32 states and other jurisdictions (of the 54 represented at the convention) which were "priority" targets for delegate recruitment. Percy's goal is to recruit about 80 percent of the delegates from these states. Percy's campaign vehicle, the Exploratory Committee, raised and spent over \$100,000 in 1973 and will spend \$200,000 in 1974. The four-year campaign for the 1976 nomination is expected to cost \$11,000,000 (based on the 8¢-per-voter limit recently passed by the Senate.)

The "limited resources" of the Percy campaign would be utilized not only in the primary states where progressive Republican candidates have been conceived and aborted in the past, but also at the precinct level in GOP caucus decisions. Percy, in fact, will not enter the New Hampshire or Florida primaries, since he hopes to receive a "mandate" from his constituents in the Illinois primary to pursue his presidential ambitions.

Much of the money will go for field staff for the organization effort, which would be put together in late 1975. Meanwhile, the Percy campaign will hit the next checkpoint in its "fail-safe" system this December, at which point campaign participants will analyze the progress of fund-raising, the impact of Percy on GOP leaders and rank-and-file, and the results of the November elections.

The Percy campaign is ahead of schedule on two counts. First, the Illinois senior senator has consistently maintained a high — and generally favorable — media profile. While Nelson Rockefeller, Elliot Richardson, John Connally, and Howard Baker have faded from the front pages, Percy has not. The light from his political star appears to have achieved a steady brilliance. Second, Percy aides are encouraged by the positive reactions of GOP leaders to the senator's speaking tours. They consider Percy's personal magnetism to be his strongest asset. He has visited about 25 states in the course of his "exploration."

Perhaps as important as the potential supporters and workers Percy has attracted are the GOP regulars, whose skepticism of Percy's party credentials he has attempted to dispel. Former Illinois Gov. Richard Ogilvie's acceptance of a high post in the Exploration Committee structure may be symbolic in this regard. Although never considered a strong Percy partisan in the past, Ogilvie has the stature as a "regular" Republican which is needed in the Percy campaign.

Many Republicans now assess the Percy campaign as "impressive." GOP progressives who often discuss the presidential nomination with all the enthusiasm and verve of a Wagnerian opera express almost reluctant respect. Percy is accomplishing an impressive dual feat. He is showing progressive Republicans that presidential nomination politics is "do-able" and that the quadrennial campaign need not always be inept. Simultaneously, he is destroying his image among party regulars as a "donkey in elephant hide" who is unworthy of the GOP nomination. Percy repeatedly stresses the need to expand the party's shrinking base and his sincerity in working toward the best interests of the party. His consistent "Republican themes" emphasize the worth and sanctity of the individual, the need to reinstate the importance of state and local government, and the integrity of political and governmental processes.

On tour, Percy tries to combine a public-speaking engagement, media contact, and consultation with local party leaders. It is in these consultative sessions that Percy turns on his magic. Apparently he is beginning to

have the sort of success with GOP leaders that he has cultivated with Illinois voters. According to Percy's administrative assistant, Joseph Farrell, in 16 polls taken in recent years for Percy he has consistently rated highest in "independence and integrity."

Independence has not always been a cardinal virtue among Republicans, and the rabble-rousing stigma still sticks to Percy. He still has to explain his votes against Harold Carswell and the SST, but when he finishes, the "faithful" believe. In light of Percy's own rocky history as a party leader in Illinois, it is a sign of his political maturity. And it is a sign of the political maturity of Republican progressives, perhaps, that they have learned that the GOP nominee cannot expect to be "annointed."

Percy is not the only Republican holding hands with GOP organizations this year. The rubber chicken circuit has attracted a flock of would-be "roosters." Percy's advance work, however, has been better than his competitors'. He has not simply flown in, spoken his peace, and flown the coop.

Not all Republicans are enamored, of course. Mississippi GOP Chairman Clarke Reed has said, "When I start to think of (presidential aspirant) Percy, I fall asleep." And commenting on Percy's presidential chances late

last year, Sen. Barry Goldwater observed that Percy had less than a "10 percent chance" because he is "too inconsistent. He wanders all over hell's half acre. I don't even think he can get the delegation from his own state."

Percy's campaign, however is not geared to any possible GOP contestants or events. Obviously, Vice President Gerald Ford's elevation to the presidency would severely undermine Percy. Such exigencies are not part of the Percy math, which is concerned with local contacts and caucuses rather than cosmic "happenings."

The indictment of California Lt.



Charles Percy

Gov. Ed Reinecke demonstrated the wisdom of that emphasis. As the darling of conservatives, Gov. Reagan has long appeared to be number two on the GOP's list of 1976 presidential possibilities. Reinecke's indictment, however, may have quite accidentally provided a major boost for Percy. It resulted in an enormous major switch in GOP voter sentiment to the gubernatorial candidacy of Controller Houston Flournoy. The Reagan kitchen cabinet saw the writing on the wall even before the indictment and switched en masse behind Flournoy. And although Flournoy has arduously wooed Reagan Republicans, there were no promises on presidential politics. In effect, if Flournoy is elected governor, Reagan may not be able to count on the solid backing in 1976 from the California delegation.

The result could be crippling for Reagan's presidential ambitions if moderate Republicans like Flournoy and Assemblyman William Bagley (who won the GOP nomination for controller) reassert progressive influence in the California GOP.

1976 is still a long Watergate away. Many things can happen. But like accident insurance on Charles Colson's grandmother, a serious presidential campaign by a Republican progressive is no longer an uninsurable risk. ■

DULY NOTED: POLITICS

● "1974 Massachusetts Republican Party Platform," adopted at the Massachusetts Republican Convention in Boston, June 1, 1974. The preamble to the platform is a fitting Republican commentary on Watergate: "The Republican Party of Massachusetts is today, as it has been since its founding, a party of principle. We of the Republican Party believe that an enduring political following can only be achieved and maintained through a declaration of and commitment to principles of government which are shared by a broad segment of the public. We reject the emerging philosophy that the political process is merely a strategy game in which the attainment of and maintenance of power are the only objectives. We likewise reject the concomitant notion that a political party's sole function is to provide the resources and manpower needed to win elections. Rather we believe that the political process should be a mechanism by which citizens can decide the goals of government and how government power is to be exercised as well as choose who will wield that power. We believe that the political party should be not only a repository of resources for candidates, but also a vehicle through which a large number of like-minded citizens can formulate a set of sound principles of government, attract candidates who share these principles, suggest which programs emanating from these principles best serve the needs of society, present the principles, candidates and programs to the public for approval, and continue to provide policy guidance between

elections." Among the principles espoused in the platform were individual, economic, and political freedom; equality of opportunity; economic and social progress; responsible government; and realism and idealism in government.

● " 'Dirty Trick' Calls for 'Dirty Trick,' " by David Nordan. *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, June 2, 1974. Macon Mayor Ronnie Thompson (R) has filed for the Georgia gubernatorial nomination of both parties. That announcement was just about enough to send Georgia Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox (D) bicycling backwards up the steps of the State Capitol. The erratic Macon mayor hopes to get the Republican nomination and deprive Maddox of enough conservative votes in the Democratic primary to deny that nomination to the erratic former governor. Maddox responded quickly to the Macon mayor, "He's a spoiler. Jimmy Carter, George McGovern, and all that crowd ought to be very happy with that fellow from Macon."

● "Conlan Foe, Stauffer, May Not Win But His Jugular-Aim Poses Threat," by John Kolbe. *Phoenix Gazette*, June 3, 1974. When he announced his political plans, Richard Stauffer had just resigned as an aide to Arizona U.S. Rep. John Conlan (R). Conlan's office says Stauffer was fired — as an aide to Conlan, whom Stauffer is now opposing in the GOP primary. The ex-aide is basing his campaign on his "claims to have seen (Conlan) files with nasty little notations about people's personal lives." Conlan has scores of enemies, in and out of the GOP, who would love to cut short his congressional career. Writes Kolbe, "He earned a goodly share of mortal enemies during eight years in the legislature, and not just

for the usual ideological reasons; indeed, some of his most ardent detractors are philosophical carbon copies of the conservative Conlan. Rather it is his personal ethics, integrity and consuming ambition which are most often cited by his enemies. Which is precisely why Stauffer, despite his total inexperience and staggering naivete, represents such a threat to Conlan."

● **"McLaughlin Controversy Aids Rotenberg vs. Drinan,"** by David Farrell. *Boston Globe*, June 19, 1974. Massachusetts U.S. Rep. Robert Drinan (D) faces a stiff primary this September from State Rep. Jon Rotenberg (D) of Brookline. Although Drinan's 4th C.D. stretches nearly halfway across the state, it is in the Boston suburb of Brookline in the eastern tip where congressional candidacies seem to develop. After Drinan's defeat of U.S. Rep. Phil Philbin in the 1970 primary, he won the general election with only 38 percent of the vote. In 1972, a Republican state representative from Brookline, Martin Linsky, challenged Drinan in the general election and narrowly lost a hard contest. Although the liberal Rotenberg is given only an outside chance of ousting the liberal Drinan, he will be aided by the controversy over another politically active Jesuit, White House aide John McLaughlin. *Globe* political columnist Farrell claims that Drinan may be indirectly responsible for the Jesuit backdown on McLaughlin. "The gist of the opposition support for Fr. McLaughlin was that, if it's okay for the former head of the Boston College Law School to indulge himself in the romance of sitting in the House of Representatives, it would be permissible for another Jesuit to work and shill for the President." Unfortunately for Drinan, the controversy "surrounding the aborted efforts of Very Rev. Richard T. Cleary, S.J., Jesuit provincial superior for New England, to discipline Fr. McLaughlin points up the almost insoluble difficulties created when priests devote their full time and energies to politics." Although Rotenberg stresses the economy as the campaign issue, the irony of the primary may be the impact of the Catholic voters' attitudes about a priest in politics and the loyalty of Jewish voters toward a pro-Israel priest.

● **"The New American Majority: Time for a Political Realignment?"** Speech by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) at the Clarence Manion Testimonial Dinner in Washington, D.C., May 15, 1974. "The majority of Americans are locked into two major political parties — by geography, by tradition, by sentiment, by other reasons which no doubt will come to mind when you think about it," said Helms. "But what do you suppose would happen, ladies and gentlemen, if a serious movement were launched to realign the political parties in our country — a movement that offered the majority of Americans, the conservative majority, an opportunity to unite, and to work together for the principles in which the majority of the people, according to the polls, believe?" Although Helms said he intended "to remain a Republican, unless there is a general realignment into conservative and liberal parties, by whatever names," it is clear that he relishes the thought of a conservative party. Said Helms: "Realignment is not a new idea. Sen. Karl Mundt of South Dakota urged it for years. I ask you if it is not an idea whose time has come."

● **"Reagan's 'Way' to Nowhere,"** by Larry Agran. *The Progressive*, June 1974. Nearing the end of his gubernatorial term and beginning his 1976 presidential quest, California Gov. Ronald Reagan "is dusting off some of the old cliches, readying himself for a national anti-welfare campaign calculated to win the Republican nomination and then the Presidency. To those familiar with the hard evidence regarding his welfare record in California, it seems incredible that Reagan could view welfare as 'his issue.' Because, as skilled as he is at public relations — and Reagan is one of the best around — the record is replete with proof that he has been an utter failure at bringing about the promised welfare rollback." According to Agran, as a result of court and legislative actions against Reagan's welfare plans, "the Reagan years have yielded the most significant economic advancement for California welfare recipients in history. Ironically, it is Reagan himself who has supplied the necessary ingredients for that advancement: a penchant for confrontation; a belligerent attitude toward the legislature; and a stubbornness that causes him to reject compromise while risking multi-million dollar setbacks in the courts."

● **"Democrats Must Invent Better Ways to Govern,"** by John G. Stewart. *Washington Star-News*, May 12, 1974. "What the Democrats must devise is a governing ideology that puts into actual practice much of the Republican rhetoric about strengthening state and local governments, without abandoning the commitment of suing federal resources to the fullest," writes Stewart, a former aide to Hubert Humphrey. He argues that the Democrats have to pay greater attention to mayors and governors if they expect to win greater public support on the "governing issue." According to Stewart, "The longer-run pitfalls for the Democratic Party are obvious (at least to most governors and mayors); the electorate's antagonism toward the GOP can rebound as soon as Nixon vacates the presidency (by whatever route) or is exonerated by Congress, unless Democrats are seen as coming to grips with sources of popular discontent unrelated to Watergate." Such a reaction will be "intensified" by large Democratic congressional majorities in the next Congress, guilt feelings of Republicans and independents for voting Democratic, and favorable reactions to Gerald Ford's ascension to the presidency (if and when these events occur).

● **"The End of Backlash Politics?"** by Joseph Kraft. *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, June 11, 1974. "Reaganism has had it in California. That is the plain meaning of the primary election in (California June 4). Moreover, given California's record as political pace-setter for the nation, the primary here may be handwriting on the wall for right-wing populism everywhere. By right-wing populism I mean the backlash politics which emerged in reaction again Lyndon Johnson's Great Society . . . Because it was so much a backlash against the Great Society, right-wing populism not surprisingly found one of its chief exponents in the person of a renegade liberal-Democrat — Gov. Ronald Reagan of California." Kraft cites the overwhelming victory for the campaign financing initiative, Proposition 9, and the gubernatorial primary victories of Edmund Brown, Jr., and Houston Flournoy. "What all this means is that Watergate offers progressives the chance to regain the political strength they lost through overconfidence in the Kennedy-Johnson era," writes Kraft.

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