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COMMENTARY: The GOP

IS THERE STILL HOPE FOR REPUBLICANS?

by Dick Behn

What was clear in the 1974 election results was not so much what the voters liked as what they disliked. Clearly, they did not like Richard Nixon, Republicans, and Watergate. It was not so much that they liked Democrats much more, but they liked Republicans far less.

The economy alone would have had a disastrous impact on Republicans. Based on past elections and the six percent unemployment rate, the GOP could have been expected to lose as many as 30 congressional seats. But the additional congressional losses, the devastating results in the gubernatorial elections, and the pathetic performance of the GOP in legislative contests can only be attributed to Watergate and its aftermath. True, many able Republicans chose not to risk their political careers in 1974, but even capable Republican candidates felt the brunt of the voters' wrath.

In the Northeast, Watergate's impact was obvious. Vermont has not had a Democratic senator since the Civil War; it now has one. Among the Republican congressional losses were one seat in New Hampshire, one in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, five in New York, four in New Jersey, one in Pennsylvania, and one in Maryland. The GOP lost three governorships (New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut) and nearly lost a fourth. Republicans were simply decimated at the legislative level; only in Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and New York does the GOP still control at least one house.

The "emerging Republican majority" fell apart in the South, where the GOP lost one governorship (Tennessee), two Senate seats (in Kentucky and Florida with the continuing possibility of an upset in Oklahoma), and ten congressional seats, all held by incumbents. Congressional losses reversed the growth of the southern Republican congressional delegation, which was able to add only two new members, one each in Florida and Louisiana. Particularly hard hit were North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee where Republicans lost two seats each. It was these states where the GOP had made its greatest gains in recent years. Republican hopes for additional congressional gains disappeared in the Watergate fog. Most frightening was the utter evaporation of Republican legislators in North Carolina.

The Midwest was practically a basket case for the GOP. Republicans were mowed down like so many acres of wheat. Progressive governors Robert Ray (R-Iowa) and William Milliken (R-Mich.) stand out like prize bulls among slain calves. The casualty list included the unfulfilled hopes of Senate wins in Iowa and Indiana, where moderate Republicans waged close but losing races. Indiana Republican National Committeeman Keith Bulen's announced intention to resign looked prescient after five Republican congressmen were wiped out in the Democratic tide in his state. In Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin, the GOP lost two seats each. In Illinois, the party had a three-seat setback. Nebraska and Ohio were notable because Republicans seemed to cut their losses to a minimum. John Rhodes' gubernatorial victory in Ohio was accompanied by the loss of one additional congressional seat, but the GOP won back one seat lost in a special election earlier this year. In Nebraska, Gov. John J. Exon (D) easily won reelection, but he failed to carry any congressional candidates with him.

Colorado stands at the heart of the Rocky Mountain states and GOP losses there were particularly painful: one senator, one governor, one congressman, and one house of the legislature. The victory of moderate-conservative Jake Garn in the Utah Senate Contest was notable because there were no other statewide victories in the region for the GOP to cheer. There are now no Republican governors in the region; in the late 1960's, there were no Democratic ones.

In the West, the story was California where the GOP lost the governorship and four congressional seats. The GOP gained a Senate seat in Alaska and possibly a governorship in Alaska, but it also lost the Oregon governorship and one seat each in Nevada and Oregon.

Republican conservatives generally took a whipping throughout the country. In state after state, it was the most diehard conservatives who were the first to fall under the Democratic spear. Often, Republican moderates were notable because they survived the debacle. Conservative strategists delight in citing polls showing a majority of the electorate who consider themselves "conservatives"; nevertheless, either these "conservatives" are not voting that way or they are not voting.

In the House of Representatives, for example, five executive committee members of the conservative GOP Steering Committee were defeated, including the committee chairman, U.S. Rep. Lamar Baker. Although the Steering Committee does not reveal membership figures, about 30 of its 70 members were defeated. "No, this is not a repudiation of Republicanism," said a Steering Committee spokesman, who cited "Gary Hart's move to the right" as evidence of his thesis. By contrast, only one member of the moderate GOP Wednesday Group was defeated. Five Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee were defeated---all but one of whom had voted against impeachment. The sole exception, U.S. Rep. Harold Froehlich of Wisconsin, bared won election in 1972 and was highly vulnerable to his Democratic opponent's third congressional challenge.

Although Watergate undoubtedly killed many progressive and moderate Republican candidacies, moderate incumbent office-holders were relatively immune from voter revenge. Moderate Republican governors Robert Ray of Iowa and William Milliken of Michigan as well as Senators Jacob Javits of New York, Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania, Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, and Robert Packwood of Oregon all won convincing election victories. Massachusetts Gov. Francis Sargent and Oregon U.S. Rep. John Dellenback were the notable exceptions to this moderate Republican rule. Voters did not seem to hold party affiliation against Republicans when party loyalty was balanced by candor and integrity. Even in a Democratic state like Massachusetts, voters demonstrated their discretion when faced with Republicans of proven ability and integrity. For example, progressive Republican Middlesex County Sheriff John Buckley defeated a conservative Democrat despite 3-1 Democratic registration margins in the county.

Watergate was more apparent in the defeats of Republican non-incumbent moderates of superior ability. The most notable examples were the defeats of GOP gubernatorial candidates Houston Flournoy (California), Lamar Alexander (Tennessee), and Robert Steele (Connecticut) along with Senate defeats in Indiana (Richard Lugar), Iowa (David Stanley), and Vermont (Richard Mallary).

The extraordinary number of close contests reemphasized the importance of voter turnout efforts. Nine Senate contests, for example, were decided by differences of less than five percentage points between the winner and loser. Even in New Hampshire, where polls showed strong Republican leads in the senatorial and gubernatorial races, the election results were uncomfortably close. Voter turnout was the lowest since 1946 and it was the GOP that suffered.

Pennsylvania's Delaware County was a dramatic example of Republican difficulties this year. The GOP "War Board," perhaps the nation's most neanderthal Republican organization, has long monopolized county politics. This year, the GOP lost a congressional seat, a State Senate seat, and five State House seats. Delaware County exemplified a major Republican stumbling block this year: suburban Republican defections. Suburban Bergen County has been the backbone of the New Jersey GOP for years. Not only was U.S. Rep. William Widnall (R) defeated by a brash, young Democrat this year, but the county Board of Freeholders also went Democratic. On Long Island, the efficient political organization of Nassau County Republicans has been a political marvel. But in Nassau and in the neighboring GOP stronghold of Suffolk County, Republicans lost two congressional seats, at least four legislative seats and two county district attorney posts. ■

POLITICS: REPORTS

The following post-election reports were prepared from information sent by FORUM correspondents across the country. Results are necessarily contingent on late returns and recounts in many races. Further election analysis will appear in the

December 1 FORUM, including commentary articles on Republican women, Republican organization, and Republican conservatives.

ALABAMA Three Democratic women went to the polls Nov. 5 against three Alabama Republican congressmen. All three lost, but first they put a scare into the GOP men. The best performance was turned in by Birmingham City Councilwoman Nina Miglionico (D) against U.S. Rep. John Buchanan in the 6th C.D. Miglionico was thought to have a real shot at unseating Buchanan, but she barely did better than Buchanan's 1972 opponent, winning only 40% of the vote. In the other two districts, the 1st C.D. represented by U.S. Rep. Jack Edwards (R) and the 3rd C.D. represented by U.S. Rep. William L. Dickinson (R), the women challengers made dents in the incumbents' 1972 margins, but the dents were not large enough to endanger the Republicans. The GOP did abysmally, however in the legislative races. They held only two seats in the lower house of the legislature before the balloting and none at all in the State Senate, but they had hopes that redistricting would boost their representation. However, television ads for Alabama Gov. George Wallace (D) urged voters to vote the straight Democratic ticket. With the exception of the above-mentioned congressmen, voters apparently did so. The GOP is now without a single member of the legislature.

ALASKA They are still counting the ballots in Alaska, but it appears that former State Sen. Jay Hammond (R) has defeated Gov. William Egan (D). Egan dramatically caught up to the maverick Republican in the final days of the campaign by stressing the weaknesses in Hammond's legislative record. Anyone else might have defeated Sen. Mike Gravel (D), but State Sen. C.R. Lewis (R) was incapable of it. Lewis was unable to shed his rightwing image and rightwing tactics. Gravel won 57% of the vote. In the House race, however, U.S. Rep. Donald Young (R) won a second term in Congress with 55% of the vote. Democrats made gains in both houses of the legislature.

ARIZONA The truth can no be told. The senator has no coattails. Of course, Barry Goldwater is not the only Republican without tails, but in "Sun Belt" country one expects a little extra; Goldwater received 58% of the vote against Democratic publisher Jonathan Marshall. The controversy over an unreported \$5,000 contribution from COPE turned the Arizona gubernatorial race into a horse race in the final weeks of the campaign. Democrat Raul Castro, whose victory had been expected, won only a bare majority over Republican Russell Williams. Low turnout in Phoenix plus high turnout in Tucson and the Navajo Reservation put Castro into office. The Democrats also won the election for attorney general as well as control of the State Senate, which has now exactly reversed its previous 18-12 Republican coloration. The Democrats won five of nine statewide races, but failed to pick up control of the legislature's lower house, which Republicans control by a reduced margin, 33-27. Democrats did put a considerable scare into U.S. Rep. Sam Steiger (R-3rd) who defeated Democrat Pat Bosch with only 51% of the vote. House GOP Minority Leader John Rhodes (R-1st) also had a tight race, winning 51% in a three-way race. In the 4th C.D., U.S. Rep. John Conlan had a lot of right wing money to spend, and he used it on a 55% victory.

ARKANSAS Gov. Dale Bumpers' landslide in the Arkansas Senate race was a foregone conclusion; the Democratic candidate carried every one of the state's 75 counties and won 85% of the vote. In the gubernatorial race, Republican Ken Coon waged an aggressive campaign, but former U.S. Rep. David Pryor (D) had the name recognition, legislative experience, and name appeal. He also had 67% of the vote. The GOP tripled its representation in the lower house of the legislature, from one to three members, but retained only its sole vote in the Senate. The sexy campaign between House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills and Republican Judy Petty was not as close as had been expected. Mills won 58% of the vote because Arkansans are not partial to Republicans, particularly female Republicans. Petty made her big mistake when she invited California Gov. Ronald Reagan in for a fundraiser; his appearance alienated both newspapers and progressive voters. U.S. Rep. J. Paul Hammerschmidt, the only Arkansas Republican with a claim to any fame, won a close race from a young Democrat, 52-49%. If Hammerschmidt could win in 1974, however, he probably can beat anyone the Democrats can send against him. As it is, the GOP congressman is about all that remains between the Arkansas Republican Party and hell.

CALIFORNIA Controller Houston Flournoy(R) trailed Secretary of State Jerry Brown(D), 47-36%, in early October. Not even Flournoy's own campaign staff predicted he would come as close as the final 51-49% margin. The moderate Republican closed ground fast in the final weeks of the campaign. "I think probably had the President kept the pardon 'til Christmas we would have won," said Flournoy after his gubernatorial defeat. He also blamed the attendant difficulty of raising campaign funds for part of his defeat. That difficulty delayed his media campaign in Los Angeles County, which was the swing area for both candidates. The new Democratic governor will have the most heavily Democratic assembly since the Civil War. Democrats are expected to control the Assembly, 55-25, and the Senate, 25-15. Brown led a sweep of all the statewide offices even though the gubernatorial race was actually the closest statewide contest. Only Attorney General Evelle Younger(R) escaped the Democratic landslide with 55% of the vote. In the Senate race, the most lopsided contest occurred. Sen. Alan Cranston(R) won 63% of the vote over conservative State Sen. H.L. Richardson(R). Democrats also won four additional seats in Congress. The GOP lost incumbent U.S.Reps. Bob Mathias(R-17th) and Victor Veysey(R-35th) as well as the vacant seats held by Craig Hosmer(R-34th) and Charles Gubser(R-13th). Mathias was defeated, 52-58%, by Democrat John Krebs despite a visit by President Ford late in the campaign. Veysey lost his own 43rd C.D. earlier this year and tried to find a new home 150 miles west in the 35th C.D. He lost by 607 votes to Democrat Jim Lloyd. Hosmer's seat went to Democrat Mark W. Hannaford and Gubser's seat went to San Jose Mayor Norman Mineta(D), both by substantial margins. Two Republicans surviving tough challenges were U.S.Rep. Burt L. Talcott(R-16th), who was an underdog in his race against Democrat Julian Camacho, and U.S.Rep. William M. Ketchum(R-18th), who won a narrow victory in his solidly Republican district. Democrat George Miller III kept the 7th C.D. seat of retiring U.S.Rep. Jerome R. Waldie(D), but progressive Republican Gary Fernandez, a Richmond city councilman, gave Miller a hard race in the heavily Democratic district. U.S.Rep. Paul N. McCloskey(R-12th) won reelection with 69% of the vote.

COLORADO Democratic Senate candidate Gary Hart had 58% of the vote. Democratic gubernatorial candidate Richard Lamm had 54% of the vote. U.S.Rep. Patricia Schroeder(D-1st) won reelection over anti-busing Republican by a 3-2 margin. In the 2nd C.D., 34-year-old Tim Wirth unseated U.S.Rep. Donald Brotzman(D) to give a 3-2 Democratic cast to the congressional delegation. The GOP retained control of the State Senate while losing three seats, but lost 11 seats plus control of the State House. "These things happen to us sometimes, but we always come back," said GOP State Chairman Dwight Hamilton. Both U.S.Reps. James Johnson(R-4th) and Bill Armstrong(R-5th) were reelected but the GOP lost all but one statewide office. That was the office of secretary of state, now held by Mary Estill Buchanan. She had been appointed to that post by defeated Gov. John Vanderhoof(R), who had received intraparty criticism for appointing a moderate Republican woman to the post.

CONNECTICUT U.S.Rep. Ella Grasso(D) was once, for a short while, a Republican. Now, she is governor of Connecticut for the next four years, having defeated fellow U.S.Rep. Robert Steele(R) with 65% of the vote. The winds of political change have blown fiercely in Connecticut in the past decade. Four of the six congressional seats have been held by both parties. The governorship, one Senate seat, and both houses of the legislature have been controlled by both parties. This year, the political winds were blowing in a Democratic direction. Both vacant House seats were won by Democrats. Christopher J. Dodd(D), son of the late senator, won 60% of the vote in the 2nd C.D. Democratic Nader-Raider Anthony J. Moffett won an overwhelming 64% victory in the 6th C.D. now represented by Grasso and once represented by outgoing Gov. Thomas Meskill(R). The legislative results were wild. The House of Representatives moved from 93-58 Republican to 117-34 Democratic. Similarly, the Senate moved from 23-13 Republican to 29-7 Democratic. Significantly, moderate Republicans were decimated less severely than conservative ones. In the Senate race, Sen. Abraham Ribicoff(D) turned in his usual performance, a 61% win over State Rep. James Brannen(R), an articulate black airline pilot. Party leadership now reverts to U.S.Reps. Stewart McKinney(R-4th) and Ronald Sarasin(R-5th), both moderates who won respectable victories in swing districts, and U.S.Sen. Lowell Weicker, who had a public falling out with Steel during the campaign.

DELAWARE At the local level, Delaware Republicans got taken to the cleaners, but in statewide contests, Republicans turned in a respectable showing. It had been feared that U.S.Rep. Pierre S. duPont IV might be endangered, but he won 60% of the vote against his Democratic opponent, who later suggested that perhaps voters thought he was too short to replace the 6'2" duPont. Republicans won three other state posts, including the upset of an

incumbent auditor by 28-year-old Richard Collins(R), a political novice whose defeat had been taken for granted. Republicans did lose the election for attorney general. Democrats captured control of the House of Representatives by a 25-16 margin and increased their lead in the Senate to 13-8. Said GOP State Chairman Herman C. Brown regarding losses at the legislative and local levels, "It wasn't the greatest election day the Republican Party ever had, but it was so much better than it might have been..." Although voter turnout was low, it was lowest in Democratic areas. Nevertheless, incumbent Republican legislators who represented "safe" districts were lucky to get enough votes to win reelection.

FLORIDA Republicans won an additional congressional seat this year, boosting to five their portion of the 15-member delegation. Former Circuit Judge Richard Kelly(R) was the winner over Democrat JoAnn Saunders in the 5th C.D. now represented by U.S.Rep. William Gunter, Jr.(D), who was defeated in the Senate primary runoff this year. Gunter was elected to the newly-redistricted seat in 1972 although it had been expected to produce a Republican representative. In the gubernatorial race, Republican Jerry Thomas was wiped out by Gov. Reubin Askew(D), who had 61% of the vote. In the legislative races, the GOP was reduced to less than one third of both houses, thereby destroying its ability to impede legislative action. In other statewide offices, the GOP also was shut out. After the election, GOP State Chairman L.E. "Tommy" Thomas disowned the last-minute campaign tactics of the GOP candidate for treasurer. Thomas predicted a comeback for the GOP, however, and suggested that the GOP candidate for secretary of state, James Sebesta, was beaten by Democrat Bruce Smathers because it was "difficult for a lot of people, even newsmen, to pronounce his name. Thomas blamed the loss of retiring Sen. Edward Gurney's seat on the candidacy of American Party candidate Dr. John Grady. Republican Jack Eckerd lost to former Secretary of State Richard Stone by a 44-41% margin while Grady picked up 15% of the vote in a surprisingly strong showing. "Dr. Grady sued to be a Republican, and he still talks like a Republican to me. I would hope he would come back into our party where he belongs," Thomas said.

GEORGIA "I'm not a good party man," admitted Republican gubernatorial candidate Ronnie Thompson this fall. He was hardly a good party candidate either, winning only 26% of the vote against Democrat George Busbee, whose only real contest had been the Democratic primary. The controversial Republican mayor of Macon received an even smaller percentage of the vote than Republican Jerry Johnson, who lost to Sen. Herman Talmadge, 73-27%. The ticket leaders did not help the prospects of the GOP's able candidate for lieutenant governor, State Rep. John Savage(R), who lost a 65-35% race to personable Democrat Zell Miller. Republicans also lost out in three congressional races which were expected to be close. The biggest surprise was the sharp defeat of the delegation's only Republican, U.S.Rep. Ben Blackburn, who lost to State Rep. Elliott H. Levitas(D), 55-45%, in the suburban Atlanta district. Two other suburban Atlanta districts which the Republicans had hoped to capture went Democratic by narrow margins. Republican POW Quincy Collins was several hundred votes short of victory over John Bircher Lawrence McDonald(D) in the 7th C.D. In the 6th C.D., U.S.Rep. John Flynt(D) defeated his more moderate Republican opponent, history professor Newt Gingrich, by about three percentage points.

HAWAII With the exception of Sen. Hiram Fong(R), all of Hawaii's major officeholders are now of Japanese ancestry. Sen. Daniel K. Inouye(D) won reelection with 83% of the vote, but the protest vote for an unknown, third-party candidate who didn't campaign was surprisingly large. Another protest was evident in the gubernatorial race where 10% of the voters boycotted both candidates; Lt.Gov. George R. Ariyoshi(D) might have been defeated by a stronger Republican candidate than Randolph Crossley, a 70-year-old businessman. Voters seemed disenchanted with both the political establishment of outgoing Gov. John A. Burns and the Haole (white) business image of Crossley. U.S.Rep. Spark M. Matsunaga(D) improved on his 1972 victory margin by defeating 1st C.D. candidate William B. Paul(R), 59-40%. Paul did surprisingly well considering his campaign, budget difficulties. In the 2nd C.D. GOP State Chairwoman Carla Coray was handicapped by her late entry into the race; U.S.Rep. Patsy Mink(D) picked up 63% of the vote. Both Mink and Matsunaga have talked about seeking Fong's Senate seat in 1976. Democrats improved only slightly on their large legislative margins, but there will be a large turnover in the new legislature; the lineup is 35-16 in the House and 18-7 in the Senate.

IDAHO Idaho voters did a considerable amount of ticketsplitting. Gov. Cecil D. Andrus(D) defeated the state's lieutenant governor, Jack M. Murphy(D), by 72-28%. Meanwhile in the Senate race, Sen. Frank Church(D) woke up to the fact late in the campaign that he would not be reelected in a cakewalk over Republican Robert L. Smith. Church stepped on the campaign accelerator. He won 57% of the vote. Both congressional seats were won by Republicans. Smith's

former boss, U.S. Rep. Steve Symms(D) won his 1st C.D. seat for the second time, and former U.S. Rep. George Hansen(R) recaptured his old 2nd C.D. by a large margin. Hansen may still have difficulties being seated in Congress, however, as a result of investigations into financing irregularities in his primary campaign.

ILLINOIS For the first time since FDR, Democrats now control both houses of the Illinois legislature. (The Senate is 34-24 Democratic and the House, 100-77 Democratic.) Even Republican House Speaker Robert Blair was defeated. Now Illinois Gov. Daniel Walker(D) will have to produce if he expects to be reelected in 1976---or have a shot at the presidency. In the Senate race, often cited as an example of one the Republicans might have won in a non-Water-gate year, former State Rep. George Burditt(R) had a hopeless task in his campaign against Sen. Adlai Stevenson III(D). Stevenson had a 2-1 victory margin and replaced his father as the largest vote-getter in Illinois history. Republicans also lost three members of the 24-member congressional delegation. Former U.S. Rep. Abner Mikva(D) edged out U.S. Rep. Samuel H. Young(R) in the traditionally Republican 10th C.D. once represented by Donald Rumsfeld. It was the highest-spending congressional campaign in the country in keeping with the wealthy nature of the district. Fellow Republican freshman Robert P. Hanrahan was also upset by a nearly identical 50.5-49.5% margin in the 3rd C.D. His nemesis was the man he beat in 1971, attorney Mark A. Russo. And in the 15th C.D. seat being vacated by House GOP Whip Leslie Arends, former U.S. Rep. Cliffard D. Carlson lost another close contest to Democrat Tim Hall. In the downstate 24th C.D., former Lt. Gov. Paul Simon(D) easily won a vacant House seat. And in the vacant 6th C.D., conservative State Rep. Henry J. Hyde won a 52-48 percent victory over former Cook County State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan. Republican U.S.Reps. Tom Railsback(19th), John Anderson (16th), and Philip Crane(12th) won easy reelections, while U.S.Rep. Robert McClory won the closest election of his career in the 13th C.D., 52-48%. Despite the high quality of Republican candidates for Cook County offices, the Democratic representatives of the Daley machine were reelected to the offices of sheriff, clerk, and assessor. It was a Democratic sweep in the county, including local races in Republican areas. And in Peoria, U.S.Rep. Robert Michel(R) still plays the right tune. The chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee won reelection though his plurality was much smaller than had been expected.

INDIANA The depth of the Republican disaster in Indiana was demonstrated by the 6th C.D. campaign of Democrat David Evans, a 28-year-old parochial school teacher who won only 35 percent of the vote in his 1972 campaign against U.S.Rep. William Bray(R) and spent virtually nothing in his congressional campaign this year. Bray's 53-47% loss was the shock of the night for Indiana Republicans, who absorbed the loss of four other GOP incumbents: Earl Landgrebe(R-2nd), who was defeated 61-39% by Floyd Fithian; Roger Zion(R-8th), who lost 53-47% to State Sen. Philip H. Hayes; David W. Dennis(R-10th), who lost 54-46% to political science professor Philip Sharp; and William Hudnut(R-11th), who lost 53-46% to former U.S.Rep. Andrew Jacobs, Jr. In addition, the lower house of the legislature went from 73-27 Republican to 58-42 Democratic. Republicans retained control of the State Senate, 27-23, but the legislature includes several potential Democratic gubernatorial candidates who can be expected to launch efforts to carve up Republican Gov. Otis Bowen's last tax restructuring. The Indiana Republican organization did one of the country's best jobs of getting its adherents to the polls Nov.5; unfortunately, once there, many of those Republicans voted Democratic. The GOP did do better than expected in the Senate race against incumbent Birch Bayh(D). Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar's unexpectedly high 49% of the vote in that race has generated speculation about another Lugar senatorial run in 1976 against Sen. Vance Hartke(D), widely considered to be the weaker of the Democratic incumbents. Lugar did well in the cities of Fort Wayne, Evansville, and Gary, but lost his own Marion County by 7,000 votes. Ironically, the issues that seemed to hurt Bayh most were the ones on which the two candidates differed the least: gun control and abortion. The factor which hurt Lugar the most was Republican organizational apathy.

IOWA At the top of the ticket, Gov. Robert Ray(R) won an exceptional four-year term against a run-of-the-mill Democratic candidate, 58-42%. There was little else for Republicans to celebrate. U.S.Rep. John Culver(D-2nd) won the race to succeed retiring Sen. Harold Hughes(D) over State Rep. David Stanley(R). The moderate Republican came on strong late in the campaign, but the negative nature of his attacks on Culver alienated too many voters. Two incumbent Republicans were defeated in House races. U.S.Rep. William Scherle was ousted from his 5th C.D. seat by a young consumer advocate, Thomas Harkin, by a 51-49% margin. In the 6th C.D.,

U.S. Rep. Wiley Mayne, an anti-impeachment member of the House Judiciary Committee, was defeated by Democrat Berkeley Bedell, who took up where he left off in his 1972 congressional race. Bedell won, 54-48%. In the 1st and 4th congressional districts, two progressive Republicans, James Leach and Chuck Dick, were turned back easily by Democratic incumbents. In the 2nd C.D. seat vacated by Culver, progressive State Sen. Tom Riley (R) won a heartbreaker, 52-48%, to Democrat Michael Blouin. Republicans were successful only in the 3rd C.D. where conservative State Rep. Charles E. Grassley (R) won a narrow victory over liberal State Rep. Stephen J. Rapp (D). Grassley replaces U.S. Rep. H.R. Gross, who is retiring. Ray did carry in other Republican statewide office seekers, but he was unable to prevent the realignment of the legislature under Democratic leadership. The GOP had trouble fielding candidates in some districts and several moderate Republicans lost marginal districts. The lower house switched from 55-45 Republican to 59-40 Democratic. The upper house switched from 28-22 Republican to 25-24 Democratic.

KENTUCKY In a state where registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans by 5-2, Democratic disunity is an important ingredient in Republican statewide victories. Such disunity was not present in the Senate race between Sen. Marlow W. Cook (R) and Gov. Wendell H. Ford (D). Democrats united behind Ford to ensure his 54% victory. The loss of Cook's seat keeps intact a six-year trend of Republican decline in Kentucky. After losses in the 1971 gubernatorial race and the 1972 senate race, the Kentucky GOP organization deteriorated considerably. Cook's own power base in Louisville was seriously eroded, and he contributed to his own demise by ignoring party problems. Ford's Senate victory promotes Lt. Gov. Julian Carroll (D) to the governorship, giving him an inside track for reelection next year. Republicans were barely able to hang onto U.S. Rep. Gene Snyder's seat and avoid the election of two Democratic brothers. Snyder staved off attacks about improper real estate transaction to beat Democrat Kyle Hubbard, 52-48%. Hubbard's brother Carroll, however, easily won the 1st C.D. seat now held by the man Carroll Hubbard defeated in the Democratic primary, U.S. Rep. Frank Stubblefield. U.S. Rep. Tim Lee Carter easily won reelection in his 5th C.D. Republican stronghold, but all other Democratic incumbents won easy victories. Ticket splitting for Sen. Cook was fairly common, but it was not sufficient to save his seat. With the governor's race and General Assembly contests coming up in 1975, the Kentucky GOP has little time to rebuild its once-bright future.

KANSAS Kansas Republicans did not use the national script. Instead of depressing losses, the state GOP can celebrate the retirement this year of the state's three top Democratic officeholders. Gov. Robert Docking (D), a conservative Democrat whose appeal cut across party lines, decided to retire rather than challenge Sen. Robert Dole or run for reelection. U.S. Rep. William R. Roy (D-2nd) chose to run against Dole and was turned back by a last-minute Republican surge, 51-49%. Dole's "involvement" in Watergate was a key issue in the campaign, but he was apparently absolved by the electorate. Attorney General Vern Miller, a former sheriff turned gang-busting state officeholder, decided to seek the gubernatorial post and was upset by State Senate president Robert F. Bennett. Bennett steadily emerged as a knowledgeable candidate this year and twitted Miller for his reluctance to face a Republican in debate. Republicans also kept their overwhelming margin in the lower house of the legislature while the State Senate was not up for election. Only in the 2nd C.D. were Republicans disappointed. State Rep. John Peterson, a young, well-qualified progressive, was defeated by Martha Keys, 1972 McGovern campaign manager in the state and sister of Gary Hart. Roy's strength in the congressional district he was leaving may have been enough to boost Keys to a 56-44% victory. The other four congressional seats stayed safely Republican.

LOUISIANA Voters in the 6th C.D. now represented by U.S. Rep. John Rarick (D) are very conservative and tend to vote a straight Democratic ticket. After unseating Rarick in a Democratic primary runoff, the voters broke that tradition by electing a Republican attorney, W. Henson Moore III, to succeed Rarick. Both Moore and his moderate Democratic opponent, Jeff LaCaze, sought to appeal to the supporters of the ultraconservative Rarick. Moore appealed to a couple hundred more than sportscaster LaCaze. In declaring victory, the state's only present Republican congressman, David Treen of the 3rd C.D., jested that "Louisiana will be the only state which doubled its Republican representation in Congress this time." That did not turn out to be true since both Maine and South Dakota Republicans defeated the Democratic member of two-man delegations. Treen, however, won an impressive 58% victory over Democratic State Rep. Charles Grisbaum, Jr., who tried to outflank the incumbent on the right.

MAINE If prizes were awarded for ticketsplitting, Maine voters would have to win first prize. They elected an independent governor, a Democratic State House, and a Republican State Senate. And while a Republican gubernatorial candidate was posting a poor third showing, the 1st C.D. ousted incumbent U.S.Rep. Peter Kyros with a virtually unknown Republican state representative and the 2nd C.D. reelected U.S.Rep. William S. Cohen(R) with a whopping 72% of the vote. The new governor, James Longley, an ultraconservative Democrat turned independent, emerged from political nowhere to defeat the major party candidates. He had 42% of the vote, compared to 35% for Democrat George Mitchell and 23% for Republican James S. Erwin. In the legislative races, voters treated incumbents, particularly Republican ones, harshly. Adopting a throw-the-rascals-out philosophy, the makeup of the lower house shifted from 79-72 Republican to 87-63 Democratic with one independent. Republicans also lost five Senate seats, not enough to lose control. In the 2nd C.D., Kyros was defeated by a young engineer, David Emery, who walked the district and capitalized on voter disaffection with the incumbent. Projecting a moderate image, Emery even won the support of Kyros' defeated primary opponent.

MARYLAND Maryland voters ticketsplit for progressive Sen. Charles McC. Mathias(R), giving him 57% of the vote, but otherwise they did not have much patience for Republicans. They reelected Gov. Marvin Mandel(D) over Republican Louise Gore by nearly a 2-1 margin, replaced retiring U.S.Rep. Lawrence Hogan with Democrat Gladys Spellman, and reduced the pathetic GOP minority in the state legislature still further. Gore was never able to make any headway against her Democratic opponent; the high point of the campaign was when Mandel lost his cool at a news conference and she was able to film the performance for a TV ad. Republicans were able to hold onto the county executive position in suburban Washington's Montgomery County, but they suffered a severe setback in nearby Prince George's County, where they lost both the county government and the Hogan seat. Spellman defeated Republican John B. Burcham, Jr., for the 5th C.D. seat with 53% of the vote. She now becomes the second woman on the Maryland congressional delegation. U.S.Rep. Marjorie S. Holt(R-4th) won what was supposed to have been a tough race against Maryland Secretary of State Fred L. Wineland(D) with 58% of the vote.

MASSACHUSETTS Republicans had hoped that the retirement of U.S.Rep. Harold D. Donahue (D) in the 3rd C.D. would give them an opportunity to capture a Democratic district. Instead, State Rep. Joseph Early(D) defeated State Rep. David Lionett, a progressive Republican, by a 49-39% margin. An independent liberal Democrat in the race picked up 12% of the vote, much of which probably detracted from Early's vote total. In the gubernatorial race, Gov. Francis Sargent(R) made a late charge for the polls, but was handily defeated by Democrat Michael Dukakis, who capitalized on voter dissatisfaction with state government performance. The closest statewide race was between Democrat Francis Bellotti and Republican Josiah Spaulding for attorney general. The conservative Democrat beat the progressive Republican by only 30,000 votes, dramatically closing a 2-1 deficit earlier in the fall campaign. Democrat Paul Tsongas ousted U.S.Rep. Paul Cronin(R) from his 5th C.D. seat, but that 61-39% loss had been anticipated. The remaining Republican members of the congressional delegation, progressives Margaret Heckler(10th) and Silvio Conte(1st), won easy victories. Republican minorities in the state legislature were eroded further, but Middlesex County Sheriff John Buckley, a progressive Republican, defeated his conservative Democratic opponent despite a 3-1 Democratic registration margin.

MICHIGAN It took him four years but Michigan Gov. William Milliken(R) finally retired former State Sen. Sander Levin(D) from politics. Milliken, who won slightly over 50% of the vote against Levin in the 1970 gubernatorial race, won 51% of the vote this year by attracting independents and Democrats. Torn at the last minute by a controversy involving the GOP candidate for lieutenant governor, Milliken had to generate massive ticketsplitting to win. Democratic candidates for attorney general and secretary of state were overwhelmingly reelected. Republicans also dropped two more congressional seats and narrowly held onto several others. They now trail in a 12-7 split of the congressional delegation, a direct reversal of the situation after 1970. Going down to defeat this year were ultraconservative U.S.Rep. Robert Huber in the 18th C.D. and conservative Republican Cliff Taylor, who sought to succeed U.S.Rep. Charles Chamberlain in the 6th C.D. Huber was decisively defeated by liberal Democratic attorney James Blanchard; Huber was the man who started the Conservative Party in Michigan in 1970. Taylor lost a narrow vote to liberal Democrat Bob Carr; the Republican alienated many voters with vicious advertisements in both the primary and general election. U.S.Rep. Marvin Esch(R) turned back the challenge of Democrat John Reuther in the 2nd C.D. despite Reuther's popularity on the University of Michigan campus. In the 3rd C.D., progressive U.S.Rep. Garry

Brown was also pressed harder than usual by his Democratic opponent. In the 5th C.D., Democrat U.S.Rep. Richard F. VanderVeen did even better the second time around in President Ford's old district. So did U.S.Rep. Bob Traxler(D) in the 8th C.D., the other district the Republicans lost in a special election earlier this year. Democrats made gains in both houses of the state legislature, strengthening their control.

MINNESOTA At the statewide level in Minnesota, it was a GOP wipeout with the loss of all six constitutional offices, including three previously held by the GOP. At the legislative level, it was a GOP wipeout, with the GOP now outnumbered, 104-30, in the lower house. (The GOP's loss of 26 seats was in part attributable to the presence of party designation for the first time on the ballot.) Only at the congressional level, where GOP moderates Al Quie and Bill Frenzel both won 60%+ victories and GOP conservative Tom Hagedorn hung onto the shaky 2nd C.D. seat being vacated by U.S.Rep. Ancher Nelson(R), was disaster averted. Still, the GOP now holds only three of the eight members of the congressional delegation, having lost U.S.Rep. John Zwach's 6th C.D. seat to Democrat Rick Nolan. That loss had been anticipated and almost averted by the aggressive campaign of youthful Republican Jon Grunseth. Money flowed freely on both sides in that race. The fortunes of the Minnesota GOP have ebbed and flowed in the past two decades, but for the past four years, those fortunes have mostly ebbed. The GOP candidate for governor won only 30% of the vote in a three-way race against incumbent Gov. Wendell Anderson(D). The Republican campaign was inept, under-financed, and poorly organized. Furthermore, voters did not turn out and the victims of voter apathy were Republicans. Even in Republican areas, Anderson did well, and his coattails were apparent in the final tabulations. A search party is reportedly being organized to locate the remains of the state GOP.

MISSISSIPPI In Mississippi, things stayed the same. U.S.Rep. Trent Lott(R) won 80% of the vote in the 5th C.D., and U.S.Rep. Thad Cochran(R) had a 2-1 margin over his Democratic opponent. The only Democratic target of Republicans this year was U.S.Rep. David Bowen, a moderate who represents the 2nd C.D. and who had well over a 2-1 margin against former State Sen. Ben Hilburn(R).

MISSOURI Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton(D) had much less trouble this year dispensing with former U.S.Rep. Thomas B. Curtis than he did in his initial Senate race six years. Indeed, in fending off a rightwing campaign by Curtis, he had much less trouble than he did with Sen. George McGovern two years ago. Curtis slipped even in conservative areas, ending his bumbling campaign with only 40% of the vote. All the state's Democratic congresspeople were returned easily while U.S.Rep. Gene Taylor(R-7th) had a tough time defeating Democrat Richard L. Franks, 53-47%. Running in a normally Republican area, Taylor's campaign was adversely affected not only by the anti-Republican backlash, but also by the economic distress of local farmers. The most important election for Republicans was the election of State Auditor John D. Ashcroft(R), who had been appointed to his post by Gov. Christopher Bond(R) to succeed Bond. Massive ticket-splitting in St. Louis County helped defeat Ashcroft and elect Kansas City official George W. Lehr(D). Voters in St. Louis County, meanwhile, were voting heavily for a new Republican supervisor, Gene McNary, who now is also a potential statewide candidate. Gov. Bond was stung not only by the defeat of the moderate Ashcroft, but also by the crushing rejection of Republican legislators. In Kansas City, for example, the entire Republican delegation was defeated with the exception of moderate State Rep. Al Lowenstein(R). Republican losses were most massive in the lower house where they lost 25 seats.

MONTANA There was comparatively little at stake this year for the Montana GOP, but the party still lost ground. Democrats controlled both houses of the legislature before the vote, and they increased their margins of control after the election. The GOP lost 13 seats in the lower house, which is now 67-33 Democratic, and three seats in the upper house, which is now 30-20 Democratic. The GOP also lost the seat of U.S.Rep. Richard Shoup(R-1st), who was the victim of Watergate, a massive layoff Annaconda mining employees the day before the election, and the personality of his Democratic successor, State Rep. Max S. Baucus, 32. In the 2nd C.D., U.S.Rep. John Melcher(D) was easily reelected to his third term.

Nebraska Nebraska is now the only state in the country with an all-Republican congressional delegation. Democrats strove mightily to oust Republicans from control of the three-member House delegation. It was to no avail. In the 1st C.D., U.S.Rep. Charles Thone(R) won 53% of the vote; in the 2nd C.D., U.S.Rep. John McColister(R) won 55%; and in the 3rd C.D. Virginia Smith(R) barely edged out former State Sen. Wayne W. Ziebarth(D) to replace U.S.Rep. David Martin(R). Smith's race was a real cliffhanger, not helped by President Ford's inability

to remember her name in a Nebraska campaign stop. (He called her "Mrs. Helen Smith" and "Mrs. Virginia Martin.") Gov. J. James Exon(D) demolished his Republican opposition in a three-way race, 59-35%; a black state senator received 6%. Exon, however, had no coattails; Republicans swept four other state offices in massive ticketsplitting. Former Lancaster County Attorney Paul Douglas(R) drubbed former Gov. Frank Morrison(D) in the race for attorney general.

NEVADA Ten years after Paul Laxalt(R) was denied a Senate seat by Sen. Howard Cannon(D) by 48 votes, the former Republican governor won election to the Senate over Lt. Gov. Harry Reid(D) by 615 votes. Those are hardly overwhelming margins---certainly not the sort of defeat encountered by freshman U.S.Rep. David Towell(R), who lost his seat to former Judge James Santini(D) with only 40% of the vote or the sort of defeat encountered by Republican Shirley Crumpler, who lost to Gov. Mike O'Callaghan(D) by an 80-20% margin. Santini built on the Democrats' traditional Clark County(Las Vegas) base to defeat Towell.

NEW HAMPSHIRE Both Gov. Meldrim Thomson(R) and U.S.Rep. Louis Wyman(R) in the Senate race had led decisively in the pre-election polls. Both eked out razor-thin victories in their respective races over Democrats Richard W. Leonard and John A. Durkin. Thomson was hurt by his alienation of moderate Republicans and independents and Wyman was hurt by his involvement in the "Farkas Affair." A recount is scheduled for the Senate race, which Wyman won by only 355 votes. Wyman's seat went Democratic meanwhile. Norman E. D'Amours(D) beat Republican David A. Banks, the candidate of Manchester Union-Leader Publisher William Loeb. Republicans also lost seats in the legislature. Since most of the defeated legislators were conservatives, the chances that progressive State Rep. Susan McLane(R) may be elected to the speakership position have improved. McLane, whose husband was an independent Republican candidate for governor in 1972, faces four other men in the December 1 GOP caucus.

NEW JERSEY Billboards for U.S.Rep. Charles Sandman(R-2nd) pictured the Judiciary Committee member in front of a battery of microphones, suggesting:"When he speaks, the nation listens." Sandman's constituents turned him off this year, cutting his percentage of the vote from 66% in 1972 to 43% this year. Sandman was hurt by his failure to carry his own district in his 1973 gubernatorial race and by his unliquidated debt from that campaign. William J. Hughes, the Democratic victor who had waged a strong campaign against Sandman in 1970, benefited from the collapse of the Atlantic County GOP machine. Sandman's defeat was mirrored by the defeat of two other conservative Republican incumbents: John Hunt in the 1st C.D. and Joseph J. Maraziti in the 13th C.D. Hunt had a rematch with State Assemblyman James J. Florio, who won a crushing 60% victory. The 37-year-old Florio played it very safe, relying on the appeal of a new (Italian) face, a Democratic-trending district, and Hunt's unyielding support of Nixon. Bill Bradley made a mistake in not opposing Maraziti this year; Helen Meyner did not make that mistake and she won a 57% victory even though she normally does not reside in the district. Age was a crucial factor in the defeat of U.S.Rep. William Widnall in the 7th C.D. Foundation consultant Andrew Maguire, 35, picked the right year to oppose the 68-year-old Widnall. If Widnall had stepped down in favor of another moderate Republican, the seat might have been saved. Instead, the Bergen County GOP organization(once considered invincible in the days of Nelson Gross) suffered a humiliating defeat. New Jersey Republicans have been reduced to only three representatives: Millicent Fenwick, who won handily in the 5th C.D. race to succeed U.S.Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen; progressive U.S.Rep. Edwin B. Forsythe, who survived an energetic challenge from a millionaire state assemblyman; and U.S.Rep. Matthew J. Rinaldo, who rolled up an impressive 66% victory in the 12th C.D. Eight incumbent Democrats had little trouble winning reelection; they each added about 12 percentage points to their 1972 margins. With the State Assembly up for reelection in 1974, there will be Democratic efforts to capitalize on their legislative margins by redistricting their new incumbent congress-people into safe districts---and, of course, give U.S.Rep. Peter Rodino a "white" district.

NEW MEXICO Polls had predicted Republican gubernatorial candidate Joe Skeen would lose by 16%; instead, Skeen finished extremely strong and came within one percentage point of defeating Democratic gubernatorial candidate Jerry Apodaca. The state GOP poured most of its energy into the Skeen effort, neglecting county and local races where the GOP suffered badly as a result. There were only minor changes in the heavily Democratic makeup of the legislature. Democratic State Chairman Ben Alexander did an excellent job of maintaining party unity despite the heavy strains caused by large numbers of Spanish-surnamed Democratic candidates. One exception to the Democratic legislative trend was a Republican victory in the Senate district vacated by Senate Majority Leader Tibo Chabez. It was won by Republican Willie Chabez, who may be a

future GOP leader himself. Both congressional incumbents won convincing victories. U.S. Rep. Manuel Lujan(R-1st) defeated Lt. Gov. Robert Mondragon with 59% of the vote. U.S. Rep. Harold Runnels(D-2nd) appeals to conservative Republican instincts. He won 69% of the vote.

NEW YORK U.S. Rep. Barber Conable(R), the highly-respected chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, won reelection in his upstate district despite a tough campaign by the AFL-CIO to oust him. Also winning were Sen. Jacob Javits(R) and Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz(R). If there were other hopeful developments for Republicans in the New York State election returns, they were well-hidden in the massive upheaval that shook the party. In the gubernatorial contest, Gov. Malcolm Wilson(R) made Arthur Goldberg, the Democrats' lackluster 1970 gubernatorial nominee, look like a skilled campaigner and rousing speaker by comparison. The Wilson campaign anesthetized some and aggravated others, attracting only 42% of voter support. Wilson was a campaign manager's nightmare; he is colorless, conservative, abstruse, and unresponsive to campaign advice. His massive defeat by Brooklyn U.S. Rep. Hugh Carey contributed to the Democratic takeover of the State Assembly, which switched from 80-69 Republican to 89-61 Democratic. One side effect is to sharply reduce the influence of Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea, Jr., who was reelected to his own seat after a spirited campaign challenge from Joyce Burland, daughter of former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford. Republicans retain control of the State Senate, 33-27, although the party lost four seats. Fortunately, GOP Majority Leader Warren Anderson staved off his tough challenger, thus ensuring continuity in the Senate leadership with whom Carey will be forced to deal on legislative matters. In the congressional races, the GOP emerged in emaciated condition, losing five seats and reduced to only 12 seats compared to 27 held by the Democrats. Every New York City congressperson seeking reelection was successful. Two Brooklyn congressmen convicted earlier this year on unrelated bribery charges, U.S. Reps. Frank Brasco(D-11th) and Bertram Podell(D-13th), were defeated in the September primary and were replaced as a result of the November elections by former U.S. Rep. James Scheuer(D) and State Assemblyman Stephen Solarz(D). Aging U.S. Rep. John Rooney decided to retire and was succeeded by fellow Democrat Frederick Richmond in the 14th C.D. Governor-elect Carey's seat was picked up by Democrat Leo C. Zefferetti, head of the city prison guards' association. Another former congressman, Richard Ottinger, will also return to Washington; Ottinger, a Democrat who had run in the 1970 Senate race against Charles Goodell and James Buckley, easily won the 24th C.D. seat in Westchester County being vacated by former Republican Ogden Reid. The third of state's congressmen to be indicted this year was Angelo Roncallo, a Nassau County Republican. Although Roncallo was acquitted of the extortion charge, he was defeated by the Democratic Huntington town supervisor, Jerome A. Ambro, in the 3rd C.D. In the 5th C.D., House GOP Floor Leader John Wydler turned back a challenge from former U.S. Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein, the leader of the "Dump Johnson" movement in 1968. Six-term U.S. Rep. James R. Grover in normally Republican Suffolk County was defeated by 25-year-old Thomas J. Downey(D). Upstate, two retiring Republican congressmen saw their seats captured by Democrats: U.S. Rep. Henry P. Smith III, a Nixon defender on the House Judiciary Committee, encouraged his administrative assistant, Russell A. Rourke to hold onto his 36th C.D. seat, only to see him lose to Democratic State Assemblyman John J. LaFalce of Niagara Falls. Democrat Matthew F. McHugh won the seat of the dean of the state delegation, Howard Robison. In the 29th C.D., Seven-term U.S. Rep. Carleton J. King(R), who has been ailing, was defeated by Edward W. Pattison(D). Power, as disbursed by former New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, has held the state GOP together for a decade and a half. That power is now held by the Democrats. Thus, there is increasingly likelihood that the GOP will now be reduced to the usual level of the Democrats: petty quarreling and continuous dissension.

NORTH CAROLINA The North Carolina GOP is headed for a rebuilding year. The Republicans' pennant hopes crumbled abruptly Nov. 5 when U.S. Rep. Wilmer "Vinegar Ben" Mizzell(R) was placed on the disabled list. The former major league pitcher lost a 52-48% contest to newspaper publisher Stephen L. Neal(D) in the 5th C.D. The loss was completely unexpected, just as was the defeat of U.S. Rep. Earl B. Ruth(R) by media entrepreneur Bill Hefner(D) in the 8th C.D. A fairly close election had been expected between U.S. Rep. Ike Andrews(D) and State Rep. John Ward Purrington(R) in the 4th C.D., but Andrews won a crushing 65% victory. In the Senate race, Attorney General Robert Morgan carried 93 of 100 counties, winning 63% of the vote and the Senate seat that Republicans once hoped would belong to Mizzell. The story was the same in the race to replace Morgan; Rufus Edmisten, former aide to outgoing Sen. Sam Ervin, won a convincing victory. The true measure of Republican defeat, however, were the legislative races where the GOP was extinguished. Instead of the 85-35 margin the Democrats had in the lower house, they now lead, 110-10. Instead

of the 35-15 lead the Democrats had in the State Senate, there is now only one GOP state senator. The GOP now can no longer even demand rollcalls since they lack the requisite 20%. "Nothing is permanent," observed Gov. James Holshouser(R), but former GOP State Chairman Frank Rouse blamed Holshouser for the debacle and said the defeats meant the GOP was "set back 20 years."

NORTH DAKOTA It may be December before the winner of the Senate race between Sen. Milton R. Young(R) and former Gov. William L. Guy(D) is decided. Independent candidate James R. Jungroth, a former Democratic state chairman, appeared to have less impact on the election results than had earlier been anticipated. With only a few hundred votes separating Guy from Young, who is leading, who got whom to the polls was crucial. It was not so crucial in the House race where U.S.Rep. Mark Andrews(R) won 55% of the vote over State Tax Commissioner Byron Dorgan, an ambitious young Democrat who gave Andrews a vigorous challenge. North Dakota Republicans retain control of both houses of the legislature although they lost seats in both houses subject to recounts in a number of close races.

OHIO This was one state where weak voter turnout hurt the Democrats. A stronger turnout in Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) would have reelected Gov. John J. Gilligan(D). A Democrat needs a margin of at least 100,000 votes from the county to win statewide. Gilligan did not get it, and as a result, James A. Rhodes(R) is once again governor of Ohio. Ironically, Republicans has originally thought Rhodes would drag down the ticket and that Cleveland Mayor Ralph J. Perk(R) would be their strongest possible candidate for the Senate. Perk was swamped 68-32% in the Senate race while Rhodes eked out a narrow victory over Gilligan. In reality, Perk lost the election when newly-elected Sen. John Glenn defeated interim-appointee Howard M. Metzenbaum in the May primary. The logic of the Perk candidacy against Metzenbaum vanished with the primary victory of Glenn, whose appeal to the electorate was more catholic than Metzenbaum's. Rhodes was elected more because of Gilligan's arrogance and weaknesses than because of Rhodes' own strengths; the former GOP governor was able to project himself as more down-to-earth than the aloof Gilligan. Obviously, there was massive ticketsplitting in the state with the Democrats winning all but one constitutional office. The new Democratic lieutenant governor, Richard F. Celeste, for example, is almost certain future gubernatorial or senatorial candidate material. The Ohio Senate went Democratic, 21-12, for the first time since 1962. The Democrats also gained a seat in the legislature's lower house, which is now 59-40 Democratic. Republicans did regain the 1st C.D. seat lost in an earlier special election. U.S.Rep. Thomas Luken(D) was ousted by Willis D. Gradison, Jr.(R), 51-49%, in their second meeting of the year. In the 12th C.D., ultraconservative U.S.Rep. Sam Devine(R) narrowly was reelected over Democrat Francis Ryan, a Columbus city councilwoman. Devine was saved only by his rural county vote. In the 23rd C.D., Democrat Ronald Mottl was the narrow winner over State Rep. George Mastics(R) in a three-way race. Mottl was the only Ohio Democrat to win a Republican House seat this year. In another vacant district, the 8th C.D., State Sen. Thomas Kindness(R) survived an attempt by independent conservative Republican Donald Gingerich to sabotage his candidacy by siphoning off votes. Kindness, a moderate, narrowly defeated Democrat T. Edward Strinko. In the 9th C.D., Republican moderate Carlton S. Finkbeiner, Jr., gave U.S.Rep. Thomas L. Ashley a surprisingly close race.

OKLAHOMA Former U.S.Rep. Ed Edmondson(D) went to court to invalidate the Oklahoma Senate because there were no straight party levers in Tulsa. The city has not had straight party levers since 1971, however, and Sen. Henry L. Bellmon(R) is expected to win reelection by about 3,000 votes. In the gubernatorial race, State Sen. James Inhofe(R) was crushed by Democrat David Boren by almost a 2-1 margin. Ticketsplitting in Oklahoma was above average, with four statewide races decided by narrow margins in favor of Democratic incumbents who had been tainted by scandal. Republicans lost three seats in the legislature as well as their sole congressional seat, the 6th C.D. post occupied by U.S.Rep. John "Happy" Camp. Camp was upset by former Democratic State Executive Director Glenn English, 33. In the 1st and 2nd congressional districts, where the GOP had hoped to make gains, they were decisively defeated.

OREGON Economics clearly undid U.S.Rep. John Dellenback, the progressive Republican representative in the 4th C.D. Dellenback had a rematch against his 1970 opponent, James Weaver, who benefitted from the slump in the housing-timber products industry and a slump in the standing of Republicans working in the District of Columbia. In the statewide races, Oregon voters split their tickets---rejecting a Republican conservative and reelecting a Republican progressive. Sen. Robert Packwood(R) won 55% of the vote against State Sen. Betty Roberts, who replaced former Sen. Wayne Morse as the Democratic nominee. The election of Robert Straub, a former state treasurer, as governor ends a string of Republican gubernatorial wins dating back to

1956. Gov Tom McCall(R) refused to endorse either candidate, denying conservative Republican Victor Atieyh the benefit of his popularity by association. Republicans also lost the House seat vacated by U.S.Rep. Wendell Wyatt. They had hoped that moderate Republican Diarmuid O'Scannlain could retain the district, but Democrat Les AuCoin, a 31-year-old state representative, benefitted from economic dislocations and his own greater "smoothness." In the vacant 3rd C.D., former U.S.Rep. Robert Duncan was overwhelmingly elected to succeed retiring Edith Green. The GOP's recent decline started with the loss of the legislature in 1972; their minority ranks were further depleted this year. Republicans will have to regroup organizationally in the Hatfield-McCall-Packwood tradition if they expect to repeat Hatfield-McCall-Packwood-style successes.

PENNSYLVANIA Democratic Gov. Milton Shapp and Republican Sen. Richard Schweiker posted almost identical 54-46% wins this year. Shapp's get-out-the-vote effort may have made the difference in overcoming the obstacles of his imposition of a state income tax and opposition to capital punishment; in defeating Republican Drew Lewis, he is the first governor to be able to seek a second term. Schweiker's labor support and progressive record helped him defeat Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty, a conservative Democrat. There were two upsets in congressional races, but otherwise the makeup remained Democratic. In the 7th C.D. in Delaware County, Democratic political neophyte Robert Edgar upset District Attorney Stephen McEwen, the first time a Democrat has won the Republican War Board-controlled county. Charges of patronage abuses and political favoritism were said to decide the race. In the 25th C.D., steel company foreman Gary A. Myers(R), 37, upset U.S.Rep. Frank Clark(D), who was hurt by his heavy reliance on labor campaign contributions. The Pennsylvania congressional delegation remains 13-12 Democratic. The legislature is also now completely Democratic, having ousted Republicans from control of the lower house. The new Democratic margin there is 113-90 compared to 108-95 Republican before the election.

RHODE ISLAND The big news for Rhode Island Republicans was the victory of Providence mayoralty candidate Vincent A. "Buddy" Cianci(R) over incumbent Mayor Joseph A. Doorley, Jr.(D), and the smashing reelection triumph of Cranston Mayor James L. Taft, Jr. All the rest of the election news in Rhode Island tended to make Republicans cry. GOP gubernatorial candidate James Nugent received only 22% of the vote against Gov. Phillip Noel(D), thereby dragging down the entire Republican ticket, including Attorney General Richard Israel. The latter received 47% of the vote in his race. Far ahead of Nugent as well as John Daluz, the black Republican candidate for state treasurer who ran a tireless, issue-oriented campaign. GOP State Chairman Thomas Wright, who is retiring, had to "appoint" 37 Republican legislative candidates. In another 38 races, there were no GOP candidates at all. The new lopsided Democratic margins are 81-15 in the House and 45-5 in the Senate. Although much of the blame for the debacle lies with Nugent's inept gubernatorial campaign, part of the fault also lies with the refusal of the Rhode Island GOP to reorganize itself. Last year's recommendations of a party task force to broaden the base of the party were rejected. The failure of GOP officeholders to take an interest in the party organization was evident in the Nov.5 results. The Taft and Cianci victories demonstrated the willingness of voters to split their tickets.

SOUTH CAROLINA After the election, Charles D. Ravenel(D) was asked if he would run for the State Senate seat now held by Gov.-Elect James B. Edwards(R). Ravenel, after all, was the man who made Edward's gubernatorial victory possible. Ravenel had originally won the Democratic gubernatorial primary, but was subsequently ruled ineligible to run for governor because he failed to fulfill South Carolina residency requirements. The resulting Democratic dislocation allowed Edwards, who had been a heavy underdog in the primary against William Westmoreland, to sneak into the gubernatorial mansion. Ravenel, who indicated he probably would not seek Edwards' Senate seat because of financial difficulties left over from his campaign, refused to endorse the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, U.S.Rep. William Jennings Bryan Dorn, but later admitted he had voted for his former primary opponent. Edwards meanwhile returned briefly to the practice of oral surgery. Sen Ernest F. Hollings(D), who won 72% of the vote in his reelection bid, said subsequently that the Edwards victory might help the South Carolina Democratic Party by clearing out dead wood. Democrats did a little clearing themselves in the state legislature, eliminating four of the 21 seats held by the GOP in the lower house. Republicans had thought that the adoption of single-member districts would improve their legislative chances. The Democrats also defeated U.S.Rep. Edward L. Young(R) in the 6th C.D. Democratic victor John W. Jenrette, Jr.(D) mocked Young's 1972 campaign slogan about a key to the White House by suggesting Young had only brought a "key to the poor house" for the district. Young had defeated Jenrette in 1972 after the latter had defeated U.S.Rep. John L. McMillan(D) in a primary.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Only two incumbent Democrats were defeated in congressional races this year. One was U.S. Rep. Frank Denholm (D-1st) of South Dakota, who was upset, 55-45%, by young GOP reformer Larry Pressler, who had annoyed some state Republicans by his early backing for impeachment. Pressler, in fact, was aided in his poverty-stricken campaign by his public disassociation with the state Republican Party structure. Although Republicans lost both the senatorial and gubernatorial contests, the GOP did not mirror Republican losses across the country. South Dakota was the only state where the GOP regained control of a legislative body; in this case, Republicans retook the lower house with a 37-33 edge. The Senate continues Democratic, however, 19-16. The GOP also retained the seat of moderate State Treasurer David Volk by a narrow margin and overwhelmingly unseated Attorney General Kermit Sande with Republican Bill Janklow. In the 2nd C.D., U.S. Rep. James Abdnor won a 2-1 victory over his Democratic opponent, capitalizing on his strong constituent services and backing for agricultural price supports. It was, however, the gubernatorial and senatorial races which brought out the voters in a turnout which was heavy when compared to the rest of the nation. The "anti-McGovern" portion of Republican Leo Thorsness' campaign was apparently unattractive to many voters, but the former POW nevertheless did considerably better than pundits had predicted late in the campaign. Sen. George McGovern (D) spent about \$10 a vote in order to get reelected. Similarly, the gubernatorial race was closer than expected with Republican John Olson cutting Democratic Gov. Richard Kneip's margin to 54-46%. A much bigger Kneip victory had been expected and the closeness of the contest can be attributed to GOP State Executive Director Chuck Tyson's campaign management and Olson's call for the elimination of the 4% state sales tax on food.

TENNESSEE

After the election, one Democratic party official in Tennessee observed, "We could have elected Attila the Hun." Perhaps. The GOP lost two House seats, reversing the 5-3 Republican makeup of the congressional delegation. The GOP also lost the gubernatorial election, despite the advantage of a bright, young, moderate candidate. And the GOP's hopes for control of the lower house of the legislature were destroyed by Democratic gain which left a 62-37 Democratic majority. The biggest Democratic gains were posted in the Republican redoubt of East Tennessee, where winning Gov.-elect Ray Blanton (D) pushed the Democratic ticket from "top to bottom." Blanton spearheaded the most populist-oriented campaign in recent Tennessee history. He made repeated reference to phrases such as "Let's throw out these rich, jet-set Republicans." Blanton was also able to capitalize on the new-found unity of his often-fractured party. The Democrats smelled blood and they hunted in a pack for a change. They spent heavily and harped repeatedly on the issues of corruption and inflation. With those disadvantages, the gubernatorial campaign of Republican Lamar Alexander was never able to convince voters of the man's superior capabilities. Alexander won 44% of the vote, failing to carry East Tennessee by margins which Republican candidates need to win statewide. Alexander did, however, carry Memphis, which U.S. Rep. Dan Kuykendall was losing to his Democratic successor, State Rep. Harold Ford, the only new black member of Congress. Kuykendall's sympathy for former President Nixon and the heavily black complexion of the district were his undoing. The eventual defeat of Kuykendall has always been half-expected, but the loss of U.S. Rep. Lamar Baker's 3rd C.D. seat was a shock. Baker was defeated by Marilyn Lloyd, the widow of the original Democratic candidate.

TEXAS

Democratic Gov. Dolph Briscoe's only serious weakness as a candidate was his own disinclination to take action as governor. Therefore, Republican James Granberry's promise of an only slightly more aggressive administration stirred little public enthusiasm. Granberry initially based his campaign almost entirely on his support for a strong right-to-work provision in the proposed state constitution; he later attempted to broaden his repertoire of issues but without much success. Granberry was decisively defeated by a 2-1 margin, losing even Dallas and Houston, which usually go Republican. Moreover, the GOP dropped two of its 20 seats in the 150-member House and failed to improve its three-member delegation in the 31-member Senate. In the congressional races, U.S. Rep. Alan Steelman (R-5th) had to do everything right to win reelection in his Dallas district; he pretty much did. Notwithstanding his incumbency, Steelman waged an aggressive campaign against Democrat Mike McKool, who had been aided by a Democratic redistricting plan. McKool's campaign consisted almost entirely of appeals to Democratic party loyalties and attacks on Republican mismanagement of the economy. Steelman, however, had built a superb grassroots organization which carried him to a 52-48% victory. Republicans lost the 13th C.D. seat held by U.S. Rep. Bob Price; he was upset in his Panhandle district by State Sen Jack Hightower (D) with 58% of the vote. The GOP also lost the Ph.D. contest in the 21st C.D. where U.S. Rep. O.C. Fisher was retiring and two highly educated opponents were vying

for his seat. Democrat Robert Krueger flodded the district with Democratic bigshots while the able, 31-year-old Republican, Douglas Harlan, fought vainly against the Democratic tide. Harlan's loss was a painful one for Republicans.

UTAH Salt Lake City Mayor Jake Garn(R) was supposed to become president of the National League of Cities in December. Instead, he will replace Sen. Wallace Bennett as one of two, non-incumbent Republicans to Senate next year. The moderate-conservative Garn defeated U.S.Rep. Wayne Owens, the wunderkind of Utah Democratic politics, with 50% of the vote compared to 44% for Owens. The GOP lost, however, a chance to regain Owens' 2nd C.D. House seat. Attorney Allan T. Howe(D) edged out Republican Salt Lake City Commissioner Stephen M. Harmsen, 32. Meanwhile, Democrats captured control of the lower house of the state legislature.

VERMONT Once upon a time, Vermont Democrats were seldom seen, much less heard. Vermont Democrats roared this year, upsetting favored U.S.Rep. Richard Mallary in the Senate race by 3,000 votes. Watergate obviously was a key factor in the election of Democrat Patrick J. Leahy to the Senate. It was also a factor in the new Democratic strength in the lower house of the Vermont legislature: 70 of the 150 seats. House Republicans are temporarily leaderless after the defeat of House Speaker Walter "Peanut" Kennedy(R) by Gov. Thomas Salmon(D). Democrats even see a chance of electing the new House Speaker. First, however, the legislature will have to settle the results of four races for statewide office. Three Democrats and one Republican won pluralities but not majorities in these contests, mandating that the races be decided in the legislature. Only Republican Secretary of State Richard Thomas was reelected without such difficulties. In the race for the congressional seat vacated by Mallary, moderate former Attorney General James Jeffords(R) won easily in a three-way race.

VIRGINIA With the public encouragement of Gov. Mills Godwin(R), Virginia Republicans did not challenge the state's three Democratic congressional incumbents, all old Byrd Machine politicians. The ingrate Democrats, however, challenged all seven Republican incumbents, unseating two and scaring the Potomac fever out of all but one of the other five. The seven incumbents ran an average of 10 percentage points below their 1972 statistics. That was disastrous for two northern Virginia congressmen: Joel Broyhill(R-10th) and Stan Parris(R-8th), who were respectively replaced by Joseph Fisher(D) and Herbert Harris(D). Freshman Parris had barely been elected in 1972 and this year he did not have the advantage of an independent candidate on the ballot who could siphon off Democratic votes. Veteran Broyhill, the ranking Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, reportedly had been convinced by former President Nixon to seek reelection after he had decided to retire. An October magazine article charging that Broyhill and friends personally profitted from government transactions with various business interests did not help the conservative Republican in an area where many former residents are doing time for various Watergate-related offenses. In both the 8th and 10th districts, Republicans will have difficulty regaining their lost seats. In two other Republican districts, the 4th C.D. represented by U.S.Rep. Robert Daniel and the 6th C.D., represented by U.S.Rep. Caldwell Butler, the incumbents won reelection with less than a majority of the votes because of the presence of third party candidates. Butler, however, who was one of the pro-impeachment votes on the House Judiciary Committee, received nearly twice as many votes as his Democratic opponent. In two other GOP districts, the 7th C.D. represented by U.S.Rep. J. Kenneth Robinson, and the 9th C.D. represented by U.S.Rep. William Wampler, the party held onto the seats by margins of 53 and 51 percent respectively. Only U.S.Rep. William Whitehurst(R) won reelection easily, capturing 60% of the vote in the 2nd C.D. While new GOP State Chairman George McMath explained away Republican losses as voter reaction to Watergate, other factors in the results included inflation, candidates weaknesses, and inept campaigns. There were only two special legislative elections this fall. Both seats had been held by Republicans and both were lost to Democrats, thereby further exaggerating the Democratic imbalance in both houses of the Virginia legislature.

WASHINGTON "Walkin" Will Knedlik(D) was so hard up for campaign publicity this year in his 1st C.D. congressional campaign that he attempted to walk across Lake Washington on pontoon shoes. Failing in that, he swam across. His attempt to unseat progressive U.S.Rep. Joel Pritchard(R) was also unsuccessful. Pritchard won 71% of the vote. Unfortunately, an attempt by progressive Secretary of State Ludlow Kramer(R) to win the congressional seat being vacated by U.S.Rep. Julia Hansen(D) was much less fruitful. Democrat Don Bonker, whom Kramer defeated in his last race for secretary of state, won 62 percent of the vote. Sen. Warren Mag-

nuson(D) did equally as well, defeating State Sen. Jack Metcalf by nearly the same margin as he did in 1968. In 1974, the difference was 63-37%. The GOP fell further behind in the state legislature, losing five seats in the House for a 62-36 disadvantage. In the Senate, the proportion stayed the same, 31-18 for the Democrats, but two moderate Republican women replaced Democratic warhorses, thereby making that body a more progressive place in which to legislate. King County(Seattle) also retained its progressive Republican district attorney, Christopher Bailey, who won 62% of the vote against the same conservative Democrat he barely beat in 1970. Ticketsplitting in Washington was common, as witness Magnuson's 62% victory in the same King County area. Bailey is now being spoken of as a possible senatorial or gubernatorial candidate.

WEST VIRGINIA For the first time in nearly a decade, West Virginia Republicans had hopes of winning two of the state's four congressional seats. The GOP had two young, able candidates: Wheeling attorney Joe Laurita, Jr., against U.S.Rep. Robert H. Mollhohan(D-1st) and William H. Loy, an aide to Gov. Arch A. Moore, Jr., against U.S.Rep. Harley O. Staggers(D-2nd). Both Republican candidates were beaten badly. So were GOP candidates for the legislature, where Republicans of all ideological stripes were defeated. In the House of Delegates, the Democratic margin was increased from 57-43 to 86-14.

WISCONSIN There were few, if any, surprises in Wisconsin. Sen. Gaylord Nelson(D) crushed progressive GOP State Sen. Thomas E. Petri with 63% of the vote. Petri could not find many chinks in Nelson's armor, which was three times as thick as Petri's when campaign spending was involved. Gov. Patrick Lucey(D) outspent his Republican opponent by even wider margins and compiled a 56-44 victory over former Madison Mayor William Dyke. Even the state's two leading Republican newspapers endorsed Lucey, who also had business support. The GOP also lost the race for state attorney general and two seats on the state's congressional delegation. In the 3rd C.D., U.S.Rep. Vernon W. Thomson's ties to Earl Butz and the Nixon Administration cost him the race against State Rep. Alvin J. Baldus(D). Baldus received almost 52% of the vote. Father Robert Cornell(D) did a little better against U.S.Rep. Harold Froehlich(R) in the 8th C.D. Froehlich squeaked by Cornell in 1972, but he managed only 46% this year, earning the distinction of being the only defeated Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee who voted for impeachment. The results in legislative races were similar; Democrats picked up four GOP Senate seats(three of them held by arch-conservatives) to take control of that body. Republicans slipped further in the Assembly; they now hold only 35 of 99 seats. Back in 1925, the GOP held 92 of 93 seats. It seems like only yesterday.

WYOMING It was the first time Wyoming had elected a Democratic governor since 1958. Former State Rep. Edward Herschler(D) won 56% of the vote and the gubernatorial mansion over former State Sen. Dick Jones, who had more enemies left over from his legislative days than did Herschler. Issues about development played a prominent role in the gubernatorial campaign this year, and Jones was considered pro-development. In the congressional race, State Sen. Tom Stroock(R) waged a strong campaign against U.S.Rep. Teno Roncalio(D), winning 45% of the vote, but Stroock was running against the wind. Roncalio stressed his three-term seniority and apparent intention not to run for the Senate for a while.

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