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POLITICS: FORD

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY IN THE SNAKE PIT

by Dick Behn

New Hampshire is a snake pit for President Ford. That much is generally conceded by political observers. Ford, for example, couldn't win the Wyman-Durkin Senate election in New Hampshire. If Louis Wyman won, it would have been interpreted as a victory for Gov. Meldrim Thomson and Manchester Union-Leader Publisher William Loeb. If John Durkin won, as he did, it was a loss for Ford and the GOP.

More recently, former Gov. Hugh Gregg(R), a moderate, was appointed to head the Reagan Committee in New Hampshire. That appointment was widely interpreted as a Reagan coup—which is a little like calling burnt toast a gourmet meal. Gregg wanted to head the Ford campaign in the state, had told Ford so, and had given Ford's campaign director a deadline for appointing him. Having done so, Gregg, who has only been marginally active in state politics for the past 20 years, threatened to jump to Reagan unless appointed to the job. Gregg was true to his word. His appointment, therefore, is less a case of Reagan's political progress than Gregg's personal pique.

Like Ford's, Reagan's operatives are trying to conduct a broad-based Republican campaign. In an effort to do, Gov. Thomson has allegedly been persuaded to stay backstage. Anyone who believes that Thomson will stay off-stage for more than two minutes has been reading the Manchester Union-Leader too long. During the Wyman-Durkin campaign, Thomson even took it upon himself to show Wyman the proper glad-handing technique. Thomson is a Napoleon, not a Richilieu. So his promises are to be put on the same plane as GOP State Chairman Gerald Carmen's protestations of neutrality as he stood on the same platform as Thomson making the announcement of the Reagan Committee's formation in the state.

Other indications cited of Reagan's strength among moderates included the sale of campaign lists to Reagan by former House Speaker Stewart Lamprey, a long-time moderate leader and Thomson antagonist. Lamprey's computer lists, however, are a valuable political commodity in the state. Lamprey is a businessman and made a business deal; there is no reason to believe his lists aren't for sale to other politicians. Harder to understand is the support of former moderate GOP Chairman David Gosselin, a longtime Thomson antagonist, for Reagan. Gosselin, who apparently has mended his fences with Thomson, reportedly turned the top operational slot on the Reagan campaign to take a high-paying job in industry. The three men hardly represent a tidal wave of Republican sentiment. More ominous for Ford is the report by pollster Pat Caddell that Ford led Reagan by only 36-30 percent in an early September telephone poll. A recent poll by the Democratic National Committee showed that Ford's favorable rating dropped from 66% in July to 49% in September—compared to a favorable rating for Reagan of 44%.

Ford's problems in New Hampshire reflect dissatisfaction in many quarters with the slow pace of his campaign's development and mounting criticism of Howard "Bo" Callaway's handling of campaign. U.S.Rep. James C. Cleveland has been named Ford chairman for the state and is expected to take a leading role in the campaign's direction. An operational director, however, has not thus far been chosen. (The announcement of Cleveland's selection was timed to coincide with and blunt announcement of formation of the Reagan Committee.) The failure to organize more swiftly in attributed to the new federal campaign law which in effect prohibits costly mistakes in campaign strategy which cannot be rectified by later expenditures of campaign funds because of expenditure limits. Now that it is clear that New Hampshire is to host the GOP championship bout, campaign commitments are more logical. Callaway's public statements about New Hampshire have not been buoyantly optimistic: "We have states identified as priority states, and for obvious reasons we're not going to identify them right off, but it's fair to assume that New Hampshire is one of them. We don't have the finances to campaign in 30 state primaries so we have the problem with Reagan in New Hampshire Florida, then in the big Midwestern primaries, I think we'll do a lot better."

Ford's prospects in New Hampshire are complicated by the state's own byzantine GOP politics. Because of the monstrous size of the New Hampshire legislature, the state must have the nation's highest concentration of Republican politicians. No where else in the country can so many former governors, former speakers of the House, and former Senate presidents be found vying for political power. Where else would the incumbent Republican governor have the brass to blame the Wyman defeat on President Ford's efforts to broaden the party's base. Other, more moderate Republican leaders cited the failure to broaden the party's base as exactly the cause of the Wyman loss; they suggested the Wyman loss constituted Thomson's political demise.

Back in Washington, Lee Nunn quit as Ford's organizational director, complaining about the campaign's organization: "I think they've got real serious problems. Time is growing awfully short." He's been replaced by Stuart Spencer of the Los Angeles-based Spencer-Roberts political consulting firm. Spencer was a key man in the Ford roundup of leading GOP figures in California earlier this year. The Ford committee is still reportedly looking for a top political director for the campaign.

All of which is an indication that President Ford ought to give more thought to the kind of campaign strategy or non-strategy being pursued. Ford is putting his prestige on the line in the February 24 primary in New Hampshire and the March 9 primary in Florida. Both are tough races which do not represent a real cross-section of national strength. So far, Ford's strategy has been primarily a response to Reagan moves: Campaign in California to cut into Reagan's home base. Send Rockefeller into the South to mouth neo-Wallacisms and mollify southern conservatives. Move right in national speeches to keep the conservative right in line. And last, enter the Florida and New Hampshire primaries where Reagan's strength is disproportionately strong.

Ford's strength should be in a coalition of economic conservatives and civil libertarian moderates inside the Republican and their counterparts in the independent column. Instead, he has as hard a time shaking the New Right mosquitoes who counsel government intervention to help business and a laissez faire attitude toward social issues as he did shaking New Right representative John Connally on a recent trip to Texas.

Ford's enunciation of government failures needs to be accompanied by concrete steps to reorganize bureaucracies to better meet social needs at lower costs. He needs to expand his criticism of government overregulation of business to business abuses of their relationships to government. Vice President Nelson Rockefeller needs to be as eloquent about corporate cheaters as about welfare cheaters and as critical of massive energy corporations as of massive social spending. There is a desperate need for balance in government. The Ford Administration would be wise to stop zigzagging and find that balance. ■

● "Main Event In New Hampshire," by George F. Will. National Review, October 10, 1975. Commenting on the relative abilities of Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan to absorb primary losses next year, Will writes: "Mr. Ford cannot afford to lose to Mr. Reagan anywhere; Mr. Reagan cannot afford a string of defeats, so he must injure Mr. Ford early; and, contrary to prevailing expectations, the Democratic primary in New Hampshire may be a sideshow."

● "Why Reagan Should Be Choice for '76." Human Events, October 3, 1975. "Former Gov. Ronald Reagan's dramatic speech to the Executive Club in Chicago on September 26 underscores the need for the people of this country to make him President of the United States. There can be no doubt now that the California conservative intends to run for the GOP nomination, and the difference between his bold program for the nation and the tepid one offered by Gerald Ford should now be demonstrable. Those who have scorned Reagan's courage can hardly be credited anymore, as the Chicago speech is one of the most audacious political addresses any candidate—or virtually certain candidate—has ever chosen to make. Reagan's Chicago speech is revolutionary for today's times, albeit of a very healthy sort. President Ford and virtually every other presidential aspirant, including Gov. George Wallace and the many Democratic contenders, have talked at length about the need to check the dangerous growth of government. But so far it has been all chatter." Reagan, on the other hand, according to this Human Events editorial, is "strikingly different. Fundamentally, he would eliminate more than \$90 billion worth of spending on the federal level, including funding for welfare, education, housing food stamps, Medicaid, community and regional development, revenue sharing and the like...His purpose is to winnow the federal structure and to systematically transfer authority and resources to the states, which, he contends, can operate the eliminated federal programs far more efficiently than Washington." Human Events admits that Reagan's proposals may be kind of hard to swallow: "Even many outspoken conservative politicians will probably shy away from embracing the Reagan formula, fearing the ferocity of special interest groups in the 1976 elections."

● "Aides Say Ford has Foiled Challenged by GOP Right," by Philip Shabecoff. New York Times, September 30, 1975. It's all over except the convention, according to Shabecoff: "White House aides are saying privately that President Ford has successfully blunted a challenge by the right wing of the Republican Party to his nomination in 1976 and predict that he will soon adopt a slightly more moderate stance to broaden his electoral appeal. The aides concede that former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California could still cause serious problems for Mr. Ford in primary elections if he decides to contest the nomination, particularly in New Hampshire and Florida." Shabecoff notes that President Ford's recent statement that he wouldn't mind a contest from Reagan is indicative of Ford's confidence that Reagan supporters are swiftly turning into paper tiger cubs. Shabecoff quoted Sen. Bill Brock (R-Tenn.) as observing: "The reason Rockefeller is an issue is because President Ford is not an issue... We have to have something to talk about before the convention."

● "Tiptoeing Through The Tulips," by William Loeb. Manchester Union-Leader, September 10, 1975. Commenting on a possible presidential run by Reagan, Loeb writes: "...the question remains as to whether Reagan and Sears and the rest of the Reagan campaign are so much in love with the Republican Party that they will conduct only a mild campaign for the nomination and carefully avoid saying anything harsh about the Republican Party and Mr. Ford. If that is the way Mr. Reagan intends to run his campaign, he should forget it right now, for that is NOT the mood of the American people. They want a candidate who will frankly say, 'This nation is in a bloody mess. The President and Congress have done nothing to resolve the energy problem. As a result, the situation becomes more serious daily and taxpayers have to spend more and more of their hard-earned dollars for fuel. And, the President has proven to be only slightly less of a spender than our crazy Congress.'" Loeb makes it clear that if Reagan can't win the Republican nomination and George Wallace can't win the Democratic one, they ought to get together and run independently. Notes Loeb: "Ronald Reagan won't do the country any good if he continues to tiptoe through the tulips. He has to get in there and slug. In the same issue of the Union-Leader, conservative columnist Jeffrey Hart writes: "My own conviction is that Reagan should enter the Republican primaries and mount an all-out challenge to President Ford. I am also convinced that if he fails to do so, this will be a failure of historic proportions I say this without any particular confidence that Reagan could actually beat Ford for the nomination."

● "Conservatives Gang Up On Ford," by Ernest B. Furgurson. Wilmington (Delaware) News, September 5, 1975. Commenting on an article in the Conservative Digest by New Hampshire Gov. Meldrim Thomson, Furgurson writes: "This document proves that all those radic-libs who have complained that Mr. Ford is just another conservative congressman from Grand Rapids simply do not understand. What the president is, is a radic-lib himself, the way Meldrim Thomson tells it. For evidence, Gov. Thomson of New Hampshire laid down no less than 42 glaring examples of Mr. Ford's left-wing tendencies. They range from (A) appointing Nelson Rockefeller as vice president through (L) appointing the famous Revis Ortique as a member of the Legal Services Corp. and (Q) signing the Campaign Reform Act to (FF) meeting with the congressional black caucus, (HH) Bella Abzug and (II) Ralph Nader, and they climax with (NN), calling for broadening the base of the Republican party." Furgurson complains that the conservative-populist coalition between pushed by Thomson and mentor William Loeb of the Manchester Union-Leader is more than slightly contradictory. Concludes Furgurson: "Only one thing is clear amid the rightmost confusion: Get rid of Mr. Ford."

● "Ford Is Campaigning To Build Up His Party, But Will It Be Effective?" by Brian Dickinson. Providence Journal, September 28, 1975. Commenting on the recent visit by moderate Republican senators on President Ford, Dickinson writes: "Some simple arithmetic indicates that a party with a solid base of only one-fifth of the country must make great inroads into the huge moderate bloc if it is to have any chance in the general election. Mr. Ford cannot be oblivious to this, but right now he is preoccupied with defending his right flank against the Reaganites. He probably will prevail, but in winning the battle he may well lose the war... If Mr. Ford is firmly set in his policies (and there are few signs to the contrary), the party's fortunes next year may hinge on what the moderate-to-liberal wing can do. Unless Mr. Ford makes some visible and egregious mistake, or the economy slips back into an acute recession, this group has almost no chance to change administration's course. However, it is not inconceivable (though admittedly unlikely) that GOP moderates may try to salvage the election by testing Mr. Ford's policies in one or more primaries."

● "Crane Tells Strategy For Reagan Support," by William Barnhart. Chicago Tribune, September 19, 1975. "The game plan of the Reagan for President campaign in Illinois... is to elect Republican convention delegates who at least see former California Gov. Ronald Reagan as the second choice. U.S. Rep. Philip M. Crane, who will head the Illinois Reagan campaign, said [September 17] that if President Ford does poorly in the early primaries, Ford will withdraw his candidacy. Therefore, Crane said, the Republican delegates elected in Illinois must be those who would turn to Reagan as the alternative." One fellow Illinois conservative threw cold water on Crane's strategy. According to

U.S. Rep. Edward Derwinski (R-4th), Crane is "spinning a fairy tale" if he thinks Ford is going to abdicate in favor of Reagan. Over 125 Republicans met recently to plan the Ford campaign in the state; they heard Sen. Charles Percy (R) assert that President Ford could win 100 of the state's 101 delegates. Crane is the only delegate that Percy concedes to Reagan.

● "Ford Shapes Southern Strategy For '76," by Claude Sitton. Raleigh News and Observer, September 21, 1975. "Ford, as the nation is learning, is the Great Imitator. He has adopted the political philosophy of William McKinley, the economic policy of Herbert Hoover and the platform style of Dwight D. Eisenhower. And now, Ford is refurbishing the Southern Strategy of Richard M. Nixon and making it his own. This is hardly original, but if it works, few may notice and none may care. However, there is at least the possibility that the Republicans will wake up on the day after election and find that they have just been whistling Dixie...The Ford strategy has two apparent objectives. The first is to assure Southern support for the President at the Republican National Convention...The second objective is to repeat the 1972 Nixon-Agnew landslide, which found all of the 11 states of the Old Confederacy in the Republican column." The swing from racial to economic concerns among southern blue-collar workers may doom that strategy, according to Sitton.

POLITICS: HOUSE

In the post-Durkin atmosphere of Washington, the House Republican Research Committee issued a "fact sheet" to members which warned Republicans against

complacent anticipation of a reversal next year of the GOP's 43-seat loss in 1974. Citing GOP failure to retain one-third of their vacant seats in the last four congressional elections (compared to about 15 percent lost by the Democrats in their vacant category), the high number of marginal Republican seats (51 compared to 42 for the Democrats), and the unpredictable nature of "coattails," the fact sheet warned: "There's a certain smugness to being a Republican these days...The smugness at this point borders on arrogance. Republicans tell Republicans that everything will be all right. That the 43 seats will come back like so many lambs. That those 43 seats 'have just got to be ours. That those 43 seats were dues, paid-in-full for two years of tragedy; and that with new leadership, the interest is going to start accumulating. It ain't so. The numbers don't lie. First, the Republicans will probably lose around 20 members to retirement, primary defeat, or Senate/Gubernatorial races. How many will we replace? If the past four elections are any indication, we'll retain slightly more than half. The Democrats will lose around 22 members before the general. They'll retain about 85% of them. Second, one third of our members were marginal in 1974. Only 14% of the Democrats were. If we lose only half those marginal seats, our power base will shrink to 120. If the Democrats lose half, their power base will shrink to 268. Third, the coattail theory is a myth. It doesn't matter a hoot to the party in Congress whether Jerry Ford, Ronald Reagan, Scoop Jackson, or Teddy Kennedy sits in the White House in January, 1977."

The House Republican Campaign Committee is somewhat more optimistic than the Research Committee's memo might indicate. According to Executive Director Steven Stockmeyer, there are about 25-30 possible targets in addition to the 42 marginal Democratic seats; these extra seats are districts where the Democratic incumbent won by less than 60 percent. And although Stockmeyer is leery of statistics, he is encouraged by the quality of GOP candidates entering next year's races. He points out that of the 42 marginal Democratic seats, there are already 24 who face "good, strong" Republican opposition. Some of these—such as Carleton J. Finkbeiner, Jr., in Ohio's 9th C.D. and Newt Gingrich in Georgia's 6th C.D.—waged strong, but losing races in 1974 and are returning for a rematch. In other districts—such as Tennessee's 8th C.D. where State Rep. Brad Martin, 24, is considering running—new young candidates will be challenging marginal Democrats. Even a few statistically safe Democrats—like Pennsylvania's U.S. Rep. Joseph Vigorito—already face stiff challenges from energetic Republicans—in this case, a young attorney named Marc Lincoln Marks. Vacant Democratic seats provide another possible category for Republican targets; a good example is the 2nd C.D. in Missouri which will probably be vacated by U.S. Rep. James Symington (D) in favor of a Senate try. Missouri House Minority Leader Robert Snyder (R) is considered a top Republican possibility for the seat, which was once held by Thomas Curtis, now chairman of the Federal Elections Commission.

Only four House incumbents have announced so far that they will not seek reelection and three of those are Republican. The House Republican Campaign Committee has compiled a list of 12 possible Democratic retirees, however, and another 10 who may seek other offices. This compares with a list of five Republican retirees and nine who may seek other office. Stockmeyer feels that other incumbents may share the sentiments of U.S. Rep. William Hungate (D-Mo.), who announced that he was quitting because the House wasn't fun any more. It will not be easy, however, to knock off the 43 freshmen Democrats who took over Republican seats. Having been elected on idealistic platforms, many of these freshmen were disappointed when their first meeting in Washington was devoted to how to get themselves reelected. Nevertheless, these freshmen have learned their lessons well. They may not have taken care of Congress, but they sure have learned to take care of constituents. Even the firebrands like U.S. Rep. Robert Carr (D-Mich.) seem to have moderated their tones a bit and realized that the job of a freshman is reelection. That sort of realism is not comforting to potential Republican challengers.

Republicans face an additional handicap from the 1974 elections. Not only were their congressional ranks thinned, but they also lost large numbers of state legislators and other office holders—persons who might have been expected to seek congressional nominations at some point. One positive consequence of these handicaps could develop if the GOP sought out non-office holder candidates who could capitalize on voter alienation from traditional "politicians." Thus far, the GOP does not seem to have made many gains in this direction. Thus far too, the Republican women candidates for Congress is sparse.

In an effort to provide a basis for electing a Republican House majority, House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes this year directed the compilation of a GOP legislative program. The "statement of principles" which the GOP adopted was released September 8. Though deliberately vague in many respects, it does at least set out a House Republican identity in areas like limitations on deficit spending, an energy windfall profits tax with a research/investment plowback provision, and extension of Keogh-type retirement plans to all workers. In announcing the House program, Rhodes noted that the GOP has "demonstrated [its] cohesiveness on attempted veto overrides. However, we felt that it is part of our responsibility as the minority to not only show the people what we are 'against,' but what we are 'for' as well."

DULY NOTED: STATES

When President Ford spoke at a New Jersey GOP fund-raising dinner in early October, he raised over \$100, \$100,000 for the state GOP. A portion of the tickets sold by supporters of former gubernatorial candidate Charles Sandman was supposed to go toward the Sandman debt, but Sandman said later he might not collect his portion of the kitty. But GOP State Finance Chairman John Ewing commented: "I just don't understand what he's talking about. He only sold one ticket."

● "Images, Not Issues, Mark Mayoral Campaign So Far," by Laura Foreman. Philadelphia Inquirer, October 5, 1975. Commenting on the current mayoral race between Mayor Frank Rizzo (D), Republican Councilman Thomas Foglietta, and black independent Charles Bowser, Foreman writes: "A strong incumbent who is running well ahead and knows it, a man backed by an awesome machine, a near-bottomless war chest and fanatically loyal following, Rizzo has eschewed debates, avoided interviews and shunned all mention of anything remoted tinged with controversy, or even substance. He does not even make political speeches at political rallies anymore, for the most part. He just thanks his followers for turning out, tells them the city's in great shape and assures them with pardonable confidence of a big win. Another thing the incumbent Democrat does not do is pay attention to the other two candidates...who insist that there are issues—important ones—that need to be raised in this race." To dramatize her point, Foreman details the public statements of the candidates on crime, corruption, youth, the elderly, economy in government, education, jobs, taxes, and busing. The space for Rizzo's comments is conspicuously blank—with the exception of the entry for "taxes": "He held the line on them, according to his campaign posters." Elsewhere in the same issue, Inquirer Editor Creed C. Black predicts things will not be as quiet after Rizzo's reelection. Rizzo has not developed a reputation for turning the other cheek—unless of course he is giving his adversary the back of his own hand. As a result, Rizzo's erstwhile opponents have reason to be wary of his wrath." Rizzo has been quoted as observing: "Just wait—after November you'll have a front row seat because I'm gonna make Attila the Hun look like a faggot." A politician hasn't made that kind of statement since the White House tapes were released in 1974. In this case, however, Rizzo is expected to fulfill his promises. Editor Black has harsh words, nevertheless, for suburban Republican business types who recently coughed over \$100,000 at a Rizzo fundraiser. To these businessmen, Black poses the following hypothetical situation: "Suppose one [of the businessmen's] key executives was operating his department at a deficit. Suppose the auditors had charged him with misspending millions of dollars in company funds. Suppose there was an investigation of irregularities in awarding contracts in his department. Suppose his top assistant was under indictment. Suppose, further, there was clear proof this executive was padding the payroll with unproductive employees. Suppose he had just given his workers a big fat raise to curry their favor even though admitting he

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had no idea where the money would come from. Suppose this executive himself had just moved into an opulent home far beyond his means. And then suppose this same executive, who once flunked a highly publicized lie detector test, arrogantly refused to answer any questions about this." The same businessmen who would fire or investigate such a subordinate are backing Rizzo. Abe, move over. Frank's got an act you wouldn't believe.

● "Majority Vote Lost," by Paul Pittman. Clarksdale (Mississippi) Press-Register, October 3, 1975. The gubernatorial contest between Democrat Cliff Finch and Republican Gil Carmichael is widely regarded as a close one, but it may be so close, suggests Pittman, that the state constitution will throw the race to Finch. Under the constitution, the governor is elected by the House of Representatives, operating under an Electoral College-type system similar to the one that Lester Maddox used to defeat Howard "Bo" Callaway for governor of Georgia. Members are obligated to vote for the winning candidate in their district, but if the presence of an independent black candidate prevents one of the candidates from receiving a majority, these representatives are free to vote their will between the top two candidates. In that situation, Carmichael would be likely to return to his car dealerships.

● "GOP's Slide Could Hurt Rep. Lujan," by Eric McCrossen. Albuquerque Journal, September 27, 1975. "The slipping popularity of the Republican Party nationally could cause problems for U.S. Rep. Manuel Lujan, Jr., four term Republican from New Mexico's First District...Lujan, whose conservative tendencies have become more pronounced in recent months, has found himself pictured as a man interested in joining a third, conservative party. He supports President Ford, yet would probably more enthusiastically give his support to California's Ronald Reagan." These factors, plus GOP complacency, could upset Lujan in 1976, according to McCrossen.

● "Marvin Mandel's Coming Fall," by Peter A. Jay. Baltimore Sun, September 26, 1975. For reasons that have been compared with those used to convict former Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner (D), Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel (D) has been the official target of a corruption probe by federal prosecutors. Mandel was so informed by U.S. Attorney Jervis S. Finney on September 25. The probe involves Mandel's complicated relationships with businessmen-friends W. Dale Hess and Harry W. Rodgers II. Particularly appropriate to the Kerner analogy is the purchase by Hess and Rodgers of a race track whose price dropped and then rose because of actions by Mandel before and after the purchase. The federal investigation also allegedly involves a series of financial favors granted Mandel by Hess and Rodgers. According to the Washington Post's Fred Barbash, these favors added up to more than \$100,000. In this article, political columnist Jay writes: "Even before his announcement yesterday morning that he has received The Letter from the federal prosecutors, the assumption was everywhere apparent among politicians that Marvin Mandel is going down the tube. Both in the bureaucracy and among those who are thinking already about the next election, the governor has become almost a non-factor. Of concern now is not whether he will survive his troubles, but what his departure will mean for others. It is a safe bet that the name of the lieutenant governor, Blair Lee III, has been used more in political conversation this past month than in the previous two years." As Jay points out, Mandel learned little from Watergate, and his preoccupation for secrecy and privacy has been a large part of his undoing: "Information has been dragged out, bit by bit, that either flatly contradicts earlier statements by the governor or forces him into unconvincing explanatory somersaults." But since Mandel has not been overly conscientious about the job of governor anyway during his second term, Jay points out, the additional burden of a federal investigation has not materially shaken the leadership of the state. Writes Jay: "In any case, it now appears certain that the fever-blister of state corruption at which the federals have been poking away is soon to burst, and we can expect indictments soon—if not of Mr. Mandel, then of some of his associates—and a trial or trials next year. Meanwhile, the governor bravely continues to suggest himself as a possible candidate for the U.S. Senate." Even if indicted, Mandel has promised not to quit his post: "You can bet your bottom dollar on that."

● "James Colter To Head State GOP," by Bernie Wynn. The (Phoenix) Arizona Republic, October 5, 1975. "Phoenix attorney James H. Colter, caught up in a party desire for leadership change, outpolled his 'establishment' rival nearly 2 to 1 Saturday to become the new Republican state chairman...Colter's election was interpreted by many as a break with the leadership represented by outgoing Chairman Harry Rosenweig, State Finance Chairman Burton Kruglick, Sen. Barry Goldwater, and former Gov. Jack Williams." Colter was backed by Young Republican veterans who are associated with the party's right wing but who denied that their group was exclusively rightist, contending instead that it was anti-establishment. The insurgents said they didn't appreciate the leadership dominance by the establishment and wanted a piece of the political action.

● "New Indications See Scott Not Running For Sen. Reelection." Philadelphia Observer, September 29, 1975. Indications are growing in Washington that U.S. Sen. Hugh D. Scott will opt against seeking another six-year term in 1976...Those who believe he will finally reverse himself dismiss the sena-

tor's public pronouncements as 'routine' posturing by a powerful leader determined not to give up his clout prematurely." The resignation of Administrative Assistant Martin Hamburger is seen as a key indication that Scott is approaching the end of his Senate career. So is Scott's use of the August congressional recess to take a three-week vacation instead of hitting the Pennsylvania campaign trail.

POLITICS: STATES

Virginia Sen. William Scott(R) is quickly becoming a Senate legend in political and professional incompetence. Scott's latest disaster was a three-week

tour of the Middle East in August. Scott's use of military aircraft boosted the trip's taxpayer cost to nearly \$16,000 and prompted the Washington Star-News to editorially label the trip an "outrageous ripoff." The comments of State Department personnel were even more damaging. According to one unnamed source, "To put it bluntly, it was a diplomat's nightmare. Scott managed to insult almost every country..." The product of this senatorial activity was a report to the Senate Armed Services Committee whose observations barely peaked above the tourist level. Scott's more quotable quotes, according to the Washington Star-News, included the following gems: (1) In a conversation with Egypt's Anwar Sadat next to the Suez Canal, "This is beautiful. I've always wanted to see the Persian Gulf." (2) In a conversation with Israel's Yitzhak Rabin, "What's this Gaza stuff? I never have understood that." (3) In bulking at entering a Moslem mosque, he complained that it wasn't a "Christian building." Scott, of course, denied all in a speech on the Senate floor. He has a well-deserved reputation as the Republican right's most dangerous unguided missile.

CONNECTICUT

When former U.S.Rep. Robert H. Steele(R-2nd) was prematurely retired from politics at age 36 by losing the Connecticut governorship, he did not seek an Administration post in Washington as did so many GOP congressmen defeated in reelection bids. Steele is back in Connecticut as president of the Norwich Savings Bank, a far different job than either his congressional or CIA duties entailed. Although Steele claims not to have any political ambitions, he hasn't completely ruled out another political race. As for Ella Grasso, who like many victorious Democratic governors, has had a hard time balancing the state books this year, Steele says she "made it tough for herself by making many promises." Steele is having an easier time with the bank books, it would seem.

GEORGIA

Like many southern Republican parties which have been frustrated by near misses or too infrequent successes in races for top gubernatorial, senatorial and congressional spots, the Georgia GOP has despaired of building the party from the top down. Instead, GOP State Chairman Mack Mattingly says he intends to try the bottom up technique...slowly, steadily for the next four-eight years. According to Mattingly, "What we've got to do is work on the city council elections, the elections to county commissions and the legislature." 1974 was a real disaster for the Georgia GOP, leaving it with only 5 of 56 state senators and only 25 of 180 state representatives and no national level offices. Notes the Atlanta Constitution's Rex Granum: "...since [1966, the GOP has] demonstrated a penchant for living up to the worst cliches of the GOP—the fat cat, country club in-fighting set. They have maintained what credibility they possessed by dotting over the federal patronage in the state, and the prestige [Howard "Bo" Callaway's Army post and the placement of Georgia Republican Phil Campbell as undersecretary of the U.S.Department of Agriculture."

ILLINOIS

For anyone who enjoys Democratic infighting in the state, 1976 promises to be a banner year. The preliminaries have already started with Gov. Daniel Walker's announcement that he will once again seek the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. In announcing, Walker depicted himself as a fearless reformer fighting against the nasty dragon in Chicago, Mayor Richard Daley(D). And Walker spent as much time pledging to oppose Daley-backed delegates in next year's presidential primary as he did defending his own mediocre record as governor: "We will not sit idly by while Daley, or a Daley pawn, lines up delegates...I will do all I can to help elect independent Democratic delegates who are unbossed and free. The Illinois delegation must be delegates selected by the people in a free and open election; not ones waiting for Daley's marching orders." To which Daley replied: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, all the people some of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time." Daley's sentiments were echoed by Chicago Tribune columnist Neil Mehler who found that on the basis of his record, Walker's announcement declaration that "indecision is not part of my makeup" to be ludicrous. Citing Walker's position reversals on the death penalty, education aid, patronage, bingo, welfare, and Daley himself, Mehler wrote: "...Walker also has accumulated an image as a shallow, tricky, insincere, manipulating politician who is primarily interested in himself...To many persons all over the state, Walker has been a bitter disappointment, a man who has set back the real independent movement." Walker's Democratic opponent for the gubernatorial nomination, State Treasurer Alan Dixon(D), has already taken the offensive, calling Walker "a flimflam man without peer." Said Dixon: "Even though I am fully

aware that the governor is a master of the 'big lie' technique, I—as a public servant—am absolutely appalled that the governor, through his political operatives, is putting in the slug on state employes for the benefit of his already bulging campaign coffers." There is already evidence that Dixon will have considerable organization support for his campaign—with or without Daley's aid. That aid might be technically absent in order to deprive Walker of the bossism theme. Whatever Daley's official position in the gubernatorial race, it is certain that no one in the Daley organization will be lifting a finger to help Walker.

NEBRASKA U.S. Rep. John Y. McCollister (R-2nd) may yet face a primary fight from Omaha Mayor Edward Zorinsky for the Republican Senate nomination next year. Zorinsky has indicated that he is unimpressed by establishment backing for McCollister as the logical heir to Sen. Roman Hruska's seat. According to Zorinsky, "A man was here from the Republican National Campaign Committee, or whatever it's called, and told me, 'Don't you know that Sen. Hruska has anointed John McCollister.' I can't accept a monarchy situation where the father anoints his son. I told him this is a democracy where the people decide who the leaders are and that has worked pretty well for this country in the past." Although Zorinsky has been urged to run for the House, Omaha Democrats concede that Zorinsky might be a tougher candidate for them to beat in the Senate race. Zorinsky may also be headed for a 1978 gubernatorial race. If Sen. Carl Curtis (R) retires in that year, a Senate race between Gov. J. James Exon (D) and the man he defeated, former Gov. Norbert T. Tiemann (R), may be forthcoming. Exon and Tiemann have recently exchanged barbs over Tiemann's actions as federal highway administrator. The progressive Tiemann realizes that he would be on his own in such race; GOP State Chairman Anne Batchelder is the wife of Clifton Batchelder who bloodied the incumbent governor in a 1970 primary. Said Tiemann recently: "The Republicans in Nebraska are not under the leadership of anybody who would support me." Tiemann also took a swipe at his conservative Democratic predecessor on a recent trip to the state: "Some day along the way, somebody will have to come into the state like I did in 1966 and clean up a mess." Tiemann's sojourn as a Washington bureaucrat may hurt him; some Nebraskans still remember that former Interior Secretary Fred Seaton was unsuccessful when he returned to Nebraska in 1962 to pursue an abortive gubernatorial run. Tiemann may also face a primary from U.S. Rep. Charles Thone (R-1st) if he attempts the race.

RHODE ISLAND The retirement of Sen. John O. Pastore (D) has generated the makings of a political earthquake in Rhode Island. Although Gov. Philip W. Noel (D) has said he will not announce his political intentions until next spring, Noel is widely expected to be the Democratic Senate nominee. He could have primary opposition, however, from maverick U.S. Rep. Edward P. Beard, who has said he will make his decision after a 90-day walking tour of the state to determine the public mood. Regardless of the freshman congressman's assessment of his popularity, he will not get Democratic organization support and would have difficulty repeating the kind of primary upset that he engineered in 1974 when he defeated the incumbent Democratic congressman. With the gubernatorial slot open, Lt. Gov. J. Joseph Garrahy (D) is expected to seek succeed Noel; Garrahy is a popular lightweight who could receive opposition from Atty. Gen. Julius C. Michaelson (D) if he fumbles on the campaign trail. Garrahy was a beer salesman and state senator before he won his state post. On the Republican side, things look brighter—particularly in light of the GOP's recent disasters in the state and the relative Democratic disorganization. The GOP has won a string of small victories in the state, has strengthened itself immeasurably organizationally, and its unity compares favorably with the fratricidal warfare which continues unabated in the Providence Democratic Party. Moreover, the GOP has three strong candidates for statewide nominations: former Gov. and former Navy Secretary John Chafee (R), who ran unsuccessfully against Sen. Claiborne Pell (D) in 1972; Providence Mayor Vincent "Buddy" Cianci, Jr. (R), who won an upset victory in 1974; and Cranston Mayor James L. Taft, Jr. (R), who won an impressive reelection triumph in 1974. Taft is widely expected to be the GOP's gubernatorial nominee and Cianci and Chafee are exploring the Senate race. It may be too early for Cianci to abandon his supporters in Providence, however, so the betting is on a Taft-Chafee ticket. Unlike the Democrats, who are overloaded with Irish candidates, the GOP's possibilities span the Irish-Italian-Yankee spectrum. Furthermore, the GOP is almost guaranteed a strong, unified, attractive ticket, while the Democrats may endure an intra-party knifing session before the general election.

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